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The Sun, the Moon, and the Orientation of Baltic Graves: A Mythological Approach to an Archaeological Problem

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This paper focuses on the predominating east-west orientation of Iron Age graves (5th century BC to the 13th century AD) and the reasons that could have caused the custom. Based on the data of Baltic mythology and their reflections in folklore, the authors argue that the mythological conception of grave orientation is closely related to the mythological path of the Sun and the image of souls leaving the world of the living. Given the astronomical opposition of the Sun and the Moon, the hypothesis is justified by the fact that, when the graves of men and of women in the Baltic burial grounds adhering to the east-west axis, were oriented in opposite directions, the burial customs could have been affected by the mythological images of the heavenly family: the Sun (wife) and the Moon (husband).

KEYWORDS: Balts, Iron Age, burial rites, archaeoastronomy, mythology, folklore

The search for symbolic meanings in archaeology is an attractive but challenging task. A theoretical possibility of research, cognitive archaeology in our case, requires special thoroughness and attention. When seeking harmony between the archaeological finds and the mythological images, a number of difficult questions have to be answered; it is necessary to renounce any preconceived ideas and to substantiate research assumptions and hypotheses in a consistent manner, by providing substantial arguments.

The orientation of grave pits and the bodies of the dead is a part of the burial rite, an expression of mythological images. However, hitherto existing attempts of archaeologists to explain why a grave is oriented toward one or another cardinal point have not fully exhausted the opportunities of research on ancient religion and society. At the choice of researchers, contemporary scientific knowledge of the universe has frequently been unjustifiably transferred to prehistoric times, e.g., cosmological images that have a religious meaning have frequently been considered to be the expression of ancient astronomical achievements (Jovaiša 2002: 13).

The authors of this paper are offering an opportunity to study the directions of the burial of the dead from the viewpoint of mythology instead of that of astronomy. This will be done based on the provision that mythological studies do not mean the interpretation of single disassociated images, underpinned by certain astronomical knowledge; rather,

they mean an analysis of the mythological logic, which has penetrated into the culture, and a system of interconnected meanings.

It is not easy to find data on the conception of the orientation of the dead prior to the introduction of Christianity, as burial rites, described in greater detail as late as in the 19th to the 20th centuries and the folk beliefs related to them have been covered with a thick layer of the Christian worldview. The main source of our reconstruction of the pre-Christian worldview is folklore that preserved the reflections of mythological images and ancient rites. The archaic traits of burials in ancient times can be traced in oral folklore and songs (cf. Greimas 1990: 113–253; Korzonaitė 2003; Racėnaitė 2011; Vaitkevičienė 2013).

Folklore is a multilayer fabric in which the worldview provisions of different epochs can be detected. Thus, for example, the studies of fairy tales open up the knowledge preserved in the narrative tradition in the form of the images, motifs, and logical structures of different ways of burial: the burial of dead bodies in the earth or cremation, as well as secondary burial of bones (for more detail, see Vaitkevičienė 2013: 102–103). Folklore is a depository of the knowledge of the past in which one can discover a set of moral choices and solutions. From that totality existing in a latent form, in specific historical periods, only a small part of values-based provisions is used and start functioning in the religious life of society. Based on the same mythological narratives, over time, ever new solutions are actualized in compliance with the worldview and the moral provisions of that period.

An analysis of a mythological way of thinking alone does not allow researchers to identify the structures found in myths and folklore with the cultural models of specific prehistorical societies. Such an opportunity arises only upon disclosure of the correlation between the folklore and the archaeological data, and in the case in question, between the images of the afterlife and the traits of the burial rites identified in archaeological excavations. Unfortunately, some larger-scale research on the orientation of the dead still needs systematized statistical data on the pre-historical burial grounds in Lithuania and the directions of grave pits.

The plans of the hitherto excavated barrows and burial grounds witness that the grave orientation was affected by various factors: the geography of the burial place, the topographical position, customs, etc. Thus, the grave of the first deceased in Paragaudis barrow XXIV (Šilalė district), dating back to the 1st to the 2nd century AD, was oriented precisely toward the north, while the second, equipped by extending the barrow in the south-east direction, along the longitudinal axis of the annex (Fig.1) (cf. Apals et al. 2001: 269, Fig. 193). The graves in the Baliuliai barrow cemeteries (Švenčionys district), dating back to the mid-5th century AD, were directed toward a sand hill in the environment of the burial site whose archaeological exploratory excavation did not produce any significant results (Kurila 2013). In the Gintališkė burial ground (Plungė district), inhumations of the Late Iron Age, as well as cremated human remains in inhumation pits, were parallel to the flow of the Salantas stream (Fig. 2).

Even when the deceased were buried in rows, the orientation of the grave pits often varied. That could have been affected by the visible and invisible objects of the environment; for example, in Stungiai, Joniškis district, a row of graves of the 8th to the 11th century AD was curving, as if the pit of each grave was directed toward a hill or a stone

in the west (Fig. 3). Finally, it is worth noting that, in the burial grounds used for a longer time, different chronological groups of graves were characterized by a great variety of orientation directions (cf. Kazakevičius 1993: 10–11, Fig. 9). One of the predetermining factors for that is believed to have been the orientation of the grave pits toward celestial bodies. Moreover, it is important to emphasize that numerous Baltic burial grounds of the Iron Age were characterized by the burial of men and of women in the pits dug in precisely the same directions; however, men were laid with their heads towards the west, and women, towards the east (Fig.4).

The present paper focuses on the predominating orientation of the Iron Age graves (the 5th century BC to the 11th century AD) in the west-east direction. The key points of the study include the position of a non-cremated body of the deceased (what is oriented) and the position of celestial bodies with respect to the cardinal points (what the body of the deceased is oriented toward). The authors chose the interpretive models that were most clearly visible in Baltic mythology; however, their identification with specific archaeological cultures, or even with burial sites, is the task of future research.
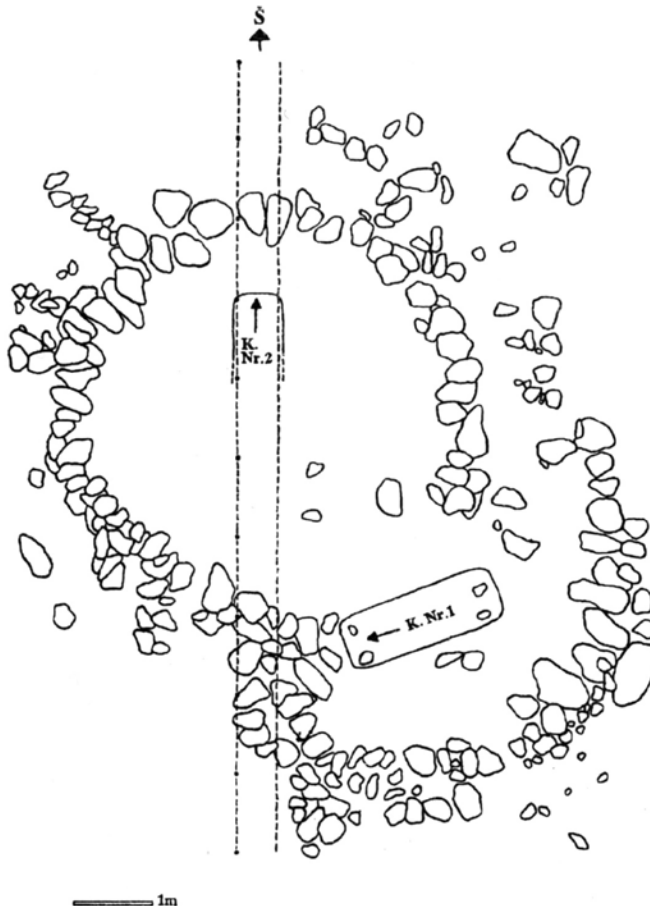
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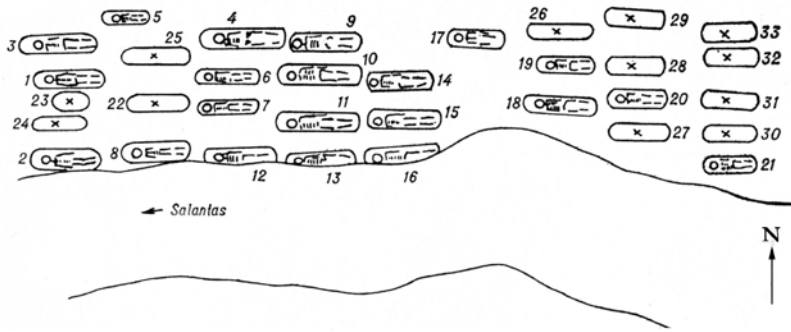
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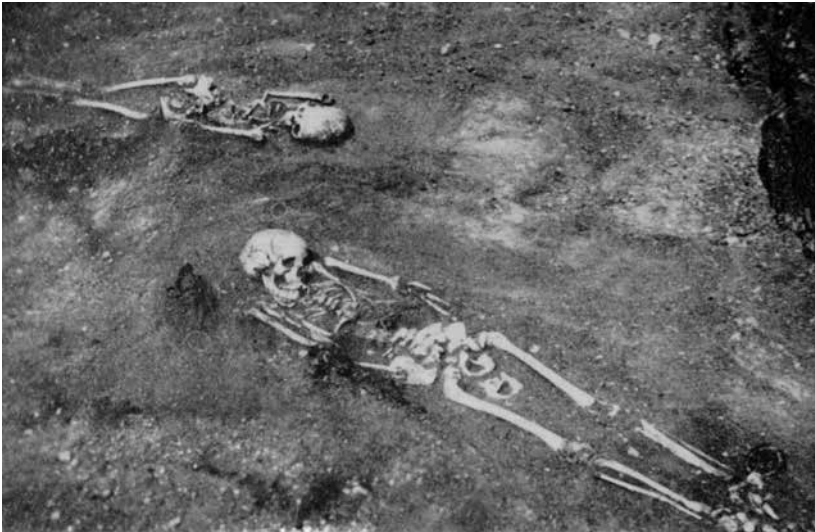
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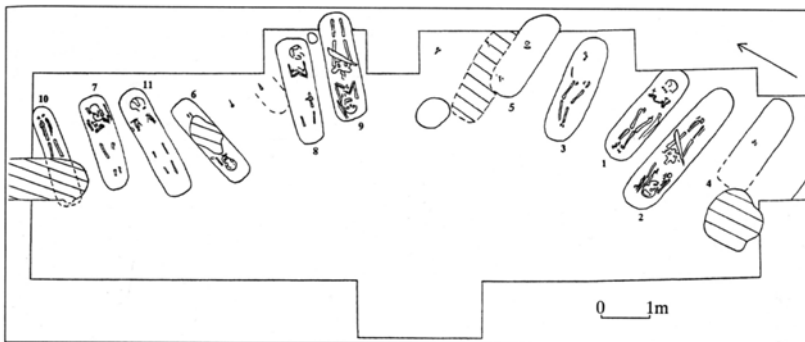
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ASTRONOMY IN LITHUANIAN ARCHAEOLOGY

Astronomical interpretation of archaeological monuments and phenomena has been known in Europe for years. In Lithuania, astronomy acquired significance in the 1980s, when an archaeological expedition led by Vladas Žulkus discovered postholes on the Birutė Hill in Palanga (Žulkus 1986), interpreted as a Curonian place for the observation of celestial bodies on the Baltic seacoast, dating to the late 14th to the 15th century AD (Klimka 1986). Shortly thereafter, data were made public about a stone circle discovered in the Užpelkiai burial ground (Kretinga district) from which the points of the sunrise and the sunset on the horizon were sought (Bliujienė 1992: 76–77), as well as on the pits in the ancient settlement of Dauglaukis considered by researchers to have been "a site of spatial orientation" (Tauragė district) (Malonaitis 1992: 47)

Astronomical models were also applied to the interpretation of burial monuments. Mykolas Michelbertas related the orientation of the Late Iron Age grave pits to the directions of the sunrise and explained the variety of the burial directions by the fact that the deceased were buried in different seasons (Michelbertas 1986: 228; cf. Jaskanis 1974: 216–218). Eugenijus Jovaiša developed the statements in the dissertation devoted to the burial grounds of the 1st to 4th centuries in Central Lithuania (Йовайша 1987; 1989). In his opinion, on the day of the burial, the ancient inhabitants used to direct the bodies toward the visible point of the sunrise or the sunset: the bodies of women were oriented toward the point of the sunrise, and of men, toward the point of the sunset (Jovaiša 2002: 8). Jovaiša assumed that the graves beyond the boundaries of the interval of the sunrise directions (i.e., the solar arc) were directed toward the rising high Moon[1] or the position of the Little Bear constellation (Йовайша 1989: 101; Jovaiša 2002: 8). When considering the setting of the sunrise and sunset azimuths on cloudy days, the author stated that, for such cases, "some astronomical equipment must have existed in the environment of the burial grounds" (Jovaiša 2002: 13).

Jovaiša acknowledged that the numbers of the dead buried in different directions were very different and explained the fact by certain periods of an increased mortality rate:

> In winter and summer, burials were rare; most of the burials happened in spring (the end of February and March) and in autumn (the second half of October and the beginning of November). As one becomes familiar with works on medicine and biological climatology, the phenomenon no longer seems difficult to believe and even looks natural. (2002: 9)

To substantiate the argument, the author presented the statistical data on the Lithuanian population mortality rates for 1925 to 1926. As demonstrated by them, the highest mortality rate in those years was in March and August, and especially high in December (18.63% of all the deceased over 1926), while in June, the mortality rate dropped to 15.75% (Jovaiša 2002:10).

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[1] Every 18.61 years, the Moon rises further north and south of the sunrise and sunset azimuths.

Even though seasons affect people's physical and mental health, and therefore can affect the mortality rate, Jovaiša's substantiation to the effect that in the environs of Kaunas, Central Lithuania, over the period of the 1st to the 2nd century AD, most women died and were buried at the end of January through February and at the end of September through October, while most men died in the periods of February to the beginning of March and the end of September through October, seems unjustified (Jovaiša 2002: Fig. 8–9).[2]

A similar hypothesis of the directions of grave pits demonstrating seasonal trends in mortality rate was raised by the Danish researchers Klavs Randborg and Klaus Nybo, who believed the orientation of bodies in the Bronze Age graves to have depended on the day of the funeral. In their opinion, bodies in the Viking Age burial grounds near Birka in Central Sweden were buried in accordance with the season: in winter, in the North Hermland burial ground, during equinoxes, in the South Hermland burial ground, and in summer, in Borg (Randsborg, Nybo 1986: 170–171).

In different areas of Lithuania, the directions of the burial of the dead in the Iron Age differed and were based on different models. To explain that, Jovaiša argued that, in the period of the 1st to the 5th century AD, the cult of the Little Bear prevailed in the lower reaches of the Nemunas River, while in Central Lithuania, "the cult of the Sun predominated, while the cult of the Moon and the Little Bear was much less noticeable" (2002: 15). Jovaiša accounted for the differences in the worldviews by relating them to economic activities (without any more detailed discussion); he also suggested that the increase in the graves oriented toward the north-south in Central Lithuania in the 3rd through the 5th century AD reflected the changes in the society: the rise of nobility whose graves could have been oriented toward the Little Bear in the north (2002: 14–15). To substantiate all these hypotheses, the author did not refer to the data of the Baltic mythology, Lithuanian ethnic astronomy, or the comparative research of cultural anthropology; therefore, they are to be considered mere guesses.

ORIENTATION OF THE DEAD BODIES: ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND MYTHOLOGICAL CONCEPTIONS

In their research documentation, archaeologists measure and indicate the position of the head of the deceased with respect to the cardinal points. If the bones of the body are entirely decayed, the axis of the grave pit is measured. Frequently the dimensions become very important characteristics of the archaeological culture or the ethnic burial custom; thus, for example, the Roman Iron Age Sudovian graves in barrow cemeteries are characterized by a north-south orientation (for more detail, see Michelbertas 1986: 73–77).

Archaeologists are well aware of the fact that, after the introduction of Christianity, the heads of the deceased were first directed westwards. Thus, in the late 14th through

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[2] The celebration of the Eve of Lent (Mardi Gras) in spring (around February to March) was associated by some researchers with the burial of those who died in winter; however, in summer, there was no necessity or possibility to keep the bodies of the deceased unburied until autumn.

the 17th century, in the Alytus burial ground, as many as 912 bodies (82.2%) were buried with their heads towards the northwest, west, and southwest (Svetikas 2003: 147–149). Based on the Christian worldview, the deceased were obliged to look eastward: on the Last Judgment day, the Lord was to appear from there; only the deceased clergy could allegedly turn towards the deceased and thus face the west (Svetikas 2003: 49–150; cf. Zugaiar 2012: 6). For comparison, Lithuanians in the first half of the 20th century believed that the head of the deceased was to be directed southward or towards the tombstone crucifix: "it will be easier to suffer in hell" (Balys 1981: 821, 822). As argued by others, it was important to have "one of the grave pits facing the church, since, when the deceased stands up for the Last Judgement, he has to face the throne of God" (Balys 1981: 823, 824).

As shown by the examples, the interpretation of the body orientation in the grave could have been based on different starting points: either refer to the direction of the face of the deceased, whose significance was emphasized by the Church, or to the direction of the head, usually recorded in the reports of archaeological excavations.

In his statistical calculations, Jovaiša chose the direction of the head of the deceased as a reference point (Йовайша 1987), while Michelbertas spoke of the importance of the direction in which the deceased faced: "The faces of the dead were turned eastward, towards the land of the rising Sun, or westward, towards the one of the setting Sun" (Michelbertas 1986: 228). Žulkus, who investigated Western Lithuanian burial rites of the 8th through the 13th century AD, also settled for the direction in which the deceased faced: "The deceased men were buried so as to 'see' the world of the dead, and women, so as to 'see' the husband [...] In a patriarchal family, the supremacy of a man did not give rise to doubts" (Žulkus 1993: 32).

Randsborg and Nybo, when studying the Bronze Age burial rites in Denmark, also chose the viewpoint as a reference point; they stated that the dead were buried facing the Sun: "At the same time we have supported the suggestion that we are not seeing different rules for graves with heads to the east and to the west. The 'facing' direction seems to be what is important in both cases" (Randsborg, Nybo 1986: 165).

Given the fact that the reference point in archaeological research can be diametrically opposed – the direction of the head or the face of the deceased leads to different interpretations – it is necessary to look for new, hitherto unused data. We shall attempt to determine how the issue can be accounted for by Baltic mythology.

It is very difficult to find arguments to justify the direction of the head of the deceased, as there are almost no mythological data on the subject, and any such considerations are essentially not promising. The direction of the face of the deceased, typical of the Christian tradition, looks much more promising: in accordance with it, a grave is understood as the place for the deceased to lie (rest) until the day of the Last Judgement comes. That is associated with keeping the vigil, watching, and waiting: the deceased is facing "the throne of God" which is to appear in the east. However, in the case of the prehistoric Baltic graves, the mythologemes of the vigil and resurrection do not apply. The sources of the Baltic mythology reflect a different way of thinking – the efforts made for the deceased to reach the world of the dead as quickly as possible and to negotiate the intermediate space in the shortest possible time; since that was related to the body

decay process, the cremation of the body or other rites were used for the purpose. Proper burial of the body predetermined a successful transfer of the deceased to another world, while the deceased who was not buried could not leave the world of the living (for more detail, see Vaitkevičienė 2013).

Different conceptions of the after-death state (the deceased person's waiting *vs* leaving, lying *vs*. moving) encouraged us to turn toward the Baltic burial grounds for the data related to the ability of the deceased to move and also to invite researchers to change the focus from the direction of the view of the deceased to that of the legs (feet, soles) and to the images of their leaving for another world. At that point, it is worth remembering Žulkus' reflections about the direction of orientation of the 8th through the 13th century AD graves in the peripheries of the Curonian and Samogitian lands, which could have depended on the topography of inter-tribal wastelands or larger or smaller uninhabited areas between the lands: "The graves of peripheral burial grounds were usually oriented towards the outside of the tribes and lands [...], depending on the direction in which the world of the dead was imagined to be" (Žulkus 1989: 108–110; 1993: 28–29)[3]. For comparison, a similar logic of burial was typical of the Viking Age burial grounds in Iceland, where the deceased were mainly buried in a position to have them looking away from homesteads (Zugaiar 2012: 158).

In accordance with Lithuanian folklore, the souls of the buried dead never stayed in one place: they did not keep vigil but moved, walked, and travelled. Thus, for example, the retold dreams dealt with the inconveniences caused by improper grave goods: the daughter who had had the dowry linen cloth rolls put into her grave by her mother had to carry them everywhere and found it very difficult to walk. The mother who had had her daughter's dress put into the coffin by her sister had to keep the dress in her hands when walking so as not to drop it (Marcinkevičienė 1997: 24). It was very important not to bury a body with the legs tied (as they would not be able to walk); great attention was devoted to shoes that had to be convenient, not too tight or too large (Balys 1981: 546; Vaitkevičienė, Vaitkevičius 1998: 131, 132). Alternatively, the issue of shoes may have reflected the significance attached to them later, as, in the early 20th century, people in Dieveniškės (Šalčininkai district) still believed that the deceased ought to be buried barefoot: "barefoot, they will run to God's judgment faster" (Racėnaitė 2011: 233).

In addition, tales told about the paths of the souls, and in laments, the deceased was referred to as a "dear traveller" who was on a journey to his dead relatives (Žičkienė 2003: 31; Racėnaitė 2011: 230). The Lithuanian burial rites of the first half of the 20th century witnessed close attention to the footwear of the deceased or to their feet, cf.: "in order not to be afraid of the dead, one has to kiss their soles or the big toe," or "when the father dies, the daughters and sons have to kiss his feet in order to live to the father's age" (Balys 1981: 483, 485). "Do not kiss the face, as you will mourn and cry for a long time. Kiss the feet; then you will promptly forget" (Vyšniauskaitė et al. 1995: 495).

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[3] However, it has to be noted that the precise boundaries between lands and tribes can be clearly seen only on small-scale maps (e.g., 1: 10,000,000), while detailed grave distribution plans witness, with some exceptions, the diversity of the orientation of the deceased, predetermined by a number of different factors.

The direction of orientation of the deceased, based on the feet as a point of reference, was witnessed by abundant ethnographical materials: the body was taken to the cemetery only feet first (Vyšniauskaitė et al. 1995: 454). For comparison, the adages "to turn the feet towards the door"(LKŽ: XIV 65), "You will have enough of everything when you are lying feet to the door" (LTR 2746/202), or "(Somebody) returned home feet first" (LTR 5598/246) also referred to death.

All these data provide grounds to believe that the image of the leaving deceased was typical of Baltic mythology, and it was specifically on this basis that the mythological conception of the grave orientation could have formed. Such a hypothesis contradicts the conclusions of Jovaiša's research, which placed emphasis on the direction of the head of the deceased, however, as we shall soon see, it supports the idea of his and other archaeologists that, in the equipment on the grave and the burial of the deceased, attention was paid to the Sun.

SOULS AND THE SUN

In the collection of Lithuanian folklore of the early 20th century, compiled by Lithuanian folklore collector Hubertas Gudelaitis, an adage from Švenčionys district was recorded: "Have you put your feet together with the Sun's feet if you know so much of everything?" (LMD III 29/19-4). The saying "to put your feet together with somebody else's feet" means nothing else but lying in such a way that the soles of two individuals' feet would rest against one another. The adage looks puzzling and, at first glance, difficult to interpret due to an unexpected image: a reclining man puts his feet together with the Sun's feet. It calls for a wider explanation of the mythological context.

Sunset in Baltic mythology was seen as the travelling of the Sun to another world. By setting each evening, the Sun went down a mythological road. Typically, from the sunset to nightfall, people used to set aside all their work, and they would call the time "the gray hour", a holy evening, or the Sun's path, cf. "After the sunset, the mistress of the house allowed the hired girls to leave their works: it was the time to celebrate the Sun's path" (LTT: 26323). It was a must to celebrate that time, and nobody could do any work, and particularly to spin, in order not to "spin" (to block up) the Sun's way. "Nobody can spin at sunset not to spin the Sun's feet (to block its movement)" (LTT: 26314), cf. "By spinning, you will spin (block) the Sun's paths" (LTR 792/131-44).

The Balts believed that those who did not celebrate the "Sun's path" and ignored the prohibition would never be able to enter heaven (Vīķe-Freiberga 1995; Vaitkevičienė 2001: 136). In accordance with the Baltic worldview, the souls of the leaving dead were following the Sun along its path, and the rose garden cultivated by the Sun in heaven became their temporary abode (for more detail, see Vaitkevičienė 1997: 29–31).

The adage "Have you put your feet together with the Sun's feet" was not the only one. It belonged to a large adage group in 55 versions, with the majority of them using *God* instead of *the Sun*, e.g. "You have not put your feet together with God's feet" (LTR 545/131-45). The comments of folkore collectors made it clear that the adage was used

when doubting the possibility of predicting the future or knowing the time of death: "You never know what will be", "Do not pretend to know everything", "You are not in the coffin yet, so all kind of things may happen to you", "You do not know when you will die", "None of us negotiated our death with God, so we do not know", etc. (LPP: 515–516). The adages largely referred not to the general prediction of the future, but rather to not knowing the time of one's death, which was mentioned in the vast majority of the explanations and named in adages in which the Sun or the Moon were replaced by death personified, e.g. "You never know, having not put your fingers together with Death's fingers" (LTR 5213/214). Therefore, the adage "Have you put your feet together with the Sun's feet" could be seen as one of those rare cases when the adages could have preserved the message about the orientation of the deceased person's feet toward the sunset.

The earliest source of the adage in question was *Lexicon Germanico-Lithvanicum et Lithvanico-Germanicum* by lexicographer Jokūbas Brodovskis of the late 18th century, which recorded the following version: *Dar ſu Diewu Pirßtais ne ſudurei, pamokis Leilios Dienos* [You have not yet put your fingers together with God's fingers, and hard days will teach you] (Lebedys 1956: 342). Brodovskis explained the meaning of the adage as "you have not yet seen the evenings of all the days", in other words, "you have not yet lived all of your life". Even if the Sun was not named in the adage, the evening mentioned in Brodovskis' explanation was a typical metaphor of the end of a human life.

There were more Lithuanian proverbs and adages that referred to ancient burial rites; for example, when speaking of a debtor, people would say: "He will repay in ash after death" (LTR 545/131-85), "After his death, he will repay in coals" (LTR 3017/38), or "After my death, I'll repay in embers" (LTR 3859/841a). The proverbs take us back to the time when the cremation of the dead was practised in Lithuania (the earliest facts of cremation were known from the 14th to the 15th century, see Petrauskas 2017).

When discussing the relationship between the burial rites and the Sun, it is important to note that the funeral time could have been adjusted to the position of the Sun in the sky. The idea is suggested by folk songs that revealed that funerals took place at sunrises or sunsets: in the transitional period when day turned into night or vice versa (the time is called *sąvartos* in Lithuanian, i.e. the shift or the change). As indicated by folk beliefs, the said period was also considered to be a typical time of death: people believed that "[nobody] died either in the daytime or at night, and if they died, it happened just seldom. What was different was the time of the *sunvartos,* i.e. either it was the end of the night or the end of the day" (Kriauza 1944: 21).

Folklore and ethnographic data attached more importance to the sunset and night than to the sunrise. Night was directly related to the time of the dead, i.e. feasts to honour the dead were held in the night time (Vaitkevičienė, Vaitkevičius 1996: 214), and the eve of Christmas dinner, devoted to the dead of the family, would start after sunset, with the rise of the Evening Star (Venus) (Kudirka 1993: 86).[4] The sunset brought the longing

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[4] Cf. The remains of the funeral dinner would be left on the table until sunrise, as the deceased, if they are satisfied with the funeral ceremony, return to the community that night and thank for the attention to them (Balys 1981: 94).

for dear people who were no longer alive; there is a tale about the mother who buried her daughter and who "in the evenings, after the Sun would hide behind the hill, would call: *Buže, Buže, come home*" (Basanavičius 1998: 227).

The importance of the sunrise and sunset in the Baltic worldview is obvious; however, the need or the ability to accurately measure the point of the sunrise or sunset when digging a grave pit in prehistoric times gives rise to doubts. Based on Swedish archaeological materials, Jonathan Lindström pointed out that all the prehistoric graves in Sweden were basically oriented toward one of the cardinal points (directions), but not toward any specific astronomical azimuth (Lindström 1997: 119–121).

Unfortunately, currently, we do not have sufficient knowledge or studies of the awareness of the cardinal points in the Baltic countries. Lithuanian ethno-astronomer Jonas Vaiškūnas argued that the point of the midsummer sunrise in Lithuania was called high summer mornings, and of the sunset, high summer evenings; accordingly, the midwinter sun was rising in high winter mornings and setting in high winter evenings (Vaiškūnas 2006: 171). In the 1784 topographical descriptions of parishes in Vilnius Deanery, the cardinal points were defined as summer and winter mornings (i.e. northeast and southeast) and summer and winter evenings (i.e. northwest and southwest). Between the summer and winter evenings, there was the north, or midnight, and between the winter mornings and evenings, the south, or midday. The remaining points were described as intermediate, e.g., between the north and summer mornings, between the summer and winter evenings, or between winter mornings and the south.

In order to coordinate the mythological understanding of the orientation of the deceased, the data on the Sun's relationship with the souls, and the fact that, in a number of prehistoric burial grounds in Lithuania, men and women were buried in opposite directions, we need to examine the case of the Moon.

THE SUN AND THE MOON

The Sun had a great significance in the conceptions of death and burial, and its divine role in Baltic mythology was no less important, as reflected in hundreds of Latvian songs (Viķe-Freiberga 1995). As gods and goddesses seldom acted alone, their significance and content were revealed as a result of their relationships with other gods. In Baltic mythology, the Sun, as the Goddess Sun, had a family: she was married to the Moon (a male God Moon), and their children were stars (Razauskas 2011: 137).[5] At first, the heavenly family lived in harmony, but later they quarrelled and separated, and therefore, "now the Moon and the Sun never rise or set together" (Balys 1951: 8). The myth was based on the astronomical lunar cycle: the Waxing Crescent rose immediately after the sunset, and, as it got fuller, it started staying behind and appearing increasingly further away from the point of the sunset with every night. Finally, at the phase of the Full Moon,

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[5] The Moon and the Sun are extremely rarely called brother and sister; orphans would call them father and mother.

the Moon rose in the east after the sunset and, after shining the whole night on the sky, towards the morning, he met the morning star Aušrinė (Venus). According to the myth, he fell in love with her. The marriage of the Sun and the Moon was destroyed. Then God Perkūnas of Lighting and Thunder, to defend order and justice, split the Moon with a sword, and it started shrinking (Rėza 1958: 93).

The Moon, often called "young God" in Lithuanian, like the Sun, was related to the souls of the dead, only in his own way. In Lithuanian prayers to the Moon, people asked, after their death, to stay in heaven with the Moon: "Oh young Moon, the Prince of Heaven – let my soul after my death be together with you in heaven" (Balys 1951: 12; Greimas 1990: 173).

The studies of the mythological meanings of the Sun and the Moon's movement on the sky demonstrated that the round-the-clock solar cycle and the directions of its rise and setting, from the semantic viewpoint, correlated with the change in the lunar phases over a month, but not with the Moon's movement per 24 hours (for more detail, see Vaitkevičienė 2001: 134). *The sunset* and the meanings of the *eastern* direction (growth and vitality) corresponded to the meanings assigned to the *Waxing Crescent*; the time of the *sunset* and the *western* direction, which in folk beliefs was related to decay and death, correlated with the *Waning Crescent*, while the Sun's rise to the zenith *at midday* (the direction of *the south*) semantically corresponded to the *Full Moon* (Fig. 5)[6].

Fig. 5: A schematic of correlation of the Sun's movement on the sky and the mythological meanings of lunar phases. (Vaitkevičienė 2001: 134)

In the case of the Moon, its appearance and disappearance during certain specific phases were given special prominence, as well as the fact that the direction of its appearance could change dramatically: from the west to the east. The Waxing Crescent, which was considered sacred in the Baltic tradition, appeared in the west, and this point more or less corresponded to the direction of the Sun's setting. However, the Full Moon, whenever it was the largest and the brightest, and by its shape similar to the solar disc, rose in the opposite side, in the east, like the Sun. The Full Moon that rose in the east,

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[6] True, the large annual solar cycle also has analogous meanings; however, we do not have any significant data on the mythological content of the time of the Moon's rise or setting.

only not in the morning, as the Sun, but in the evening, was the night-time equivalent of the Sun, moving along the same path of the sky, yet at a different time of the day. The Sun stayed on the sky in the daytime, and the Moon, at night; they replaced each other, as emphasized by a Latvian folk song:

> Oh, dear Sun, dear Moon,
> How nicely you change places:
> Where the Sun rises in the morning,
> The Moon comes in the evening (LDe 33735)

In contrast, the opposition was evident not only when comparing the time of the day, but also the trajectory, which varied depending on the season: as proved by the materials of ethnoastronomy, the path on the sky travelled by the Sun in summer (rising in the northeast, rising high, and setting in the northwest) was travelled by the Moon in winter. Conversely, in winter, the Sun rose in the southeast, rose low, and set in the southwest, while in summer, that was a typical route of the Moon, as "the Moon follows the paths of the Sun" (Vaiškūnas 2009: 14). Therefore, the directions of the rise and setting of the Sun and the Full Moon represented basically same path, travelled by the celestial bodies at different times.

The close relationships of the Sun and the Moon in the phase of the Waxing Crescent, followed by the disintegrating balance between them which led to the emerging opposition, were significant in many respects. That was the mythological reflection of the family ties of the gods in heaven. The story that repeated each month was dramatic; the setting Sun left its place to the Moon rising on the opposite side of the vault of heaven. At the breaking point, the Sun and the Full Moon were on one axis (the Sun in the west, and the Moon in the east), and they were almost equal in size, appearance, and power. All the power area, space, and time were equally divided between them.

The opposition of the Sun and the Moon did not depend on the season, it repeated every month and could be clearly observed in the sky, and especially in a Full Moon, when, after the Sun had set in the west, the Moon rose in the east. The mythological model, which expressed the differences between the Sun and the Moon in their heavenly family, could have been used to interpret the directions of burial in the Baltic burial grounds. As the points of the rise and setting of the Sun, the appearance and disappearance of the Moon overlapped, it would be impossible to identify which celestial body they had been oriented toward, based merely on the directions of the body orientation. However, in such cases when men and women in the same burial ground were oriented in the opposite directions, as in Central Lithuania in the 1st to 4th century AD and in a number of other burial sites where the graves of men and women in the same (or parallel) rows[7] were oriented in opposite directions (for illiustration see Bertašius 2005: 140, 147, 169, 183, etc.), the probability was high that not one, but two components had been used as

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[7]   Based on the data of archaeological excavations, man and woman on that straight line evidently ought to be depicted with their heads put close together.

reference points and that the gender polarization was based on the opposition of the Sun and the Moon. Both celestial bodies moved along the same route, and their travel time was synchronized: when setting (leaving), the Sun took away the day (light) to the world of the dead, while the Moon, bringing the night (darkness), opened the gate for souls. In compliance with such logic, in the model with two cosmological components, the best time for funerals was the sunset.

CONCLUSIONS

The statement by Eugenijus Jovaiša, established in the historiography of Lithuania, to the effect that, on the day of the funeral, Ancient Balts turned the dead bodies toward the visible points of the sunrise (women) or sunset (men) and that the directions of the grave pits in the burial grounds of Central Lithuania dating back to the 1st through the 4th century AD reflected seasonal trends in the mortality rates of the population, were supported by mere astronomical calculations, but not by the cultural research data. The authors of the present paper, in search for cultural justification, propose to apply the materials of Baltic mythology to the archaeological interpretation of the burial directions. The studies prove that the pre-Christian period was characterized not by the image of the waiting deceased, as in Christianity, but by that of leaving souls. The latter formed the mythological conception of the grave orientation in which significance was assigned to the direction of the feet, and not of the head, of the deceased; for the reconstruction, adages are meaningful that depict a human being, resting the feet against the feet of the Sun (God, Death). In Baltic mythology, the image of the Sun's feet is closely related to the sunset, which is represented as the setting of the Sun, i.e. its leaving for another world along with a mythological path.

Given the fact that, in numerous Baltic prehistoric burial grounds, men and women were buried in opposite directions, not only the data on the Sun but also on the Moon are significant. The astronomical confrontation of the Sun and the Moon in the sky makes it possible to hypothesize that in such cases, when the graves of men and women, by observing the east-west axis, were oriented in opposite directions, the burial rites could have been affected by the mythological images of the heavenly family – the Sun (wife) and the Moon (husband). However, the impact of those two celestial bodies on burial rites is believed to have been based not on the azimuth calculations, but on the division of the surrounding environment into two, four, six, and possibly even eight parts. The mythological meanings of those spatial sections have yet to be thoroughly investigated.

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СОЛНЦЕ, ЛУНА И ОРИЕНТАЦИЯ БАЛТСКИХ ПОГРЕБЕНИЙ: МИФОЛОГИЧЕСКИЙ ВЗЛЯД НА АРХЕОЛОГИЧЕСКУЮ ПРОБЛЕМУ

Дайва Вайткявичене, Викинтас Вайткявичюс

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В литовской историографии закреплено положение археолога Э. Йовайша о том, что древние балты своих покойников в день похорон ориентировали в точку восхода (женщин) либо захода Солнца (мужщин); ориентация могильных ям в могильниках Центральной Литвы I–IV вв. якобы отражает сезонные тенденции смертности и свидетельствует о том, что в течении года были два основные периода похорон – весенний и осенний, которые в свою очередь могут быть сопоставлены с некими календарными праздниками. Эти и некоторые другие положения небыли автором обоснованы данными балтской мифологии, литовской этноастрономии, исследованиями культурных антропологов других стран и народов. По этому положения Э. Йовайша автора статьи считают лишь предположениями.

В данном исследовании материалы балтской археологии наш взгляд от религии спасения – для христинства характерно обращение лица покойника нв восток – направляет на ноги либо ступни; живые стремились что-бы душа покойника достигла мир умерших за самое короткое время. Обосновано мнение, что для периода балтской религии было характерено представление не ожидающих, а уходящих душ. Именно таково представление существенно влияло на мифологическое понимание ориентации могил древних балтов. Для данной реконструкции большое значение имеют поговорки (самая древняя из них была включена в литовско-немецкий словарь начала XVIII в.), которые изображают человека и Солнце стыкнутыми между собой ногами (в некоторых вариатах на месте Солнце также изображается Бог либо Смерть).

В балтской мифологии мифическое представление о ногах Солнца являеться тесно связаным с заходом Солнца, который по своей мере изображается как уход по мифической дорогой в инной мир. Известно также поверие о том, что все те, которые неотмечают «дороги Солнца» (это пора дня между заходом Солнца и сплошных сумерек) после смерти непопадут в небесное царство.

Стремясь сочтения между мифическом понимании ориентации покойников и данных о связи Солнца с душами мертвых, а также учитывая факт что в большенстве предисторических могильников древних балтов с трупо-положениями мужчины и женщины были похоронены в противоположных направлениях, в дальнейшее исследование была включена также Луна.

В балтской мифологии Солнце (Lith. *Saulė*, fem.) имеет семью: она выходит замуж за Луну (Lith. *Mėnulis*, masc.), звезды считаются их детьми. Тесные связи между Солнцем и Луной, которые позже разваливаются и превращаются в конфронтацию, во многих отношениях важны. По существу, это мифическое отражение семейных связей человечества, семейная драма небесных богов, которая повторяеться каждый месяц. Необходимо

подчеркнуть, что в точке разлома Солнце и Луна находуться точно на прямую, они равноценны величиной, видом и силой; по ровным полом между ними разделена вся власть, пространство и время.

Заходя на западе Солнце уступает место для полной Луны, которая становиться видимой на востоке. Это астрономическое явление являеться мифологическим отражением биологических различий между полами. Появляеться возможность по другому смотреть на ориентацию умерших у древних балтов: основным факторов для орентации могил мужщин и женщин в противоположном направлении в могильниках Центральной Литвы I–IV вв. являеться не один из азимутов (напр., точки восхода Солнца), выбраный археологами, а очная ставка между Солнцем и Луной, для которой пора года неимеет никакого значения; она очевидна каждый месяц при полной Луне.

Азимуты восхода и захода Солнца, также точки появления Луны пересекаються, по этому ориентация умерших по направлению восток–запад неможет ответить на конкретный вопрос в сторону Солнца либо Луны они были направлены. В этих случаев, когда в одном могильнике мужчины и женщины захаронены по противоположным направлениям, вероятно, влияние на это произвели оба небесные тела, также общая половая поляризация, основанна на конфронтации Солнца и Луны; кроме того, следя за моделью с двумя космологическими компонентами, самым правильным временем для похорон являлся заход Солнца.

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The Storm God and the Hunter: A Fragment of an Old Balto-Slavic Epos?

═══ Patrice Lajoye ═══

A comparison of a group of Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian legends implying a thunderous character, with a passage from the *Mahābhārata*, an ancient Indian epos, allows us to reconstruct a fragment of the myth of the Baltic and Slavic thunderstorm god.

KEYWORDS: Perun, Perkūnas, storm god, divine weapon, hunter

Our knowledge of the Slavic god Perun has grown considerably over the past 30 years, in particular through works and monographs (Klejn 2004; Lajoye, 2015) that have criticized and refined the fundamental essays of Vyacheslav Ivanov and Vladimir Toporov (Ivanov 1958; Ivanov & Toporov 1965, 1970, 1974, 2002). The personality of the god, as well as certain modalities of his worship, are now well known. However, it should be noted that apart from the reconstruction of the cycle of the calendar fights against Veles, proposed by Ivanov and Toporov, no mythological narrative seems to have been preserved.

A BALTO-SLAVIC MYTH

However, a particular mythological fragment was pointed out in by Louis Leger (1901: 64-65). This fragment, from the region of Sandomir, Polish Galicia, was first published in 1881 with a German translation:

> A lord went hunting on Sundays before mass. One day, he went and walked until he could no longer hunt: it was time to go to mass. But now a black cloud is coming, and it begins to thunder in the distance. The lord looks and sees on the river a large ugly bird lying on a stone. Then he thinks in himself: "I haven't yet captured anything." He remembered that for seven years he had carried a holy bullet in his sack. And without too much thought, he removed the ammunition from his rifle to place the holy bullet in, he fired and the bird fell from the stone on the ground. Then he approached

it, lifted it up and looked at it, for he had never seen such a bird, and he said to himself: "What a pity to have used this bullet on such an ugly bird." Then someone shouted behind him: "Don't worry, I ran after this bird for seven years without being able to reach it. While you were aiming at it, I was targeting you. If you had not killed it, I would have killed you." The lord was frightened, looked around him, and saw before him an immense man, like a tree, holding a rifle as big as a log. It was Ṕeron (Pieron), who took the lord by the hand and talked long with him. They examined their guns, he (Ṕeron) told him not to hunt on Sunday, and he flew away like the wind (Matusiak 1881: 641-642)."

What Louis Leger had not seen is that this text is not isolated in the Slavic domain. Indeed, there is a Russian version, collected at Simbirsk (now Ulyanovsk), which replaces Pieron with the prophet Elijah:

The prophet Elijah and the archer.
There was once an archer *(strelec)* who had gone to the lake, and the thundering prophet Elijah had brought a thundering cloud over the lake. The archer hid from the storm in the bushes, and saw that a human head came out of the water and hid under it. Each time lightning appeared, the head was under water. The thunder strikes at this place, but fails to kill him (in the water). "What kind of man is he? I'll shoot at him." He fired and a dead man appeared. The archer got scared of killing a man and complained. He fled, when he met an old man, Elijah himself.
— Were you on the lake? asked the latter.
— Yes.
— Did you kill a man?
— No.
— No? Tell me, did you kill him?
— No.
He didn't confess, you know.
—Yes, you did, do not fear, said Elijah. You killed the devil. You helped me. I aimed at him, aimed at him, but I couldn't kill him with lightning. With that, take my gun here, I give it to you. With this gun, whatever you aim at, you will hit.
The archer took the rifle and began to shoot down everything he saw. This made his barin [lord] envious.
—Sell it, yes, sell it to me!
— No, for nothing in the world.
— Then let us fight. If you kill me (and the barin was a sorcerer), it will be yours, but if not, the rifle will be mine.
The barin sits on the bell-tower, where the bells hang.
—Shoot!

The archer pulled the trigger and hit the barin on the shoulder.
—Well, you didn't kill me. Give me the rifle!
The archer didn't give it.
—I touched you, he said.
— Well, said the barin, now shoot this cross, if you can break it.
But two pigeons had sat on the cross. Then, the archer aimed very carefully, and he touched the cross and killed the two pigeons.
For that Elijah blinded him, and the barin took the rifle and started shooting for himself. (Sadovnikov 1884: n°93, 282)

Better still, there are several Lithuanian versions. One of the first ones was published in 1894 in Polish by Mečislovas Davainis-Silvestraitis:

Tale of Perkunas.
A hunter (*strzelec*) had gone into the forest. He walked, walked, and went astray. Then a storm broke out, with lightning and thunder. The hunter hid under a pine tree. Then he noticed that as soon as the lightning (*perkunas*) struck, a devil jumped out of a hollow tree, shouting like a goat. The hunter took his rifle with a scapular. As soon as the lightning (perkunas) struck, the devil came out quickly and shouted like a goat. He shot it. Guts fell from the hollow tree. Perkunas struck these guts. The rain stopped. The hunter found his way back home. On the way he saw a black man, who said to him, "Thank you, very humbly. For fifteen years, I pursued this devil and I could not kill him. You helped me kill him. I will give you a horn of lead and a horn of powder, such that you will never need to buy it again." (Davainis-Silvestraitis 1894, t.2:62-63)

Other versions were subsequently published, such as this one:

Perkūnas hunts a devil (Perkūnas medžioja velnią).
On the land of a peasant, not far from his house, there was a large rock on which a black cat appeared when the storm came [when lightning passed and thundered]. The cat danced and laughed at Perkūnas – he was possessed by a devil (a devil had turned into a cat). Perkūnas couldn't bear the devil, but couldn't defeat him, beat him. He had never ceased striking this mocking cat on his rock, but he couldn't beat the black cat, the devil. The peasant decided he had to get rid of this black cat. He had heard that it was possible to shoot down the devil himself with a silver bullet. As the storm rumbled, when the black cat appeared on the rock and began to mock Perkūnas, the peasant, slowly walked along the edge of the field, not to be seen by the cat, and shot it down. The black cat fell in an instant from the rock. At the same time, Perkūnas struck the spot of the rock where the cat had perished [i. e. before its fall]. Then Perkūnas (in the form of a giant of fire, like a

column, in fire-clothes, with two long arrows in each hand) appeared to the hunter, showing him the arrows, and said: "I have used many of these arrows, but I haven't been able to shoot the devil. Thank you for helping me to free myself from this evil." Perkūnas didn't really support the devil, he was exhausted by him, for it seemed that the devil was more powerful than him. Yet Perkūnas also has the faculty to transform himself into a man or some other creature. (Balys, 1938: 53)

And this one:

There was once strong thunder, and it was raining a lot. A hunter, seated under a tree, took his trouble in patience. There was a large hollow tree nearby; at the very moment the thunder roared, a cat took its head from the hollow of the tree and made a mocking mimic:
— Ve ve ve ve.
The hunter loaded his rifle with a silver bullet and waited. As soon as the thunder growled, the cat pulled out his head to make fun of it – he made "bang bang" on the cat, and it exploded. The thunder stops scolding, the lightning bolts illuminate the sky, so the hunter returns home. On the way he meets a man who says to him:
— Thank you for shooting down this creature of evil! I brought him with me from the third kingdom, but I couldn't handle it. Here, now I give you three bullets. Here is what you can do with it: put one on the palm of your hand and blow in the direction of a very large object - immediately it will disappear.
And he went away. The hunter took them and tried one: he laid it on his palm and blew it to a very large oak – and it flew into a thousand shards. As for the hunter, he deposited the two [remaining] bullets in a church. (Slančiauskas 1975:160)

The latest version was finally published in 1979:

The shot devil.
A hunter of hares came to a shelter. A cloud had come, the thunder had begun to scold. He looked under a stone and saw a beast, like a kitten. The thunder struck again under the stone. A little later, the creature came out again and showed her buttocks to the cloud. The hunter's rifle fired, and it collapsed. The hunter looked - the beast did not look like a hare. And it was a little devil. An old man approached him.
— Who shot here? He asked.
He showed himself.
— You've got a good rifle! I shot and shot, but I missed it.
The old man was Perkūnas. He suggested to the hunter:

— Let's exchange our rifles!

He handed the hunter a rifle as long as a finger.

— All you have to do is aim, and you can even touch a bird, even a fish. A raven flies, you aim it - then it will fall. But do not touch the trigger! They made the exchange. The hunter went home. He began to catch rabbits and roes. Three years he lived well, and even better. He had a farm, a wife, children. But then it passed through his mind to try to pull the trigger. He raised the hammer, then he pressed. How great was the thunder! The hunter shuddered. And the old Perkūnas arrived:

— What have you done?

He threw his old rifle to the hunter.

— Here, take it. In fact, you smashed a third of the universe!

And on these words, he snatched his little rifle from his hands.

The hunter went home, looked - all the houses were ransacked.

After that, there was no more thunder for three years. From that moment, old Perkūnas never gave his rifle to others. (Vėlius 1979, Russian trans. 2010: 59-61).

As we can see, these six texts may diverge on details, but on the whole, they are based on the same framework:

Motif	Galicia	Russia	Lithuania 1	Lithuania 2	Lithuania 3	Lithuania 4
Character	A lord	A hunter (strelec)	A hunter (strzelec)	A peasant	A hunter	A hunter
When?	Every Sunday before mass					
He gets lost	X		X			
A storm breaks out	X	X	X	X	X	X
At the water's edge	A river	A lake				
The hunter hides		In bushes	Under a pine tree			
A creature is on a stone	X			X		X (under the stone)
A creature is in a hollow tree			X		X	
Creature type	A great bird	A devil with a human head	A little devil	A black cat	A cat	A cat
Lightning strikes but does not touch the creature		X	X	X	X	X
The hunter uses a special weapon	A blessed bullet		A rifle with a scapular	A silver bullet	A silver bullet	

A voice sounds	X					
A thundering character	Pieron	Saint Elijah	Perkunas	Perkunas	Perkunas?	Perkūnas
Very large	X			X		
Similar to a column/tree	X			X		
A weapon in his hand	A rifle			Arrows		A rifle
Thanks the hunter	X	X	X	X	X	X
Declares to hunt the creature for a long time, with-out success	For 7 years	X	For 15 years		X	X
While threaten-ing him	X					
Says something to the man	Do not hunt on Sundays					
Gives something to the man		A rifle that can hit any-thing that is targeted	A horn of lead and a horn of powder, both inex-haustible		Three bullets that can make anything vanish	A rifle that can hit any-thing that is targeted
The man ac-complishes an impious act		He shoots a church at a bet against a sorcerer				He breaks a taboo about the rifle and destroys a third of the universe
The thundering character picks up the weapon		X			The hunter let the re-maining two bullets into a church	X

This great coherence between the different versions, and the fact that they all concern a thundering character, whether he is pagan (Pieron, Perkūnas) or Christian (Saint Elijah), shows that we are not dealing with a legend type, but with a myth related to the ancient storm god. Although it is more widely held in Lithuania than elsewhere, it is difficult to say whether the Slavs borrowed it from the Balts: it is easier at this stage of the research to talk about a common Balto-Slavic myth.

All these texts show a particularly folklorized topic: the hunter gets a gun, and it is this weapon, or its ammunition that the thundering character can give as a reward for the killing of the demonic creature. In the same way, a holy bullet, or a rifle with a scapular are sometimes mentioned, which are signs of Christianization. However, some evidence shows that the background can be particularly archaic. Thus, in the Russian version, the hunter is designated by a word that was not commonly used in the 19th century: *strelec*, a term used to designate the equivalent of musketeers in the time of Peter the Great,

and which means "archer". This same term is used in the Polish translation of the first Lithuanian tale. This could indicate that the hunter was originally an archer. One of the Lithuanian texts also shows us Perkūnas not with a rifle but with arrows.

In any case, it is possible to propose the reconstruction of the following story: a hunter is lost in the forest and arrives near a river or a lake, where he sees a demonic creature. A storm breaks out, lightning strikes but does not kill the creature. The hunter uses a special weapon (bullet or rifle) to kill the creature. Then the storm god appears and offers the hunter special weapons. The latter, however, performs an impious act, and the storm god takes the weapons back.

COMPARISONS

This reconstructed narrative is based on two major elements: a hunter kills a creature that a god could not reach; for this, he receives, as a reward, fabulous weapons.

The motif of the human hero who helps a god to defeat an otherwise invulnerable adversary is present in many Indo-European mythologies: in Greece, the presence of Heracles is indispensable to the gods to defeat the Giants; in India, Arjuna is the only one capable of helping Indra to beat the Nivātakavaca demons. The meeting of the hero and the god is done most often during a hunt, while the two dispute a prey. The conflict is then resolved when the hero agrees to fight the enemies of the god (Sterckx 2015).

However, in the case of our Balto-Slavic accounts, the enemy of the god and the prey are one, and his killing by the hero is at the origin of the gratitude expressed by the god, who then offers a weapon. Although similar, the respective structures of the two types of motifs are not quite the same.

The motif of the gift of a fabulous weapon by a god to a hero is relatively rare, at least in the Indo-European domain. Heracles receives a cuirass from Hephaestus, a horse from Poseidon, a peplos from Athena, a sword from Hermes, but also and especially bow and arrows, which will become his main weapons (with the club that will be made by himself), from Apollo (Diodorus Siculus, *Library*: II, 4, 11; Apollodorus, *Library*: IV, 14, 3). This same Apollo also gives a bow to Orestes, son of Agamemnon, to enable him to drive out the Erynia who assail him (Euripides, *Orestes*: 268-271). In the Caucasus, in an Ossetian tale, the Nart Soslan receives a sword from Uastyrdži – Saint George (Dumézil 1965: 71-73). In France, God, through the intermediary of an angel and Charlemagne, had given the sword Durandal to Roland (*Chanson de Roland:* CLXXIII). The idea of a weapon given by a god (Ishtar, Adad, Ashur, or Yahweh) to a king seems to be a fairly common idea in the Near East and Mesopotamia (Lang 2002: 54-57), but it is more a way of designating the king as legitimate, than a reward.

It is an unusual motif: when one knows the origin of the weapons of an epic hero, it is generally found that it is those of his father, or more rarely, weapons made by his mother or on her orders (Achilles in Greece – Allen 2010; Chumong in Korea – Lajoye 2016: 51). In India, Arjuna, the hero of the *Mahābhārata*, is a collector of divine weapons: he receives them from Agni, Indra, Śiva and others.

The way in which Arjuna acquires his main weapon, the Gāṇḍīva bow, is the closest thing to the Balto-Slavic texts. This episode is found in Book I of the *Mahābhārata* (I, 214-225). Arjuna is with his coachman Kṛṣṇa in a forest when a famished man, a Brahman, appears before them. This man is the fire god Agni, exhausted and ready to die. To remedy this state, it is necessary to burn the Khāṇḍava forest and all the creatures that are there, including demons, headed by the Nāga king Takṣaka. But Indra, the storm god and friend of Takṣaka, is opposed to this fire, which he extinguishes with rain. Agni then asks Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa for help. They accept, but on one condition: that Agni provides them with exceptional weapons. Agni will give them a marvelous chariot, he will give a disk *(sudarśana cakra)* to Kṛṣṇa, and to Arjuna, the bow Gāṇḍīva, which belonged to Varuṇa, and two quivers. The bow is infallible, and the two quivers are inexhaustible. Thus armed, the two heroes will shoot down any creature that will come out of the forest, while Agni sets it on fire. Seeing this, Indra intervenes and triggers a storm. But Arjuna sends so many arrows to the sky that the rain does not reach the ground. A heavenly voice finally intervenes and orders Indra to stop the fight because destiny predicted that the forest had to burn. Indra accepts and congratulates Arjuna, who then takes advantage of it to ask for a reward, the god's weapons, which will be handed to him later.

The sequel takes place in Book III of the *Mahābhārata* (*cf.* the *Kirātārjunīya*). Arjuna is then in the middle of the forest, giving himself up to asceticism, an asceticism so powerful that the gods decide to put an end to it. Śiva descends on earth, disguised as a hunter, and as he prepares to meet Arjuna, a demon in the form of a wild boar rushes to the hero. The man and the god kill the demon at the same time, but Arjuna disputes the shot of Śiva. Both fight but Arjuna realizes that his opponent, apparently a simple hunter, surpasses him to almost kill him. He then prays to Śiva to give him more strength. The god, satisfied, resumes his true appearance and offers the Pāśupatāstra, an invulnerable weapon, to Arjuna. Then, other gods offer weapons to the hero, and finally, Indra invites him in his paradise to give him his own weapons, as promised previously.

Although divergent in detail, these two stories can be compared with the Balto-Slavic myth reconstructed above:

Balto-Slavic myth	Arjuna and Gāṇḍīva	Arjuna and Pāśupatāstra
A hunter gets lost in a forest	Arjuna and Kṛṣṇa isolate themselves in a forest	Arjuna isolates himself on a mountain
	Agni asks Arjuna to burn the forest, filled with creatures and demons	
	Agni tried several times to burn the forest, without success	
	Agni gives Arjuna an infallible bow and two inexhaustible quivers	
A demonic creature appears	Animals and demons flee the forest	A boar-shaped demon appears

A storm breaks out	Indra launches a storm on the forest	
Lightning strikes the creature without success		
The hunter decides to shoot the creature	Arjuna starts killing animals and demons	Arjuna shoots the demon
The hunter kills the creature	Arjuna kills almost all demons	Arjuna kills the demon
		Śiva disguised as a hunter appears and reproaches Arjuna for having killed his prey
		Arjuna engages in fight against Śiva
		Arjuna fails to defeat Śiva
		Arjuna prays Śiva
A thundering character thanks the hunter	Agni thanks the hero	Śiva is satisfied with Arjuna
		Śiva gives Arjuna an infallible weapon. Other gods do the same.
The thundering character gives the hunter an infallible gun / inexhaustible horns of powders and lead	Indra promises to give his weapons to Arjuna	Indra gives his weapons to Arjuna

In all three accounts, we find a common framework, based on common motifs, which can, however, take place at different times. For example, the motif of a fight, in which the supposedly most powerful character fails, moves. Similarly, in the episode of the burning of the Khāṇḍava forest, Arjuna is dealing with two gods, not one. However, the result is the same in all three cases: the hero has accomplished something that a god could not do, something that requires the death of animal-shaped demons and, in reward, he receives fabulous weapons. In the Balto-Slavic texts, however, the hero is forced to return the weapon to the god after performing an impious act, while in the *Mahābhārata* Arjuna returns Gāṇḍīva to Varuṇa not after an impious act but after winning the battle of Kurukṣetra. In one case only, the Lithuanian hunter chooses to deposit his two remaining bullets in a church.

It is evidently very improbable that this type of narrative was borrowed by the Balto-Slavs from India, or by the Indians from the Balto-Slavs. It is, therefore, a common heritage, the traces of which may also be found in Greece, in the manner in which Thetis obtains from Hephaistos a fabulous weapon, a cuirass, for his son Achilles, who thus victoriously combats the Trojans and the river Scamander (Allen 2010). However, several elements diverge in the Greek narrative: it is not the hero who helps the god, but the reverse, and Hephaistos, a god certainly linked to fire, intervenes only at the request of Thetis, as a help. In the Indian and Balto-Slavic texts, the weapon is returned to its divine owner, which is not the case with the armour of Achilles. Finally, the idea that the hero or hunter is isolated in the forest is missing: the Greek episode takes place in an epic with multiple protagonists.

CONCLUSION

A hero finds himself isolated in the forest. He fights and kills at least one animal-shaped demonic creature, which a god could not defeat. As a token of gratitude, the god gives the hero fabulous weapons. This fairly simple framework is found in Lithuania, Poland, Russia, India and possibly Greece. In the Baltic and Slavic versions, it is associated with the storm god. In India, this story is at the heart of a vast epic. It is a key episode of the *Mahābhārata,* a text that details the foundation of Brahminical theological thought. Among the Balts and Slavs, it is no more than a simple legend whose religious meaning has become obscure. But we can now postulate that it could also be a fragment of a now lost mythological epic.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LE DIEU DE L'ORAGE ET LE CHASSEUR: UN FRAGMENT D'UNE ANCIENNE ÉPOPÉE

PATRICE LAJOYE

◇◇◇

Des légendes lituaniennes, polonaise et russe présentent une trame qui peut se résumer de la même manière : un chasseur découvre une créature fabuleuse, qu'il tue. Un personnage tonnant (Perkūnas en Lituanie, Pieron en Pologne ou saint Élie en Russie), intervient alors et remercie le chasseur d'avoir pu tuer cette créature alors que lui n'y parvenait pas. En réconpense, le personnage tonnant offre une arme fabuleuse au chasseur. Cette trame se retrouve avec précision dans le *Mahābhārata,* quand le héros Arjuna, seconde par Kṛṣṇa, vient en aide au dieu Agni pour tuer toutes les créatures d'une forêt, recevant pour cela des armes fabuleuses. Du fait que ce récit n'a vraisemblablement pas été emprunté par les Balto-Slaves aux Indiens, on peut en déduire qu'il s'agit d'un fragment de mythologie épique, conservé de façon dégradée dans des légendes.

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Городище у с. Кара-Якупово в Башкирии – новый объект сакрализации археологического памятника

Айнур И. Тузбеков

In this paper, the author, with the example of the Kara-Yakupovo settlement, considers the process of the formation of new sacred spaces around archaeological heritage sites in the Southern Urals. In achieving this goal, the author has used his field research results, analyzed the scientific literature and various groups in social networks. Using the obtained data, the author has traced the process of formation of sacred visualizations about the site, established the main initiators and participants of the sacralization process, as well as developed the negative consequences of this phenomenon. As a result of the conducted studies, the author has revealed one of the models of sacralization of fortified settlements (hillforts) in the early Iron Age and the Middle Ages in the Cisurals.

KEYWORDS: South Ural, sacralization, archaeological sites, New Age Religions

ВВЕДЕНИЕ

В ходе реализации проекта «Археологические памятники Южного Урала как объекты сакрализации» начиная с 2013 года сотрудниками Института этнологических исследований им. Р.Г. Кузеева Уфимского научного центра РАН в ходе археологических экспедиций осмотрено несколько десятков археологических памятников имеющих признаки сакрализации. Выражается это в виде проведения всевозможных ритуалов, повязывании ленточек, платков, подношении монет и иных символов. Подобное выделение объекта происходит как приверженцами новых религиозных движений, так и представителями, исповедующими традиционные религии. Из года в год на Южном Урале наблюдается рост количества памятников, привлекающих небольшие группы паломников или людей, желающих обрести «силу» (Ахатов, Бахшиев, Тузбеков, 2016: 33-42; Тузбеков 2015: 103-107). В итоге, информация о памятниках, известная прежде лишь археологам, придается широкой огласке, далее они становятся «брендом», который можно использовать как для привлечения туристов, так и для включения в структуру религиозных воззрений. Исследователи не раз обращались к данной тематике. Так, в работах А.Г. Селезнева рассматриваются вопросы ассоциированности большей части новых сакральных комплексов с яркими, получившими

широкий резонанс в общественном дискурсе археологическими памятниками, на основе которых строится мифология истории, новые идеологии и обрядовая практика (Селезнев 2013: 111-119; Селезнев, Селезнева, 2017: 135-143). А.Б. Юнусова по результатам исследования объектов поклонения мусульман на территории Республики Башкортостан делает вывод о том, что обращение к архаичным пластам религиозной культуры в настоящее время отражает неустойчивость верующих, легко попадающих под влияние спекулирующих на религиозных чувствах различного рода миссионеров (Юнусова 2015: 106-115). В.М. Андреев исследует значение археологического памятника, рассматриваемого в качестве феномена культуры, интерпретируемого человеком не только в рамках научных и музейных практик, но и в ракурсах духовных, мировоззренческих и идентификационных поисков (Андреев 2014: 21-37). С.Ю. Каменский, рассматривая вопросы актуализации археологического наследия в настоящее время, указывает на приоритет в коммеморативной его интерпретации национального или этнического фактора. По его мнению, любая этнонационалистическая модель строится на утверждении о необычайной древности (если не исконности) своей этнической культуры и языка, а также об исконности занимаемой ныне территории. В этом плане особая ценность придается археологическим памятникам в контексте формирования современных этногенетических мифов (Каменский 2009: 17). Н.А. Белолипецкая рассматривает посетителей музейного комплекса поселения Аркаим с точки зрения их представлений и выделяет категорию людей, приезжающих на археологический памятник в качестве паломников. В общих чертах в работе охарактеризованы их представления и описаны проводимые обряды. Увеличение числа таких туристов автор объясняет дезориентацией современного российского общества, направленного на простоту и доступность восприятия, стремящегося скрыться от повседневности в поисках «духовных» истин (Белолипецкая 2010: 69-77). В.Е. Силина в своих работах рассматривает проблемы современного мифотворчества и сакрализации археологических памятников представителями нетрадиционных религиозных объединений. В результате проведенных исследований она на конкретных примерах выявляет причины развития мифов в так называемых «местах силы» (Силина 2014: 211-223; Силина 2015: 433-437).

В рамках разрабатываемой проблемы наиболее значимые аспекты затронуты в работе В.А. Шнирельмана. Развивая идею, выдвинутую Б. Бендером о том, что историческое наследие – это культурный продукт, предполагающий различные подходы, оценки и провоцирующий напряженный диалог, В.А. Шнирельман считает, что далеко не все остатки прошлого воспринимаются как историческое наследие. Чтобы считаться таковым, памятник прошлого должен обладать некоторыми особенностями и пройти определенный отбор. Тем самым оказывается, что историческое наследие не столько обнаруживается, сколько конструируется (Шнирельман 2015 а: 54). Поэтому перед современными исследователями возникают вопросы о том, кто именно ведет этот отбор, что отбирается, по каким критериям и с какими целями.

В данной работе на основе проведенных исследований выявлена одна из моделей сакрализации укрепленных поселений (городищ) эпох раннего железного века и средневековья в Приуралье.

Для достижения поставленных целей необходимо было:
1. проследить процесс формирования сакральных представлений о памятнике;
2. установить инициаторов / по возможности участников процесса сакрализации;
3. определить негативные последствия сакрализации памятников археологии

ХОД ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ

В полевой сезон 2016 г. в ходе работ по исследованию укрепленных поселений раннего средневековья на территории Урало-Поволжья, именуемых населением Город-гора (Калатау, Каргурезь, Ола-Курук, Хула ту, Ош-Пандо и т.д.) (Тузбеков 2017: 121-129), был осмотрен ряд археологических памятников, которые привлекают внимание как эзотериков, так и представителей различных религиозных групп. Одним из таких объектов является Кара-Якуповское городище.

Памятник находится на окраине д. Кара-Якупово (в 50 км к юго-западу от г.Уфы) Чишминского района Республики Башкортостан, на коренной террасе правого берега р.Дема. Кара-Якуповское городище – это эпонимный памятник караякуповской культуры, относится к периоду раннего средневековья и датируется VIII-IX вв. Одно из первых упоминаний о памятнике содержится в статье Г.Вахрушева (Вахрушев 1926: 45). В 1962 и 1967 гг. экспедицией Башгосуниверситета под руководством Г.И. Матвеевой на городище были проведены масштабные раскопки общей площадью 568 кв.м. Фортификация городища представлена 2 земляными валами (ширина 4 м, высотой 1 м) и рвами. Внутренний вал сооружён на каменном основании, с внешней стороны укреплён камнем, сверху – частоколом, стены внешнего рва укреплены плетнём. Население занималось скотоводством, земледелием, рыболовством, косторезным делом (Матвеева 1975: 13-22). Этническая принадлежность носителей кушнаренковской и караякуповской культур долгое время вызывала споры среди исследователей приуральских древностей. В. Ф. Генинг считал их самодийскими, Г. И. Матвеева и В. А. Могильников - угорскими, Н. А. Мажитов придерживался мнения об их тюркской (древне башкирской) принадлежности. В результате проведенных исследований на Больше-Тиганском могильнике относящемуся к кругу караякуповских памятников, Е.А. Халикова обнаружила очень много общих черт с обрядом древневенгерских могильников «периода обретения венграми родины на Дунае» (конец IX-X в.) (Фодор 2015: 109-110). К началу 80-х г в археологической литературе утверждается точка зрения, стержневым моментом которой является признание угро-мадьярской принадлежности археологических памятников кушнаренковского и караякуповского типов, к которой склоняются в своих исследованиях В.А. Могильников, Р.Г. Кузеев, В.В. Седов и В.А. Иванов (Иванов 1999: 16).

В ходе проведенного опроса жителей д.Кара-Якупово на предмет осведомленности об археологическом памятнике установлено, что все они знают о местонахождении городища и именуют его Калатау (город-гора). По их мнению, городище принадлежало предкам башкир, населявшим данную территорию в период средневековья,

которые в последующем и основали д.Кара-Якупово. Местные жители рассказали, что городище посещают небольшие группы людей, проводящие на нем некие действия ритуального характера.

Таким образом, городище известно местным жителям, они не раз бывали на памятнике, интересовались результатами раскопок, а также хранят память об особенности данного места. Наименование городищ топонимом Город-гора обусловлено потребностью населения в ориентации в пространстве и в маркировании территории, прилегающей к населенному пункту, и является традицией, широко распространенной не только среди народов Башкортостана, но и в целом в Урало-Поволжье (Тузбеков 2017: 128).

Упоминание местных жителей о неких ритуальных действиях, проводимых посторонними людьми на площадке городища, обусловило необходимость более детального исследования. Для этого был проведен анализ ряда сообществ в наиболее популярной в России социальной сети ВКонтакте, члены которых регулярно организуют туры из Уфы на укрепленное поселение Аркаим, горы Нарыс-Тау, Ауш-Тау и др.

Одним из привлекших наше внимание стало сообществ «Путешествие по уникальным местам Башкирии». Администратор группы (Ю.Ф. 1955 г.р.) рассказала, что является организатором путешествий по уникальным местам Башкирии с посещением Святых мест, христианских и мусульманских святых источников (https://vk.com/club18943725 (дата обращения 22.10.2017)). По ее мнению Кара-Якуповское городище является одним из «мест силы». Места силы — это территории для проведения различных телесных и духовных практик, медитаций, тренингов, семинаров (Силина 2014: 211-223). Информатор считает, что особенность данного места заключается в его нахождении на возвышенности и наличии поблизости горы родника. Подобными местами на территории Башкортостана, по ее мнению, являются горы Нарыс-Тау и Ауш-Тау (Полевые материалы автора (ПМА) 06.2017 (блокнот№2), которые обследованы нами ранее в ходе экспедиционных выездов в 2013-2015 гг. (Ахатов, Бахшиев, Тузбеков, 2016: 33-42).

Следующая группа «Уфимский клуб Аркаим». Администратор группы (Н.В. (интервьюируемый дату рождения не указал) является организатором Школы Уфимской медитации, сайта Аркаина Тур (http://arkaina-tur.ru (дата обращения 22.10.2017). Он практически еженедельно организует путешествия на городища Аркаим, Кара-Якуповское, Айбашевское, гору Нарыс-Тау и др. По его мнению, Южный Урал (Уфимский край) является прародиной человечества, с которой был связан Аркаим и другие городища. На этой территории проживали «святые люди» (аулия), которые в последующем были захоронены на вершинах гор. Он считает, что именно на территории Южного Урала явилась Богородица и возникла Библия. В ходе интервью Н.В. также рассказал, что отличительными признаками сакрального городища являются:

1. особый рельеф местности (гора в виде кургана, отдельно стоящая шишкообразная гора);
2. наличие родника вблизи городища;
3. наличие в составе породы горы известняка.

Наличие вышеперечисленных признаков позволило ему сделать вывод о том, что Кара-Якуповское городище является неким сакральным объектом. Он считает, что памятник является местом захоронения «святых людей» (аулия) над которыми был построен мавзолей (городище).

Данные о местоположении городищ Н.В. получает в ходе бесед с краеведами, ознакомления с научной литературой и отчетной документацией, хранящейся в фондах Научного архива Уфимского научного центра РАН. Выехав на место, Н.В. осматривает его и исходя из своих метафизических ощущений, относит памятник к сакральному месту или же рядовому объекту.

По его словам, в ходе посещения памятников археологии их целостность не нарушается, сбор подъемного материала не производится. Он считает, что раскопки и въезд тяжелой техники нарушают святость места (ПМА 06.2017 (блокнот№2).

Одной из задач исследования было определение состава участников процесса сакрализации памятника. Для этого принято решение более тщательно проанализировать вышеупомянутые группы.

С помощью ресурса media-vk.ru - сервис позволяющий выполнить анализ любого сообщества социальной сети ВКонтакте, узнать информацию о подписчиках, чем они интересуются, на какие группы они подписаны - было проанализировано сообщество «Путешествие по уникальным местам Башкирии» (https://vk.com/club18943725 (дата обращения 22.10.2017). В результате установлено, что в сообщество, на момент проведения анализа (21.06.2017 г.) входили 153 участников. Из них:

1. Половой состав: 90,2% женщины, 9,8% мужчины.
2. Возрастной состав: 1,3% в возрасте 21 года, 5,9% от 29 до 31 года, 91,5% возраст не указали.
3. Место проживания: 74,5% проживают в г.Уфа, 2,6% в Москве, 3,9% в городах Нефтекамск, Октябрьский и Салават, 19% место проживания не указали.
4. Семейное положение: 1,3% влюблены, 5,2% не женаты/не замужем, 7,8% женаты/замужем, 85,7% семейное положение не указали.
5. Текущая деятельность участников: 46,4% не указали, 40,5% студенты, 13,1% работают.
6. Наиболее популярные сообщества в социальных сетях, в которых состоят участники группы: 1) «Новости Уфы и Республики Башкортостан» (47 чел); 2) «Лучшие стихи великих поэтов | Литература» (31 чел.); 3) «Шедевры кулинарии» (31 чел.); 4) «Идеи дизайна интерьера» (30 чел.); 5) «Эзотерика» (30 чел.); 6) «Психология отношений» (28 чел.); 7) «Шедевры рукоделия» (28 чел.); 8) «Интересная Уфа | афиша и новости» (27 чел.); 9) «Идеи вашего дома» (26 чел.); 10) «YUMMY - лучшие рецепты» (26 чел.).

Таким образом, подавляющее большинство участников группы девушки и женщины среднего возраста, проживающие в Республике Башкортостан, интересующиеся поэзией, эзотерикой и ведением домашнего хозяйства (рукоделие, интерьер, кулинария).

В результате анализа группы «Уфимский клуб Аркаим» установлено, что на момент проведения исследования (21.06.2017 г.) в нее входили 248 активных участников. Из них:

1. Половой состав: 83,9% женщины, 16,1% мужчины.
2. Возрастной состав: 4,8% в возрасте от 27 до 30 лет, 2% - 45 лет, 2% - 64 года, 91,1% возраст не указали.
3. Место проживания: 64,9% в г.Уфа, 3,2% в Санкт-Петербурге, 2,4% в г. Москве, 2% в Стерлитамаке, 2% в Набережных Челнах, 25,4% не указали.
4. Семейное положение:4,8% не женаты/не замужем, 14,1% женаты/замужем, 81% не указали.
5. Текущая деятельность участников: 38,3% не указали, 42,7% студенты, 19% работают.
6. Наиболее популярные сообщества в социальных сетях, в которых состоят участники группы: 1) «Эзотерика» (71 чел); 2) *Новости Уфы и Республики Башкортостан*» (67 чел.); 3) «Идеи дизайна интерьера» (61 чел.); 4) «Я хочу...» (60 чел.); 5) «Предназначение быть Женщиной / valyaeva.ru» (54 чел.); 6) «Законы Счастливой жизни Торсунов О.Г.» (53 чел.); 7) «Идеи для творчества и подарков своими руками» (49 чел.); 8) «Романтика и декор своими руками» (49 чел.); 9) «Вдохновение.» (48 чел.); 10) «Школа ремонта» (47 чел.).

По сравнению с группой «Путешествие по уникальным местам Башкирии» в сообществе «Уфимский клуб Аркаим» несколько больше количество мужчин 16%, но большинство, составляют девушки и женщины среднего возраста, проживающие в городах Республики Башкортостан, интересующиеся эзотерикой и ведением домашнего хозяйства.

Преобладание в исследованных нами Интернет сообществах женщин, скорее всего, связанно с их высокой религиозностью, ввиду особого психоэмоционального и физиологического состояния (Рязанова, Михалева, 2011: 24) По мнению российских исследователей, женщины гораздо чаще, нежели мужчины, посещают церкви, состоят в так называемых сектантских общинах и подвержены суевериям – вере в знахарство, гадание, ворожбу, приметы, судьбу, пророческие сны, дурной сглаз и т.п. (Рязанова, Михалева, 2011: 36).

Схожесть состава участников и интересов (участие в одинаковых сообществах), выявленная в ходе анализа групп предопределила проведение анализа на предмет пересечения аудиторий.

С помощью ресурса publer.pro установлено, что 70 человек состоят в обеих группах, что в процентном соотношении составляет 23,3% аудитории группы «Уфимский клуб Аркаим» и 35% группы «Путешествие по уникальным местам Башкирии».

Подвергнутые анализу группы в социальных сетях являются лишь небольшими сообществами, предлагающими путешествия по уникальным местам Южного Урала с посещением «мест силы». Если ранее организуемые туры ограничивались лишь широко известными объектами, такими как поселение Аркаим, гора Нарыс-Тау и др., то в последующие годы наблюдается тенденция вовлечения в «сакральную сферу» новых археологических объектов. Этот процесс имеет ряд негативных моментов, в первую очередь связанных с нарушением целостности археологического памятника. В.А. Шнирельман отмечает, что «место силы» недолго сохраняет свою

первозданную чистоту. Со временем новые верующие начинают его обживать, устраивая там самые разнообразные ритуальные сооружения - от очагов-жертвенников и выложенных из камней знаков до деревянных идолов и даже ритуальных площадок, обнесенных рвами и валами (Шнирельман 2015 б: 84). В 2013-2016 гг. на ряде объектов археологического наследия нами также были зафиксированы нарушения целостности курганов, связанные с попытками восстановления каменных выкладок или насыпей, сооружением у объектов небольших обо из камня, высотой от 0,3–0,5 м, ориентирующих комплекс на Каабу, несанкционированных установок памятников, оград и даже строительство мечети (Тузбеков, Бахшиев, 2013: 101; Тузбеков, Бахшиев, 2015: 103-107; https://vk.com/naukaiputeshestviya?w=wall-145781898_75%2Fall (22.01.2018.). Порой представители новых религиозных движений не ограничиваются преобразованиями «мест силы», а готовы кардинально их перестроить. Так, например, на Кромлехе Ахуново (д. Ахуново, Учалинский район, Республика Башкортостан) в ночь на 24 октября 2010 г. неизвестными были разрушены 5 менгиров. Их фрагменты были выложены в виде перевернутого креста, в месте пересечения линий которого был расположен центральный менгир №1. В условном центре площадки памятника была начерчена пентаграмма, на концах пяти ее лучей располагались окружности. На некоторых фрагментах разрушенных менгиров фиксировались следы крови, что является, возможно, свидетельством жертвоприношений (Бахшиев, Рафикова, Бахшиева, 2010: 14).

ВЫВОДЫ

1. На примере Кара-Якуповского городища показана одна из моделей сакрализации археологического памятника поселенческого типа в Приуралье в настоящее время. Процесс построения модели состоит из нескольких этапов:
   а. на основе субъективных ощущений инициатором процесса выбирается археологический памятник
   б. создается «легенда», частично основанная на научных данных об объекте или информации полученной от краеведов и предлагается участникам сообщества.
   в. участники сообщества, объединенные вокруг харизматичного лидера, тиражируют полученную информацию, в результате чего появляется новый сакральный объект
2. Проведенный анализ сообществ в сети Интернет позволил установить, что большинство участников процесса сакрализации будучи городскими жителями являются носителями диффузной религиозности (Chipriani 1988: 28-29) или «бедной веры» (Эпштейн 2013: 28), имеют эклектический набор объектов веры, среди которых могут быть одновременно и единый христианский/мусульманский Бог/Аллах, и Заратуштра, и арии, и прочие.
3. Отсутствие научных данных о памятниках археологии и сведений о проводимых учеными исследованиях, широко освещаемых в медиапространстве,

приводит к тому, что среди населения, распространяются заведомо ложная и необъективная информация. На основе подобных данных рядом с археологическими объектами создаются новые паломнические маршруты и целые комплексы поклонения (обустроенные родники, культовые здания и сооружения).

4. Включение новых, не исследованных в полной мере археологических объектов в сферу интересов представителей новых религиозных движений и последующая их популяризация ведет к дополнительным антропогенным нагрузкам на памятники, что зачастую выражается в значительном преобразовании как самого памятника, так и его окружения, а в крайних случаях может привести к его полному разрушению.

Стихийное увеличение «сакральных объектов» и включение в их состав археологических памятников, связано как с возникшими глобальными проблемами современности, так и с продолжающимися в нашей стране кризисными явлениями в экономической и социально-духовной сферах. Проведенные в 2013-2017 гг. исследования на территории Южного Урала (Тузбеков, Бахшиев, 2014: 142-147; Тузбеков, Бахшиев, 2015: 103-107; Ахатов, Бахшиев, Тузбеков, 2016: 33-42) показали крайнюю неравномерность распределения «святых мест» (большинство сконцентрировано в Башкирском Зауралье), что свидетельствует о существовании связи между возникновением новых сакральных объектов с социально-экономическим положением и этнической самоидентификацией населения. Люди, которые не получают ответы на злободневные вопросы повседневной жизни в традиционных религиях, пытаются найти их в архаичных пластах религиозной культуры (Юнусова 2015: 114), или же в новых религиозных движениях.

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THE SITE OF AN ANCIENT SETTLEMENT NEAR KARA-YAKUPOVO VILLAGE IN BASHKIRIA AS A NEW OBJECT OF THE SACRALIZATION OF AN ARCHEOLOGICAL SITE

AINUR I. TUZBEKOV

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Started in 2013, work on the project "Archaeological sites of the Southern Urals as objects of sacralization" allowed the staff of the R.G. Kuzeev Institute for Ethnological Studies, Ufa Scientific Center of the Russian Academy of Sciences, to identify several dozen archaeological sites bearing some sacralization signs. This is often expressed in the form of carrying out all sorts of rituals, tying ribbons, scarves, and offering coins and other symbols. From one year to the next, an increase in the number of such facilities is recorded in the Southern Urals. Information about the monuments, initially known only to archaeologists, is given wide publicity, then it becomes a "brand" used by adherents of new religious movements, as well as by representatives of traditional religions. Studies conducted in 2013-2016 have made it possible to establish the extreme uneven distribution of "holy places" within the region and to identify some sacral loci that formed mainly around individual burial mounds and burial cemeteries. In the last two years, the process of the sacralization of fortified settlements has been recorded by scientists, which encouraged studying these processes in more detail. In this paper, as in the case of the Kara-Yakup settlement, the epic monument of Karayakup culture, the process of the formation of new sacral spaces around the settlement sites in the Southern Urals is examined. The studies we conducted (field studies, analysis of scientific literature and groups in social networks, etc.) made it possible to trace the process of the formation of sacred ideas about a site, identify the main initiators and participants in the process, and also determine the negative consequences of this phenomenon, which in turn allowed us to single out one of the models of sacralization of the fortifications of the epochs of the early Iron Age and the Middle Ages in the Southern Urals.

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Этимология карпатскоукраинского мифонима *Чугайстер*

—— Максим А. Ююкин ——

The author suggests a new etymology for the mythonym *Čugaĭster* known in the folklore of the Carpathian Ukrainians.

KEYWORDS: *Čugaĭster*, Ukrainian language, Carpathian dialects, etymology, mythonym, compound name

В суеверных представлениях карпатских украинцев встречается персонаж по имени *Чугайстер*, род. *-стра* (варианты – *Чугайстир(ь)*, *Чугайстрин*, *Очугайстер*, *Чугай*; в разных говорах называется также *лісовий чоловік*, *лісовий дід* и просто *дід*, *гай*, *ночник*, *дідько*), не известный другим славянам. В публикациях фольклорных текстов и научной литературе это название пишется то с большой, то с маленькой буквы; таким образом, его лингвистический статус (принадлежность к апеллятивному или проприальному слою лексики) не вполне ясен. Мы будем рассматривать *Чугайстер* как имя собственное.

Согласно большинству представлений, *Чугайстер* – бродящий по лесу голый, густо обросший волосами (или носящий белую одежду) старик огромного роста ("високий, як смерека"), иногда одноногий, которому никто и ничто не способно навредить. Некогда он был обычным человеком, но, проклятый своим соседом за причиненный тому вред, обречен на вечные скитания. *Чугайстер* охотится на опасных для людей женских духов — мавок — и поедает их. У него весёлый нрав, он любит танцевать и петь. Для человека не опасен. Иногда *Чугайстра* представляли в виде ветра, вихря. Основные черты образа *Чугайстра* совпадают с представлениями о лешем, повсеместно распространенными на восточнославянской территории и отличающимися сравнительной однородностью; дальнейшие параллели – сербский *лесник* и др. (см.: Жайворонок 2006: 645; Хобзей 2002: 189–191; Шалак 2002: 170–172; Токарев 2012: 79–83 (без упоминания образа *Чугайстра*); Кулишић et al. 1970: 207).

Надежная этимология мифонима отсутствует. Его сравнивали со слав. **čuga* 'засада, стража', укр. диал. *чуги* 'сторожевые казацкие башни', *чуга* 'карпатская национальная верхняя одежда', *чугило* 'естественная проточина в камне', *чуга*

'пугало, трус' и *гайстр* 'аист', однако все эти сопоставления не соотносятся с известными чертами образа *Чугайстра* и содержанием посвященных ему быличек. Пожалуй, только сравнение с *čiga* 'засада, стража' можно было бы связать с засадами, которые *Чугайстер* устраивает на мавок, однако вторая часть при этом объяснении остается неясной; кроме того, это значение не засвидетельствовано у данного слова в западноукраинских говорах (см. ниже).

На наш взгляд, наиболее вероятно рассматривать название *Чугайстер* как сложение, принадлежащее к императивному типу, хорошо известному в славянской ономастике – как антропонимии, так и топонимии, а также (что наиболее близко к предмету нашего рассмотрения) теонимии, ср. др.-русск. *Дажьбогъ* и, возможно, *Стрибогъ* (согласно некоторым этимологиям). Первая часть представляет собой форму повелительного наклонения глагола *čugati* (с тем же корнем, что и упомянутое *čiga*): чеш. *číhati* 'подстерегать, поджидать, пристально смотреть, нетерпеливо ждать; виднеться, торчать', *čouhati* 'торчать, выдаваться; глазеть', диал. *čúhat* 'подглядывать (например через замочную скважину), глазеть', *čuhat* 'красоваться', *čóhat* 'поджидать; глазеть, тупо смотреть; выдаваться, выглядывать', *čúhat* 'то же', *číhat'* 'тянуться за чем-либо', слвц. *čúhat'* 'выглядывать' в его исходном значении 'виднеться, торчать, выдаваться', сохранившемся (причем в качестве единственного) и в западноукраинских диалектах, ср. полес. *чуга* 'гора без растительности', гуцул. *чуга* 'вышка (топографический знак)' (ЭССЯ 1974–: 4 130; Негрич 2008: 184); таким образом, эта основа характеризует наиболее яркую отличительную черту внешнего облика *Чугайстра* – его великанский рост.

Вторую часть слова мы понимаем как усеченную форму слав. *stryjь* 'дядя по отцу': др.-русск. *стрыи*, *стръи*, русск. *строй* 'дядя по отцу', диал. 'калека, нищий', ст.-укр. **стриико*, укр. диал. *стрий*, *стрийко*, *стрик*, [ст.-]блр.[, диал.] *стрый*, серб.-цслав. *стрыи*, болг. *стрика*, *стрико*, с.-хорв. *стрико*, *стрûц*, словен. *stríc*, чеш. *strýc* 'дядя, кузен', слвц. *strýc* 'дядя', польск. *stryj*, в.-луж. *tryk* 'брат отца' (Фасмер 1996: III 78; СС-УМ 1978: II 394; СУМ 1978: 9 769), что является типичным для славянских языков табуистическим наименованием, ср. по отношению к тому же объекту одушевления польск. диал. *stryj* 'лес', а также 'печь (в языке варшавских печников)', в семантическом отношении – укр. диал. (гуцул.) *вуйко* 'медведь' (уменьш. от *вуй* (прсл. *ujь*) 'дядя по матери'), русск. диал. (симб.) *дядины ребята* 'по суеверным представлениям – духи, живущие в бане', (калуж.) *дядюхна* 'лихорадка'; ср. также блр. *Цёця* (*Цюця*), персонификация лета (SGP 1907: V 248; СУЯ 1958: I 259; СРНГ 1965–: 8 306; Зайкоўскі, Санько 2004: 541). Семантике второй части не противоречит и наименование *Чугайстра* в некоторых говорах *дід*, *лісовий дід*, если принять во внимание диалектное употребление этой лексемы в значении 'дядя': ст.-укр. *дѣдъ* 'дядя (по отцу или по матери)', 1495 г., укр. диал. (лемк.) *дід*, *дыідо* 'муж тетки', польск. *dziadko* 'дядя (по отцу или по матери)'. Начиная с XIV в. слово *стрыи* утрачивалось в древнерусском языке, сохранившись лишь в части юго-западных говоров украинского языка (СС-УМ 1978: I 337; Трубачев 2008: 111–113; SP 1974–1995: III 114n). Неустойчивость гласного последнего слога в *Чугайстер*, *-стра*, *Чугайстир(ь)* позволяет допустить его вторичное, эпентетическое

происхождение, ср. аналогично ст.-блр. *Сильвестер* (в Литве), болг. *Силвестер* (Бірыла 1966: 148; Илчев 1969: 449) и под.

Мифоним *Чугайстер* соотносится с древней антропонимической моделью сложных имен с императивной формой глагола в первой части и основой *-stryj* – во второй, представленной в древнепольском языке, как бы копирует ее, что, вкупе с лексико-семантической архаичностью его первой части (глагол *čugati* в карпатских говорах не засвидетельствован, тогда как слово *стрий*, также архаичное для литературного языка, представлено (см., например, Піпаш, Галас 2005: 184)), свидетельствует о его раннем происхождении, вопреки высказывавшемуся мнению, что возникновение этого имени связано с миграционными процессами XVII–XVIII вв. (см.: Кобилянський 1980: 45): ср. *Lelistryj*, 1065 г. : прсл. *lelěti*, *lelějati* 'качать[, *перен.* лелеять]'; *Sulistryj*, 1136 г. (ср. также *Sulistryjewice*, *Sulistryjewo*, не существующее ныне село в южной части древнего Мазовецкого воеводства, известное с 1408 г.) : прсл. *suliti* 'сулить, обещать'; *Zdzistryj*, 1312 г. : прсл. *jьzděti* 'установить; сделать, совершить'; *Želistryj*, 1136 г. и позднее : прсл. *želati*, *želěti* 'желать' (SSNO 1965–1972: III 240, V 253, VI 309, 362; Bijak 2001: 199; SEM 2000: 143, 295, 367, 374).

Из засвидетельствованных (в т. ч. лишь в топонимии) форм этих имен виден регулярный характер такого усечения лексемы *stryjь*, выступающей во второй части сложений: *Sulistrowa*, село в Кросненском повете, *Sulistrowice*, село в бывшем Венавском уезде Радомской губернии; *Želistrzewo*, село в Западной Пруссии (Вейгровский повет); нередко встречается и бо́льшая степень усечения: *Dalesta*, 1280 г. < *Dalestryj*, 1204 г.; *Domast*, 1244 г. < *Domastryj*, 1393 г., или *Domastoj*, 1443 г.; *Sulist*, XV-XVI вв.; *Zdzistek* (*Zdzistko*), 1334 г. (SG 1890: XI 573; Kętrzyński 1879: 47; SSNO 1965–1972: I 452, 506, V 253, VI 309). Частичное усечение постпозитивного компонента вообще является одним из основных способов образования гипокористических форм двучленных имен в славянских языках: так, М. О. Демчук (1988: 55) приводит староукраинские антропонимы *Сулимъ* < *Сулимиръ*, *Радивъ* < *Радивой*, *Радобъ* < *Радобудъ* и др.

В фольклоре этот мифоним находит структурную параллель, например, в (*По*)*катигорошек*, персонаж общей для всех восточных славян одноименной сказки (укр. *Котигорошко*, блр. *Кацігарошак*, *Пакацігарошак*, *Кацігарошынка*) (Народные русские сказки 1984: I 205–214; Семиліточка 1990: 23–30; Беларуская… 2003: 208–224).

Для стратиграфии мифонима *Чугайстер* существенным является также то обстоятельство, что лишь в древней ономастике мы встречаем императивные сложения с постпозитивным компонентом, обозначающим субъекта действия, названного в первой части (упомянутый выше теоним *Дажьбогъ*, топонимический тип *Zvьnigordъ* (др.-русск. *Звенигородъ* (неоднократно), польск. *Żmigród* (В. Ташицкий), с.-хорв. *Звониград* (Р. Цетт) (Taszycki 1947; Zett 1976)) и др.), тогда как хронологически более поздний слой ономастической лексики, каким являются фамилии, знает только объектные конструкции такого типа, ср. староукраинские закарпатские фамилии *Варивода*, *Глоджишкура*, *Ломихаща*, *Скорчинога*, *Трясихвуст* (Чучка 2005: XXVII).

Впрочем, формально возможно также объяснять первую часть мифонима как существительное с суффиксом *-jь – вариантом суффикса *-ějь/*-ajь для имен от глаголов с основой на -а. В этом случае она находит соответствие в *Заплетай Заплетаич*, персонаж русской сказки “Иван Туртыгин” (Библиотека… 1988: 301).

Еще одна вероятная словообразовательная параллель (также допускающая двоякую интерпретацию первой части) – др.-русск. *Китай-городъ*, название одного из районов Москвы, которое представляется целесообразным связывать с прсл. *kytati (?): в.-луж. *kitać* ‘защищать, укрывать’ (ср.: “Название Китай-город появилось в 1535 г., когда в целях обороны Великого посада его начали обносить хорошо укрепленной стеной” (Смолицкая, Горбаневский 1982: 17)), блр. диал. *кытаць* ‘выкачивать мед из сот’ (ЭССЯ 1974–: 13 280); ср. также укр. *Китайгород*, село в Каменец-Подольском районе Хмельницкой области, известное с 1607 г. (Історія… 1971: 360).

Таким образом, наша этимология может быть обоснована как с точки зрения соответствия называемой реалии, так и в языковом отношении, поскольку обнаруживает в славянских языках многочисленные параллели, относящиеся к разным уровням языка – фонетическому, лексико-семантическому, словообразовательному.

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ETYMOLOGY OF THE CARPATHIAN UKRAINIAN MYTHONYM
ČUGAJSTER

Maxim A. Yuyukin

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This article deals with the origin of the Carpathian Ukrainian mythonym *Čuga-jster*. The author explains it as a compound name consisting of the imperative form of the verb **čugati* "lurk, wait for; stick out, stick up, stare" or, possibly, of a noun derived from this verb (*Čugajster* is described as a giant as tall as a fir, that corresponds to the original meaning of this word "stick out, stick up") and the truncated **stryjь* "uncle, father's brother" (this and similar relative terms are commonly used as taboo names of mythological entities). This name is formed by analogy with the ancient anthroponymical model represented in Old Polish. The truncation identical to that is proposed for *Čugajster*, is also regularly attested in the Old Polish compound names with the second part *-stryj*.

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Shirts, Cloaks and Nudity: Data on the Symbolic Aspects of Clothing*

⸻ Éva Pócs ⸻

This study discusses the beliefs and rites related to spinning, textiles, robes, and nudity that markedly outline some coherent symbolic systems within European belief systems. Their deep structure consists in the symbolic series of oppositions of *nature-culture*, *raw-cooked*, and *life-death.* In this binary universe, nature is characterized by the absence of cultural processes and products: ploughing, sowing, domesticating wild animals, the furnace, smithery, the iron, spinning and weaving, clothes, and Christian sacraments. The paper will discuss how the "raw" world of nature was tamed; how human beings, born as natural beings, were transformed into social beings, in the course of which the main role among the basic working processes of human culture is attributed to spinning and weaving.

KEYWORDS: spinning, clothing, nudity, culture, nature, raw, cooked

This study discusses the beliefs and rites related to shirts, cloaks, spinning and weaving, textiles, robes and nudity that markedly outline some coherent symbolic systems within European popular belief systems, both Christian and pre-Christian.[1] These might be present collectively in the various semantic strata of certain belief or ritual complexes or may function as a guiding principle, an ideological foundation constituting the core of certain belief complexes. Their deep structure consists in the symbolic series of oppositions of *nature-culture*, *raw-cooked*, and *life-death*.[2] In this binary universe, human beings are defined as "living, not dead" and as "humans, not animals", as the resident of a centrally

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[1] After the publication of the present article in original Hungarian, Mirjam Mencej's significant study appeared, in which she discusses the symbolic significance of spinning in a review that is extensive in both geographical and temporal terms. At the time the present translation was made, I was sadly unaware of this new paper and could then not refer to those of Mencej's results that are relevant to my topic and which the author summarizes as follows, "…according to the traditional European conceptions, spinning, the material for spinning (fibres – un-spun wool) and the results of this activity (thread, yarn) bear important symbolic meanings related to the basic aspects of human existence – birth, fate and death." (Mencej 2011: 77).

[2] Cf. Lévi-Strauss 1964; on the symbolic systems of raw and cooked see Pócs 1992.

positioned inhabited space characterized by culture in opposition with nature, the uninhabited and uncivilized periphery where wild animals, demons, and dead souls dwell. Nature is characterized by the absence of domestic animals and cultivated plants, as well as by the absence of cultural processes and products: ploughing, sowing, domesticating wild animals, the furnace, smithery, the iron, spinning and weaving, clothes, and Christian sacraments. In what follows, we will discuss how the "raw" world of nature was tamed; how human beings, born as natural beings, as "savages", were refined and transformed into social beings, in the course of which the main role among the basic working processes of human culture is attributed to spinning and weaving, cooking and baking, and the craft of smithery.

Regarding their symbolic scope and their concrete place and role played in European culture, sometimes this can only be reconstructed from fragmented traces existing in folklore texts; in other cases, it can be modelled from living beliefs and currently operating rites. Apparently, the world described by nature-culture and raw-cooked oppositions, and especially the symbolic role of spinning and weaving, of textiles and of the shirt, is equally present in geographically and chronologically distant Christian and pre-Christian cultures, regardless of linguistic barriers. Most of the examined phenomena have pre-Christian and Christian equivalents; the investigated features of clothing appear to be archaic traits leading back to Europe's ancient past; they are probably general characteristics of archaic worldviews, valid beyond the cultural frontiers of Europe, or perhaps everywhere, surviving in fragments and integrated into Christianity. The examples will be primarily from Hungary and East-Central Europe, but randomly extended to further places and ages; but we could look anywhere and at any time from Sicily to Iceland, from Estonia to the Caucasus, and the similarities and the identical meanings of symbols would be conspicuous. There are only differences and local specificities in terms of details, such as certain special text folklore motifs, characteristics of deities rooted in the mythology of different peoples, or the dates of rituals related to the calendar of saints.

PUTTING ON CLOTHES

The main topic of this study is to explore how putting on clothes (and creating textiles that constitute the basis of the clothes: spinning and weaving) turned the "bare naked" human being into a social being; how it "introduced" people into the world of culture; how the "shirt" became an expression of identity, a tool of fulfilling one's social role;[3] and how clothes protected humans from the demons and the dead attacking from the world of nature. The "boundaries of the body" – as Mary Douglas explained – have equivalent social boundaries;[4] the clothes protecting the body are essentially fending off the threats against the social order. The examined data explain all this in the language of myths, rites, and beliefs.

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[3]   As Bo Lönnquist emphasizes, following Erving Gofmann, clothes play an important role (at least in European cultures) in making self-identification and fulfilling social roles possible (Lönnquist 1979).

[4]   Douglas 1966: 115.

Separating our topic from the coherent context of the "raw-cooked" systems is somewhat artificial, because apart from the emphasized textiles or shirt, other cultural achievements (mentioned above) could play a similar role in the rites of "human initiation"; and a similar role to "raw" nudity is played by the absence/prohibition of sexuality (limiting sexual activity during the ritual period or having rites performed by those who are excluded from sexual activity, such as children, virgins, old women), fasting and muteness, and the absence of "human" speech. These aspects will be mentioned only briefly.

In the context of our discussion, shirts and other cloak-like pieces of clothing directly enveloping the body play a fundamental role in the rites; nonetheless, as we will see, textiles in general, and the instruments and by-products (tow, yarn, scutcher, distaff and spindle) of the process of creating these clothes and the processes themselves, such as spinning and weaving, may fulfil a similar function. This last aspect is also combined with ideas of "weaving" gods and demons, which will also be touched upon.

I have already discussed certain aspects of this topic in a previous paper[5] about the werewolf as a dual or transitional creature mediating between nature and culture. The definite nature-culture opposition of werewolf beliefs also helps us to understand the more general aspects of this duality, which are not directly related to, albeit being originally based upon werewolves. The following example gives a clear reference to the context of clothing under study, the unclothed state (and the fireless, "raw" circumstances) of the creatures of nature. The verse is an excerpt from the Romanian *colinda*, *Nine splendid stags*[6] (commonly known from Béla Bartók's *Cantata Profana*):

> our slender bodies
> cannot hide in clothing,
> they must hide among the leaves;
> we must make our tracks not
> in your hearth's warm ashes
> but along the forest floor.[7]

The statusless and intermediary state of those who were born werewolves is essential from our perspective, as is their belonging to nature, being "naked" and not cultural beings. In this context, the human being, until its initiation into culture and society, appears not as a human but a demonic creature bearing certain natural traits. In the case of those born with a werewolf fate, these traits are manifested in animalistic features (in the beliefs of Central European peoples, for instance, being born hairy, with teeth or wings, are considered to be such features). Being born "in a caul" foreshadows or ensures a werewolf-fate (or an ability of sight or some "trance-capacity" in general), and not only for werewolf creatures. The metamorphosis of werewolves can be related to being

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[5] Pócs 2011.

[6] *Szarvasokká vált fiúk* [The boys who turned into stags] 1971: 217.

[7] English translation from Béla Bartók's cantata by Thomas Ország-Land (http://www.babelmatrix.org/works/hu/Bartók_Béla-1881/Cantata_profana/en/39014-Cantata_profana downloaded: 09.06.2017)

born in a caul, according to the beliefs of German, Slavic, and Romanian peoples, and sporadically according to Hungarian beliefs as well.[8]

The metamorphosis of turning into an animal expresses the dual identity of the werewolf. The werewolf is the human's animal alter ego, its "animal skin" or "second skin", the "boundary" of his body, its replacement, or facsimile – the transformation is basically turning the skin "inside out", as a result of which the "hairy" animal identity is concealed.[9] The symbolic tool of turning into an animal in beliefs is to put on the wolf skin (bearskin), or the shirt made of it, the "wolf-shirt" or, as they call it in the central and western parts of Europe, the "wolf-belt".[10] The caul is also representative of a second skin ensuring the possibility of transforming into an animal for those who are born with it.

The truth of the saying "clothes make the man" is attested by one of the common practices of transforming a naked werewolf back into a human being: to put on clothes. Since Antiquity, according to recorded beliefs across Europe, the werewolf becomes a wolf when taking off its human clothes; if meanwhile the clothes are stolen, he will not be able to transform back.[11] Creatures of nature temporarily turning into human beings by putting on clothes (and the opposite) is a common legendary, mythical, and epical motif in Europe; we only have to think about the tale of *The Swan Woman*.[12] The shirt of the human being is, thus, a cultural variant of the natural wolf-shirt or the caul.

Clothes worn directly on the body, similar to the wolfskin or the caul, are representations of the person,[13] or, in certain cases, can be the alter ego of the person. Another text example refers to clothes – in a much more sophisticated way and also closer to the concept of the werewolf's double skin – as a "reflection", a "double", something that "embodies" the free spirit. *The Hymn of the Pearl* (sometimes called *Hymn of the Soul*) of the apocryphal and presumably gnostic texts of *The Acts of Thomas* describes a golden cloak decorated with precious stones that the apostle wore in his youth. He later recalls finding his old cloak as follows:

> *…and because I remembered not its fashion, for in my childhood I had left*
> *it in my father's house, on a sudden, when I received it, the garment seemed*
> *to me to become like a mirror of myself. I saw it all in all, and I received*
> *all in it, for we were two in distinction and yet gain one in one likeness…*[14]

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[8] On the roles of the caul and on the signs of birth in general, see primarily Belmont (1971: 28–30, 50–63, 189–190). For a more detailed presentation and further references see my previously-mentioned study.

[9] The Latin *(versipellis)* and perhaps the Romanian *(priculici)* terms mean "inverted skin". For a detailed account of these topics see Pócs 2011, including an extended bibliography of the *werewolf* topic; here, I only mention two important works related to the double skin of the werewolf and the complex of "skin inversion": Lecouteux 1992: 121–144: "La metamorphose, le double, le loup-garou" chapter; and Vaz da Silva 2002: 53–48: "Double skins and metamorphosis" chapter.

[10] See, for instance, the numerous data of Hertz (1862) about the wolf-shirt and the wolf-belt, from Armenia to Ireland and the antique Greeks: Hertz 1862: 79-97.

[11] Hertz 1862: 91–92, 95, 97. For the sources and references to *werewolf* beliefs see my article: Pócs 2011; here I only mention the most important references and the ones not included in the said article.

[12] The Swan Woman (*The Man on a Quest for his Lost Wife*, ATU 400; Uther 2004: 231–233).

[13] The shirt is "Hülle der Seele": Jungbauer 1931: 1709. The name of the caul in several – for instance Southern Slavic – languages is "shirt" or "little shirt".

[14] The Acts of Thomas; The Hymn of the Pearl (http://gnosis.org/library/hymnpearl.htm downloaded: 09.06.2017.

Archaic werewolf beliefs representing the duality of nature and culture constituted the mythical background of rites of passage of human life in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe until the 20th century; they also played an important role in relation to the rites associated with fending off demons and healing illnesses originating from nature. The shirt's cultural initiation role is manifested most directly in the rites aiming to fend off the werewolf-fate at birth: dressing in a shirt the new-born who, on the basis of certain marks at birth, are predestined to a werewolf-fate; a rite of "human initiation" and acceptance into the group known across the Balkans. In Bulgaria and Serbia, for instance, there was a custom of putting a shirt on babies born during the twelve days between Christmas and Epiphany, so that they do not become a *karakondzul*, a demonic werewolf. Even though during this period spinning was a taboo, in one single night three women made a little wool shirt for the new-born infant, which the endangered child had to wear. The trio of women, thus, accepted the infant into the community of the living.[15] The similar western Bulgarian rites and beliefs emphasize another aspect of spinning a werewolf-shirt: here, the custom was that when a *zmej* child is born (that is, a werewolf child born with a tail and little wings under its arms) a shirt is made with a rudimental technique (from torn oakum), so that, instead of an aggressive werewolf, the infant becomes a *zmej* (drag-on-man) who as an adult will be able to protect his village from the demonic dragon that brings hail: the *hala*.[16] As we can see, the demonic, aggressive force of nature is tamed by putting on a shirt and strengthened, to become a positive, culture-protecting force.

Image 1: Christening shirt, Gyimesközéplok (*Lunca de Jos*), Harghity county, Romania (Photo Eszter Csonka-Takács, 2005.)

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[15] Zečević 1980: 168; etc. On the wider context of rites to avoid a *werewolf* fate see: Pócs 2011: 112–115.
[16] Georgieva 1983: 80.

Putting on a shirt as the symbol of becoming a human being also appears in the aspects of rites of passage with the purpose of gaining a new social status, which are also consecrated by Christian sacraments. In the Christian interpretation and practice a person does not have a name or clothes before baptism: it is "stark naked" (which in the literal translation of the Hungarian expression is "mother-borne naked") and not a part of society, a demonic creature possessed by the Devil until baptism, until Satan has been exorcised from it. Besides giving a name, the most important way and a sign of ending the statusless situation is the christening shirt given to the new-born by the godparents (this is a part of Catholic baptisms to this day);[17] cf. with the new white garment of the early Christian catechumens.[18]

A telling addition to these is the legendary motif of the "unbaptized children" who return as ghosts; according to this, these souls, dwelling in this intermediary state, are symbolically baptized. If they hear them crying, they give them a name and throw a piece of clothing, representing the christening shirt, in the direction of the sound so that the soul of the child can reach its final status in the otherworld.[19] Let us cite an incantation from Gyimes (*Ghimeș*)[20] to heal abscesses, which refers to the raw universe of nature:

> *...on a high mountain rock,*
> *where no man goes,*
> *no shirt is made for unbaptized children,*
> *no pretzel is baked...*[21]

According to certain German and Hungarian beliefs, giving a christening shirt also helps the eventual adults after their death to obtain their status in the otherworld: in the absence of this, the dead will become erring souls, revenants. Judit Morvay collected the following data from an informant in Abaújlak[22] who said that he had not received a christening shirt at his baptism. His mother was too embarrassed to remind the godmother, and she was in great trouble since she was unable to replace it: "Whether I will be able to rest, we will see; maybe I will come back as well."

The act of giving a (parental) shirt as a sign of acceptance into society also appears in secular rites in several parts of Europe (it was probably a common European practice as well). Jungbauer refers to German, Russian and Lusatian data to explain that, as an initiation rite into the family, the new-born is wrapped in the shirt of the father or the apron of the mother;[23] we know of similar Macedonian data as well.[24] In Finland, before going to the

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[17] On the christening shirts see Kapros 1986: 267; Csonka-Takács 2008.

[18] According to the data of Eszter Csonka-Takács, the vicar of Gyimesközéplok (*Lunca de Jos*) traced back the custom of giving a christening shirt precisely to this: Csonka-Takács 2008: 139–141.

[19] The question remains if it was also an actively practiced rite. For more detail on this see: Pócs 2002.

[20] Harghita County, Romania.

[21] Erdélyi 1999: 843.

[22] Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén County, 1967; a then 85-year-old man.

[23] Jungbauer 1931: 1717.

[24] Petreska 2006: 229.

baptism, they pulled the infant through the sleeve of the mother's birthing shirt in order to fend off the evil eye;[25] in Csík (*Ciuc*; Romania) there was a belief according to which the infant, if first picked up wrapped in the father's shirt, would like the father more, whereas if wrapped in the mother's shirt, then the baby would like its mother more.[26] These data also appear to be fragmented residues of initiation rites, similar to the Hungarian data concerning the belief of dressing the new-born in the garment of the mother or the father against the tentatives of substituting the child as a changeling.[27] (The belief that demons substituted infants can be related to the demons of nature: until the infant is baptized, as an intermediary being, it can be easily abducted by demons who "take it with them").

In several parts of Europe, the "initiation shirt" was a known part of the rituals preceding baptism and of some of the rites related to marriage, and even more so, the rites before the wedding. The shirt made by the bride as a gift for her groom is commonly known as a symbol of accepting the groom into his new family. The shirts of the German bride and groom were considered signs of initiation into a new social group; a similar role was attributed by the Irish to the new cloak that women received when they got married.[28] The situation was similar in many parts of the Balkans.[29]

In historical Europe, we can also recognize the process of spinning wedding shirts as an initiation rite; preparing the wedding shirt of girls was a ritualized occasion in several parts of the Balkans, during which the girls not only proved that they were ready for marriage but in this way obtained their new status. Béla Gunda published Serbian, Macedonian,

Image 2: Groom's shirt, Mezőkövesd, Borsod county, Hungary (Hungarian Museum of Ethnography, No 116834 (Györgyi 1965, 235)

[25] Vuorela 1967: 63.

[26] Benedek H. 1998: 58.

[27] Sarkadkeresztúr; Bihar County, Bondár 1982: 52; Lakócsa, Somogy County, MNT II. Furthermore: against being swapped, the infant was put in the groom's shirt of the father: Tiszaszederkény, Borsod County, MNT II; ibid: further similar data.

[28] Jungbauer 1931: 1722; Mahon 1978: 286.

[29] Daničić 1910: 73–74, 85.

and Bulgarian data about the village girls spinning, sewing, and embroidering their shirts intended as dowries together, in a separate hut built especially for this purpose: the girl who completed the work was considered "ready to marry".[30] As a parallel to the shirts initiating or accepting someone into the family, we also mention the ancient Roman and medieval adoption cloaks and the term by which they referred to adopted children: *filii mantellati*;[31] or the ritual of accepting someone as a disciple: Robert Eisler mentions the prophet Elijah who took Elisha as his disciple by laying his own cloak over him.[32]

Other data describe the act of spinning and weaving wedding shirts (or more generally textiles given as dowries) as an act engendering a new life, a new phase of life. This aspect is especially underlined in the love poetry and epic literature of the Balkans, in which love and marriage are spun and woven into the shirts or other wedding textiles. One Serbian wedding song includes a dialogue starting with "What are you weaving? A husband…". In another Serbian song, the girl "spins" her own fate:

> *A young woman sits on high,*
> *On high and on spacious ground,*
> *Spinning silk, making braids*
> *With these braids, she converses.*[33]

The Hungarian parallel of this song is from Zoboralja. The reference is by Manga from the 1940s: the people who came to ask for the dowry were led to the bed where the bride's godmother was spinning on a distaff while singing.[34] Robert Eisler, in his book on the symbolism of textiles, describes the oldest known Greek marriage rituals including the aspect whereby finishing the shirt by the time of the wedding creates the marriage.[35]

If one can "weave" life, one can "weave" death as well. Zoja Karanović and his co-author published a Serbian song according to which the girl wove death instead of life into the handkerchief made for her wedding:

> *...When I wove them,*
> *The earth shook*
> *And cracked right across,*
> *When I bleached them,*
> *Winds began to blow*
> *And lifted them thrice.*
> *That was proof for me*
> *What my towels were for...*

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[30] Gunda 1979: 270–272.

[31] "cloaked sons"; Jungbauer 1933: 1589–90.

[32] Eisler 1910: 245.

[33] Karanović – Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2002: 33–45 (several other similar songs).

[34] Bakó 1987: 100.

[35] Eisler 1910: 128.

In other words, she had been weaving a funerary shroud instead of a wedding kerchief: if the veil was torn, it predicted for the girl that the marriage would be unfulfilled.[36] As the opposite of spinning and weaving, the unravelling of textiles might have a similar significance. Rober Eisler, in the above-mentioned work, refers to the legends of brides (for instance Saint Agatha)[37] who, though weaving their wedding shirt but not wanting to get married, in an act of untying their wedding, unravelled their weavings over and over again. This act with similar meaning is already known from the Odyssey: the only way for Penelope to keep away her suitors – that is, to make her new marriage impossible – was to unravel by night what she wove during the day. The data from Csíkszentdomokos (*Sândominic*) published by Lajos Balázs belongs to this same circle of ideas: the girls, strictly respecting the rules of making the groom's shirt, were very careful not to mess it up by accidentally sewing something reversely so that they would not have to unstitch the sutures, which would obviously derail the wedding.[38]

The fate-changing role in wearing certain clothes also appears in the data about the act of wearing new garments at the beginning of a new life phase or of a new calendar cycle, as well as in wearing a shirt that was given on an important festival day for the first time. In Serbia, the shirt worn while taking the first steps or on the first school day could be an indicator of status, bring luck or fend off bad fate and illness; the same was believed by the Irish about the shirts given as a gift at the new year or Easter.[39] There are interesting Herzegovinian data about cursed shirts, and the mothers' curses cast on shirts.[40] The medieval equivalents are the data on the curses "woven into" a cloak published by Valerie Flint.[41]

In addition to the association with rites of passage and of other festive rituals, there is a rich source material across Europe that presents the process of making a shirt as an act of starting or creating a new life. Ljuba Daničić cites a long series of Serbian data about love magic, getting a husband, keeping a husband, magic used for having children, all of which were performed with a shirt (of the husband or the groom).[42] She also mentions girls' and women's shirts of the same function;[43] for instance, a girl, after having finished the shirt made for her love, slept on the shirt for a night[44] – these acts of magic were usually performed on the Tuesday or the Friday of a new moon.[45] Sorcerers also tried to obtain a piece of the groom's shirt that they could use for all sorts of magic.[46] In light of

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[36] Karanović – Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2002: 49.

[37] Eisler 1910: 122–140.

[38] Harghity County, Romania; Balázs 1994: 191–192, 198.

[39] Daničić 1910: 56–58, 85; Mahon 1978: 286.

[40] Daničić 1910: 88.

[41] Flint 1991: 226. The author also mentions the ecclesiastical prohibitions concerning *Godwebbe,* the weaving of wool.

[42] Daničić 1910: 89–91.

[43] Daničić 1910: 62, 80–81.

[44] Daničić 1910: 81.

[45] Daničić 1910: 60.

[46] Daničić 1910: 72.

the above, it is only logical that one can inflict love-related bewitchment with the shirt of a deceased person;[47] and that love vengeance involves the tearing up of the unfaithful man's shirt;[48] unravelling or unstitching a shirt could play a role in breaking up lovers, as a Romanian spinning song explains in the form of a dialogue:

> – *What are you spinning?*
> – *I am not spinning but unspinning:*
> – *Bachelors from all work bees,*
> ...
> *From all of the houses...*[49]

There are Italian, German, Serbian, Irish and Hungarian data about shirts involved in magic in aid of conception; for instance, according to Italian data, barren women went to bed wearing the shirt of women who had children.[50] Finally, we also mention the shirts used in love divination being put under the pillow at Christmas and other occasions at the beginning of a new year, which are commonly known from the past ritual practice of Hungarians.[51]

The rites related to shirts that accept a child or a woman into the family or to spinning and weaving also provide protection; this group of data is not clearly distinguished from the data discussed above. Warding off the attack of demons from nature with shirts or other pieces of clothing is almost a natural consequence of the demons' nudity. Apparently, human beings and their households can be protected by these achievements of culture, as well as with the tools and processes involved in the creation of clothes. Besides being motifs of folk narratives, all these were part of living ritual practice in many places across 20th century Europe. It often went beyond its presumed scope: textiles, threads, and the oakum itself became a popular means of prevention or healing in the case of troubles of non-demonic origins. The importance of performing the rites under "raw" circumstances is apparent from many of the relevant data: the shirt protecting from nature had to be woven in silence, after fasting, by a virgin or an old lady (after the end of sexual activity), then put on inside out; animals had to be protected from demons with an inverse, left-handed braid, one had to use raw, unspun oakum, unbleached linen, broken spindle, and so forth. The taboo periods of spinning and weaving, that is, when the "raw" conditions of nature were temporarily extended onto the world of culture, played an important role.

In the German linguistic territory, the *Nothemd* or *Schutzhemd* protected against dragons and weapons.[52] These *Schutzhemd*s and *Glückshemd*s were made in a particular way at a special time (for instance, during the twelve days of Christmas), spun or woven by a

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[47] Daničić 1910: 67, 110–111.

[48] Daničić 1910: 67.

[49] Kligman 1988: 59.

[50] Seligmann 1910: II. 225; Daničić 1910: 56–58, 79–87, 90, 92; Jungbauer 1931: 1719; Mahon 1978: 285.

[51] See e.g. Pócs 2014: 1005–1006.

[52] Jungbauer 1931: 1713.

virgin or a seven-year-old girl, or sewn on a Sunday, perhaps even consecrated in secret (for instance, by hiding the shirt under the altar cloth), and they were known to protect one from various illnesses or the court of justice, war injuries or even from Hell.[53] The protective function of cloaks made under similar circumstances is also known in several parts of Central Europe.[54] A diverse list is known from the Balkans to Finland consisting of scarves, aprons, threads laid on something as protection after childbirth against the swapping of unbaptized infants or against the evil eye, or hung on the barn door against witches or on the window to avert demonic pressure, or hidden in the bed, or twisted threads wound around the afflicted part of the body.[55] We also have Hungarian data: for instance in Kostelek (*Coşnea*),[56] in order to avoid the substituting of a child they twisted the yarn in the other direction with the left hand.[57] Textiles also served to protect against the storm demons that bring hail;[58] according to a Bulgarian reference, there was a custom for several southern Slav people to cut the shirt of a young woman in four and wave it in the four points of the compass when a hail storm was approaching.[59] According to data from Csongrád County, the Hungarian *táltos* children were covered with their mother's apron when a hail storm was approaching so that the storm demons would not abduct them.[60]

The shirts made in one day or on a festival day – otherwise under taboo of spinning and weaving – are equally known in this context, for instance in the case of Bosnian Muslims.[61] Ritual weaving of linen during a time of drought was known among the Ukrainians from Polesje. According to the publication of Svetlana Tolstaja, old women or virgin girls gathered in a place to make a towel as long as possible; this, they would place over the icons in church or, if the length of the towel was sufficient, they wrapped it around the church.[62] Károly Jung refers to data from Vojvodina (Serbia) collected by him among Hungarians, about a thread sewn into a skirt or worn as a necklace against the witches who attacked in the period between Christmas and Epiphany (*kétkarácsonyi cérna*, which literally means "thread from two Christmases" because this period between Christmas and Epiphany was called the time "between two Christmases".[63]

In the practice of Transylvanian Hungarians, a known protective instrument against the "fair woman" (*szépasszony*) harming horses or, in the Transdanubian region, against the "weasel woman" (*menyétasszony*) who sucked the milk of cows, was to hang a small spindle or stick a distaff with oakum in the stable, while they instructed the weasel to

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[53] Jungbauer 1931: 1713–14.

[54] Jungbauer 1933: 1587–88.

[55] Daničić 1911; Seligman 1910: 225–227; Schubert 1984: 96–105.

[56] Băcau County, Romania

[57] Several data from Kostelek Kostelek (*Coşnea*), *Bacău* County, Romania, published by Takács 2001: 483–484.

[58] See for instance Pócs 2003: 177–178.

[59] Moroz 1989: 150.

[60] Kistelek (Csongrád County), collected by Vilmos Diószegi in 1954. Hungarian Folk Belief Archive, *Foggal született gyerek* (Child born with teeth).

[61] Seligmann 1910: 11.

[62] Tolstaja 2001: 191.

[63] Jung 1983: 89–90.

work.[64] In relation to these acts, rules about the "raw" conditions (gestures performed inversely, with the left hand, with a broken spindle) are present: according to data from Magyarhermány (*Herculan*),[65] if the mane of a horse was interwoven or tangled then it had been braided by the devil at midnight. As a remedy, they wound five or six ells of hemp thread spun with the left hand on a broken spindle and stuck it above the head of the horse in the beam. The devils did not dare approach it.[66] It was similar in Erdőfüle (*Filia*):[67]

> *When you go home, tell your mother to take some oakum or wool and to spin with her left hand as much as to be able to stick the spindle backwards into the distaff. Stick it above the horse, and it will be mounted [by the fair women] no more.*[68]

The Swedish put a wool knot on the back of the animals when driving out the flock; in Karjala, they protected the sheep from bears with red threads, the shepherds tied pieces of wool onto their own clothes and on the back of the sheep as well, and the same measure of protection was taken in Estonia.[69] An 18th century manuscript from Siklós (Baranya County, Hungary) gives the following advice:

> *For the wild animals not to hurt your cattle, spin a thread on the day of Easter before sunrise and tie it under the animal's tail.*[70]

Often the protection of animals was also related to threads or textiles spun or woven on the taboo days of spinning, such as the "wolf days" in the Balkans or during the twelve days after Christmas; it was also the period in which they performed the rites involving wool to ensure the protection of the flock.[71] In these cases, there is also some sort of sacrificial character, and we will briefly return to this question later. At this point, it is worth mentioning the Serbian data about the beliefs surrounding prohibitions on weaving in the places of the dance and of the assembly of the werewolves and the unbaptized (and other demons of nature). If, however, someone were to weave at such a taboo location then the remainder of the cut textile threads could be used for love magic.[72] Consequently, the demonic locations of nature equally belong to the above-mentioned raw conditions that make the world of culture fertile.

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[64] See for instance: Bosnyák 1982: 100; collected by Kinga Jankus in Csíkjenőfalva (*Ineu, Harghita County Romania*) in 1996; collected by Éva Pócs in Csíkkarcfalva (*Cârța,* Harghita County, Romania) and in Gyimesközéplok (*Lunca de Jos,* Harghita County, Romania), in 2002 and 2003; collected by József Gagyi in Csíkdelne (*Delnița,* Harghita County, Romania) in 1995; Gönczi 1914: 214.

[65] Harghita County, Romania.

[66] Máté 1984: 199.

[67] Harghita County, Romania.

[68] Zakariás 1992: 191.

[69] Rantasalo 1945: 56, 58.

[70] Bellosics 1900: 355.

[71] See e.g. Mencej 2001: 315–320; 2009.

[72] Daničić 1910: 93–95.

The use of shirts or other pieces of clothing for healing purposes is not devoid of the reminiscence of nature-culture systems. Shirts are direct accessories of people as social beings; they are their "doubles"; this is why it is possible to heal the clothes instead of the patient or to bewitch the owner on the basis of the *pars pro toto* principle of magic. This is what makes magic or healing possible with the shirts of virgins or of barren, old people. There are countless examples of these actions, basically from across Europe. Serbian data from the collection of Daničić include incantations pronounced over the patient's shirt,[73] healing with the shirt of a virgin girl,[74] the beautiful girl exposed to witchcraft soaking her own shirt with the dew on Saint George's day.[75]

The other aspects of the healing technique of *measurements* do not directly concern our topic, but the "raw" conditions of these healing methods are worth mentioning. A few references from Elfriede Grabner's rich collection should suit the purpose: according to Czech data measurement had to be done with a thread spun backwards on Good Friday before sunrise; on other occasions, one had to use "raw", "untampered" yarn.[76] According to a 1481 sermon, superstitious old ladies measured the heads of the patients with "raw", "uncooked", "unreeled" yarn, or "raw" textiles.[77]

SPINNING AND WEAVING DEITIES, HEAVENLY SHIRTS

In every European culture we have examined, beyond the above-described system based on the opposition of life and death, which is adequate as regards the horizontal duality of the human world as a cultural centre and nature as a chaotic periphery, there is the triple system of heaven (deities deciding fate and providing protection) – earth (human world) – underworld (the dead and demons), in which threads, textiles, shirts, and cloaks play a cosmic role related to the universe, the creation of the universe, the fate of humanity, and so forth. Because of deities who spin the thread of destiny or weave the shirt of fate, known from the mythologies of several peoples, and also because of the connections and analogies related to the microcosm and the macrocosm, the beliefs of the human world are infused with mythical constellations; individual rituals are associated with the fate of humanity and of the world. Spinning, textiles, shirts, and cloaks gain a cosmic perspective referring to the whole universe and all humanity, they become divine attributes, and this consecrates and strengthens their role in the human world. M. L. West, when writing about Indo-European mythology, summarized the cosmic image of world-weaving deities appearing in several mythologies in the chapter *World Wide Web*: according to the Atharvaveda, for instance, the morning and the night firmaments are "created" by being woven by two goddesses; cosmic weaving is also found in Greek mythology, applied "to

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[73] Daničić 1910: 84.

[74] Daničić 1910, 58.

[75] Daničić 1910: 90.

[76] Grabner 1967: 542.

[77] Grabner 1967: 550–551. The author claims this to be "the residue of a more ancient level of culture" – with which we can obviously agree.

the seasonal clothing of earth with vegetation and crops". In the cosmogony of Pherecydes of Syros, a wonderful robe is mentioned in relation to a world tree, which is decorated with the earth and surrounding ocean.[78]

The "fate-women" who spin or weave one's fate, are known in numerous European (German, Greek, Roman, and perhaps Baltic and Slavic) pre-Christian cultures; they even had living traditions in the 20th century Balkans or among eastern Slavs.[79] The *Moirai* decide over human fate, life and death, by spinning the "thread of fate". The framework of this paper is not sufficient to discuss this topic in detail; I have to mention, however, one relevant aspect of it: according to certain mythical beliefs from the Balkans, they play the role of mythical midwives assisting at childbirth who decide upon the alternative (human or animal) life options of werewolves born in a caul.[80] Thus, the act of assigning someone to an existence in culture or nature is in some way related to spinning as well; cf. with the above-discussed fate-deciding role of spinning and weaving shirts. The most recent study of Karen Bek-Pedersen highlights an interesting aspect of German mythology, to be precise the *Njáls saga*, which presents the *Valkyrie* as creatures who spin and weave military fortune.[81] She discusses a special room in the otherworld where the women weave the fate of battles: heads are falling from the weaving loom (cf. the witch spinning and weaving soldiers in the Hungarian folk tale of Prince Mirkó).[82] This obviously meant death on the battlefield; at the same time, the woman weaving here creates her child from a basket containing woollen thread: thus, the medieval text describes exactly the divine weaving practice of bringing life and death.[83]

We know of another aspect of mythical or divine spinning. Otto Brendel studied the Greek, Roman and Hellenistic representations of *Moirai* and various spinning goddesses. Since the thread is reeled on a spindle, the result of the spinning is spherical, and can often be interpreted as the universe rimmed with thread. As Brendel remarked, in Plato's description[84] in 375 BCE, Er of Pamphylia during his vision, while seemingly dead and his soul ascending, sees the Earth from above and sees it as a world held together by threads and ropes.[85] Accordingly, not only human life, but the entire universe appears as a spinning accessory or the product of spinning (see image 3 and 4).

Twentieth-century folklore data, especially in Eastern Europe, are rich in motifs of heavenly weaving, and usually the weaving of shirts. There are in particular Byzantine, eastern Slavic apocryphal legends or incantations, songs derived from them, or Byzantine iconography, which represent the Virgin Mary as she sits spinning in the middle of the world,

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[78] West 2007: 372–373.

[79] On fate-women beliefs and legends of fate alive even into the twentieth century in Eastern European folk belief, see the overview of Rolf Brednich (1964).

[80] I have discussed in more detail the *Moira*/fate goddess-type beings of European mythologies: Pócs 2001. About the contemporary Slavic "fate-women" who weave the thread of life: Schubert 1984.

[81] See on this Bernáth 2005: 324: in the German mythology, the Norns were responsible for spinning and weaving the thread of fate; the Valkyrie were explicitly battle- and death-spirits whose specialty was war fate.

[82] AaTh 463A; Prince Mirkó (*Mirkó királyfi*) see Dömötör 1988: 239–242.

[83] Bek-Pedersen 2008.

[84] Allen 2006: 10 614–10 621.

[85] Brendel 1977.

Image 3: The *Moirai* spinning the globe (Brendel 1977, table XXIII)

Image 4: Aphrodite spinning the globe (Brendel 1977, table IX)

on a marble stone on an island in the sea, or as she sits weaving on a golden throne among women working with silk threads.[86] What is she weaving? If she is sitting in the middle of the world, it must be something related to the fate of the entire world. In other songs in which a shirt is being woven, it is birth or marriage that is being spun, similarly to the above-discussed data about "earthly" shirts. Heavenly shirt-weaving is obviously associated with mythical celestial weddings: these items of clothing are usually made for or by gods. Robert Eisler refers to Greek and Roman data, as well as to the heavenly shirts of Christian saints.[87] Estonian mythical songs mention the shirts of Mary and Christ woven in heaven; we also know of similar Romanian Christmas songs of profane content. One of the most beautiful examples is a *colinda* collected and published by Béla Bartók about the marriage of the Sun with his sister, the Sânziene (the fairy of the summer solstice),[88] according to which the Sun tells the fairy to spin silk for him so that she can become his bride. Octavian Buhociu published a *colinda* according to which Zâna Magdalina was embroidering on top of a blooming tree with a golden thread:

> *...und bei Stricken dachte sie,*
> *Wie sie es wohl anstelle zu heiraten.*[89]

The Estonian (Setu) mythical songs collected by Madis Arukask are about a heavenly house seen in a vision in which four girls are spinning and weaving shirts for God, Mary, and the saints. In the songs with a similar topic published by Jakob Hurt, Mary wears her golden shirt in Heaven and the girls, on their heavenly altar duty, weave a cloak for God and for Mary in a blue house in Heaven.[90] We can also mention Bulgarian Christmas *koleda*s in which Christ's shirt is sewn in Heaven, or in another, in which a girl receives a shirt from Mary for having nursed Jesus.[91]

These songs from Orthodox Eastern Europe might be related to an early medieval apocryphal legend of Mary spinning and weaving. According to the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew from the eighth or ninth century, at the time of the Annunciation of the heavenly conception, Mary was embroidering the veil of the temple (the curtain surrounding the sanctuary; cf. the church as a symbol of the universe) with a carmine thread.[92] According to the fifth-century manuscript of the Protoevangelium of James, Mary was spinning a scarlet silk thread: the church virgins – of whom she was one – chose the colours among them by lot.[93] Mary's textile-related activities are, thus, also in connection with fertility

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[86] Mansikka 1909: 193–210, 283, 293.

[87] Eisler 1910: 122–140.

[88] Bartók 1968: 152–154.

[89] Buhociu 1974: 28.

[90] Manuscript collection by Arukask from 1999, which I had the chance to consult at the Department of Folkloristics at the University of Tartu. Hurt 1904: 19–20: the short extract of the song's content.

[91] Moroz 1989: 150.

[92] Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew 1996: 54–55 (part 8 and 9).

[93] Protoevangelium of James 1996: 10 (X.2–XII.l). The relevance of this data was drawn to my attention by the reference made by Eisler (1910: 191).

and the conception of new life. Following the scene of the Annunciation, the Gospel of James strongly suggests that completion of the spinning is an act that creates a child and that the temple veil indicates the divine nature of the child:

> *12. And she made the purple and the scarlet, and took them to the priest.*
> *And the priest blessed her, and said:*
> *– Mary, the Lord God hath magnified thy name, and thou shall be blessed*
> *in all the generations of the earth.*[94]

The temple veil woven at the birth of Christ – according to the New Testament – would later be torn: this event accompanied a universal catastrophe coinciding with a solar eclipse and an earthquake, namely the death of Christ. See Chapter 27 of the Gospel of Matthew according to the Berean Literal Bible:[95]

> *50. And Jesus, having cried again in a loud voice, yielded up His spirit.*
> *51. And behold, the veil of the temple was torn into two from top to bottom.*
> *And the earth was shaken, and the rocks were split…*

Let us recall the microcosmic variant of the universal tearing of linen, namely when the wedding handkerchief is torn in two. And finally, let me give a – somewhat unorthodox – reference by the Hungarian poet, Endre Ady. In his poem *A nagy tivornyán* [On the great feast] he describes the cosmic dimensions of the horrors of World War I as follows:

> *The world is set, come and feast*
> *Rampage about, World, the worst*
> *Of all Hell has just broken loose on you…*
> *…*
> *And Madness*, *be coy no more,*
> *Linens and veils are torn.*
> *…*
> *The weave of the entire world is unravelled…*

The diabolic opposite of divine weaving appears in the central and eastern European folklore as well. Besides the reference of the black cloak woven for the Devil,[96] we should mention the Hungarian legend about the shirt woven for the Antichrist, for Satan, according to which the fairies weaving and sewing the shirt always unravel their

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[94] Ibid (English translation by Roberts-/http://www.earlychristianwritings.com/text/infancyjames-roberts.html downloaded: 09.13.2017). On the iconographical representations of the Spinning Mary and on conceptualizations of the Annunciation as an act of spinning see: Badalanova 2004: 217–222.

[95] Eisler 1910: 250 also refers to this Biblical reference. English translation: http://biblehub.com/blb/matthew/27. htm downloaded: 09.13.2017).

[96] Jungbauer 1933: 1586.

work because if the shirt were completed the world would perish. This, therefore, is the diabolical inversion of the motif of unravelling; the divine shirt-weaving, if serving Satan, instead of a world-creating act of cosmic proportions would become an act of world destruction:

> *The fairy girls are sewing a shirt for the Antichrist. Then, when they sew it, and it is almost ready, they examine it. There are flaws in it here and there. They unstitch it. It is not right! They sew it together again, because if that shirt was sewn together the right way, the world would end. If they could sew the shirt of the Antichrist. While the world stands, they will not be able to sew it, because it is never finished.*[97]

In comparison with the weaving of marital shirts, which create the microcosm, heavenly weaving or the weaving of the temple veil are acts that create the world, the macrocosm. Robert Eisler and Gustav Jungbauer published numerous examples of "cosmic cloaks" and "world mantles" depicting the universe, the mountains, the waters, the flora and the fauna, from Babylon to Greece, from Rome to Egypt, as the attributes of various gods. Such gods are for instance Isis, Aphrodite, Athena, Apollo and Joseph from the Old Testament (the last as a deity who dies and resurrects and obtains grains from the underworld; besides his starry cloak, the association of the names of his brothers with the zodiac signs is also an interesting reference in this regard); Jungbauer even adds Odin to this list.[98] The goddess-like folklore figures of Balkan fairies can also have starry mantles.[99]

Image 8: Virgin Mary in a starry mantle, panel painting by Sano di Pietro in the oratorio of the Monastery of Saint Bernard in Siena (Eisler 1910, I. figure 7)

The first data about the starry mantle of the Virgin Mary originate from Greek and Syrian Christianity. Besides the stars, these cloaks often depict the entire visible world: the earth, the sky, the flora and fauna.[100] Present-age data about Mary, the queen of Heaven covered in a starry mantle, are also published from the territory of eastern Christianity.[101]

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[97] Karcsa, Zemplén County, Balassa 1963: 63.
[98] Eisler 1910: chapter I; Jungbauer 1933:1579–82.
[99] Moroz 1989: 150.
[100] Eisler 1910: chapter I.
[101] Mansikka 1909: 161–162; Jungbauer 1933: 1581–82.

Image 5: Adad in a cosmic mantel, Babylonian ivory relief (Eisler 1910, I. figure 7)

Image 7: Venus Physica, on a Pompeii mural (Eisler 1910, I. figure 16)

Image 6: The "bull-killing" Mithras in a starry mantel on a Roman cameo (Eisler 1910, I. figure 9)

Saints were also occasionally depicted wearing a starry (blue) cloak, Christ as well, as *Sol Invictus* or as *Christus Cosmocrator*.[102]

The microcosm is interwoven with the symbolism of the macrocosm; the divine cosmic cloaks convey power and blessing to the ordinary man, they invest ordinary shirts with a mythical perspective (or ordinary shirts are made heavenly through a divine blessing; cf. the christening shirt consecrated by the priest or the "world tent" at Jewish weddings).

The cosmic cloak may also indicate that someone is chosen by God, or it could sacralize someone; it is also the sign of the power of heavenly origin (cf. coronation robes, the cloak of priests, which are also often starry cosmic cloaks[103]). The robe of Pallas Athena, the *peplos*, woven and renewed every four years for nine months by two designated girls, and then taken on a festive procession on the festival of Panathenaia, was also a sign of the renewal of world domination, a sort of cosmic initiation rite. The cloak depicted the victorious battle of the goddess with the Giants: in other words, it is the act of creating the world itself that is woven in the tissue.[104]

The heavenly shirt might be a sign of "belonging", presenting such a shirt as a gift can be a gesture of accepting or initiating someone. As the christening or marital shirts offer a new status in human society, the "heavenly" shirt means the acceptance or adoption of someone in the heavenly community. Erzsébet Tóth, an 18th-century Hungarian *táltos* woman from Jászberény, claimed at her 1728 witch trial that she was the daughter of God, moreover, that she was the second person of the Lord God, and Jesus Christ had covered her with his mantle.[105] The marital shirt also appears in Christian visions, in that of medieval mystic women, as the clothes of the brides of Jesus Christ; and resurrection as a heavenly initiation by putting on clothes the colour of white light (for instance in the apocryphal Acts of Thomas) is also present in the imagination of medieval Europe.[106]

To come back to the microcosm and to the connections between the weaving of the world and of individual fate, these divine mantles and cloaks are especially suitable for protecting people from the dangers of nature: the symbol of world domination becomes a mantle protecting the world.[107] We can also refer to a non-Christian example: in Serbian beliefs, the *vile* lay their golden robes, spun and woven by them, on the human settlements in order to protect the people.[108] In the series of divine protective clothes, the most common motif in iconography, legends or prayers is the cloak or mantle of Mary. In the legends, the "Virgin with the Mantle" with her starry cloak or purple mantle protects people, cities, temples, bishops, the pope, princes, and also families including their dead.[109]

[102] Jungbauer 1933: 1581.

[103] Eisler also describes an Egyptian priest in a starry leopard skin: Eisler 1910: 221. The sacred – often starry – coronation robe with special powers spread from Byzantyum to the West (Jungbauer 1933: 1588–89).

[104] Hegyi 2003: 66–67; Eisler 1910: 256–257. There are several vase images and other representations depicting the handing over of the *peplos* (for instance on the Pantheon Frieze), which make this connotation clear.

[105] Pócs 1999: 136.

[106] Benz 1969: 342–352.

[107] On cosmic cloaks and their protective role see, in addition to Eisler's book: Jungbauer 1933: 1578–86.

[108] Karanović – Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2002: 45.

[109] Jungbauer 1933: 1583–85.
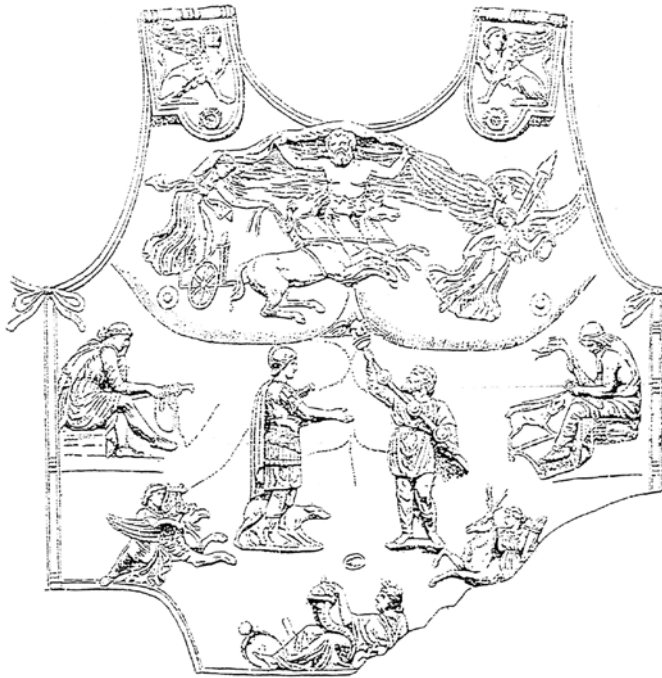
Image 9: Coelus with a cosmic cloak on the breastplate of the Augustus statue of Prima Porta (Eisler 1910, I. figure 7)

Image 10: Virgin with the Mantle: Illustration in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* codex preserved in the Dominican Monastery of Saint Blaise in Regensburg (around 1380–1420; Esser 1994, figure 21)

József Lángi has provided us with an overview of the Hungarian representations and the main functions of the Virgin with the Mantle from the time when this imagery spread from Byzantium to Europe in the 13ᵗʰ century. Religious orders played an important role in the introduction of the idea of the Virgin's protective mantle, which is why the representations of Mary covering monks or friars with her mantle is very common.[110] From the 18ᵗʰ century on, saintly Hungarian kings also appear under the protection of Mary. During the time of the great epidemics, Mary's cloak protected against the plague;[111] it was initially an important healing relic as well,[112] and inspired the popular plague-amulets depicting the Virgin with the Mantle.[113]

The mantle as the attribute of saints (St Ursula, St Cunegond, and especially St Martin) appears in legends and other representations,[114] and these cloaks could have had the same role in medieval religious ritual practice as the relic of Mary's mantle. There are Orthodox incantations and legendary motifs from Eastern Europe about the starry cloak/altar-cloth/towel of Mary, Mother of God which protected against witches and demons.[115] Adolph Franz writes in his collection of benedictions about Irish and German data regarding the cloaks of various saints (St Columba, Bishop Deodatus, etc.), which were laid over the ploughed land for rain and against drought, or to fend off hail.[116] (Cf. anti-hail "profane" textiles.) From present-day popular belief and ritual practice, we can mention the use of the cloak of Orthodox priests with the purpose of healing and protection from Satan;[117] Adelina Angusheva mentions such medieval and early modern examples concerning the mantles of Bulgarian priests.[118] In general, we can establish that the above-described textiles protecting one from nature also appear as textiles of divine origin, or with a heavenly blessing, protecting people in both the lay and the priestly practices.

The protective microcosmic role of heavenly mantles and world cloaks can also be found among the motifs of Hungarian incantations, and especially of archaic prayers. Let us cite a few commonly known and widely spread motifs. For instance, from an incantation from Mindszent (Csongrád County): "Heaven is my shirt, The Earth is my hat…"[119] A prayer motif from the cloth in the collection of Zsuzsanna Erdélyi:

> *Before me, there are seven thousand angels of the Lord Jesus,*
> *I am wearing his carmine shirt, his armour.*[120]

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[110] For more on *Mary with the Mantle* as devotional image, see Brown 2017.

[111] Lángi 2006: 50–59, 320-334. See also the old Hungarian representations of the Cloaked Madonna: Szilárdfy 2003, panels XXXVI–XXXVII. and CL–CLI.

[112] Esser 1999: 247. In Constantinople, the relic of Mary's mantle guarded at the temple of Blakherna had an extended cult: Lángi 2008: 50.

[113] About amulets protecting against the plague see: Esser 1999: 244–246.

[114] Jungbauer 1933: 1583–85.

[115] Mansikka 1909: 162–163.

[116] Franz 1909: II. 17.

[117] My own collection from Hungarians in County Harghita, Romania.

[118] Anguseva 2004: 477.

[119] Pócs 1985–1986: II. 413.

[120] Jászberény, Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok County; Erdélyi 1976: 237.

Lord-coloured Saint Benedict, cover me fully with your cloak…
The mantle of Virgin Mary,
The cloth of my window,
So that no infection can enter… (Adács, Heves County)[121]

Saint Benedict should consecrate my heart,
He should cover me with the sacred mantle of Jesus Christ.
(Kadarkút, Somogy County)[122]

Besides the deities of the "learned" mythologies, in the "popular" mythologies of Central, Eastern and South-Eastern Europe we can also find goddess-like yet at the same time demonic women with the attributes of spinning, or having a scutcher, a spindle or a distaff. The mythological element of triple figures (the Moirai, the Parcae) is recalled by the three spinning women of Eastern European incantations.[123] The "fair women" and the witches of Eastern Hungary, as well as the Romanian *strigoi*, have scutchers as attributes;[124] the Romanian "lord of the wolves" appears as a ghost creature spinning with a distaff in the forest.[125] The Russian *Baba Yaga*, the Romanian *Joimariţa* and *Marţi Seara* ('Tuesday evening') and the Hungarian *Kedd asszonya* ('Tuesday's woman') all have features of two-faced beings, fertility goddesses and demons.[126] The *csuma* disease demon of Hungarians in Moldova (Romania) can also be represented as a spinning woman, as an example below will show. These characteristics of spinning and weaving can also have an underworldly, diabolical aspect: there are data regarding dew carried to the underworld on a weaving board, or people abducted on weaving boards to a wedding in Hell.[127]

Similar, but more goddess-like figures are Saint Friday (*Sveta Petka*) or Saint *Paraskeva* of Orthodox peoples; the "Pannonian"-Austrian-Moravian-Czech-Slovakian Lucia or Luca (Lucy); the Slovenian *Pehtra Baba* and *Torka/Torklja*; *Frau Sälde* from the Alpine region; *Seligen* in the Tyrol; the German *Holda/Hulda/Holle*; and the south German *Perchta*. They have even more characteristics related to agricultural fertility than the ones cited earlier; sometimes they have the features of "fate-women". These heterogeneous belief-creatures probably have many secondary features, but their main shared characteristic, besides the attribute of spinning and weaving, is that on the days in the week or in the year according to the calendar, or during certain periods associated with the dead or with nature (such as the twelve days after Christmas for the *Perchtas*) spinning

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[121] Erdélyi 1976: 188.

[122] Erdélyi 1976: 242.

[123] Hako 1956: 82–89; Mansikka 1909: 193–210.

[124] About the Hungarian "fair woman" with a hemp scutcher: Salamon 1987: 95–97; about the Romanian *strigoi:* Muşlea – Birlea 1970: 251–268, 407.

[125] Senn 1982: 2.

[126] References to only a few important references from the extensive literature of the topic, since there is no room to go into detail here: Szabó 1910; Róheim 1913; Muşlea – Birlea 1970: 201–206; Ivanov 1974; Becker 1990: 111–141; Pócs 1990: 572–576; 2015; Karanović – Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2002: 45–47.

[127] Moroz 1989: 135–136. There is no room and no sufficient knowledge of the material to discuss this topic in detail, but it would definitely be worthy of further research.

and weaving (and sewing, and often other women's activities, including bread baking) is forbidden. A wide overview of these goddess-like, non-Christian demonic beings can be found in a recent study by Mirjam Mencej. When discussing the belief creatures who punish those who break the weaving taboo, she focuses on the symbolic significance of spinning and weaving related to life and death, associating them with the three mythical female figures who spin the threads of fate.[128] In the Balkans, all these prohibitions are associated with the "wolf days" and with the dates of werewolf transformation related to Moon cycles. Their characteristic features include the punishment of those who violate their taboos; as well as the below-mentioned offerings.[129]

It is characteristic of both groups of mythical beings that their features can resemble those of fairies and witches in Hungarian, Russian, and Southern Slavic legends. The narratives about the aforementioned "spinning" ghostly beings of the Alpine region and of the variants in the Balkans and Russia sometimes have motifs of the "Lord of animals"; in other cases – or at the same time – they appear as patrons or initiators of werewolf sorcerers.[130]

I have mentioned above the offerings given to these creatures of nature: the data describing the specificities of these offerings are more precisely about these mythical figures appearing as spinning creatures. These offerings are related to the occasions of ritual spinning and weaving, healing, and the preparations of apotropaic and "human initiation" shirts. Often making the shirt is in itself the offering made to the mythical being (for St Paraskeva, St Friday, Lucia/Luca or Tuesday's Woman), and, as mentioned before, it is typically done on their festival days or during a calendar period when the activities of spinning and weaving are under taboo. (This is characteristic of every offering-like ritual mentioned here.) Thus, the role of the shirt woven during the weaving taboo is not only to "dress up" in an act of taming the demon attacking from nature, but also as an offering to the demon.[131] To refer to a common, shirt-related offering ritual: in the eastern part of the Hungarian linguistic region the *csuma* shirt is a shirt woven to stop the *csuma* (popular name for plague, cholera) demon threatening the community.[132] We know of similar, sacrificial shirts woven for disease demons in Macedonia, Serbia and Bulgaria.[133] What is special about the following information from Moldova published by Péter Halász is that here the *csuma* (cholera demon) appears as a woman with a distaff:

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[128] Mencej 2010.

[129] Zingerle 1857; Lütolf 1865; Mannhardt 1904–1905: I. 99–107; Waschnitius 1913; Schwarz 1935; Kretzenbacher 1959; Kuret 1969; 1975; Muşlea – Birlea 1970: 407; Becker 1990: 137–144; Kropej 2008; Mencej 2009; Pócs 2015. Mária Bíró took notice of the important role played by "spinning" goddesses related to childbirth and fertility in this region in connection with late Roman archaeological artefacts (she associated them with Roman goddesses and also with spinning Parcae). (Bíró 1994). I mention here that in Estonia, according to Mall Himae, it must have been very common in the past to have spinning and weaving taboos on certain days for the sake of the animals' health and well-being; although it was not associated with such demonic creatures, it was exclusively related to the (revenant) dead ensuring fertility: Hiimäe 1998: 185–225.

[130] About the *werewolf*-initiation see: Pócs 2011: 119–121. On the "Lord of the animals" belief and its spread through Europe see: Schmidt L. 1952; Paulson 1964; Mencej 2001.

[131] For more on this see Pócs 1982; 2011: 191–192.

[132] See for instance Bosnyák 1980: 156 regarding Hungarians in Moldova, Romania; Hoppál 1976: 4–5 regarding Hungarians in Szék (*Sic*), County Cluj, Romania.

[133] Tolstoj 1994: 151, 153; Candrea 1944: 138.

The csuma *is a great disease, a typhus disease. It is also sent by God. During the night, they say that there is an ugly midwife walking around, holding a distaff. My sister died of it at the age of fourteen. She couldn't digest her food, her head was aching, she went blind, deaf and mute, all she did was snuffle. Then she finally died. To make sure that the* csuma *didn't come to the village, the women had to gather and, over the course of one night, until twelve o'clock, they had to spin the hemp and weave and sew a shirt. They sewed a children's shirt, and they had to leave it on the edge of the village by twelve o'clock. Then they put it there, and the* csuma *received it and will never come to the village again. It was given a shirt.*[134]

Belief in the efficacy of spinning and weaving a shirt for the plague or cholera demon appears to be common in the Balkans,[135] and was probably an occasionally practised ritual as well, the precise course of which is not clear in the narratives. However, the emphasis on some sort of "raw" feature is present in every text: virgins or old women, weaving naked and/or in silence, with incomplete tools. Often the nakedness of the demon is underlined. For instance, in the data collected by Zoltán Kallós in Gyimes, the *csuma* appears as a naked child, and this is why one has to make a shirt for him.[136] Preparing the offering during a taboo period also provides "raw" conditions, because, as we have noted, these periods of prohibitions were the times when nature "entered" the world of culture.

Above, I have made mention of the data regarding the spindle, wool, oakum and so forth ensuring well-being and protection for animals. One can often decipher an aspect of offerings from their contexts: sometimes even the publishers of the data describe it as an offering. In Finland, for instance, it is forbidden to kill weasels, as the animal is considered to be the spirit of the stable that also appears as a "spinning" or bewitching demon; the weasel has to be given a woollen offering so as to protect one's livestock.[137] (Cf. the oakum put out in the stable for the *menyétasszony* – "weasel woman" – or the "fair woman".) Mirjam Mencej discussed this in her book about the master of the wolves in Slavic beliefs and rites, citing Serbian, Macedonian, and Bulgarian data regarding the wool offerings given to these spirit creatures on the taboo days of wool work, spinning and weaving.[138] I believe that the data about the mythical creatures (such as the Romanian *strigoi*, the Bulgarian fairies or the Slovenian werewolf) who would steal the instruments (scutcher, distaff), the raw materials or the semi-finished products of spinning and weaving (flax bundles, oakum, yarn, linens) on days on which linen or wool work were taboo, are also in some way referring to an offering. There are two interesting correlations to be mentioned in relation to this.

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[134] Hungarians in Magyarfalu, County Bǎcau, Romania; Halász 2005: 397–398.

[135] Romanian, Serbian and Macedonian data: Candrea 1944: 138; Jung 1993: 63; Tolstoj 1994: 151, 153; Karanović – Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2002: 45.

[136] Jung 1993: 64.

[137] Hako 1956. Incantation of spinning women: 82–89.

[138] Mencej 2001: 316. Also see for Bulgarian reference: Arnaudov 1917: 74.

The werewolf-like metamorphosis of the Romanian *strigoi* is associated with certain otherworldly "spirit battles" that, according to the Balkan tradition, are similar to the battles fought by the above-mentioned werewolf sorcerers. The *strigoi* battle for the well-being of their community on the festival days of St George, St Andrew or St Stephen (also known as the "wolf days") when spinning activities are under taboo. (The battles are among the groups of – basically demonic werewolf – figures of "dead" *strigoi*. The guardian spirit of the neighbouring village is the enemy, playing the role of the demon attacking from nature.) The stolen scutchers will be the battle-horses and combat weapons of the *strigoi* spirits in the "otherworldly" battle. In the village of the winner, there will be fewer deaths, and it will be avoided by epidemics at the expense of the village of the others. This is, therefore, a kind of fate-determining, a divine judgment-like battle fought with the tools of spinning, as if the *strigoi* fought a battle with the objects of the taboo-day offerings for the lives of human communities, which they ensured in exchange for receiving these objects. [139]

The Bulgarian *rusalki* steal yarn and linen because they need them for weaving their own shirt.[140] The motif of weaving a heavenly shirt appears in the spirit battles of the *strigoi* as well. After the battle, they gather at an "abandoned house" where they spin the flax stolen from houses, they whiten and sew the linen into shirts. If they are not finished before the cock crows, they have to leave the work unfinished.[141] This is also an act of shirt-weaving that defines fate; the uninhabited house, the unfinished work are all synonyms of the unravelling, of failure; it means the opposite of the effect on shirts woven by a "world creator". (Cf. the unstitching of the Antichrist's shirt.) This gives a divine aspect to the ambivalence of these mythical beings, who may accomplish world-creating acts to protect humanity.

I will not detail the question of flour, milk, and bread offerings related to the figures of *Lucia/Luca, Pehtra baba, Paraskeva/Pjatnica* or the *Perchta*s, as it would take us very far off our topic. I only mention that, through these goddess figures (and other undiscussed motifs, such as the battles fought for agricultural fertility by werewolf-sorcerers against chthonic demons or against the dead who take the crops to the underworld), there are chthonic agrarian god-features and otherworldly motifs of fertility that are attributed to the archaic nature-culture systems. In addition to the opposition of nature and culture, that of Earth (the world of the living) versus the underworld (the world of the dead) appears. We also come across time cycles of life-death-life in accordance with the alternation of agricultural cycles. However, for now I will bypass these questions and only underline that the presence of the *raw-cooked* systems of *nature-culture* can also be perceived on this level. On the days or during the periods of the spindle/distaff goddesses, for instance, the taboo of baking bread and of bread as offering both appear in the same context as the "sacrificial" shirt offered during the spinning taboo. Bread baked despite the taboo has "raw" characteristics (for instance, unleavened flatbread) – and all this is in connection

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[139] On the *strigoi* battles see: Muşlea – Birlea 1970: 251–268.
[140] Moroz 1989: 112.
[141] Muşlea – Birlea 1970: 267.

with the traits of these beings that are related to agricultural fertility: in many cases, one can decipher that the raw offering was given to *Pjatnica*, *Lucy*, or *Perchta* in order to ensure a good harvest.[142] The rituals surrounding these presumed agricultural offerings could prescribe certain raw conditions related to the spinning of flax. According to some Hungarian data, as a penance for violating the taboo, one has to give unleavened bread as an offering to *Luca*.[143] In light of the above, it is only logical that as an opposite of the completed shirt, which serves the initiation into culture, the introduction into nature and the acquirement of knowledge related to the world of nature take place with raw methods and raw products: for instance, with the use of tow, or with threads spun during the spinning taboo. There is a wealth of Hungarian data about this. According to a belief from Bogyiszló (Tolna County), for instance, if someone sits in front of the church to spin on the night of Luca or at midnight on Christmas, they will see devils.[144] In the Ormányság, wise men and women have seven-year-old girls spin yarn for them with which they can turn the transformed girl back to her original state.[145] The data from Sárrétudvari describe how a cunning shepherd acquires supernatural knowledge by spinning a whip on St. Lucy's Day.[146] Spinning "Lucy's whip" as a means of learning special skills is supported by substantial data published by Géza Róheim, but we can also mention St. Lucy's Chair, which was often fabricated by spinning, which made demonic witches visible and which was also a means of acquiring knowledge.[147] According to data collected by Vilmos Diószegi in Egyházasdaróc (Vas County), the *garabonciás* gave a cure-all spindle to those who donated milk to him.

As mentioned above, there were mythical beings with spindles and distaffs who appeared as initiatory figures: the fairies according to Croatian and Hungarian examples, however, initiated earthly mortals into becoming fairies with the help of yarns. Zoran Čiča described the initiation of the *vilenica* (fairy sorcerers communicating with fairies) on the basis of 17th-century Dalmatian witch trial testimonies: on Good Friday, the *vila* descends from the sky to a tree to teach the women healing; she is linked to the women gathered around the tree by a thread.[148] Mihály Csordós, a cowherd from Gyalóka (Sopron County), said in his 1744 court testimony that certain women (who can probably be identified as fairies) gave him a yarn with the help of which he could heal.[149]

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[142] Regarding semi-finished products, or products representing an inferior technological state playing the role of "raw" offerings in European belief systems see: Pócs 1982; 1992. For more on this also see: Becker 1990: 142.

[143] Pócs 1982; 2015.

[144] Collected by Diószegi Vilmos.

[145] Zentai 1971: 209.

[146] P. Madar 1967: 195.

[147] Róheim 1920: 86–87; or see the group "Recognising witches" (*Boszorkány felismerése*) in the Archive of Folk Beliefs, which includes numerous data regarding Lucy's whip and – especially from Southern Hungary, Lucy's chair.

[148] Čiča 2002: 138; similar: Đorđević 1953: 129.

[149] Schram 1970: II. 195–196, 203–204. For more details on the fairy sorcerer see: Pócs 2009.

DISROBEMENT

One element that fits well into the oft-mentioned series of natural "raw" circumstances is nudity, a very frequent precondition of rituals that initiate into culture, fend off the attacks of nature, or heal demonic illnesses, and which furthermore also plays an important role in fertility magic, divination and communal rituals of rain and crop magic. As illustrated by the above examples, "clothes make the man"; accordingly, nudity is a regression within the archaic system of nature-culture, a return to nature. Turning clothes inside out fulfils a similar function, playing a role in situations adequate with nudity or other "raw" conditions. As an analogy of the werewolf turning its skin inside out, the eversion of human clothes is also an abolishment of the clothes, that is, an act of "taking off" culture.

In addition to the examples of Sándor Solymossy,[150] Géza Róheim, (from 1925),[151] Thomas Sebeok,[152] or Mihály Hoppál,[153] the other work by Géza Róheim, in which he brings Hungarian and other Central European examples of clothes turned inside out that protected against or aided in the recognition of witches, should be mentioned.[154] For the case of an unbaptized child dressed in an inside-out shirt, I could mention the data collected by Tamás Grynaeus in Dávod (Bács County), or the data collected by myself in several Hungarian regions.[155] According to German data, the reason for putting the christening shirt inside out on the child is to prevent it from becoming a *Mahr* demon (cf. the above-cited Serbian data concerning the *karakondzuli*).[156] There is much data about love magic, marriage divination or magic of conception carried out in a state of nakedness,[157] obviously in combination with other circumstances. A typical occurrence from Dalmatia: if a woman is childless, she should sleep with her husband, then get up during the night and, by candlelight, should walk around the room naked, her husband chasing her until he catches her. They should repeat this every night until the woman gets pregnant.[158]

A great deal of data can be referenced in relation to weather magic: such are the fertility rites of collecting dew or naked immersion in water.[159] Rituals to fend off hail are also sometimes performed naked or in clothes or hats turned inside out.[160] (Let us remember that, according to beliefs living almost to this day, hail was brought by storm demons, the unbaptized, or devils.[161]) Both in Hungary[162] and more broadly across Europe, nudity

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[150] Solymossy 1943.

[151] Róheim 1925: 54–58.

[152] Sebeok 1948.

[153] Hoppál 2002.

[154] Róheim 1920: 46, 53.

[155] Hungarian Folk Belief Archive, Group *Kereszteletlen gyerek* ("*Unbaptized child*").

[156] Jungbauer 1931: 1717.

[157] See for instance Serbian and Croatian data: Koštiál 1910; 1911; Eckstein 1935: 882–889.

[158] KoŠtiál 1910: 287.

[159] Eckstein 1935: 858: Tóth G. 2001; Pócs 2003: 168–170.

[160] Eckstein 1935: 895–899; Gaerte 1952: 235, 244–248.

[161] See on this Pócs 2002.

[162] See for instance the above cited authors on nudity.

played an important role in boosting agricultural fertility in festive, occasional crop-magic rites and in individual magic.[163] It is a frequently required condition in apotropaic rites as well: people, animals, or even plants, the arable land, or the vegetable garden were protected from demons, ghosts, dragons, witches, devils, plant pests, and even thunderstorms by rites carried out naked or wearing inverted clothes, mostly by walking around, although there were many other variants.[164]

In addition to divination and rites of incubation performed naked, we also need to mention nudity in relation to repentant and mourning rituals.[165] Stripping away, along with other "inversions" and taboos creating "raw" conditions, is usually described as the general characteristic of the liminal phases of mourning or funerary rites.[166] This is a natural connotation of nature's temporary regression. Gábor Klaniczay mentioned nudity as a regressive phenomenon connected to social exclusion in his discussion of heretic movements, the Franciscan movement and other medieval and 18th-century protest movements articulating the opposition of nature-culture; movements that used the wearing of rags or complete disrobement as an indication of leaving society and of opposition towards the social order.[167]

Putting on clothes, as we could see, is an initiation into society and into culture; those who disrobe will step back into nature. This view is supported by the data about nudity accompanying the transformation of men into demons (werewolves, witches, incubi, etc.) considered as dual creatures;[168] or the data emphasising the nudity of demons as opposed to the clothed human being – besides their other "raw" features. Such references can be found regarding the raw-meat-eating werewolf, the *csuma* demon mentioned earlier, the Slovenian "dog-headed" demon (who comes from the "end of the world" to attack humanity), or the Greek *kallikantzaroi*. The latter are demonic werewolves who arrive from the underworld among the humans in the twelve days after Christmas; they are distorted, physically malformed, black men: they are naked, they rip off their clothes, they eat raw meat.[169]

Nudity is, thus, an extra-societal, and therefore asexual state of being. This coincides with what Victor Turner writes about nudity in relation to the liminal state of rites of passage: during this state, the human being is not a social being, only an individual, invisible in terms of social structure.[170] The system of nudity is, therefore, not an "erotic" but an "abstinent" phenomenon; not – as research has often concluded[171] – the presence

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[163] Eckstein 1935: 871–876, 890–895; Koštiál 1911: 287.

[164] See for instance the rich material of Géza Róheim on Hungarian, Austrian and other neighbouring nations. (Róheim 1920: 46–47, 53); or the examples of Eckstein and Gaerte: Eckstein 1935: 841–854; Gaerte 1952: 235.

[165] Eckstein 1935: 868–871.

[166] See on this for instance Ivanov 1969 and Fox 1973.

[167] Klaniczay 2017.

[168] Eckstein 1935: 859–862.

[169] Schmidt B. 1871: 239; Lawson 1910: 208, 253; Kretzenbacher 1968.

[170] Turner 1972: 339.

[171] See for instance Róheim 1925: 58: in relation to data on nudity of Hungarians and other neighbouring people (fertility sorcerers, healers, vermifuge, etc.) he mostly underlines the erotic aspect, he talks about the "repetition of libidinous situations"; Solymossy (1943) and later, referring to him, Sebeok (1948) interpret the removal or inversion of clothes as a riddance of some kind of harmful spirits dwelling inside the clothes, with which I also disagree.

but the absence of Eros. In this regard, I have to agree with Mihály Hoppál who, after having summarized many other aspects of the research on nudity (presently not relevant here), came to the conclusion that the "denial of Eros" is some sort of purification, an acquirement of knowledge that entails retreat and suffering.[172]

As I have shown in my study examining werewolf-beliefs, when discussing the special features (such as the caul) manifesting at the birth of mediators "commuting" between the worlds of nature and culture ("fertility sorcerers" of werewolf-nature), which allude to nature, these are cases of the regression of people who "dressed" themselves into culture/society; all this to ensure the rebirth of life rooted in nature/death, to ensure the circle of life and death. The werewolf-mediator initiated into human society has to "submerge" again and again in nature in order to ensure that, as a cultural being, it will be able to defeat its natural adversary, its own alternative in the system of nature (the werewolf defeats the wolf, the dragon-man defeats the dragon, etc.). We only have to recall the Bulgarian data, at the beginning of this paper, about the dragon-child who had to be dressed on the first day in a shirt woven under "raw" conditions so that it could later successfully fight against the hail-bringing *hala*.)[173] As an analogy to this, and as the conclusion of the above-cited data, it can be established that human beings, through fertilising "raw" ritual nuances that refer back to nature, ensure the success of rites that create, develop and protect society and culture. With the absence of Eros, Eros can be recreated.

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[172] Hoppál 2002.

[173] See the relevant references of ""*werewolf*-sorcerers"" – for instance the "alter ego battles" for the fertility of crops – for more detail see: Ginzburg 1983 [1966]; Pócs 1999, chapter 7 and Pócs 2011: 121–125.

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Location of used manuscript sources

MNT =*Magyar Néphit Topográfia* [Topography of Hungarian Folk Belief] (survey collection conducted in the 1970s, the material is in the Archive of Folk Belief)

NA= *Magyar Néphit Archívum* [Hungarian Folk Belief Archive] (at the HAS Research Centre for the Humanities, Institute of Ethnology, Budapest)

EA = *Ethnológiai Adattár* [Ethnological Archive] (Museum of Ethnography, Budapest)

SRAJCE, OGRINJALA IN GOLOTA: SIMBOLIČNI VIDIKI OBLAČIL
Éva Pócs
◇◇◇

Študija obravnava verovanja in obredja, ki so povezana s srajcami, ogrinjali, predenjem in tkanjem, haljami in goloto, ki imajo pomembno vlogo v nekaterih simbolnih sistemih, tako krščanskih kot predkrščanskih, v evropskem ljudskem verovanju. Lahko so v celoti prisotni v različnih semantičnih slojih določenih verovanj ali obredij ali pa delujejo kot vodilno načelo, ideološka osnova, ki je osnovna podlaga za nekatera verovanja. Sestavljeni so iz simbolne serije nasprotij *narava – kultura*, *surovo – kuhano* in *življenje – smrt*. V tem binarnem vesolju so človeška bitja opredeljena kot 'živa, ne mrtva' in kot 'ljudje, ne živali.' Živijo v osrednje pozicioniranem naseljenem prostoru, čigar značilnost je kultura v nasprotju z naravo, ki se nahaja na nenaseljenem in neciviliziranem obrobju, kjer prebivajo divje živali, demoni in mrtve duše. Za naravo je značilno, da tam ni domačih živali ali gojenih rastlin, prav tako pa tudi ne kulturnih procesov in izdelkov kot so oranje, sejanje, udomačevanje divjih živali, peči, kovaštva, železa, predenja in tkanja, oblačil in krščanskih zakramentov. V nadaljevanju se osredotočam na vprašanja, kako je bil ukročen 'surovi' svet narave in kako so se človeška bitja, ki so se rodila kot naravna bitja in 'divjaki,' kultivirala in se preoblikovala v družbena bitja. V tem razvoju osnovnih značilnosti človeške kulture pripisujejo osrednjo vlogo predenju in tkanju, kuhanju in peki ter kovaški obrti.

Njihov simbolični okvir in konkreten položaj in vlogo v evropski kulturi je včasih mogoče rekonstruirati zgolj na podlagi drobcev, ki jih najdemo v folklornih besedilih; drugič pa jih je moč rekonstruirati na podlagi verovanj in obredov, ki so še zmeraj v rabi. Očitno je svet, za katerega sta značilni nasprotni si dvojici narava - kultura in surovo – kuhano, predvsem pa simbolična funkcija predenja in tkanja tkanin in srajce, prisoten tudi v geografsko in kronološko oddaljenih predkrščanskih in krščanskih kulturah, ne glede na jezikovne prepreke. Večina preučenih pojavov ima predkrščanske in krščanske ustreznice, saj kaže, da imajo omenjene oblačilne značilnosti arhaične korenine v starodavni evropski preteklosti, splošne poteze arhaičnih pogledov na svet, ki presegajo kulturne meje Evrope in so morda veljavne povsod, njihovi drobci pa so integrirani v krščanstvo.

Pričujoča raziskava se osredotoča na naslednja vprašanja: kako je oblačenje (in pa predenje in tkanje, ki ustvarjata blago, to pa predstavlja osnovo za oblačila) preoblikovalo »golo« človeško bitje v socialno bitje; kako je ljudi 'uvedlo' v svet kulture; kako je 'srajca' postala izraz identitete in sredstvo za izpolnjevanje družbeno vlogo posameznika; in kako so oblačila ščitila ljudi pred demoni in umrlimi iz sveta narave, ki so se spravljali nadnje.

Vsaka evropska kultura, ki smo jo podrobneje pogledali, ima poleg zgoraj opisanega sistema, temelječega na nasprotju med življenjem in smrtjo, ki je ustrezen glede na horizontalno dvojnost človeškega sveta kot kulturnega središča in narave kot kaotičnega obrobja, trojni sistem nebes, zemlje in podzemnega sveta. Nebeška

božanstva odločajo o usodi in zagotavljajo zaščito, pod njimi je zemlja, se pravi človeški svet, pod njim pa podzemni svet demonov in umrlih. V tem trojnem sistemu imajo nit, blago, srajca in ogrinjalo kozmičen pomen in se navezujejo na kozmos, ustvarjanje vesolja, usodo človeštva, itd. Zaradi božanstev, ki tkejo nit usode ali predejo srajco usode in se pojavljajo v mitologiji določenih narodov, pa tudi zaradi povezav in analogij, ki se navezujejo na mikro in na makro kozmos, so človeška verovanja prežeta z bajeslovnimi principi, individualna obredja pa povezana z usodo vsega človeštva in sveta. Predenje, blago, srajca in ogrinjalo tako pridobijo kozmični vidik, ki se nanaša na celotno vesolje in vse človeštvo, in postanejo atributi božanskega, to pa posvečuje in krepi njihovo vlogo v človeškem svetu.

Eden od elementov, ki se lepo umeščajo v poprej omenjeni niz naravnih, ‚surovih’ stanj, je golota. Golota je zelo pogost predpogoj ritualov, ki človeka vpeljejo v kulturo, ščitijo pred izbruhi narave ali ozdravijo bolezni, ki so jih ljudem zavdali demoni. Poleg tega ima golota pomembno vlogo pri magiji plodnosti in pridelka, pri prerokovanju in pri skupnih obredih za dež. Kot ponazarjajo zgornji primeri, »oblačila naredijo človeka.« Zato je golota regresija znotraj arhaičnega sistema narava-kultura in predstavlja vrnitev k naravi. Podoben namen in vlogo kot golota in ostala ‚surova’ stanja ima tudi obračanje oblačil na napačno stran. V analogiji z volkodlakom, ki obrne svojo kožo navzven, je obračanje človeških oblačil znak odlaganja oblačil in pravzaprav pomeni ‚odlaganje’ kulture. Nadetje oblačil pomeni sprejem v družbo in v kulturo, tisti, ki jih odložijo, pa se bodo vrnili k naravi. Golota je tako stanje izven kulture in zato brezspolna. Med liminalno fazo v obredih prehoda človeško bitje ni družbeno bitje, zgolj posameznik, ki je v družbeni strukturi neviden. Koncept golote tako nima ‚erotičnega’ pomena, pač pa se navezuje na koncept ‚vzdržnosti’ – ne pomeni prisotnosti Erosa, kot so pogosto ugotavljale raziskave, pač pa njegovo odsotnost. Bolgarski deček-zmaj, ki je moral biti prvi dan oblečen v srajco, stkano v ‚surovih’ okoliščinah, se je zato lahko kasneje uspešno boril proti *halu*, ki prinaša točo. Kot analogijo lahko za zaključek zgoraj citiranih podatkov ugotovimo, da človeška bitja s tem, da gojijo ‚surove’ različice ritualov, ki se obračajo nazaj k naravi, zagotavljajo uspeh obredij, ki ustvarjajo, razvijajo in varujejo družbo in kulturo. Z odsotnostjo Erosa je Eros lahko ponovno vzpostavljen.

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The Ancient Greek Symbolism in the Religious Landscape. The Case of Delphi

Andrea Malea

This paper discusses the ancient Greek beliefs from a different perspective; I attempt to approach the old themes in an interdisciplinary way. I refer to the studies of French anthropology and on the ethnological studies of the conceptualization of the landscape through oral tradition. Some classical antiquity researchers have already done so. Such authors that relate to ancient Greece as a whole discuss the symbolism of sacrifices and snakes. Thus, the belief system of the community manifests in the landscape in its symbolic sense, and with this working guide, I managed to apply the abovementioned contemporary (modern) perspectives to the example of the ancient Greek Delphi.

KEYWORDS: Delphi, Pythia, Python, Apollo, omphalos, landscape, symbolism, other-world, prophecies, pneuma

INTRODUCTION

First, as mentioned above, not much has been written on the topic of symbolism in the landscape in ancient Greece. Therefore, with an interdisciplinary method, I refer to French anthropologists, mainly Jean-Pierre Vernant, a specialist in the anthropology of ancient Greece, to ethnologist Katja Hrobat Virloget, to different historians, such as Susan Guettel Cole and Yulia Ustinova, and to archaeological evidence. By comparing their findings with the records of ancient Greek authors and the ancient Greek belief system, I applied certain conclusions to the religious landscape at Delphi, which can offer an example of the landscape symbolism, which is possible to apply to the other ancient Greek religious sites as well. This can be done by taking into account the main definitions of different symbols that can be found in the ritual sites and applying them, according to other literary (historical) evidence, to the chosen sites.

Religion played an important role in Ancient Greece. They believed that the gods had control over many different aspects of their lives. Therefore, the festivals, sacrifices, religious offerings, libations, hymns and prayers were very significant. Following the myth (Plut. *Mor. De def. or.* 409f, translated by Frank Cole Babbitt), Zeus established this site when he sought to find the centre of Mother Earth – Gaia, his grandmother.

He sent two eagles flying, one from the east and the second from the west, which later met at Delphi. Zeus then threw from the sky *omphalos* that represented the centre (navel) of the world and the entrance to the womb of Mother Earth (Parke in Wormell 1957: 1).

Delphi lies on the south-western slope of Mount Parnassus. It occupies an extensive area and is best known for its oracle, the priestess named Pythia at the sanctuary dedicated to Apollo. But Apollo was not the only god that was worshiped in the area below Mount Parnassus. In the period between the 15th and 8th centuries B.C., the cult of Gaia was dominant, but there was also the cult of Poseidon. In the 8th century B.C., Apollo superseded them and established his own sanctuary. He also shared the site with his half-brother Dionysus, who had the central role for three winter months, since for that period of time, Apollo was considered absent from Delphi. In addition to those listed, there were even more divinities present at Delphi. Located on the slopes of Mount Parnassus lies the Corycian cave. It was sacred to the nymphs, muses, Dionysus and also Pan (Fontenrose 1980: 380, 411).

DELPHIC LANDSCAPE AND ITS SYMBOLISM

PYTHON AND ITS DUAL ROLE AT DELPHI

Archaeological evidence shows that the site was inhabited already in the 1500 B.C., by the Mycenaeans. To this period belonged goddess Gaia, for she was worshiped in Mycenaean religion. At this time all religious rituals were performed in open areas or caves. The landscape at Delphi was and still is rocky and infertile; therefore, it was necessary for people to perform fertility rituals (Coldstream 2003: 198–199; Guettel Cole 2004: 15–16).

According to *Homeric Hymn to Apollo*, there was a serpent – dragon (δράκαινα) named Python that guarded Gaias' shrine, which extended up to the Corycian cave and all the way to the later Athena Pronaia sanctuary. The cult of snakes can be found all over Europe, and many studies have been written on this topic (Centini 1998, 49–52; Hrobat 2010: 98; Håland 2011: 124, 126). The snake symbolizes the soul of the dead; it was worshiped as a chthonic deity and the guardian spirit. They were associated with Gaia, because they come from the ground. They guard treasures, are symbols of underground power and are associated with the kingdom of the dead (Hom *Hom. Hymn. Apol.* 334–360, 370; Hrobat 2010: 90, 98, 99).

Mythologically, snakes are associated with the creation of the world; they are the symbol of Mother Earth and eternity. Greek mythology knows two types of snakes; good (*agathodaemon*) and demonic (*kakodaemon*). The snake is the most important cultic animal in Greece. Their connection with Gaia is also evident in fertility rituals, because snakes are donors of fertility. The central act of these rites, during the festivals dedicated to Mother Earth, was the descent of female participants selected for these rites into underground caverns, which represented the entrances to the womb of the Earth. They carried with themselves fertility symbols formed as female and male sex organs and also objects that represented snakes. Snakes were believed to be the guardians of these underground sanctuaries (Håland 2011: 124, 126).

The Delphic Python was the guardian of Gaias' shrine and was said to be living in the underground cavern. Ancient authors use the word *antron* (cave), by which they may refer to the chasm below the later Apollo's temple, to a nearby fissure by Castalian spring or to the Corycian cave up above on the hill. If Python lived in the underground cavern and the centre of the earth was under later Apollo's temple where the omphalos stood, I would propose that the Python, in a symbolic sense, lived in that chasm, but as it was giant, it protected all the sacred area below Mount Parnassus. From the *Homeric Hymn to Apollo* we understand that Python also caused mischief to men and their sheep. Whoever met the Python on the day of doom would sweep him away, until Apollo killed him (Hom *Hom. Hymn. Apol.* 307, 334; Strab. 9.3.5; Paus. 2. 7. 7, 10. 6. 5).

Python was said to be buried under the omphalos stone and the poisonous gasses that rose from the chasm below the temple and inspired Pythia (priestess), were believed to be the breath of the Python (Fontenrose 1959: 417). Snakes are often related to the cult of water, because water and snakes are both mediums with the otherworld (Hrobat 2007: 40; Håland 2011: 124, 126). Several springs existed at Delphi, which will be further explained hereinafter.

In the case of Delphi, Python appears as a simultaneously positive and negative figure. The dragon (or dragonness as stated by Homer) guards Gaia's shrine, but again he causes mischief to men. Apparently, at Delphi, the snake has a dual, positive and negative, role.

THE SUPERSESSION OF THE GOD APOLLO

PYTHIA AND APOLLO: A FEMALE PRIESTESS AND A MALE GOD

After killing Gaias' dragon, Apollo left the corpse to rot, named the site Pytho (from *pythein* – to rot), and established his own sanctuary (Hom *Hom. Hymn. Apol.* 334–360, 390–530).

Then he chose the first priests; five so-called *hosioi* and two *hiereus*. There was also a priestess, an oracle named Pythia. She prophesied from the innermost part of the temple, from adyton. Pythia was a woman, chosen from the local population of Delphi. Her prophesies were inspired; ancient Greek people believed that the god Apollo spoke through Pythia (Fontenrose 1978: 219). Plutarch, who was also a priest at Delphi, writes that a god neither tells nor conceals, but indicates. Further he writes:

> For he makes known and reveals his own thoughts, but he makes them
> known through the associated medium of a mortal body and a soul that
> is unable to keep quiet […]. (Plut. *Mor. De Pyth. or.* 404e, translated by
> Frank Cole Babbitt)

The oracle was available nine days per year, on the seventh of each month, except for the three winter months when Apollo was absent. First, the consulates needed to organize the order of the consultation. On the day of consultations, Pythia and the inquirers needed

to be ritually purified, before they entered the sacred space. Purification rituals were held in the Castalia spring. The visitors then moved, in a strictly structured procession, towards Apollos' altar in front of the temple, where the sacrificial rituals were held. The procedure was to sprinkle water on the goat (purification of an animal). If the goat shuddered, it meant that Apollo was happy to be consulted, otherwise the oracle was closed. The goat was then sacrificed on the Apollos' altar outside the temple, participants also made other offerings and paid fees. The body parts were then burned at the Hestias' altar, which stood in the temple. Some parts of the goat were dedicated to the god, the others were consumed by humans. When the procedure was finished, the oracle was opened. Pythia then descended into the adyton; she sat on the tripod over the chasm holding laurel leaves, drank water from the spring Cassotis and prophesied (Guettel Cole 2004: 28–36; Scott 2014: 15).

At first young girls were chosen, virgins as Pythia was, but very soon they started to choose women in menopause. Diodorus Siculus from 1st century B.C. reports an interesting event. He wrote that Echecrates the Thessalian, having arrived at the shrine, fell in love with Pythia, took her with him and abused her. To prevent any such abuse in the future, the Delphians issued a law that only women in menopause should be chosen (Diod. Sic. 16.26.6). A slightly more convincing reason can be found in the definition of purity. Childbirth, death, menstruation, and sexual intercourse were interpreted as ritually polluting. This was a problem for young girls as they matured physically, and menstruation was considered pollution. Older women had no such a problem, because they were menopausal (Gentile 2009: 92).

Pythia could have been married, but she had her own house, separated from her husband. She had to live as a celibate, because she served a god. A celibate menopausal Pythia, was able to achieve the same level of ritual purity as that of young virgins, as she was pure in body (no menstruation) and detached from society. Ancient Greeks believed that the body of menopausal Pythia in celibacy, was fundamentally similar to that of a physical virgin (Dillon 2003: 37, 77; Gentile 2009: 92). We can argue that this was the reason women in menopause were chosen.

As we have seen, it was a woman who served a male god. In ancient Greece, male priests served male gods, female priestesses served female goddesses, which was not the case at Delphi. Pythia had a female predecessor (Sybil, who prophesied at the time of Gaia's cult) (Plut. *Mor. De Pyth. or.* 399a, translated by Frank Cole Babbitt). The reason I propose Pythia to be a woman is in the Delphic title "the centre of the world", which in a symbolic sense meant the entrance to the Otherworld and a boundary between worlds. In European tradition, women were believed to be the mediators with the Underworld, because they bring to the world souls, which come from the Underworld (Dragan 1999: 47). So, for the most important sanctuary in Ancient Greece, where the landscape symbolism indicates the mediators between worlds and their boundaries, I would argue that the woman was most suitable for the transmission of Apollos' messages (Malea 2017: 58).

ANIMAL SACRIFICE AND FIRE/HESTIA

Animal sacrifice was the most important rite in Ancient Greece. The sacrifice of animals was accompanied by the incineration of grains and cakes, and was also accompanied by hymns, prayers and libations. Cakes (*pelanos*), breads, grain and fruits are all found as gifts to gods. The preparations include bathing and dressing in clean clothes. At the start, a procession is formed (Burkert 1986: 3) and its final goal is Apollo's altar in front of the temple. At Delphi, two altars were used when sacrificing; Apollo's in front of the temple and Hestia's in Apollo's temple. My point of focus here will be the importance of sacrifice in the beliefs of the Greeks. Hiera Kala analyzed vase paintings with sacrificial images of the archaic and classical periods and found that only certain parts were devoted to the gods (tail and back/spine). The parts for humans were called *splachna* and they include the heart, lungs, liver, kidneys and spleen. They were divided among people (Kala 1995: 131). As already explained by Einar Thomassen, the sacrifice connected the mortals with the gods and at the same time separated them, because they received different parts of the animals (Thomassen 2004: 277). Jan Bremmer also says that sacrificing meant communication with the gods (Bremmer 2007: 144).

Sacrifices were much more than that. The Greeks believed that they had to make offerings to the gods in order not to make them angry, because gods had peoples' destinies in their hands (Burkert 1986: 4).

The ritual sacrifices are directly related to the role of fire. Jean-Pierre Vernant identified the concept of the centre in Hestia, the goddess of the domestic heart. This is the spot where the communication between worlds is established; therefore, the domestic heart represents the omphalos (centre) of the house. The heart is placed in *oikos* or megaron, and the megaron is winding around the heart. The centre is in the point on the ground, where the three cosmic levels come into contact. In the mythical view, *hestia*[1] represented communication with the underground world, at the point in the ground, and smoke represented communication with the gods (Vernant 1983: 200–210).

However, the Delphic fire, or *hestia*, was more important than that. As Susan Guettel Cole points out, the fire and water were also symbols of communal life and could be found in the centre of the polis. The *prtyaneion* - a physical space in the centre of the city - included one community's common hearth and its sacred fire. The hearth symbolized the community's symbolic centre that connected polis to every other community that partook the same fire. The sacred centre in *polis* was connected with the roads to the sacred centre of each local sanctuary and at the end to Delphi - the centre (Guettel Cole 2004: 76–80). So as we can see, every road led to Delphi. At this point we can argue that the Delphic *hestia* was also the centre of all sacred fires of ancient Greek cities (polis) which is derived from the importance of Delphi as the centre. If any fire of any city (polis) went out, they came to light it up at Delphi.

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[1] When referring to the fire I write, with the small letter.

WATER AND PURIFICATION: SACRED SPRINGS CASSOTIS AND CASTALIA

As Arnold van Gennep explained, rituals of the passage include rituals of the separation from the previous world, the transition between worlds and inclusion into the new world. The purification is also counted as *rite de passage* (van Gennep 1960: 18–25).

Mediterranean landscape with its branched water system (rivers that disappeared underground and appeared on the surface somewhere else) inspired the belief that rivers and springs are alive; rivers were presided by male deities and springs by nymphs. All sacred places had to be purified, in order to be congruent with the gods (Guettel Cole 2004: 28–36).

The Delphic landscape is famous for the existence of several springs. The most important for the rituals are Castalia and Cassotis. The spring Castalia was used exclusively for bathing (purifying) of the visitors and Pythia. The purification process at Delphi meant being purified of the earthly impurities, before entering into the sacred area of god Apollo (Guettel Cole 2004: 28–36).

The spring Cassotis was believed to be the part of the subterranean river Styx, which forms the boundary between Earth and the Underworld (Hades). Cassotis emerged as a fountain slightly north from the temple of Apollo, and its waters ran under the adyton through a rocky channel into the chasm, from which the vapors rose. Over that chasm, on a tripod, sat Pythia. She drank from the spring Cassotism and ancient people were convinced (better, they believed) that water from this source gave Pythia the inspiration for prophesying (Kenda 2006: 27).

The connection in the symbolic meaning of the spring Cassotis, as a part of the subterranean rivers Styx and Hades, where the souls of the dead are located, with the Pythias inspiration is clear. It can be argued on the basis of the knowledge that water represented contact with the Underworld, not just in Ancient Greek religion, but also in other ancient religions. As Mirjam Mencej pointed out and later Katja Hrobat Virloget, while referring to their studies of Slavs, the water was a link between worlds and at the same time it was a boundary between worlds. The same case can be found in Ancient Greece, as mentioned above (Mencej 1997: 131–143; Hrobat 2010: 115; Malea 2017: 42).

To conclude the belief, the inspiration for prophesying did not come just from the vapours (Python's breath), but also from the water of the source Cassotis as part of the subterranean river of the dead, therefore from the world of the souls - Hades.

THE TEMPLE OF APOLLO – ITS PREMEDIATED PLACEMENT AT THE SITE

The Temple of Apollo at Delphi was a doric periptos, including a ramp leading up to a pronaos and further into the naos. The innermost part of the temple, the holy of holies, was known as *adyton* ("inaccessible") (Ustinova 2009: 142–149).

If I may refer to the previously mentioned Vernant and his finding that the domestic fire/heart/hestia is placed in the middle of the *oikos*, I can also apply this conclusion to the temple of Apollo. Archaeologists have not identified any mentions by ancient authors

(I refer to Herodotus and Plutarch: Hdt. 7.140; Plut. *Mor. De def. or.* 437C) of megaron/ oikos, because they were searching for the separate room. Ancient authors mention that the altar of Hestia stood in the middle of the naos and, as Vernant's research has shown, *oikos* winds around the heart. Therefore, we can conclude that naos and oikos/megaron are one and the same room, in the middle of which the altar of Hestia stood (Malea 2017: 45).

The most important part of Delphi was the prophetic chamber (adyton). It was located two metres below the level of the surrounding floor. Only Pythia and priests had access to the adyton, when purified. For other people, regular mortals, access was forbidden in order prevent pollution of the holiest part of the temple (Ustinova 2009: 142–149).

Of interest is the layout of the adyton and temple itself. The adyton was placed over the point where the two chasms crossed. From there, poisonous vapors arose. Under the innermost part, water from the spring Cassotis flowed; in the adyton, also stood the omphalos stone, which marked the centre of the Earth. Therefore, I would argue that the temple was intentionally build on that place for many reasons. According to the belief, the centre of the Earth, the entrance to the Otherworld, the world of souls was there. Thus it was necessary to separate but again to somehow connect the worlds. Consequently, ancient Greeks built the temple's adyton, which was forbidden for regular mortals to enter, precisely over that chasm. The reason I propose is that the entrance to the Otherworld needed to be protected, so that the worlds (the mortal world, the world of souls) would not pollute each other, and mortals would not meet premature death (Cassotis was considered to be a part of the river Styx); on the other side, the communication with both sides would be limited, but still possible, to some extent. Ancient Greeks considered Pythia to be that medium, oracle, who delivered the words of god Apollo and got the inspiration from the Otherworld (Malea 2017: 59).

CONCLUSION

The communal life and its cultic activities were built around religious beliefs. In this article, I tended to confirm the thesis about the importance of Delphi as the centre of the Ancient Greek religious belief. Around this intertwine different physical and symbolic factors that clearly indicate the importance of this cultic centre.

In this article, I have presented and made conclusions for all main symbols and their meanings that can be found at Delphi. They all indicate the liminal. Python, the snake, as we saw has a dual role. They are symbols of underground power and are associated with Gaia. Python not only indicates the liminal but also its burial. It was believed by Ancient Greeks that the dragon was buried under the omphalos stone that marked the centre of the Earth. Also they believed that the poisonous vapors, which rose from the chasm in adyton, were the breath of the Python, which came from Hades.

Closely associated with the snakes, is water. It was very important for different rites all around Ancient Greece. At Delphi we can find many water sources. The most important two water sources, named Cassotis and Castalia, were used for cultic purposes. The Castalia spring was used for purification, because in Ancient Greece it was necessary to

be cleansed of earthly impurities before entering the sacred area, in order to not pollute the sacred. The water from the spring Cassotis was believed to be the one that gave Pythia inspiration for prophesying. Pythia drank the water from this spring. Ancient Greeks believed that the Cassotis spring was a part of the River Styx, the subterranean river of the souls of the dead. The connection I found was that the spring Cassotis connected the two worlds: the world of the dead, Hades, and the world of the mortals. Thus, according to the belief, Pythia would receive inspiration from the world of the souls as the spring was a part of the Otherworld.

Besides water, fire was also important for communal life. It also indicates the connection between worlds; with the world of the gods by smoke and at the point in the ground with Hades. At Delph,i ancient authors mention the room called "megaron" or "oikos". In the middle of this room stood hestia/fire. When researching the site, archaeologists did not identify oikos/megaron, because they were searching for a separate room. According to ancient Greek authors' claims, that the inquirers waited in the megaron and according to Jean-Pierre Vernants' study of the domestic hearth, I came to conclusion that megaron could be equated with naos of the temple. In the middle of it stood hestia.

The most important and the centre of Delphic fame was a woman named Pythia, the oracle. I analyzed a few different studies, about women in Ancient Greece, while asking myself the question "Why female and why not a male oracle?". First, I examined the difference between young females and older females, and also in what parts of the rites where they included. I applied some aspects from different studies to the Delphic Pythia, when at first young females where chosen for this role, and later, women in menopause. Menopausal women were chosen, because they had been ritually purified, since they did not menstruate.

The other part of purification was held at the Castalia spring. But why was Pythia a woman serving a male god and why was there no male priest for a male god? All the abovementioned symbols are pointing to something liminal and are gathering around the centre of the Earth, which was believed to be the entrance to the Otherworld or to the womb of the mother Earth. The same as water and snakes, women were also believed to be the connection with the Otherworld, since they bring to life souls, which come from Hades. So, Pythia, who was celibate, as a woman somehow had a"better connection" with the Otherworld.

Therefore, around the centre of the Ancient Greek world, Delphi, which itself meant the entrance to the Otherworld and the connection between worlds, we can find symbols that point out the importance of Delphi and its ritual. Because of the title "Centre of the Earth" and all rituals and landscape symbols, Delphi managed to retain its importance until today.

LITERATURE

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IL SIMBOLISMO GRECO ANTICO NEL PAESAGGIO RELIGIOSO. IL CASO DI DELFI

Andrea Malea

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La religione nell'antica Grecia era un punto centrale intorno al quale è stata costruita la vita della comunità con le sue attività di culto. Parlando di Delfi, non sono state scritte tante cose sul tema del simbolismo del paesaggio e del suo significato per la comprensione della comunità. Analizzando e confrontando gli studi europei, gli studi sull' antica Grecia ed evidenze archeologiche e storiche, sono riuscita ad addivenire ad alcune conclusioni sul caso di Delfi. Con la sua storia in primo piano, ho tentato di confermare la tesi sull'importanza del sito come centro dell'antica credenza greca in senso religioso. Intorno a questo si intrecciano diversi fattori, fisici e simbolici, che indicano l'importanza di questo centro di culto.

Nell'articolo ho presentato e sono giunta a delle conclusioni riguardanti tutti i simboli e i loro significati che si possono trovare a Delfi, che indicano il suo valore liminale. Queste conclusioni potrebbero essere applicate anche ad altri siti simili, conoscendo i significati principali dei simboli.

Nell'età micenea, Pitone (*Python*) era il serpente o il drago che proteggeva il culto della dea Gea ed aveva un doppio ruolo. I serpenti erano simboli di potenza sotterranea e sono associati a Gea. Gli antichi Greci credevano che il drago fosse sepolto sotto la pietra ònfalo (*omphalos*) che segnava il centro della terra, Gea. Credevano anche che i vapori velenosi, che salivano dalle crepe dell'adyton, fossero il respiro del Pitone, che proveniva dall'Ade.

L'acqua era molto importante per diversi riti anche a Delfi. Qui possiamo trovare due importanti sorgenti d'acqua, chiamati Cassotis e Castalia, usate per scopi di culto. L'acqua della sorgente Castalia veniva utilizzata per la purificazione, perché nell'antica Grecia era necessario purificarsi dalle impurità prima di entrare nell'area sacra, affinché quest'ultima non venisse inquinata. L'acqua della Cassotis era quella che ha dato a Pitia l'ispirazione per la profezia. Credevano che Cassotis facesse parte del fiume sotterraneo delle anime dei morti, Stige. La connessione che ho trovato è che Cassotis collegava i due mondi; il mondo dei morti, l'Ade, con il mondo dei mortali. Quindi, secondo la credenza, Pitia otteneva l'ispirazione dal mondo delle anime poiché Cassotis faceva parte dell'Ade.

Il fuoco era importante anche per la vita della comunità. Esso indicava anche la connessione tra i mondi; il fumo rappresentava la connessione con il mondo degli Dei e il punto in cui la terra incontra l'Ade. Gli autori antichi menzionano a Delfi la unità architettonica chiamata megaron o *oikos*, al centro del quale si trovava l'Estia (*hestia*) / il fuoco. Gli archeologi, durante le ricerche del sito, non hanno individuato la sala perché stavano cercando una stanza separata. Secondo gli autori greci antichi, i quali riportavano che i richiedenti stavano aspettando a megaron, e secondo Jean-Pierre Vernant, che ha fatto degli studi sul tema del cuore

domestico, sono giunta alla conclusione che megaron potrebbe essere identificato come il naos del tempio. Al centro dello stesso si trovava l'Estia, il focolare.

Il baricentro più importante della storia delfica era l'oracolo, una donna chiamata Pitia. Analizzando alcuni studi sulle donne nell'antica Grecia, ho prima esaminato la differenza tra le giovani donne e quelle più anziane, ed in quali parti dei riti vi erano incluse. Così ho applicato alcuni aspetti tratti da diversi studi su Pitia. All'inizio per il ruolo dell'oracolo venivano selezionate giovani donne, invece dopo le donne in menopausa. Considerato che quest'ultime non avevano menstruazioni, venivano ritualmente purificate. L'altra parte della purificazione avveniva alla sorgente Castalia. Tutti questi simboli indicano il valore liminale, e si trovano intorno al centro della terra. Le donne rappresentavano la connessione con l'altro mondo, perché davano vita alle anime provenienti dall'Ade.

Intorno al centro del mondo greco antico, Delfi, che in sé significava l'ingresso all'altro mondo e la connessione tra i mondi, si possono trovare i simboli che indicano l'importanza di Delfi e del suo rito. Grazie al titolo "Centro della Terra" e di tutti i simboli, ha mantenuto la sua importanza fino ad oggi.

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Об архаических чертах народной демонологии русин Восточной Словакии*

Марина М. Валенцова

The article discusses archaic elements in the demonological beliefs of Ruthenians of Eastern Slovakia, a group of old East Slavic population in the Carpathian region. Archaic elements were identified by the comparison and confrontation with other archaic traditions of the Slavs – Polessian, Serbian, Russian, Bielorussian. Ethnolinguistic research was carried out on the basis of published materials - articles, monographs and dictionaries, as well as author's field records. The study shows the presence of numerous cultural and linguistic archaisms belonging to the proto-Slavic era and preserved despite active and various contacts with neighbouring ethnic groups of other Slavs and non-Slavic peoples.
KEYWORDS: ethnolinguistics, Ruthenian demonology, archaism, Slavic Carpathians

Карпатские русины (этнонимы: русины, руснаки, подкарпатские русины, карпа-торосы, угрорусы, угорские русины, лемки) – самая западная группа восточных славян, проживающая на территории Западной Украины (Закарпатская область, историческое название – Подкарпатская Русь) и далее вдоль северных и южных склонов Северо-Восточных Карпат в восточных районах Словакии (исторически – Пряшевщина, Пряшевская Русь) и юго-восточных районах Польши (Лемковщина)[1].

Говорить об архаичности народной демонологии, как и других сфер традицион-ной народной культуры русин можно, во-первых, на основании времени и истории заселения областей, на которых они проживают[2]; учета особых географических

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[1] Кроме перечисленных исконных земель русины проживают в районах компактного поселения в Венгрии, Румынии, в исторических областях Бачка и Срем на территории Воеводины в Сербии и Славонии в Хорватии, а также в США и Канаде. Численность говорящих на русинском языке, по разным оценкам, превышает 100 тыс. человек (Скорвид, б/г).

[2] В очерке истории карпатских русин с древнейших времен до 1989 г. представлено мнение некоторых чешских, словацких и русских историков, которые допускают, что малые группы восточнославянского населения проникали за южные склоны Карпат с востока или с севера возможно уже с VIII в. (ср. топонимы Ruská, Ruskov, Oroszló, Kissoroszi и др.), но они не имеют континуитета с населением, пришедшим в Восточную Словакию в XIV в. По другой гипотезе, на основании Хроники Анонима,

условий, сформировавших относительно изолированные ареалы расселения[3]; лингвистических данных, в первую очередь диалектологических, продемонстрировавших архаичность русинских диалектов, и генетических, показавших значительное количество старых заимствований из соседних венгерского, немецкого и румынского языков[4]. По словам Мирослава Сополиги, автора ряда публикаций по материальной культуре украинцев Восточной Словакии, директора Музея украинской культуры в Свиднике, объехавшего все русинские села Словакии, «у багатьох населених пунктах цієї країни збереглися стародавні українські традиції у тому вигляді, у якому їх подекуди уже нема на Україні».

Очевидно, что для выявления архаических черт русинской демонологии необходимо ее сравнение с демонологическими системами других славянских народов – с учетом надежных реконструкций праславянской мифологии – а также сопоставление с мифологическими традициями соседних народов – венгров и румын.

Эта задача в настоящее время может быть выполнена благодаря работам круга Московской этнолингвистической школы Н.И. и С.М. Толстых (см. Славянская этнолингвистика 2017), уже несколько десятилетий занимающейся реконструкцией древней духовной культуры славян. Результатом этой деятельности стал 5-томный словарь «Славянские древности» (Толстой (ed.) 1995–2012), где описаны в том

Ruthéni или Oroszok (русы) попали в Верхнее Потисье и в Словакию в X в. вместе с венграми, которых они сопровождали уже от Днепра. «В любом случае доказано, что в IX в. Верхнее Потисье было уже в определенной части населено славянами, которые осели там в период великого переселения народов и в последующие десятилетия» (Konečný 2015: 39).

[3] С одной стороны, «гребни Карпат сформировали административную границу, которая отделила население южных и северных склонов гор», включив эти регионы в разные геополитические сферы (Magocsi 1999: 8), с другой – политические границы, разделявшие украинское население Российской империи и восточнославянское население Венгрии и Австро-Венгрии, определили различные исторические условия развития этих групп единого народа и потерю их духовного единства (Magocsi 1999: 10).

[4] Русинским диалектам посвящена большая лингвистическая литература; о них писали О. Брок, В. Гнатюк, И. Панькевич, Г. Геровский, И. Верхратский, З. Штибер, И. Зелинский, Й. Шеплей, В. Латта, М. Лесив, Я. Ригер, О. Лешка, З. Гандель и др.; они были предметом ареальных исследований, см.: Дзендзелівський 1958–1993, Латта 1991, Гандель 1981–2001, Бернштейн и колл. 1967, ОКДА 1989–2001 и др. «Большинство специалистов справедливо относили русинские говоры Восточной Словакии и Закарпатья к так называемой карпатской группе говоров, которая имеет типичные признаки языкового пограничья и отражает изолированность области. По этой причине русинские говоры северо-восточной Словакии также сохранили некоторые архаические черты, которые характерны для всей карпатской группы, а в южноукраинских диалектах не встречаются» (Konečný 2000: 179). По мнению Иштвана Удвари (1950–2005), автора лингвистических и историко-культурологических работ по русинским и украинским наречиям Восточной Словакии, важной характеристикой этих пограничных говоров является их территориальная и хронологическая расчлененность. Наряду с этим в течение столетий взаимно влияли друг на друга словацкие, польские и венгерские диалекты, на их развитие воздействовал также язык немецких поселенцев. Особенностью этих говоров является то, что «на их своеобразное, управляемое собственными внутренними законами, развитие до 20-х годов нашего столетия не повлиял украинский литературный язык», т.е. не оказал на них нивелирующего воздействия (Király 2009: 73). На основании фонетических изменений в заимствованных из венгерского и немецкого словах можно предложить хронологию их заимствования в восточнословацкие и русинские диалекты: самый старый слой относится к X–XII вв., более поздние – к XIII–XIV и XV–XVI вв. (Király 2009: 74). На русинские говоры в большой мере воздействовали польская, словацкая и венгерская лексика, эти говоры восприняли множество церковнославянских литургических терминов, что вместе с уникальной архаической диалектной лексикой делает русинский отличным от других восточнославянских идиомов (Plišková 2012: 7).

числе и демонологические персонажи, концепты, предикаты на материале всех славянских традиций.

К архаизмам в духовной культуре относятся, во-первых, сохраненные в практически неизменном виде реликты древнего мировоззрения (демонологические поверья, магические ритуалы, терминологическая лексика), нередко с забытым исконным смыслом, во-вторых, сохраненные механизмы архаического мышления, продолжающие функционировать и в новых социальных и исторических условиях, механизмы, порождающие «архаические» элементы обрядности и верований вновь. Для сохранения архаики в традиционной культуре требуются особые условия, например географические (горы, болота, маргинальное расположение в ойкумене) или ареально-этнические (окружение неродственными народами и контакты с ними). Они обеспечивают изолированность данной группы или способствуют консервации древней картины мира, вынуждают прилагать усилия по сохранению этнической специфики. К таким ареалам относят, например, Полесье, Русский Север, Кашубию, Лужицу, Моравию, Словакию, Словению, восточную Сербию, западную Болгарию – то есть большинство славянских регионов. Задачей является лишь выявление этих архаических элементов.

В данной статье речь пойдет о русинах Восточной Словакии[5]. Традиционная духовная культура русин исследована скромнее, чем их говоры, социолингвистическая ситуация или история. На этот факт обращал внимание Георгий Геровский еще в 1948 г. и, пытаясь восполнить этот пробел, опубликовал некоторые доступные ему на тот момент данные богатой народой традиции Пряшевщины, в основном из свадебной обрядности (Геровский 1948). Под руководством Г. Геровского, И. Панькевича, О. Лешки, А. Куримского и др. с конца 40-х годов проводились и проводятся разными исследователями до сих пор систематические лингвистические и фольклорно-этнографические экспедиции в восточнословацкие русинские села. В центре их внимания были, помимо языка, материальная культура (см., например, Sopoliga 2002, 2006, Сополига 2011), фольклор (преимущественно песенные жанры, в том числе календарные, народная проза – сказки, легенды), паремиология и фразеология, микротопонимия, а также духовная культура.

Духовной культурой «русин-украинцев»[6] Восточной Словакии активно занимаются сотрудники Музея украинской культуры в Свиднике (Музей издает «Науковий збірник», 1965–), прежде всего Надежда Вархол (Варьян) и Иосиф Вархол. Н. Вархол является автором двух обширных статей по демонологии, посвященных женским (Вархол 1982) и мужским (Вархол 1985) мифологическим персонажам; в

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[5] В настоящее время сложились три особые группы русинского народа, разделенные орографическими и политическими границами: в Закарпатской области Украины; на северных склонах Карпат, ныне – оставшиеся после «репатриации» и переселения в другие регионы страны небольшие группы на территории Польши (устоявшийся этноним лемки); на южных склонах Восточных Карпат – на территории Словакии (этноним русины-украинцы, руснаки). Хотя в Австро-Венгрии Пряшевщина и Закарпатье составляли единую политическую и этнокультурную территорию с одним карпатоукраинским этносом.

[6] Термин является компромиссным, предложенным в споре об этнической принадлежности русин (этническая группа украинцев или отдельный, четвертый восточнославянский народ) в рамках политического дискурса. Представляется достаточным термин *русин*.

их основе – полевые материалы, собранные в 1977–1980 гг. За время своей научной деятельности Н. Вархол успела посетить практически все русинские села Восточной Словакии (Мушинка 2010: 111), экспедиционный материал вошел также в другие статьи и монографии – по традиционной культуре (Вархол 1980, 1992, 2005, 2009, Varcholová 2001, 2004, 2009), этноботанике (Вархол 2002, Varcholová 2003), народной медицине и ветеринарии (Вархол 1995, 1998), фольклору (Вархол 1985a, 1988 и др.), паремиологии и фразеологии (Вархол 1990; Вархол, Iвченко 1990). Из работ других авторов, занимающихся темой народной веры, см.: Вархол И. 1988, 1995, Neufeld 1980. Мифологические поверья и практики отражены и в книге Михаила Шмайды «А iшi вам вiнчую», посвященной русинскому календарю и, кстати, содержащей основательный обзор этнографических исследований и материалов этого региона начиная с XVIII в. (Шмайда 1992: 41–117).

Эти и другие работы являются уникальным источником народной терминологии духовной культуры, которая слабо отражена в словарях. Например, лишь небольшое количество названий демонов оказалось зафиксированным в словарях русинского языка или словарях говоров отдельных русинских сел (см., например, Керча 2006, Hnát 2003, Пиртей 2004).

В статье также использовались собственные полевые материалы автора, записанные в 2014 г. в трех русинских селах: Убля, Руский Грабовец, Руска Быстра (ПМ).

Выявление архаики в русинских демонологических верованиях и терминологии актуально для общеславянских мифологических исследований, отдельно для карпатистики, а также для целей реконструкции славянской духовной культуры. Коротко перечислим некоторые из таких древних черт.

1. Архаическим является один из способов избавления от подменыша – сажание ребенка в печь. Подменыш – *одмiн, перемiнь, перемiненой, перемiнча, пречерянец, перелеснича, перелесник, жебрак, перемiнь, нелапшый* – уродливый, прожорливый и немой ребенок, которого считали подброшенным лесным демоном (*дика баба, боґиня* и др.) взамен похищенного человеческого. Чтобы дикая баба забрала своего уродца обратно, «подменыша» били, выкладывали на порог, выметали на мусорную кучу, а также сажали на лопату с намерением отправить в печь (Гачава)[7] (Вархол 1982: 280). Сюжет о ребенке-подменыше у славян специально разбирался в: (Виноградова 2016: 142–157). Об архаичности мотива сажания в печь свидетельствует, помимо сказочного фонда, наличие его в южнославянских традициях (сербской, словенской), причем угроза сжечь подменыша в печи считалась у них более действенной, чем битье ребенка, характерное для западнославянских традиций (Виноградова 2016: 148). По материалам, собранным Л. Раденковичем, в Прекмурье, например, младенца подносили к печи и трижды спрашивали: *Dete, povej mi, ali si ti pravo, ali ne! Či mi ne poveš, te notri v peč vržem!* (Виноградова 2016: 148). Еще более важно в генетическом аспекте, что такие сюжеты отмечены Брониславой Кербелите в литовской мифологической прозе: женщина бьет подменыша ведьмы (*лауме*),

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[7] Названия русинских сел дается в современном словацком звучании – для более удобного поиска на карте.

собирается бросить его в печку – *лауме* забирает своего и отдает человеческого ребенка (Виноградова 2016: 149). Интересны также финно-угорские параллели к описанной практике, если помнить о культурном влиянии на карпатских русин другого финно-угорского народа – венгров: у коми-зырян завернутого в пеленки младенца мать привязывала к хлебной лопате, вставляла лопату в истопленную печь и на вопрос: «Кого запекаешь?» отвечала: «Подменыша» (или: «Ребенка банника»), после чего ожидалось, что если это подменыш, то он умрет, а если это свой ребенок, то он поправится (Виноградова 2016: 155).

Мотив «перепекания» ребенка в печи у восточных и западных славян известен в составе лечебного обряда, особенно для детей, больных рахитом или атрофией (*сухоты, собачья старость*)[8]. Зафиксирован он и у русин: больного туберкулезом ребенка «клали на хлебную лопату и сажали в холодную печь, приговаривая: «До пеца сухоты, а з пеца тукоты» (Вышний Орлик – Вархол 2012: 42). Учитывая распространенный лечебный аспект обряда, можно предполагать, что в подменыше видели больного, родившегося с нарушением физиологических функций, ребенка. Сам ритуал «перепекания» «преследует двойственную задачу: уничтожить болезнь и самого больного ребенка и создать нового – крепкого и здорового ребенка (Топорков 2009: 42)[9], что хорошо согласуется с мифологическим контекстом угрозы сжечь нездорового подменыша ради возвращения своего здорового ребенка.

2. Мотив связи дерева и судьбы человека характерен для всех славян, особенно в фольклоре. Дерево «участвовало» в судьбе человека, ему «приписывались категории и этапы жизнедеятельности, тождественные или близкие человеческим», «к числу фольклорных и мифологических констант принадлежит и символическое отождествление человека и дерева» (Агапкина 1999: 62–63, там же примеры). Общность судьбы человека и дерева у русин отражает поверье о том, что если молния ударит в дерево, растущее на делянке какого-нибудь хозяина, то этот хозяин умрет (Вархол 1985: 230), если в саду хозяина дерево высохнет, или буря вывернет его с корнем, это означало скорую смерть хозяина дома (Вархол 1992: 241). Подобные мотивы встречаются у поляков: если во время бури ветер вырвет дерево с корнями, то умрет тот, на чьей земле это случилось (Агапкина 2013: 43).

3. Поверья о демонах судьбы у славян распространены не повсеместно, они известны в основном в южнославянских традициях (с.-х. *суђенице, суђаје, усуде,* болг. *орисници, урешници, наречници, суденици,* словен. *rojenice, sojenice*), упоминаются у чехов и словаков: чеш. *sudičky, sudice,* словац. *sudički,* в з.-укр. – *судци,* аналогичную функцию выполняли др.-рус. книжн. *рожаницы* (Плотникова, Седакова 2012: 199). В таком ареальном распределении поверий о девах судьбы можно видеть балканское влияние (см. также: Седакова 2007: 188). Зато всем славянским народам известно понятие *судьба, доля, удел, счастье* (Седакова 2012: 203–208), выражающее представление о доставшейся человеку при рождении части, или доли,

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[8] Ребенка «кладут на хлебную лопату и трижды всовывают в теплую печь. Во Владимирской губ. «перепекали» всех детей непосредственно после родов (Топорков 2009: 42).

[9] См. также об обряде «перепекания»: Топорков 1992.

жизни. В славянских быличках и сказках о наделении ребенка судьбой (долей), актуален темпоральный аспект: как живет сама Доля в момент рождения ребенка, такой судьбой она его и наделяет – богатой и веселой или бедной и трудной. Эти поверья соединяются с представлениями о добром и злом времени, особенно в момент произнесения девами судьбы пожеланий или проклятий. Русинский персонаж судьбы *минутник* – сказочный старый дед с длинной седой бородой, который живет в лесной избушке, сидит попеременно на серебряном, деревянном или каменном стуле и наделяет рождающихся детей то богатой (серебряный стул), то несчастливой (каменный стул) долей (Подгородь, Иновец – Вархол 1985: 254) представляет собой соединение древних славянских и заимствованных карпато-балканских мифологем, архаического понимания времени (доброго и злого) – с мотивом наделения долей, счастьем.

Ряд архаических мотивов, отмеченных в русинской традиции, связан с душами умерших – как «чистых», предков, так и «нечистых», или «заложных».

4. Души предков, от которых ожидали помощи на этом свете, еще до недавнего времени приглашали на сакральный рождественский ужин. В наших полевых материалах об одной односельчанке рассказывали со смехом, что она звала умерших в сочельник (на *Сяты́ ве́чер*) на ужин, но что потом «ее пугало»: *«Пуйте вшеткы... (ха-ха) ... на вечерю» - но та потому йей пуджало...*

Звали на ужин в сочельник также мороз и волков – чтобы задобрить их, угостить праздничной едой, чтобы они не вредили в течение года[10]. Рассказывали, что были такие отважные женщины, которые звали на Рождество волков, чтобы они не резали потом скот:

> *Кликали ай на тых вовкув, «не будеш ты мойй... брати худобу, вувці»
> ци як... [Когда?] Тудый на Сятый вечур. ... Несли дашо ис хыжы, то
> шо самі люди йіли, а несли вонка а тото метали та ци, но, вовкам,
> аже бы не йли (дай приклад даколи вовкі пойіли вувці, козы на полю...)
> но то вже пак знали заклинати: «на, ту майеш, йідж тото, а не
> мойі козы а не мойі вувці». Гей, после вечері* (Руский Грабовец, ПМ).

5. Связь домового с душой предка в русинской традиции Восточной Словакии сохранилась, скорее, маргинально. О домовом рассказывают преимущественно как о демоне-обогатителе[11], называемом *чорт, чортик, хованец, ворожец, ньитко, винклюс, топелец, джмиль* (Вархол 1985: 236), в образе которого надо видеть западнославянское влияние. О домовой змее – духе-хозяине тоже известно: *гад* – домашний уж, дух умершего предка рода; охранял малых детей, пил с ними молоко из одной миски. Фольклорные записи о нем – редкость (Вархол 1985: 239). В наших полевых материалах такие записи тем не менее встречались:

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[10] О ритуальном приглашении см.: Виноградова, Толстая 2009, особенно с. 269.

[11] Его «выводили» из последнего или первого (без желтка) яйца от черной курицы, называемого *зносок, запорток, чортяче яйце*, которое надо носить под левой мышкой, при этом не мыться, не молиться.

Но то тоты домашні гат [что корову сосет]*, но як го забьете, то корова здохне, даколи так гварили* (Руский Грабовец, ПМ)*. Не треба бити домаешнього гада, же то домаешні. То ужовки были* (Убля, ПМ)*.* [Был ли при доме had-ochranca?] *Быв, быв, білый... Раз... Баба гойкать: Йой, гадина, гадина, біла гадина. Але хтось меджі тым туту гадину – я вже не памятаву пресне, як то было, але ... забив тоту гадину. Йуй як потому было! «Та чого-сь гадину забив? То неслобунно забити, тай то домашня гадина. Йой! Лем са дашо не стало!» Представте, же шо я знам, мож за три-штыри рокі так як онук вмер. Там-им то віділа у тых сусідув, же было. Біла гадина.* [А где жила?] *У тум, у мурі. А біла гадина была* (Убля, ПМ)*.*

Ср. также в материалах обследования ныне затопленных (водохранилище Старина) русинских деревень: *Hadena* – домашняя змея, дух предка, который хранил дом и его жителей (аналогично и *lasička*) (Старина – Neufeld 1980: 79).

В целом у русин под влиянием западнославянских традиций произошло смещение представлений о домовом как о покровителе дома, духе предка к рациональному, более волюнтаристскому и более отрицательному полюсу – он превратился в черта, который помогает в работе и приносит богатство, но в обмен на обладание человеческой душой. Возможность самому «вывести», «высидеть» себе помощника и дарителя надо признать более новой по сравнению с обязательным, «данным» домовым в виде духа предка.

В то же время и в этом «новом» персонаже сохранились архаические черты славянского домового, особенно в действиях «рассердившегося» на хозяина чертика: он связывает хвосты скоту (ср. с полесским заплетанием хвоста или гривы коням), душит скот, душит во сне домочадцев (ср. с восточнославянскими поверьями о наваливающемся на спящих домовом, обычно предсказывающем изменения «к добру» или «к худу»). Эти узнаваемые мотивы претерпели, тем не менее, серьезные семантические изменения. Если в восточнославянских традициях домового «перевозят» в новопостроенный дом как мифического хозяина, чтобы он берег и хранил дом, то у русин переселение домового приобретает отрицательные коннотации: чтобы избавиться от домового черта-обогатителя, хозяину приходится разобрать половину дома и перевезти его на девяти возах в другое село, оставив черту вторую половину; в другой быличке, чтобы защититься от домового черта, который задушил хозяйку, хозяин разобрал дом и перевез его на другое место, но на последнее бревно села черная курица (тот же образ духа-обогатителя в виде черного цыпленка или курицы, известных всем западным славянам) и «перевезлась с ним» – так нечистый дух осталась с хозяином и дальше (Вархол 1985: 237).

Еще более интересным и, кажется, не встречавшимся в других славянских традициях, является мотив постройки для домового черта отдельного домика из камешков на границе трех сел: по рассказу из с. Стриговце, тот хозяин, который хотел избавиться от черта-домового, «каміня там назберав, наносив на громадку, же його (черта – *Н.В.*) до того запре. Я видів тото, пецку таку, каміньом обложеной,

там є такой комин» (Вархол 1985: 238). Сооружение домика с печкой из камней представляется реализацией архаического мотива похорон «заложного» покойника, которого прежде не закапывали в землю, а оставляли на поверхности, на границе села (сел), заваливая камнями и ветками[12]. В этом случае прочитывается древний генезис домового из души умершего, однако с семантическим смещением от чистых покойников – предков, «дедов» – к нечистым – неуспокоенным душам, которые подпадают под власть чертей, искушают и в конце концов губят живых. Видимо, злой домовой вытеснил в местной культуре доброго, своего, ср. фразу из рассказа о черте из с. Грабова Розтока, где черт, которого *босорканя* зачерпнула в воде, «так само був зловредний, як і домовик» (Вархол 1985: 242–243).

6. Архаическую веру в воздействие душ умерших на метеорологические явления – засуху и дождь, бурю и град, сильный ветер и вихрь – можно найти во всех славянских традициях. Отражена она и у русин. Если «чистые» души представляются в виде легкого ветерка, дуновения, то «нечистые», или грешные, души – в виде сильного ветра, вихря. У русин представлен традиционный сюжет о связи поднявшегося внезапно сильного ветра с висельником: *знали гвар’ти кедь за тым обесеным вітор дув, но то та гварит, то за то, бо дахто ся завісив, бо таки вітор дуйе. Ани попы не сміли ховати* (Руский Грабовец – ПМ), а иногда с обратной причинно-следственной связью: сильный ветер указывает, что кто-то обязательно повесится:

> *Кедь была буря, перед тым, то гварили: «Йой, дахто са мусить завісити», бо дужа буря была. Але перед тым, шо ще ся не завісив, ще лем мав завісити: «Йой, велика буря, бізовно дахто в валалі са завісить* (Убля, ПМ).

Объяснить эту инверсию можно тем, что в буре и вихре видели нечистую силу, которая искушает человека и приводит к самоубийству (христианский сюжет).

Сюжет грешной души в ветре, обычно связываемый с висельником, колдуном, ведьмой неожиданно появился в рассказах о водяном: «также считают *потопленником* и сильный ветер, который втягивает человека в реку, и он тонет (Велький Липник)» (Вархол 1985: 235). Водяной в этой традиции – это утопленник, то есть душа умершего преждевременно человека, «заложного» покойника, поэтому она витает над землей в виде ветра.

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[12] Обычай бросания на могилу «заложного» покойника различных предметов (веток, палок, щепок, соломы, старых лаптей, одежды, камней) у восточных славян подробно описывает Д.К. Зеленин (Зеленин 1995: 63–69), отмечая, что этот древний обычай известен многим европейским и неевропейским народам. Значение его варьирует: у русского народа «древнейшим нужно признать участие в погребении заложного покойника», у финно-угорских народов «”бросание” вещей на могилы заложных имеет большей частью ярко выраженное жертвенное значение», у западноевропейских и неевропейских народов, по мнению Ф. Либрехта, которое приводит Зеленин, «кидаемые на могилу самоубийцы предметы служили умилостивительною жертвою, цель коей – задобрить мертвеца и избежать возможного со стороны его зла... кроме того, обилие кидаемых на могилу вещей, образующих целый холм, служило преградою, препятствующею выходу мертвеца из могилы» (Зеленин 1995: 69-70).

7. В селе Руский Грабовец рассказывали, что для того, чтобы вызвать дождь, клали в реку, приложив камнем, часть одежды умершего:

> *До воды мочили з мерца яку шатину абы дощ прийшов... Переложили на ярок с каменьом шатину з мертвого да пак вже ішла бурка, велика вода, да ту шатину брала. Но то з мерца дайме тому ци ногавки, або гачі, або даяка кошуля – шо чоловік умер а дашо зустало. Хоч з чого, абы з мертвого было* (ПМ).

Судя по записи, использовалась одежда любого умершего, независимо от вида его смерти. В восточно- и южнославянских традициях нередки ритуалы вызывания дождя, но с участием «нечистых» покойников или их могил. Наиболее распространенные представления о засухе и устранении ее причин в Полесье (по полевым материалам) изложены в монографической статье С.М. и Н.И. Толстых: чтобы вызвать дождь, вырывали кресты из могил висельников и утопленников, похороненных на кладбище (аналогично в Сербии относили в реку крест из неизвестной могилы), поливали могилы водой – «как символическое предание воде нечистого покойника» (также в Сербии поливали водой неизвестную могилу, в которой похоронен умерший неестественной смертью; разрывали могилу утопленника и бросали его в реку) и т. п. Аналогичными приведенному русинскому погружению в реку одежды умершего являются сербский и болгарский обычаи: «Если стоит засуха, то берут одежду самоубийцы и топят ее в воде, чтобы пошел дождь... »(Толстые 2003: 103–105).

Корни этих обрядовых действий надо искать в древней вере в то, что «нечистые» покойники, будучи похороненными в земле, «выпивают» земную влагу, именно поэтому их «хоронили» в болотах, бросали в реку, в канаву, а позже – обливали их в могиле водой или даже выкапывали и бросали труп в воду (Зеленин 1995: 112–116). Эта вера была свойственна и другим народам: литовцам, татарам, мордве, некоторым кавказским народам (см. Зеленин 1995: 120–121).

8. Другая сфера деятельности нечистых душ (или мифологических персонажей (далее – МП) в карпатских и балканских традициях – вождение градовых туч. На земле им противостоит полудемон, у русин – *хмарник-землянин*, или *чорнокнижник*. Сюжет о вождении туч душами погибших сам по себе надо считать архаичным, но здесь речь пойдет лишь об одной его составляющей. В одном русинском рассказе об облакопрогоннике-*хмарнике* (который ел лягушек, птенцов и даже мелкие камешки) встретился мотив похорон хмарником живой ящерицы: *А кедь їмив ящурку та бавився з ньов, бавив, а вигріб ямку, а там ю поховав живу, а співав так, як пуп над мертвим. А хрещик зробив* (Кленова – Вархол 1985: 231). Убиение ужа или лягушки ради вызывания дождя известно и в других славянских зонах. «Известно, что в славянских языческих представлениях хтонические существа влияли на погоду и атмосферные явления, на выпадение или отсутствие дождей», в полесских ритуалах вызывания дождя хорошо известен обычай убивать во время засухи ужа или жабу и вешать их на дерево, на забор, на ворота, также и у болгар верили, что

если убить лягушку, пойдет дождь (Толстые 2003: 108). Кроме того, в Полесье во время засухи совершался обычай похорон и оплакивания лягушки: дети убивали лягушку, закапывали ее «где попало» или у колодца и крестик из палочек ставили, при этом голосили, как по покойнику (Дубровица, Великий Бор Гомельской обл.), а в одном локальном болгарском обряде «похорон» куклы Германа – тоже ради вызывания дождя – также присутствует жаба, которую клали кукле на живот (Толстые 2003: 106).

Действие хмарника из Кленовой вписывается в общую систему метеорологической магии, но ее цель – плювиальная магия – может говорить о том, что хмарник «отвечал» за скомпенсированность дождя и бездождия так же, как за охрану села от града.

9. К архаическим чертам мифологической системы, соглашаясь с Л.Н. Виноградовой (Виноградова 2016: 74), следует отнести и нерасчлененность, неоформленность МП, их малую специализацию. В русинской демонологии к таким «неопределенным» персонажам, кроме черта, дикой бабы и некоторых других, следует отнести *страх*, основная функция которого – пугать (*пуджати*) – в доме, на могиле, в поле: мерещились разные люди, вставали и не шли дальше кони и т.п. (Руский Грабовец, ПМ); *на пувноч на дванацту... але і на пувдне, же пуджало...* (Убля, ПМ).

Одним из предикатов *страха* было окликание, призывание:

Лем о тум [говорили], *же дахто гойкать. Муй дід мені повідав... же ішли з Березного... і пушли до воды, же са освіжать, а як са так умыли, а гварать, так са мі у голові завернуло, я не виджу нигде пішник, а хтось ня гойкать: «Подь-подь-подь-подь ту, подь, подь за мнов, подь, та добрі, добрі йдеш». Гей, то знавуть, люди то чули. А гварить, завело мене диська до ліса, шо вони аж рано пришли дому, як са розвіднило. То ми дідо муй повідали. ... А они гварать: «Гей, не причувало са ми, то жона гойкала, то, - гварить, - моя тота» ... бо йих жона умерла в Ужгороді. Так даколи як де умерла, там і поховали. Та гвари, то моя мене кликала, жебы я там пушов. Же «добрі, добрі йдеш», так вони туто мені высвітльовали, іх так кликало шось(ка), голосом* (Убля, ПМ).

10. Страх – понятие сложное, но в немалой степени страх зависит от понимания/непонимания событий и процессов, как и от общей мифологической картины мира. Немаловажную роль в этом играла неизвестность «того» мира и потустороннего существования души умершего. Во многих славянских традициях, в том числе в русинской, запрет перевозить человека, умершего вне дома, через границы села обосновывался тем, что от этого будет буря:

Не смілі перейти через Радовець, до Убли, бо бурка прийде. Но а тепер богна де везу. Мой ненько вмер на Быстрой, тай не позволили не позволили везти до Радовца, бо бурка прийде на Быстру. ... Як

привезуть из другого села, та буря буде, та там го сховали, де вмер
(Руский Грабовец, ПМ).

По исследованиям Д.К. Зеленина, у восточных славян так поступали с «залож-ными» покойниками (Зеленин 1995: 50, 88–89), души которых «водили» грозовые тучи. Можно предполагать, что либо смерть вне дома в любом случае считалась внезапной и преждевременной, а следовательно и покойник – не дожившим свой век, опасным для живых (ср. быличку выше, в п. 9); либо так, на месте гибели или смерти, в дохристианские времена хоронили всех умерших (а может быть, и не хоронили, а оставляли на поверхности).

11. Один из разрядов «нечистых» покойников – дети, умершие при родах или в первые дни жизни (до крещения). Д.К. Зеленин отмечал «почти исключительно христианский характер» поверий о таких детях – *потерчатах* – в том смысле, что они ждут крещения, которое в народной традиции заменяется бросанием куска полотна или части своей одежды человеком, проходящим мимо и услышавшим их крик, а также называнием имени (мужского и женского – на выбор). «Только поверье о превращении души потерчат в птицу филина не христианское»[13] (Зеленин 1995: 70). Поверья о превращении (переходе) души умершего младенца в *пугача* (филина) известны из Переяславского уезда и из Подолья (укр. – Зеленин 1995: 71). В русин-ском селе Руский Грабовец рассказывали о превращении души младенца в лягушку, правда, на уточняющие вопросы уже отвечали, что душа плакала *как лягушка*:

> *Но та... жаба плакала. Плакала, плакала, плакала, сегровчала на обід,*
> *но а то гварили, же котрась мала дитину, а закопала, а крижму не*
> *мало, то оно се крижму просило, то са гварит, треба было даяку*
> *шатину версти, та было перестало. ... же тота жаба... а стары(й)*
> *з'яв онучку а верг. ... То дітина була там закопана. Або богзна ци як*
> *було. Породила предчасне або потратила, тотам то загребли, жебы*
> *нигда не найшов. Та йойкало так як жабка. ... Но як вергли туто*
> *рянду, но тай воно перестало* (ПМ).

12. О метемпсихозе, помимо этого, удалось записать интересное верование в с. Убля от Анны Голубовой: говорили, что 40 дней душа блуждает по земле и может войти в человека, как правило, более слабого – в старика, в ребенка – чтобы переждать до ухода на «тот» свет:

> *Гварать же тута душа мертвого же сорок дну блудить, а она са*
> *імать до чоловіка, до дітины, гей, же котрое... такого же йе... сла-*
> *бшого – же она пак перебывать у тум чоловіку, гей. ...Недобрі, же*

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[13] Само поверье о неуспокоенных душах младенцев, которые мучаются 7 лет, плачут, пугают, а потом, если какой-нибудь прохожий их не «покрестил», превращаются в русалок и другую нечистую силу – не является христианским; церковь считает души маленьких детей чистыми, ангельскими, потому они сразу попадают в рай.

*она в тым чоловіку перебывать, але робить такой, же недоброй...
По сорок дньох йе зась служба, же йй упокойены, же вже одышов.
[Куда?] Та де пушов? Горе або доле. До неба, до царства, або до
пекла... [В кого душа так вселялась? В родственников?] Та найвецей
же до родины са імать, і до дітей са імать в родині, і до старих,
ше кедь суть такі старі, або и до таких ше вже старші, і молодші,
але найвецей знаву быти же до дітей са імив. ... Пак з дітинов было
треба ходити, або туты вуглікі са одлічовали* (ПМ).

Верования в переселение душ нередки у славян, причем встречаются они в
двух вариантах – как переселение души умершего «на постоянной основе, т.е. в
течение всего срока жизни нового "хозяина" души», так и «временное вселение
освободившейся от плоти души» в новое тело (Толстая 2016: 380–381, там же
лит.). О временном вселении души умершего в домашний скот («слоня́итца по
разныму статку») у белорусов Витебской губернии писал Н.Я. Никифоровский
(Никифоровский 1897: 292, №2250), похожие сведения приводит Христо Вака-
релски о болгарах Родоп: они верили, что душа умершего члена семьи, покинув
тело, вселяется в какое-нибудь из домашних животных. Поэтому животных в
это время не бьют, не используют для работы (Виноградова 2015: 36). Нашел-
ся такой пример и в Словакии: «Старые люди говорили, что до последнего
звона ко́локола душа умершего остаётся в доме, все знает, все слышит. Кто в
ближайшее время в деревне родится – та душа в него идет (Дачов Лом, окр.
Велький Кртиш, ср.-словац. – AT ÚEt SAV, inv. č. 800a). Надо признать, что
примеры верований о вре́менном обитании души умершего в живом существе
у славян редки.

13. Архаическим является способ номинации у русин нечистой силы через
эвфемистические и описательные словосочетания, в основе которого – вера в
магию слова: называние имени «вызывает» самого демона. Такой способ но-
минации распространен в Полесье, на Карпатах, но и в других частях Славии,
ср., например: *... йти з ліса гет, бо вже са змірькать, жебы довго не быв в лісі,
там урядова... туты́ оста́тні владнуть в лісі в ночи* (Убля, ПМ), демоним
щезла біда 'невидимый персонаж, подменивающий детей' (Вархол 1982: 280),
и *(и)щезник*, m (эвф.) 'леший, черт' (Керча 2007-2: 600), последние образованы
от апотропеического выражения: *щез би!* [чтоб он пропал!], ср. *щез бы од нас
хрещених*; *крест бы го забил*; *пропав бы вод нас, вод вобыстя* (Вархол 1985:
239), а также полес. *той, шо лозами трясе*; *тэй, шо кубло ёго ў лозе* 'черт, черти'
и под. (Виноградова 2016: 69).

Помимо перечисленных, у русин Восточной Словакии отмечаются и другие
архаические элементы, например игры при покойнике (как часть похоронного
обряда), характерные для карпатоукраинского региона в целом (см. о них: Вархол
И. 1995), элементы свадебного обряда, в которых первенство отводилось дружке
(как рудимент обычая дефлорации невесты старшим родственником или дружкой),
архаический напев и весенний обряд *Hoja, D'und'a, hoja*, и др.

Приведенные в статье материалы и размышления еще раз подтверждают древность русинской традиционной культуры и хорошую сохранность многих архаических черт их языка, этнографии и фольклора, несмотря на активные и многочисленные контакты с инославянскими и иноэтническими группами. Множество этнокультурных параллелей с полесской и другими архаическими славянскими традициями дает возможность говорить о духовной культуре русин как об органической части восточнославянской народной культуры, наиболее близкой украинской (малорусской), но с значительным количеством общекарпатских и карпато-балканских черт. Представляется, что процесс этно- и лингвогенеза русин, активно обсуждаемый в научных дискуссиях, вписывается одновременно в два естественные процесса: с одной стороны, этнической и языковой дивергенции, а с другой – ареальной (карпатской) конвергенции.

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ON THE ARCHAIC FEATURES OF FOLK DEMONOLOGY OF THE RUTHENIANS OF EASTERN SLOVAKIA

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The Carpathian Ruthenians (other names: Russins, Rusnaks, Carpathian Russins, Carpatorosses, Ugrorusses, Ugrian Russins, Lemkos) are the most western part of the Eastern Slavs, which inhabit Western Ukraine (Transcarpathian region) and the Northern and Southern slopes of the Carpathians – the Western and North-Western districts of Slovakia (Priashevshina) and the South-Eastern parts of Poland (Lemkovshina).

It is possible to speak about the archaisms of the traditional folk culture of the Russins, including their demonology, on the basis of the time and history of their settlement on those territories, taking into account the peculiar geographical environment, which has formed relatively isolated areas of these settlements; and also on the basis of the linguistic data, which have demonstrated the archaic character of the Russinian dialects.

This article deals only with the Russins of Eastern Slovakia.

To reveal archaic features one has to compare the Russinian demonological beliefs with those of other Slavic peoples, taking into account the results of reliable reconstruction of the Common Slavic mythology, and the comparison with the mythological traditions of the Hungarians and Romanians as well.

On the basis of the published works on the traditional culture, dialectal dictionaries and personal field research notes, as well as the works on the Slavic spiritual culture and its reconstruction, done by the Moscow ethnolinguistic school of Nikita Ilyich and Svetlana Mikhaylovna Tolstye, the following archaic features in the demonology of the Russins were identified: the motif of putting a changeling (a sick child) into the oven to receive the true human healthy child back; beliefs about the *minutnik*, who endows the baby with destiny, the character which combines Slavic beliefs about good and bad times and borrowed Balkan beliefs about the maidens of destiny; the motif of the connection between a tree and human destiny; the custom of inviting the souls of dead relatives for Christmas dinner, as well as of inviting the wolves and the frost in order they do no harm during summer time.

Some archaic motifs are associated with dead souls, including the souls of those who died an unnatural death. Those are the motifs of the association of the dead souls with the wind and storm, which the Russins also associate with the merman; the conceptualization of the house snake as a spirit-master of the house; the motifs about moving the house-spirit into a new house, braiding of the horse-tails by this spirit; however, in Russinian stories, these motifs were carried over to the narratives about the spirit-enricher or the house devil, where they obtained a different, negative sense.

The archaic beliefs about the connection of the dead souls with meteorological phenomena, including drought and rains, storm and hail, have led to the Russinian practice of putting a part of the clothes of the dead to the river, under the stone in order to bring rain. The Russins have also mentioned an old custom of killing and burying amphibians – also to cause rain (the magician *hmarnik* buries a lizard alive). The prohibition against transporting the body of the dead across the borders of the village – to prevent hail and storm – also belongs to this group of beliefs.

The existence of indefinite characters with vague functions is also to be listed as an archaic feature. In the Russinian demonology such a character is, for example, *strakh* (the fear) with its main function – to frighten, to scare (*púdžaṫ*). One of the predicates of the *strakh* was to call, to encourage people to do things that they haven't to do, which is also associated with the dead soul.

About metempsychosis: the belief has been preserved that the soul of the dead strolls over the earth for 40 days after death and can enter (dwell in) somebody, mainly a relative, who is weak, for example, a child or an old man, just to wait out the time before moving to another world. In the village of Rusky Hrabovets, they told about the turning of a baby soul into a frog.

In addition to the abovementioned, the Russins of eastern Slovakia preserved other archaic elements, such as games beside a deceased, the main role of the *druzhka* (groomsman) at the wedding, and some archaic melodies.

The materials discussed in the article indicate the ancient origins of the Russinian ethnic group and the good preservation of many archaic features of their traditional culture, despite active and numerous contacts with non-Slavic and other Slavic peoples, or, possibly, due to them.

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Triglavska roža in Zlatorog
med simboliko in stvarnostjo

Jurij Dobravec

The *Tale of Zlatorog* speaks of a human-nature interrelationship, close to today's environmentalism. It has been highly popular in Slovenia and abroad since collected in the Julian Alps and published in 1868. In the first part of this paper, we investigate the Triglav rose, particularly, which real plant species might be reflected in the story. In the second part, we compare the drama with real processes in ecosystems. As reflected in the narrative, humans did not only recognize creatures' supporting roles: they comprehended the interconnectedness that sustains life and survival. While tales acted as the inspiration for ethical teaching, we assume that artists used the dynamics developed in the *Tale of Zlatorog* and alike for transferring the reverence for life and sustaining biocentric ethics.
KEYWORDS: nature preservation, Tale of Zlatorog, Triglav rose, biocentrism, environmental ethics

UVOD

Pripoved o Zlatorogu (Deschmann 1868: 325–327)[1] velja za eno najbolj poznanih in prepoznavnih pripovedk na Slovenskem. Čeprav je stroka običajno ne uvršča med pravljice, ima besedilo več prvin skrivnostnosti in čudežnosti. Preplet odnosov med prikazanimi živalskimi, rastlinskimi in človeškimi liki kaže na globoko povezanost in usodno soodvisnost med človekom in naravo (Kropej 2008: 121). Nekateri motivi so lokalno specifični, večina pa je splošno znanih iz starodavnih kultur predvsem Indije, Perzije in Sredozemlja. Tako veljajo na primer gore – posamezne ali kot gorovje – pri mnogih ljudstvih za skrivnostni svet in prostor, kjer se skrivajo zakladi, posamezne živali ali rastline imajo čudežne lastnosti.

Odsev naravne stvarnosti so v Pripovedi o Zlatorogu nekateri raziskovalci že iskali. Večina se je usmerjala na lik Zlatoroga samega. S sodobnega naravoslovnega vidika, ki

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[1]　Dragotin Dežman je (pod ponemčeno različico svojega imena) pripoved objavil kot sklep naravoslovne razprave o ledenikih *Der Triglavgletscher und die Spuren einstiger Gletscher in Oberkrain*. Kot prevod nemške besede *Sage* uporabljam besedo *pripoved*. S tem želim izpostaviti dinamiko in pomen interpretativnega vidika živega pripovedovanja. Nekoliko spremenjena različica je bila objavljena v *Laibacher Wochenblatt* 25. 9. 1880.

morda pretirano skuša odmisliti vse, kar je bajno, in tudi celotno človekovo subjektiv-nost, se najpogosteje odpira relativno nepomembno vprašanje, ali bi lahko šlo za gamsa ali kozoroga (Šavli 1989: 171–215). Vprašanje je bilo posebej aktualno ob domnevno ponovni naselitvi kozoroga v slovenskih Alpah v 60. letih 20. stol. (Peracino 1997: 15; Marenče 1997: 13). Poleg stvarnosti rogatega parkljarja so nekateri raziskovalci skušali povezati zaklad v Bogatinu z nekdanjimi rudosledci in rudarstvom (Abram 1927: 63–70; Šašel Kos 1998: 169–182). Triglavsko rožo sta obravnavala Glonar (1910: 34–106) in Mahnič (1950: 125–136; 1957: 332–333), čeprav je splošen vtis, da se rastlinam v folkloristiki namenja nekoliko manj pozornosti kot živalim oziroma se jih ne šteje za like, ampak bolj za sredstvo.

Kot ugotavljajo raziskovalci pravljic (Röhrich 2001; Kropej 1995: 20–24), motivi predstavljajo resničnost sveta ustvarjalca, soustvarjalcev in poustvarjalcev. Rezultati njihovih analiz se nanašajo pretežno na stvarnost človeka kot osebe ali na družbeno stvar-nost, oziroma na to, kaj je človek kot posameznik ali družba čutil, kako je gledal na svet, kaj je verjel. Vsebine ljudskih pripovedk, ki obravnavajo ostalo naravo, so pri analitikih manj izpostavljene. Okolje se neredko obravnava zgolj kot samoumeven prostor in čas, potreben za družbeno ali človeško dramo, prepogosto pa ga – morda tudi zaradi šibkega naravoslovnega znanja – prehitro uvrstimo na področje bajnosti.

Pripoved o Zlatorogu se zadnja desetletja pogosto uporablja za ozaveščanje na podro-čju naravovarstva.[2] Vendar se zdi, da so bile dosedanje interpretacije naravovarstvenih pedagogov poenostavljene in neredko romantizirane. Ker gre za literarno obliko, podobno čudežni pravljici, jo namreč poslušalci sedanjega ekonomsko realistično usmerjenega sveta posledično površno dojemamo kot črno-belo moralistično »pravljico«. Pri tem so spregledane plasti globokega etičnega bistva. To bistvo izhaja iz same pravljice, v kateri odkrivamo tudi stvarnost ekoloških odnosov med človekom in ostalo naravo. Ti odnosi potekajo med tremi ključnimi liki – lovcem, kozlom in rožo, ki so kot tri »vrste« živih bitij izhodišča moje obravnave.

V smislu izhodišč in za potrebe te razprave, torej obravnave procesov in odnosov med človekom in ostalo naravo, sta bila lika Zlatoroga in Trentarskega lovca doslej že zadosti obdelana. Zato bo prvi del članka namenjen predvsem dodatni naravoslovni osvetlitvi lika triglavske rože. Razmišljanje o odnosih in procesih, ki so potekali med človekom, živaljo in rastlino oziroma človeštvom ter živalskim in rastlinskim svetom, pa bom združil v drugem in sklepnem delu prispevka. Sklep je hkrati zamisel drugačne možnosti uporabe obravnavane pripovedi v naravovarstvene namene, in sicer v smislu preseganja črno-belega moraliziranja v smeri globljega doumevanja in spoštovanja di-namike življenja v naravi.

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[2] Razumljivo je, da bi od ustanovitve Triglavskega narodnega parka v sedanji velikosti leta 1981 (prim. Biz-jak et al. 1989) do zadnjih let (Skoberne 2016: 104–129) lahko našli veliko primerov predvsem v povezavi z Julijskimi Alpami.

CILJ IN NAMEN

Cilja razprave sta dva.

Prvič, v prvem delu razprave poskusiti razločiti med triglavsko rožo kot dejansko rastlinsko vrsto in triglavsko rožo, kakršno si je zamislila avtorica ali avtor Pripovedi o Zlatorogu. Ta cilj bom skušal doseči na osnovi današnjega poznavanja razširjenosti in avtohtonosti posameznih vrst rastlin, ki bi potencialno lahko predstavljale triglavsko rožo ali čudežni balzam.

Drugič – in ta cilj je ključen – pa razkriti, da zgodba ponazarja naravne procese in izpostavlja dinamiko medsebojnih odnosov ne le v človeški družbi, ampak med živimi bitji ter njihovim okoljem v prostoru in času. Pri tem bom pokazal, da so prvotni ustvarjalci motivov in pripovedi odnose in procese v naravi opazili in torej presegali naše sedanje, tudi znanstveno gledanje na domnevno primitivne prednike, ki naj bi v drugih bitjih videli zgolj objekte ali podporne like z neredko antropomorfiziranami lastnostmi.

Z ugotovitvami v obeh delih želim doseči celovito vrednotenje narave oziroma spoštovanja življenja kot fenomena v očeh nekdanjega človeka. Na osnovi spoznanj,

- • da je bil človek sposoben v naravi opaziti procese in medsebojne odnose,
- • da je nekdanji človek dejavno sobival z drugimi bitji,
- • da je človek naravne procese posnemal in jih vključil celo v razvoj različnih tehnologij,

ter spoznanj,

- • da Pripoved o Zlatorogu očitno vsebuje etične nauke,
- • da druga živa bitja v pravljicah in sorodnih zvrsteh ljudske ustvarjalnosti neredko predstavljajo odločujoče dejavnike za rešitev junakovega/človekovega življenjskega problema,
- • da je več zvrsti ljudskega pripovedništva dejansko namenjenih medgeneracijskemu prenašanju življenjskih vodil,

stremim k potrditvi domneve, da je nekdanji človek bil sposoben presegati etiko medčloveških oziroma družbenih odnosov in jasno etično vrednotiti odnose med človekom in naravo ter celo odnose med bitji, ki človeka samega neposredno sploh ne zadevajo.

Etiko v teh naukih označujem kot biocentrično in holistično.

Namen razprave je pokazati, da nam je nekdanji človek, kakor se je v svojem duhu podpisal v motive Pripovedi o Zlatorogu, lahko zgled pri reševanju sodobne krize odnosa človeka do ostale narave. Namen je torej predvsem aplikativno naravovarstven.

TRIGLAVSKA ROŽA KOT RASTLINA

Triglavska roža oziroma čudežni balzam je zelo pomembna prvina Pripovedi o Zlatorogu. Je edini samostojni lik s čudežno močjo, ki jo v teku zgodbe tudi izkaže. Dragotin Dežman[3] nam jo v prevodu pripovedi v nemščino opiše kot »*Kraut von wunderbar heilender Kraft,*

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[3] Na dostopnih listinah se je najpogosteje podpisoval kot Dragotin Dežman, imena *Karel Dežman* ni uporabljal, nemško različico *K. Deschman* pa je pretežno uporabljal le v uradnih dokumentih (Arhiv RS, fond SI AS 854).

der Wunderbalsam oder die Triglaurose genannt«. V svoji čudovitosti, zdravilnosti in moči ima torej dve imeni: čudoviti balzam in triglavska roža. Iz zgodbe zvemo, da ne gre za planike, saj Trentar te nabira posebej, kot zdravilo za svojo mater.

To je vse, kar lahko o triglavski roži preberemo iz prvega znanega zapisa. Vse ostale lastnosti so posledica pretežno romantiziranih priredb, najprej Baumbacha (1877), ki jih v pesnitvi prvi označi kot rdeče, predvsem pa nekaterih analitikov.

Kot je bilo že omenjeno, je triglavsko rožo skušal etnobotanično obdelati Jože Glonar (1910: 34–106). Izčrpna je razprava Joža Mahniča iz časa po II. sv. vojni (Mahnič 1950: 125–136; 1957: 332–333), najbolj pogumno trditev o njej pa je podal Milko Matičetov (1987: 133). Presoje, ali gre pri triglavski roži za simbolno ali – vsaj v lokalnem smislu – za dejansko rastlino, so avtorji pretežno argumentirali na osnovi analize besedil, tudi priredb, in primerjave motivov. Z naravoslovnimi podatki, v kolikor so sistematično in splošno razumljivo takrat sploh bili na voljo, si niso uspeli prav veliko pomagati.

Glonar je velik del svoje obširne razprave »Monoceros« in »Diptamus« posvetil prirodoslovni razpravi o rastlinah. Triglavsko rožo je razložil kot zdravilni *diptam* (Glonar 1910: 92), o katerem v antiki pišejo Teofrast, Plinij, kasneje Elijan, Izidor Seviljski in drugi. Diptam naj bi bil analogen čebuli (*Allium sp.*) in uporaben pri porodu, za kar avtor najde potrditev pri Hovorki (Hovorka 1900: 211–214). Splošno je znano, da učinkovine nekaterih vrst iz rodu čebul vplivajo na kožo in sluznice. Iz vsakodnevnega gospodinjstva npr. poznamo dražilni učinek na oči ob rezanju čebule.

Zapise o *diptamu* s Krete je povezal z rastlino *dictam* (Glonar 1910: 52). Kot čudežno rožo navaja *diktamnon*, kar naj bi bila ena od vrst dobre misli (*Origanum dictamnus*). Teofrast – imenujejo ga tudi oče botanike – za kretski diktam na prvem mestu omenja, da ženskam lajša bolečine in je sploh dobro protibolečinsko sredstvo. Doda pa, da zastreljenim divjim kozam, če te pojedo rastlino, puščica sama izpade iz rane, kakor je ugotavljal že Teofrast (Anderson 2014: 295). To podrobnost je opazil tudi Glonar (1910: 59).

V nadaljevanju Glonar (1910: 90) razlaga o t. i. *jelenskem zelju*, zaradi katerega je človek vedno zdrav in vesel, če ga redno uživa.[4] To zelje, imenovano *somovica*, naj bi sicer redno jedel jelen in je zato vedno zdrav in poskočen. Kratko navedbo tega motiva sta že pred njim priobčila Trstenjak (1857: 90) in Valjavec (1890). Trstenjak navaja: »*Pri mesecu se zezori somovica, to je, ona čudovita trava, ktero jelen jé in nikdar ne zbolí. Da bi ljudje vedli za somovico in jo jéli, bi nikdar ne zboleli, temoč tako bistre noge imeli, kakor jih ima jelen.*« Seveda gre tu zelo verjetno za romantiziranje jelena, ki naj ne bi bil nikoli bolan, če ne kar za zmoto meščanskega opazovalca. Somovico nekateri avtorji povezujejo z indijskimi Vedami. Z verskega stališča naj bi bila soma obredna pijača. Omenja jo že Rigveda (8.48.3),[5] podobne pijače pa so znane iz Perzije. Njen učinek ob rednem uživanju je zdravilno poživljajoč, ob občasnem pa omamljajoč,[6] kot ugotavlja Mukherjee (1922: 437–438). Neredke so navedbe (prim. Teether 2005), da je šlo za mleko

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[4] Pri tem povzema Navratila (Letopis Mat. Slov. 1896, str. 23).

[5] Rigveda 8.48.3.: »Pili smo somo in postali nesmrtni (*a ápāma sómam amŕtā abhūmâganma jyótir ávidāma devân*).« Soma je v indijski kulturi hkrati rastlina, pijača (ekstrakt te rastline) in božanstvo. Deveto mandalo, sestavljeno iz 114 himn, so tudi poimenovali Soma Mandala.

[6] Splošno mnenje v britanskem kolonialnem času je bilo, da gre za izvleček konoplje.

strupene gobe rdeče mušnice (*Amanita muscaria*). Novejše domneve (Frawley 1991) skušajo potrditi starokitajske navedbe, da je šlo za zvarek več rastlin.[7] Vendar moramo v zvezi z Zlatorogom ugotoviti, da nobena od naštetih rastlin, ki jih avtorji – vključno z Glonarjem – navajajo kot verjetne sestavine some, ne raste v apnenčastem alpskem visokogorju, kjer pretežno živita kozorog in gams in v katerem se dogaja ključni del obravnavane pripovedi. Mušnica je pri nas pogosta, vendar je vezana bolj na gozdove, gozdni rob in vsaj nekoliko kisla tla.

Šavli (1990: 80–82) povzetke Glonarjevih zapisov podkrepi z upodobitvami kozorogov na situlah, ki so datirane v čas pred Aristotelom. Vsekakor so te upodobitve nenavadne, saj rastline v njihovih gobcih očitno niso navadna trava. Lahko se celo strinjamo z avtorjem, da upodabljanje vsakodnevnega prehranjevanja ni moglo biti posebno zanimivo za umetniško ornamentirano situlo.

Da je bil motiv ozdravitve živali s pomočjo zdravilne rastline pri nas prisoten med ljudstvom ali da so ga vsaj razumeli, lahko sklepamo iz pridig Rogerija Ljubljanskega in Janeza Svetokriškega. Glonar (1910: 75) je povzel Rogerijev zapis:

> *... kadàr ta Jelen, ali: Serna sashlishi h' pervemu ta rúh, takú ostermi inu se nekolku prestrashi: kir pak dálej shlishi glass tajstega, taku sazhne se sa tem glassam obrázhat, gréde sam sa tem takú dolgu, de pride nastrel; ki ta pak ustrelen inu rajnen se od tega Louza samerka, sdajzi usdigne se na gorre inu hribe, yszhe tu shélishe Dictamnum, ali: ta dóuje poláj: tega kir se naje, is tem osdravi te shlake, inu széli te rane, kakor právjo ty naturalisti, sprizhujejo ty Lóuzi inu poterjúje Praxis quotidiana, ali usakdánja skushnja.*

Kot vidimo, je v besedilu žival zamenljiva, rastlina pa zamenjana. Podoben motiv uporabi Janez Svetokriški, ki zdravilno moč pripiše zelišču, »*s katerim stori, da strel iz rane ven pade*.« Verjetno je povzel Teofrasta.

Glonar na osnovi Plinijevih razmišljanj govori tudi o *polaju*, ki naj bi bil *jesenjak* oziroma *jesenček*. Čeprav je ob razmišljanju o jesenčku že na sledi, da gre pri tem za zeljnato vrsto z rožnatimi cvetovi iz družine rutičevk, ki jo danes imenujemo navadni jesenček (*Dictamnus albus*), se zaplete v skoraj nepregledno razpravo o jesenovem lesu. O samem jesenčku pa ne pove skoraj ničesar oziroma sicer pravilne vire razloži zmotno. *Fraxinella*, ki jo omenja kot sinonim (Glonar 1910: 83), nima biološko taksonomsko nič skupnega z jesenom (rod *Fraxinus*), razen oblike listov in posledično pomanjševalnice imena. Res pa je, da liste različnih drevesnih vrst jesena in zeljnate trajnice jesenčka uporabljajo v ljudskem zdravilstvu za zdravljenje podobnih obolenj, npr. raznih bolečin po trebuhu, ali proti nekaterim kožnim pojavom (prim. Petauer 1993: 177, 220). A to so zelo splošne lastnosti velikega števila zdravilnih rastlin.

Po sedanjih podatkih jesenček v Sloveniji ne raste v visokogorju, ampak na prisojnih in deloma skalnih pobočjih v submediteranskem in posamično v dinarskem in predalpskem

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[7] Tudi v alpskem prostoru ponekod pripravljajo zvarke žganih pijač iz več rastlin, npr. sodobnejši *Jägermeister*, ki ima seveda osnovo v ljudski tradiciji.

svetu (Martinčič et al. 2007: 338; Jogan et al. 2001: 131). Podobno v Furlaniji sega le do prisojnih pobočij Alp, ena najdba pa je znana v Karnijskih Alpah (Poldini 2002: 170).

Po drugi strani pa Glonar – zdi se, da brez utemeljitve – predpostavlja, da so nekdaj ljudje diptam enostavno zamenjavali s polajem. Tudi danes se ime *polaj* uporablja za meto z vrstnim imenom *Mentha pulegium* oziroma opuščenim sinonimom *Pulegium vulgare,* iz katerega bi lahko izpeljali ljudsko ime. Rastlina je vlagoljubna in poseljuje obrežna ruderalna rastišča. Velja za precej strupeno, vendar je strupenost verjetno zelo odvisna od rastišča. Kot zdravilo ima v majhnih količinah podobne splošne učinke kot jesenček (Petauer 1993: 367). Njeno eterično olje se je uporabljalo kot abortivno sredstvo in je povzročilo tudi več smrtnih primerov. V Julijcih poznamo le osamljeni rastišči na Jelovici (Jogan et al. 2001: 245) in na italijanski strani Kanina, kamor je morda prinesena (Poldini 2002: 317). Ker sta tako kozorog kot gams izrazito vezana na visokogorski svet, je povezava z jesenčkom ali polajem torej malo verjetna.

Ime *roža mogota* naj bi po dosedanjih izsledkih prvi objavil Simon Rutar (1892: 110), ko je v svojih delih o Primorski omenil tudi del duhovne dediščine Bohinja. Imenoval jo je sicer tudi *Triglavova roža*. Zanimivo je, da je uporabil svojilno obliko pridevnika. Marija Cvetek (2005: 184) je opazila Rutarjev oklepaj pri zapisu »roža mogota« in ga razložila v smislu, da so prvo obliko imena uporabljali v Posočju, druga pa naj bi bila izvirna in naj bi jo uporabljali v Bohinju.

Skoraj sočasno z Rutarjem je ime uporabil Janez Mencinger. Po mnenju Joža Mahniča (1950: 128–129) je besedo, ki jo je Mencinger (1893: 393, 397 in 398; 1986: 155) objavil v fantastičnem romanu Abadon, bodisi povzel iz ljudskega izročila v domačem Bohinju ali prenesel iz ruščine. Domneve o bohinjskem izvoru je dodatno utemeljil nekaj let kasneje (Mahnič 1957: 332), ko je med raziskovanjem Mencingerjevih zapiskov naletel na omembo mogote iz leta 1860. Koren *mog-* pa je Mahnič našel tudi v Brižinskih spomenikih, v lastnostnem pridevniku »malo*mog*ota« v pomenu 'onemogel'.[8]

Mahnič (1950: 130) se je v svoji botanično obarvani jezikoslovni analizi nekoliko naslonil na Glonarjeve razlage, vendar se je že Glonar čudil poimenovanju rastline po Triglavu (»Triglavrose«), ki da takrat še ni veljal za najvišjo goro na Kranjskem (Glonar 1910: 92). Vseeno je Mahnič že v začetku razprave postavil izhodišče, da je pridevnik *triglavska* povsem znanstveno utemeljen. B. Hacquet (1782: 15) je namreč obravnavano rastlino imenoval *Potentilla terglouensis*.[9] Nekdanje lokalno, danes vse bolj uveljavljeno slovensko ime *roža mogota* je pomensko vsekakor enako latinskemu, rodovno ime *roža* pa je posledica podobnosti z drugimi vrstami družine rožnic (*Rosaceae*), kamor tudi spada, če ne kar splošne rabe naziva *roža* za rastline z bolj opaznimi cvetovi. Za raziskavo vloge triglavske rože bi bila koristna razrešitev pomembne dileme, kje se je pridevnik pojavil prej:

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8 Brižinski spomeniki imajo navedbo: *malomogoncka u ime bosie bozzekacho* (onemoglega v imenu božjem obiskovali). *Mog-* je sicer v slovanskih jezikih splošno razširjen besedni koren (prim. Snoj 1997: 351).

9 Danes se je uveljavilo znanstveno ime *Potentilla nitida*, v prostem prevodu 'bleščeča moč' oziroma 'bleščeča môčnica'. Wraber (1957: 433–434), ki razkrije tudi širši areal razširjenosti, uporablja domače botanično ime *bleščeči petoprstnik*, slednje zaradi petdelnih listov pri vseh vrstah tega rodu. Morda je pomembno tudi dejstvo, da so Triglav tedaj imenovali nekoliko drugače, npr. *Terglou* ali *Trgwow*, in je ime veljalo le za sedanji srednji vrh »triglave« gore.

v ljudskem ali znanstvenem poimenovanju. Domnevam, da je povezava konkretne rastline *Potentilla nitida* in pojma *triglavska roža* v zavest naroda prišla kasneje, ob povezavi Hacquetovega poimenovanja te rastline *P. terglouensis* in delitvi nemške skovanke *Triglavrose* v slovensko inačico triglavska roža, ki vsebuje vrstni pridevnik.

Za utemeljitev te domneve je zaenkrat znano še premalo dejstev. Verjetno bo treba iskati v treh smereh. Najprej to, da v botanični strokovni znanosti ni znano, da bi v Hacquetovem času to rastlino ljudje imenovali *triglavska* in bi on to vulgarno ime potem privzel v znanstveno poimenovanje. Tako bi bilo logično, da ji je Bretonec pred 200 leti vrstno ime dodelil po nahajališču pod Triglavom (prim. Wraber 1957: 435). Drugi razlog za kasnejše povezovanje pojma in rastline bi bilo lahko Rutarjevo besedilo, kjer pravi, da je bila roža *Triglavova*. Takšne oblike pridevnika zaenkrat ne poznamo niti v strokovnem niti v ljudskem poimenovanju rastlin.[10] Tretji razlog bi lahko bil, da ni znano, da bi pred dobo romantike in začetkom planinskega pohodništva kakšna rastlina simbolizirala gorski svet, kot ga danes v Alpah planika.

Mahnič v svojih razmišljanjih verjetno v večji meri izhaja iz bohinjske različice zgodbe, v kateri ima roža vlogo neposrednega ključa do zaklada. Rastlina tu ne zraste iz krvi na smrt ranjene živali, ampak iz zlatega prahu, ki nastane ob drgnjenju rogov ob skalo. Bohinjska pravljojca[11] o obravnavani čudodelni rastlini namreč pravi: *»Pa vod Zlatoroga so tud zapodval, da s roglje góje vob kamnjé, da se zlat prah kadi preč. Potle pa z njega same rmene zdravilne rože zraséjo.«* Iz te različice bi lahko izhajala logika, da tako nastanejo rumene oz. zlate rože. Motiv zlatega prahu je sicer prisoten tudi v Dežmanovi različici Pripovedke o Zlatorogu. Vendar tam zlato ni neposredno povezano z rastlino, temveč se pojavi v uvodni razlagi zgodbe, kjer naj bi bil s pomočjo delca rogov[12] ali iveri[13] beneški trgovec že pred Trentarjem z zvijačo prišel do zaklada.

Neposredna »zdravilnost« v različici, ki jo je objavila Cvetkova (1993: 42), bi glede na njen vir in informatorjev način pripovedovanja bila lahko vnesena naknadno, torej že v času sodobne miselnosti, ko človek v odnosu do narave že povsem osrednja samega sebe in v njej išče le uporabno, konkretno zdravilno vrednost. V primeru iz Dežmanovega zapisa Pripovedi o Zlatorogu pa, nasprotno, ni jasno, kakšno srečo ali korist bi triglavske rože neposredno prinašale človeku. Tu se namreč triglavska roža sploh ne izkaže kot koristna ali zdravilna za človeka, ampak je jasno, da gre za korist za žival, torej za tretja bitja. Njena povsem drugačna vloga je pokazana že z distinkcijo iz

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[10] Morda so takšne oblike imenovanj obstajale v bolj odmaknjeni preteklosti. Poleg starinske oblike pridevnika *mogota* bi bilo namreč lahko jezikovni ostanek tudi zaporedje samostalnika in pridevnika (npr. *skrinja orehova*, *oče naš* ...), kot ga najdemo tudi v stari cerkveni slovanščini (*volja Tvoja*, *Xlěbŭ naši nasǫštĭnyi*, *dlŭgy našę*, *dlŭžĭnikomŭ našimŭ),* lahko pa kaže tudi na izvor ali vpliv bližnjih romanskih jezikov.

[11] Bohinjska različica iz zbirke Marije Cvetek (1993: 43) kot celota sicer ne govori o dogodkih. Informator se sklicuje na druge vire, njegov govor pa je naravnan bolj teoretsko poučno in moralistično. Tako se zdi, da tudi pri motivu nekega pojava ali opažanja ne gre za neposredno izvirnost, ampak njegovo razlago. Katere zdravilne rože zrastejo in kakšen učinek imajo, pripovedovalec ne sporoči, saj ne omenja magične ali bajne vloge, ampak predvsem zdravilne.

[12] Prim. prevod Nika Kureta (Baumbach - A. Funtek 1968: 154–158). V ponatisu Zlatoroga iz leta 1995 tega prevoda izvirne pripovedi ni.

[13] Prim. razlago oz. delni prevod Joža Mahniča, 1950.

uvodnih stavkov pripovedi, da Trentarskega lovca, torej človeka, bele žene niso varovale s čudežnim zeliščem, ampak na način, ki pritiče človeku, torej s poučevanjem, da si je lahko potem s svojo pametjo pomagal sam.

Kropejeva (2011: 46; 2012: 68) citira Antona Maillyja (1922: 31; 1916: 119), ki triglavsko rožo primerja z rastlinami, kot so »*Donnenrose, Alpenkraut, Rhododendron*«. Bavarci in Tirolci dejansko uporabljajo domače ime *Donnerrose* ali *Dunnerrose*[14] za gorska rododendrona (*Rhododendron hirsutum* in *R. ferrugineum)* ter njune križance; verjetno po gromu (nem. *der Donner*) v pomenu gromovnice. Ostali Nemci – kjer nimajo Alp – rečejo tem rastlinam posplošeno *Alpenrose*, kakor še mnogim alpskim cvetlicam. Omenjeni grmičasti vrsti z živordečimi do rožnatimi cvetovi rasteta na zgornjem gozdnem robu in sta široko razširjeni po Alpah. Rododendroni so tudi strupeni. *Alpkraut* je staro nemško domače ime za rod *Eupatorium (*Adelung 1811: 225–226), konjsko grivo. V Evropi raste le vrsta *E. cannabinum z* nekaj podvrstami. Rožnato- do rdečecvetna zeljnata trajnica zraste v višino preko metra in pol. Je splošno razširjena, bolj na vlažnem, vendar v visokogorje sega le redko, o rastiščih nad gozdno mejo pri nas ni znanih podatkov (Jogan et al. 2001: 151).

Mailly v opombah (1916: 119) tudi zgolj hipotetično navede, da bi te rastline lahko bile znane kot potencialno zdravilne za jelene, ki jih v visokogorju ne srečamo. Navedba planike (*Leontopodim alpinum*) kot zdravilne rastline (Kropej 2011: 46) je iz ljudske modrosti in uporabe rastline kot zdravila za živino, zaradi česar so jo kmetje v Bohinju nekdaj množično nabirali in morda prispevali k zmanjšanju populacije.[15] Pripoved iz Julijskih Alp z naslovom Edelweiß (Mailly 1922: 20) sicer razlaga, da so planike nastale iz solz bele vile, ki je jokala zaradi neuslišane ljubezni do lovca, kar bi motivno lahko povezali z motivi medčloveških odnosov iz Pripovedi o Zlatorogu. Druga zgodba v Maillyjevi zbirki, Der Wocheinersee – Bohinjsko jezero (Mailly 1922: 27), planiki prisoja magično moč, ki je domačinom v Bohinju pomagala braniti se pred vodnimi vilami ob semanjih dneh, ki so jih tradicionalno prirejali pri Sv. Janezu ob jezeru. V isti zgodbi govori tudi o neki makovi moki: »*Ker so ob povratku domov morali prečkati jezero, so si kot obrambo pred vodnimi duhovi obesili okrog vratu (dali na prsi) planiko, v torbo pa nekaj makove moke.*« Tudi makova moka je tu rastlinskega izvora. Lahko je šlo za njivske rdečecvetne rastline, lahko pa za rumenocvetne vrste makov, ki sicer rastejo v Alpah, a so redke. Če so kdaj njihove dele, npr. korenine, sušili in mleli v zdravilne pripravke, ni znano. Morda gre za krvavi mlečnik (*Cheliodonium majus*), ki je iz družine makov. Ker ima zelo podoben rumen cvet, je možno, da so ga enačili z makom. Vendar raste zgolj do sredogorja (Jogan et al. 2001: 105), ne na skalah, ampak na s hranivi bogatejših tleh.

Rumenocvetna zdravilna rastlina, ki je v gorskem svetu precej splošno znana, je srčna moč (*Potentilla erecta*), ki botanično spada v isti rod kot triglavska roža. Med ljudmi je znana pod imenom krvomočnica, Nemci ji rečejo tudi *Blutwurzel*, krvavi koren. Posebnost neprijaznega skalovitega habitata je še tolstičevka rožni koren (*Rhodiola rosea*):

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[14] Mailly (1922: 119) zapiše *Donnerrose*.

[15] Večina naravovarstvenih virov sicer kot razlog za zavarovanje planike v letih 1896 in 1898 navaja nabiranje za okras.

tolsti listi vsebujejo vodo, ki je v gorah dragocena. Pogojno jo lahko jemo neposredno ali pripravimo kot špinačo; blago poživlja. Po tradicionalni vzhodni medicini iz Sibirije in Kitajske (Cuerrier et al. 2014) pripravek iz korenine podaljša življenje. V povezavi z dilemo med tolminsko (rdečo?) in bohinjsko (rumeno) različico je morda zanimivo, da so socvetja rožnega korena lahko temno rožnata ali rumena.

V pregledu rastlin smo našteli nekaj vrst, ki bi lahko predstavljale dejansko triglavsko rožo. Tematika gotovo še ni izčrpana, saj vsaka predstavlja dodaten izziv za morebitne etnobotanične primerjave. Vendar bi rezultati lahko imeli le lokalni pomen v smislu, katera različica motiva je bolj avtentična (prim. Cvetek 2005): iz pregleda je razvidno, da le posamezne lokalne različice nemara res govorijo o konkretni rastlini. Tako se zdi, da se je Matičetov (1986: 133) vseeno nekoliko prenaglil, ko je cvetlico z imenom *Potentilla nitida* razglasil za stvarno triglavsko rožo, ki nastopa kot lik v obravnavani pripovedi. Mahnič (1950: 134) pred njim to le domneva. Drugi avtorji so vprašanje stvarnosti rože puščali odprto. Še zgodnejše Glonarjevo botanično in zdravilsko razpredanje pa se pokaže kot iskanje alternativ iz drugih delov sveta, kjer so v gorah avtohtone druge zdravilne rastline.

Videli smo, da barva ničesar ne določa in skoraj ničesar ne simbolizira; Dežman je ni omenjal. Šele Baumbach jo je določil za rdečo in drobno. Po verzih sodeč zaradi krvi, po kateri je Zlatorogu sledil Trentar. Barva je bila dodatno podprta z likovnimi upodobitvami, ki so sledile Baumbachu in ne Dežmanu. Nemški romantični pesnik je bil sicer stalen gost v naših krajih, predvsem v Trstu in na Bledu, in je lahko tudi kaj poizvedoval o morebitnem stvarnem ozadju zgodbe. Kot vemo, je zelo zvesto povzel izvirno zgodbo in jo v romantičnem duhu dramatiziral. Naravnih likov in pojavov pa ni niti romantiziral niti ni presegel simbolike, ki je bila zaobjeta že v Dežmanovem zapisu. Posledično so se analitiki bolj nagibali k rastlinam z rdečimi cvetnimi listi; pogojno rožnatimi, za kar je prišla prav *Potentilla nitida*.

Končno lahko ugotovimo, da dosedanje razprave – kljub približevanju naravoslovnega in družboslovnega znanja – ne dajejo nobene opore za trditev, da je triglavska roža ali roža mogota s svojimi lastnostmi dejanska rastlina. V folklorističnem smislu Vladimirja Proppa lahko zgolj sklenemo, da je roža kot pravljična »junakinja« oziroma eden od likov v Pripovedi o Zlatorogu povsem zamenljiva in lokalno pogojena.

TRIGLAVSKA ROŽA MOGOTA KOT FUNKCIJA

V drugačni luči kot pri obravnavi rože kot lika, v katerega porazsvetljenski človek skuša na vsak način vnesti njeno uporabnost za človeka in ji tudi zamegliti njeno aktivno vlogo, pa se triglavska[16] roža pokaže v smislu svoje naravne procesnosti in vključenosti v medsebojne odnose med živimi bitji.

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[16] Ker nas prva objava pripovedi omejuje na nemški jezik, naj opozorimo, da je *Triglavrose* lahko v nemščini povsem splošno ime, kjer je prvi del zloženke *Triglav-* kljub veliki začetnici pridevnik.

V zgodbi, ki jo je zapisal Dežman, se roža dejavno pojavi na (vseh) petih ključnih mestih: najprej pod obema imenoma v uvodu, ko ustvarjalec predstavi njeno vlogo in s tem bralcu pojasni, da gre za isto stvar. Potem v trenutku zapleta medčloveških odnosov (kot *triglavska*), tretjič v trenutku, ko Zeleni lovec Trentarju prepreči spreobrnitev (kot *balzam*), četrtič v trenutku pozitivnega razpleta za Zlatoroga (*balzam*) in petič kot posledica človekovih dejanj, posušena na koncu (*triglavska*).[17]

Že iz uporabe besed – lahko se je spretnemu in široko razgledanemu Dežmanu ob prevajanju to posrečilo – vidimo, da gre vsaj za dve vrsti funkcijske simbolnosti. Pridevnik *triglavska* uporablja pri človeški drami, ime *balzam* pa ob dogodkih iz narave oziroma odnosih med drugimi bitji. Ker je iz strukture Pripovedi o Zlatorogu jasno, da se v njej prekrivata dve (pod)zgodbi – ena obravnava medčloveške odnose, druga splošne odnose v naravi –, je dvojno poimenovanje toliko bolj zanimivo in opazno. In če se ozremo na prvi del te razprave, bi trditev Matičetovega (1986: 133) glede triglavske rože kot cvetlice oziroma konkretne rastlinske vrste lahko uvrstili v družbeno podzgodbo, nikakor pa ne v zgodbo, ki govori o odnosih v naravi.

Pridevnik *triglavska* se v dramatičnem delu pojavi obakrat v (za človeka) relativno običajni vlogi: prvič, dekle si jih zaželi, drugič, fant jih utrga. So nekakšen idealizem in simbol ljubezni kot mnoge druge rdečecvetne rože, le da v našem primeru idealizem ni spontan, ampak izsiljen zaradi Benečana – in ima zato tudi drugačne posledice. Vendar celo nauk te podzgodbe ni nujno le morala grabežljivosti. Že tu lahko slutimo biocentrično etiko v smislu, da nekatere rože ali druga bogastva žive narave za človeka nimajo neposredne vrednosti, zato se (lahko v njegovih rokah) posušijo. Ker je torej lovec na željo svojega dekleta utrgal nekaj, česar ne potrebuje, pade v prepad. Ona pa ostane tudi brez privlačnega in zapeljivega tujca, domnevamo, da do konca življenja osamljena in žalostna.

Na drugi strani se ime *čudežni balzam* samostojno obakrat pojavi v bistveno drugačni vlogi. Enkrat ga v porogljivem tonu izgovori Zeleni lovec, enkrat pa konkretno omogoči ozdravitev Zlatoroga. Dosedanje razprave oba pojava uvrščajo na področje bajnega oziroma čudežnega. Šlo naj bi za odsev metafizične stvarnosti, kjer je mitska vloga Zelenega lovca v folkloristiki danes bolj ali manj določena s krščanskim gledanjem na svet, konkretno poosebljanje Zla oziroma Hudiča (Ušeničnik 1904: 223–226). Drugi pojav, Zlatorogova ozdravitev, je najpogosteje razložen kot čudežni dogodek, v realnem svetu nerazložljiv pojav, ki ga glede na ustaljene raziskovalne okvire spet najlažje uvrstimo na področje mitologije. Pa vendarle so bolezni in ozdravitve povsem običajni procesi, ki v naravi neprestano potekajo.

PROCESNA STVARNOST

V pravljicah načeloma odseva stvarnost ustvarjalca in poustvarjalcev. Kot ugotavljata Berger in Luckman (1991: 13), v folkloristiki to pomeni predvsem stvarnost človekovega

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[17] Prevodov iz nemščine v slovenščino je več, vendar se v bistvu ne razlikujejo. V osnovi se tu opredeljujem do prvotnega nemškega besedila in prevoda Nika Kureta iz leta 1968 (Baumbach - A. Funtek 1968: 154–158).

ali družbenega pogleda na svet in – zdi se, da precej manj – naravoslovno stvarnost drugih bitij, fizičnega prostora in časa. Katero stvarnost torej simbolizira triglavska roža, če se je zdela ustvarjalcu tako pomembna, da ji je v pripovedi dodelil ključno vlogo?

Ob preprostem pogledu na Pripoved o Zlatorogu naj bi bila funkcija rože predvsem zdravilna. A iz zgodbe je razvidno, da njena zdravilnost nima le vloge statičnega oziroma podpornega lika, kot bi za rastlino ali njeno morebitno simbolnost pričakovali, ampak odločilno. Roža namreč *zraste* takrat, ko je potrebno, in učinkuje kot balzam. Torej je dinamična. Očitno je, da ne gre za prikaz lastnosti rože kot objekta, saj nobena roža ne zraste izenada, ampak predvsem kaže na njeno *procesnost*. Ta je v funkciji dinamike življenja, Zlatoroga, in v tem odnosu preživita oba: roža in žival, človek pa zaslepljen pade v propad, ker se je izločil iz naravnega kroženja. Kot smo tudi ugotovili, se celo poimenovanje v Dežmanovem zapisu razlikuje glede na funkcijo. Zgodba torej vsebuje in odseva bolj poglobljeno in bolj sintetsko razumevanje stvarnosti. Posega na področje odnosov, ki se dogajajo zunaj človeške družbe.

Relacije, kot so v pripovedi prikazane med pravljičnimi liki, so pravzaprav vzporedne naravnim procesom, ki jih je takratni človek očitno bil sposoben zaznavati in abstrahirati v simbolno obliko in govorico. Te sposobnosti najbolje prikazujeta prav dva procesa, ki sta v zgodbi najbolj dramatična: čudežna ozdravitev in notranjost (psihologija) Trentarskega lovca.

Ozdravitev morda sploh ni *čudežna*, ampak se je ustvarjalcem motivov zdel odnos med Zlatorogom in rastlino *čudovit* v smislu vzajemnosti življenja, ki so jo ponazorili s krvnimi povezavami. Triglavska roža namreč zraste iz »krvi« ranjene živali. Če nekoliko poenostavimo, pripoved odseva povsem navadne običajne naravne procese: ko žival propade (ko torej kri neha teči ali odteče), pride do organske in še anorganske razgradnje. Nastale nutriente rastline uporabijo za rast. Kri tudi v etnološkem simbolizmu predstavlja medgeneracijsko povezanost (krvno sorodstvo) in življenje osebka kot takšno. Le časovna dimenzija je tu pravljična: celoten življenjski krog se zgodi hipno. A kot vemo, je abstraktnost časa ena od temeljnih značilnosti pravljice kot žanra, ki mu da ustrezno dramatičnost. Zakaj torej ne bi mogel odsev sicer dalj časa trajajočega procesa med naravnimi bitji biti prikazan hipno? Ali z drugimi besedami, čudežno v smislu čudenja, da se to sploh zgodi. Ali še drugače, refleksivno: dramatično zaradi namena zgodb in pripovedništva.

Drug primer je Trentarski lovec, ki izvirno ni bil hudoben,[18] kakor se zdi, da ga morda želijo nekateri razlagati v romantično obarvani naravovarstveni vnemi (Kmecl 1974: 454–456; Kretzenbacher 1995: 137; Cvetek 2005: 183; Kunaver 2011). Zasledovanje in lov namreč predstavlja njegov odnos do živali: lovil je za hrano in preživetje sebe in svojih bližnjih. V zgodbi tudi ni povsem razjasnjeno, katere »koze siromakov« so mišljene v uvodnih stavkih: še divje ali že udomačene. Kot ugotavlja Cajete (1994: 57–64) za vse tradicionalne kulture sveta, je lov kot dejavnost bistveno več oziroma

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[18] Kolikor je avtorju poznano, ta dimenzija zgodbe doslej še ni bila poglobljeno obdelana. Vsekakor bi bila za potrebe naravovarstvene vzgoje dobrodošla razprava o razdvojenem lovcu, ki je morda odsev razdvojenosti odnosa današnjega človeka do ostale narave.

nekaj povsem drugega kot zgolj ubijanje: pomeni predvsem slediti, torej spoznavati in biti v naravi pazljiv. Teh veščin so lovca učile bele žene. Lahko bi rekli, da se je lovec vključil v prehranjevalni krog in delno prevzel vlogo živalskih predatorjev, ki prav tako zasledujejo in ubijajo, vendar le toliko, kolikor je potrebno za njihovo življenje. Vključevanje v sprotne naravne procese pomeni tudi vključevanje v procese ohranjanja vrste, kjer evolucijske znanosti vse bolj odkrivajo (Tripp et al. 2017), da je bil (kvazi) darvinistični boj za preživetje verjetno manj uspešen kot prizadevanje za simbiozo. Kot je razvidno iz Zlatorogove pripovedi, je naravni instinkt lovcu preprečil, da bi ranjeno žival ubil. Celo Zeleni lovec morda ne predstavlja odseva nekega religioznega bitja, ampak povsem neposredno kaže na človekovo notranjo razdvojenost ali celo etično dilemo, kaj je v odnosu do narave prav in kaj ni prav.

Sintetsko razumevanje naravne stvarnosti s strani davnega ustvarjalca motivov je torej dvojno. Na eni strani gre za ontološko doumevanje stvarnosti, v tem primeru stvarnosti biosa v naravi, torej živega oziroma življenja, ki se neprestano obnavlja. Na drugi strani, v epistemološkem smislu, pa je prikazana stvarnost človekove osebne ali družbene percepcije ali zmožnosti percepcije, da je življenje univerzalna vrednota, tudi za druga bitja, in je za druga bitja pomembno ne glede na obstoj človeške vrste.

Izražena ontologija življenja celo ni omejena le na ohranjanje življenja ali volje do življenja posameznega osebka ali vrste, ampak gre za doumevanje, da se življenje v naravi ohranja, če so med vrstami in bitji vzpostavljeni odnosi, ki so v dinamičnem, torej dejavnem ravnovesju. Izrazita dramatičnost, s katero so morda izvirni avtorji motivov želeli prikazati ali celo poudariti dinamiko odnosov v naravi in je v obravnavani pripovedi izrazito prisotna, je morda nekatere raziskovalce tudi zavedla, da zgodbi pripisujejo nastanek v času romanticizma.

Če odnos med Zlatorogom, triglavsko rožo in Trentarskim lovcem ponazorimo s trikotnikom treh udeleženih likov oziroma bitij – živali, rastline in človeka, zgodba torej presega obravnavo lastnosti posameznih oglišč. Iz nje govori simbolizem stranic, torej odnosov med udeleženci. In še več. Govori nam o površini in celotni ravnini, na kateri leži namišljeni trikotnik odnosov, torej o celovitosti ekosistemov, v katerih se prepletajo in medsebojno vzdržujejo življenja vseh tipov živih bitij, pri čemer vsaka vrsta ohranja svoje karakteristike – tudi človek svoje zmožnosti samozavedanja in simbolnega mišljenja ali učenja, kakor je to nakazano v uvodnem delu obravnavane pripovedi.

SKLEP

Ne glede na nekatere dvome ali kar odločne trditve (Matičetov 1987: 133) glede avtentičnosti ostaja Pripoved o Zlatorogu neizčrpen vir navdiha za mnoga področja družbenega življenja. Zgodba je v alpskem prostoru očitno avtohtona, morda tudi endemična, motiv pa univerzalen. Zlatorog je v slovenskem in tudi nemškem govornem prostoru dobro poznan. Danes je njegova romantična popularnost nekoliko usahnila, morda zaradi prevladujočega realistično-materialističnega pogleda na svet. Bolj verjetno pa zato, ker pripoved prevladujoče razlagamo črno-belo in jo poslušalec doumeva kot moralistično.

Moraliziranju, ki povzroča slab občutek krivde, pa se človek rad izogiba, čeprav v njem morda čuti nekaj resnice.

V aktivnem naravovarstvu si namreč neprestano odgovarjamo na dve bistveni vprašanji: čemu in kako? Pri prvem govorimo o smiselnosti določenih dejanj, ali drugače, kaj je v človekovem odnosu do narave prav in kaj ne. Načeloma je prav tisto, kar dolgoročno podpira bistvo obstoja narave, torej življenje. To je naravovarstvena etika. Na drugi strani so odgovor na vprašanje Kako? konkretne »akcije«, med katerimi so seveda nepriljubljeni ukrepi in prepovedi, bolj mehka pa je preventiva, torej ozaveščanje oziroma naravovarstvena vzgoja. V Pripovedi o Zlatorogu se po njeni vsebini in pojavnosti zgodi oboje. Človeka uvaja v trajnostni odnos do ostalih bitij, hkrati pa gre za mreženje duhovne kulture med generacijami in med ljudmi sploh.

Zadnja desetletja, ko se vse bolj intenzivno ukvarjamo s problemi človekovega odnosa do narave, se kaže, da ima zgodba o povezanosti Zlatoroga, triglavske rože in človeka pomembno vlogo na področju naravovarstva. Vendar obstaja nevarnost romantiziranega pristopa, da na eno stran postavimo naravni raj, na drugo pa podlega človeka v podobi razdvojenega Trentarja. Ta naj bi z enim samim prekrškom povzročil večno uničenje. Tovrstno črno-belo prikazovanje sicer v nekem trenutku današnjega potrošnika šokira in mu za trenutek da misliti, da je v odnosu do ostale narave nujno treba nekaj popraviti. Vendar se taka ozaveščevalna uporaba prav zaradi splošnega dojemanja pravljic in tradicionalnega pripovedništva hitro pokaže kot omejena, žal celo otroča, v najboljšem primeru kot neizvedljivo idealistična. Poleg tega ne odseva niti sedanje niti nekdanje stvarnosti: gorski svet namreč ostaja lep in Zlatorog ga očitno ni uničil. Iz Pripovedi o Zlatorogu pa dejansko vidimo, da gre za globoko večplasten pogled, ki ima pri naravovarstveni vzgoji lahko trajnejši učinek.

Če je motiv ali celotna pripoved dejansko ljudska in arhaična, v svoji koreninskosti dokazuje, da je bil nekdanji evropski človek sposoben stvarnost dojemati na bolj poglobljen način, kot si danes znanost predstavlja. V ostali naravi je razpoznaval procese in odnose, ki so ključni za ohranjanje fenomena življenja. Bil je tudi sposoben presegati medčloveški moralizem.

Tudi če bi se izkazalo, da je zapisana drama konstrukt Dragotina Dežmana, gre v Pripovedi o Zlatorogu v svetovnem merilu za enega prvih zapisov miselnosti, ki vsebuje jasen in globok – nikakor ne črno-bel – okoljski in naravovarstveni biocentrizem, strahospoštovanje do življenja (Schweitzer 1923: 237–270). V svoji globoki etiki preseqa sočasno britansko viktorijansko naturalistiko (Keene 2015), nemški romantični Naturpoesie (Kamenetsky 1973) in ameriški naturalizem (Thoreau 1854), iz katerega je npr. izšla ideja narodnih parkov. Odnosi, ki jih Pripoved o Zlatorogu opisuje, in na njih temelječe spoštovanje do naravnih procesov, ki odsevajo v zgodbi, kažejo na preseganje antropocentrizma in na veliko mero holizma, ki ga je kasneje evropski človek zaradi odklona v analitskost zapostavil. Nekatere naravovarstvene struje tako danes iščejo duhovno podlago za svoje delovanje in za biocentrizem predvsem v mistiki kultur Daljnega vzhoda. Kot kaže slovenski primer in tudi nekoliko drugačni primeri v pripovednem bogastvu predvsem vzhodnoevropskih narodov (Kadyrbekova 2013; Dobravec 2017), je v Evropi nekaj biocentrizma ostalo.

Stvarnost, kakršna odseva iz motivov in iz celotne Pripovedi o Zlatorogu, kaže na dojemljivost predrazsvetljenskega človeka za procese v naravi, ki jih je očitno opazil, spoznal za dobre, vključil v zgodbo ter tako kot etično ovrednotene prenašal na naslednje generacije. Ustvarjalec ali ustvarjalka pravljic ali posameznih motivov dokazuje, da narave nekdaj niso dojemali le kot sestavljanke posameznih bitij, torej objektov, ampak predvsem kot stalno dinamiko in uravnovešanje odnosov, ki vzdržuje življenje. Za preživetje in razvoj so morali spoznati in spoštovati odnose med njimi in celovitost delovanja ekosistemov, katerih del so bili. To pa danes razumemo kot biocentrizem, osrediščanje in spoštovanje življenja kot fenomena.

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TRIGLAV ROSE AND ZLATOROG IN THEIR SYMBOLISM AND REALITY

Jurij Dobravec

◇◇◇

In 1868, Slovenian scientist and politician Dragotin Dežman published a German translation of the *Tale of Zlatorog*, originating in the Julian Alps. The story speaks of interrelations among humans and other natural creatures, close to today's environmental questions. It has been very popular in Slovenia in the last century and a half. With the adaptation by German poet Rudolf Baumbach, the ideas of the tale spread to the German-speaking area of Middle Europe.

Many social scientists and humanists analyzed the text and tried to find correlations with the motifs of other narratives. For example, Jože Glonar in 1910 published a comprehensive treatise about the animals and plants in the text. He compared it with the motifs known from the Mediterranean to India. Later, Mahnič, Matičetov, Šavli, Kropej, and others discussed associations with the tales of similar contents, possible symbolism expressed, and the inherent mirroring of the reality.

This paper focuses on the role of a miraculous plant Triglavska roža. Besides growing up from the blood of the sacred animal, it plays the kernel role of the story by remedy the Zlatorog who was deadly wounded by the Hunter.

In the first part of the paper, I provide some additional geobotanical information about the plant named *triglavska roža* (*Potentilla triglavensis*), autochthonous and endemic in this part of the Alps, and about other plants with revival effects discussed by above- mentioned researchers. According to findings, the plant as a story character is exchangeable. However, since the author gave it the central role, the essential question remains: what does this plant symbolize?

The wording of the story reveals the core of the answer. The author applied the name *triglavska roža* to events of social relations, while using the name "wondrous balsam" in its relationships with Zlatorog. It would mean that the effect for a human differs from that for the animal, but in both cases, we are speaking of life and survival. It consequently means that the *Tale of Zlatorog* consists not only of the conception of social reality but also reflects the reality of the living natural world as experienced by ancient artists. In this experience, they comprehended creatures – including plants – as equal players of the processes and interrelations acted in nature. Therefore, *Triglavska roža* does not serve as a symbol of life by its features but rather because of its involvement in natural cycles and dynamics of the ecosystem.

The exhibition of social relations in narratives served humans to spread moral teaching in society and among generations. Speaking of relations among animals, plants, and mankind in the *Tale of Zlatorog* would, therefore, signify environmental ethics. Environmental educators use this tale as a background for raising awareness. However, they mostly focused on the conflict between the "evil" hunter on one side and the sacred animal on another. By romanticizing the contents and the simplistic moral, the former was punished while the latter ruined the place and left forever.

The final result of this research offers a broader ethical consideration of the tale's contents. The ancient reality is reflected as a biocentrism based on the wholeness of perception of life as a natural process and interrelationships in ecosystems that should be respected.

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Swearing: Dissolution into Nothingness

Saša Babič, Piret Voolaid

In this study we will comparatively analyse swearing material form Slovenian and Esto-nian language in order to show the lexical and structural similarities/differences between swearing and incantations present in the material as to argue that swearing is not only a manner to give voice to taboos, but is similar with incantations. The basic premise under-lying the analysis is the existence of the "go to X" formula found both in the material and in the two genres analysed. Place X is the place of origin, non-existence or chaos, where the unwanted is sent to. There are more than 50 different variants of "go to X" we can detect in both Estonian and Slovenian language; besides we consider the phrases which carry the idea to negate someone to somewhere but they are in different formulation.

KEYWORDS: swearing, incantation, folklore, linguistic anthropology

Swearwords are expressions, which are labelled as a bad language with taboo lexis, though swearwords do not have literal meaning when used in the swearing expression. What we consider of special importance is that swearing is a highly emotive language that has been present all through the history, remained in our mental dictionary, therefore it can be classified also as part of folklore. Although swearing has been highly ubiquitous among humans, this genre was rather neglected as a research topic until recently. In this research, we aim to focus on swearing forms, where the speaker sends the listener to some place. Analytical material mostly comes from Slovenian language as representative of the south Slavic group of languages, and Estonian language, a representative from Finno-Ugric group of languages. The linguistic and cultural differences notwithstanding, the comparison is we believe possible due to the similar social censorship on swearing that these languages and cultures demonstrate: in Slovenian and Estonian languages and cultures social censorship on swearing is quite high, documented by the fact that it is not desirable to use taboo lexis even in relaxed everyday speech. The comparison between two different languages from Indo-European language groups from southern and northern part of Europe shows us differentials on different levels: from lexis to the background concept of swearing topologies. Looking into the lexis of swearing reveals the concept of exorcising person or situation on similar level as incantations try to exorcise evil or illness. At the same time, similar concepts to incantations are the ones of order and chaos,

origin and emptiness, which are revealed in some forms of swearing. These categories show that swearing is not only a manner to give voice to taboos, but is similar with incantations, which implies that commonness and magic, lower and higher, profanity and sacred are all in a constant dialogue in its substrata of swearing when we talk about it.

Swearing was neglected part of research for long time, not only that it wasn't researched on contemporary levels (in different periods), there even hasn't been made an archive with swearing expressions. Only from 1980s swearing became more visible and researchers tried to show different forms and motivations of swearing. For this article we are taking in consideration mostly discussions and databases with general view on the topic, and specific for Slovenian and Estonian language.

Looking on the international levels, most important and comprehensive works are from sociologist Geoffrey Hughes on history of foul language (1998), which is mostly discussing English language, later he has written also encyclopaedia of swearing (2006), and Magnus Ljung (2011) with cross-cultural linguistic study at different levels of swearing: from lexis to context of use.

The first Slovenian monograph on the topic was from sociologist Bernard Nežmah's (1997) published PhD, the next monograph considering the topic of swearing among other short forms of folklore was published in 2015 by folklorist Saša Babič (2015); though lots of material (partly with short discussions on swearing) can be also found in other phraseology discussions (Jakop (2005), dialectological dictionaries (Ivančič Kutin 2007), slang dictionaries (Loog 1991), collections of swearing (Pšajd 2005) or internet open dictionaries, where users can contribute the headwords with explanations (http://razvezanijezik.org/).

There are some recently done researches on swearwords in Estonia in master degree level, e.g. on the use of swear words in Estonian Drama (Sutter 2017), and on the perceiving and translating swear words in audio-visual media (Treiel 2016), otherwise no scientific monograph has been published yet on swearing in Estonian language.

SWEARING IN LANGUAGE

Swearing is quite wide area of expressions bearing variety of functions, from cursing someone, or simply filling in a slot in speech or writing, amplifying the speaker's expression or expressing his surprise.

By Ljung's (2011: 4) definition swearing is:

1. The use of utterances containing taboo words.
2. The taboo words are used with non-literal meaning.
3. Most swearing qualifies as formulaic language.
4. Swearing is emotive language. Its main function is to reflect or seem to reflect the speaker's feelings and attitudes.

Taboos[1] are to be found wherever swearing exists, suppression of offensive words or euphemistic variations are perennial features (Hughes 2006: xx). According to Hughes (2006: 462–463) the term now denotes "any social indiscretion that ought to be avoided" and has acquired the modern meaning of 'offensive' or 'grossly impolite' rather than 'strictly forbidden'. Nowadays taboo generally describes the one which is unmentionable because, on a hierarchical scale, it is either ineffably sacred, like the name of God, or unspeakably vile, like cannibalism or incest. People treat unpleasant word as taboo to the extent that everybody else treats it as taboo (Pinker 2007: 357). The use of taboo words for matters like excrement, the sex organs or the act of having sex is no doubt offensive to many whatever the mood of the speaker, although most swearwords are now usually "demystified" into mere forms of words (Hughes 2006: xxiii).

Within European speech communities, swearing and obscenity are not constant in their modes, styles and referents; taboo words change with time. Some models of swearing appear to be universal, while others are more specific to a culture and period of time; one kind of swearing might be present in one culture though absent in another, or be used more frequently in different cultures (Nezakat-Alhossaini, Esslami-Rasekh 2013: 518). Within speech communities, variants emerge over time on the basis of nationality, class, and gender (Hughes 2006: xxi). For most of swearing is characteristic either blasphemy (intentional contemptuous use of religious symbols or names) or profanity, which Hughes (2006: 31) categorizes most of (probably contemporary) swearing and are also considered as part of taboo concepts.

SWEARING AS SPEECH ACT

Sapir (1929) emphasized that language and culture are related and it is not possible to understand one without understanding the other. In direct relation to this association Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) introduced speech act theory by which they claimed that people do not only utter words in terms of grammatical structures and words, but they can carry out actions through these utterances. By Austin's (1962) terminology these utterances are performative verbs, which are divided into verdictives, exercitives, commissives, behabitives and expositives. Behabitives are related to social behavior and include apologizing, congratulating, commending, condoling, cursing, and challenging. Therefore, swearwords are speech act, which is categorized as behabitive, especially the kinds which send people to other places (*go to hell*). Although swearing may have the form of performative (for example, forms "go to X") it does not intend to perform as action but express feelings. This is due to the fact that cursing utterances are not uttered only to insult the addressee, but also to relieve the speakers of anger, in other words, the

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[1] The word 'taboo' was brought by explorer Captain James Cook in his *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* (1777) from the Melanesian languages: it referred to the complex social and anthropological meaning: to physical locales that were sacred, set apart for gods, kings, priests, or chiefs, and therefore prohibited for general use; in general it significated that a thing is forbidden (Hughes 2006: 462).

perlocutionary act is not always for the person to whom the curse is directed but for the performer. That is why swear words might be understood also as therapeutic act, which is obvious especially in traffic (Podjed, Babič 2015).

Swearing is particular type of linguistic behaviour, emotive speech. By Roman Jakobson (1960) swearing is part of emotive language: it consists of so-called "emotive or expressive function, focused on the addresser, who aims direct expression of the speaker's attitude toward what he is speaking about". The purely emotive stratum in language is presented by the interjections. Also Lyons (1981) classifies swearwords as 'emotionals', since they do not have any truth value, and when uttered it is not clear whether the punishment called is happening or not. These utterances only express emotions, such as anger, surprise, fear, sadness, complaint. Cursing and swearing utterances are often directed only towards the speaker not the hearer or the addressee (Nezakat-Alhossaini, Esslami-Rasekh 2013: 518) and are not meant to be insulting, though in argues their only function seems to be insulting and therefore general public understands them as insulting utterances.

Speakers give additional emphasis to their speech while swearing, often in combination with other emphasizing techniques like stress, intonation and tone of voice, not to mention non-linguistic phenomena like gestures and facial expressions. The contribution of swearing in such situations is the added strength supplied by the taboo words necessary for swearing to take place (Ljung 2011: 5). Referring to the context of use: the actual choice between anger, surprise and joy can be only made in the individual speech situation and sometimes not even then. Addressee makes their own interpretations on the basis of linguistic and non-linguistic information as is available to them (Ljung 2011: 23). In many languages there seems to be general agreement among the speakers that the most typical exponents of swearing are exclamations of irritation, pain or surprise containing expletives, and as stressing-the-point.

In this paper we are focusing on the formulaic form of swears and incantations using the imperative form of the verb "go to X", which undeniably indicates focus on the addressee.

This kind of swearwords can be paralleled to one-partite incantations (exorcising form without histriola): they include only exorcising of the unwanted person. We can hear this kind of swearing most often as a consequence of anger, when we are trying to express our emotion obviously with sending a person to exact place. The form is understood insulting, though is quite often in use. With focus on "X" i.e. locations, we can link this swearing form with incantations: swearing sends the unwanted force/evil/person/part of person similarly as incantations exorcises curse or disease.

METHODOLOGY

The analysis for this research was made on the database of Estonian sayings and phraseologisms (EKFA) which is including also swearing expressions (unfortunately most of them are without illustrating context), and archive of Institute of Slovenian Ethnology for Slovenian material (created in 2010 with material, collected mostly from live communication

and media by Saša Babič). Firstly, were selected units with the form "go to X" and then the forms which indirectly send addressee to other places (in passive form, as to be taken there). Material was categorised into three major groups for easier interpretation, which follows.

INCANTATIONS VS. SWEARWORDS

Already Hughes (1991: 4) linked swearing with spell, incantation and the curse as: "/…/ forms seeking to invoke higher power to change the world or support the truthfulness of a claim". The same as incantation[2] is communicative form between conjurer and impure forces, with which the conjurer sends messages, is demanding or sending demon forces or evil to go away (Radenković 1982: 8; Kropej 2009: 145), swearing is doing similarly with the person with whom speaker does not agree. Forms "go to X" chase or send people to the places where they came from or where nothing exists, like in an example of Slovenian incantation against curse:

> *Pojdite vsi vsi hudi uraki / V te visoke gore, strme pečine, / Kjer nobeden človek ne prebiva, / Nobena človeška noga ne hodi, / Tam naj bo vase pribežališče* [*Go, all all bad spells/Into these high mountains/steep cliffs/where no human lives/No man's foot walks/There should be your home* (literal translation)] (Dolenc 1999: 102).

We can see a similar tendency in the Estonian material in the form of different incantations where Devil is sent to X (e.g. to physical places, nature):

> *Kurat mingu koplesse, üle aia uppa. / Taha tare tatresse, saadan saba metsa, pagan mingu pajusse. [Devil should go to the pasture, over the fence into the beans, behind the house into the buckwheat, devil should go into the willows]*[3]

There are also texts about cursing diseases, for example erysipelas was cured by the healer by stroking it gently and saying:

> *Ühest kurjast oled tulnud, aga üheksakümne üheksa kurja sisse mine tagasi. / Üle üheksa jõe, üle üheksa mere ja sealt iialgi tagasi ära tule! [You have come from one evil, but you go back to ninety nine evils / Over nine rivers, over nine seas and don't ever come back from there!]* (Kõiva 2011: 235)

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[2] Incantations are words and rituals with healing function or to expel the evil (spell, curse, disease) away. It forms ritual with words, magic objects and fixed moves, fixed time, and often also a place of ritual. The exorcist demands an illness or the spell to go away. The ritual is supposed to have magical power which effect on a person and his/her surroundings (nature); its practical realization is usually individual. The words of incantations most often stay secret.

[3] Witchcraft words come from Jakob Hurt's collection from 1895, H III 25, 302 (13).

Similarly, as headache or stomach-ache is result of curse and needs to be expelled with incantation, it can be interpreted for swearing with the form "go to X": as it is also seen from phraseology (*ta paneb mu pea valutama* (Est.) / *glava me boli od njega* (Slo.) [he makes me headaches]; *teeb mu südame pahaks/ajab oksele* (Est.) / *želodec se mi obrača ob njem* (Slo.) [makes me sick/to vomit]), a person can "make somebody a headache" or "somebody makes one's stomach twist/the thought of somebody makes one sick", similarly as when curse is put over somebody. People with curse over them had headache or they felt sick; these were problems which were often healed with incantations. Swearing[4] with the structure "go to X" expels that person as the evil that comes along. Function in swearing is close to incantation – the person is expelled as a demon: we are so sick of our interlocutor, that we wish he/she wouldn't exist (Nežmah 1997: 131), and that the listener would vanish. That is why the person is to be exorcised. And speaking the wish out is at the same time insult for the listener and catharsis for speaker; therefore, it is positioned on the border of acceptance.

PLACES OF DISSOLUTION

The adverbial slot in the phrase 'go to X' may be filled in by variety of expressions, all having different connotations through time, though they are connected with chaos, where nothing living exists or the place of origin to return the evil back from where it came (the spells are also expelled with counting back, but it does not emerge in swearwords).

In swearing we can divide three major groups of mentioned places to which one expels another person:
  I.   places linked with religion and supernatural;
  II. sexual and reproductive organs as place of extinction;
  III. places signified by non-taboo expressions that connote taboo words.

I.
First group of swearing with using religion and supernatural concepts are used from "celestial swearing", which is linked to the notion of the incorrect use of God's name: For example: *Bog te nima rad* (Slov.) [God doesn't love you]; *bog daj, da bi crkno gnes* [God give, that you'd die today]; *jumal kuradi sind* (Est.) [God damn you] etc.; in Christian cultures there is also taboo against infernal swearing, probably in all likelihood as instance of 'word magic' (Ljung 2011: 6), for exapmle: *naj te vrag* (Slo.) [let the devil take you].

Places mentioned from religion and supernatural concepts in "go to X" swearing are either from pagan religion (mostly in dialects (Pšajd 2005: 57) or Christian religion.

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[4] Slovenian *preklinjati* 'to swear' (and similarly in other South Slavic languages) originates from old church Slavic language *klęti* which is supposed to come from Indo-European root *kleh1-* with the meaning 'yell, shout, sound, resound'.
Estonian *vanduma* 'to swear' is based on Baltic-Finnic word stem. Rough equivalents in various contexts are also *tõotama, lubama; kiruma, siunama, kirumissõnu lausuma*.

But no matter which religion is taken, the place mentioned is always place where (supposed to) no human soul lives, which is conceptually linked to the place of chaos, like *hell* or *devil* as metonymy of hell: *pojdi k hudiču* (Slo.)*, mene helvettiin* (Fin.), *mine põrgusse / mine Ellvetsi* (Est.), *minge kuradile* (Est.) [Go to the devil/hell]. Persons in these utterances are expected to be active as we send them to go there by themselves. The other way to express the same is just making person passive and devil or negative supernatural being takes the person or gives her/him fatal strikes, like: *Da bi te hudič!* (Slo.) [Let the devil hit you!]; *Perün[5] aj te vdari* (Slo.) [Let Perun strike you]; *Svarun[6] te fčesni* (Slo.) [let Svarun strike you]; *gron[7] v tebe fčesni, gron v tebej vstreli* (Slo.) *[let the thunder hit you], kurat võtaks* (Est.) [devil may take you]. These forms do not have the structure "go to X", never-the-less conceptual background of it is the same. This swearing makes the person passive, but receiving the same punishment of expulsion. When the negative supernatural being harms the person, it also takes one's soul to the land of chaos. Therefore, also this kind of swearing metaphorically takes unwanted person to the land of chaos.

Places, mentioned in swearing, which remained from pagan religion, are places where curses were exorcised, like woods in: *mine metsa* (Est.) [go to the forest], *mene metsään* (Fin.) [go to the forest] or even the emptiness *mine tühja kätte* [go into emptiness] (Est.) or *kas või tühi võtaks* (Est.) [Emptiness may take you], *mene tyhjäksi* (Fin.) [go into emptiness], *mine soo peale / mine lauki* (go to the swamp), *mine seenele* [go to pick mushrooms]. What is obvious is that Estonian language managed to keep pagan concept of places where nothing living with soul exists in swearing, while south Slavic languages kept only some pagan gods in dialect swearing and even there it is quite rare; though with naming pagan gods we can predict also some places.

As an expression of transformation and sending the person to outer world are also swearwords with mentioning the hardest diseases. These swearwords are nowadays extremely rare, most often found only in archives, like *Da bi te kuga! / Kuga te poberi!* (Slov.) [I wish the plague would kill you!][8]; *katk sind võtaks* (Est.) [Plaque would take you!] These utterances directly wish person a horrible death and transformation.

II.

The group of swearing, where violated taboos are from non-religious world are different: non-religious taboo is restricted to words considered to be vulgar and/or embarrassing, typically vernacular words for excrement, sexual intercourse and various other sexual practices regarded as deviant and the sexual organs (Ljung 2011: 7). This swearing uses vulgar names for genital parts, which are by itself part of taboo topics. Words for places in these swearing gained vulgar connotations through time. For example, *pizda* which is

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[5] Perun is pagan Slavic god of thunder, lightening and war; he was the main god in Slavic mythology (Kropej 2008: 46)

[6] Svarun is pagan Slavic god; father of Svarožič, persumably god of sun (Ovsec 1991: 123).

[7] Grom

[8] In Polish it is still often to say *Cholera!* in the meaning of swearword [Damn you] nowadays. There cannot be found anything similar in contemporary South Slavic languages, and even the archival material brings only plaque.

present in all Slavic languages, is from old Slavic word for uterus, but it gained vulgar connotation (only in Russian where it kept some of primary meaning and function of naming); *kurac* is the old version of name for rooster in south Slavic languages; *jebati* originates from the naming of sexual intercourse, but the connotation previously wasn't marked so heavily etc. Similarly, in Estonian where, for example, word *munn* [penis] comes from Uralic root variant *muna* [egg]. Anyhow, besides that this lexis is part of taboo topics, it cannot be ignored that all of this lexis is direct origin of person's life.

Sexual organs are the very beginning of human physical existance, and if someone is sending the other into these same organs (with emphasizing of parents, especially 'mother': *pejt v pizdo materno* [go to mother's cunt]), *mine putsi / mine vittu* (Est.) [go to cunt], *pejt v kurac* (Slo.) [go into cock], *mine munni* (Est.) [go into cock] it is obvious that the concept behind the swearing is sending the unwanted (person, behaviour of person etc.) back to where it came from. This swearing came into use more often in 20th century, not before. It seems that with growth of atheism also physical origin became more relevant as taboo concept, used in free speech.

Connection with incantations can be found in mentioning number three, which is (especially in South Slavic swearing) also often used swearwords for the rising of expressivity. Number three is mythological number and has important value in different religions, beliefs, also in folklore material like fairy tales and incantations. Incantations often chase disease or curse with mentioning the number three: repeating the same words three times or even repeating the whole incantation three times (often in Slovenian incantations against curse). Utterances like *pojdi v tri pičke materine* (Slo.) [go into three mother's cunts] are obviously oxymoron, but it seems that the number gives them bigger value. Though, we can never hear any other number in these collocations, but three.

III.

Group of euphemisms uses words which are not taboo. Used words are either from conceptually linked words with 'to sober someone' or 'to get someone smarter', or they are just replacing the original taboo word with similarly sounding word, irony of the original or some other choice.

Euphemisms that send person to make something which would make her/him to come to her/his sense, are in southern Slavic languages conceptually linked with salt: *pojdi se solit*[9] (Slo.) [Go, salt yourself!]. The other way to sense someone is linked with bumping into head, which might sober one's mind: *Zaleti se nekam!* (Slo.) [Go and bump into something].

These units don't send the person to go to its origin or to chaos, just to perform (active) action that would clear one's mind. Therefore, cannot be conceptually linked with extorting in incantations; though even these euphemisms send addressees to make something.

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[9] Salt is conceptually linked with wisdom in South Slavic languages, which is seen from phrasemes like: *ne imeti niti trohice soli v glavi* (Slov.) [not to have even a bit of salt in one's head]; *Ne soli mi pamet*! (Mkd.) [Don't salt my wisdom]

Other subgroup of euphemisms with keeping the formula "go to X" is keeping the same form of swearword; just the taboo word is replaced, like *pejt v tri krasne/tri pirovske* (Slo.) [go to three beautiful/three beer(-ish)], *pojdi v pisarno* (Slo.) [go to the office][10]. Choice of replacing word is of different reason, some are just sounding similarly to the taboo word or have similar beginning or just the shortenage of taboo word is used (*pojdi v pičko : pojdi v piiii* : pojdi v pisarno* (Slo.) [go to mother's cunt: go to cuuu* : go to office]). Euphemisms are of most variant lexis which can contain also some kind of irony in background, like *pojdi v tri krasne* (Slo.) [Go into three beautifuls], *pojdi v tri pomučkane marjetice* (Slo.) [go into three squashed daises]. Vulgar word for penis, ie. kurac, is often replaced with word *klinc* [small spike] or just shortened to *k****. Often heard euphemism in Slovenian is also *pojdi nekam* [go somewhere], in which we are sending person to indefinite place or we cannot determine what the place of dissolution might be.

Estonian replaces taboo words either with descriptions of the untold, like *Mine kassi saba alla* (Est.) [Go under the tail of cat] or with sending the person far out *Mine kuu peale* (Est.) [go to the moon], even with joking version *Mine kuu peale kurke soolama* (Est.) [go to the moon to salt cucumbers][11] which is not connected to religious world neither to the origin. The euphemism that cannot be tracked in Slovenian is *mine pane ennast põlema* [Go burn yourself], which could be relict of the times of inquisition (in 17th and 18th century). Conceptually the euphemism sends addressee to hell, and the change of word might seemly soften the expression, but it still strongly carries the original meaning.

Link to incantations with number three is often also in euphemisms with replacing words that are phonetically somehow similar to original taboo words (*pojdi v tri pomučkane marjetice* (Slo.) [go into three squashed daisies]) or *Mine kus kolmat (kao kus kolmkümmend)* (Est.) [Go where is three / Disappear where is thirty]), where is obvious ellipsis.

CONCLUSION

All languages have words for strongly expression of disagreement or for emphasizing the content. It is not surprising that these words are from taboo lexis, which violates communication rules: with using taboo lexis one gains attention, and at the same time these lexis has catharsis effect (Ljung 2011; Podjed, Babič 2015). This phenomenon is

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[10] Some euphemisms, like the one, can be found only in some internet sources (like in open dictionaries: http://razvezanijezik.org/) and we cannot find them in other language corpuses. We predict very limited use of them and creative solutions how people substitute swearwords.

[11] There are plenty of funny protective formulas in Estonian material that seem to be quite new material: *mine perse kui peegel, tule välja kui neeger, oled sitaga koos kui mustikamoos* [go to ass as mirror and come out as negro, you are covered with shit as blueberry jam], *käi perse kui tuul, vahi välja kui ahv* [go to ass as wind and watch out as monkey].
There are also lots of creative constructions in Estonian with repartees or responds how to answer when somebody was sent by somebody to somewhere. Sometimes the answers can be very absurd and funny:
Mine perse! - Kas see on sul kummist? [Go to ass – Is it made from gum?]; *Mine ära! – Ise oled mära* [Go away – You are the mare] etc.

most obvious in swearing. Swearing has in all time periods used words which were from taboo lexis. With using concepts and words in forbidden context, the content gained extra expressivity. Although swearing is violating communication manners rules and taboos against the use of holy names and referents (Hughes 2006: xvii), it remained in our languages. With researching the swearing material from different time periods and places, we can grasp deeper levels of society.

Analysis of Slovenian and Estonian swearing with form "go to X" showed not only that this material preserved some pagan gods and concepts of sacred places (Svarun, Perun, concept of forest, swamp mountains etc.), which are not living in religious context anymore, but also the concepts of places, where (wo)man does not live, and places of chaos and emptiness, which can also be linked with incantations. Looking at this forms of swearing makes clear that it is similar to incantations, i.e. words and rituals to expel the evil, also curse among it. Incantations send curse into emptiness or its origin. Similarly, swearwords with formula "go to X" send another person into his/her origin (inherent with physical conception), or into chaos, which is conceptually fitting hell or devil's place.

At the same time, it reveals different concept of human origin and existence: when the religion and god were on pedestal and higher forces gave life to human being, the worst violation was mentioning god and devil in swearing. With sending someone to hell one was vanished into chaos and devastation. With acceptance that human being is originated in human body with sexual intercourse and accepting the world of intimacy as important part of human existence, swearing gained lexis from the field of reproductive and intimate organs and sexual intercourse. Sending the person back into mother's uterus or even further, into penis (which would be pre-conception period, pre-existence), can show us only the concept of aiming to negate the existence of that person.

In both cases utterances with the form "go to X" deal with person's origin, birth, existence, trying to negate it or to break it off, as if the "persecuted person" was the evil, curse which has overflown one's life and needs to be expelled: we are exorcising the person, trying to negate her/him. With his/her extinction, our headaches and sickness would vanish; our life would become nicer and calmer. In these swearwords person can be expelled either to the place where no (religious/Christian) soul exists, like hell, or into one's conception origin with the thought that if he/she hadn't even been born, if he/she returned back to cunt or dick, wherever he/she came from, life would gain colours again (Nežmah 1997: 131). Therefore, these places, either places of non-existence or places of origin, have the function of places of dissolution. Both concepts of these places are sending one into nothingness, non-existence: where nothing living exists, when a person was still nothing for our culture. What becomes obvious is the fact that in both concepts – religious of physical – places of dissolution are directly connected with the concept of our existence and socialisation. Swearwords with form "go to X" try to negate our existence either way.

Connection with incantations can be found also in mentioning number three, which is also often used swearwords and euphemisms for the rising of expressivity. Number three is mythological number and has important value in different religions, beliefs, also in folklore material like fairy tales and incantations. Incantations often chase disease or

curse with repeating the same words three times or even repeating the whole incantation three times. Utterances with mentioning number three are obviously oxymoron, but it seems that the number gives them bigger value.

Euphemisms are of two kinds: one group only replaces taboo words with phonetically somehow related words, which have often some different meanings. These swearwords show us that swearing is linguistic expression with special function of higher expression of intense emotions, but are usually not taken literally. The form "go to X" is so meaningful by itself that even other lexical elements cannot change the function of the utterances and the original taboo word can be traced back. That is why even the concept of this group stays unchanged: to negate person or to expel him/her.

Another group of euphemisms has changed the concept of negating the person into sending him/her to come to his/her sense either with metaphor of "salting", i.e. making one smarter, or with sudden shock of the hit/punch (*zaleti se nekam* (Slo.) [hit yourself somewhere]). These utterances changed the concept from sending person into chaos to get the punishment or send the person to pre-existing forms and places into almost positive wish for someone to 'become smarter', which could be interpreted as transition into another state of mind.

Swearwords are taken as collocations, phrasemes and their function is on the first place, no matter the lexical filling. Even if taboo words were replaced by another, socially acceptable words, still all speakers could recognize their function and the utterances as swearing. As swearwords are mostly taken as socially judged utterances, even if they give more expressiveness to the content are not desired in communication. In official language swearwords are even forbidden in terms of collective agreement. But even though the usage of swearing remains high, many people use it as "ready-made expressive tool", not even thinking about the concept behind it. The acceptance of swearing utterances in unofficial language bases mostly only on the (un)usage of taboo words, not on the concept behind it, which brings contradictory situations that it's better to say *Pojdi v tri pomučkane marjetice* [go into three squashed daises], which just covers true concept of negating someone *Pojdi v tri pizde materine* [go to three mother's cunts], than *pojdi se solit* [go, salt yourself], which sends someone to come to his/her sense.

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Onkraj delitve narave in kulture: ontologije in epistemologije

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

Beyond the Dichotomy of Nature and Culture: Ontologies and Epistemologies

The Lipizzaner Horse: Cultural and Natural Heritage or Free Non-Human Subjectivity

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This article discusses the Lipizzaner horses, now a part of the natural and cultural heritage of the Slovenian nation, claimed also by the Austrians, and in the past an imperial heritage of the Habsburg Empire. Lipizzaner horses are typically perceived as a national cultural monument (trained stallions) owned by the human community, and not as non-human animals that were, only by way of domestication and (even worse) the way they were raised genetically, destined to serve people, first at a feudal imperial court. Based on the interactions of zoofolkloristics, anthropology and philosophical and legal discourses, this article reflects the role and importance of Lipizzaner horses through folklore and literature, and reconsiders the human/animal relationship by establishing non-hierarchy between the animal and the human on the basis of ecocritical analysis. The focus of the analysis is on folkloristic materials (texts), customs and traditions associated with the horse/human community, as well as the literary works that discuss the Lipizzaner horses.
KEYWORDS: Lippizaner horses, domestication, genetically breed horses, heritage, folklore, literature, human/animal relationship

PREFACE

Robert Musil's short story "Can a Horse Laugh" (2012/1935)[1] is an excellent introduction to a reflection on the issue presented in the title. This short story is about a horse that shows a feature that is only ascribed to human beings: it laughs in its interaction with the human being, typically opening its jaws and neighing. Can this story confirm that the human view of animals is first and foremost full of ignorance and lack of knowledge, while also underestimating and disregarding the individuality within a species? And that it needs to be changed?

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[1]   Napoleon's quote is anthropocentric, but it also includes a reflection on the value of animals: "There is a link between animals and the Deity. Man is merely a more perfect animal than the rest. He reasons better. How do we know that animals have not a language of their own? ... My opinion is that it is a presumption in us to say no, because we do not understand them. A horse has memory, knowledge, and love": O'Meara Voice from St. Helena.: The Montly Magazine. Internet: (https://books.google.si/books?id=iGY3AQAA-MAAJ&pg=PA638&lpg=PA638&dq (14. 5. 2015).

HORSES AND THE ISSUE OF DOMESTICATION

Lipizzaner horses are typically perceived as a national cultural monument (trained stallions) owned by the human community, and not as non-human animals that were, only by way of domestication, destined to serve human. The aim of the contribution is to acknowledge the intrinsic[2] value of the animal and cultural patterns that exist irrespective of human intervention, which deprived the animal of its "wildness", separating the animal from its natural environment, and Lipizzaner horses were raised for dressage, which is even worse. According to Regina Bendix "Lippizzans are white breed horses, and they were initially bred to carry noble-bred humans. Horses with carefully monitored genetic heritage for people with carefully monitored genetic heritage" (Bendix 2000: 46).

There are very few animals with such a rich paleontological genealogy as horses (*Equus caballus*). Sixty million years ago, *Eohippus* lived in North America. The genus *Equus*, which the horse as known today belongs to, developed at the end of the Pliocene. The predominant belief today is that modern horses originated in the steppes of Central Asia and the plains of Central Europe. Two subspecies of wild (feral) horse were found in this area in the past century: the tarpan and Przewalski's horse (*Equus ferus przewalski*). These were the only true wild (free) horses, whereas the only semi-feral horses known today can be found in the French region of Camargue.[3] Horses were domesticated by the nomadic livestock-breeding peoples of Central Asia as late as the third or fourth millennium BC. According to Visković (2009: 238), this animal has had the greatest impact on human civilization. Horses can be ranked by how they are used: horses for meat, war horses, and draft horses; horses as symbols, racehorses, and horses as beauty or motifs in painting, the arts, and literature—and also in folklore.

According to Mullin (2002: 389), domestication is "the most profound transformation that has occurred in human-animal relationships," whereas Cassidy believes that in the past domestication entailed "human control and the conversion of animals into property" (Cassidy & Mullin 2007: 2), which means this involved a biological-cultural process of the animals' entry from nature into human society, in which the animals consequently became its property. Cornevin claims that domesticated animals are those that are part of the house and home; they are subordinated to the master's power, to whom they provide products and whom they serve; they procreate in some sort of a prison and give birth to offspring that will also be subordinated to the master (Cornevin 1891, cited in: Visković 2009: 184). "Domestication, Ducos writes, "can be said to exist when living animals are integrated as objects into the socio-economic organization of the human group" (1978: 54; 1989, cited in: Ingold 2006: 6; cf. Ingold 1986: 113, 168, 233). Sigaut divides

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[2] Will intrinsic ecological ethics ever be established? According to Ljubo Mohorič, an instrumental, pragmatic or at least abstract, and also value-related intrinsic ecological stance can be perceived in the Slovenian ecological awareness at the onset of the third millennium; a stance that ascribes an intrinsic value to natural entities regardless of human benefit (Mohorič 2011: 82). The "new ecological paradigm" (Dunlap et al 2000) is directed towards the claim that nature is an ecosystem with all its intrinsic rights, regardless of what meaning it has for humans.

[3] Perhaps also in some parts of Turkey and Georgia.

domesticated animals into utilitarian animals and pets (1988: 59–70). Domestication re-
sults in the extinction of wild predecessors (e.g., the tarpans) and the deformation of their
anatomical, physiological, and psychological properties; only the properties that humans
wanted due to economic and other reasons are developed. The question is whether these
domesticated animals, which were able to survive in the wild, could be returned to the
wild and whether they would become feral. According to Visković, they could regain
their ability to survive in the wild despite it being atrophied. This is what happened to
abandoned and runaway Spanish horses in the US (mustangs), and the goats, dogs, cats,
pigs, and birds that have gone feral in natural environments and cities around the globe[4]
(2009: 197). Domestication was brought about by the paternalistic model of society,
which was an expression of archetypal social subordination, including among people (e.g.,
man to woman). Various types of domestication also pointed to social stratification; for
example, horses and dogs were the domesticated animals of the aristocracy (especially
the Lipizzaner horses), whereas cows and pigs were the domesticated animals of the
rural population. Social inequality was also built through this. The humans beings who
domesticated wild animals[4] (horses) also raised them from one generation to the next and
selected individuals that contained specific genetic characteristics. Initially, a horse was
a slave, who later became more important, but that only happened when it entered the
aristocratic environment.[5] It has been personified or anthropomorphized because even
today we say that it has four legs and not four paws. This is also what happened with
the Lipizzaner, a horse that was crossbred to make it fit for dressage. Horses are thus
being exploited, and the only taste of wildness that they enjoy is when they are allowed
to graze and run free in their pastures. For the remainder of their time they are subjected
to dressage and have to be obedient, tamed, and available to humans whenever they so
demand. Domestication was harshly criticized by Nietzsche: "To call the taming of an
animal its 'improvement' sounds almost like a joke to our ears" (Nietzsche 1980: 57, cited
in: Visković 2009: 201).[6] The success of breeding horses, in particular, can be explained
with Darwin's (1859)[7] claim that taming is possible primarily with "social animals" and
ones that live in hierarchic communities. Humans take control in these hierarchic com-
munities and "imprint" their hierarchic dominance on the young, which later becomes
self-evident and leads to subordination. In the domestication of horses, and especially
the Lipizzaners, the dominant's relation to the subordinate corresponds to the human's
relation to valuable property, and in modern times also to natural and cultural heritage.
Therefore, one should nevertheless be aware that the Lipizzaner horses are living creatures,
and that the civilization of horses is not inferior to human civilization. However, because

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[4] This is confirmed by introducing thirty wild horses from Mongolia, which were raised in zoos, into the
Russian steppes.

[5] Jordan Rufus wrote in thirteenth-century Italy: "No animal is more noble than horse, since it is by horses
that princes, magnates and knights are separated from people and because a lord cannot fittingly be seen among
private citizens except through the mediation of a horse." Cited from Joyce Salisibury, 1994: 28-30.

[6] One should not forget how Nietzsche reacted to the suffering of a horse in Turin that was being beaten
mercilessly by a coachman. He shouted out to the coachman to stop beating the horse, ran to the horse, and
hugged it to protect it.

[7] Darwin denied human superiority as early as 1859 in his *The Origin of Species* (1954).

humans used the horses' trust to dominate them, today the human-horse relationship still remains unequal (perhaps the situation is a little better in organic farming); horses are exploited animals that suffer quietly and endure pain with dignity and pride. But is this really true or it is only that we do not hear their pain? People have used horses in various ways, but they should have regarded them as inherent beings, from which they can learn. Namely, a foal, only a day old, may be faster than the fastest human—what does that mean for this human supremacy that we presume? Horses can symbolize a wide variety of things: the cosmos, fertility, eroticism, nobility, and freedom. But are they truly that different from humans? Westerman wrote the following:

> *In a series of drawings made around 1500*, Leonardo da Vinci had compared the facial expressions of humans, horses and lions—the expressions he made were so interchangeable that one wondered which face belonged to which creature. Darwin[7] had taken the notion of man as the God-appointed ruler of flora and fauna and knocked it on the head, but the peculiar thing was that man never stopped acting that way: as the tamer of nature which, once subdued, had to serve him in everything. The wild horses of the steppes had been captured with lassos, they had given birth to progeny that were converted into beasts of utility and then—with the exception of a few Mongolian Przewalskis—they were annihilated. Was that progress? Did the subjugation of a species always lead to improvement? (2013: 44)

This undoubtedly only involves a misuse of non-human animals and this merely based on the assumption that humans as the most highly developed beings are superior to others, which is merely a myth, of course. Klampfer (2010: 259) believes that "the animals' awareness or ability to feel may indeed secure them membership in the moral community, but their status in it is and will remain second-rate until their lives also begin enjoying the same moral protection as those of humans, alongside the abundance that is already a matter of our concern." Why this equal membership in the moral community has not been realized can be illustrated with Hearne's claim (2000: 233) that this has to do with an epistemological fear that animals are nevertheless independent creatures that have the chance to take action. Unfortunately, the two-tiered nature of the human mind continues to prevent the basic law of "Thou shalt not kill" from applying to all living creatures and also being sanctioned as such. Humans justify the fact that they send horses that do not meet breeding conditions to the slaughterhouse by claiming that they are an inferior species that lacks self-awareness. But is this true? How can humans claim that horses do not know about their past or future? The deprecating attitude towards a living creature that is not human of course benefits the human legitimacy of killing millions of living creatures for food. However, today a new ecological paradigm of awareness is being established, according to which any form of using and killing animals is impermissible (Francione 1995, 1996, 2000, 2009; Engel 2000; Klampfer 2010: 269–270). The intrinsic value of animals is what guides the author in discussing horses through the history of culture (folklore and literature), cultural heritage, and their relation to humans.

THE LIPIZZANER HORSES AS CULTURAL OR NATURAL HERITAGE?

First, it should be determined where the Lipizzaners actually belong—to cultural or natural heritage—or what type of heritage in general? According to the definition of integral heritage—"a heritage that is formed by units of the human environment or nature in which elements of natural and cultural heritage are intertwined and whose value is increased by the fact that both forms of heritage are genetically, functionally, or substantively linked and dependent on each other" (http://www.zvkds.si/sl/zvkds/varstvo-kulturne-dediscine/o-kulturni-dediscini/kaj-je-kulturna-dediscina/)—they could belong to this framework. Does this mean that cultural heritage necessarily entails human influence in order even to be able to talk about it in the first place? All of the criteria suggest this. However, can it be assumed that animals also have their own culture and cultural patterns that they transfer from one generation to the next, only that they do not develop a conscious heritage structure or do not establish an awareness of this? Does this involve behaviour or "behavioural variants" as behaviourists would put it, or truly an establishment of culture? Proceeding from an anthropocentric perspective and speciesism (Ryder 1970; Dunayer 2009), culture is truly only a matter of the human species; however, from the viewpoint of the ecocentric paradigm, culture is not reserved only for humans. What about cultural heritage? Is it only connected with the human awareness of the past, present, and future, or is the awareness of cultural heritage as a human construct? Hence, where does the heritage of the Lipizzaner horses belong and where are the cultural patterns that people built into the genetic material of these horses; what makes up the pure "horse culture",[8] if one can even use this somewhat awkward syntagm? Is this some type of protoculture or subculture (Whiten 2001; Gašperič 2005)? The symbolic pattern that animals use in their communication with one another could definitely be referred to as a cultural, rather than natural, pattern because it varies from one animal to another; of course, proceeding from the viewpoint that every animal is a person or personality in its own right (Ingold 1994). If this is the case, then animals can also have a typical cultural pattern that is part of the symbolic patterns within the single species they belong to. However, there are certainly differences between the cultural patterns of animals that have been tamed and wild ones or ones that do not live in a community together with humans. In the case of wild animals, their cultural patterns do not depend on human presence and influence. The key fact in this regard is that animals have a mental life and that they are mental subjects (Rowlands 2002: 23–24; Klampfer 2010: 250–251).[9] Thus, it can be said that

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[8]   By definition, horse culture is an expression used for all activities connected with taming, breeding, and selling horses or, in short, with the ownership of horses and the prevention of their freedom. It originates from the period when Spanish conquerors brought their horses to the US and then this culture also began to be used and developed by the Pueblo people (e.g., in New Mexico; http://www.gilderlehrman.org/history-by-era/early-settlements/essays/impact-horse-culture). Of course, what I have in mind here is the indigenous horse culture and not the one created in human interaction with horses.

[9]   One wonders if the cultural heritage of lacemaking is truly worth so much more than spiders creating webs, and if one is truly so haughty to believe that creating webs only serves the function of feeding, then one has not truly seen a spider web in the morning dew in a meadow, when the spider knows exactly that it is going to be a sunny day and its spider web will not be destroyed by rain. This lace disappears after a while, but it becomes reestablished. This is a heritage of constant change.

the Lipizzaners combine the cultural patterns of horses as an animal species and the cultural patterns of the human pretension to create a kind of horse with artistic skills envisaged by humans that were enforced in the process of domestication, genetic breeding, and selection.

Today, the Lipizzaner horses in Slovenia are part of the Lipica Stud Farm, which was declared a cultural monument of outstanding importance for Slovenia through a special law adopted in 1996. Article 1 of the Lipica Stud Form Act reads as follows: "Through this act, the territory of the Lipica Stud Farm, which encompasses the entire protected area of the Lipica Stud Farm and its cultivated karst landscape, herd of Lipizzaner horses, and architectural and art heritage, is hereby declared a cultural monument of national importance for the Republic of Slovenia" (http://www.lipica.org/en/.) Thus the Lipizzaners in Slovenia became a cultural monument and are no longer merely living creatures. In his book *Žival, nadžival* (2013), the Dutch author Frank Westerman explores the history of the Lipizzaner horses from the beginnings of their breeding to the modern times in a journalistic manner. He determines that "when you touch a Lipizzaner you are touching history" (Westerman 2013: 44.) Through four centuries of "improvements," exceptional results have been achieved with the Lipizzaners, which is why they are considered the oldest breed; however, as Westerman critically ascertains, the human species does not like to transform and change and is unwilling to improve itself (2013: 36). This is a kind of paradox. While critically analyzing this type of breeding, Westerman goes on to compare the Austrian breeding standards—because strict criteria apply to purebred Lipizzaners—with the Aryan forms and tables used under Nazism (75). Discrimination within one species spread to a different species.

But what is the history of the Lipizzaner horses and what are these "hallowed" horses like? Ivo Mihelič wrote an extensive book on them titled *Otroci burje: Lipica in Lipicanec / Kinder der Bora: Lipica und die Lipizzaner* (The Children of the Bora Wind: Lipica and the Lipizzaners, 2004). The following can be summarized from this book: his breed developed from the local Karst, Spanish, and Neapolitan horses, as well as Arabian horses later. It is a known fact that strong, fast, and sturdy horses were bred in the Lipica area as early as Roman times. The stud farm was established by Austrian Archduke Charles, the regent of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, Istria, and Trieste at that time. He purchased the village of Lipica and its associated land from the archbishop of Trieste. He wanted to breed elegant carriage and riding horses at Lipica for his stud farms in Graz, where he had his residence. To this end, stables and residential buildings were built, and meadows and pastures were arranged at Lipica. The first Spanish horses arrived in Lipica as early as 1580, and then more horses came in 1581, 1582, and 1584, when they also bought horses from Palestrina (Italy), which strongly resembled the Spanish ones. Only five of the stallions managed to create their own bloodlines that have survived until today: Pluto, Neapolitano, Conversano,[10] Maestoso, and Favory.

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[10] Frank Westerman writes about Conversano's (*Conversano Primula*) descendants in *Brother Mendel's Perfect Horse*.

Johann George Hamilton, The Lipica Stud Farm, 1727.

Johann Georg de Hamilton (1672-1737), Lipizzaner Horse.

Today, the Lipizzaners are bred at seven state-owned stud farms: the Piber Stud Farm in Austria, the Džakovo Stud Farm in Croatia,[11] the Fara in Sabina Stud Farm in Italy, the Szilvásvárad Stud Farm in Hungary, the Sâmbăta de Jos Stud Farm in Romania, the Topoľčianky Stud Farm in Slovakia, and the Karađorđevo Stud Farm in Serbia. The work performed by numerous breeding organizations around the globe is also exceptionally important for the establishment of the Lipizzaner horses in a breeding and equestrian sense. These operate in all of the countries mentioned above and even in the US, Australia, and South Africa.

The Lipica Stud Farm and the Lipizzaners experienced several hard blows in the course of history. The first time they had to leave the stud farm was in 1796, when they were taken to Hungary; they returned in the fall of 1798. In 1805, they fled to Džakovo and then Karád, from where they returned in 1807. The third exodus occurred in 1809, when they were taken to a place near the Mezőhegyes stud farm in Hungary, where they stayed in exile for a full six years. However, the Lipica Stud Farm suffered the hardest blow during the Second World War. After Italy capitulated, it was taken over by the Germans, who moved all 179 horses to Hostouň in Czechoslovakia as early as October 1943. This is where the horses from the Piber Stud Farm in Austria, the former Yugoslav royal stud farm at Demir Kapija, the former Yugoslav stud farm at Dušanovo near Skopje (where Arabian horses were bred), and the Polish stud farm in Janów were also sent. At the end of the war, the "combined" stud farm came under American control. The Americans gave part of the herd and the entire archive to Italy, and a significant number of horses were also sent to the Piber stud farm, which renovated and expanded its breeding facilities. It was not until 1947 that Lipica, which then belonged to Yugoslavia, was given back eleven horses. However, thirty years of efforts resulted in a completely renovated stud farm, which now again houses representatives of all the stallion and mare bloodlines.

What are the characteristics of a Lipizzaner, what does it look like, and what are its agility skills? Even though the Lipizzaners are almost always associated with white or at least light gray, which is the only color desired among Lipizzaner breeders (the horses' natural color is gray), they can also have dark-gray, coal-black, brownish-gray, and dark-brown coats. The foals are always dark. The Lipizzaners became the most suitable horses for the Spanish Riding School in Vienna, whose origins date back to Ancient Greece and Xenophon as the founder of classical dressage. This is the highest possible level of dressage a horse can attain. Classical dressage entails extremely demanding artistic riding, which means that the main purpose of breeding the Lipizzaners was art. Westerman describes his visit to the Lipica Stud Farm and its history, in which his description of the galloping herd, reminiscent of the times when horses ran freely across the steppes and meadows, is most picturesque:

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[11] Horses do not have a nationality and, therefore, they cannot be appropriated by individual countries. Westerman shows the horrific human attitude towards these horses by using the example of the horses stolen from Lipik, Croatia (Džakovo); they were transported to Serbia during the war following 1991, where some of them died of hunger, locked up in stables, because a businessman from Novi Sad was unable to sell them (219–232). In 2007, sixty-six Lipizzaners returned to Lipik, after the person that had stolen them notified the world about their fate. This is another example of human cruelty, of which no other animal species is capable.

> Never before had I witnessed so many horses racing towards me simulta-
> neously. Their hooves flung sand and pebbles from the ground. The noise
> they made was not a ruffle, not a stamping, but a wall of sound. (2013: 72)

After gaining independence, Slovenia began to file applications to obtain these stud books, but all in vain. However, in 1999 it succeeded in protecting the Lipizzaners' geographical origin as a brand name. This is discussed in an interview with Bojan Pretnar, who says that Slovenia managed to register the Lipizzaner's name in the European Union with a protected geographical indication (GPI) status. However, it remains unclear which country has the right to keep the principal stud book. Nonetheless, Slovenia managed to establish the Stud Book of the Lipizzaners of the Slovenian Breed (1999). At that time, EU legislation did not allow the use of protected geographical indications on live animals. However, the TRIPS Agreement extended this protection to any type of goods, including horses (http://www.mladina.si/52214/dr-bojan-pretnar-varuh-intelektualnih-pravic/). This means that the Lipizzaners as living creatures have been placed on an equal footing with Carniolan sausage, honey, White Carniola cake, and Cviček wine. They are thus objects. Therefore, the next question one should ask is whether animals can be used for any purpose or whether animals can be manipulated and included in cultural practices in order to serve people? Regina Bendix states: "In [the]case of the Lippizaners, this transfer from heredity to heritage, from feudalistic power structure to a democratic one is fully transparent" (2000: 47). This question in particular is connected with cultural and natural heritage, which of course is humanist and anthropocentric *per se*, and is protected only in relation to the human, and not living creatures or nature. Cultural heritage, which animals become a part of, has been created due to human cultural preferences and hence it is merely a human value, whereas the animals that end up in specific cultural practices (e.g., the Lipizzaners' trot or the Spanish riding school) are actually forced to take part in these practices. They will not even exist without that is the common opinion that is at its core very anthropocentric and denied the Lippizaner horses their intrinsic value. The ownership right of individual countries seems even more perverse: they claim ownership over the Lipizzaners as part of their natural and cultural heritage, but they could not care less about these horses as beings with an intrinsic value. Claiming ownership over the Lipizzaner as the national horse that represents national cultural and natural heritage, as well as rulers and statesmen, has been common in history. Hitler referred to the Lipizzaners as German horses, Mussolini called them Italian horses, Tito referred to them as Yugoslav horses, and Slovenians as Slovenian horses.[12] Westerman illustrates

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[12] Thus, the following can be read online: One of Piber's ... major objectives is "to uphold a substantial part of Austria's cultural heritage and to preserve one of the best and most beautiful horse breeds in its original form." *Austria* can be replaced with *Slovenia* and the sentence remains completely the same. The official website of the Lipica Stud Farm contains the following sentence: "Lipica is the cradle of the Lipizzaner horse (1580)." The struggle for primacy over breeding the Lipizzaners and their origins does not work to the benefit of the horses. The living creature, which could not care less about which heritage it belongs to because it already has its own, is simply being disregarded.

this hot-tempered appropriation in his book by describing how Austrian tourists visiting Lipica found it outrageous that Slovenia dared to depict two Lipizzaners on its 20-cent coin (2013: 62).

Hence, it can be concluded that it is clearly still true that even non-human subjectivities are only protected as long as they serve a specific human purpose and are part of human cultural heritage (UNESCO).[13]

20-cent coin with two Lipizzaner horses (Wikipedia)

THE CULTURAL ASPECTS OF HORSES: THE HERITAGE OF SONGS AND NARRATIVES

Tim Ingold wrote: "Just as humans have a history of their relations with animals, so also animals have a history of their relations with humans. Only humans, however, construct narratives of their history" (2006: 1). Yes, only humans can tell stories of our shared relations or, as an African saying goes: "Until lions have their own 'storytellers', tales of a lion hunt will always glorify the hunter."

Slovenian folklore has thematized the relation between horses and humans in various ways. In the folksong tradition, horses are not only part of the aristocratic world, but also part of everyday agricultural life. They were valuable and symbolized wealth. In various

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[13] In 2015, efforts started in Slovenia (and Austria) for entering the breeding and training of the Lipizzaner horses on the UNESCO World Heritage List, albeit together with the Piber Stud Farm in Austria. The protection of the Lipizzaner is to move from the national to a supranational level, and become part of world heritage. See the *Delo* article "Lipica bi skupaj s Pibrom v Unesco" (Lipica Going for UNESCO together with Piber) from May 11th, 2015.

ballads, horses are part of the world of the military, knights, and heroes,[14] but they also appear in fairytales and mythological ballads. Frye (1957; 2000: 34, 152–153) believes that in epic and romantic poems horses symbolize fidelity, belongingness, chivalry, and aristocracy. However, in tales, fairy tales, and fables, horses are depicted almost allegorically (with a lesson in fables), but they can also be read in a literary manner and otherwise (Harel 2009), which evokes sympathy towards oxen and admiration for horses as "superior animals." In her book *Tipni indeks slovenskih ljudskih pravljic. Živalske pravljice in basni* (Typological Index of Slovenian Folktales: Animal Tales and Fables), Kropej Telban lists several examples: *Konj in vol* (Horse and ox; ATU 207, 1877, Kocijančič: Kropej Telban 2015: 328); *Vol in konj vprežena skupaj* (Ox and horse yoked together; 329); *Konj in vol* (Horse and ox; 329); *Vol in osel* (Ox and donkey; 330); *Trdosrčni konj in osel* (Cold-hearted horse and donkey; 331); *Konj in osel* (Horse and donkey; 331), and *Konj in vol* (Horse and ox; 332). All of these fables depict the relationship between a superior and inferior animal and thematize the status of individual animals in the human community. Horses were considered superior to other draft animals. Despite this, horses themselves were often used as draft animals. The thematization of the horses' destiny also reveals human destiny, which means horses also had a symbolic function. However, the aim here is to read these songs from the perspective of animal folklore and ecocriticism because these ballads feature classic anthropomorphization: placing horses into the animal world, which is subordinate to that of humans. Stories can also reveal the true destinies of horses in the past and present.

In Slovenian folk tradition, the Lipizzaners were referred to as *šimelni* ("white horses"). This word is derived from German *Schimmel* ('white or grey horse'). In ballads (especially heroic and historical ones), horses are depicted as helpers to humans; people ride them. Horses can also have supernatural power; for example, the song "Pegam in Lambergar" (Pegam and Lambergar; SLP I/1(10)), features a horse that has not seen light for seven years and so it has a special power. It becomes Lambergar's helper. It is well fed: they feed it with yellow grain and water it with sweet white wine. It is completely clear that this horse-rider relationship involves mutual dependency and trust. The horse has the characteristic of a hero and can even speak (cf. Piskač 2012: 1071–1089). King Matthias rides a "bridled white horse" (*belču brzdem*; SLP I/3 (18–19)). Horses, especially white ones, symbolize royal blood and aristocracy, and so they can be found in songs thematizing the castle environment. A girl soldier is riding a "bridled horse" (*konjcu brzdnem*; women were only supposed to ride horses without a bridle; SLP I/7 7/ (55)). In the song "Ravbar Gathers His Army and Wins the Battle of Sisak) the horses are fast: "brze konjče napravlajte, / jih sedlajte n vobrzdajte, / se na vojsko naravnajte" (prepare fast horses, / saddle and bridle them, / and prepare for war; SLP I/12 (75)). In the song "Prošnja umirajočega junaka" (A Dying Hero's Request), a hero asks for his black horse to be tied to a plait of rosemary that he will hold in his hands when he is buried; this means the horse should mourn him and die together with him (SLP I/19 (101)). In one

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[14] According to Assmann (2005: 317), in chivalry horses symbolized ""superhuman speed."" Cf. Škopljanac (2012: 511–538).

of the versions, the hero declares the horse his little brother (107). In the song "Dekle z ugankami rešeno hudiča" (The Girl Saved from the Devil by Riddles), the prince saddles and mounts a fast horse, the horse neighs, and the girl takes it to the stables it by its reins, where she feeds it some grain so that it cannot neigh (SLP I/36 (189)). In another song, a dead man comes to get his sweetheart on a horse (SLP I/59/323). The song "Kamenjanje sv. Štefana" (The Stoning of St. Stephen) depicts the arrival of a white wild horse that is supposed to bite St. Stephen and the saint tames him immediately (SLP II/ 129/397–399).

A surprisingly equal relationship with an animal as though with a human can be found in the lyric love song "Konjiče kupim, da v vas pojezdim" (I'll Buy Horses to Ride into the Village; Š 1788). A young man wishes that his horse were as strong as a bear, so that it could carry him to his beloved all through the night. And this is what truly happens: when the horse neighs three times, the girl opens her door and: "Konjiča je djala v štalico, / mene pa v svetlo kamrico. // Konjiču je dala čop sena, / meni pa vinca sladkega. // Konjiču je dala pšeničice, / meni pa rudeče ličice. // Konjiču je dala mal ovsa, / meni pa malo kovterca" (She took the horse into the stables, / and took me into her bright little chamber. // She gave the horse a wisp of straw, / and some sweet wine to me. // She gave the horse some grain, / and her red cheeks to me. // She gave the horse some oats, / and shared her blanket with me). The song "Konju postreže, kakor ljubemu" (She Entertains a Horse the Same as Her Beloved; Š 2155) indicates that horses were valuable animals, even though in this case it has more to do with opposing her boyfriend: "Konjiči je jesti dala žolte pšeničkice, / ljubemu je jesti dala, / maličko ovseka. // Konjiču je piti dala / vinca z vedre srebrne, / ljubemu je piti dala / veliki škaf mrzle vode. Konjiči pa je postljala na blazine pernate, / ljubemu pa je postljala / malo suje praproti." (She fed the horse yellow grain, / and fed her boyfriend / some oats. // She watered the horse / with wine from a silver bucket, / and gave her boyfriend / a big tub of cold water to drink. She prepared feather pillows for the horse, / and only some dry ferns / for her boyfriend.) The boyfriend becomes angry and threatens to leave her for another girl.

HORSES IN CUSTOMS, BELIEFS, AND SAYINGS

Horses are certainly extremely important animals in Slovenian customs and traditions. St. Stephen is the patron of horses and is commemorated during Christmas time, on December 26th (for more, see Kuret 1989, vol 2: 382–397). This saint may even announce the arrival of a new creature, a foal, during Christmastime. White Carniolan Christmas carols include the motif of a black stallion, which symbolizes youth and life force. Kropej (1998: 98–99) writes about a belief that has been preserved in Istria, according to which a little Christmas horse came to eat grain below the table on Christmas Eve, which is why children in Gažon fasted the whole day on Christmas Eve[15] because they believed they would see the little horse in the evening that way. St. George rides a white horse, heralds the spring, and defeats the dragon with its help. St. Martin also rides a white horse. Horse

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[15] Known in the local dialect as *božična vilja*, literally "Christmas vigil".

processions were common during the Feast of Corpus Christi (Kuret 1989, vol 1: 365). Slovenian sayings and idioms testify that horses were closely connected with humans. The positive seems to be combined with the negative: for example, *delati in garati kot konj* ("to work and toil away like a horse") as a negative aspect versus *biti na konju* ("to be on a horse"), meaning to rise and advance higher (this is connected with the fact that in the past riding horses was mainly in the domain of aristocracy or higher social classes) as a positive aspect. *Biti fjakarski, paradni konj, pa trojanski konj* ("to be a hackney horse, a parade horse, or a Trojan horse") are well-known idioms; *ješča kot konj* ("to eat like a horse"), *konjski obraz* ("(to have) a horse face") or *konjski zobje* ("(to have) horse teeth") thematize people with such characteristics. One of the best-known Slovenian sayings is *Še kovačeva kobila je zmeraj bosa* "The blacksmith's mare is always unshod", equivalent to "The cobbler's wife is the worst shod" (for more, see Keber 1996: 148–174.)

HORSES / THE LIPIZZANERS IN LITERATURE

Three literary thematizations of horses / the Lipizzaners in Slovenian literature have been selected that reveal the relationship between humans and horses / the Lipizzaners. In all three, hierarchization is highlighted in terms of ecocritical analysis. It is established that ecocritical discourse emerges from Kocbek's poem "Lipicanci" (The Lipizzaners; *Poročilo* 1969) via Novak's play *Lipicanci gredo v Strasbourg* (The Lipizzaners Go to Strasbourg, 2008) and escalates into an ecocritical climax in Komelj's poem "Hipodrom" (Horse Racetrack; Hipodrom 2006).

EDVARD KOCBEK, LIPICANCI (1969)

LIPICANCI	THE LIPPIZANER
Časnik poroča:	A newspaper reports:
lipicanci so sodelovali	the Lippizaners collaborated
pri zgodovinskem filmu.[16]	on a historical film.
Radio razlaga:	The radio explains:
milijonar je kupil lipicance,	a millionaire had bought the Lippizaners,
plemenite živali so bile mirne	the noble animals were quiet
ves čas poleta nad Atlantikom.	throughout the journey over the Atlantic.
In učna knjiga uči:	And a textbook teaches:
lipicanci so hvaležni jezdni konji,	the Lippizaners are graceful riding horses,
doma so s Krasa, prožnega kopita,	their origin is in the Karst, they are of supple hoof,
gizdavega drnca, bistre čudi	conceited trot, intelligent nature,
in trmaste zvestobe.	and obstinate fidelity.

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[16] This allegedly refers to the 1959 film *Ben Hur*, on which the newspaper *Slovenski Jadran* reported in 1960. The best-known film about the Lipizzaners is *Miracle of the White Stallions*, made in 1963 (perhaps Kocbek was referring to this movie), which depicted the rescue of the Lipizzaners at the end of the Second World War. The Lipizzaners were also featured in the movies *The Tempest* and *Crimson Tide.*

In vendar ti dodajam, sinko,
da teh nemirnih živali
ni mogoče spraviti v razvidne obrazce:
dobro je, kadar sije dan,
lipicanci so črna žrebeta,
in dobro je, kadar vlada noč,
lipicanci so bele kobile,
najbolje pa je,
kadar prihaja dan iz noči,
kajti lipicanci so beločrni burkeži,
dvorni šaljivci njenega veličanstva,
slovenske zgodovine.

Drugi so častili svete krave in zmaje,
tisočletne želve in leve s perutmi,
samoroge, dvoglave orle in fenikse,
mi pa smo si izbrali najlepšo žival,
izkazala se je na bojiščih in v cirkusih,
prepeljevala je kraljične in zlato monštranco,
zato so dunajski cesarji govorili
francosko s spretnimi diplomati,
italijansko z zalimi igralkami,
špansko z neskončnim Bogom
in nemško z nešolanimi hlapci,
s konji pa so se pogovarjali slovensko.

Spomni se, otrok, kako skrivnostno
sta spojena narava in zgodovina sveta
in kako različna je vzmet duha
pri slehernem ljudstvu na zemlji.
Dobro veš, da smo zemlja tekem in dirk.
Zato tudi razumeš, zakaj so se beli konji
iz Noetove barke zatekli na naša čista tla,
zakaj so postali naša sveta žival,
zakaj so stopili v legendo zgodovine
in zakaj razburjajo našo prihodnost,
nenehoma nam iščejo obljubljeno deželo
in postajajo zanosno sedlo našega duha.

Kar naprej sem na beločrnem konju,
mili moj sinko,
kakor poglavar beduinov
sem zrasel s svojo živaljo,
vse življenje potujem na njej,
bojujem se na konju in molim na njem,
spim na konju in sanjam na konju
in umrl bom na konju,
vse naše prerokbe sem spoznal
na skrivnostni živali,
in tudi to pesem sem doživel
na njenem drhtečem hrbtu.

But I have to add, my son,
that it isn't possible to fit these
restless animals into any set pattern:
it is good when the day shines,
the Lippizaners are black foals.
And it is good, when the night reigns,
the Lippizaners are white mares,
but the best is,
when the day comes out of the night,
then the Lippizaners are the white and black buffoons,
the court fools of its Majesty,
Slovenian history.

Others have worshipped holy cows and dragons,
thousand-year-old turtles and winged lions,
unicorns, double-headed eagles and phoenixes,
but we've chosen the most beautiful animal,
which proved to be excellent on battlefields, in circuses,
harnessed to princesses and the Golden Monstrance,
therefore the emperors of Vienna spoke
French with skilful diplomats,
Italian with charming actresses,
Spanish with the infinite God,
and German with uneducated servants:
but with the horses, they talked Slovene.

Remember, my child, how mysteriously
nature and history are bound together,
and how different are the driving forces of the spirit
of each of the world's peoples.
You know well that ours is the land of contests and races.
You, thus, understand why the white horses
from Noah's ark found refuge on our pure ground,
why they became our holy animal,
why they entered into the legend of history,
and why they bring the life pulse to our future.
They incessantly search for our promised land
and are becoming our spirit's passionate saddle.

I endlessly sit on a black and white horse.
my beloved son,
like a Bedouin chief
I blend with my animal,
I've been travelling on it all my life,
I sleep on it, and I dream on it,
and I'll die on it.
I learned all our prophesies
on the mysterious animal,
and this poem, too, I experienced
on its trembling back.

Nič temnejšega ni	Nothing is darker than
od jasne govorice	clear speech,
in nič resničnejšega ni od pesmi,	and nothing more true than a poem
ki je razum ne more zapopasti,	the intellect cannot seize,
junaki šepajo v svetlem soncu	heroes limp in the bright sun,
in modrijani jecljajo v temi,	and sages stammer in the dark,
burkeži pa se spreminjajo v pesnike,	the buffoons, though, are changing into poets,
krilati pegazi vedno hitreje dirjajo	the winged Pegasi run faster and faster
nad votlinami naše stare zemlje	above the caves of our old earth
in poskakujejo in trkajo,	jumping and pounding —
nestrpne slovenske živali	the impatient Slovenian animals
še vedno budijo kralja Matjaža.	are still trying to awaken the legendary King Matjaž.
Kdor še ne zna zajezditi konja,	Those who don't know how to ride a horse,
naj se čimprej nauči	should learn quickly
ukrotiti iskro žival,	how to tame the fiery animal,
obdržati se svobodno v lahkem sedlu	how to ride freely in a light saddle,
in uloviti ubrano mero drnca,	how to catch the harmony of the trot,
predvsem pa vztrajati v slutnji,	and above all to persist in the premonition,
kajti naši konji so pridirjali od daleč	for our horses came galloping from far away,
in so daleč namenjeni,	and they still have far to go:
motorji radi odpovedo,	motors tend to break down,
sloni preveč pojedo,	elephants eat too much,
naša pot pa je dolga	our road is a long one,
in peš je predaleč.	and it is too far to walk. (Kocbek 1977: Internet)

Kocbek's poem about the Lipizzaners remains within the context of a symbolic depiction of horses as national symbols and does not establish a critical discourse. According to Čeh Steger, when analyzing a text portraying an animal, one must determine whether the animal is using its own voice or whether it merely speaks through the voice of the poet. In this case, this is not its autonomous voice; it still involves a personification of nature and a symbolization of the animal as part of national heritage (Čeh Steger 2012: 207). Novak wrote the following in his introduction to Kocbek's poem "Lipicanci" (The Lippizzaners):[17]

> "The Lipizzaners" is one of Kocbek's most typical poems. It was published as the last, concluding, poem in his collection *Poročilo* (Report). In it, the poet elevates the Lipizzaners to the level of a national symbol. He poetically expresses the basic characteristics of this noble white horse ... In terms of diction, the poem is an exalted ode imbued with noble humor at the same time … The narrative tone, which mimics a journalistic report, deepens to reach mythological dimensions and descriptions of things grow into metaphors, which Kocbek uses to lyricize the Lipizzaner as a "holy animal." (Kocbek 1999: 7)

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[17] In 2005, the Krainer publishing house published this poem in six languages with illustrations by Slovenian artists (http://www.delo.si/clanek/2131).

Kocbek compares the Lipizzaners with the Slovenians because even the Viennese emperors were said to converse with the Lipizzaners in Slovenian. Thus it is no longer a living creature, but a symbol, a holy animal that unites the nation and places it within the global context. Everybody knows the Lipizzaners, but few know where they come from.

BORIS A. NOVAK'S PLAY *LIPICANCI GREDO V STRASBOURG* (THE LIPIZZANERS GO TO STRASBOURG, 2008)[18]

The substantive core of Novak's satirical play is dedicated to the Lipizzaners that go to the European Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg to seek justice for themselves because their habitat is becoming smaller and smaller, a golf course is being built there, tourism is becoming increasingly commercial, and the Lipizzaners are only a means for generating profit and a mere tourist attraction. Or, in the words of the horse Maestoso: "If we jumped through people's bedroom windows like they jump across the fences into our pastures, the men's nervous, tired organs would also go soft. We used to enjoy our moments of miraculous pleasure right out in the meadows, in privacy. I have no desire to touch you or have intimate relations with you in front of tourists" (2008: 170). They are taken seriously at the court because, legally speaking, human rights can also apply to horses. They press charges against Slovenia and all the other countries that Lipica, as the cradle of the Lipizzaner horses, belonged to over the centuries (from 1580 onwards). The Lipizzaners also complain about the way they are treated.[19] After this, the history of the Lipizzaners and their life in various countries and under different masters is revealed. The horses also explain to the judicial council why Lipica is the cradle of the Lipizzaner horses by singing the following verses: "Na Krasu je dom najlepših konj, / na Krasu je hlev za burjin vonj, / na Krasu je bor, visok kot dan, / na Krasu je teran, kot noč teman, / na Krasu je črn podzemni svet, / na Krasu je bel kamniti cvet, / še črni konj postane bel / in je svet na Krasu cel" (The Karst is home to the most beautiful horses, / the Karst is where stables smell like the Bora wind, / the Karst is where the pines are tall as the day, / the Karst is where the Terrano wine is dark as the night, / the Karst is where there is a black underground world, / the Karst is where there are white stone flowers, / even a black horse turns white, / and makes the world there whole; 2008: 244). Novak even introduces a transformed love lyric folksong into the play. He transforms the original verses "Moj očka ima konjička dva / oba sta lepa, bela šimelna" (My daddy has two horsies, / two beautiful white horsies) into "Moj očka ima konjička dva, / oba prodal je za mercedesa" (My daddy has two horsies, / he sold both of them to buy a Mercedes; 2008: 246), which is an obvious criticism of modern Slovenians and their leaders. Novak also uses the traditional Slovenian love song "Na planincah sončece sije" (The Sun Shines in the Mountains) to criticize the activities of Slovenian politicians in Brussels. A lawyer of Slovenian descent by the name of Volk (which may be read as *Folk*), who goes on to become a minister, sings this song to the Lipizzaners:

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[18] The play premiered at the Ljubljana City Theater during the 2006/2007 season.

[19] In the past few years, several Lipizzaners have died at Lipica, either from poisoned hay or improper treatment.

Na planincah sončece sije,	The sun shines in the mountains,
na planincah sončece sije,	The sun shines in the mountains,
na planincah sončece sije,	The sun shines in the mountains,
na planincah luštno je.	It's lovely in the mountains.

The two judges sing this song completely differently:

Nad Evropo sončece sije,	The sun shines over Europe.
v Strasbourgu sončece sije,	The sun shines in Strasbourg,
in v Bruslju sončece sije,	And the sun shines in Brussels,
in v Bruslju luštno je!	And it's lovely in Brussels!

And the horses sing the following in a sad tone:

Lipicancem sonce ne sije,	The sun doesn't shine for the Lipizzaners,
lipicancem dežek ne lije,	It doesn't rain for the Lipizzaners,
lipicancem trava ne klije,	The grass doesn't sprout for the Lipizzaners,
lipicancem strašno je!	It's horrible for the Lipizzaners!

Together with a veterinarian that has her own voice and represents the horses, the horses make an appeal to the high court. This appeal reveals criticism over the depiction of rural life and the inappropriate attitude of the state towards the Lipizzaners. A female judge at the court asks what the Slovenian government ministers are doing and the horses reply to her very informatively: the minister of the environment would like to build in a karst field; the minister of finance is collecting taxes from the casino, the minister of the economy plans to build an industrial empire in the Karst, the minister of transport is looking for an appropriate site in the Karst to build a racecourse or even an airport, the minister of agriculture is selling horses (is a horse trader), the minister of culture only speaks of horses as national symbols, the prime minister likes to play golf, and the president prefers dogs (2008: 335–336).

At the time this play was written, the Slovenian government did not show much interest in the Lipizzaners' fate. The horses say the following: "Nadarjeni za plese in dresuro, / združujemo naturo in kulturo" (Having a talent for dancing and dressage, / we combine nature and culture; 2008: 267). "The word *Lipizzaner* denotes the place of origin, the cradle of these (once imperial) horses, and etymologically it is connected with the linden tree [Sln. *lipa*], which Slovenians celebrate as their symbol" (2008: 264). Novak highlights the problem of the horses' "ownership": "Now they are fighting over who these horses belong to. The Austrians claim that the Lipizzaners symbolize the House of Habsburg, the Italians are convinced that these *cavalli bianchi* are theirs, not to mention the Slovenians, who like to brag that these are purebred Slovenian horses" (2008: 282). Novak inscribes harsh criticism of the Slovenian policy regarding the Lipizzaners into his play: after Slovenia's independence, comprehensive commercialization of Lipica began and the horses became nothing but objects of tourism and generating profit. The protection of natural and cultural heritage became nothing but a cover for exploiting animals and establishing the commercial interests of the capital. Horses as living creatures do not exist in the neoliberal capitalist world.

MAESTOSO

V Sloveniji ne živijo samo Slovenci.	Not only Slovenians live in Slovenia.
Tam smo tudi mi, prastari lipicanci,	We're also there, the ancient Lipizzaners,
konjski državljani! Prav mi, lipicanci	Horse citizens! We, the Lipizzaners,
mi smo avtohtoni prebivalci Krasa!	Are the indigenous Karst residents!
Mi, vztrajni konji, zmagovalci časa!	We, the persevering horses, the conquerors of time!
Če smo preživeli Avstro-Ogrsko, Italijo	If we survived Austria-Hungary, Italy,
in Jugoslavijo, bomo pa tudi Slovenijo	And Yugoslavia, we'll survive Slovenia, too.
(2008: 372).	

Novak's play contains a critical barb aimed at Slovenian politics and a society that shows no interest in the rights of the Lipizzaners, which means it is already approaching ecocriticism; however, it still proceeds from the human viewpoint, despite the fact that the horse speaks through the poet, presenting the government's indifference towards cultural and natural heritage, and ultimately also towards horses as living creatures. According to Grewe-Volpp (2004: 89), this involves a cultural representation of relations between culture and nature, and man/animal/environment relations; moreover, it is actually about getting rid of the dualist relation between man and nature. In Novak's play, the horse is personified and has its own voice, but the main aim is to protect the Lipizzaner as a horse that is not a free entity, but that deserves to be treated decently. In any case, Novak dissects Slovenian policy's indifference towards the Lipizzaner issue within the Slovenian and EU context thoroughly and in detail. A voice can also be heard in support of viewing this creature as such, but it is weak and insufficiently critical of the human relation to the animal within the Lipica Stud Farm itself.

MIKLAVŽ KOMELJ: "HIPODROM"
(EXCERPT)

Deske ograd so nagrizene,	The boards of the fences are chewed,
tla ponekod razkopana z nemirnejšimi koraki.	The ground is dug up in places from the restless treads.
Edini zapis o nekem uporu.	The only record of some kind of resistance.
[...] Zatohla norost perfidne retorike ne	[...] Stuffy craziness of perfidious rhetoric does not
zakrije strašne, neme podobe:	conceal the terrible, mute image:
konja, ki nemo drvi mimo v galopu.	A horse galloping past mutely.
Električni sunki, poviti v gazo,	Electrical shocks wrapped in gauze,
ne premočni – da ne razdražijo.	not too strong, so that they don't upset.
Polži, ki prečkajo v nožicah	Snails that cross the harness racetrack with their little
kasaško progo ob stalnih urah,	legs always at the same times,
preden je dan, ki jo zasuje s kopiti.	Before daylight buries it with hooves.
Kanje sedijo na belih drogovih, zadrtih v	Buzzards sit on the white poles driven into the ground,
zemljo, pozimi v sneg.	and into the snow in winter.
– Mama, ali ne gledajo konji oblačkov?	– Mom, don't the horses look at the clouds?

Obupanost! Ki je nimam pravice nikomur
pripisati. To je ne zmanjša.
To jo veča. Ko se vpisuje v podobo moči
in lahkotnosti, v emblem svobode.

– Si kdaj videl svobodnega konja?[20]
– Si videl nesvobodnega?
– Si videl svobodnega?
[...]
Krogi, neskončni krogi.
Aktiviranje krčev bega v dresuri.
Smrtna izčrpanost.
Skozi zrak šine brez teže telo, težko 500 kg.
dva fanta se pogovarjata v baru:
– Vsi konji, ki so zmagali na derbijih –
nikjer več jih ni bilo [...]

Muhe, ki lezejo po robovih ogromnih oči
in v rano pod belo liso na čelu.
konji, ki niso več isti.
Pogovori ljudi med seboj:
zehanje, omedlevanje.

Voda, ki teče iz gumijastih cevi
po nedosegljivih nogah, ki se prestopajo,
po hrbtih, ki v čudnem miru divje trzajo,
se umakne pred očmi. [...]
(str. 12–15).

[...]
Svojo skrivnost je Nietzsche
zaupal le enemu spominu –
da je srečal to bitje! –
konju v Torinu.

Ki je na trgu drhtel
od udarcev in stal, stal, stal.
Nekdo ga je v solzah objel
in se zrušil ob njem na tla.

Desperation! That I have no right to ascribe to anyone!
That doesn't diminish it.
That enhances it. When it inscribes itself into the
image of strength and lightness,
Into the emblem of freedom.

– Have you ever seen a free horse?
– An unfree horse?
– A free horse?
[...]
Laps, endless laps.
Activating the escape reflexes in dressage.
Deadly exhaustion.
A 500 kg body darts through the air weightlessly.
Two young men chat at the bar:
– All of the horses that won the derbies—They were
all gone [...]

Flies crawling along the edges of huge eyes and into
the wound below the white blaze on the forehead.
Horses that are no longer the same.
People talking to one another:
Yawning, fainting.

The water from rubber hoses
Running over unreachable, shuffling legs,
Over backs twitching in awkward peacefulness,
Disappears before the eyes. [...]
(pp. 12–15).

[...]
Nietzsche only entrusted his secret
To one single memory –
That he met this creature!
To a horse in Turin.

That trembled in a square
From the blows, and stood there, stood there, stood there.
Someone embraced it in tears
And collapsed to the ground next to it.

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[20] The instrumentalization of the Lipizzaner or the horse for promotional reasons can also be observed in the ad by the Triglav insurance company (2014) featuring a Lipizzaner running freely along the beach, with a voice saying the following in the background: "Someday I'm going to be free." But this is only a metaphor for a human being. After this, the voice focuses on the life insurance offered by this insurance company that promises freedom to people if they sign an insurance policy.
The poem "Hipodrom" also thematizes the traditional training of harness horses in the Slovenian region of Prlekija, which dates back to Austria-Hungary. The first proper harness races were held on September 12th, 1874 on the 2,000-fathom country road between the cross on the Lukavci karst field and the bridge over Globetka Creek near Ljutomer. The attraction of racing and the glory of the best-ranked breeders are connected with the suffering of horses. The tradition of harness racing was commemorated by the Harness Racing Museum and the horses' suffering by a poem. Such tradition needs to be redefined. However, this is about criticism against horse races in general, not only in Slovenia.

[...] (str. 20).   [...] (p. 20).

Konji pustijo,   Horses let me
da jih pobožam,   Stroke them,
in medtem gledajo   Staring in their
v svoje smeri.   Own directions.
Ko se zaustavijo,   When they stop
da jih pobožam,   For me to stroke them,
je to del njihovega   This is a part of their
sproščenega, mučnega bega   Relaxed, painful escape
pred mano. (str. 39).   From me. (p. 39).

From the perspective of the ecological paradigm about the human/environment, human/animal, and human/plant hierarchic dualisms of Western consumer society, and the introduction of a cultural-ecological model of studying literature, it can be concluded that the poem "Hipodrom" is one of the utterly ecocritical representations of this dualism and that Miklavž Komelj is a markedly ecocritical and zooethical author (Marjanić & Zaradija Kiš 2012: 11–19). This poem defines or verbalizes the relation between humans and horses, even though it refers to horses and not explicitly to the Lipizzaners. These horses are thematized such that one can see the critical-creative energy flowing through the poem (Zapf 2002). The poet uses poetic devices to draw attention to the suffering and torturing of horses in horse races; consequently, this suffering could also be transferred to the unnatural Spanish riding school, in which horses (the Lipizzaners) were trained to dance using the whip and other types of force, instead of racing around the Karst meadows.

Vičar (2013: 38) establishes that this poem problematizes the appropriation of an animal or the ownership of an animal, whereby "Komelj problematizes the specific abuse of horses (their commercial use)." This means that Komelj used poetic language to directly criticize the humans' forceful handling of horses; he shows the forced nature of this handling in the first lines when the horse resists this treatment that leads to deadly exhaustion and even death. Therefore, this poem is markedly ecocritical; moreover, it portrays the human/animal relation in purely utilitarian dualism and shows the type of human attitude towards the animal that is typical of speciesism (Dunayer 2008). It is the horse's lack of freedom in this poem in particular that can be associated with problematizing any type of a human ownership relation to an animal, which is harshly criticized and completely rejected by Garry Francione's abolitionist theory presented in his book *Animals, Property, and the Law* (1995), and *Rain without Thunder* (1996):

> A central thesis of *Rain Without Thunder (*1996), as well as my later work, is that, if animal interests are to be morally significant, we must accord to nonhumans the basic right not to be treated as property, and this requires that we seek to abolish, and not merely to regulate, institutionalized animal exploitation. The status of nonhumans as property, however, militates strongly against significant improvement in our treatment of animals, and animal welfare will do little more than make animal exploitation more economically efficient and socially acceptable. On the social and legal

level, there needs to be a paradigm shift as a social matter before the legal system will respond in a meaningful way. This is why education and social change are so important and must precede legal change. There is simply no political base to support any radical legal change at this time. The first task of the animal-rights movement was to educate society about why such a movement was necessary in the first place and to shift the paradigm away from the commodity status of nonhumans. Those who were trying to develop "no kill" options to the problem of the companion animal popu-lation; those who sought to stop the round-up and removal of wild horses from federal lands and to prohibit the killing of deer in suburban areas; and those who wanted to organize lawful boycotts to stop particular forms of animal exploitation. (http://scholarship.law.duke.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1407&context=lcpGarry Francione)

Komelj[21] determines that, even though horses do not allow people to touch them, this is only because they are not free, although freedom radiates through their eyes. They would like to run away from humans (i.e., strangers), but they can only do this in their spirits; unfortunately, this is impossible in reality.

CONCLUSION

Hence, is it a utopia to list all of these academic findings about animals as persons (Ingold 1994: XXIV), the necessity of cultural and critical animal studies, animal folk-lore and literary studies, and ethnozoology (Golež Kaučič, Marjanović, Zaradija Kiš, Visković, etc.); the criticism of the capitalist system that supports the exploitation of animals (Tapper 1994: 53; cf. Serpell 1996; Vičar 2013; Best 2009); the disregard for the suffering of animals (Cavel, Diamond, McDowel, Hacking, & Wolfe 2008: 146); the philosophical discourses such as that of Derrida (as presented in discourses by Deleuze & Guattari, 2000, 2002); and ultimately the end of speciesism and the establishment of abolitionism (Ryder 2000, Dunayer 2009, Francione 2008). What does this mean for the Lipizzaners? Will they simply remain part of the natural and cultural heritage of various nations, whereby their grace, beauty, and nobility will be celebrated, but there will be no reflection whatsoever on their own interests? Will the criticism of this endless and repeating human/animal dualism ever achieve its purpose, will animal folklore studies and ecocriticism ever be able to position their findings within the wider social context

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[21] In his collection of poems *Roke v dežju* (Hands in the Rain, 2011), Komelj also problematizes the use of horses in circuses. "V cirkusu je / konj / delal gibe, / ki niso bili / njegovi gibi, /ampak /njegova smrt. // Njegova popolnoma / razločna govorica. / Njegova smrt." (At the circus / the horse / performed movements / that weren't / his movements, / but / his death. // His complete / clear language / His death). It is clear that it is only in death that the animals speak up about and to the people that force them into slavery for their own fun. The language of horses is their movements, but humans are deaf and blind to this type of non-verbal communication, and hence death is inevitable in the end. For Komelj animals are creatures from other worlds.

and be heard? Thematizing horses / the Lipizzaners in folklore is truly only a reflection of heritage, whereas the disruptive logic of the human exploitation of animals has already been verbalized in literature. What can be predicted for the future? Will the Lipizzaner still be used as a dancing horse and a horse for entertaining people? Even if one day it becomes part of UNESCO's world cultural and natural heritage, it will still be regarded merely as a highly trained animal only for human purposes rather than a superior animal (*Übertier*). As long as it remains nothing but human or government property, a brand name with a protected designation of origin, and part of world heritage, rather than a free entity, it will remain a domesticated and enslaved horse about which no one asks where its pastures and free fields are—even though it will still be able to race and gallop around the peaks of the Vremščica Hills and other hills and meadows. And even when it is half free and grazes in a nature park, along comes a lunatic[22] who stabs a mare numerous times and he is let free because of the inadmissibility of DNA as evidence. The horse did not even defend itself; it could have easily trampled its attacker, but it trusted the human instead. What a mistake!

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[22] On July 5th, 2013, a lunatic from Koper brutally tortured a Camargue mare that was grazing peacefully in the Škocjan Lagoon Nature Reserve. Because the Slovenian laws are completely inadequate regarding animal protection, the man will clearly remain unpunished (*Delo*, May 13th, 2015).

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LIPICANEC KOT KULTURNA IN NARAVNA DEDIŠČINA ALI SVOBODNA NE-ČLOVEŠKA SUBJEKTIVITETA

Marjetka Golež Kaučič

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V članku razpravljam o konjih, predvsem lipicancih, ki so percipirani kot del naravne in kulturne dediščine Slovencev in Avstrijcev, v preteklosti pa so bili del Habsburškega imperija, kjer so bili izšolani in zdresirani. Konji so obravnavani le kot predmet in last nacionalne človeške skupnosti, ne pa kot bitja, ki so šele z domestifikacijo in gensko selekcijo vstopila v prostor služenja človeku. Na podlagi novih spoznanj zoofolkloristike, antropologije, kritične animalistike, filozofskih in pravnih diskurzov ter teorij speciesizma in abolicionizma je predstavljena reflektirana vloga in pomen teh konjev in konjev kot vrste, hkrati pa je na podlagi ekokritične analize ponovno presojano razmerje človek – žival, in sicer z vzpostavljanjem nehierarhizacije živalskega in človeškega.

V poglavju o vprašanju domestifikacije razmišljam o človekovem načinu prilagajanja živali svojim potrebam, genetskem vzrejanju in razplodu lipicancev za služenje aristokratskim elitam. Domestifikacija je bila tista transformacija v živalsko-človeškem odnosu, ki je tudi konja postavila v območje človekove lastnine. Posledici domestifikacije sta iztrebljenje divjih prednikov, npr. konjev tarpanov, in deformacija anatomskih, fizioloških in psihičnih značilnosti divjih prednikov – razvijajo se le tiste lastnosti, ki jih je človek želel zaradi ekonomskih ali drugih namenov. Na začetku je bil konj sužnji; kasneje je pridobil na veljavi, a šele takrat, ko je vstopil v aristokratsko okolje. To se je zgodilo tudi z lipicancem, konjem, ki so ga s križanjem vzgojili tako, da je primeren za dresuro. Odnos nadrejenega do podrejenega je pri domestifikaciji konj in še posebno lipicancev, ki so bili vzrejeni in gensko manipulirani za točno določene namene, odnos človeka do dragocene lastnine in v današnjem času tudi do naravne in kulturne dediščine. Pod vprašaj postavljam ta tradicionalni hierarhični odnos do konj, še posebej do lipicancev. Poudarjam intrinzično vrednost živali (kar pomeni, da je lipicanec vreden sam po sebi in ne kot žival v služenju človeku), ki je bila tisto, kar nas je vodilo tudi ob obravnavi konja skozi zgodovino kulture in razmerja do človeka.

V nadaljevanju raziskujem, kam sodijo lipicanci in kam kulturni vzorci, ki so jih v genski material teh konjev vgradili ljudje, in kaj je tisto, kar je popolnoma »konjska kultura«. Simbolni vzorec, ki ga uporabljajo živali v medsebojni komunikaciji, bi gotovo lahko imenovali kulturni in ne naravni, saj se od živali do živali razlikuje, če seveda zastopamo stališče, da je tudi vsaka žival oseba ali osebnost zase. Če je tako, potem ima lahko tudi kulturni vzorec, ki je zanjo značilen, se pa uvršča znotraj simbolnih vzorcev tiste vrste, ki ji pripada. Prav gotovo pa gre za razlike med kulturnimi vzorci živali, ki so udomačene, in tistih, ki so t. i. divje oziroma ki ne živijo v skupnosti s človekom. Tam so kulturni vzorci neodvisni od človekove navzočnosti in vplivanja. Ključno pa je dejstvo, da imajo živali mentalno življenje in da so mentalni subjekti. Tako lahko rečemo, da so se ob lipicancih

združili kulturni vzorci konj kot živalske vrste ter – ob procesu udomačevanja in genetskega vzrejanja in odbiranja – vsiljeni kulturni vzorci človekove pretenzije doseči vrsto konj, ki bo izvajala artistične spretnosti, ki si jih je zanje zamislil človek.

Nato je predstavljena zgodovina lipicancev in Lipica kot zibelka teh konj, opisana so tudi prizadevanja za njihovo zaščito v EU. Pri tem sem zelo kritična do percepcije lipicancev kot kulturne dediščine, ki je nastala zaradi človekovih kulturnih preferenc in je zgolj človeška vrednota, žival pa, ki se znajde znotraj nekih kulturnih praks (npr. lipicanci v kasu ali španska jahalna šola idr.), je pravzaprav v take prakse prisiljena. Še bolj problematična pa se zdi lastninska pravica, ki jo posamezne države uveljavljajo na lipicancih kot delu nacionalne naravne in kulturne dediščine, a jim za lipicance kot bitja *per se* pravzaprav ni mar.

Članek nato preide v analizo konj v pesmih in pripovedih, izbranih šegah in pregovorih. V ljudskem pesemskem izročilu konj ni bil le del aristokratskega sveta, temveč tudi vsakdanjega agrikulturnega življenja. Bil je dragocen in je simbolično predstavljal bogastvo. V različnih pripovednih pesmih/baladah je konj del vojaškega, viteškega in junaškega sveta, hkrati pa se pojavlja v pravljičnih in mitoloških baladah, navzoč je tudi v pregovorih in rekih ter nekaterih šegah. V razdelku o lipicancu/konju v literaturi izpostavljamo tematizacijo hierarhizacije glede na ekokritično analizo. Ugotavljamo, da ekokritični diskurz narašča iz Kocbekove pesmi Lipicanci (*Poročilo* 1969) prek Novakove drame *Lipicanci gredo v Strasbourg* (2008) in doživi ekokritični klimaks v Komeljevi pesmi Hipodrom (*Hipodrom* 2006). Kocbekova pesem o lipicancih je še v območju simbolne podobe konja kot nacionalnega simbola in ne vzpostavlja kritičnega diskurza. Novak vpisuje v dramo ostro kritiko slovenskih oblasti glede lipicancev, saj se je po osamosvojitvi Slovenije začela celostna komercializacija Lipice in konji so postali le objekti turizma in zaslužka, varstvo naravne in kulturne dediščine pa je postalo zgolj krinka za izkoriščanje živali in uveljavljanje komercialnih interesov kapitala. Konji kot živa bitja v neoliberalnem kapitalističnem svetu ne obstajajo. Komeljeva pesem Hipodrom pa je prav gotovo ena izmed popolnoma ekokritičnih reprezentacij razmerja človek – žival, kar ga uvršča med ekokritične in zooetične avtorje.

V sklepu je ponovno izpostavljena kritika te neskončne in ponavljajoče se binarnosti človek – žival. Sprašujem se, ali bo lipicanec v prihodnosti ob morebitni uveljavitvi nove ekološke paradigme svobodni konj ali pa bo še vedno le uporabljen kot plešoči konj, ki je ljudem v zabavo, zasužnjeni konj, podvržen nenehni dresuri. Zato je po mojem mnenju nujno, da bi konjem (lipicancem ali drugim) priznali, da imajo intrinzično vrednost in svoje kulturne vzorce, ki obstajajo ne glede na človeško bližino ali oddaljenost, s tem pa bi se bistveno spremenil tudi njihov položaj v odnosu do ljudi.

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Heritage Animals – Why Not?
Anthropocentrism Notwithstanding

━━━━Ivona Orlić, Suzana Marjanić ━━━━━━

This article discusses the relationship of men towards Istrian cattle (*boškarin*) through the years. The authors question the problem of treating the animals as objects of natural-cultural heritage. The concepts of Nature and Culture remain anthropocentrically segregated, and this is also reflected in promoting the *boškarin* as a gastro-phenomenon, which was the dominant feature of the project *Boškarin with Potatoes* (2012–2014) by the City of Pula, developed as the collaboration with the French town of Villefranche-de-Rouergue, which became the partner city of Pula in 2008. The authors claim that one can only talk about *heritage species* (especially traditional or autochthonous livestock breeds), but not about *heritage animals* (the animals in the concept of heritage), and that the anthropology of animals, as defined for instance by socio-cultural anthropologist Barbara Noske, can be – or ought to be – a segment of ethnographic studies of the 21st century.
KEYWORDS: Boškarin or Istrian ox, heritage animals, agro-tourism, gastro-tourism, anthropocentrism

INTRODUCTION

This study aims at problematizing Istrian cattle and the Boškarin through heritage. Is it possible that *branches* dealing with heritage, both tangible (such as museums where objects are kept) and intangible (which wishes to be called living heritage), deal with animals? Anthropologists and ethnologists dealing with intangible culture want it to stay alive, despite its disappearance in its original form. In order to preserve musical and dance heritages, they are popularized, but also self-funded through, for instance, performances for tourists.

Can an animal that had a significant role in the everyday life of people in Istria be inherited in the same or similar way?

My personal interest in the *boškarin*[1] emerged from an encounter with this animal more than 20 years ago. Funnily adorned and walking clumsily, it wriggled through the throng

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[1] The noun *boškarin* is written in italics (*boškarin*) when used as a synonym for Istrian cattle; the noun has recently come into everyday use to denote a castrated bull; the capital letter (Boškarin) emphasizes the personal name of an ox of Istrian breed, as used 50 and more years ago and has been preserved with the older generation; the noun *boškarin* is written in capital letters (BOŠKARIN) when contextualized through a coexistence with man; the form *boškarin* is used in quotes.

of summer guests of the overcrowded tourist town of Poreč. Everyone was marvelling at it, both tourists and locals, even its owner who was walking proudly next to it. The tourist attraction was walking… This lyric introduction was inspired by the following thought of the contemporary German philosopher Andrea L. Hofbauer:

> The experience of research consists precisely in a man encountering something, in something appearing, adverting attention and disturbing, and not in searching for something, something defined even before the search has commenced (2007: 18).

The reasons that I am still dealing with the problem of Istrian cattle and/or *boškarin* are manifold. The appearance of autochthonous Istrian cattle, especially of an ox, also called *boškarin*, cannot but attract attention. Furthermore, you will soon feel something disturbing if you encounter it on asphalt or within an urban area; you then start searching for something specific – the meaning of its existence today – before you know it.

The wish to preserve the autochthonous breed of Istrian cattle, due to a sharp drop of its numbers and the danger of its extinction, has brought about a string of deliberations and activities in order to modernize and conceive the further life course of the *boškarin*. Whilst the process of extinction has been stopped, the link with human culture, which brought it to the edge of existence and then raised it up again, remains vague. Furthermore, the considerations regarding Istrian cattle in the everyday Istrian life brought about the problems regarding terminology. The present and future interactions of man and *boškarin*, inevitably relying on traditional moments, are the topic of this article.

Boškarin in Bužleti, 2007 (photo by Ivona Orlić).

TERMINOLOGY

The *Great Dictionary of the Croatian Language (Veliki rječnik hrvatskoga jezika)* by Vladimir Anić reads: *boškarin m (G boškarin) reg. Istrian cattle, have pronouncedly large horns, ital.* (Anić, 2004:106). Consequently, *boškarin* is written with a lowercase letter; this is Istrian cattle with exceptionally large horns, and its etymology is of Italian origin. According to Dorigo, *boškarin* is the name which today denotes Istrian cattle of the steppe breed reduced to a genetic relic (1995: 72). A friend of mine, Darko Pekica, a cattle breeder from Svetvinčenat, explains: "Boškarin is the personal name given to a castrated bull, now an ox. Just like Galjardo, Srnea or Bakin, they are castrated bulls." Scientific texts speak exclusively of the Istrian cattle comprising bulls, oxen, cows and calves. "Boškarin" is often the name of an ox, *boškarin* is the popular name for an ox belonging to the Istrian cattle breed, while the term "Istrian cattle" includes bulls, oxen, cows and calves (Orlić, 2007: 311-312). However, in my recent research conducted in Istria by talking to local people in 2006–2007, as well as the latest interviews conducted in 2015, I came to a field-based conclusion that is somewhat different from my previous considerations regarding the etymology of the name of this animal. Whilst it is clear that Boškarin is the name given to oxen, and we do know what is meant by Istrian cattle, the term *boškarin* defined by Anić in his *Dictionary* as a synonym for Istrian cattle has not been accepted in everyday language. More precisely, this depends on the age of the respondent. When older Istrians are questioned about a *boškarin,* they will be puzzled, and their answer will be something similar to: "I did not have a Boškarin, only a Galjardo". To them, Boškarin is only a name given to an ox. They had their "blago" (Istrian for cattle), rarely cattle or livestock, which comprised, for instance, *two pairs of oxen, two cows and a calf.* To the younger generation the term *boškarin* means an Istrian ox, a castrate or Istrian cattle. This is how I.V., a student from Novigrad, clarifies in her essay:

> "In my opinion the Istrian boškarin can be presented as a typical Istrian symbol of the past times. As far as I know, it was used to work in the fields and our granddads considered it as something 'sacred' (not literally). They were aware of its service and of its indispensability in field working, since war was going on and one had to struggle for food and survival. When I see it today, I remember the stories told by my granny and it takes me to inner Istria."

This item can be substantiated with newspaper articles from the most widely read daily in Istria, *Glas Istre.*

> "Despite the fact that quite a few years ago an association to save Istrian cattle was established under the name of the Association of Istrian Cattle Breeders (and not the Association of Boškarin Breeders); despite scientific papers on this topic having the term 'Istrian cattle' in their titles to refer to the breed, and not the term 'boškarin'; despite the recently launched

megaproject for final preservation of Istrian cattle (and not: boškarin) through a cost-effective breeding for meat; despite all these, often and even in complex occasions, the wrong term 'boškarin' is used as the name of the breed" (Šišović, 2007: 18).

However, one must not forget Anić's and other definitions and explanations listed above. Due to such ambiguities, the Agency for Rural Development of Istria (AZRRI) – whose aim is to preserve and safeguard Istrian cattle from extinction, also through promoting gastronomy – experienced rejection from a part of the Istrian people. In my opinion, the reason is the ambiguity of terminology. The exploitation of the Istrian ox in the immediate present as a symbol of Istrian identity – chosen, among other things, also because of a sentimental relation between the Istrian farmer and this noble, strong and gentle animal – led to the consequence that people collectively and emotively relate to the symbol of their origin. In this context, it is impossible that this symbol, i.e., an animal – is eaten. Moreover, it is difficult to kill and eat someone you spent five, ten, even more years together and you call it by its name. *Glas Istre* published in the column on reactions, an article entitled "Boškarin is a sacred animal for the Istrians" reading:

"The promotion of the 'grand' project initiated by the Istrian County regarding the raising of Istrian boškarin [it is interesting that 'Istrian' was emphasized, as if there were other boškarins, author's comment] for meat. I could not but react to this absolutely hypocritical project which is completely contrary to Istrian tradition and culture, and is a reflection of total primitivism. […] In Istria, boškarin is a holy animal for the Istrians and a greater symbol than a piece of meat. It is therefore unforgivable to brutally belittle such a beautiful animal that had never been considered an animal by the Istrians. […] Investing the money of taxpayers into the most expensive meat production in order to feed the gluttonous, arrogant gentry is a total absurdity, all under the excuse of preserving Istrian cattle." (Kufnić, 2007: 20).

The author of the text goes on to explain that boškarin will not be saved by greedy gentry or incentives, but only by love; he concludes that it is disgraceful to present and fabricate an autochthonous breed as a gourmet delicacy, explaining that the boškarin is like a pet and, like cats, it is not proper to eat it. In the article, Kufnić recollects his *did* (grandpa) with tears in his eyes while thinking about his oxen. This narrative is not an isolated case; most of my interviewees, now *didi* (grandpas) recollect their *blago* with tears in their eyes.

However, this generation has a completely different experience of animals. The sudden sickness or death of their cattle would directly endanger their lives. The emotional reaction of the reader of *Glas Istre*, who could not eat a Galjardo, a Boškarin, a Gardelin or any nameless *boškarin – castrated labourer* is therefore understandable. It is important to clarify that the permanent safeguarding of Istrian cattle, i.e. their survival, can

only be successful by means of a commercial source of a first-rate gastronomic offer. A transformation of the traditional relationship towards the animal, whose context also now involves a modern tourist gastronomic offer, must be considered through global implications: the need to preserve the autochthonous and the original through interests and possibilities of the present time.

WHAT SHOULD BE INHERITED AND WHAT SHOULD BE PRESERVED?

It is our intention in this paper to clarify how traditional inheritance may harm the preservation of Istrian cattle, while, conversely, by relying on tradition, attempts are made to preserve the autochthonous breed within the context of the inevitable economic profitability. We will try to grasp whether Istrian cattle were consumed as food, on what occasions and how often, and whether they can be considered as a gastronomic tradition of Istria. And finally, and perhaps most importantly, do we have any right today to castrate animals, under the contention of modern principles of economy and market capital, only to later eat them?

If the genetic material of Istrian cattle is to be preserved, cultural anthropology and anthropozoology have not much say in it; however, if the totality of the coexistence of man and Istrian cattle (Boškarin in particular), but also of cattle as an authentic and equal member of the zoological system of Istria is to be preserved, multidisciplinary collaboration is required. To observe Istrian cattle purely through the gastronomic aspect is definitely not in correlation with tradition. If we speak of a comprehensive concept of the cultural heritage of Istrian cattle, indivisible from man and from natural habitat (with an emphasis on pasture), then they must be seen as a heritage animal.

AUTOCHTHONOUS ISTRIAN CATTLE

Istrian cattle were first and foremost working cattle. When the cattle became old and feeble and died, they were used for various other purposes. Ox horns were used as ornaments or to make combs, snuffboxes, whetstone holders. Horns were also used to make flutes and parts of pipes. They were also used to make lantern walls, powder horns for hunters, as handles, holders for razors or billhooks. The scrotum was used to make snuffboxes and wallets. The outsole of shoes was made of cow leather (Radauš Ribarić, 1997: 27), just as powder bags and various belting, even the collar of the cowbell around a cow's neck. An interviewee from Žminj, G.Z., explains that the penis was used to make the *trta* (the link between the yoke and the ole). A traditional game *hitaj u rog* (hit the horn) is still known in Motovun (also played in Barban and Buzet; a horn is first hit down the hillside, and the aim is to hit a stick as close to the horn as possible.

Cattle would be borrowed. The owners of the borrowed ox would ask in return for help with vintage or some other job. The interviewee A.K. confirms: *We transported timber or manure or hay for others. Then the others helped us digging or harvesting*

crops or cutting grass. In the 16th century, in the area of Roč, cattle were hired, mostly for a measure of wheat, but also rye and millet. Almost always one ox was hired, only rarely a young ox or two oxen (Vlahov, 2006: 588-589).

In his description of the Poreč area before World War I, Radetić mentions that in autumn, when the harvesting seasson was over, thousands of sacks full of grain would be brought from the surrounding villages to the Poreč mills "…which milled and milled without stopping, day and night, and hundreds and hundreds of carts were waiting their turn, hundreds and hundreds of pairs of powerful oxen were drawing carts laden with barrels of finest wines…" (Radetić, 1969: 188).

It must be mentioned that cow milk was used for food and that a calf would be sold to cover household expenses, such as tax payment. Istrian cattle were a lasting asset to their owner. Beef was eaten on very rare occasions, normally after the sudden death of an animal.

Lovljanov, when describing the life circumstances of Boljun in 1905, in the chapter on food and kitchenware, mentions that oxen would very rarely be killed, and when this was necessary, they would be killed by hitting them with the blunt side of an axe on the head between the horns (Lovljanov, 1949: 127).

GROOMING AND CARE OF THE AUTOCHTHONOUS ISTRIAN CATTLE

The specific relationship between Istrian cattle and their owners is confirmed in the need to adorn the animals. One of the most eye-catching adornments on the Istrian cattle is the balls placed on the horns. These are first of all used as protection from stabbing, but also as decoration. M.G.: "Just like a young lady wearing earrings on her ears or a bracelet on her arms. Our elders would put brass bolts. And there it was, boasting its beautiful horns, excellent build, and if it had bolts, it was like a model."

Brass balls were placed on filed horns. In his philosophical deliberations, Hofbauer sees the brass decoration on the horns as a substitute for the "balls" which were taken from it before (Hofbauer, 2007: 25).

The removal of these balls, i.e. the cumbrous moment of castration, was made with the intention to keep the scrotum eye-appealing. As described by the interviewee M.G., in order to obtain: "… small but finely shaped balls. Nice balls, even when dried out on the inside. Now the method of removing them is used while leaving them empty and flabby, only the skin remains. It is not nice to see this. An ox must still have nicely shaped balls, even if it is not sexually capable."

Cowherds would brush and groom their oxen to clean their fur, especially when seasons were changing and the fur changed. In the area of Roverija, the Municipality of Juršići, when going to the mill, farmers would rub bacon on the horns and hoofs of their cattle to make them shinier. Rubbing bacon on the area around the eyes and the navel (where the skin is thinner and softer) had a practical purpose as protection from insect bites.

SURVIVAL OF ISTRIAN CATTLE

The revitalization of Istrian cattle started with the establishment of the Association of Istrian Cattle Breeders registered in 1990 with headquarters in Višnjan. A plan was produced to save Istrian cattle, named *Istarski boškarin*, with the sole aim of preserving them from extinction. The main task was to find purebred Istrian cattle, which was a laborious task due to frequent cross-breeding. Fortunately, the majority of the living examples of Istrian cattle today have their blood type confirmed, based on which progeny and purity of Istrian cattle can be defined. The Croatian centre for animal reproduction is included in the safeguarding of Istrian cattle using the technique of *embryo transfer* and embryo freezing. "During the stock-taking carried out in Istrian barns in 1994, only 125 heads of Istrian cattle were found; according to Antolović,[2] when there is less than 500 heads left of a breed, the breed is, under the EU standards, considered endangered. In the last ten years, the number of Istrian cattle increased to 270 heads" (Maul, 2004: 16). Nowadays extinction is no longer threatening Istrian cattle, the number of heads ranging between 1,600 and 1,700, 800 of which have been set apart for breeding (cows, bulls and calves)[3]. This is hardly comparable with the figure of 50,000 registered before World War II, but it gives a reason for optimism and comfort compared to the figure of six genetically purebred samples in 1991.

The first genetic park of Istrian cattle, "Stancija boškarin", opened in 1997 in Višnjan. At that point, the park housed 28 purebreds. The Višnjan venture was preceded by the Exhibition of Istrian Oxen – boškarins in Kanfanar during the local festival "Jakovljeva" held on the last Saturday of July. This exhibition was started in 1991.

The exhibition usually includes a varied cultural and artistic programme, but is also accompanied by political speeches. The guests of the exhibition of 2004 were thus addressed by the Mayor of Kanfanar, the President of the Association of Istrian Cattle Breeders and by the then prefect of the Istrian County, Ivan Jakovčić.

> Among other things, the Prefect also announced an economic programme related to Istrian cattle that should be implemented in cooperation with the Slow Food Foundation and receive the support of various European funds, all this in the hope that boškarin will be safeguarded as a living monument of Istria. (Terzić, 2004:15)

The oxen parade through the village of Kanfanar along a path lined with numerous spectators until they reach the weighing scales. Cattle breeders demonstrate the skills of their animals in ploughing with a plough in pairs and individually. In the past, one ox or cow was used to close-plough vines and corn. A yoke of oxen would plough the land for planting potatoes and sowing grains. Ploughing an entire field would require two, three or more yokes of strong oxen, with two or more families forming a *sprega* (a team).

[2] Milan Antolović – Head of the County Administrative Department for Agriculture and Forestry.
[3] Gordan Šubara, Dr. Med. Vet.; Economic Development Programmes Manager, AZRRI.

Deep ploughing would see three yokes of oxen, which was called a *šestarica* (a six-pack) (Šepić, 1997: 151.) Oxen are appraised in six categories: weight, obedience and beauty.

Owners of awarded oxen receive cash rewards. The experience of the festival is magnificent: mighty, good-natured and obedient animals seem as if arriving from a past moment to evoke feelings of nostalgia for past times, but also to evoke the feeling of regional belonging, without forgetting that they are here also as a tourist attraction. The justification of their arrival on asphalt – which is not their natural surface – to the stage (weighing scales) and their newly-acquired function as an exhibit, reflect our under-standing and our choice about which animal species must survive; and – let us not be confused – also to our benefit.

Older citizens of Istria still cannot be reconciled with the consequences of the arrival of tractors. They recognize the strength of a tractor, but it is their common opinion that an ox can plough where a tractor cannot. The bond between a master and an ox can still be felt today. Former owners of a Boškarin, today owners of a tavern, have hung photos of the household and their relatives with their Boškarin all around the tavern. A retired farmer and innkeeper from Žbandaj, Mićo, taught us that *boškarins* used to be the measure of wealth, that they were extremely intelligent and easy-learning creatures, and that they would transfer knowledge to each other. When a new *boškarin* was yoked, it would soon learn how to plough with the assistance of the older *boškarin*.

Boškarin – from a peasant worker to a showpiece Jakovlja, Kanfanar, 2005 (photo by: Ivona Orlić).

EMOTIONAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN MAN AND AUTOCHTHONOUS ISTRIAN CATTLE

"It is said that Jerolim has a better relationship with oxen than with people. When the lady sells an ox, he will not let her, he fights and cries and does not eat for two days." (Valić, 2004:80).

An indicative and touching story was told by Š. B. from Višnjan who was liberated from a concentration camp in Berlin as a sixteen-year-old boy. Whilst the other prisoners took gold and other valuables they found, he took a chain for his Boškarin: "And I brought home a chain for Boškarin. I found a nice chain to hang the cowbell. I came back in 1945; the chain was very beautiful."

The book of fiction *Štorije od žalosti* (Stories of Sorrow) by Drago Orlić contains 35 stories set in the first half of the 20th century, seven of which mention Istrian cattle. Let us mention some of them. In the story *Kumovi (Fellows)* the author describes the stealing of cattle: "In the blunt night delirium, I discerned brigands removing cowbells off the cattle and by the steps of the cattle I knew that his ox Galjardo, cow Srnela and the calf were being taken away" (Orlić 2007: 29). The story *Dvoboj* (Duel) describes the return of the main character from the hospital. He was brought home by his neighbours on an ox cart. Maybe the most scenic and emotional relationship between cattle and man is shown in the story *Pizdohran* (Live-in Son-in-law):

> The young bull Brun, still uncastrated and without brass "bolts" on its horns, charged out of the blue and with all its might against Srnela. The first two times it impaled it on its horns, the third time the cow was hit into the air as if of straw… The cow was skinned immediately, it was summertime, there was no time to spare. Messengers were sent around asking if anyone wanted to buy a kilo or two of meat. This was the only way to mitigate the damage. People responded, and Srnela was sold out before night, the last big pieces went to the butcher from the town. …the young man's mother, who was sitting next to the entrance door, simply collapsed. She died of grief for her cow. (D. Orlić, 2007: 101)[4]

Each interviewee/cowman developed close and deeply emotional relationships with their oxen. Let us emphasize one example.

Š.B.: "When we bought our first ox I thought we were a step forward, poor me, as if it were a bulldozer, even more. I thought I was the best in the world and nothing else mattered. Here in Višnjan, we had bought a milk cow, but they are not as robust as our Istrians. Istrian cattle are much stronger. They were lively, formidable, always happy.

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[4] Naturally, it must be taken into consideration that the author has right to poetic licence, and that he is writing about times of his youth or before his birth; in most of the cases, he retells stories he had not lived himself, but passed down to him by oral tradition.

That one was the last one; I had to abandon it [crying]. I had to leave. There was no more unity and no family, and I had to go away. The last one was called Boškarin, the one I had to leave. That was its name. I had to abandon that one without turning back. It was sad, very sad."

The problems of the autochthonous Istrian cattle preoccupy the above-mentioned cattle breeder and poet from Svetvinčenat, Darko Pekica. He wrote a song named *Istrijanke ili Evropljanke* (Istrians or Europeans) for Franci Blašković's album *Merack za FAK*. The song expresses his dilemma in the choice of the breed:

Na Istrijanke imaš šoldo od države aš zumiru,	You get money for the Istrians from the state as they are becoming extinct
Evropljanke muzu trideset, kvarnar do pedeset litri.	Europeans give thirty, forty even fifty litres of milk
Šolde je ud jenih i drugih.	Both yield money.
Z Istrijankami je manje dela,	Istrians give you less work
Evropljanke triba napro tendit.	Europeans must be tended well.

GASTRONOMY AND ISTRIAN CATTLE

An Istrian ox, old and worn out, would end its life in a slaughterhouse. Today, when extinction is threatening, the real gourmets were left without a classic culinary standard – beef soup. This *pijat* (dish), typically Middle-European, has lost the quality and taste and is slowly disappearing from our tables; what is left is just the surrogate beef soup (in stock cubes or packets). Boiled beef, seasoned with coarse sea salt, with side dishes of horse-radish and boiled Swiss chard, is an almost forgotten dish. Oxtail soup was especially appreciated. Butchers would often leave the tail for themselves or for their friends and privileged customers. Today's beef does not get close to the old one. A greater power or a greater production power is not always in symbiosis with quality. A growing number of scientists, not only those nostalgists, who believe that breeds selected to achieve record production "yield low-grade products from the organoleptic, health and nutritional aspect" (Dorigo, 1995: 73). Although tastes should not be discussed, it is worth mentioning the opinion that "there is no comparison between the meat obtained from traditionally raised cattle and that of cattle subjected to finishing, fed on corn flour and integrators and raised in battery cages" (Dorigo, 1995: 73).

The entire text is permeated with an emotional relationship between *boškarin* and man, once in an actual way, today in thoughts, recollections and emotions… Both new and old uses of Istrian cattle are of equal importance when it comes to human benefit. The *boškarin* will survive and be integrated only if it is cost-effective. (Unless it is kept as a pet, as a species in extinction in a zoo or as an accessory on a farm). *Glas Istre* published

an article under the indicative title *Boškarin – from the field to the plate*, mentioning that the Agency for the Rural Development and the Slow Food Foundation work together on a project aimed at a permanent safeguarding of Istrian cattle, explaining that in the European Union there are no subsidies exclusively for keeping animals. The article points out that Istrian cattle are not a holy cow and that over the last decade cattle have been turned into a fetish that must be broken; self-financing production must be developed. The idea to make Istrian cattle the first recognizable autochthonous breed of Istria is being developed to prove that its meat is of better quality than that of other breeds (Flegar, 2004: 16).

The leading partner in the safeguarding of the Istrian autochthonous cattle is AZRRI (Agency for Rural Development of Istria). The aim of the project led by the agency is to *brand* Istrian cattle as a trademark of Istrian tourism and gastronomy, founded on tradition, and to promote the meat of this autochthonous breed, which should, in the long term, ensure the survival of the species that was recently threatened by extinction and that remains endangered (Medić, 2007: 17).

The term "tradition" is conditional on the passing of experience, knowledge, and customs from generation to generation. Clearly, a romantic recollection of this giant but gentle animal helping the poor farmer is still deeply rooted in the man-*boškarin* relationship, as part of the cultural heritage. This relationship, pervaded with attention, mutual respect and a symbiosis of survival, has remained recorded in the memory and is passed to the generations along a very emotional story. Nevertheless, was the meat of Istrian cattle ever eaten in Istria? This is a question gaining more and more attention. Arguments are also found in tradition in order to justify the saving of Istrian cattle by means of gastronomy.

In his book *Glagoljski rukopisi iz Roča* (Glagolithic Manuscripts of Roč), which covers the period from 1523 to 1611, Vlahov presents information on the prices of livestock, meat and skin. In 1528, an ox was worth 24 libras, while in 1600 it was worth between 72 and 90 libras. The author assumes that the difference in price depended on the weight of the oxen. However, and more interesting for our purposes, are the records, although rare, of the prices of meat of ox, young ox and calf. Prices of skins of single animals are listed. The best-selling was the skin of an ox, with the price ranging between 6 and 14 libras. Only one instance of sale of a cow skin was recorded (Vlahov, 2006: 29-30). It can thus be inferred that in the 16th century Roč, ox meat, young ox meat and calf meat was sold and eaten.

An interviewee from Žbandaj, B. M., said that soup made from Istrian cattle did not require additives as the meat was caloric and sweet, while the soup made with the meat of non-Istrian cattle required a lot of salt and beef concentrate.

At the beginning of the last century, veal was prepared in the following way: "Meat: veal, … fried on fat or lard. Stew is prepared in a saucepan. Meat is cut into pieces, fried on lard, flour is stirred until golden, water is added and let to boil" (Lovljanov, 1949: 131). Lovljanov stated that meat was eaten only for holidays.

An interviewee from Višnjan, Š.B., recollects that during the Italian regime, there was a terrible famine, but with the arrival of Yugoslavia in 1945 tasty home-raised meat began to be consumed.

The opinion of B.O., a butcher, Istrian-cattle breeder and owner of an agro-tourism facility from Juršići, is interesting. He believes that soon he will be able to present the lifelong cycle of the cattle: from the moment they are born to the moment they are offered as a gastronomic product. He sees the gourmet success in the quality of meat that has not been crossbred or genetically modified, and in the natural diet of cattle.

S.P., a chef from Katun near Poreč, explains that Istrian cattle meet is best used to cook soup or *žgvacet* stew (savoury sauce)*.* He adds that the circumstances in Istria did not allow for frequent consumption of meat. For this reason, the traditional gastronomy presents scarce examples of meat dishes, mostly in the form of *šugo*, a type of sauce which served more as a side dish to give flavour to polenta or home-made pasta. Beef soup was cooked only on very special occasions, for holidays, or when this was necessary due to the death of the animal. In the opinion of another chef from Poreč, the meat of Istrian cattle cannot be given proper value in hotels through holiday packages, due to the difference in price. It is also considered that a boarding guest would not be able to appreciate the value of the dish, unless this was explained to him. Today Istrian beef can be prepared as soup. Flank or spare ribs can be cooked in the soup, and thus cooked meat can be offered with tomato sauce and a side dish. Beef can also be braised. It is not recommended to prepare fast-cooking meals because the meat is rather tough, it is better if boiled in some way. A steak could be prepared, but only if obtained from a very young calf. It is suggested and presumed that Istrian cattle can be enjoyed in some specialized restaurants of farm holiday facilities, meaning that one will go to a restaurant with a plan to eat home-raised beef, as is the case with, for instance, truffles. It is important that good quality meat of Istrian cattle meat is offered and not replaced by farmed meat. The success of the Istrian cattle project as a gastronomic delicacy depends on all stakeholders in the chain, from breeders to caterers.

This potential tourist and gastronomic attraction must not be confused for the former attraction when an entire ox was roasted on a spit during local *tourist festivals.* That ox would always be farmed, never a home-raised animal. Even if one would like to offer an Istrian ox prepared in this way, it would have to be a very young ox.

Istrian cattle were consumed only occasionally, in extreme circumstances, and were eaten by those who had not had a symbiosis-like relationship with it. B.M.:

> "...Once there used to be hundreds of them in the village. In 1944, the Germans besieged Radmani during a battle at Ladrovići, and they confiscated all of them; some families had twelve, thirteen heads of cattle. If I am not wrong, one family had eighteen heads. And the Germans did not leave one. And they fed on them, they killed them, ate all the meat, and that was it."

Even today, in 2016, the life of Istrian cattle remains contradictory and dichotomous. The article *Runaway cows usurped hunting ground at Gračišće* quotes that a pensioner from the village of Mrleti near Gračišće, bought a dozen heads of Istrian cattle from AZRRI. Three cows ran away, one even calved in the wilderness, so that the calf was following them. Feral cows cannot be domesticated again and will have to be slaughtered (Dagostin, 2016: 12).

The other extreme (of successful domestication) of life/death of this animal can be learned from AZRRI's winter/spring cycle of culinary workshops at the Educational-Gastronomy Centre of Istria. A workshop led by the chef Zdravko Tomšić was dedicated to Istrian cattle meat in general. He decided to show to the attendees, mainly professional chefs from Istrian restaurants, how less used and less attractive meat cuts can be prepared. The demonstration focused on spare ribs, flank steak, tongue, boned shank and brisket.

> I have been dedicated to boškarin meat for more than ten years. When we were just starting, only the tenderloin and sirloin steaks were asked for. Other meat cuts were hardly associated with any culinary value… namely they would end in soups and stews. Since not all meat cuts are available in desired quantities, especially not those most popular and in demand, the aim of this workshop is to teach that almost the entire carcass can be employed to prepare attractive à la carte dishes in restaurants, said Tomšić on this topic. (Zdravko Tomšić, according to Šišović, 2016: 17)

These two articles, published in the interval of less than a month, underline the dominance of man over animal, where the animal is reduced to objectified meat.

AUTOCHTONOUS ISTRIAN CATTLE TODAY

Istrian cattle have lost the sense of domesticated animals. They lost their precedence in working processes to more powerful and economical machines, dairy cows and farmed calves. The breeding of Istrian cattle today has become a status symbol or a sentimental object of affection (Hofbauer, 2007: 20), a competitor in beauty pageants and a gastronomic feature of Istria. Oxen owners compete even in the category of ox weight (up to 1.4 t). Why weight? What is there to be drawn? Prestige, owner's vanity? Over a particular time, status symbols change. Thus, at the beginning of the last century owning cattle meant prosperity and power; half a century later it meant frailty, old age and poverty. The symbol of power in a village was represented by the tractor. The symbolic position of power today, at the beginning of another century, has been regained by the ox.

Modern breeders confirmed that they undertook tending the animals for the money received through subsidies, but also for love, to make their dreams come true or, as one interviewee confessed, "I breed them as they serve my ego", continuing that he was aware that one day they would become food on tables, but they would also serve as spiritual food for the breeders.

Man and cattle lived in symbiosis, and their lives depended on each other. The importance of cattle can be noted in the then religious moment when both houses and barns were blessed. Modern-day values and positions towards the *boškarin* are part of traditional heritage that, in contact with the present, are assuming political connotations. Today economic profit from a boškarin is only casual; this is not the primary and only source of income of a family. This is also one of the reasons taht the previous layered

relationship cannot be relived. In the opinion of the breeders and tourist workers, Istrian cattle can survive only if their breeding becomes commercially justified. A conversion of purpose is called for - from the anthropocentric aspect, of course, since, as it could be inferred from the newspaper article, Istrian cattle can live and reproduce in the wild.

The problem with emotions that are inherited, but not personally lived, is that they remain deposited in ethnographic notes or in the memories as intangible heritage. The question of reconstruction of the relationship between Istrian cattle and man remains an open issue for the future research studies. It is to be assumed that the search for profit which depends on good quality meat – and quality relies on traditional values such as pasture in a natural environment – will bring man and *boškarin* closer and reinstate a high-quality relationship.

IN LIEU OF A CONCLUSION

Were Istrian cattle once consumed in Istria? According to the available literature, the answer is affirmative. Were Istrian cattle part of a traditional diet in Istria? No, several generations within a family never tasted the meat of Istrian cattle. Was Boškarin ever eaten in Istria? Extremely rarely, mostly when it died of old age or injuries.

Finally, our present time features the category of autochthonous Istrian cattle, which are becoming a gastronomic delicacy of Istria; there is also the category of the memory of Istrian cattle whose member was sometimes called Boškarin. The global trend of creating something new but with the seal of autochthonous is also done in Istria through the *boškarin*. We decided to save this noble breed from extinction, we decided to preserve autochthonous genetic material for future generations, we decided to breed it and sell it, we decided to be determined, persistent, noble and powerful. But we did not preserve Boškarin. The entire set of problems surrounding Boškarin is based on the microcontext of man and cattle, as part of the cultural heritage of Istria; this microcontext, compared to global ambitions of breeders of autochthonous Istrian cattle, has little in common today. In order to have the recontextualization of this animal accepted in Istria, it must be clearly distinguished that Boškarin is not the same as autochthonous Istrian cattle, apart from their sharing the same genetic material. It is precisely in this complexity of problems ranging from cost-effectiveness to safeguarding of cattle to preservation of Boškarin's heritage that I see a need for multidisciplinary collaboration and common endeavour towards a rural park.

Should Boškarin be preserved?

Š.B.: "Its time has passed. People are not for it any more. But when there is an exhibition of oxen, I watch them all day long. They are still as they used to be, but there are very few of them. They need to work to live. Work keeps them alive."

The animal has always been present in Istrian culture. The bonds between Istrian cattle and Istrian man have been interwoven for centuries. A mutual relationship between two cultures, the animal one with its obvious ability to pass experience and knowledge onto

the younger generation, and the culture of man able to be sudden and fast-changing, results in an impressive autochthonous wealth. The increasingly dominant position of man has left the cattle overshadowed. I believe that man will save Istrian cattle because there are a number of interested individuals and a growing number of reasons for their preservation. However, cultural zoology, with its knowledge on the mutual influence of man and animal, must also be heard to side with the animal. A great number of scientists and experts are dealing with the problem of the domestication of animals. One of the possible divisions is to "utilitarian" animals kept outside human dwellings, with no emotional relations, and "pets" which live with man, are communicated

The photo displayed in the butcher shop "Graciano" in Žminj (the owner of the photograph: Graciano Zohil).

with and played with (Visković, 1996:277). Normally, Istrian cattle lived separated from the household (animals on the ground floor and people on the first floor, separated by wooden planks), however under the same roof. But they were always talked to, tended, cared for; this is especially true today when they are taken to exhibitions. Istrian cattle have been changing their status as social changes would occur in Istria. Domestication means possession of an animal, but also the human power to change the animal. This reflects the diachronic sequence of the boškarin's life. Boškarin was once the synonym of life; today, it is first of all emotion. Istrian cattle have learned to live with the needs of the Istrians. Istrian learned through history how to co-exist with various occupiers and liberators. Boškarin and man, slightly similar in the extinction of the original and local, always more similar in the revival of folklore in this modern and – above all – consumer society. By changing the boškarin, we change ourselves. Its smell is not pleasant any more, but also our smell is not pleasant: our hair or many other things about us are not natural. From the wild to the domesticated to the gastronomic delicacy. The destiny of the boškarin, and ours, perhaps?

Ivona Orlić

CYNICISM: AZZRI AND *BOŠKARIN WITH POTATOES*

> "The question is not, Can they *reason*? nor, Can they *talk*? but, Can they *suffer*?" Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, 1823.

The concept of promoting the B/boškarin as a gastro-phenomenon was the dominant feature of the school project *Boškarin with Potatoes* (2012 to 2014), by the City of Pula, developed as the confirmation of collaboration with the French town of Villefranche-de-Rouergue, which became a partner city of Pula in 2008. As part of the project, local products were presented; the Istrian Boškarin (that is the Boškarin was presented as a product rather than an animal) and the Ségala potato variety from the French region of Midi-Pyrénées. Hence the Boškarin (Istrian ox), a native Croatian livestock breed, has been "revitalized" in the 21st century as an economic and gastronomic sacrifice of the EU project.[5]

The wish to protect the native breed of Istrian cattle,[6] because of the rapid decrease in cattle threatening the extinction of the breed, resulted in a series of activities with the aim of protecting the future lives of the Boškarin. The process of extinction, fortunately, has been stopped. However, in a profit-orientated society, the Boškarin is reduced solely to food, and it is sold under the false trademark: "The meat of the Istrian ox – the original Istrian product!"[7]

The extinction of the Istrian cattle was caused by the rapid mechanization of villages. However, the rapid development of tourism initiated the increasing demand for meat and milk.[8] In the 1990s, the population of the Istrian cattle fell to little over 100 (Prekalj, 2008: 60). In 2004, there were about 270 pure-bred Istrian cattle, in comparison with a figure of 50,000 before World War II.[9] As written on the web-page of the Agency for Rural Development of Istria (AZZRI):

> The industrialisation of agriculture, the appearance of mechanisation, social trends in rural areas and the economic orientation towards tourism in the early 1950s resulted in the replacement of the Istrian cattle with more productive breeds. Crops and vineyards became the prevalent cultures, whereas cattle farming took on a secondary role.[10]

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[5] *A remark:* According to animal rights theoreticians, in avoiding speciesism (cf. Dunayer 2004/2009) in the English language, we shall be using the personal pronouns *he/she* for the Istrian cattle, instead of the pronoun *it* in this paper.

[6] The term of the Istrian *cattle* includes the *bulls, oxen, cows and calves*.

[7] Cf. http://konoba-nono.com/en/istria/ (Accessed 1 November 2015).

[8] An additional factor of the extinction of the Istrian cattle was the departure of the younger rural population to coastal areas, in tourist centres in search for new, "easier" jobs.

[9] Throughout Istria in 1994 there were only 16 head, 4 cows and 8 bulls, of whom at least six were related, which threatened the degeneration of the species. In 2009 there was about 600 head (Božić 2009, http).

[10] Cf. http://www.azrri.hr/index.php?id=55&L=1 (Accessed 1 November 2015).

The project of the *edible* Boškarin started in 2004, which documents the article entitled "Boškarin from the campaign on a plate", published in the daily newspaper *Glas Istre*. The article noted that the AZZRI's *Slow Food* project was working for the permanent protection of the Istrian cattle, justifying their position that in the European Union there is no other incentive only to keep the animals. The article emphasizes that the Istrian cattle is not a sacred cow and that in the last ten years, the Boškarin had become a fetish that should be dismantled. Additionally, AZZRI is trying to spread the idea that the Istrian cattle will become the first recognizable indigenous species from Istria, however with the aim of proving that his meat is better than other varieties at (cf. Flegar, 2004: 16).[11]

In addition, today, among other tasks, AZZRI organizes workshops on the processing of meat of Istrian Boškarin cattle for all interested citizens – lovers of gastronomy. The price for a one-day workshop is 500 kunas (VAT included, in 2015). In that way, AZRRI is proud that today Boškarin is hailed as a gourmet delicacy in Istria, and that his meat is part of the gourmet cuisine of the region. However, in that revitalization, AZRRI forgets that Boškarin was a working animal and was never bred for gourmet purposes as it is today.

Turning the Boškarin on a spit has nothing to do with traditions. In ethno-traditional culture, the Istrian ox was never eaten. It was only eaten as old meat, as Ivona Orlić pointed out in the first part of this article. Thus, his meat today is only propaganda driven by touristic-economic factors. Hence, the once Istrian ox, as an old animal, only then found himself as a delicacy. In that way, it was expensive, with meat and soup being made from the tail of the oxen. Often, butchers left the tail for themselves, friends and preferred customers.

As history goes in a cynical way, the AZRRI is considered to be the principal carrier-going protection of the indigenous Istrian cattle. In short, journalists follow their lead and write articles asserting that that only gastronomy can save the Istrian cattle from the extinction (cf. Medić, 2007: 17). Unfortunately, besides the meat of the Istrian cattle, in the same way in the near future the meat of other Istrian autochthonous animals (donkeys, sheep, goat) would be invested in and, as it is believed on that way, that these animals would be saved from extinction (cf. Šišović 2014). However, this is just a mask to justify of slaughtering of animals, nothing else, nothing more; the slaughtering must be justified by profit.

Thus, after the 1990s, the Boškarin received the status of a sacred cow as an exhibition piece in the marking of the Istrian identity; in the following decade the Boškarin was modified into a delicacy. That is, since 1991, after a ban of forty years, the *Jakovlja* (a folk festival on the occasion of St. James) began to be organized in Kanfanar (Istria) and one of the most attractive events for the celebration of *Jakovlja* is the exhibition of

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[11] It is real cynicism that on the main web-page of this Agency the following story about the history of the Istrian ox is written:
"The story began with the farming of these strong animals in order of economic exploitation. The man on the land of Istria survived in the coexistence with the Istrian ox. The landscape was barren, but in the ecological sense – the landscape was really varied and valuable. So, the story about boškarin will not end. It continues! But nowadays Istrian ox will not survive in order to haul wagons and will not plow. The Istrian ox will strengthen the Istrian tourism and gastronomy. And in that way the Istrian ox will survive modern disease and misfortune." Cf. http://www.azrri.hr/index.php?id=99

Istrian oxen and cattle. Unfortunately, after this role of Boškarin as a fetish of the 1990s, in the next decade, he was dismantled, and the Boškarin has been revitalized only for the purpose of profitable agro-tourism and gastro-tourism. So, as Ivona Orlić aphoristically emphasized in the first part of the article, the Istrian ox was used throughout history as a peasant worker, though later, during the 1990s, as a showpiece – during the predominance of the national identity that people found in the Boškarin. Nowadays, the Istrian ox exists only as a gastronomic delicacy, living to be killed and to be eaten. Apparently, in anthropocentric society, this is the only way in which this animal can survive and not become extinct.
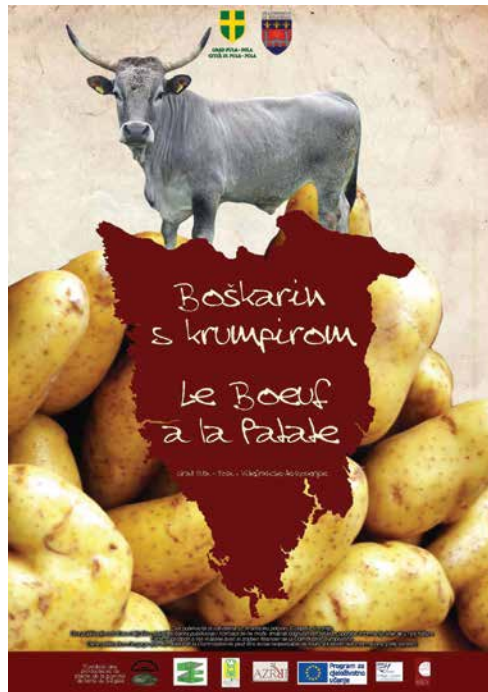
The school project *Boškarin with Potatoes* (Pula, Villefranche-de-Rouergue, 2012 to 2014).

REWILDING EUROPE / BOŠKARIN

However, there is also another option, to settle the Boškarin in his natural habitat. At the end of March 2015, twelve Boškarin cattle (five cows, five heifers and two calves) were transported to the *Tauros programme*, to the breeding site in the Velebit mountains. According to the latest information (in 2015), the animals are doing well in their new home. It is a part of the rewilding efforts by *Rewilding Europe and the Tauros programme's* plans to de-domesticate or rewild primaeval cattle breeds to return them to their original form – the aurochs, an ancient Eurasian bovine species that became extinct in 1627, in Poland.

A little bit more must be said on the context of this programme, which I consider to be most reasonable, of course in a way how it is possible to be reasonable in a profitable society, in revitalising Boškarin. In November 2012, *Rewilding Europe and the Taurus Foundation*, as I learned thanks to the cultural anthropologist Lidija Bernardić, signed a long-term agreement to help preserve biodiversity in Europe through a breeding programme in the hope of bringing back a functional, wild version of the aurochs, which were the ancestors of every head of domestic cattle in the world.[12]

Henri Kerkdijk-Otten, a former member of the non-profit organization *Rewilding Europe*, has a lifetime of experience in understanding the mega-fauna of our prehistoric world. His interest and research focuses on the reconstruction and rebirth of Europe's original mega-fauna, such as the aurochs, wild horse and water buffalo. Among other facts, *Rewilding Europe* makes a distinction between restoration and rewilding:[13]

> Rewilding is really not about going back in time. It is instead about giving more room to wild, spontaneous nature to develop, in a modern society. Going back (to when?) is not a real alternative, it is just nostalgia. Rewilding is about moving forward, but letting nature itself decide much more and man decide much less. (*Rewilding Europe,* 2011)

THE ZOO-SYMBOLS OF ISTRIA

While the Istrian goat is the symbol of Istrian identity (cf. "Zakrivljeno palico v roki..., 2007-2013),[14] Boškarin today occupies, also as the zoo-symbol of Istrian identity, an important place, but on the menus of fine restaurants. The goat is on the coat of arms and the flag of the County of Istria, as well as on the Croatian flag. The Tourist Board promotes, through its marketing materials, also a goldfinch (*češljugar*) – a small bird that was once much more commonly present in the lives of Istrian peasants, who spent most of their time in nature. The Tourist Board also promotes donkeys as a symbol of Istrian identity. All of these animals appear as zoo-symbols and zoo-trademarks of the region. Unlike the aforementioned animals, the Boškarin is the identification symbol of a regional affiliation

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[12] Cf. http://www.rewildingeurope.com/news/lika-plains-officially-opened-as-natural-grazing-pilot-in-velebit/ (Accessed 1 November 2015)
Here I can add that, in my opinion, it is not necessary to take cross breeding to invent aurochs, it is enough to put Boškarin in a natural habitat of course under the control because this re-wilding programme is not completely natural; environmental recovery is a designed, human-made nature to fulfil our postmodern standards for wilderness.

[13] The cattle now brought to Velebit, come from the Štifanić farm in the village of Višnjan in Istria. To conclude, 12 Boškarins in Velebit became part of the Tauros Breeding Programme in 2014. With these herds, reintroduction of natural grazing as a key natural process has started both in Western Iberia and Velebit, and is prepared for the Danube Delta. Cf. http://rewildingeurope.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/06/Rewilding-Europe-Annual-Review-2013.pdf

[14] In the monograph *Zakrivljeno palico v roki...* (2007-2013) one can see the photograph of the goat with the *bag* on her udder in order to prevent the baby goat from sucking on it mother's milk; the best goat could produce litres of milk per day (cf. "Zakrivljeno palico v roki...", 2007-2013:118).

because of autochthony or exclusive affiliation to the Istrian peninsula; however, despite this fact, he is extremely exploited in meat consumption – he is served in many Istrian restaurants of the highest culinary standards (as well as the highest price), and under the false trademark "The meat of the Istrian cattle – the original Istrian product!" (cf. photo 5), of course cynically, thanks to AZZRI.[15]
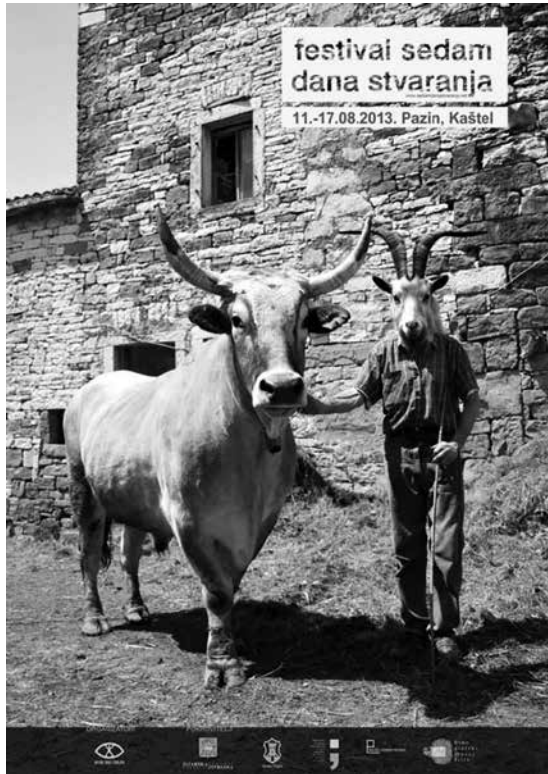
The poster of the multimedia festival *Sedam dana stvaranja* / *Seven Days of Creation* (Pazin, 2013): the zoo-*conjunction* of the Istrian goat and Boškarin (photo: Davor Sanvinčenti).

FINALLY, THE CORE QUESTION OF HOW TO KEEP THE BOŠKARIN

Here, I would like to mention the performance *Requiem for Boškarin* (2005), Svetvinčenat, Istria by multimedia artist Darwin Butković, dedicated to the Boškarin that was slaughtered the next day. Along the lines of the activity of St. Francis, who preached to the birds, the artist thus decided to play *Requiem for Boškarin* (cf. Marjanić, 2014: 1662).

Or as Ivona Orlić pointed reported, one informant said: "Their time is in the past. They need to work in order to be alive. Work is what keeps them alive." In these statements,

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[15] Cf. http://www.azrri.hr/fileadmin/Novinski_clanci/Dodjela_oznaka_Buscina.pdf (Accessed 1 January 2010).

we can see the truth and foundations for the existence of the Boškarin. As the Boškarin was primarily a working animal (Svrtan, Labrović, 1995: 24), his existence cannot be reduced only to a delicacy, an object for consumption.

Paradoxically, to AZZRI's tasks of modifying Boškarin to the haute cuisine this Agency writes the following on its web-page: "For centuries, Istrian farmers have bred Istrian cattle as intelligent and obedient animals, with moderate feed requirements, to work the Istrian soil and produce food for both. Breeding should continue along these lines."

So, the question is: why does AZRRI not want to promote breeding along these lines?

FINAL REMARK

Here I do not want to offend anybody, but from the position of the anthropology of animals and critical animal studies, I merely want to emphasize that the Boškarin cannot survive only as a delicacy, as he is also a working animal. As the Boškarin is no longer necessary as a working animal, of course, there is the problem of how he can survive. This huge animal with a mild character, who for centuries was the main power in the fertile red soil in Istria, can only survive in geno-parks such as the one in Višnjan which is run by the president of the Association of Breeders, Aldo Štifanić, as well as in the programme *Rewilding Europe.*

The second remark: in comparison with Ivona Orlić, here I use the term Boškarin as the synonym for the *Istrian cattle,* because it is common in everyday usage to use the name Boškarin as a general noun. Furthermore as the authors of the *Encyclopedia of Croatian Domestic Animals,* have used these synonyms (Istrian cattle or Boškarin) (*Enciklopedija hrvatskih domaćih životinja* 2003: 47).[16] Or, as it written in the *Istrian Encyclopedia*: "boškarin (Friuli *boscarin*: raw wooden cane and cattle name), the most widespread Istrian folk name for bovine Istrian Podolac" (*Istarska enciklopedija*).

However, Goran Šubara from AZRRI found some mistakes in this short encyclopaedic explanation:

> Boškarin is the name of a bull or an ox that is most commonly used (Boškarina is the name of the cow or heifer). The official name of the breed is the Istrian ox. The breed of Istrian cattle belongs to a wider group of breeds – Podolian breed. Therefore, there are two mistakes in *Istrain Encyclopedia*: Firstly, Boškarin was the most widespread name that was given to the ox, a bull or cow of Istrian cattle (other common names were: Bakin, Mandula, Srnela, Galjarda, Sivo...), so this is not the name of cattle Istrian Podolian breed. Secondly, the breed is Istrian cattle / *Bovino Istriano* which belongs to the group Podolian breeds (Italian breeds: Maremana, Chianina, Marchigiana, Podolica, Romagnola, the Istrian breed and Croatian breed – Slavonia and

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[16] A special feature of the Istrian cattle is the pigmentation of the palate and lead-grey tongue. There is a saying: "The real Istrian bull has *black sky*" (In the ancient Croatian language, dialect there is no word of the palate but sky (*nebo*); they marked the palate as the sky) (the upper part of the mouth) (*Enciklopedija hrvatskih domaćih životinja* 2003: 47, video *Istrian Oxen – Bakin and Boškarin*, 2011).

> Srijem Podolac; Hungarian breed: Hungarian gray cattle, Serbian breed: Podolian Cattle). (from e-mail conversation with Ivona Orlić).

Furthermore, there is an understatement in the definition of the name Boškarin. It is supposed that Boškarin got the name because of *his* work in forests (the word *forest* in the Istrian dialect is *bošku*). However, the *Istrian Encyclopedia* the Friuli noun *boscarin* – in the meaning of raw cane, is mentioned and, of course, the cattle name.

As far as the final boškarin in/on his way from the farmers through the exhibit and today as "delicacies", here we can add the conclusion of Ivona Orlić, who denies the allegation referred to AZZRI that the Istrian cattle used primarily for meat production. Ivona Orlić pointed out that the Istrian ox only as old and worn out ended his life in a slaughterhouse (Orlić, 2007: 322), which means that he was never used primarily for meat production, slaughter, as he is used nowadays in commercial purposes of AZZRI. While commercialization of the boškarin goes in the direction of gastronomy, for the Istrian people; boškarin, as the ethnotradition evidenced, was a sacred animal, by the words of Nenad Kuftić, who was cited in the text of Ivona Orlić.

THE CONTEXTUALIZATION OF THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF ANIMALS

In her 1989 book *Humans and Other Animals*: *Beyond the Boundaries of Anthropology*, the cultural and social anthropologist Barbara Noske made her demand for the shaping of the anthropology of animals, due to the fact that anthropocentric anthropology dominated in relation to animals. Or, in her words: "Alas, there exists no anthropology of animals, only an (anthropocentric) anthropology of humans in relation to animals" (Noske, 1989: 169).[17] Noske suggests that such scholarly discipline – the anthropology of animals – could bear the name anthropozoology or zooanthropology (Noske, 1989: 170). Noske takes these terms from John Cunningham Lilly (*Lilly on Dolphins, Humans of the Sea*, 1975), "where he uses these terms with reference to a possible study of human-dolphin communication" (Noske, 1989: 212).[18]

In that process, starting out from her own profession – which is cultural or social anthropology – Barbara Noske states that some animal scientists have established that there are certain shortcomings of their own "subject-object-minded science" and have realized the anthropological potential for the study of animals, which other anthropologists have not yet comprehended (Noske, 1989: 169).

We can check her detection on the example of *anthropology* offered by William A. Haviland. Namely, according to the tautological definition he proposes in his book, the

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[17] I have emphasized in the title of this paper the scholarly discipline that could be called, according to Barbara Noske, the anthropology of animals, which could also definitely be a terminological umbrella for research into animalistic themes in folklore.

[18] This final part of the article I have used from my article *The Anthropology of Animals – Paradox and/or Necessity,* which I wrote for the International Interdisciplinary Symposium "What to Do with Folklore" (Ljubljana, 2009).

university textbook on anthropology, *Cultural Anthropology* (1st edition 1975), anthropology *studies human beings*, in the framework of which biological (physical) anthropology deals with biological organisms, while cultural anthropology does so with "people as cultural animals" (cf. Haviland, 2004: 8). It could thus be concluded that animals are "uncultural animals", despite the undeniable fact that they, too, possess cultural patterns. Therefore, it is obvious that such anthropology excludes animals; in other words, it includes them solely if the animals *are used* for cognition on the supernatural *anthropos* as "cultural animals".[19] Briefly, as Molly Mullin says in connection with anthropological research, the anthropological anthropocentric approaches of the past depicted animals as passive objects of human agency towards better understanding humans (Mullin, 2002: 390).

Furthermore, physical anthropology – by Haviland's definition – also deals with the study of primates *other* than human beings in order to establish the origins of the human race and to determine how, when and why we became the type of animals that we are today (cf. Haviland 2004:9). From merely a few lines of the university textbook, the detection is confirmed that the study of the *anthropos*, or, in other words, humankind, is intrinsically anthropocentric, due to the belief that animals as subjects can be dealt with only by biology, or rather by zoology and ethology (the zoological study of animal behavior).[20]

In that contexualization of the anthropology of animals, as defined by socio-cultural anthropologist Barbara Noske, this text about the possible future of Boškarin was written. Or, **why do we have a list of national animals (e.g. *pine marten* is the national animal of Croatia) but fail to include said animals (only individual species) in the concept of heritage – why are the concepts of Nature and Culture still anthropocentrically segregated? The fact is that one can only talk about heritage species (especially traditional or autochthonous livestock breeds), but not about *heritage animals* (the animals in the concept of heritage).[21] Or, why are we struck by the destruction** of the Buddhas of Bamiyan, but we do not tackle the extinction of Boškarin or any other animals, at all… Why are we not tackling the fact that the Istrian cattle is still in danger of becoming extinct (*Enciklopedija hrvatskih domaćih životinja* 2003: 47).

All these facts connected with the Boškarin, suggest that the Istrian ox was a permanent capital to his owner. It is obvious that the relationship between man and Boškarin, as

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[19] This definition of physical and cultural anthropology is quoted from the Croatian translation of the 6th edition of Haviland's book. In the 2nd edition (1978) of his *Cultural Anthropology*, Haviland states that physical anthropology is primarily concerned with humans as biological organisms, and that this work "lays the foundation for the study of humans as cultural animals. The study is referred to as cultural anthropology" (Haviland, 1978: 8-9). I have taken Haviland's well-known *Cultural Anthropology* as an example solely because it is used as a textbook on cultural anthropology at Croatian universities.

[20] Regarding the status with studying animals, the situation is similar in other social sciences and the humanistic sciences, and is even more gloomy in some of them, so that Clinton R. Sanders points out that animals were largely ignored by early 20th-century sociologists (Sanders 2006, http).

[21] Rodney Harrison distinguishes between *cultural heritage* (those things manufactured by humans) and *natural heritage* (those which have not been manufactured by humans) (2009: 11). Futhermore, under the concept of natural heritage, he also includes animals, or by his words: "Natural heritage is most often thought about in terms of landscape and ecological systems, but it is compressed of features such as plants, animals, natural landscapes and landforms, oceans and water bodies" (2009: 13). As it is noticeable that in this definition of *natural heritage* the animals are included only in the context of landscapes, natural habitat.

part of cultural heritage, is deeply rooted in romantic memory, as a great warm-hearted animal, with the lyre-shaped horns, that helped the poor farmer. The relationship which is laced with care, respect and mutual symbiosis of survival, was recorded in the memory of ethno-tradition (as Ivona Orlić documented in her part of the text) and is passed onto future generations through a very emotional story.

In the context of anthropocentric society, the Boškarin will survive only if he is useful in an anthropocentrically profitable society. In this sector, the new possibility is open to them so, that the Boškarin can become a *pet* in the "petishist" culture, or as Joan Dunayer would say – a *companion*, in eco-farm tourism. In the case that the Boškarin would become a *companion,* it would not be a surprise. As in Tokyo, during the Edo period up until 1886, there were cases that some citizens of that city of two million people in coexistence with nature, had elephants and orangutans as pets or as *companions*.

Of course, I am completely aware that all stages of the usage of Boškarin – from his role as a peasant, then as an object of exhibition to promote Istrian national identity, before he ended as a delicacy, was run under an economic function, or as Marvin Harris stated for the Hindu holy cow – they are holy only because of that they are economically viable (Harris, http, 3). Or by his words: "The ox is the Indian peasant's tractor, thresher and family car combined; the cow is the factory that produces the ox."

<div align="right">

Suzana Marjanić
Translated by Adriana Lukić

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LITERATURE

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BAŠTINSKE ŽIVOTINJE – ZAŠTO NE? USPRKOS ANTROPOCENTRIZMU

Ivona Orlić, Suzana Marjanić

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(Ivona Orlić) Želja za očuvanjem autohtone pasmine istarskog goveda, zbog naglog smanjenja broja goveda te prijetnje izumiranju pasmine, uzrokovala je niz promišljanja i aktivnosti s ciljem kako osuvremeniti, odnosno osmisliti daljnji životni tijek *boškarina.* Proces izumiranja je zaustavljen, međutim poveznica s ljudskom kulturom koja ga je dovela i do ruba postojanja te ga ponovno uzdigla, ostaje nedorečena. Također, u promišljanju o istarskom govedu u istarskoj svakodnevici pojavili su se problemi vezani za terminologiju, odnosno nazivlje. Sadašnje i buduće interakcije čovjek-*boškarin*, koje se neminovno oslanjaju na tradicijske momente, interpretirane su i analizirane kroz teme i problematiku prvenstveno nekadašnjih emocionalnih odnosa nasuprot današnjem tržišnom odnosu između čovjeka i životinje. Nekadašnji je odnos bio uzajaman, današnji je antropocentričan.

(Suzana Marjanić) Antropologija životinja, kao što ju je definirala sociokulturna antropologinja Barbara Noske, mora biti – ili bi trebala biti – segment etnografskih, antropoloških istraživanja 21. stoljeća. Zbog čega postoji popis nacionalnih životinja (npr. kuna je nacionalni zoo-simbol RH), ali se navedena životinja, a i neke *druge* životinje, ne uključuju u koncept baštine. Zašto su pojmovi prirode i kulture, prirodne i kulturne baštine još uvijek antropocentrički i dihotomijski razdvojeni? U kontekstu navedene dihotomije pratimo sudbinu boškarina ili istarskoga goveda kao simbol života u prošlosti – vol je bio važniji od vlastite djece – međutim, danas je istarsko govedo revitalizirano samo u svrhu profitabilnog agroturizma i gastroturizma. Navedeni je koncept promidžbe boškarina kao gastro-fenomena/specijaliteta bio dominantna oznaka projekta *Boškarin s krumpirom* Grada Pule (2012-2014) koji je nastao kao potvrda suradnje s francuskim gradićem Villefranche-de-Rouergue s kojim se Grad Pula 2008. i pobratimio. U okviru projekta bili su istaknuti lokalni proizvodi – istarski boškarin (dakle, boškarin je predstavljen kao proizvod a ne kao životinja) i krumpira Segal iz francuske pokrajine Midy-Pyrenees. Tako se boškarin ili istarsko govedo, hrvatska autohtona pasmina goveda, u 21. stoljeću "revitalizirao" kao ekonomska i gastronomska žrtva EU projekta.

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For the Love of Antlers: Heads on a Wall or Antlers on a Bride

Maja Pasarić

Deer head and antlers are specific parts of the animal body embedded with complex symbolic implications and as *pars pro toto* represent the entire animal. Certain cultural practices of animal objectification within our contemporary society denote these parts of animals' bodies as trophies, decorations, and designed objects, which then become markers of individual human identities, lifestyles, and particular living spaces. However, such new meanings inscribed into these animal materialities do not necessarily classify them as passive objects. It has been acknowledged that material culture objects continually transform in meanings through their own accumulative biographies.

KEYWORDS: antlers, deer, trophy, decor, material culture

DEER AND SWIFT GLANCES INTO THE PAST

Deer are large herbivores endowed with heightened sense organs, a strong physique and elongated limbs, which enable them rapid escape from predators (Putman 1988: 5). Their unique characteristic is, however, the development of antlers. As structures of solid bone, antlers grow in pairs and are usually developed by males.[1] Some of antlers' distinct features, which also distinguish them from horns, as noted by Rory Putman (1988: 11), are that they have no outer covering once entirely shaped, that they do not grow directly from the skull but are supported on basal discs of bone, and that they are usually branched but, most importantly, antlers are shed every year and then re-grown.

   Specific biological characteristics of deer influenced various notions about these animals in human societies throughout history and the development of their roles in economic, social, mythical, and religious aspects of life. Due to their proportions, deer were prey that provided a substantial amount of meat and raw materials, while at the same time their rapidity and agility ensured that they were, perhaps, a less easily accessible quarry. However, as noted by the archaeologist Marina Milićević Bradač (2002: 13), the flow

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[1] Only in reindeer and caribou, (inhabiting parts of North America, Greenland and Arctic parts of Europe and Asia), are antlers borne by both sexes (Putman 1988: 137).

of time and natural cycles were known by Palaeolithic communities, and it is possible that cyclic growth and shedding of antlers gave this animal a unique status, in addition to the fact that it was one of the most hunted animals. Archaeological glimpses into our pre-modern past reveal numerous cross-cultural contexts of ritual treatment of deer and/or their antlers, suggesting meanings of rebirth and regeneration, notions about deer as liminal animals and mediators in communication with the supernatural world, as well as signifiers of the special status of certain human individuals or supernatural beings (for example, gods and spirits of the natural world, shamans or medicine men and women) (Ollofson 2010; Milićević Bradač 2002). Interestingly, certain aspects of these animalistic conceptions continue to persist in various European and non-European historical and modern time myths and folklore (Milićević Bradač 2002; Cartmill 1996: 52–75). The special status and symbolical importance of deer and their antlers among past societies, as indicated by the archaeological record, is vividly evident in the placement of antlers together with human remains in various burial contexts across cultures and time frames. It is perhaps a lesser-known fact, especially outside archaeological discourse, that the burial of a young individual from the Qafzeh Cave in Israel, considered to be amongst the oldest intentional burials of human dead, included deer antlers (Vandermeersch 2004: 40). The approximately 100,000-year-old remains belong to an individual whose age at the time of death was estimated to be 12-13 years, while the individual's sex is unknown (Coqueugniot et al. 2014). The individual was lying on her/his back with their legs bent to the side and both hands placed on either side of the neck, the antlers of a large Red Deer were found around the chest area (Vandermeersch 2004: 40). Interestingly, recent osteological investigations of a lesion noticed on the individual's skull pointed towards a possibility that this young person might have suffered from focal cerebral damage and related personality and neurological difficulties due to an injury (usually resulting from a blunt force trauma) suffered earlier in childhood (Coqueugniot et al. 2014).

Specific interpretations of the mentioned finds should certainly be a topic of another type of discussion.[2] However, as bone structures, antlers are amongst the hardest and most durable organic materials, and by handling antlers and placing them in specific positions within landscapes, by or on the human body, the past Others inscribed their cultural meanings into their surroundings, affecting their communities of the living and/or of the dead.

Another interesting perspective of symbolic denotation is revealed by one of the most well-known prehistoric figures, the so-called "magician" or "sorcerer", a Palaeolithic drawing of a humanoid torso with antlers, discovered in the Trois Frères cave in Ariège, France. Some interpretations link this drawing with a figure of a hunter camouflaged as an animal (Bégouën & Breuil 1958: 54), while others consider it a spiritual being or a shaman (Mithen 1998: 200), able to communicate with the animal realms and secure his community a successful hunt. Although different in their understandings, the readings of this Palaeolithic figure carrying both animal and human features, point to various possible contexts in which boundaries between the human and the animal are crossed either through disguise, the special skills of individuals, or within the spiritual realm. Proposed

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[2] For example, see Vandermeersch (2004: 19-51).

interpretations, together with the "magician" with antlers himself flatly embodied on the cave wall, also reveal the inevitable tension present in human relations with animals, as the latter are often simultaneously venerated, hunted and consumed as well as depicted as subjects of artistic expressions. However, a recent account of the perforated antler frontlets from the Mesolithic site Starr Carr in England previously described as ritual headdresses or hunting disguises (Clark 1954), proposes that the importance of these objects exceeded their use as symbolic adornment or disguise. In her article Chantal Conneller (2004) examines ways in which animals, humans and their bodies could be perceived during the Mesolithic and explores how antler frontlets as objects made from animal remains could affect people who used and wore them. She proposes that by being worn on human bodies, the antlers were not simply disguising the bodies but allowing them to transform and take on certain aspects of the animal's identity (Conneller 2004).

HEADS ON A WALL OR ANTLERS ON A BRIDE

Even though human relationships with deer have inevitably been changing through time and different cultural contexts, the fascination with deer and their antlers persists even in today's modern urban and industrial settings. Deer hunting remains a world-spread (un)popular sport, recreation and leisure activity and deer antlers also seem to be recognized for their significant aesthetic qualities. Moreover, the mystical eminence accorded to the relationship between deer and humans in the past perhaps remains a part of our present-day awareness, as has already been noted by Putman (1988: XVI).

In our contemporary societies, antlers can be found incorporated in human lives in ways that extend to human embodied experience within their living space and to their everyday relations with certain aspects of materialities. Drawing on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, Krisztina Fehérváry (2012: 617) reminds us that the ideologies about the ideal organization of society can be embedded in the materialities and further replicated through different embodied practices. Cut off and taxidermied deer heads, deer skulls with antlers or simply antlers along with other dead animals or parts of their bodies have been displayed as hunting trophies, usually mounted on walls in the homes of individuals involved in hunting activities, in specialized hunting lodges, large dining halls of countryside restaurants, game trophy rooms and similar places embodying the contemporary ideology of hunting. One of the most vivid examples of specialized spaces exhibiting the deadly decadent grandeur of the hunting agenda in Croatia has for a long time been the Macola restaurant[31] in the rural part of Lika County, well-known for its hunting tourism. The restaurant is located on the highway leading south from the capital city towards the Adriatic coast. Here, deer antlers are displayed together with a forest's worth of taxidermy bestiary, with smaller members of the animal kingdom fixed into poses of anthropomorphized activities of leisure, such as playing cards, reading books or playing instruments, while larger animals, such as bears, are serving drinks or simply

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[3] The word "macola" stands for a large and heavy hammer in one of the Croatian dialects.

enjoying a glass of beer. The eerie atmosphere awaits those seeking refreshments or rest on their way to the Plitvice Lakes National Park, the Northern Velebit National Park and on to the sea coast. The same environment greets local communities attending large dinner parties accompanied by turbo-folk music and dancing (sometimes even on the roof of the restaurant) hosted by the owner, where animals are displayed for the amusement of guests, and figure as obscure representations whose presence adds to the overall Dionysian atmosphere combining hunting, excess and feasting. The fact that the restaurant is located on the busy tourist route, and the fact that the owner also has a small private "zoo" with deer, pigs and even two brown bears, which are protected in Croatia and whose exact biographies remain unclear while the specialized and well-known Bear Refuge is located literally in the neighbouring village of Kuterevo, raises multiple ethical questions and points towards many weaknesses in animal and wild species protection policies as well as the country's tourist and catering industry, and was not ignored by the public.[4] The Macola restaurant and other similar places evoke contexts in which humans dominate animals and appropriate them through physical dismemberment and new ways of assemblage, by reducing them to bone or fixing an animal into a specific pose and using an individual animal as the representative of the entire species, as has been pointed out by Jane Desmond (2002: 160). Practices of appropriation of the animal body as a trophy and an exhibited commodity are clearly mediated, and parts of animal bodies indicate the identities of individuals that kill for sport, leisure, commercial gain and social status, or of those who do not engage in hunting but only corresponding "gathering activities". In the words of Linda Kalof and Amy Fitzgerald (2003: 113) "The collection and exhibition of wild animals have been historically linked to the ideology of domination, patriarchy and colonialism". The symbolic meanings of this triad are still being unravelled in contemporary societies and, at least in Croatia, also embodied in the actions of politicians. For instance, it was found that one of the 2010 presidential candidates had in his possession, well-hidden in the basement, and protected from the eyes of the public, trophy deer as well as other hunted Croatian, European, and non-European animals.

Today, another ambiguous but skilfully designed practice brings the tradition of displaying deer heads and antlers away from designated hunting and predominantly non-urban areas or hidden bunker-like trophy rooms and into public spaces of urban centres, and marks them as decorative elements of coffee-houses, bars, and different types of shops. Although not in the spotlight of the trend that has already been popular for a decade or two in various European and North American cities, the capital of Croatia has not been left out, as the recently opened Craft Room bar in the very centre of Zagreb testifies. As part of the larger project of branding the area of Opatovina in Zagreb as the location where bars will be serving only *craft* beers produced by small domestic and foreign producers that aim for quality and not quantity, the Craft Room stands out not only by its selection of beers but by interior decoration as well.[5]

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[4] For example, http://www.prijatelji-zivotinja.hr/index.hr.php?id=2569

[5] https://www.google.hr/search?q=craft+room+zagreb&biw=1400&bih=913&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEwjq8i_3cfLAhVl4XIKHeBnCAcQ_AUIBigB&dpr=1#imgrc=EK4gtSmeqJewEM%3A

Dark brown rustic furniture is paired with green-painted walls, displaying bucolic paintings, mounted deer heads and skulls or simply differently arranged cut-off antlers. Smaller antlers even serve as draft beer tap handles. As such, they are reminiscent of ancient sacrifices to plenitude and abundance, which in today's consumerist context flows from barrels into customers' glasses. Directly above them, a central figure is placed, made of a taxidermied head of an antelope positioned in a circular frame and surrounded by human arms, most likely made from plaster, forming a circle and reaching outwards. In certain aspects, the overall construction resembles the iconography of Hindu gods and goddesses with multiple hands; only in this case, the core body is missing. Here, a clear abstraction affects both animal and human bodies reducing them to arms and heads, reminding us that in certain contexts both human and non-human animals can be treated as commodities and/or trophies[6]. As discussed by Gilbert Durand (1991: 119), the possession of a trophy from an enemy, a scalp, phallus, head or arm, symbolically endows the possessor with more strength and power. However, in the case of the eerie figure (resembling a divinity image) overlooking the bar, multiple faux human arms surrounding the taxidermied head of a horned animal may also symbolize dominion and authority and are reminiscent of the overreaching affinity of contemporary humans for drink, food and the appropriation of nature. The fact that during the opening night of the Craft Room the female waiting staff were dressed in short white and black uniforms with lace details resembling maid uniforms from the first half of the 20th century and their eroticized contemporary variations, highlights the symbolic social stratification of the patriarchal society and feminine and masculine public roles within the sphere of labour and leisure, (alcohol) consumption and erotic fantasies. Rob Wilson (1999: 303) points out that the notions of fertility, authority/high status and divinity come together in a symbolic complex, often expressed in cult behaviour or the subculture of drinking alcohol in modern societies. For example, in British cultural contexts, they are even recognized in the names of pubs such as The Kings Head, The Jolly Farmer, The Fox and Hounds, etc., and are held as symbolic of an older rural-based culture connected with farming, hunting, drinking and sexuality (Wilson 1999: 303). Interestingly, similar symbolism has been utilized in various cultural settings and through different processes, even via contemporary design trends, that lure customers into the very heart of urban centres and into imaginary bucolic settings, for a drink, a glance at a trophy animal and perhaps at a "playful" waitress.

According to Durand (1991: 119–120), the trophy, the head and the antlers (or horns) of an animal signify exaltation and the appropriation of strength and power, while the winning or tearing off of a trophy can be seen as the first cultural manifestation of abstraction. By mounting an animal skull, organic remains of a once living being are displayed. For some people, the presence of animal bones in one's surroundings may evoke eerie and unsettling emotions, as bones can bring to mind images of hunting and killing as well as more general notions of transience, death and mortality. Bones are recognized as

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[6] Some examples of historical and contemporary contexts in which human bodies have been commoditized, treated as objects and trophies throughout history and further readings have been noted by Joan Sofaer (2006: 63-64).

the primordial elements of a living being (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1983: 285), and their material presence is ambivalent, signifying death as well as life. For example, in biblical narratives bones symbolize the very essence of creation and possess qualities related to the creation and recreation of life (Prosic 2004: 124). In many cultures, they stand for the spiritual essence of a person (Abramovitch 2015: 232), and Mircea Eliade (1968: 70) reminds us that "in the spiritual horizon of hunters and herdsmen bones represent the very source of life, both human and animal".[7] Very often it is the head and/or the skull (human or animal) that is in the focus of different ritual practices, as in the case of various societies where it has been regarded as the centre of physical and spiritual strength, the seat of the soul (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1983: 285; Jordan 2003: 115, 119-123). Accounts from the late 17th and the beginning of the 18th century indicate that the ritual activities among reindeer hunting and herding groups in Norway included the acts of leaving the skin together with the head and antlers of reindeer at the place where the animal was killed (Menius 1965, according to Bevan 2003). The practice of depositing antlers in places where sacrificial rites were performed by placing them in semicircles or mounting them on pillars, thus marking the sites as visible and recognizable points in the ritual landscape has been recognized in different cultural and chronological settings: from Mesolithic communities to historical and contemporary deer hunting and herding groups (Chatterton 2003; Bevan 2003).

Disregarding the fact that deer skulls and antlers potentially carry strong symbolic implications, the contemporary trend of using them for interior decoration has entered the homes of individuals drawn to various lifestyles on a grand scale. Modern artists and designers are offering old hunting trophies a make-over, and claim to be turning them into pieces of art.[8] According to the Croatian artist duo behind the name Kosti-Kosti (Bones-Bones), devoted to decorating and reselling old deer skulls with antlers as well as skulls of other horned animals, this new trend mostly appeals to younger people who come across animal trophy skulls previously hunted or acquired by older generations in their families, now kept out of sight in attics and various storage facilities.[9] As noted by the duo, the skulls and antlers are given new identities by being painted various colours, decorated and placed on posts, ready to adorn a modern interior.[10]

Interestingly, although their work has generally received positive comments, the skulls of dead animals did evoke unsettling emotions among certain individuals who were initially inclined to attach negative connotations to such undertakings, but changed their

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[7] Such notions may be related to the special treatment of animal remains, a practice that has so far been extensively noted among different past and present hunting communities of the North and attested by both the archaeological and the ethnographic record. The appropriate treatment of animals' bodies and their bones ensures the regeneration of hunted animals and helps appease their rage for being killed and mistreated (For example, Losey et al. 2013: 92). Sometimes, the activities can be focused on the head and skull of the animal in particular (Hill 2013: 126; Willerslev 2007: 130; Losey et al. 2013; Jordan 2003: 115, 119-123).

[8] http://www.dom2.hr/uradi-sam/item/3531-rogovi-kao-ukrasinterijera, http://budiin.24sata.hr/interijeri/neobicni-detalji-za-suvremene-interijere-4624

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

mind once they saw the final product, which now seemed appealing.[11] Such and similar ways of using deer skulls as decorations gained significant popularity in a trend currently flourishing in Europe and the U.S., and is well present in the cross-cultural cyberspace. Social media abounds with tips on how to clean deer heads in order to acquire clean bones with antlers as the end result.[12] Such strategies usually involve boiling the head, degreasing and bleaching the bones, the use of flesh-eating beetles or simply burying the head in order to unearth it once the flesh has decomposed.

In addition to entire deer skulls used for home decor, cut-off antlers are also turned into preciously and thoughtfully designed objects that can be found in any type of home as trendy, desirable and easily obtainable commodities. With a miraculous touch of the hand of *homo faber*, they are transformed into chandeliers, lamps, mirror holders, candle holders, jewellery holders, and other types of furniture or small home accessories.[13] According to the advertisements, apparently there is no area in one's home where antlers cannot be used, including the bedroom, bathroom, living room, kitchen and even the children's room.[14] The indoor as well as the outdoor living space is decorated with antlers in myriad different ways. The possibilities of how one can use deer skulls or just antlers in the home are endless, and the exploration of one's creativity in that sense is encouraged through different DIY marketing strategies. As can be detected from the texts accompanying visual representations of deer skulls or antler-made objects, the ideological discourse of the home decor market, which falls onto the fertile grounds of the nature deficit of our contemporary culture, speaks of "bringing the nature in", "bringing the nature home", the "celebration of nature's beauty", "honouring the beauty of our natural world" and a "nature story where antlers play a prominent role".[15] However, the nature story, with which we may desire to interact through our embodied experiences and engagement with organic materialities (namely specific animal body parts) as well as the activities of creating something with our own hands, is also followed by texts that speak of hunting and killing. Sometimes messages are slightly hidden, sometimes explicit enough. For example, visual representations of antler decor creations are followed by a significant play of words. "The rustic woodland feel of the evergreen wreath puts these sweet antlers right at home. The organic feel of the completed piece hits the mark dead on".[16]

The trend of using antlers as decorative objects has even entered the domain of wedding decorations and has been especially popular in the U.S., where similar messages are straightforward yet ambiguous, and with a hint of auto-irony. Antlers placed on wedding tables as decorations followed by written notes such as "the hunt is over"

[11] Ibid.

[12] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f8Dd9dSK_-4, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f8Dd9dSK_-4, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YXr2_8xzZ4o

[13] For example, http://www.home-unique.nl/Template_03_mb_project1_woonkamer2.html, https://www.pinterest.com/pin/151503974942632481/

[14] For example, http://www.houseofhawkes.net/style-file-antlers, http://www.portlandquarter.com/great-antler-debate

[15] 15http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2011-12-01/features/bs-hm-antlers-trend-20111201_1_antlers-home--decor-trophy

[16] http://www.homeologymodernvintage.com

make us wonder who is really the prey - the animal, the bride or the groom? Visual representations of brides wearing antlers as headdresses, bridal dresses paired only with deer skulls and antlers while the embodied female figure is missing, may lead us to ask if the messages and meanings created are those of the coming together of the masculine and the feminine principles (psychologically, spiritually and physically) as the act of marriage should supposedly do, or whether we should ask ourselves what or who is the real commodity here:the dress, the bride, the stag, the woman or the animal?[17] Setting antlers on the bride's head symbolically positions her within the realm of nature and marks her as stereotypical prey, in this case perfectly beautiful and graceful, in the same way (given that deer were imbued with erotic symbolism as early as in Old Testament texts, which have significantly influenced the Western notions of hunting from the late Medieval period onwards) as when the deer hunt became a metaphor for love relations and deer an ideal object of hunt and desire (Cartmille 1996: 37, 67, 69-70). Such metaphors can sometimes be visually explicit and clear-cut when it comes to brides wearing faux stylized textile antlers and grooms a camouflaged vest and a rifle;[18] much more often they are less straightforward, blurred in the overall attempt of creating a specific atmosphere and aesthetic. It seems that antlers, used as headdresses paired with lacy vintage dresses, table decorations, wedding cake holders, whole table holders and in flower bouquets or simply creatively arranged throughout the festive space, have been used to create an ambivalent, edgy and nostalgic fashion – a look not everyone would choose for their ceremonial wear, except for, perhaps, the more free-spirited ones wishing to communicate specific stylistic criteria and lifestyle ideals.[19] In the past decade, antlers have become a popular fashion statement, ranging from small-scale artisanal production of handmade jewellery, hair accessories or textile graphic prints to haute couture fashion industry, where designers such as Alexander McQueen added antlers as head pieces to their dresses, crafting various captivating atmospheres, some slightly sinister or fantastic,[20] and might have had a significant influence on the domain of wedding fashion and design. Whether viewed as a kind of homage to deer, or more likely just a fashionable tendency permeated with romanticising and appropriating nature and the ideology of the neoliberal market and patriarchy, the trend testifies to a great aesthetic appeal of antlers in different modern contexts, even those of a rather unexpected nature.

Coming back to antlers as decorations or home decor objects, one is faced with dismembered and rearranged parts of the male deer's body being turned into highly

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[17] For example, http://happywedd.com/wedding_theme/92-awesome-ways-to-use-antlers-for-your-wedding.html

[18] http://blog.tbdress.com/post/Camouflage-Wedding-Theme-Camo-All-The-Way-14814/

[19] For example, http://happywedd.com/wedding_theme/92-awesome-ways-to-use-antlers-for-your-wedding.html

[20] http://blog.metmuseum.org/alexandermcqueen/dress-widows-of-culloden/, http://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/model-wearing-antlers-and-a-veil-walks-the-runway-at-news-photo/106911922 http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/10/09/alexander-mcqueen-headpieces_n_1000785.html, http://dontpaniconline.com/magazine/festivals/weird-fashion3, http://www.marieclaire.com/fashion/news/a5376/fashion-week-antler-headbands/, https://modelslovemodels.files.wordpress.com/2011/01/antlers-fashion-supper.jpg, https://modelslovemodels.files.wordpress.com/2011/01/topshoprunway.jp

aestheticized objects, a desirable and trendy commodity. Furthermore, such a commodity can be rather easily obtained and one does not need to be a hunter to participate in fostering a market that ultimately supports killing animals for pleasure. If once mounting or otherwise displaying antlers was a mark of a specific hunter's or rural lifestyle (where an individual may also provide himself with a significant amount of protein), the display of antlers now becomes a part of urban culture, public and private spaces and different ways of living. Furthermore, since hunting is still recognized as a predominantly male activity, such products, through the ideas of home decoration, become more attractive to women as well. By reducing the animal to antlers only, without the rest of the head, one does not have to look the animal in the eye. Dealing only with clean bones without the skin, hair and other animal features, as well as using bright colours and decorative patterns, further distances the consumer from the once living animal and makes the trend even more appealing to potential consumers. The distance from the animal consumed as a piece of commodity facilitates the idea that we should not feel any discomfort about the practice in place or about our overall consumption of animals as such (Lerner & Kalof 1999, according to Kalof & Fitzgerald 2002). Of course, the more one is willing to pay, the more elaborate their antler chandelier will be. For some items, prices rise as high as 1500 dollars, 1000 euros or more. However, disregarding the cost, apparently one also has to have style and has to do it right. As suggested by interior designers:

> "You have to do it in a more contemporary way. We don't show them at
> all in a lodging or rustic look. I wouldn't put all of the deer-motif items in
> one room. They are really meant for an accent as opposed to a theme".[21]

Moreover, explicit guidelines are given on how to decorate with antlers "properly" and not to overdo it. Designers recommend "mounting a deer head on the wall of the living room while accenting the candelabra with candles and greenery on a dining room table".[22]

REAL, FAUX AND ECO

Antlers used as home decor are a controversial theme, although it is not the first time that questions concerning the ethics of using animal body parts for household adornment have been raised. Different animals and their body parts have been altered and utilized as household objects; for example, elephants have often been a popular choice (Kalof & Fitzgerald 2003: 114). Those repelled by hunting, but still in favour of the antler trend, stress the fact that antlers are naturally shed by deer and that they can simply be collected from nature. According to available data coming from the U.S., the popularity of collecting shed antlers has grown immensely in the last few years across the country,

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[21] http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2011-12-01/features/bs-hm-antlers-trend-20111201_1_antlers-home-decor--trophy

[22] Ibid.

and the estimated number of so-called shed hunters nationwide has reached hundreds of thousands.[23] The activity is considered a sport, and recently even dogs have been trained to search for antlers specifically.[24] The activity conforms to the discourse of hunting, as it is usually referred to as "shed hunting" rather than, for instance, "collecting", and those who look for antlers are called "shed hunters". It seems that antlers found on the ground still hold the same value as when they are acquired by hunting, as clearly noted by one of the shed hunters: "I consider it a trophy just like a deer that I shot, no matter what the size is. It's just too much work to find one and then just let it go".[25] Shed hunters keep antlers as trophies, make them into decorations themselves or sell them off to antique stores and the antler industry. In 2015, 64 antlers valued at 11,000 Croatian kunas (approximately 1455 euros), obtained at the Batina hunting ground in Eastern Croatia, were confiscated at the Croatian-Hungarian border, during an attempt to smuggle them to Hungary and sell them to the antler industry. In parts of Central Europe, a kilogram is valued around 25 euros. Even though the Croatian media stressed that the antlers in question were shed antlers, readers reacting to the story were not convinced of this fact,[26] and the true origin of the antlers is difficult to identify. The area of Baranja in Croatia is generally considered to be one of the richest hunting areas in Europe. In 2014 the biggest trophy deer of the last 20 years was shot there. Its antlers were bought for 191,000 Croatian kunas (approximately 25,262 euros).[27] The fact that the hunter took only the antlers, "as they are considered to be the pearls of nature",[28] while the meat was left at the hunting ground and sold to local communities or restaurants, is another reminder that hunting in contemporary society often has only symbolic significance.

Although the activity of collecting shed antlers does not involve shooting the animal, it can still be harmful to their health and can affect their survival. The growing popularity of shed hunting, especially in the U.S., corresponds to growing disturbance to wildlife and the appearance of illegal shed hunting which attracts attention from wildlife management and the media.[29] Apparently, the time of antler shedding is also the time when the animals are especially vulnerable, as they have just survived the fall hunting season and the winter months, which can leave them hungry and weak.[30] As noted, chasing deer and elk, often on vehicles or with dogs, can force the animals to shed their antlers prematurely – a stress from which they usually do not recover and which can have fatal consequences.[31]

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[23] http://ruralmissouri.coop/2010Pages/10FebShedAntlerDogs.html

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] http://www.osijeknews.hr/clanak/rogovlje-jelenje-divljaci-zapelo-na-granici-s-madjarskom, http://www.glas-slavonije.hr/266938/8/Baranjac-prodao-Madjaru-64-komada-jelenskih-rogova

[27] http://www.vecernji.hr/hrvatska/bogati-lovac-platio-191-tisucu-kuna-za-jelena-kapitalca-972442

[28] Ibid.

[29] See for example http://www.pinedaleonline.com/thingstodo/antlerhunting.htm, http://nwpr.org/post/wildlife-detectives-illegal-antler-hunting-deadly-game-elk

[30] http://www.pinedaleonline.com/thingstodo/antlerhunting.htm

[31] http://nwpr.org/post/wildlife-detectives-illegal-antler-hunting-deadly-game-elk

For those reasons, U.S. states such as Wyoming, Washington and Oregon have imposed different rules to make sure that shed hunters do not harm elk and deer, and have even restricted access to certain wildlife areas in times of the year when antlers are naturally shed.[32] Finally, antlers can also be obtained from deer farms. As has been discussed in certain web articles, some farms in the U.S. breed trophy deer to grow hyper-real and large genetically altered antlers, which appear to be in demand on the market. It has been noted that these antlers can be three times larger than the ones naturally grown among wild deer and can actually represent a threat to the animal's health, as they can be much too heavy for their actual body size and weight.[33] Such animals end up being a valuable commodity; those with the largest and most attractive antlers become rewarding breeders while other large-antlered deer are sold to fenced hunting preserves.[34] Even though currently there are no farms producing genetically modified hyper real antlers in Croatia, in many ways the problematic practice of deer breeding is at its outset. As can be detected from the documented breeding trials, the manipulation of reproduction and the reproductive cycles of does in order to obtain a better quality of meat and antlers seems to be among standard procedures (Florijančić 2008).

Different ways of obtaining antlers have proven to be problematic. It is not difficult to anticipate that great demand for antlers can hardly be met only by collecting those shed nature. The practice also involves engaging with the hunting or farming industry, which raises serious ethical and genetic issues and supports practices that ultimately lead to killing. As shown above, whether they derive from a wild or bred animal, antlers are the ultimate trophy. We can assume that the majority of antlers appearing in homes as various types of trendy decorations and furnishings is obtained without any type of engagement with the animal itself, and their true descent is sometimes difficult to trace, if one even wishes to do so. Although the discourse of the design market in which antlers play a prominent role is built around the ideas of love and admiration for nature and the celebration of its beauty, by reading different texts related to practice, we recognize patterns of abstraction, depersonalization and objectification of the animal and the animal body, all appealingly disguised in the context of the modern lifestyle, ultimately supporting the consumerist use of animals. Such findings correspond with the conclusions reached by Kalof & Fitzgerald (2003: 119), who analysed the representations of dead animals in contemporary U.S. hunting magazines, and noted that although animals seem to be embedded in stories of love and affection for nature and wildlife, in truth they and their bodies are represented through extreme objectification.

It appears, however, that decorating with deer heads and antlers does not necessarily include the display of animal skins and bones. Those who are not in favour of hunting and do not wish to mount animal remains in their living spaces can choose from colourful and flashy "ecological" variations available at the market and apparently suitable for any kind of living space, even children's rooms. In this ironic taxidermy twist, deer heads

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[32] http://www.pinedaleonline.com/thingstodo/antlerhunting.htm

[33] https://medium.com/re-form/antler-farm-dbd3ba1ec3f2#.h07o7rd9y

[34] Ibid.

with antlers or only antlers are made out of paper, wire, wood, resin and different kinds of fabrics.[35] In such processes of enculturation the "wild" and perhaps intimidating traits of the animal are removed and replaced with familiar materialities. The products are often advertised through an animal-friendly discourse advocating: "Lose your wall carcass!"[36] Instead of hanging skins and bones, in this imaginary realm one finds faux antlers glowing in bright colours, covered in flowers, city maps or other kinds of interesting patterns. One of the slogans used by designers to advertise the diversity of such products says: "Your house is your sanctuary and together with your animal-friendly family your vision will become your reality".[37] Although no animals are ever harmed in these faux taxidermy practices, and the presence of the animal species is only symbolic, the represented animal is still reduced and abstracted by being displayed in a trophy manner, static and mute. However, with their attractive flamboyance, these faux animal heads lurking from the walls are far less threatening than real skin and bones and will not stir unsettling emotions but rather provoke pleasing ones. As noted by one of my colleagues who stumbled on a shop selling such faux antlers:

> "I would never display animal remains on a wall, but when I saw this blue deer head with antlers branching into multiple twigs with blooming colourful flowers I thought they were so beautiful that I wished I could buy them" (Marković, personal communication).

"DEER MEDICINE": POSSIBLE MEANINGS, BIOGRAPHIES, EMOTIONS

Although seemingly motionless and silent, dead animal remains, antler-made objects and faux deer heads and antlers are by no means inert. In his work, *Art and Agency. An Anthropological Theory*, Alfred Gell suggests that art and other objects have agency and can act as social agents in particular social situations (1998: 17-19). They are also invested with intentionality by their creators and may cause powerful effects, provoke strong emotions (such as wonder, awe or fear) and actions of others (Gell 1998: 23, 49). Thus, human interest in deer mounts, skulls used as decorations or in antler-made objects may initiate a point to define, question and redefine such a fascination and to renegotiate our relations with animals and the rest of the natural world. We can ask ourselves: does the urge to acquire a deer skull or antler decorations and exhibit them in our space come from the contemporary hunting ideology, a manipulated consumerist agenda, or do such objects actually spark true joy in us, and if so, why? Perhaps the desire to keep antlers in one's home and surround oneself with objects of organic materiality may not be initiated by the hunting agenda or a consumerist

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[35] https://www.flickr.com/photos/sgoralnick/4158747134/in/faves-3tuxedocats/, https://www.pinterest.com/pin/164733298844409944/, https://www.etsy.com/listing/68044979/fabric-deer-head-wall-mount, https://www.pinterest.com/pin/78390849742116010/,https://www.pinterest.com/pin/405746247648182290/

[36] http://wallcharmers.com/

[37] http://www.whitefauxtaxidermy.com/faux_deer_antlers_decor

urge, but a deeply embedded need to interact with nature, as an attempt to "heal" the "nature deficit disorder", a term coined by Richard Louv, the author of the book *The Last Child in the Woods* (2006), as a way to describe the psychological, physical and cognitive costs of human alienation from nature. However, even if there is such a need, we often tend not to be aware of the patterns of human-animal relationships our choices may reinforce. Without doubt, deer remains or deer representations can mean different things to different people who make choices to bring them into their spaces. The reasons behind such decisions, however, remain to be revealed only through personal stories and narratives.

As has been noted by Steve Ashby (2009:1), the meaning and status of objects can be changed by altering the way they look, the way they are used and displayed or by changing their owners. New owners may also encode new meanings into them through their own personalities and different narratives (Nylund Skog 2013). For example, the old hunting trophies that the Croatian artist duo Kosti-Kosti has been working with, as mentioned earlier in this text, may (by acquiring new owners, by being reassembled, decorated and renewed) shift their meaning from being perceived exclusively as a hunting trophy to being seen solely as decorations; they can boost memories of hunting family legacies and life stories or be active agents in attempts to negate and/or change them. In contrast, for a modern shamanic practitioner, different animal bones and antlers can be important ritual paraphernalia used to affect certain changes in the environment and spiritual domains. As becomes evident, animal body parts used for such practices can be acquired in different ways, and sometimes new meanings need to be inscribed into them. As noted by one of the practitioners:

> "Sometimes people ask me why I have animal pelts, bones and hides all
> around me. I tell them it's because they contain my kind of magic. I rescue
> them from thrift stores, vintage shops, and receive them as gifts to get
> close to their magic, to honour their lives, and to remember what is wild
> inside of all of us."[38]

She further declares: "Yes, look for them! They are stuffed away in trunks and up on high shelves waiting for people like you to reconstitute their magic and appreciate their lives". In a discussion developed on Instagram, another practitioner acknowledges the same reasons for keeping bones and feathers at home, adding that the bones are lately letting her know that it is time she took them home – to the woods.[39]

Ascribing attributes similar to those of a living person to bones is in accordance with their ambivalent materiality. As emphasized by Fontein et al. (2008), bones possess a curious quality of presence, even if considered "as things that have meaning only as they are caught up in human transactions and endeavours, this consideration is haunted by the animate personhood, which is imminent within the thing, held in its very form and

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[38] http://www.pixielighthorse.com
[39] Ibid.

substance"[40]. Bones, both human and animal, can evoke deep emotions, they can contain them and provoke specific actions. Georgia O'Keefe, a well-known painter, collected bones of animals that died naturally in the desert landscapes of her surroundings. About them, she stated:

> To me they are as beautiful as anything I know. To me they are strangely more living than the animals walking around...The bones seem to cut sharply to the centre of something that is keenly alive on the desert. Though it is vast and empty and knows no kindness with all its beauty. (O'Keefe, according to Loengard 2006: 10)

Yet, as asserted by art critics, her famous paintings of animal skulls can be seen to represent the death and destruction of the landscape, but they can also be viewed as celebratory works, an homage to the animals that first inhabited the Western American landscape that O'Keefe was strongly related to.[41]

Clearly, visual texts, like any other cultural texts, are undetermined in their meanings, which are created by those who read or interact with them, often based on their own individual experiences and personalities (Denzin 1992: 32; Kalof & Fitzegarld 2003: 112). Images of antlers used as decoration or headdresses in the contemporary wedding context already mentioned in this text are open to various interpretations. Due to their shape and structure, antlers and horns are generally related to phallic symbolism and they signify masculine power. According to Durand (1991: 119), the symbolic trophy is only a result of the constantly dangerous exaltation of the power of the taboo through defeminisation and deanimalization. Therefore, placement of abstracted antlers on brides' heads can be seen as an inscription of the male principle during this rite of passage, while reinforcing the social stratification of patriarchy. However, the use of antlers does open a playful and carnivalesque niche, and the same images can be read in a different way. By placing antlers on their heads, whimsical brides can choose to participate in self-irony and/or their own creative fantasies. Perhaps a bride would choose to place antlers on her head as a way to metaphorically claim back and appropriate power and strength. Though recognized as a masculine symbol, antlers are not a solely male feature. After all, in some deer species antlers are borne by both sexes. By claiming symbols of strength, cyclic life regeneration and ascension towards the otherworldly realms, they choose the way they represent their own femininity. Even if only for a single day, they can embody Artemidas, or Deer Women well known from Celtic and Native American myths and folklore; they can become their own she-shamans and implement "deer medicine" in their own way.

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[40] The reference originates from the introduction to the research workshop What Lies Beneath: Exploring the Affecting Presence & Emotive Materiality of Human Bones which took place at the University of Edinburgh, UK, December 4-5, 2008.
http://www.san.ed.ac.uk/__data/assets/pdf_file/0010/19783/Bones_Workshop_Statement.pdf

[41] http://xroads.virginia.edu/~ma02/freed/okeeffe/bones.html

CONCLUSION

New meanings inscribed into animal materialities do not necessarily classify them as passive objects. For example, it has been acknowledged that material culture objects continually transform in meanings through their own accumulative biographies (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). They can also be bestowed with meanings through personal biographies of human beings (Hoskins 1998; 2005: 75). In its contemporary modalities, the "antler cult", recognized throughout the cross-cultural virtual space of the Internet, including Croatian, European and North American designers' web pages, blogs and e-newspaper articles, moves through a discourse of "natural kill off", ironically steps into one about "nature preservation" and finally enters individual articulations of meanings that give the once reduced animal new connotations. Those practices also highlight current negotiations of boundaries between nature and culture, animal and human, femininity and masculinity mainly within the context of a cultural and historical Western legacy that has imbued deer with stereotypical meanings as an animal of ultimate beauty and innocence, grace and femininity, as well as strength and masculinity, and sometimes even the supernatural: an animal that is a symbol of nature and the archetypical prey (Cartmill 1996).

Different practices of animal objectification in the contemporary culture denote specific parts of the animal body, carrying strong symbolic meanings as trophies, decorations and carefully designed objects. Very often, their manipulation and display in various spaces maps landscapes reproducing aspects of contemporary hunting culture, the accompanying hunting industry and the design market, where nature is wanted but is also a trophy, as one that wants to be appropriated and materially consummated. However, the organic and inorganic deer crania, which lurk from walls in homes without their post-cranial parts or dislocated animal body parts caught in the web of stylistic or ritual practices, remind us that the borders between culture and nature and the role of humans in these arenas is constantly questioned. Animals and their bodies, even in their posthumous forms, as well as objects made from them, are active participants in these negotiations. With their presence, individual biographies of human beings have been created – by stepping into irony, auto-irony, romanticism, the ambivalent and sublime aesthetic, fantasy and perhaps even archetypology, where borders between femininity and masculinity, animal and human are being questioned. At the same time, specific identities of individuals ascribe new meanings and lives to once reduced animal persons. Even if one is to end in wishful thinking or a personal fantasy, the presence of antlers in contemporary wedding contexts can also be read as humankind's call for symbolically marrying nature after centuries of divorcing its very own habitat.

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U IME ROGOVA. GLAVE NA ZIDU ILI ROGOVI NA NEVJESTI

Maja Pasarić

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Glava i rogovi jelena specifični su dijelovi životinjskog tijela snažnog simboličkog naboja koji kao pars pro toto označavaju cijelu životinju. Pojedine prakse objektifikacije animalnog unutar naše suvremene kulture ove dijelove životinjskog tijela označuju kao trofeje, ukrase te dizajnerski osmišljene predmete koje tada prepoznajemo i kao markere identiteta pojedinaca, specifičnih prostora i načina življenja. No, nova značenja njihove materijalnosti ne čine ih nužno inertnim i pasivnim objektima. Predmeti materijalne kulture aktivni su konstituenti svijeta u nastajanju dok se istovremeno kontinuirano transformiraju u značenjima putem svojih vlastitih akumulativnih biografija ili posredstvom osobnih biografija pojedinaca (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986; Hoskins 1998; 2005: 75). U svojim suvremenim modalitetima kult rogova, kakav razaznajemo posredstvom virtualnog prostora interneta, hrvatskih ali i drugih europskih i sjevernoameričkih dizajnerskih stranica, osobnih blogova i internetskih novinskih članaka iz registra, odstrjela prirode ironijski zadire i u registar njezina očuvanja te u posve osobne artikulacije značenja koja u nekoć reduciranu životinju unose nove oblike živote. Navedene prakse također osvjetljavaju i suvremena pregovaranja granica između prirode i kulture, životinje i čovjeka, pa i muškosti i ženskosti, premrežena povijesno-kulturnim zapadnjačkim nasljeđem koje je jelenu pripisalo stereotipna značenja savršeno lijepe i nedužne, gracilno ženstvene, snažno muževne i ponekad nadnaravne životinja koja figurira kao simbol prirode i divljine te arhetipske lovine (Cartmill 1996).

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The Donkey in the Narrative Culture and Changing Sociohistorical Epistemology

Monika Kropej Telban

This article analyses folklore and narrative tradition about donkeys through the prism of ecological paradigm. It explores the impact of the changing philosophy, stereotypes, and peoples' attitudes towards animals, the donkey in particular. Researched are also changing aspects in the donkey breeding and narrative culture which was for a long time oriented towards speciesism and anthropocentrism, and is now turning towards ecocentric philosophy, which is part of the newly emerging discipline of zoofolkloristics. This ontological shift is projected on the different perceptions of animals in folk literature, language, and everyday life.

KEYWORDS: donkey, folklore, zoofolkloristics, multispecies ethnography, ecology, literature, mythology.

INTRODUCTION

Since the turn of the millennium, we have been witnessing many changes in the perception of nature and culture, mainly because human disruption of ecology has become one of the major problems of our world. Vittorio Hösle claimed that a new moral and political paradigm – an ecological paradigm – is taking part in our lives now (Hösle 1996: 26). Conscious people became aware that nature and all the living creatures within it are our partners, and do not take them for granted. Along with that, we are witnessing the development of more ecologically oriented sciences. The new discoveries have compelled philosophy and anthropology to redefine the objectivity of "nature" and "culture" (Descola 2013). Critical evolutionary anthropologists began to re-examine issues of race and gender in the context of new genetic technologies; and more anthropologists have become curious about the lives of animals on farms, in agricultural production, as food, and in rapidly changing ecosystems. Creatures previously appearing on the margins of anthropology – as part of the landscape, as food for humans, as symbols – have been pressed into the foreground in recent ethnographies. As Eben Kirksey and Stefan Helmreich stated: "Multispecies ethnography asks cultural anthropology to reengage with biological anthropology and to craft new genres of naturalcultural criticism" (2010: 565).

Eduardo Kohn was of the opinion that the goal in multi-species ethnography should not just be to give voice, agency or subjectivity to the nonhuman – to recognize them as others, visible in their difference – but to force us to radically rethink these categories of our analysis as they pertain to all beings (Kohn 2013). Clearly the animal psyche exists, which is just as vulnerable as the human one, and animals, like humans, are spiritual creatures with a soul and a spirit; therefore, we can talk about spiritual equality and bodily diversity.

Among ancient cultures and still today among aboriginal societies, humans, animals, and spirits are seen as "endless mimetic doubles of one another". Philippe Descola claimed that the transmission, a way of guaranteeing and reproducing the physical and moral dependence of the living on the dead, instantly eliminates the possibility of treating animals and plants as subjects, since all its efficacy rests upon a relationship of a hierarchical subordination between one generation and others: the central articulation of collectives is formed of human lines of descent that are differentiated one from another and maintain relations solely through reference to groups of ancestors from which they have inherited riches, rights, and all the components of personalities and destinies (2013: 394).

Today, we can see that ontology is becoming increasingly oriented towards ecocriticism and that anthropocentrism is making way for multispecies ethnography. Marjetka Golež Kaučič stated that according to the so-called "ontological shift" in the social sciences, zoofolkloristics predominantly researches animals as beings in their own right, not as animals in service of humans from the anthropocentric point of view (2015: 17).

In this article, the impact of the changing philosophy and stereotypes on man's attitudes towards animals and the donkey in particular is explored. The focus of this research is therefore primarily oriented to the ontological turnabout in the perception of the donkey as a representative of the horse family and towards the reflection of this in folklore and literature.

NATURALCULTURAL BACKGROUND OF THE DONKEY TRADITION

Different attitudes towards animals and nature are also reflected in literature and folklore. Miranda Levanat-Peričić pointed out that the origin and the evolution through the history of civilizations caused the differences of perception of the horse and the donkey in the conceptual world of Western civilizations (Levanat-Peričić 2012: 995). While the horse was often extolled in literature, the donkey received somewhat less extravagant praise. It was characterized as stupid and stubborn. These stereotypes prevailed in fables and various animal tales, songs and other parts of the literary tradition, and often in everyday life as well.

The donkey, *Equus asinus* in Latin, is (together with the zebra) a significant representative of the horse family. The Mediterranean domestic donkey has evolved from the African wild donkey (*Equus Africanus*) that was domesticated around 4000 B.C. The African wild donkey differs from the Asian wild donkey, which is now an endangered species and was once widespread in the territory spanning from Iran to India and Mongolia.

Domesticated donkeys were bred mainly in Africa, Asia, and the Mediterranean, and these territories still constitute their primary home. These areas are also the home of the hybrid between the stallion and the jenny (female donkey) – the hinny (*Equus hinnus*), and between the donkey and the mare – the mule (*Equus mullus*). One can also encounter donkeys of the *kiang* species (Equus kiang) in Central Asia; the steppe *kulan*, or the *džigitaj* (Equus hemionus) in the semi-desert of Turkmenia and Iran; and the *onáger* (Equus onager) in the Middle East and in the area spanning to North India (Keber 1996: 247).

Linguistic palaeontologists, who have established a theory of the north as the prehistoric homeland of the Indo-Europeans, use as one of the proofs for this theory the fact that none of the Proto-Indo-European languages has a term for the donkey. It was thought that it was possible to breed horses but not donkeys in the north (Beekes 1995: 36, 47). James P. Mallory, however, points out that in the area of the Pontic-Caspian steppe, which is the supposed Proto-Indo-European "Urheimat", the remnants of the subspecies of the Asian breeding donkey, the *onager*, have been preserved (Mallory 2006). Jaan Puhvel notes that while the Sumerian language does not have a term for the horse it does have the term "anšu kurra", the breeding donkey; this, according to Puhvel, indicates the culturological primacy of the donkey among the ancient Sumerians, who used them for transporting heavy loads and for pulling chariots used in warfare as early as in 2600 B.C. (Puhvel 1987: 36).

In his "Itinerary" from the 13th century, missionary Riccoldo da Monte Croce mentions the wild donkey, whose beauty surpasses all the other beasts of this world. This description refers to the Asian mountain donkey Riccoldo had seen in the vicinity of Baghdad while traveling around Mongolia. According to Levanat-Peričić, this donkey could very well be the *džigitaj* (Levanat-Peričić 2012: 997).

While wild donkeys have an average life span of twenty years, the average lifespan of domesticated donkeys is forty-seven years. Most European donkeys can be found in Sicily (the Ragusa breed). In Slovene Istria, the autochthonous breed is the Istrian donkey. Mediterranean donkeys living in Istria and Dalmatia are grey and smaller than the donkeys of Greece and Spain, which can also have brown coats.

The antagonistic attitude of people towards the donkey and the favourable one towards the horse are reflected in a number of prominent events in cultural history. The differentiation between the horse and the donkey is metaphorically reflected in the attitude towards the privileged and the oppressed. It can be perceived in the language, myths, religions, and literature, and as such has resulted in insurmountable semantic differences (Levanat-Peričić 2012: 995). Despite this prevalent perception, however, the donkey was not always, and not everywhere, perceived in a negative light. Some peoples, particularly in the East, held it in high esteem and treated the donkey similarly as cattle, which was appreciated as a species vital to the survival of people; as a result, they were well fed and treated more humanely and with particular care. Historical data also indicates that some peoples, for examples the Persians and the Greeks, often used donkeys for warfare. Others used them to pull military loads, and although slower than horses, donkeys are much more cautious and hardwearing.

Based on religious concepts and perceptions, people of the past divided animals into two halves, the divine and the demonic. We may even speak of the dualism of the animal world in which some animals are attributed a divine, and others a demonic character. In the case of the horse and the donkey, the dualistic symbolism of the two animals is rather obvious. While the horse was usually attributed divine and mediatorial properties (Kropej 1998), the donkey was generally associated with the negative, demonic aspect. Very rarely did it assume the role of the mediator and this only in cases when it had the role of a sacrificial animal.

Due to a multitude of economic and cultural factors and events throughout history, in numerous religious beliefs and myths, the donkey symbolized mainly a negative aspect and was perceived as a personification of human weakness.

In India for instance, evil deities such as Nairrita, the guardian of the world of the dead, and Kâlarâtrĭĭ, the negative aspect of Devi, ride a donkey. Asura-Dhenuka even assumes the form of the donkey.

In Egypt, the red donkey is perceived as one of the most dangerous creatures whom the soul of a deceased can encounter while journeying to the afterworld. The red donkey may be equalled to the ossified monster of the Apocalypse, or possibly to the scarlet beast from the Revelation of St. John in the New Testament; the latter influenced the French saying *As evil as the red donkey* (Keber 1996: 159).

In ancient Egypt, the god Seth was associated with the wild donkey and was depicted with a donkey head. Plutarch, who believed that recklessness, stupidity, impiety, and impurity were attributes of the donkey, equated Seth with the Greek Typhon. Like Typhon, who kills Dionysus, Seth kills Osiris. Moreover, the donkey can have a red coat, which is the colour of Typhon's fur. Egyptians believed that due to these similarities the donkey is an impure animal possessed by an evil spirit (Levanat-Peričić 2012: 998).

Even in ancient Greece, donkeys did not always have a negative connotation; therefore, the donkey had a significant role in the Apollonian cults. In Delphi, it was used as a sacrificial animal. Since it was the donkey that carried the chest that served as the crib for Dionysus, the animal is also an attribute of Dionysus.

Pindar speaks of Perseus partaking in a feast organized by the Hyperboreans, which sacrificed wild donkeys to the gods. In the "Frogs", a play by Aristophanes, Bacchus puts a load on the back of his slave, who thus represents a donkey that carries secrets. The image of the donkey carrying secrets is by no means an isolated case and is explained as a symbol of the king and his secular authorities.

The inferiority of the donkey can also be perceived in the Greek myth of King Midas. Apollo punished King Midas by giving him donkey ears for having claimed that the pan-pipe was more pleasing to the ear than music from the temple of Delphi. Translated into the language of symbolism, this preference means that the search for sensual seduction is more important than the harmony of the spirit and preponderance of the soul.

However some schoolars have stressed that the donkey can under certan circumstances have solar aspect (Gura 2014: 97). The donkey, and especially the jenny, is perceived in the Holy Bible as being a humble and modest animal and, as such, has an important role in Christian symbolism. For example, it appears in the scene of Abraham's sacrifice of

his son Isaac. Job's herds had 500 jennies and many foals. In order to pacify his brother, Jacob presented Esau with ten donkeys and 20 jennies (Keber 1996: 248). Genesis states: "Issachar is a strong donkey, lying down between the sheepfolds" (Gen 49:14). The Bible describes the jenny as a symbol of peace, poverty, humility, patience, and bravery, as in the following two examples: Samuel sets off to find the lost jennies. A jenny carrying Balaam saved him thrice from death when Yahweh sent an angel armed with a sword upon him. The animal had disobeyed Balaam three times, trying to call his attention to Yahweh's angel's sword, but since Balaam could not see the angel he merely punished the jenny by beating her (Balaam's Donkey).

Christ's Arrival to Jerusalem, 1889, beehive panel (Makarovič, Rogelj Škafar 2000: no. 714) Slovene Ethnographic Musum in Ljubljana (photo: Marko Habič)

The Good Samaritan, 1883, beehive panel (Makarovič, Rogelj Škafar 2000: no. 14) Slovene Ethnographic Musum in Ljubljana (photo: Marko Habič)

When Christ was born, the first creatures able to recognize the child as the saviour were the donkey and the ox standing by the manger. In the New Testament, riding on horseback symbolizes violence while riding on a donkey indicates modesty and humility. In the Bible and iconographic depictions of the Flight from Egypt and Christ's arrival to Jerusalem, Jesus rode on the back of a jenny. Christianity appreciated the donkey's humble and God-fearing character, which is clearly indicated in a prophecy made by Isaiah: "The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib (Is. 1:3).

Even though the donkey, like the goat, was associated with base instincts and the devil, on beehive panels – as in Christian iconography in general – it was often depicted in Biblical motifs, where it was portrayed as a humble and God-fearing animal. Such examples are the motifs of The Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt; The Birth of Christ – Mythic Nativity; Christ's Arrival to Jerusalem; and The Good Samaritan.

The donkey also features in the biographies of saints, for example in an apocryphal legend about St. Anthony of Padua. The saint tried in vain to convert a Jew to Christianity. Finally, he lost his patience, exclaiming that even a donkey would be quicker to kneel down in front of the holy sacrament than the Jew would comprehend the truth of his evidence. The donkey promptly knelt down, and upon seeing this, many of the Jews converted to Christianity.

In apocryphal legends, a donkey at its own initiative carried firewood for St. Hieronymus to the monastery (Keber 1996: 259–260).

Aleksander Gura has pointed out that in Balkan apocryphal legends, in old Orthodox sacral scripts, and in Greek novel written by pseudo-Lucius – probably Lucius of Samosata: *Loúkios è ónos*, *Loukios/Lucius* or *The Ass* we can follow three versions of the mythopoetic motif of the marriage of the Sun (Gura 2014: 103).

The donkey personifies also man's libido, which is among other evident from Lucius Apuleius' novel "Metamorphoses, or the Golden Ass." The story, which begins in the perfumed chambers of a lustful courtesan, tells of Lucius and his transformation into a donkey. His trials are depicted in many mishaps and misadventures he experiences in the donkey body and concludes with mystical contemplation in front of a statue of Isis, where he is restored to human form. Lucius follows the path of redemption, the path of purity, and undertakes the highest goals. As he goes through a number of increasingly severe trials he truly experiences divine revelation, but this happens only after he sheds the body of the donkey and once again becomes human. Lucius' spiritual development, which takes place through initiation, is illustrated with a number of adventures he experiences as a donkey. His transformation denotes transition from calamity, mediocre impulses, and slavery in the hands of blind pleasure to exquisite bliss and to serving an omnipotent deity. It represents the first, inner resurrection. After becoming human again, Lucius takes the path of redemption, the path of purity. He has access to the innermost secrets. It is only after being transformed from a donkey into a human that he can experience the intimacy of God's revelation.

The process of development experienced by the literary character in the body of a donkey is always linked to a specific period of crisis in his life. Although the donkey generally represented ignorance in the language of symbolism that is but the secondary
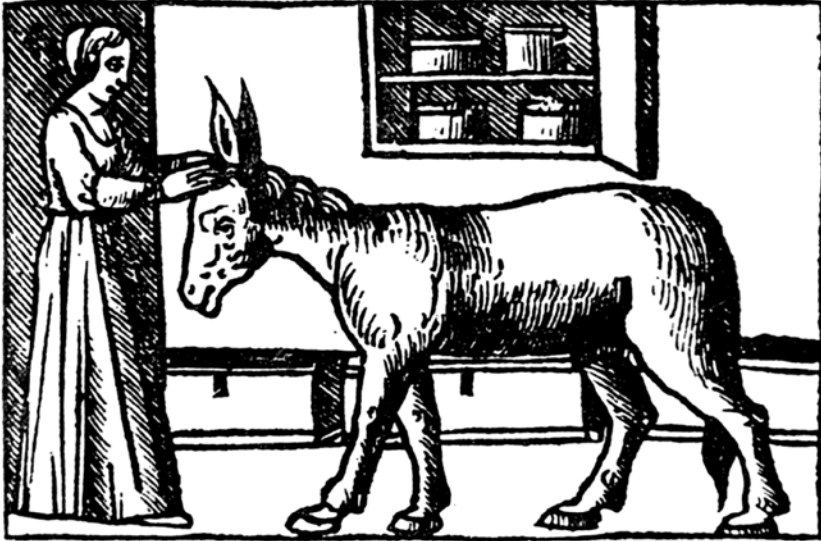
Lucius Apuleius Madaurensis (c. 124 – c. 170), The Golden Ass (Apuleius 1981).

meaning; according to the more general concept in such rituals, this animal denotes a symbol of darkness, and even of satanic proclivities. This is the origin of the donkey's association with human instincts, sexuality, and libido.

During medieval feasts of fools, royal honours were bestowed upon the donkey. These holidays represented a parody of the existing values, which during the festivities were temporarily reversed. The principal purpose of this reversed world was to side line all inferior proclivities and thus eliminate malevolent consequences in society. These rituals represented a controlled release of instincts and also served to deter negative tendencies, which in this period were subjected to ridicule. In this carnival twist, the donkey took over man's instinctual element, the life that goes by only on the earthly, sensual plane.

DONKEY IN (FOLK)LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE

The donkey was despised and also belittled in Aesop's opus of fables which contains over thirty tales about the donkey wherein the animal is almost invariably presented in the light of stereotypes that have come to characterize it. In ancient fables, in which the donkey has different roles, it is often possible to detect an imperious attitude of the nobility toward the lowly born. A characteristic trait of the aristocrats was the contemptuous attitude toward the donkey and their emphasis on its stupidity and cowardice. This attitude may be observed in the majority of the most common fables, such as: "The Sick Lion" ATU 50, "The Lion's Share" ATU 51, "A Donkey Induces Overworked Ox to Feign Sickness" ATU 207A, "Hard-Hearted Horse and Donkey" ATU 207B, "The Two Donkeys and Their Loads" ATU 211, "The Donkey Tries to Caress His Master" ATU 214,

"The Donkey Tries to Get a Cricket's Voice" ATU 292, "Thief Claims to Have Been Transformed into a Donkey" ATU 1529, "Teaching the Donkey to Speak" ATU 1750B – to mention but a few.

The fable "The Donkey in Lion's Skin Unmasked" ATU 214B tells of a donkey who finds a lion's skin in the woods. It puts it on and scares others but when it brays everybody recognizes it as a donkey. The fable alludes to the fools who feign importance.

The idioms "the donkey's verdict" or "thrashing the donkey's shadow" has spread from the anecdotes about the Abderits (the inhabitants of Abdera in ancient Greece. In this anecdote, the donkey is accused of having attempted to eat the cabbage growing in the field of a city counsellor. Therefore, it was brought before the court and punished with the beating of its shadow. This anecdote has become very popular, and has also been preserved in literature, as for instance in a humorous Slovene novel written by Josip Jurčič "The Goat's Verdict in Višnja Gora" (*Kozlovska sodba v Višnji Gori* 1867; Jurčič 1884).

Similar idioms are: "to debate about a donkey's shadow" and "to go to court over a donkey's shadow", in the sense of quarrelling for no reason. They originate from Aesop's fable "Donkey and Its Shadow" and are classified as folktale type ATU 1804D "The Shadow of the Donkey". The fable tells of a young man who on a hot day hired a donkey to ride from Athens to Megara. At noon, when the sun was too scorching, he dismounted to rest in the shade made by the donkey. However, the drover started to chase the young man away, claiming that he had hired only the donkey but not its shadow. While they were arguing, the donkey got tired of waiting and galloped away, and the two men were forced to continue their journey on foot (Keber 1996: 256, ref. 20).

From the opus of Slovenian fables and animal tales, Alojzij Bolhar presented a slightly different story about the donkey's shadow, which is titled "Lion and the Donkey's Shadow". In this folktale, a donkey sets out on a journey across the desert. Evening was approaching, and the sun started to set. The donkey notices that his shadow was becoming increasingly longer. "I'm so large that it's me who should be the king of all the beasts, and I'm not scared of the lion one bit!" he exclaims. However, he fails to notice an approaching lion, and soon enough there was neither donkey nor its shadow (Bolhar 1975: 84-85).

In the fairy tale type "An Old Donkey Meets the Bear" ATU 103C*, and in the similar tale type "Contest between Donkey and Lion" ATU 125B*, the donkey defeats the superior antagonist, although only due to fortunate circumstances rather than the donkey's prowess (Kropej 2015: 221, 260; Bolhar 1973: 199–204).

Remorselessness towards donkeys is also reflected through people's cruelty. An example is Aesop's fable entitled "The Donkey, the Crow, and the Wolf", in which a man mocks the suffering of a donkey. The tale tells of a donkey with a wound on its back grazing in the meadow. Then a crow descends upon him and begins to peck at his wound. The donkey starts to bray and jump in pain while the drover just stands there laughing. When a wolf sees this, he says to himself: "We wolves are indeed wretched! If we just glance at a herd, we are immediately chased away – but this one is only laughed at!" (Levanat-Peričić 2012: 1003).

The proverbially negative attitude of Europeans towards the donkey is demonstrated in the fable "Human and Animal Life Spans Are Readjusted" ATU 173, which can also

be found in Aesop's fables. After God has created the world and each animal received a certain life span, the donkey laments that thirty years is too much to bear. From the early morning until the dark evening, it has to carry heavy bundles and drag large leather sacks of grain to the mill so that others can eat bread while it receives only the sticks, dry leaves, or feed rejected by other animals. God took pity on it and took away several years, then did the same for other animals; it is only the humans who want to prolong their lives (Kropej 2015: 308).

A similar attitude may be detected in the motifs, for example, in G303.7.2: The devil rides off on a donkey, A2537.2: Why is the donkey stupid?, A2325.3: Why does the donkey have long ears? The donkey is presented in a favourable light only in the abovementioned biblical motif V237: Balaam's donkey, and in motifs related to mythology and beliefs, such as B843.2: Immortal donkey and B19.11: Mythical donkey.

In the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the perception of the donkey was not much more favourable. The donkey of the proverbial "Buridan's Ass" ATU 1210 (an idiom that is still in use today) mocks a person who is unable to make a decision. Jean Buridan, who taught at the Sorbonne in Paris in the 14th century, gave as an example of indecision a hungry and thirsty donkey. The donkey is standing exactly midway between a bucket of water and a stack of oats but is unable to decide which to sample first, so it dies of hunger and thirst (Keber 1996: 257).

Two similar metaphors that denote "to have no clue about something", "Asinus ad lyram" (donkey by the lyre) and "Asinus ad tibiam" (donkey by the flute), may have their parallel in the fairy tale of the type "The Donkey" ATU 430, in which a donkey plays the lyre. The tale tells of a king's son who was born as a donkey but soon learned a number of skills, one of which was playing the lyre. When he beholds himself in the mirror one day, he flees to the neighbouring kingdom, where he entertains the court by playing the lyre. He falls in love with the king's daughter, but when he wants to return home, the king persuades him to stay and offers him the princess for his bride. On the wedding night, the donkey sheds his skin and transforms into a handsome prince.

As we can see, a humiliating and mocking attitude toward the donkey, which is still prevalent today evolved over the centuries and the millennia in Western societies. Emphasizing the animal's stupidity and stubbornness is reflected in the language, folk tales, fables, proverbs, idioms, etc. The donkey is often ridiculed for its stupidity, laziness, gluttony, fickleness, stubbornness, sluggishness, his long ears, hoarse voice, and his appearance in general. In English, it is sometimes called an ass, jackass, moke, duffer, dunce, and so on. In Slovenian, some of the frequently used synonyms for the donkey are *dolgouhec* or *uhljač* (the long-eared), *rigač* (the one who brays), and *sivček* (the grey one). Many European languages have the following, or similar, idioms: stupid as an ass; stubborn as an ass; to work with the patience of an ass.

Furthermore, the proverbs degrade the donkey: to descend from the horse to the ass (meaning to come down in the world); to mount a donkey (to make a mistake); to make an ass of somebody (to take the mickey out of somebody); the donkey only goes on the ice once (even a fool learns by bitter experience); where the ass lies he leaves his hairs (a white wall is a fool's paper); even if you send the ass into the world it comes back with

long ears (Keber 1996: 248); the donkey carried water but died of thirst; quarrelling over the ass' shadow; there is more than just one ass in the grass; don't make a horse out of an ass; better a donkey's head than a horse's tail; looking for donkey wool; if a farmer dies of hunger let donkeys toll for his funeral (Šašelj 2932: 25–26).

There are expressions for concepts and objects that also reflect this humiliating attitude towards the donkey: donkey bench (a bench in the rear of the class reserved for bad and undisciplined pupils); asses' bridge (*pons asinorum*, help for those who have difficulties with their studies); Whitsunday donkey or Palm Sunday donkey (one who sleeps late on Whitsuntide or Palm Sunday, or who misses the procession through the field on Whitsuntide) (Keber 1996: 250-251).

There is also a children's game known as "Beating the donkey" , "Beating the judge", or "Beating the goat", in which one of the players tries to guess who has hit him or her on their behind.

In the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, even the so-called "professional literature", such as the bestiaries and the physiologuses, furthered the stereotypical and distorted image of the donkey. It was not until the 19th century that natural history books started to present it in a more realistic manner, and also adopted a more ethical attitude towards it.

In children's literature, the donkey is frequently presented as a sad, modest animal that never expects to be taken into consideration. A good example is the donkey Eeyore from A. A. Milne's books for children "Winnie the Pooh" (1926) and "The House at Pooh Corner" (1928). A similar character is featured in George Orwell's "Animal Farm" (1945). Orwell's book introduces the donkey Benjamin, which is described as the oldest and the smartest animal on the farm, and one of the few that can read. Benjamin is sceptical, cynical, and has a temper. His motto is: "Life will go on as it has always gone on – that is, badly." According to critics, Benjamin reflects a part of Orwell himself, namely his timeless scepticism. His friends even called him Donkey George after his grumpy character Benjamin.

In his drama "Zôon politikon animalistikon – Commedia musicale dell' arte animale," Jani Kovačič presents the character of the donkey as a "sage, faithfully puts up with the king, apolitical, and unpractical" (Kovačič 2014: 1047).

Very popular among children is the cartoon "Shrek" produced by Andrew Adamson and Vicky Janson in the US (DreamWorks 2001, 2004, 2007, 2020), in which Shrek's Donkey typically represents friendship by saying: "That's what friends are for".

DONKEY BREEDING TODAY IN SLOVENIA

The changing attitude towards donkeys can also be followed if we compare the description of the donkey breeding in Slovenia by the natural historian and writer Fran Erjavec from the mid-19th century and contemporary donkey breeding in the Litoral part of Slovenia. Slovenian writer Fran Erjavec wrote the following about the donkey bred in our territory in the mid-19th century:

Of all domestic animals, the donkey suffers most. He pulls or carries loads all day but still receives the cane more than anything else. Maltreatment and starvation, the cane, and the cudgel have killed all of its good innate qualities. [...] Yet the donkey does not deserve such contempt. Above all, man is to blame for this [...] the donkey does not like our soil nor our weather, and moreover, its long servitude with scoundrels has altered its physical qualities and confused its mental capacities. [...] The donkey is a much better beast of burden than the horse. Since it is slower than the horse, it walks more safely and more cautiously. It has excellent eyesight and hearing. It is satisfied with worthless feed that neither horse nor cow would even look at. It is also very patient and not subject to so many diseases as the horse. [...] Like the horse, the donkey remembers every path it has ever taken. Even in a completely unfamiliar place, its instinct takes it in the right direction. [...] Where the donkey has stumbled once it is not likely to stumble again. (Erjavec 1868: 73–75).

This description clearly reflects the typical attitude of the Istrian population towards the donkey, which in the spirit of the times was unkind. Even worse was the manner in which the animal was handled. Erjavec adds that the one who is to blame for the donkey's moodiness, stubbornness, and proneness to biting and to stamping its hind legs is man himself, for people had been beating and oppressing donkeys for centuries, and had no sympathy for them. Since donkey's senses are much keener than those of the horse the donkey can quickly sense danger, and promptly stops. Yet instead of trying to understand this behaviour and pausing for a moment, the animal was usually promptly beaten.

Donkeys in Kazlje (photo by M. Kropej Telban, April 22, 2015)

Largely due to a new, more ethical and ecology-oriented attitude to nature and culture nowadays people have started to breed donkeys again. Some of them admit that they use the donkeys as natural lawn mowers, but mostly they use them for the agro-tourism, eco-tourism, and donkey-assisted therapy (zootherapy). It can even be said that it is these people who have been responsible for the revival of donkey breeding. Donkey milk is extremely healthy and the closest to human milk, but it is also very rare. Even healthier is donkey cheese, which has recently been put on the market in Dalmatia.

However, some of the breeders, particularly those who have large herds of donkeys on their agrotourist farms, in addition to donkey rides and walks, offer dishes from donkey meat. One of these is the Trnulja agrotourist farm in Črna Vas, a marshy area near Ljubljana, which offers donkey and goat meat. In this particular case, the donkey has simultaneously become a gastronomical victim and an object with tourism value.

However, many agrotourist farms, particularly those in the Karst and in Istria, now offer ecologically oriented tourism, which includes only donkey rides and walks with donkeys. In Gornje Cerovo, for instance, Rado Brelih organizes trekking with donkeys, which is a unique tourism service in the Goriška Brda region and is advertised in the Dobrovo Castle.

Donkey breeders are often people who have come to Primorska (Litoral part of Slovenia) from the city. Riccardo Kalin for example, who was born in Trieste and now lives with his family in Kazlje, has two jennies named Lili and Liza, which he bought in Dolenjska (Lower Carniola). He knows that a donkey needs to have a peer for companionship, or it may feel lonely, unwell, and burdened with psychological problems.

Also Stane Sušnik, a former music editor, moved after he had retired from Ljubljana to Gabrovica by Komen in Karst. Now he owns a herd of donkeys and is the *spiritus agens* of "Oslarija", an institute for the breeding and research of donkeys.

Approximately 1000 donkeys, mostly home- and cross-bred, are now reared in Slovenia. Many farms breed them in addition to other animals in order to increase the total number of grazing livestock, which makes them eligible for agricultural subsidies. The *Association of Breeders of the Istrian Donkey* (DRIO) was founded in Dolenja Vas in the Karst on April 11, 2014. Its members come from the Postojna area, the Karst, Idrija, Brkini, and Bela Krajina (White Carniola). They share the core breeding program for the breeding of the Slovene Istrian Donkey. The Slovenian Association has linked up with the *Agriculture and Forestry Institute* in Nova Gorica (KGZ), and with the *Association of Breeders of Istrian Donkeys* (the so-called *tovari*), which has been active in Croatia for several years , and also with the *Agency for Rural Development of Istria* (AZRRI) from Pazin in Croatia. By offering a financial incentive for every donkey entered in the pedigree book, whose owner is actively involved in the breeding program of the Istrian donkey, Croatia has ensured that this Croatian indigenous breed has not died out. DRIO has also cooperated with their Croatian colleagues in the project Cross-Border Initiative for the Protection and Revitalization of Environment Biodiversity Using Autochthonous Breeds (AZRRI).

People who have constant contact with donkeys have developed a highly ethical and ecological attitude to these animals. Donkeys are raised extensively on grassland, where

there is only a roofed fold in which they can take shelter in bad weather. The breeders have established an emotional connection with their animals, and stories about them are occasionally published on the "Oslarija" website. One of these is the story about a new-born donkey which was published on October 1, 2013, and written by Mojca Sušnik Klemenčič, who was inspired when her large herd of donkeys received a new member, a baby donkey named Car (Tsar). The story talks about:

> […] a cute baby donkey was born on a sunny morning in May. After lying down for a bit, he stood up on its tiny legs, and a moment later he was already running around the meadow. He started to speak to the horses, but they only mocked his body shape. The cow chased him away, and the sheep were afraid of his large teeth. The goats did not like the grey colour of his fur. Saddened, the little donkey sat down beneath a walnut tree. When night fell, an owl woke up in the treetop. Upon hearing him cry, she asked why he was crying. Although terrified of her, the donkey described his experiences, and the owl listened. Afterwards, she explained to him that animals differ from each other, that his particular features were beautiful and special, and that he was, like any other living creature, unique. Thus comforted, the little donkey set off to find his mother. Then he cuddled close to her and calmly fell asleep.

Donkey's external appearance is often mocked in traditional folktales (for exempel: Bolhar 1975: 88), and also in this tale "Each in their own way" the donkey is mocked by the owl.

Those who still harbour prejudice against donkeys and believe stereotypes about the "dumb ass" are assured by donkey breeders that donkeys are smart, patient, and humble animals. Their properties are studied with the aim of revitalizing and creating a new database for donkey-rearing.

CONCLUSION

The principles of speciesism and anthropocentrism, which long held sway, have been replaced by ecology-oriented philosophy. As we can see, the perception of the donkeys has also experienced significant changes during the ontological shift, which can be perceived in folkloristic and ethnographic research.

In literature, a distinct shift in the attitude towards the donkey may be detected especially in the period following the First World War. Why do Greek fables mock even the suffering of the donkey whereas millennia later, philosopher Jacques Derrida writes "The Animal That Therefore I Am" (Derrida 2008), and George Orwell presents the donkey Benjamin as the smartest animal on the farm?

It is true that one of the reasons for this is the economic, social, and spiritual turnabout in the Western world. It is beyond doubt that better economic conditions and the

rapid development of engineering have made life easier for the donkey. However, it is precisely this progress that has significantly reduced its population. Only recently, and due to increased ecological awareness and care for the natural and cultural heritage, has the number of donkeys begun to rise again.

Attitudes towards animals are now mainly focused on cultural ecology and ethical awareness. In addition to veterinarians, animals can also be treated by "animal whisperers", or psychiatric therapists. Like the horse-, dog-, and cat-whisperers, such therapists also treat donkeys that, for various reasons, do not behave as people expect them to; for instance, they bray excessively, bite, kick, and so on. However, all of this is frequently the result of human misunderstanding and mishandling of donkeys.

However, in spite of the new paradigm by which animals are thought to be equivalent to people, in our daily lives animals are not treated as equal members of the cultural and natural environment although they are – according to the philosophical shift – thought to be ontologically equivalent. The politics of animal breeding and exploitation cannot be expected to change in the era of Antropocene, but changing sociohistorical epistemologies and ecocentric philosophies of understanding nature and culture can make some changes.

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OSEL V PRIPOVEDNI KULTURI IN SPREMINJAJOČI SE DRUŽBENOZGODOVINSKI EPISTEMOLOGIJI

Monika Kropej Telban

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Članek analizira pripovedno izročilo, v katerem nastopa osel, v prvi vrsti skozi prizmo človekovega razumevanja narave, ki je pogosto v nasprotju z ekološkim pristopom k naravi in kulturi.

Človek je v preteklosti živali razdelil na božanske in demonske. Govorimo lahko celo o dualizmu živalskega sveta, v katerem nekaterim živalim pripisujejo božanski, drugim demonski značaj. Zaradi najrazličnejših gospodarskih in kulturnih dogajanj skozi zgodovino je osel v številnih religijah in mitih pogosto simboliziral negativni aspekt in poosebljenje človeških slabosti. Vendar pa je ravno zaradi razlikovanja med višjimi in nižjimi v krščanski simboliki, ki se odraža v Svetem pismu, prevzel vlogo ponižne in skromne živali. Že ob Kristusovem rojstvu sta med prvimi bitji poleg jasli prepoznala Odrešenika osel in vol.

Ezopovo basnopisje pozna prek 30 basni o oslu, v katerih je skorajda brez izjeme prikazan v luči stereotipov, ki so se ga oprijeli. V antičnih basnih se pogosto odraža tudi visokostna drža aristokratov do nizkih kast. Značilen je zaničljiv odnos do osla in poudarjanje njegove neumnosti in strahopetnosti.

Ob srednjeveških praznikih norcev so bile oslu namenjene kraljevske časti. Ti prazniki so bili parodije na obstoječe vrednote, ki so bile začasno obrnjene na glavo. Namen je bil kanalizirati manjvredna nagnjenja na stranski tir, s čimer naj bi se odpravile zlohotne posledice v družbi. Ti obredi so predstavljali nadzorovano sprostitev nagonov in postopek odvračanja negativnih nagnjenj, ki so jih podvrgli posmehu. S karnevalskim preobratom je osel prevzel človekov nagonski element, življenje, ki je omejeno samo na zemeljsko, čutno področje.

Tako se je tekom stoletij in tisočletij izoblikoval danes prevladujoči odnos do osla, ki je poniževač in posmehljiv ter poudarja njegovo neumnost in trmo, kar se odraža v jeziku, povedkah, basnih, pregovorih, frazemih idr.

Novi vek je prinesel spremenjen odnos do osla, ki se kaže predvsem v literaturi, še posebej otroški, kjer je osel pogosto predstavljen kot otožna, skromna žival, ki nikoli ne pričakuje, da se bo kdo spomnil nanjo. Takšen je npr. osliček Sivček v otroških knjigah Alana Alexandra Milneja, *Medved Pu* (*Winnie the Pooh*, 1926) in *Hiša na Pujevem oglu* (*The House at Pooh Corner*, 1928). V noveli Georgea Orwella *Živalska farma* (*Animal Farm*, 1945) nastopa osel Benjamin, ki je predstavljen kot najstarejša in najpametnejša žival na farmi ter ena redkih, ki zna brati.

Danes so nekateri ljudje predvsem zaradi novega – bolj etičnega in ekološkega odnosa do narave in kulture, pa tudi zaradi kmečkega turizma, ekoturizma in onoturizma (terapija z osli – *onotherapy*, *zootherapy*) razvili drugačen odnos do oslov, ki so jih začeli ponovno rediti. Sodobni rejci oslov vedo, da so to pametne, potrpežljive in skromne živali. Ustanovili so tudi različna društva, npr. Društvo rejcev istrskega osla (DRIO), ki se med seboj povezujejo. Odnos do živali je usmerjen v kulturno ekologijo in etično ozaveščenost. Vendar je tak odnos do živali danes, žal, redkost. V dobi, ki jo antropologi imenujejo antropocen, je skoraj utopično upati, da bo človeštvo tudi v praksi razvilo drugačen odnos do narave in sprejelo živali kot sebi enakovredna bitja. Rejo živali v prehrambne namene bo težko spremeniti, toda ekocentrična filozofija in spremenjena družbenozgodovinska epistemologija oz. moderno razumevanje narave in kulture lahko privedejo do nekaterih sprememb na bolje.

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Recenzije in poročila o knjigah

Recensioni di libri

Book reviews

Mirjam Mencej. Styrian Witches in European Perspective. Ethnographic Fieldwork. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, 454 p. [Мирьям Менцей. Штирийские ведьмы в европейской перспективе. Лондон: Пэлгрэйв Макмиллан, 2017, 454 с.] [1]

Очередная, седьмая по счету книга профессора фольклористики факультета этнологии и культурной антропологии Люблянского университета Мирьям Менцей посвящена исследованию колдовства (веры в колдовство) и поверий о ведьмах в одном из регионов восточной Словении, Штирии, в фольклорном, антропологическом и историческом аспекте на европейском фоне. Книга основана на полевых материалах, собранных в начале XXI в. автором и студентами Люблянского университета в 2000–2001 гг. и автором книги в 2013– 2015 гг.

Феномен колдовства и ведьмарства, как и сама фигура ведьмы уже давно привлекают внимание исследователей как славянских, так и неславянских традиций и имеют большую литературу. В различных аспектах изучались также и региональные славянские традиции, см., например книгу Т. Бужековой «Враг изнутри», анализирующую в когнитивном аспекте полевые материалы о ведьмах и колдовстве[2], собранные автором в разных регионах западной Словакии; публикацию текстов с научными комментариями Л.Н. Виноградовой и Е.Е. Левкиевской

«Народная демонология Полесья», т. 1: Люди со сверхъестественными свойствами[3]; монографию Г.С. Поповкиной «Знахари и знахарство у восточных славян юга Дальнего Востока России»[4], коллективную монографию «Знатки, ведуны и чернокнижники. Колдовство и бытовая магия на Русском Севере»[5] и др.

Как отмечает М. Менцей, Штирия как регион изучения отчасти выпала из поля зрения фольклористов. Поэтому целью данной работы было представить региональные словенские воззрения на магию и колдовство во всей полноте их «слоев» и с учетом различных типов ведьм.

Первый, «социальный» слой формируется социальным напряжением в сельской общине; его «актанты» - соседи и свойственники, наносящие ущерб чужому хозяйству из зависти и злобы. Деятельность последних в русской традиции можно было бы назвать порчей и сглазом, а название ведьма приписывается им лишь спорадически самими пострадавшими. Второй слой и второй тип ведьм в рецензируемой книге представлен (также в рамках социального уровня) сельской ведьмой, признанной всеми колдуньей с классической ведьмарской внешностью, старой, одинокой, живущей на отшибе и т.п.

Наряду с ведьмами-людьми, автор выделяет также тип, называемый ею

[1] Авторская работа выполнения при поддержке РНФ по проекту «Славянские архаические зоны в пространстве Европы: этнолингвистические исследования» № 17-18-01373 (рук. акад. С.М. Толстая).

[2] Bužeková T. Nepriateľ zvnútra. Bratislava: Veda, 2009.

[3] Виноградова Л.Н., Левкиевская Е.Е. Народная демонология Полесья. Публикации текстов в записях 80–90–х годов XX в. в 4 т. Т. 1: Люди со сверхъестественными свойствами. Москва: Языки славянских культур, 2010, 648 с.

[4] Поповкина Г.С. Знахари и знахарство у восточных славян юга Дальнего Востока России. Владивосток: Дальнаука, 2008, 200 с.

[5] Знатки, ведуны и чернокнижники. Колдовство и бытовая магия на Русском Севере. М.: Форум; Неолит, 2012.

«ночными ведьмами», термином, распространенным в европейской литературе (например, в книге Сандиса Лайме «Восприятие ведьм в Латвии: Ночные ведьмы»[6]), но практически неизвестным в России, где описываемые как «ночные ведьмы» сущности славянских верований и быличек рассматриваются как мифологические персонажи со своими конкретными именами (блуждающие огоньки, вила, полудница, русалка, дикая женка и под.).

По словам автора, колдовство исследуемого региона представляет собой многослойный комплекс, в котором разные типы ведьм имеют разные характеристики; связанные с ними нарративы представляют различные типы взаимоотношений с ведьмами, показывают разные причины вредоносности ведьм и разные типы поведения людей в этих ситуациях. М. Менцей поэтому задается вопросами: на каком основании все эти типы колдуний называются ведьмами, а их деятельность считаются колдовством? Что объединяет соседских «ведьм», вредящих соседям, сельских ведьм, наносящих ущерб всему селу, и «ночных ведьм», сводящих людей ночью с дороги?

Анализируемая в книге «социальная реальность» сформирована на основе 170 пространных интервью с 237 информантами из 55 сел, расположенных на территории около 300 кв. км, преимущественно в горных регионах. Возраст большинства информантов – 70–80 лет, также значительна группа 60–70-летних. Почти 67% опрошенных – женщины.

В первой главе, введении, помимо общих сведений о материале и цели

работы, сделан беглый обзор ведовских процессов в XVI-XVII и судебных тяжб вплоть до XX в. в Словении с особым вниманием к Штирии. Состав обвинений и вредоносных действий ведьм стандартный, широко известный по фольклорным данным всего мира: вызывание града, насылание болезней, отбирание молока у скота, урожая с полей, полеты на шабаш, гадание, продажа души дьяволу и т.п.

Во второй главе «Современное европейское колдовство» обсуждаются факторы, повлиявшие на упадок колдовства в сельских областях Европы и пути его сохранения и трансформации в период после средневекового гонения на ведьм, а также типичные контексты, в которых исследователи встречались с колдовством в XX и начале XXI вв.

Отмечая, что в Европе колдовство стало, прежде всего, предметом художественного воплощения в искусстве, автор констатирует, что в отдельных местах оно сохранилось как социальная реальность и продолжает использоваться для объяснения неудач и несчастий. Исследователи, тем не менее, сосредоточивались более на причинах исчезновения колдовства, чем на продолжении его существования, изменении форм, адаптации к новым условиям. Вместе с тем, М. Менцей известны и работы о колдовстве, сохранившемся и в XIX, и в XX веке в ряде регионов Европы, колдовстве как предмете индивидуальных верований и как социальном институте, объясняющем неудачи, передающем личный опыт и культурные практики и регулирующем взаимоотношения в обществе. Это работы, привлекаемые автором для сравнения со словенским материалом, - о колдовстве и вере в магию в Нидерландах, Дании, Англии, германо-говорящей Бельгии,

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6   S. Laime. Raganu priekšstai Latvijā: Nakts raganas. Rīga, 2013.

немецкой Франконии, в ю.-з. Германии, Швабии, с.-з. Франции, верхней Бретани, Анжу и Лангедоке, в Польше, в регионе Альто Миньо в Португалии, в Италии, Румынии, Македонии. Вера в колдовство продолжает существовать и в XXI веке, однако изменились его формы, поэтому вопросы, встающие перед западноевропейскими исследователями формулируются таким образом: «когда, почему, где, для кого и в каких отношениях действия и мышление в терминах колдовства потеряли или не потеряли своего значения» (Gijswijt-Hofstra 1999: 99) (с. 29).

Как отмечает автор, в Европе не много исследований в этой области, наиболее тщательные из них были проведены, например, во Франции, Венгрии (о венграх в Румынии), Нидерландах, Германии и Англии. Поэтому, несмотря на имеющийся ряд статей и монографий по данной теме, М. Менцей считает, что исследование колдовства в Европе, особенно современного сельского колдовства, находится еще в зачаточном состоянии.

Третья глава «Колдовство в исследуемом регионе» посвящена специфике региона полевых исследований, его географическим (гористый, удаленный, труднодоступный сельский регион) и социо-экономическим (аграрный, отсталый) характеристикам и их влиянию на изменение роли, которую играло здесь колдовство как социальный институт. Автор считает, что это изменение роли произошло в 1970-е годы в связи с улучшением социально-экономического положения населения в регионе. Однако колдовство не исчезло совсем, свидетельством чему является материал, собранный автором и студентами Люблянского университета в начале XXI

в. Эти полевые материалы, диалоги с информантами, вплетены в ткань книги и являются основой размышлений и подтверждением заключений автора.

Колдовство в книге исследуется также с нарративной точки зрения: обсуждаются дискурсы колдовства, отношение к нему людей, вера в него или неверие, различие репертуара разных рассказчиков, пол жертв и ведьм в нарративах. Приводимые в книге диалоги собирателя с информантами показывают знакомую картину, с которой встречались и встречаются собиратели традиционной культуры в самых разных уголках славянского мира и, как отмечает автор, также и собиратели в неславянских регионах. В рамках «колдовского» дискурса автор отмечает такие «типичные выражения», хорошо известные и российским исследователям, как *было сделано* (о порче, сглазе), ведьма *что-то сделала* (с. 61), *они знают* (о магическом знании ведьм) (с. 62) и под.; в поведенческом сценарии отмечается, что при общении с ведьмой нельзя отвечать на ее вопросы, смотреть ей в глаза, одалживать ей продукты и вещи, и т.п.; выделяются предметы и животные, приобретающие особое магическое значение (кости, шерсть, волосы; жаба, черная кошка и под.). Отдельно рассматриваются также «христианский дискурс», «рациональный дискурс», «дискурс нового времени» (имеется в виду оценка магического воздействия через понятия «биомагнетизм», «гипноз», «биоэнергетика»).

В четвертой главе «Социальное колдовство: ведьмы-соседи» колдовство рассматривается как часть социальных отношений, отмечается сильная зависимость веры в колдовство от неудач и несчастий (по словам Э. Эванс-Притчарда,

приводимым в книге, «в каком-то смысле можно сказать, что колдовство – это несчастье»), вовлечение колдовства в отношения между членами сообщества, особенно между соседями. Некоторые авторы, пишет М. Менцей, ссылаясь на К. Бриггс, считают колдовство универсальным феноменом, характерным для всех человеческих обществ, за исключением, пожалуй, обществ номадских, которые в ответ на социальный конфликт мигрировали или дробились на новые группы; но как только они воспринимали оседлый образ жизни, у них тоже появлялась вера в колдовство (с. 113–114). Сельское общество восточной Словении не является в данном случае исключением, и здесь тоже неудачи или несчастья вызывали подозрения в колдовстве. Зависть односельчан как основа наведения порчи неоднократно была предметом изучения западноевропейских ученых (см. перечисление работ на с. 116). Корень чувства зависти автор видит в когнитивной ориентации на ограниченность количества благ, свойственной закрытым сообществам. Славянская демонология, в том числе изучение ведьмарства в других славянских регионах подтверждает эти положения. В быличках именно соседи, а также свойственники (кума, теща) оказываются изобличенными как ведьмы. В рецензируемой книге приводятся примеры других ситуаций, когда возникает опасность колдовства: отношения в рамках большой семьи, в период предбрачных отношений (парень женился на другой), ситуация купли-продажи скота и др.

Специально рассматриваются объекты (мишени) колдовства (домашние животные, люди, чаще всего, дети, урожай), а также виды колдовства: наведение порчи с помощью смотрения, говорения, касания,

магических практик, дарения подарка, закапывания предметов, собирания росы, магического доения («доение веревки» и под.). Автор приводит ряд слов и выражений, обозначающих дурной глаз: «вредящие глаза», «злые глаза», «ядовитые глаза», «подозрительные глаза», а сам взгляд характеризуется как «острый», «сильный», «жесткий», «злой», «особый», «странный» или «опасный» (с. 142). К сожалению, для этих слов не приведены словенские диалектные термины, которые были бы здесь нелишними и даже полезными (не все читатели имеют под рукой более раннюю книгу того же автора, где эти и множество других терминов представлены: Coprnice so me nosile. Raziskava vaškega čarovništva na podeželju vzhodne Slovenije ob prelomu tisočletja. Ljubljana, 2006).

Отдельно анализируется вопрос о реальности колдовских действий, психологические механизмы околдовывания и расколдовывания, а также обстоятельства, в которых рассказы о колдовстве могут актуализироваться по разным причинам и с различными интенциями.

В пятой главе «Социальное колдовство: контрмеры» представлены различные формы противодействия ведьмам; контрмеры являлись частью общего знания о том, что человек может противодействовать колдовству.

Шестая глава «Социальное колдовство: специалисты» описывает сельских специалистов, к которым люди могли обратиться в случае несчастья, вызванного колдовством, в особенности, знахарки. Дается их характеристика, выделяются их типы (оседлые и странствующие), рассматривается структура их процедур и роль, которую они играли в обществе. Появляются словенские термины,

например, *šlogar* 'предсказатель', в самом тексте интервью приведен термин для ведьмака – *coperjak* (с. 271). Перечисляя исследования колдовства в Европе (список, внушающий уважение: J. Kruse, I. Schöck, J. Favret-Saada, H. Sebald, J. de Pina-Cabral, G. Henningsen, L. Stark, O. Davies, W. de Blécourt, T. Tangherlini, M. Kõiva – с. 248), автор почему-то не называет ни одной работы по славянским традициям, хотя славяне составляют значительную часть населения Европы и также успешно изучались и описывались (из работ на русском языке – статьи и книги Д.К. Зеленина, С.М. Толстой, Л.Н. Виноградовой, Е.Е. Левкиевской, А.Я. Гуревича, Е.Б. Смилянской, О.А. Черепановой, сборник In Umbra, вып. 1–5, и др.). Говоря о знахарях и целителях, М. Менцей отмечает, что во многих регионах Европы они занимались также снятием порчи, «расколдовыванием», а также гаданием, пророчеством, поиском воров и т.п.

Отдельный подраздел в этой главе посвящен амбивалентности ведьм и знахарей в славянских и других европейских традициях (испанской, португальской, франконской, датской). Штирийской ведьме, как и всем другим ведьмам присуща амбивалентность, синкретизм и взаимопроникновение понятий добра и зла, так по-разному воспринимаемые людьми.

В седьмой главе «Социальное колдовство: сельские ведьмы», исследуются причины, по которым человек приобретал репутацию ведьмы/колдуна в рамках всего сообщества, их характерные черты, отношение к ним других людей, их роль в обществе, природа их знания.

В восьмой главе «Ночные ведьмы», как автор называет персонажей, появляющихся вне дома и села, преимущественно в лесу, и которые являются скорее демонами ночи (с. 349), описываются ситуации появления этих персонажей (ведьмы в виде огоньков или больших огней; ведьмы, стирающие ночью белье у воды) и сюжеты, реализующие мотив «унесенные ведьмой» (жертва не может найти дорогу домой; ходит кругами; оказывается в кустах; чувствует себя пойманной в ловушку). Для многих сюжетов, записанных в Штирии, автор приводит параллели не только из других частей Словении, но и из других европейских традиций: португальской, испанской, английской, германской и др., отмечая, что «нарративы о ночных огнях, интерпретируемых как ведьмы, неуспокоившиеся души, феи или другие сверхъестественные персонажи, которые сбивают людей с дороги – являются частью общего фонда европейского фольклора» (с. 371) и что более часто эти нарративы повествуют о душах умерших, феях, лесных духах и других персонажах в виде огоньков (см. примеры на с. 371–374). Жаль, что специально не выделены региональные традиции, где ночные демоны-огоньки идентифицируются в виде ведьм (мотив, действительно редкий в славянских традициях), что, возможно, могло бы образовать европейскую изодоксу.

Указывая на параллелизм в восприятии «ночных ведьм» в Словении и Латвии (мотив стирки-колочения белья у воды), М. Менцей излагает и практически принимает гипотезу Сандиса Лайме о том, что этот мотив, известный преимущественно в католических странах, является производным от католического концепта очищения души после смерти и связан с «народным христианством»; он интерпретируется так: «демонизированные души

умерших женщин, которые проходят после смерти процесс очищения на земле за то, что они либо умерли плохой смертью, либо грешили при жизни» (Laime 2013: 302) (с. 367). Однако мотив ночной стирки (звуки, похожие на звуки битья стираемого белья вальком) широко известен и в православных традициях, в частности, в Полесье (украинская и белорусская традиции), поэтому католический аргумент в данном случае вряд ли подходит. Кроме того, связь мотива стирки белья и духовного очищения умерших кажется чрезмерно прямолинейной. Здесь, скорее, реализуется идея о противопоставлении человеческого – демонического: голос человека – звуки нечистой силы (стук, хлопанье, свист, вой, хохот), а также представление об активизации нечистой силы ночью.

В качестве девятой главы представлено заключение, подытоживающее анализ нарративов о ведьмах и быличек о встречах с проявлениями колдовства. Книгу завершает список информантов, библиография и тематический индекс, включающий персоналии.

Книга Мирьям Менцей адресована, в первую очередь, западноевропейскому читателю, и многое в ней подчинено именно этой задаче. Она содержит значительное количество подробных объяснений – терминов, реалий, понятий, относящихся к образу жизни славянского (и особенно – словенского) общества; написанная по-английски, она включает и полевые материалы, переведенные на английский язык, к сожалению, без параллельной публикации оригинальных текстов; не всегда и не везде приводятся термины, относящихся к магии и колдовству. Но, например, главу «Ночные ведьмы» украшает словенская лексика:

coprnice so me nosile / zmešale / vodile / vozile 'объяснение, почему человек заблудился в лесу' (с. 350); *brezglavec, svečniki, vidanic, védomci, vedúnci, vedenci* 'мифологические персонажи в виде ночных огоньков' (с. 363–364) и терминология других славянских языков (хорв. *macići*, чеш. *světlonoša, ohnivec*, пол. *nocnice*, бел. *bludjačуj ogon* 'названия ночных бродячих огней' (с. 364) и др. Однако хотелось бы видеть термины в написании соответствующим языку алфавитом; восточнославянские, сербские и болгарские лексемы, переданные латиницей, не соответствуют фонетике этих языков и не могут считаться точными (см., напр., макед. *madjesnica* (*маѓесница* ?) – с. 273). Научное издание предполагает все же аккуратность в передаче приводимых терминов, тем более, что кириллический шрифт не является труднодоступным в техническом плане. То же касается и литературы, которая в научном дискурсе традиционно подается на том языке, на котором цитируемая книга издана. Трудно себе предположить транслитерацию на кириллицу англоязычных или франкоязычных источников, изданных на латинице, в кириллических изданиях.

Книга М. Менцей, безусловно, научная, в то же время отчасти и популяризаторская – в том смысле, что она знакомит неславянскую аудиторию со славянским материалом, относящимся к деликатной области духовной культуры – магии и колдовству – который очень нелегко поддается переводу и адекватной передаче смысла. Книга не только знакомит западноевропейского читателя с материалом архаической славянской традиции, вошедшей в круг западной культуры, но и объясняет – с привлечением западноевропейского

материала – колдовство, причины его существования, механизмы воздействия, обстоятельства реализации. Подобное сравнение материала своих полевых записей с французскими, германскими, бельгийскими, голландскими данными, привлечение выводов, сделанных антропологами на основе изучения африканских народов показывает универсальность рассматриваемого ею явления – магии и колдовства, как и универсальность человеческой натуры (как вида homo sapience). Действительно, методы колдовства в средневековой Англии (угрозы, похвала, взгляд, прикосновение и дары) или во Франции XIX в. (взгляд, прикосновение, хвала, проклятие, заговор, дар, жаба, пролезшая в дом жертвы или волос жертвы) аналогичны славянским как они сохранились в записях XIX–XX и XXI вв.

Вместе с тем прямое сравнение материала из Штирии с данными других европейских традиций, особенно в первых главах книги (например, с ирландской традицией – с. 139) вызывает сомнения в правомерности подобных сопоставлений. Для надежности научных выводов предполагалось бы, скорее, сравнение региональной словенской традиции с другими словенскими, потом, расширяя круг родственных традиций – с южнославянскими, потом западнославянскими (особенно словацкой и чешской) и только затем с другими европейскими (об этом писал в одной из своих работ Н.И. Толстой). В противном случае есть риск вырвать изолированный факт из контекста и исказить его смысл. Правда, последняя, восьмая, глава книги, в которой приводится широкий славянский материал, а также презентабельный список использованной автором литературы дает повод доверять подобным сопоставлениям.

В области этнолингвистики, мифологии, этнографии Европа в научном плане, кажется, разделена на две части: англоязычную, как правило, не имеющую представления об обширной литературе восточной Европы, включая огромную территорию европейской России; и славяно-, и особенно, русскоязычную, мало или спорадически знакомую с научной литературой Западной Европы, изданной на английском или на основных европейских языках. Литература, появляющаяся на национальных языках (словацком, сербском, литовском, румынском, венгерском) практически недоступна для основной части гуманитариев обеих частей Европы. Ситуация объясняется трудностью обсуждения тонких материй традиционной культуры, особенно культуры духовной, на чужом языке, хотя бы потому, что отсутствует соотнесенность этнографических и культурных реалий, по-разному происходит понятийное членение внешнего мира, различаются и прагматическая, и аксиологическая системы европейских культур, а также метаязык научных описаний.

В этом смысле книга Мирьям Менцей представляется удачным синтезом восточно- и западноевропейской традиций и научных школ. Внушительный библиографический список показывает знакомство автора с литературой всего европейского региона, включая теоретические и практические работы западноевропейских ученых (K. Briggs, W. de Blécourt, O. Desies, E. Evans-Pritchard и др.), равно как и книги на славянских (I. Destovnik, J. Dolenc, J. Fras, M. Kropej, Đorđević, Љ. Раденковић, Л. Ристески, Н.И. Толстой, С.М. Толстая, Л.Н. Виноградова, С. Токарев и др.) и других европейских языках (L. Bugienė, S. Laime,

D. Czégényi и др.). Правда, цитируется в книге почти исключительно западноевропейская научная литература, с которой автор, видимо, лучше знакома. Поэтому слова́ в названии книги «...в европейской перспективе» можно было бы легко заменить на: «в западноевропейской перспективе». Однако это только уточняет, но нисколько не умаляет значения работы автора.

Для специалистов по славянской мифологии и демонологии книга полезна тем, что суммирует изученный западноевропейский материал, в первую очередь, германского и романского мира, но также и неиндоевропейского (финский, венгерский), который совпадает со славянским как в прагматическом, аксиологическом, мировоззренческом, мифологическом плане, так и во многих случаях и в лингвистическом: номинативные модели терминов сферы колдовства аналогичны славянским, например, в немецком: Weise Frauen 'мудрые женщины' (с. 249) – ср. чеш., словац. *múdra žena*, пол. *mądra baba*; фин. *tietäyä* 'тот, кто знает' – ср. рус. *знатки*, о.-слав. *ведьма* и выражения: *она знает*, *она что-то знает* во всех славянских языках), что вновь говорит об общей базе рассматриваемых воззрений.

Марина М. Валенцова, Москва

Амброж Квартич, *Pa se je to res zgodilo? Sodobne povedke v Sloveniji* [So, Has This Really Happened? Contemporary Legends in Slovenia]. Zupaničeva knjižnica 42. Ljubljana: Znanstvena založba Filozofske fakultete 2017 (Zupaničeva knjižnica 42), 272 strani.

With the book *Pa se je to zares zgodilo? Sodobne povedke v Sloveniji* (So Has This Really Happened? Contemporary Legends in Slovenia), written by Ambrož Kvartič, Slovenian folklore has finally obtained a theoretical and highly professional publication that presents and defines contemporary legends, arguably one of the most significant subject matters in modern folklore. Circulating mainly in urban and, to a somewhat lesser degree, rural, environments, such legends are also spread through the media, which in the information and digital age of today only accelerates their dissemination. The author analyses them thoroughly and systematically and, in addition to the theoretical segment, presents part of the repertoire of Slovenian contemporary legends. They are interpreted and analysed in the context of the international cultural space.

Since contemporary legends represent one of the most relevant areas of literary folklore, this book is of particular importance. Slovenian studies on this subject are very rare, and it is therefore urgent that we begin filling this gap, especially since American folklorists drew attention to it as far back as the 1960s.

The author initially addresses terminological issues that have thus far remain unresolved, even at the international level. Among the many alternative terms currently in use, he has decided on the term *sodobna povedka* "contemporary legend", and correspondingly justifies his decision on the basis of domestic

and international research, although he admits that this term still has some drawbacks. He also touches upon the question of the term "urban legend", once used for this narrative genre, which has been mainly discarded by experts but has been adopted by the general public, and thus on the emic level.

In terms of genres, types, and intertextuality, Kvartič defines contemporary legends as a specific, and in many ways problematic, cultural phenomenon. However, they are sufficiently conceptually delineated and therefore recognizable. He notes that, among other things, "contemporary legends are incredible, unusual, bizarre, 'disgusting', frightening, terrifying, but also humorous stories that continually emerge and vanish in daily conversations and are repeatedly installed in the real experiential world of their narrators." He also notes that the motifs and some other elements of contemporary legends, found for example in screenplays, comic texts, and fine arts, can be equally discernible as in contemporary legends that have been classified as the classical folktales in this genre of narrative folklore.

The first part of the publication brings a comprehensive overview of previous theoretical research on this literary-folk genre, acquainting the reader with its history both at home and abroad. Presented are the principal theoretical and methodological starting points, an analysis of certain thematic fields in previous research, and issues that have remained relevant in the investigation of contemporary folklore to this day.

Special attention is given to questions pertaining to the diachronic and synchronic migration of motifs and subject matter in contemporary legends; these questions are highly relevant in the identification and research of this genre of folklore. The book also explores the issue of reality and belief, a subject frequently discussed by scholars investigating contemporary narrative tradition, which is even more relevant in the case of contemporary legends.

The author also explores other problematic issues that emerge in the research of this topic. The classification of these legends is explored according to different genres, types, and intertextuality. Touching upon the issue of systematization and genre typology, he argues that in the case of contemporary legends it is only possible to speak about a cluster of genres and types that are in a fluid, complex relationship, either in contrast or in harmony, and in the constantly overlapping dynamics of their development.

Considerable attention is given to the question of ostension in the process of communication in contemporary legends. In the humanities, the concept of ostension was first introduced by Umberto Ecco who used the term to describe the moment in verbal communication when gestures replace key information. Linda Degh and Albert Vászonyi defined ostension as "the way in which a non-verbalized reality, situation, or event conveys messages by themselves." Later, folklorists defined ostension as a process in which people actualize motifs and events from narrative folklore – "dramatic extension" – in real life. Quite frequent in contemporary legends, this factor is therefore highly significant in folklore research.

The theoretical part of the book is followed by chapters that discuss, compare, and interpret several examples of contemporary legends from Slovenia. Among them are "The Vanishing Hitch-Hiker", "The Failed Stag Party", "The Couple Caught In Flagrante Delicto", "Tourist Experience", "Foreigners, or Others, in Contemporary Legends", etc. They are classified in thematic and problem groups.

This book fills a gap in the field of literary folklore that has been long neglected in Slovenia. Supplying a well-informed theoretical insight into the development of scholarship on the subject, it provides valuable assistance and support to all subsequent researchers of contemporary legends and modern folklore in general.

Monika Kropej Telban, Ljubljana

Nikolaj Mihajlov: История славянской мифологии в XX веке. Москва: Институт slavjanovedenija RAN, 2017, 344 strani.

Knjiga »Zgodovina slovanske mitologije v XX. stoletju« je zadnja knjiga ruskega jezikoslovca Nikolaja Mihajlova, ki je bila posthumno izdana lansko leto v Moskvi. Knjiga je ostala nedokončana, saj je avtor pred njenim dokončanjem leta 2010 prezgodaj preminil. Nedokončani slovenski rokopis je prevzela avtorjeva mati Tatjana V. Civjan, pri ideji za izdajo dela pa so jo podprli tud slovenski kolegi, kot Civjanova zapiše v prvem poglavju »Od izdajatelja«. Rokopis je v ruščino prevedla Elena M. Konicka z vilniške univerze, knjigo pa sta uredila in vsebinsko dopolnila Vladimir J. Petruhin in Svetlana M. Tolstaja. Slednja je tudi predlagala vključitev avtorjeve bibliografije in člankov, uredniško dodano vsebino pa sta v knjigi označila s kvadratnimi oklepaji. Avtor je načrtoval dvajset poglavij, od katerih niso bila vsa zaključena, ponekod so bili zgolj osnutki; načrtovana vsebina naj bi obsegala med 300 in 400 strani.

Avtorjavo osrednje zanimanje so bili viri, primarni in sekundarni, »kabinetna mitologija«, teoretično izpraševanje prejšnjih sklepov in različni vidiki na razvoj mitologije. Virom je posvetil tudi svojo zadnjo nedokončano knjigo Zgodovino slovanske mitologije v XX. stoletju. Naslov knjige, kot omenja že Tatjana V. Civjan v prvem poglavju »Od izdajatelja«, je lahko zavajajoč, saj bi bralec lahko pričakoval zgodovino slovanske mitologije v pomenu razvoja mitoloških likov v poznejše razvojne faze – kar je bilo tudi eno od zanimanj avtorja –, vendar je izraz mitologija tokrat mišljen v pomenu znanstvene discipline, ki se ukvarja z raziskovanjem duhovne kulture.

Po uvodnem poglavju, v katerem Civjanova opiše širši kontekst odločitve za izdajo knjige in potek dela, sledi podrobno kazalo knjige z naslovom »Vsebina knjige po avtorjevem predlogu«, ki je uredniško dopolnjeno s poglavji. V »Predgovoru« avtor opiše svojo namero predstaviti sedanjo znanstveno smer filologije, ki jo lahko imenujemo slovanska mitologija in kjer predlaga nekatere najbolj perspektivne teme za poznejša raziskovanja. Avtor na tem mestu pretrese terminološka vprašanja meje med folkloro in mitologijo ter vprašanje ustreznosti besede mitologija za raziskovanje mitov, saj le ti v klasičnem pomenu pri Slovanih niso očitni, o čemer je avtor pisal že v prejšnjih delih. Kljub drugim podobnim sočasnim terminom (mitopoetično izročilo, starožitnosti itd.) avtor uporablja pojem mitologija, saj ga pojmuje kot tradicionalni termin in ne želi vpeljevati novih. Pod terminom »slovanska mitologija« avtor razume vso dokrščansko pogansko religijo vseh slovanskih narodov, kakor tudi prežitke poganstva, ki so se ohranili do danes v različnih oblikah (folklori in jeziku). Časovno opredeli mitologijo na 1. Poganstvo do krščanstva; 2. Pokristjanjevanje/dvoverstvo in 3. Poznejša »demonološka« doba. Avtor poudarja, da se prav tako prvi viri za slovansko mitologijo že nanašajo na nacionalne in lokalne tradicije, zaradi česar moramo biti zelo previdni pri kronologiji in terminologiji. Pri rekonstrukciji meni, da je treba imeti v obziru možnost, da določena praslovanska rekonstruirana mitološka figura ali motiv ne obstaja nujno v vseh slovanskih tradicijah. Ker je Mihajlov razumel tudi baltske jezike, sploh litvanščino, je dal velik poudarek tudi na problem t. i. balto-slovanske skupnosti. Avtor meni, da je problematika bolj kompleksna, kot zgolj hipoteza, da je nekdaj obstajal skupni protoetnos, ki se je

poznaje ločil na dve skupini. Na mitološki ravni se tu rekonstruira pogojna shema, ki jo je možno poravnati z rekonstrukcijo indoevropskega prajezika na lingvistični ravni, kjer se na osnovi večjega števila jezikov predpostavlja, da so vsi ti jeziki odsev konkretne realizacije neke prvotne sheme, s tem, da nimamo nobenih pisnih virov v indoevropejščini. Mihajlov predstavi tudi problematiko virov, najprej težavo prvotnih virov, ki jih je malo, pogosto so nejasni, dvomljivi, pisani s strani kronologov, ki niso razumeli jezika Slovanov in hkrati pa so zavračali poganstvo. Ne smemo prezreti niti pogostega nestrokovnega tolmačenja. Vseeno pa ni dvoma, da je obstajala religija z vsemi žreci in svetišči. Poleg pismenih virov avtor izpostavi tudi arheološke vire (npr. svetišče na otoku Rügen na severu Nemčije, Novgorod idr.). Obregne se ob dejstvo, da slavisti »še vedno niso klasificirano analizirali in izdali latinskih in nemških virov za slovansko mitologijo«. V poglavju so predvsem poudarjeni viri dveh slovanskih tradicij, vzhodnih Slovanov in baltskih (polabskih) Slovanov, saj za južne in zahodne Slovane skoraj nimamo virov zaradi časovno zgodnejšega pokristjanjevanja. Avtor na tem mestu predstavi prve omembe slovanskega poganstva pri Prokopiju, vir Pripoved o minulih letih (pri nas od 2015 v novi izdaji preveden vir) za poganstvo vzhodnih Slovanov in vire za baltske in zahodne Slovane (Adam iz Bremna, Helmold, Ebbo idr.). Avtor nadaljuje s hitrim pregledom znanstvenega skepticizma do mitoloških rekonstrukcij prve polovice 20. stoletja in nove poti raziskovanja slovanske mitologije (kot odziv na ta skepticizem) z interpretacijo folklore, arehologije in jezikov, katerih začetnik je bil Roman Jakobson, poznaje pa sta to smer nadaljevala Vjačeslav V. Ivanov in Vladimir N. Toporov.

Drugo poglavje »Drugotni viri za slovansko mitologijo. Kabinetna mitologija« je posvečeno raziskovalcem od 17. do 18. stoletja. Njihove raziskave so bile v začetku 20. stoletja močno kritizirane v krogih znanih kot »znanstveni skepticizem«. Mihajlov posebej izpostavi poljskega slavista Aleksandra Brücknerja, ki je po Mihajlovem mnenju na eni strani zelo podrobno analiziral nekatere prvotne vire, po drugi strani pa zaradi zelo kritičnega odnosa do virov in predhodnih raziskav zadržal razvoj slovanske mitologije za nekaj desetletij. V obrambo »kabinetni mitologiji« Mihajlov zaključuje, da so namerno zavajujoče informacije »znanstveni in kulturni spomenik zgodovinske dobe«: raziskave te dobe ne zgolj povzamejo prvotne vire, temveč jih tudi citirajo, kar je pomembno, kadar prvotnih virov nimamo več – z upoštevanjem nepreverljivosti točnosti citatov in da v nekaterih primerih ni izključeno, da avtorji opisujejo še žive poganske tradicije. Tem virom bi lahko zaupali, kadar se nanašajo na pokristjanjenje polabskih Slovanov. Nekatere od teh avtorjev in vire Mihajlov tudi podrobno predstavi.

Osrednji del knjige je poglavje »Raziskovanje slovanske mitologije v 20. stoletju«, kjer je razvrščenih 26 podpoglavij. V naslovih podpoglavij so imena raziskovalcev in v vsebini pregled njihovih najpomembnejših objav ter analiza njihovega prispevka k raziskovanju slovanske mitologije. V knjigi so predstavljeni: Nikolaj M. Galkovskij, Evgenij V. Aničkov, Louis Léger, Viljo J. Mansikka, Aleksander Brückner, Lubor Niederle, Thede C. T. Palm, Erwin E. H. Wienecke, Leonhard Franz, Veselin Čajkanović, Josip Mal, Boris O. Unbegaun, Vittore Pisani, Evel Gasparini, Frans Vyncke, Roman Jakobson, Vladimir N. Toporov, Vjačeslav V. Ivanov, France Bezlaj, Karl H. Meyer, Leszek J. Moszyński, Henryk Łowmiański, Aleksander Gieysztor,

Myroslava T. Znayenko, Zdenek Váňa in Radoslav Katičić.

Kot že v uvodu, se tudi pri raziskovalcih mitologije Mihajlov najbolj zadrži pri razčlenitvi njemu poznanih virov, uporabi primarnih virov ter pri interpretaciji in kritičnem presojanju sekundarnih virov. Mihajlov pogosto predstavi obravnavano delo določenega avtorja in poskuse etimologij imen bogov tudi po poglavjih. Poznejša urednika sta z opombami dopolnila vsebino, kjer je bilo smiselno opozoriti na nove pomembnejše članke o določenih temah, ki so izšli po smrti pisca knjige, npr. različne interpretacije zbruškega idola. Ker je več virov za vzhodnoslovansko in polabsko poganstvo, se je tem tradicijam posvečalo tudi največ obravnavanih avtorjev (Mansikka, Palm, Aničkov, Vyncke idr.). Če se večina ukvarja z višjo ali nižjo mitologijo (demonologijo), je Carl Theodor Palm raziskoval predvsem polabska svetišča, o katerih je objavil študijo Wendische Kultstatten leta 1937, za katero Mihajlov zapiše, da je »še vedno najboljše delo o poganskih svetiščih baltskih Slovanov«. Izstopata podpoglavji, namenjeni Erwinu Eugenu Helmutu Wienecki in Leonhardu Franzu, saj sta bila izrazito negativo usmerjena proti Slovanom in njihovi predkrščanski religiji, njuni knjigi pa sta bili pozneje močno kritizirani. Vključitev kritičnih odzivov na objavljena dela je dobrodošlo za razumevanje konteksta in časa, v katerem so bile knjige objavljene. Čeprav je v uvodu navedeno, da je Mihajlov posebno pozornost v knjigi namenil slovenski tradiciji, sta od slovenskih avtorjev obravnavana zgolj Josip Mal in France Bezlaj. Ker pa je knjiga ostala nedokončana, ne moremo vedeti za avtorjeve načrte o vključitvi drugih raziskovalcev.

Avtor je imel izjemen pregled nad viri, čeprav je malo virov za slovansko mitologijo,

je teh kljub temu toliko, da bi jih težko vsakdo pregledal, kar vidimo tudi skozi vsebino knjige. Poleg tega pa viri tudi niso zbrani na enem mestu in so pisani v zelo različnih jezikih (grškem, latinskem, arabskem idr.). Mihajlova odlika je vsekakor dobra sistematičnost, po kateri razdeli vire in bralcu na razumljiv način predstavi kompleksna vprašanja; prav tako tudi razumevanje mnogih jezikov, zaradi česar je imel možnost vključiti zelo širok nabor avtorjev, ki so objavljali dela o slovanski mitologiji v različnih evropskih jezikih. Zaradi tega bodo imeli bralci prvič na enem mestu možnost spoznati kritičen pregled literature o slovanski mitologiji in mnogi od njih se bodo verjetno prvič srečali z avtorji, ki jim jezikovno niso dostopni in so manj znani širši zainteresirani javnosti. Literature o slovanski mitologiji je danes že preveč, da bi se folkloristi z vsemi deli bližje spoznali in je zato obravnavana knjiga toliko bolj priročen pregled raziskav. Čeprav naslov knjige zajema raziskovanje slovanske mitologije v 20. stoletju, sega zadnje podpoglavje namenjeno Radoslavu Katičiću že v 21. stoletje, saj zajema knjigo izdano leta 2008. Prav tako so v poznejših poglavjih omenjene nekatere izdaje slovenskih avtorjev po letu 2000.

Knjigo zaključujeta poglavji Slovanska mitologija in Slovenska mitologija. V poglavju Slovanska mitologija avtor predstavi ruski etnolingvistični slovar Славянские древности (slo. Slovanske starožitnosti) s poudarkom na članku Nikite I. Tolstoja o slovanskih verovanjih. V zadnjem poglavju Slovenska mitologija Mihajlov predstavi najpomembnejše izdaje, v katerih so tudi viri za slovensko mitologijo, začenši z viri za pokristjanjevanje, ki jih je zbral France Kos in avtorji, ki so se prvi posvečali tej tematiki oziroma so zbrali gradivo: Janez V. Valvasor, Anton T. Linhart in Karel Štrekelj.

Med zadnjimi deli slovenskih avtorjev, ki jih je Mihajlov dočakal, predstavi Damjana Ovseca, Zmaga Šmitka in Moniko Kropej.

Knjigo zaključujejo priloge, tj. trinajst člankov Mihajlova, ki sta jih izbrala urednika glede na osrednje zanimanje avtorja: vloga primarnih in sekundarnih virov v mitoloških raziskavah in rekonstrukcija slovanske mitologije v povezavi z baltsko-južnoslovanskimi lingvističnimi paralelami. Sledi obsežno poglavje »Literatura«, ki jo je uredil Mihajlov, dopolnila pa sta jo urednika. Knjigo končuje »Bibliografija N. A. Mihajlova«. Slednja je razčlenjena na celotno strokovno in poljudno bibliografijo avtorja, vključeni pa so tudi nekrologi posvečeni Mihajlovu.

Pregled pomembnih avtorjev in njihovih del za slovansko mitologijo bo gotovo dobrodošlo med mnogimi strokovnjaki, kakor tudi med študenti, ki si želijo spoznati starejša dela, od katerih so marsikatera še vedno aktualna. Nekatera v knjigi omenjena starejša dela so danes tudi prosto dostopna na svetovnem spletu ali pa so bila ponovno natisnjena.

Ker je avtor pred dokončanjem knjige preminil, knjiga ni izšla v slovenščini, kot je Mihajlov prvotno načrtoval. Kot poklon tujemu avtorju, ki se je leta posvečal raziskovanju slovenske mitologije in bil tesno povezan s Slovenijo (Mihajlov je bil med drugim tudi pobudnik izdajanja revije Studia Mythologica Slavica), bi bila dobrodošla tudi slovenska izdaja omenjene knjige.

Nejc Petrič, Dublin

JIŘÍ DYNDA, *SLOVANSKÉ POHANSTVÍ VE STŘE-DOVĚKÝCH LATINSKÝCH PRAMENECH*. SCRIPTO-RIUM, V PRAZE 2017, 368 STR.

Že leta 1931 je v Berlinu izšla zbirka latinskih virov za slovansko verstvo *Fontes historiae religionis Slavicae*, ki jo je sestavil Karl Heinrich Meyer. Besedil ni prevedel in ne komentiral. Sedaj nam je na voljo prenovljena zbirka mladega praškega religiologa Jiříja Dynde. Besedilom je dodal prevode v češčino ter jedrnate in pregledne komentarje z opozorili na ustrezno literaturo. Pri tem je imel v mislih češke bralce in so zato izpuščena besedila, ki so jih dotlej že prevedli v češčino kot sta npr. Češka kronika Kozme iz Prage ali Slovanska kronika Helmolda iz Bosaua. Večinoma gre za odlomke iz letopisov, življenjepisov ali kronik. Kogar zanima kontekst celega dela posameznega avtorja, mora vzeti v roke ustrezne kritične izdaje posameznih del.

Tedanji pisci so bili krščanski duhovniki, ki jih vsebina slovanskega verstva pravzaprav sploh ni zanimala. Slovani so bili zanje malikovalci, pokristjanjenje pa je pomenilo uničenje malikov, svetišč ali svetih mest, pljusk vode, prepoved pokopavanja drugod kot na cerkvenih pokopališčih in obvezna udeležba pri nedeljski maši. Samo mimogrede se izmuzne, da gre pri vsem tem tudi za plačevanje cerkvene desetine. O vsebini slovanskega vertsva izvemo le malo več kot nič, zato pa mnogo o prefinjenih načinih ustrahovanja ljudi, da so vsaj formalno (in predvsem davkoplačevalsko) prevzeli novo vero.

Da tako pokristjanjenje ni moglo biti ponotranjeno, je samoumevno. Dynda je to prepričljivo dokazal s tem, da je objavil tudi zbirko besedil, ki so nastala do konca srednjega veka in se nanašajo na nekrščanske pojave, ki se vztrajno ponavljajo in jih cerkev nikakor ni mogla izkoreniniti. Njihov seznam je dolg in raznolik, vedno in povsod pa krščanski duhovniki preganjajo zdravilke in zdravilce ter vedeževalke in vedeževalce. Več kot očitno je, da so ljudje uradno državno religijo sicer priznali, da pa so obdržali svoja stara verovanja.

Prav ti dokumenti so pomembna novost v primerjavi z Meyerjevo zbirko in odlična Dyndina odločitev. Zakaj v ta oddelek ni vključil spektakularnega kataloga magije poljskega meniha Rudolfa iz 13. st. (obstaja izčrpna izdaja Edwarda Karwota iz leta 1955), ostaja nepojasnjeno. Vendar tudi brez tega spoznamo, kako pomembni so kriteriji izbora. Kajti že samo dejstvo, da izbiramo, narekuje rezultat. Slednji ne more biti drugačen od izbirnih meril.

Če so nam znak slovanskega verstva samo snovni maliki in svetišča (predvsem kot zgradbe), potem so pisni viri zelo omejeni in skopi. Če iščemo sledi mitične pripovedi (torej nesnovne dediščine), potem spoznamo, da se je ohranilo ogromno gradivo. Ne samo v ustnem slovstvu zadnjih stoletij, ki so ga tako obširno analizirali npr. Ivanov, Toporov, Katičić, ampak tudi v mnogo starejših besedilih, kot je kronika Poljakov krakovskega magistra Vincenta s konca 12. in začetka 13. st., ki je pripoved o začetku poljske države v celoti zgradil samo z mitičnim izročilom in mitično pokrajino Krakova. Zato je razumljiva želja, da bi nek bodoči izbor upošteval tudi tovrstno nesnovno dediščino. Dotlej pa si bomo z veseljem in v korist pomagali z Dyndino knjigo.

Andrej Pleterski, Ljubljana

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