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Chthonic aspects of the Pomeranian deity Triglav and other tricephalic characters in Slavic mythology

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This article explores the nature of West Slavic deity Triglav, postulating he was primary a god of the underworld. Parallels that connect Triglav with chthonic beings from Slavic folklore are highlighted, notably dragons and serpents, and with three-headed characters of more ancient Indo-European myths.

Keywords: Triglav, Trojan, three-headed, triune deities, dragon, Pomerania, Slavic mythology, Aži Dahāka, Viśvarūpa, Geryon, Indo-European mythology

The cult of the West-Slavic god Triglav ('Three-headed') is relatively well described in medieval sources documenting the conversion of the Pomeranian duchy on the shores of Baltic, through the efforts of the German bishop and saint Otto of Bamberg. The events of his two missionary tours there (first one in 1124-5, second in 1128) were recorded by the bishop's principal biographers, Ebbo and Herbordus, together with some details of pre-Christian beliefs and traditions that the saint had to overcome. Ebbo in particular, in his *Vita Ottonis episcopi Bambergenis*, gives two reports (II:13, III:1) that offer some valuable insight into Pomeranian beliefs about Triglav.

Based on these accounts, most researchers and popularisers of Slavic mythology tend to assume that such a three-headed god actually represents a unity of three deities: a divine triad, or even some sort of pagan Trinity. Others, however, have noted a darker streak in this mythic character. Both Čajkanović (1994:79-80) and Čausidis (2005:448) speculate he was a chthonic deity, while Gieysztor (1982:125) sees in him a north-western variant of Veles, proto-Slavic god of dead. This paper aims to show, through a study of historic sources, ethnographic data and comparative mythology, that Triglav was indeed believed to be mostly an underworld deity, and that the triplicity of this deity ought to be considered in the context of his chthonic nature.

West Slavic Triglav in **Vita Ottonis**

We shall first analyse two passages from Ebbo's work that give us some insight into worship of Triglav. The first is in the context of Otto's first mission to Pomerania, which, for the reasons discerned bellow, met with only limited success:

"Cum vero delubra et effigies ydolorum a pio Ottone destruerentur, profani sacredotes auream imaginem Trigelawi, qui principaliter ab eis colebatur, furati, extra

provinciam abduxerunt et cuidam vidue, apud villam modicam degenti, ubi nec spes ulla requirendi esset, ad custodiendum tradiderunt. Que, mercede ad hoc conducta, quasi pupillam oculi sui includens profanum illud custodiebat simulacrum; ita ut, trunco validisime arboris cavato, illic imaginem Trigelawi pallio obductam includeret et nec videndi ne dicam tangendi illud quiquam copia esset. Solummodo foramen modicum, ubi sacrificium inferretur, in trunco patebat; nec quisquam domum illam nisi profanos sacrificorum ritus agendi causa intrabat.... Quoad audiens, inclitus Pomeranorum apostolus multifaria intecione satagebat, quoquo modo illuc attingere; ... sapienti usus consilio, quendam ex comitibus suid Hermannum nomine, ... latenter ad viduam illam destinare curavit. Cui etiam precepit, ut, assumpto habitu barbarico, ad sacrificandum Trigelawo se pergere fingeret. Hermannus itaque, pilleolum barbaricum et clamiden mercatus, post multa ardue vie pericula viduam illam tandem conveniens, asserebat: se, nuper de procelloso maris gurgite per invocationem dei sui Trigelawi erutum ideoque debitum ei pro salvatione sua sacrificium litare desiderantem, ductu eius illo mirabili ordine per ignotes vie tractus devenisse. ... Qui alacer edem illiam ingressus, ... Deinde curiosius attendens, si forte negocii, pro quo missus erat, exequendi facultas ulla suppeteret, animadvertit imaginem Trigelawi tanta cautela et firmitate trunco inpressam, ut nullo pacto eripi aut saltem loco moveri posset. ... Et circumferens oculos, vidit sellam Trigelawi comminus parieti affixam; erat autem nimie antiquitatis et nullo iam pene usui apta. Statimque exiliens cum gaudio, infaustum munus pariet detrahit et abscondit. Primoque noctis conticinio egressus, omni festinatione dominum suum sociosque revisit; cuncta que egerat replicat, sellam etiam Trigelawi in testimonium fidei sue representat. Apostolus itaque Pomeranorum, habito cum suis consilio, sibi quidem et suis ab hac requisicione deistendum censuit, ne non tam zelo iusticie quam auri cupiditate hoc agere videretur.” (Ebbo II:13)

"When the temples and the idol images had been destroyed by Otto, the sacrilegious priests carried the golden image of Triglav, which was chiefly worshipped by the people, away by stealth outside the province and committed it to the care of a certain widow who lived in a small country house where it was not likely to be looked for. The widow, for a stipulated reward, took charge of this profane image and shut it up as a man shuts the pupil of his eye. For this purpose, the trunk of a great tree was hollowed out, and the image of Triglav, after being covered with a cloak, was placed inside so that no opportunity of seeing, not to say finding it, was afforded to anyone. Only a small hole was left in the trunk where a sacrificial offering might be inserted, and no one entered the house except for the purpose of offering an idolatrous sacrifice... The famous apostle of Pomerania, on hearing this, considered many plans for getting to the place ... Accordingly, he wisely determined to send secretly to the widow's house one of his companions named Hermann ... He directed him to assume the native dress, and to pretend that he was going to sacrifice to Triglav. Hermann then bought a native cap and cloak and, after encountering many dangers in the course of his difficult journey, he came at length to the house of the widow and declared that, as the result of an appeal to his god Triglav, he had been delivered from a tempestuous sea and desired to offer a fitting sacrifice as a token of gratitude for his safety. He said also that he had been led thither in a marvellous manner and by unknown ways ... He entered eagerly into this sanctuary and ... then examined it more closely to see if there was any means

by which he could accomplish the business for which he had been sent, and he noticed that the image of Triglav had been pressed into the trunk so carefully and firmly that it could not possibly be pulled out or moved. ... Looking round he noticed that the saddle of Triglav was fixed to a wall close by: it was of great antiquity and was of very little use. He leapt with joy and, pulling from the wall this inauspicious gift, he made off. He started early in the night and with all haste rejoined his master and his companions, to whom he narrated all that he had done, and showed the saddle of Triglav in order to confirm the truth of his statements. The apostle of Pomerania, after taking counsel with his companions, decided that he and they ought to refrain from further search for the idol for fear lest it should appear that he was prompted to do this not by his zeal for justice but by his desire to secure the gold." (translation: Robinson 1920:89-91)

This entire account appears as a folktale: we have a trickster hero, a mysterious widow and a hidden pagan monstrosity. The line "after encountering many dangers in the course of his difficult journey" very much suggests that the chronicler is skipping over what may be more fantastic parts in the report he was given. It should be noted that Ebbo did not know St. Otto (Robinson 1920:10-11) and is generally considered a less reliable source on bishop's first mission than Herbordus (Leger 1984:39), who makes no mention of this entire incident at all. Ebbo probably had to make do with differing reports (about events thirty years in the past by his time) from various second-hand sources, including, perhaps, Pomeranian converts themselves. It is thus not unlikely that in this strange account we may have some traces of Pomeranian mythic narratives.

Leger (1984:120, footnote 1) noticed similarities between Ebbo's account and a Russian story he heard in his own days: about a clever constable who in a similar manner infiltrates a hidden forest sanctuary of an illegal Old Believer sect, and then makes off with their forbidden icon. The overall theme of a disguised hero who outwits some secret cult may likely indicate a generic folktale structure. However, our interest here is in more specific theme underlying Ebbo's narrative, namely this: St. Otto decides to leave Triglav alone after the idol has been hidden inside a **tree trunk.** We can compare this motif with various East Slavic folk narratives where God is described battling some demonic adversary:

"Гэто спорував Бог зь нячисъциком:

Я цябе, каецъ, забъю!
— А як ты мяне забъёш: я схуваюся!
— Куды?
— Под чаловека!
— Я чаловека забъю, грѐху ямỳ отпущу, а - цябе забъю!
— А я пот коня!
—Я й коня забъю, чаловека на гэтым месьци награжду, а цабе забъю!
— А я пот корову схуваюся!
— Я й корову забъю: хозяину на гэто место награжду, а цябе забъю

"Thus quarrelled God with the Unclean one:

I shall, 'tis said, kill you!
 — And how shall you kill me: I shall hide!
— Where?
— Beneath a man!
— I shall kill a man, relieve him of sins, and then kill you!
— And I [shall hide] beneath a horse!
— I shall kill a horse too, compensate the man at once, and then kill you!
 — And I shall hide beneath a cow!
  — I shall kill a cow too, compensate the owner at once, and then kill you

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...
— Ну, дык я, каецъ, схуваюся у воду пот корч, пот колоду!
—Ну, там твое место, там сабе будз!"
(Р 4, 155-156)

...
— Well then, I shall, 'tis said, hide in water beneath a trunk, beneath a log!
— Well, there is your place, there you be!"
(translation according to: Katičić 2008b:191)

In South Slavic tradition, the demonic being hiding in a tree-trunk is a dragon. This fragment of a very archaic song from the Croatian island of Šipan describes him as being quite unsettled by the presence of a heavenly creature above him, in this case a grey falcon:

"Javor jeli poručuje:
'Vita jelo, sestro moja,
što si žuta vrha tvoga?'
'Kako neću o javore,
o javore zelen bore!
U stabru mi ljuti zmaje,
a u vrhu više njega
sivi soko gnijezdo vije
Zmaj sokolu poručuje:
'O sokole moj sokole!
Ne vij gnijezdo više mene…"
(HNP 5, 421, no. 14)

"Maple to fir saith:
'Lean fir, sister of mine,
Why art [thou] yellow [in the] tip of thi-
ne?'
'O maple, how will I not be?
O maple, green tree!
In my trunk a fierce dragon
And on a tip above him
Grey falcon wreaths a nest
Dragon to falcon saith:
'O falcon, my falcon!
Wreath not a nest above me…"

A dragon hiding in a tree-trunk to escape the wrath of a celestial adversary is also a motif common to various ancient Russian and Belarusian fairy tales. Their overall narrative is a variation of a "Puss in Boots" story, but various details are incorporated into it from much older mythopoetic traditions. A crafty fox, playing the part of a cat who aids some poor peasant, arrives before a wealthy, cattle-herding dragon and warns him of the arrival of formidable Tsar Flame and Tsarina Lightning (in Russian versions), or simply Thunder and Lightning (Belarusian versions) (Belaj 1998:75).

"Есть в твоем саду старый заповедный дуб, средина вся повыгнила; беги и схоронись в дупло, пока они мимо не проедут."
(A 1, 399-400)

"In your orchard there is a venerable hallowed oak, rotten completely in the middle; run and hide in the trunk until they are gone."
(translation according to: Katičić 2008b:229)

In Belarusian versions, a dragon is usually identified as *Zmey Gorymc*, a name likely derived from a common Slavic word *gora*, which means both a mountain and a forest. This sobriquet is probably quite ancient, because South Slavic tradition also knows of *Zmaj Gorjanin* (Belaj 1998:78). The name may be interpreted in various ways, as meaning a dragon that is upon the mountain, a dragon that is hiding inside a mountain, a dragon that is a mountain himself, or a dragon hiding in a forest (Pleterski 2011).

This final view is partly confirmed by the name of a dragon in Russian versions of the story, where he is called *Tsar Zmijulan*. Such a character is also invoked in one very ancient Russian charm, which was meant to aid travellers lost in woods to find their way:

"Встану я <имя рек>, благословясь, пойду перекрестясь, из избы в двери, из ворот в вороты, а из ворот в чистое поле; поклонюсь на все на четыре стороны и пойду в густой, темный лес. Прийду в середину густого леса, и найду тут старца старого, как лунь седого; поклонюсь ему низехонько и скажу: «Гой еси, старец, как лунь седой! Скажи ты мне всю правду-истину: где живет царь Змиулан?» «Поди ты в правую сторону к царю Змиулану: что, не дуб стоит, Змиулан сидит; что, не ветер шумит, Змиулан говорит.» «Гои еси, царь Змиулан! Прикажи ты своим верным слугам меня <имя рек> из сего леса темного вывести и направить на путь на дорогу.» Бодьте, мои слова, крепки и лепки, отныне до веку. Замок в роте, а ключ в воду." (Май 105, № 261)

"I, [name of supplicant] stand, bless myself and I go, making the sing of cross, from room to porch, from porch to gates, and from gates in plain field, I bow to all four sides and go to a thick, dark forest. I enter the middle of a thick, dark forest and I find here an old elder, gray as a kite, I bow to him deeply and I say: 'Be healthy, old man, gray as a kite. You tell me all the right truth: where does Tsar Zmijulan live?' 'You go to the right side to Tsar Zmijulan: what, that is not an oak standing, Zmijulan is sitting; what, that is not wind whistling, Zmijulan is speaking.' 'Be healthy, Tsar Zmijulan! You command your faithful servants to take me [name of supplicant] outside of this dark forest and send me on the path and road.' Be, my words, stout and sticky, from now till ever. A lock on the mouth, and key in water" (translation according to: Katičić 2007:120-121).

This charm has several parallels to the narrative found in Ebbo. First, the motive: the supplicant here seeks the aid of Tsar Zmijulan to help him find his way in a forest, while Otto's spy, Hermann, proclaims: "He had been led thither in a marvellous manner and by unknown ways". Second, the intermediary: the way to the Tsar Zmijulan is guarded by a grey old man, and the idol of Triglav is guarded by an old widow. Third and most important, both Zmijulan and Triglav hide in a tree, so that they remain inaccessible and unknown to the outsiders. Yet the faithful who have been initiated into the rites of their deity will have no trouble recognizing him in his dwelling place: "That is not an oak standing, Zmijulan is sitting." Fourth and final, in both accounts, there is an emphasis on secrecy of this entire matter: "A lock on the mouth, and key in the water."

It is noteworthy how in South Slavic folklore there exists a character with a name almost identical to Tsar Zmijulan - *Zmijski car*. This serpent king was sometimes imagined as having three heads (Loma 1998:48). That a serpent, and a triune one at that, can be hidden at a bottom of a tree in East Slavic traditions as well, can be shown by various Belarussian charms against snake venom. Typically these have the following form:

"У чистым поли, на синим мори стоиць дуб шыроколист. Под тым дубом вовцы стары, пераяры, чорная вовна. На тэй вовни ляжиць змея змяиная..."

(Р 5, 108, № 280)

"On the plain field, on the wide sea, stands an oak of wide leafs. Beneath that oak there are old sheep, sheep of yesteryear, black wool. On that wool lays a serpent serpentine..."

(translation according to: Katičić 2007:104)

But can also appear in variations such as this:

"На мори на Лукоморъи стоить дуб, а под дубом камянь, а на камяни чорное руно, а ў чорном руни три змяи..."

(Р 5, 111, № 293)

"On sea, in bay, stands an oak, beneath that oak a stone, and on that stone black wool, and in black wool [lie] three serpents..."

(translation according to: Katičić 2008b:203)

Thus the overall semantic structure of narrative shifts freely between one serpent and three serpents. The conclusion would be that a serpent at the bottom of a tree is somehow tripartite, and this quite obviously implies three heads. Katičić (2008b:201) also notes the triplicity of this mythic serpent; however, he sees a parallel with various Indo-European triune goddesses, rather than what may be a more obvious connection to the West Slavic Triglav. The woolly nest in which this triune serpent hides is also significant, because wool, especially black wool, has a very strong connection with the world of dead in Slavic folklore. (Katičić 2007:101-111, Belaj 1998:138-139,142). There may be parallels to this in Ebbo's account, as the chronicler mentions the idol was covered with a cloak: *pallio obductam*. The basic meaning of *pallium* in Latin is a cloak or a covering (Charlton & Short 1879), but during the middle ages, the word acquired a more specific meaning of a type of liturgical vestment, a woolly scarf, which was worn by the highest ranking clergy and pope himself (Braun 1991). It is thus possible the chronicler meant that Triglav's idol was wrapped into something woolly.

Ebbo's second report concerning Triglav is much shorter, and probably less legendary and more factual. Here the chronicler shortly describes the paganism in which Pomerania lapsed, prior to St. Otto's second mission there in 1128:

"Stettin vero, amplissima civitas et maior Iulin, tres montes ambitu suo conclusos habebat. Quorum medius qui et alcior, summo paganorum deo Tirgelawo dicatus, tricapitum habebat simulacrum, quod aurea cidari oculos et labia contegebat; asserentibus ydolorum sacredotibus: ideo summum deum tria habere capita, quoniam tria procuraret regna, id est celi terre eti inferni; et faciem cidari operire pro eo, quod peccata hominum, quasi non videnus et tacens, dissimularet." (Ebbo III:1)

"Stettin, their most extensive town, which was larger than Julin, included three hills in its circuit. The middle one of these, which was also the highest, was dedicated to Triglav, the chief god of the pagans; its image had a triple head and its

eyes and lips were covered with a golden diadem. The idol priests declared that their chief god had three heads because it had charge of three kingdoms, namely, heaven, earth and the underworld, and that its face was covered with a diadem so that it might pretend not to see the sins of men, and might keep silence" (translation: Robbinson,1920:110).

Two themes are present here: symbolism of the three heads and symbolism of the gold. We shall first examine the latter. The essence seems to be a connection between golden diadems and "sins of men".

Belaj (1998:48) notes how in Slavic folklore "gold is connected with some diseases, for instance jaundice (Czech *zlatenicě*, Slovak *zlátenica, zlatnica, zlatka*, Slovenian *zlatenica*; a close semantic connection is obvious between notions of 'golden' and 'yellow') and scrofula (tuberculosis boils on the neck, in Russian *золотуха [zolotuha]*)."

In a well-known oath of Kievan prince Igor, recorded in the Russian Primary Chronicle for the year 971, the underworld god Veles/Volos is invoked to punish the oath breakers by making them "*злати Якоже злато (zoloti yako zoloto* – 'yellow as gold')" (Zaroff, 1999:60), i.e., have them stricken with diseases. Similar ideas seems to have existed among the West Slavs, as indicated by the German priest Helmod of Bossau, who in his *Chronica Slavorum* (I.84) writes how the Slavs are extremely reluctant to swear an oath, fearing the avenging wrath of their gods (Zaroff, 2001:85). The gods which punish with diseases are, in almost any mythology, of chthonic nature. Diseases belong to the world of dead. Yet the same supernatural power that curses with illness can also remove it, so the underworld is usually the best address to petition for a cure. We can observe this way of thinking very clearly in the following Russian charms against some sort of cattle ailment:

"… пойду в сырые горы, ко синему морю и в ледяную лужу; из ледяныя лужи течет ледян змей и пожирает он чистое сребро и красное золото. И гой еси, змей, не пожирай чистого сребра и красного золота, и поди ты к моей милой скотине в правую ноздрю пожрати всю полтретьядцать ноктев." (Май 77, № 197).

"...I go into the moist mountains, to wide sea and into an ice bog; from ice bog flows an ice dragon and devours he pure silver and beautiful gold. And be healthy, dragon, do not devour pure silver and beautiful gold, and you go to my dear cattle, in right nostril, to devour all half of thirty nails."
(translation according to: Katičić, 2007:100)

Here the dragon's devouring of "pure silver and beautiful gold" is implied to be the same thing as his devouring (i.e., removing) of whatever sickness was meant under this folk name. It is essentially being asked to take back to himself that which afflicted the animal. In the same way, in this following charm, another dragon, the golden-headed like the statue of Triglav, is invoked to remove the snake venom from patient:

"Во морском озере, во святом колодце черпаю я воду, отговариваю, приговариваю от той лютой от медяницы, от

"In the sea lake, in holy spring I draw water, I respond, I complain of that fierce viper, of golden head. You, fierce dragon,

золотой головой. Ты, змей лютый, золотая голова, выкинь свою жалу од рабы божией (имя рек) …" (Май 73, № 183)

golden head, tear away your sting from the servant of God [name of patient]…"
(translation according to: Katičić, 2007:99)

Knowing all this, we may offer the following explanation for golden diadems on Triglav's statue: Triglav is blindfolded so he cannot see the "sins of men", which would anger him, and provoke him to unleash his ghastly powers in retribution. To make sure the deity is completely prevented from bringing ills into the mortal world, he is also gagged to "keep silence", i.e., be unable to utter deadly curses which would result in diseases. With the malevolent aspects of the god being so tabooized, beneficent ones are enhanced at the same time, by making the bands over his eyes and mouths golden. Thus, through the rules of imitative magic – the belief that like attracts like – the deity is aided in recalling back onto himself the 'golden' diseases that already plague the world.

Finally, we come to the symbolism of Triglav's three heads. Ebbo's statement, at first, seems to bluntly contradict idea of Triglav being a chthonic deity. The chronicler describes the god as ruling all three levels of mythic cosmos: heavens, earth and underworld. However, the Latin verb Ebbo uses here is *procurare*, which actually means "to take care of, attend to, look after" (Charlton & Short, 1879). *Procurator* would thus be someone who rules not by command or force, but by virtue of providing for the well-being of his subjects. Therefore, the correct understanding of this passage is that Triglav **provides** for the three kingdoms, in a sense that he has a responsibility for maintaining their continual existence.

The belief in tripartite division of cosmos among Slavs is rather well attested by archaeology. The most well-known relic of Slavic paganism yet uncovered is the famous "Zbruch idol", whose three tiers of reliefs engraved upon each of its four sides are assumed to represent three levels of mythical cosmos. If this is so, then what we have depicted in the lowest tier should be a god of underworld who supports the entire earth on his outstretched arms (Čausidis 2007:448).

Two parallels with Ebbo's account are apparent here. First, this Slavic Atlas quite literally bears responsibility for maintaining all three levels of cosmos in existence. They would all collapse into ruinous chaos of underworld was he to cease his support. Second, unlike the characters in upper tiers, he is depicted on only three sides of the pillar: the fourth side in lowest register is left blank, and this was surely not done unintentionally, or without a symbolic meaning. The chthonic deity apparently had to be shown with only three heads. Thus the lowest tier of a Zbruch idol provides us with an image of a three-headed god who provides for the well-being of the three kingdoms (*tria procuraret regna)* of heaven, earth and underworld.

This could also explain why the name "Triglav" is so frequently tied to mountains in the toponymy of South Slavic lands. The three-headed god of underworld acts as the very foundation of *axis mundi*, which in mythic traditions most often takes the form of either the world tree or world mountain. We have already seen how this deity hides in a tree, merges with the tree and becomes the hallowed tree itself. In a similar manner, the god of underworld who resides at the very bottom of the world mountain, who bears the world mountain upon himself, actually become the world mountain, supporting the entire cosmos.

Tricephalic characters among East and South Slavs

The name of Triglav seems to be absent from toponymy, as well as from folklore, of East Slavs. It also does not appear in any of the known historic sources mentioning various East Slavic deities. The theonym which does appear in several East Slavic medieval manuscripts is *Trojan*. It is listed among the condemned pagan gods in the 12th century translation of the pious Greek legend *Virgin's Descent into Hell*, and in the 16th century *Revelation of St. Apostle* (Leger 1984:110). It is also repeatedly mentioned in the epic *Lay of Igor's Campaign,* though in fairly obscure context: the poem sings of the "path of Trojan", "ages of Trojan", and the "land of Trojan", without any hint of what these are (Magnus 1915:50). The name is also known from toponymy: there is a village called Trojan near Smolensk, Trojanovo near Tver, Trojanovka near Poltava, the ruins near Kiev called Trojan's Moat (балъ трояновъ) by local people; also possibly related are several rural localities called Troitsk through Russia, former village of Troitskoye near Moscow, and the town of Troilov on the Don River (Magnus 1915:51). In the Balkans, there is a city (and a nearby monastery) of Trojan in Bulgaria, several Trojan villages in Romania, and the ruins called Trojan's City (*Trojanov Grad*) on mountain Cer in Serbia.

Several explanations were proposed for this name. One has it deriving from the name of Roman emperor Trajan, the conqueror of Dacia, deified after death, whose cult possibly endured long enough among Romanized populations of lower Danube to influence (at least South and East) Slavic pre-Christian beliefs. This possibility is strengthened by the fact that some folk accounts explicitly state that Trojan is (or was) a Roman emperor (Leger 1984:111). The second explanation understands the name as meaning "Third" or "Threefold" (Magnus 1915:52). This, however, in no way excludes the first hypothesis. While Trajan's cult might indeed had some influence on Slavic mythic traditions, the deified emperor would eventually be incorporated into the pre-existing Slavic belief system, and his name explained through Slavic folk etymology. In such a way Trajan could become Trojan, "Triune", and end up being identified with a native Slavic deity, one that was already believed to be somehow tripartite.

Such a view is supported by the fact that in South Slavic folklore Trojan really does appear as a tricephalic and chthonic monster. In particular, among the Serbs, there was a belief in vampiric *Tsar Trojan*, who rides out into the nights and seduces the wives of his subjects, but has to flee before his horses eat their barley and the roosters crow, otherwise the sun dawns on him and he melts. (Magnus 1915:52) The following version of such tale was recorded in the 19th century by Vuk Karadžić:

> "In a castle on Mount Cer there lived Tsar Trojan. He had three heads: one devoured people, the other animals, and third fish. By day, he dwelt in his city on [mount] Cer, and by night in Tsirina on Sava [river]. The people disliked such a way of life, and complained to St. Demetrius, one of Trojan's servants, and pleaded him to ask his master about what he fears. 'I fear only the sun', answered Trojan. Learning this, St. Demetrius filled the horses' feedbags with sand instead barley, and told people to pluck out tongues of their roosters, so their song would not signal dawn to Trojan. Thus was he distracted, and, being late, the sun caught upon him. He plunged beneath a haystack, but a bull came and trampled the hay, and he melted." (Leger, 1984:113)

Based on this, Čajkanović (1994:76-83) equates Trojan with the Pomeranian Triglav. There are indeed several parallels here, aside the obvious tricephaly. First, the presence of horses, and implication of Trojan as a night rider is significant. Describing St. Otto's first mission to Pomerania, Herbordus (II:33) notes how in the city of Stettin, people held a great black horse – a chthonic symbol if there ever was one – considered so sacrosanct that no one was allowed to ride it, and one of their chief priests was charged to look after the animal at all times. (Robinson 1920:79) The chronicler nowhere states Pomeranians believed this to be Triglav's steed: he only describes the augury rite performed by the horse. However, since Ebbo mentions Triglav's saddle in his first report, we may assume the three-headed god was at least in some way connected to this animal.

Second, there is a motif of Trojan hiding beneath a haystack. Katičić (2007:111-117) lists various Slavic beliefs concerning harvest rituals, all of which mention an entity – a bear among East Slavs, or a God among South Slavs – sitting on the haystack, or hiding beneath it. He concludes that among proto-Slavs, the underworld god Veles, in his more benign role as "lord of wealth" had a special connection with the harvest, and was believed to preside over it, by sitting beneath a haystack (2007:118). The word "stack", Proto-Slavic *stògъ*, originally meant "pole, shaft" (cf. old Norse *stakkr* "stack, shaft", Latvian *stēgs* "rod, pole") (2007:113). This wooden pole is simply another representation of *axis mundi*, the world pillar which on the macrocosmic level was symbolized by an image of a world tree or a world mountain. Thus, the deity who hides at the bottom of a haystack is the same deity who hides inside a trunk of a hallowed tree, or who supports the very foundation of a world mountain.

Third, there are quite a few Serbian tales involving the fantastic Cer Mountain, and the legendary ruins of Trojan's city on it. In one of these, the population of Trojan's city are said to be pagans, worshiping an idol of silver and gold (Petrović 1970:10). This could, of course, be a common storytelling cliché, but the significance of gold in the cult of Triglav has been noted above. Another legend tells of a dragon living in a lake beneath Trojan's city, who had to be appeased with regular sacrifices of animals, and, sometimes, women. (Petrović 1970:11) That this dragon might indeed be another form of Trojan is further supported by an East Slavic tradition. Compare the opening lines of Serbian tale with the beginning of this Novgorod legend from Russia:

> "In Novgorod, they say, in the place of Peryn monastery, there once lived a serpent-beast Peryn, who every night went to sleep in Ilmen, to a cowgirl [on river] Volhov..."
> (Katičić, 2008b:245).

We see the same underlying structure in both narratives, with merely the names reflecting local conditions: a monstrous being traverses the dichotomy of sanctuary/hill/day - village/river/night, in order to reach his riverside girlfriend(s). While in the Serbian version, this monster is three-headed, in Russian it is described as a "serpent-beast", i.e., a dragon. The implication is that Trojan – and, if we follow Čajkanović equation, Triglav as well – might have originally been understood as some dragon-like being. Moreover, the tricephaly of Slavic dragons is a well-known motif from folklore. Among the East Slavs, Zmey Gorymc was often imagined with three heads (Ivanov

& Toporov, 1990:672). Among the South Slavs, dragon-like or serpent-like beings of conclusively chthonic nature usually bear foreign names, such as Turkish *Aždaja*, which is also most often imagined as being three-headed (Petrović 1970:9). However, both Gorymc and Aždaja can have more than three heads: five-, seven-, nine- or even twelve-headed dragons are also known from folklore. But tricephaly seems to be by far the most prevalent, and most ancient theme. We can observe this in the following Bulgarian song, where St. George overcomes a three-headed dragoness called *Lamja*. Despite this name being a recent loan-word from Greek (λάμια), the song itself contains a very archaic motif:

"Търгнал ми е свети Георги — свети Георги, божне ле, с аляна коня! —да обижда зелен синор... На път среща сура лама, трооглава, шестокрила, път му пречи, ход не дава, затворила шест планини, заключила шест извори, та не дава капка вода. Извади се цветен Георги, извади се остра сабля, та замахна и отсече, та отсече до три глави, та бликнали, та потекли, то потекли до три реки: първа река жълто жито, друга река ройно вино, трета река мед и масло..."

"Forth went Saint George – Saint George, my God, with a scarlet horse – around green meadow... On the way he meets dire Lamja, three-headed, six-winged, she blocks his path, not letting him pass, she closed six mountains, locked six springs, not a drop of water will she give. Saint George draws forth, he draws a keen sabre, he brandishes and then cuts, then he cuts off three heads, then burst, then flowed, then flowed three rivers: first river of yellow grain, second river of red wine, third river of honey and butter..." (Katičić 2008:98).

Here we have preserved elements of the ancient Indo-European mythic structure, in which the dragon blocks, and the hero releases rivers, through "slaying obstacle", *vṛtra-han-* as the Vedic hymns glorify their thunder-god Indra. This brings us to the final part of this study.

Tricephaly in other Indo-European myths

We will now compare elements of Slavic mythic traditions with the overall structure of more ancient Indo-European myths about three-headed monstrous beings. One of more infamous of these is the dragon-king of Iranian mythic and epic poetry, *Aži Dahāka,* from whose name, via Turkish, originated the South-Slavic term "aždàja" for dragons in general (Katičić, 2008:99, footnote 57). In the Iranian myth, he is slain by the hero *Thraētaona,* who himself prays in Avesta:

"avat âyaptem dazdi-mê vanguhi sevishte aredvî sûre anâhite ýat bavâni aiwi-vanyå azhîm dahâkem thrizafanem thrikameredhem xshvash-ashîm hazangrâ-ýaoxshtîm ashaojanghem daêvîm drujem akhem gaêthâvyô drvañtem ýãm ashaojastemãm drujem fraca kereñtat angrô mainyush aoi ýãm astvaitîm gaêthãm mahrkâi asha-

"Grant me this, O good, most beneficent Aredvî Sûra Anâhita! that I may overcome Aži Dahāka, the three mouthed, the three-headed, the six-eyed, who has a thousand senses, that most powerful, fiendish Druj that demon, baleful to the world, the strongest Druj that Angra Mainyu created against the material world, to destroy

he gaêthanãm, uta-hê vañta azâni sang-
havâci arenavâci ŷôi hen kehrpa sraêshta
zazâitêe gaêthyâi-tê ŷôi abdôteme."
(Yt. 5.34)

the world of the good principle; and that
I may deliver his two wives, Savanghavak
and Erenavak, who are the fairest of body
amongst women, and the most wonderful
creatures in the world"
(translation: Darmesteter, 1883:61-62).

However, Avesta also describes Aži Dahāka as piously praying to the goddess
Anâhita (Yt.5.29), sacrificing to her a "hundred male horses, a thousand oxen, and
ten thousand lambs" (Darmesteter, 1883:60-61). As Skjaervø (1987) points out, Aži
Dahāka behaves more or less "like the other heroes and non-heroes of the Avestan
mythological prehistory, and it is not clear whether he was originally considered as a
human in dragon-shape or a dragon in man-shape." In Firdausi's masterwork *Shah-nameh*, an Iranian national epic written around 1000 A.D. and based on ancient royal
and folk legends, Aži Dahāka appears as *Zahak*, a tyrannical but definitely anthropo-morphic ruler who for a thousand years enslaves the entire world. Though the epic
tradition transformed him "more strongly into a pseudo-historical person, he is still
described as having two snakes growing from his shoulders". (Khaleghi-Motlagh,
1987). Thus, his enduring attributes – draconic or (partly) serpentine nature, tricepha-ly (three heads, or one human plus two serpents') and kingship – all show parallels
to the mythic structure we have thus far explored in connection with Slavic Triglav.

The Avestan name, Aži Dahāka has a cognate in Vedic as *áhi dāsá*. The Avestan
aži and Vedic *áhi* both mean "serpent, snake". The Avestan *dahāka* is more obscure, but
a possible Vedic cognate, *dāsá* or *dāsyu* means "foe, infidel, demon" (Puhvel, 1987:107).
The Indic form is indeed alluded to in Vedic hymns concerning the monster named
Viśvarūpa. He is slain by *Trita*, sidekick of the storm god Indra, who himself boasts:

"tritāya gā ajanayam áher ádhi"
(RV.10.48.2)

"For Trita I brought forth the cows
from the serpent" (translation: Watkins,
1995:315).

Later on, it is said again of Indra:

"sa id dāsamṃ tuvīravaṃ pátir dán
ṣaḷakṣan triśīrṣāṇaṃ damanyat"
(RV 10.99.6)

"This lord in the house overpowered the
loud-roaring, six-eyed, three-headed dāsa"
(translation: Watkins, 1995:315).

The names and ancestry of this adversary, who thus figures both as *áhi* and *dāsá,*
and is described with the exact phrase as the Avestan dragon-king (three-headed, six-eyed), are revealed only after he is slain and his cattle taken away:

"tvāṣṭrasya cid viśvarūpasya ghonāmā
cakraṇas trīṇi śīrṣā parā vark."
(RV 10.8.9)

"Having driven off for himself some of
the cows of Viśvarūpa, son of Tvastr, he
twisted off the three heads" (translation:
Watkins, 1995:464).

The name Viśvarūpa means "having many forms", but this creature is also known as *Triśírṣás*, "Three-headed". Interestingly enough, this Indic Triglav was believed to be a chief priest of gods, and his murder was later considered a grave offence attributed to Indra (Puhvel, 1987:53).

A very similar myth, often compared to Indic one, occurs in Ancient Greece, where Heracles in his tenth labour, has to travel to the fairy island of Erytheia on the westernmost reaches of the world, and there slay the three-headed giant *Geryon*, together with his herdsmen *Eurytion* and his hound *Orthos* (the two-headed brother of the more famous, three-headed Cerberus) in order to retrieve giant's fabled cows. The oldest preserved account of this exploit is found in Hesiod's *Theogony*:

"Χρυσάωρ δ᾽ ἔτεκεν τρικέφαλον Γηρυονῆα μιχθεὶς Καλλιρόῃ κούρῃ κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο. τὸν μὲν ἄρ᾽ ἐξενάριξε βίη Ἡρακληείη βουσὶ πὰρ᾽ εἰλιπόδεσσι περιρρύτῳ εἰν Ἐρυθείῃ ἤματι τῷ ὅτε περ βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους Τίρυνθ᾽ εἰς ἱερὴν διαβὰς πόρον Ὠκεανοῖο Ὄρθον τε κτείνας καὶ βουκόλον Εὐρυτίωνα σταθμῷ ἐν ἠερόεντι πέρην κλυτοῦ Ὠκεανοῖο." (Th. 287-294)

"Khrysaor, married to Kallirhoe, daughter of glorious Okeanos, was father to the triple-headed Geryon, but Geryon was killed by the great strength of Heracles at sea-circled Erytheis beside his own shambling cattle on that day when Heracles drove those broad-faced cattle toward holy Tiryns, when he crossed the stream of Okeanos and had killed Orthos and the oxherd Eurytion out in the gloomy meadow beyond fabulous Okeanos" (translation: Theoi; Geryon, 2012).

Fontenrose (1980:335) notes various parallels between Geryon and various Greek dragons, most notably Delphic *Python* and multi-headed *Ladon,* and concludes that this Greek Triglav was in fact a god of underworld, "a king of dead, a form of Thanatos or Hades". He also notes the overall similarity of such chthonic deities with the heaven-bearing titan Atlas (1980:346). In the mostly fragmentary poem *Geryoneis*, composed by poet Stesichorus during the 7th or 6th century B.C., Geryon appears much less as a monster and more as tragic hero, who stoically accepts his fate after a touching farewell with his mother. This is despite the fact that the physical description of giant here is by far more monstrous than in Hesiod's account. According to Apollodorus (Bibliotheca 2.5.10), Steischorus described Geryon with "the body of three men joined at the waist, which became three form at the flanks and thighs" (Watkins, 1995:466).

Watkins (1995:467) concludes: "Stesichorus in the Geryoneis described the adversary of Heracles as THREE-HEADED and SIX-somethinged. ... We may regard this as a poetic and mythographic formula common to Indo-Iranian and Greek, and resting on the semantic equations:

tri-śīrṣán-	ṣaḷ-ákṣa
tri-mūrdhán-	
thri-kameredhem	xshvash-ashî-

τρι-κέφαλο-   έζ(α)-”.

To these we may add the example from Slavic tradition, with the Bulgarian song of St. George describing his adversary, dragoness Lamja, as:

трооглава (three-headed)   шестокрила (six-winged)

Of course, such a formula, as Watkins notes, is rather easy to develop. However, that we are not dealing with a mere coincidence, but that the Slavic textual tradition is really anchored in wider context of Indo-European sacred poetry, is shown by the similarity in overall structure of the four mythic narratives. The slaying of the tricephalic adversary in Indic and Greek tradition results in releases of cows: in Iranian tradition, of women; and in Slavic tradition, rivers of wealth. And in all four myths, this monster has certain sacrosanct qualities: Avestan Aži Dahāka is a king, Vedic Viśvarūpa a high priest, Greek Geryon a tragic hero lamanted by a poem, and the Slavic three-headed dragon, in all probability, represents the great god Triglav.

Instead of a direct conclusion, we shall first offer a bit of trivia: the word *trivia* comes from Latin expression *tri vium*, “three ways”. The name originally designated the junction of three roads or streets, and got its current meaning because these were places of idle chatter and gossip, where one could hardly expect to hear anything of reason or importance. In the Roman Empire, shrines of certain deities where placed at such crossroads, and these bore epithet *trivius*. The 10th century Byzantine encyclopaedia Suda mentions that the pagan god presiding over such three-way junctions was Hermes, depicted there with three heads, and called Τρικεφαλος, i.e. Triglav (Theoi; Hermes, 2012).

Now Hermes, even though considered an Olympian in Classical Greece, was still in many ways a chthonic deity. In his more benevolent role he appears as a guide of the dead and a patron of the shepherds, god of music and commerce, protector of athletes and travellers, and a helper of Zeus in his fight against monstrous Typhon. In his darker aspects, however, Hermes was also a trickster and a thief, a god of sorcery and mischief, a cattle rustler and an enemy of Apollo, appearing essentially on the side of the dragon Python in Delphic myths (Fontenrose 1980:432-433). Hermes’ Roman counterpart – Mercury – was described by Caesar (de bello Gallico, 6.17.1) as the chief god of Gauls. This Gaulish Mercury was depicted with, among other things, sacred trees, horses, wolves, roosters, snakes, bags of gold and, most notably, three heads. Three-headed reliefs ascribed to this deity were found in Paris, Reims and Soissons (Rokus 2011). The Germanic version of Mercury was Wodan or Odin, who among his many functions was also a god of dead, a sorcerer, a wanderer and a night rider, depicted with horses, wolves, ravens and sometimes a snake. He was also somehow connected to the world tree of Norse mythology, *Yggdrasill,* whose name translates as “Odin’s *(Yggr’s)* steed” (Simek 1993:375). In *Gylfaginning,* first part of Prose Edda, three chieftans appear, seated on royal thrones and named *Hár, Jafnhár, Þriðji* (“High, Just-as-high, Third”). Later in the text, Odin reveals these are actually his alter-egos:” “I call myself [...] Third, [...] High, [... and] Just-as-high” (Rokus 2011).

Conclusion

All this indicates that triplicity in various Indo-European mythologies tends to be tied with gods of death, magic and netherworld, and the Slavic Triglav should, in all probability, be considered as belonging to this bunch. The darker aspects of such chthonic deities may indeed appear as enemies of mortal heroes and heavenly gods, and in such cases mythic narratives may be more likely to portray them as destructive and sometimes three-headed monsters.

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Htonski vidiki pomorjanskega boga Triglava in drugi triglavi liki v slovanski mitologiji

Luka Trkanjec

Članek raziskuje zahodnoslovanskega Triglava, ki ga opisuje *Vita Otonis*, življenjepis sv. Otona Bamberškega, škofa iz 12. stoletja, kot troglavega boga pomorjanskih Slovanov ob obali Baltika. Članek dokazuje, da je troglavost značilnost podzemnega božanstva. Podrobno analizira opis Triglava v Otonovem življenjepisu in njegove lastnosti primerja s podatki iz etnografskih virov. Tako razkriva primarno mitično strukturo, ki močno kaže na htonični značaj. Povezana je z zmaji in kačami kot arhetipskimi bitji podzemlja, ki so sama pogosto opisana kot triglava ali trojna. Nadaljnja primerjava z izbranimi etnografskimi viri vzpostavlja povezavo med vzhodnoslovanskim in južnoslovanskim mitičnim likom Trojanom in zahodnoslovanskim Triglavom. Nazadnje avtor pokaže vzporednice z različnimi triglavimi bitji v starih indoevropskih mitih (Iran, Indija, Grčija). Avtor ugotavlja, da je triglavi bog podzemlja praslovanska in verjetno indoevropska mitična tradicija.

Сибирская традиция почитания святых мест в контексте народной исторической памяти[*]

Галина В. Любимова

Памяти коллеги и друга
В.В. Виноградова

The concept of holy places in the East Slavic tradition involves water springs, hills, trees, stones, wooden crosses and other landscape objects, of natural or artificial origin, endowed with a sacred status. As a rule, the "beginning" of the revered place is interpreted in the narratives as a result of activity of mythological characters, epic heroes or divine forces. Based on the author's field materials, archival documents, publications of local periodicals and published works of the Siberian Old Believer writers, the article discusses the veneration of sacred places in tradition of the Russian population of Siberia. Special attention is paid to the history of one of the most revered places of the Altai Territory (the holy spring near the village of Sorochy Log). Its origin is referred to the historical events of the Civil War. Nevertheless, the analysis revealed that these events are comprehended in people's historical memory according to the principles of mythological thinking.

Keywords: sacred places, religious and ritual practices, people's historical memory, Russian population of Siberia.

Вводные замечания

Важную роль в традиционных моделях организации жизненного пространства играет такая категория, как центр мира, на практике соотносимая с культовым или почитаемым местом. Символическое оформление подобных локусов, а также религиозно-обрядовые практики их почитания имеют ярко выраженную этническую и конфессиональную специфику. В восточно-славянской традиции святые места – это водные источники, холмы, деревья, камни, деревянные кресты и прочие ландшафтные объекты природного или искусственного происхождения, наделенные сакральным статусом. Повествовательный репертуар, который складывается вокруг подобных объектов, обычно содержит этиологические нарративы – легенды и предания, раскрывающие мифологическое происхождение той или иной сакральной точки. Как правило, «начало» почитаемого места трактуется как результат деятельности мифологических персонажей, эпических героев или божественных сил.[1]

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[1] Виноградова 1999

На основе полевых материалов автора, архивных документов, публикаций местной периодики, а также сочинений сибирских писателей-старообрядцев в статье рассматривается традиция почитания святых мест русским населением Сибири. Особое внимание уделяется проблеме трансформации повествований о происхождении местных святынь в первой половине XX в.

Хозяйственное и культурное освоение зауральских территорий русскими первопроходцами сопровождалось, как известно, повсеместным утверждением религиозных святынь и символов, означавших включение неизведанных ранее пространств в мир истинной, христианской веры. Монастыри и храмы становились паломническими центрами общесибирского значения. Основу местных народно-православных культов составили славянские народные воззрения, связанные с почитанием сакральных объектов природы.

Феноменология почитаемого места

Современное состояние сибирской традиции почитания святых мест, повсеместное возрождение которой в настоящее время происходит при непосредственном участии Русской Православной Церкви, характеризуется регулярным проведением крестных ходов и возведением культовых сооружений (деревянных крестов, часовен или храмов) в непосредственной близости от объекта природы, наделенного сакральным статусом. В подавляющем большинстве случаев подобным природным объектом оказывается водный источник (родник или ключ), отмеченный, согласно народным воззрениям, символикой женского плодородящего и исцеляющего начала. Указанная символика поддерживается бытующими вплоть до настоящего времени преданиями о так называемых явленных (всплывающих время от времени из воды) иконах («*божественных ликах*»), большая часть которых относится к богородичному типу.[2] Само явление божественного образа, пишет в этой связи А.А. Панченко, не только подчеркивает потусторонний, прежде всего, сакральный, статус приплывающего / уплывающего предмета, но и служит своего рода знаком, посредством которого потусторонний (сакральный) мир отмечает выделенность данного места из окружающего пространства, сообщая ему статус священного локуса.[3]

Одним из типичных в указанном отношении природно-сакральных комплексов является почитаемый источник, расположенный возле села Усть-Серта Чебулинского района Кемеровской области. В отличие от других подобных комплексов связанная с ним локальная традиция, по словам местных жителей, не прерывалась за все время существования советской власти. Все эти годы жители села, невзирая на отсутствие священника и активное сопротивление властей, совершали «молебства» на поля и к источнику, вода которого считалась святой, а потому – целебной. По словам лучшей «песельницы» и старейшей жительницы села «бабы Поли» (П.А. Масловой, 1909 г.р.), «*на Казанскую всегда службу в церкви служили, потом с иконами на часовню шли, воду* (в источнике) *святили, после – на кладбище, умерших поминали, медовуху пили*». Названный культовый комплекс являлся также местом периодических молений о дожде, когда к высшим

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[2] Любимова 2012: 118
[3] Панченко 1998: 135, 139

небесным силам взывали с молитвенными обращениями: «*Пресвятая Мать Казанская, / Моли Бога о нас… / Многомилостивый Господи, / Услышь нас, молящих Тебе… / Святитель Никола, / Моли Бога, спаси нас*» и т.п. (ПМА, 2002).

Местной святыней и религиозным символом праздника стала икона Казанской Божьей Матери, история которой драматична и в то же время достаточно типична. Появление ее в селе окутано тайной и связано с легендами о том, что сама «*икона – явленная*»: рассказывают, что лик Богородицы «являлся» в местном ключе. Вместе с тем, известно, что до 1936 г. местом пребывания иконы, размеры которой достаточно внушительны, а вес достигает 20 кг, была церковь, а после – она попала к К.Т. Павлаковой (1926 г.р.). Десятилетней девочкой она привезла ее на санях домой, спасая от «*активистов*», которые «*превратили церковь в зерносушилку и топили иконами стоявшую там печь*».

Сходные поверья о чудесном явлении в воде божественных ликов были зафиксированы в Заринском районе Алтайского края. Каждый из выявленных в селах Жуланиха и Среднекрасилово культовых комплексов в недавнем прошлом представлял собой возведенную над святым ключом храмовую постройку, включавшую обширную подземную часть – рукотворные *пещёры*. Самое раннее предание, повествующее о начале почитаемого места, датируется концом XIX в. Считается, что именно тогда деревенский пастух, захотевший напиться из родника, впервые «*увидел в воде лик, икону Божьей Матери, всю в цветах*», причем «*в руки лик никак не давался*». Позже родник был освящен батюшкой из деревенской церкви

Рис. 1. Колодец со святой водой возле с. Жуланиха Заринского р-на Алтайского края

(ПМА, 2001, с. Жуланиха) (**рис. 1**). Приведенный нарратив по классификации В.В. Виноградова относится к особой группе текстов, раскрывающих «мифологическое происхождение» сакральной точки.[4] Деревенский пастух является здесь не случайным персонажем, поскольку сфера его профессиональной деятельности (как и охотника в других подобных текстах) протекает на границе обжитого и неосвоенного пространства, где, по народным воззрениям, могут проявлять себя силы потустороннего мира.

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[4] Виноградов 2004

Рассказы о явлении божественных ликов в святой воде продолжают оставаться характерной чертой современной народной религиозности. По словам местного жителя М.Н. Соколова (1946 г.р.), в детстве мать водила его на ключи: *«как-то раз (она) говорит: «Смотри, Миша, что сейчас будет» – бросила копеечку, а из воды икона Божьей Матери с младенцем всплыла. Я сам все это видел».* Подобные свидетельства воспринимаются носителями религиозного сознания как знак особой избранности, некой отмеченности людей, которым явилось чудо, и наоборот, неспособность узреть одну из форм проявления божественной воли считается показателем греховности человека, его недостаточной готовности
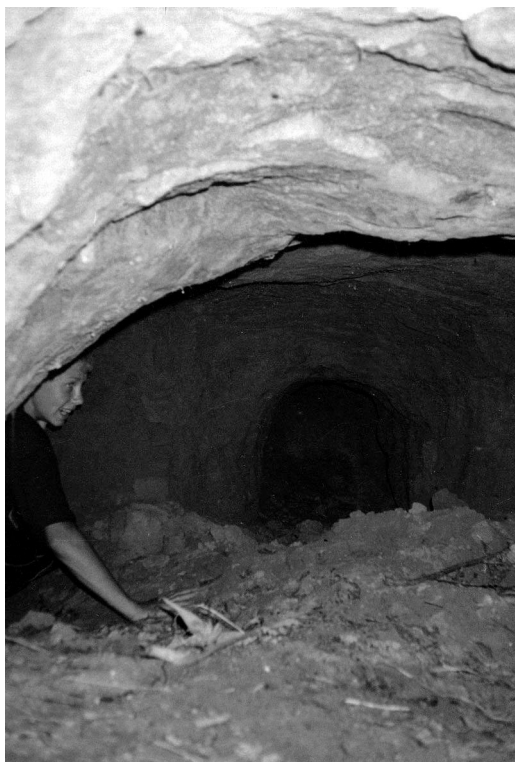
*Рис. 2. Развалины подземного храма возле
с. Среднекрасилово Заринского р-на Алтайского края.*

быть избранным Богом. Другая местная жительница, Л.И. Киршина (1929 г.р.), рассказала, как к ним на ключ приезжали *«четыре боговерующие женщины»* и один поп из Барнаула: *«Я тогда как раз голубику на горе рвала. Смотрю, слезы у одной из глаз так и льются. Она говорит: «Посмотри, ангелочки в воде купаются!», а я не вижу… Бог ничего мне не показал, потому, видно, что грешная. Пастух рядом корову пас и тоже ничего не видел».* Ценность подобных свидетельств заключается в том, что в них, говоря словами Я.В. Чеснова, содержатся «тонкие описания религиозных состояний» – тех самых «индивидуальных переживаний», с которых и начинается любая форма религии.[5] Постоянное чувство умиления, порой переходящее в восторг, является отличительной чертой особого психического состояния, преобладающего у большинства верующих в святом месте.[6] Таким образом, посещение святых мест позволяет наиболее ярко проявляться религиозным чувствам верующих, а подтверждением их истинности становятся чудесные явления, приближающие человека к миру божественного.

Сакральная топография

Топография местных святынь обычно складывается из ландшафтного объекта (камня, дерева, родника или песчаниковой пещерки) и сопутствующих ему

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[5] Чеснов 1999

[6] Тарабукина 2000

культовых сооружений (часовенок и крестов), причем нередко в одном и том же месте может находиться сразу несколько таких объектов.[7] К примеру, так называемая *Пещёрка* – одна из сельских святынь Гдовского района Псковской области – представлена довольно типичным для русского Северо-Запада сочетанием источника и камня с «божьим следом», к которым в данном случае добавлена «пещера», куда по преданию скрылась ступившая на камень Богородица.[8]

Специфический тип природно-сакральных комплексов, как уже отмечалось, был обнаружен в Заринском районе Алтайского края. Еще недавно они характеризовались наличием обширной подземной части – рукотворных *пещёр* (**рис. 2**). Сохранившиеся фундаменты строений, а также остатки пещер располагались на территории созданной в начале 1910-х годов Александро-Невской пустыни, являвшейся подворьем Алтайской Духовной миссии. По мнению барнаульских археологов, обследовавших один из подземных храмов в надпойменной террасе Чумыша, по своему внутреннему убранству, конфигурации ходов, галерей и лабиринтов, а также по расположению келий и технике создания куполообразных помещений указанный памятник представлял собой подобие Киево-Печерской лавры. В 1970-е годы степень сохранности его была такова, что позволяла определить основные размеры тоннелей, комнат и ниш, врезанных в глинистые стены. Нынешнее состояние сооружений является плачевным: обвалившиеся своды разрушили сложную систему соединительных коридоров, а грунтовые воды продолжают размывать почву (ПМА, 2001).

Подвизавшиеся в пещерах монахи – *«пришлые откуда-то»* – *«свое хозяйство вели, скот держали, пашню… У них в горе землянки были с окошками, кровати деревянные, лавки. Сами пещёры были выше, там тоже столы стояли, иконы висели, свечки горели. Все это еще на моей памяти было»* (записано от П.М. Старостиной, 1913 г.р., с. Среднекрасилово). На сегодняшний день можно строить лишь предположения о причинах, побудивших монахов поселиться уединенно и оборудовать рукотворные пещеры, превратив их в подобие подземных храмов.

Возникновение традиции христианского пустынножительства восходит к истории ранних христианских общин, переживавших гонения в начале новой эры. Первые христианские подземные монастыри представляли собой «протянувшиеся под землей на десятки километров многоэтажные сооружения», включавшие жилые комплексы с кельями, а также хозяйственные помещения с печами для выпечки хлеба и хранилищами для зерна. Истоки этого явления, считает Ю.Ю. Шевченко, лежат во внутренней сущности самого христианства и связаны с практикой «умной молитвы». Особенно широкое распространение учение о священном безмолвии (*исихазм*) получило в православной среде. Полная темнота и тишина, возможные только в кельях подземных монастырей, считались «необходимейшим условием» так называемого «келейного правила», когда полагалось отвлечься в мыслях «от всего земного, телесного и скоропреходящего» и сосредоточиться на молитвенном поиске божественной искры в собственной душе.[9]

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[7] Панченко 1998: 77

[8] Kormina 2003

[9] Шевченко 2002: 112–116

Примечательная деталь заринских культовых комплексов заключалась в храмовых строениях, возведенных непосредственно над источником со святой водой: «*в церкви у алтаря имелся колодец со святой водой, которой во время службы кропили народ*», «*прямо на колодце у монахов часовня стояла… К ним туда люди ходили. Богу молились, деньги несли, гостинцы*». После революции монастырские комплексы были разрушены, а их обитатели – жестоко убиты: «*думали, что там у них несметные богатства хранятся, но так ничего и не нашли…*». Уже в годы советской власти на месте одного из разрушенных комплексов долгое время жила некая «бабка Залесиха», к которой ходили паломники из соседних сел (ПМА, 2001). По наблюдениям Т.А. Щепанской, старцы, отшельники и нищие нередко выступали в качестве своеобразных хранителей местных святынь. Само же святое место зачастую «символически сливалось с образом его хранителя».[10]

Народная историческая память

Трагические события местной истории XX в. не могли не сказаться на характере почитания святых мест и на содержании связанных с ними преданий. Известно, к примеру, что в 1920–1921 гг. вся Сибирь была охвачена крестьянскими антибольшевистскими восстаниями, за которыми в исторической литературе закрепилось название Сибирской Вандеи. Многочисленные восстания сибиряков, закончившиеся поражениями и сопровождавшиеся жестокими репрессиями, плохо вписывались в официальную героико-романтическую концепцию Гражданской войны. Более того, в советское время, пишет по этому поводу В.И. Шишкин, был сформирован идеологический стереотип, в соответствии с которым любая контрреволюционная акция рассматривалась как «черная», постыдная страница отечественной истории. Подобные факты следовало, как считалось, не изучать, а проклинать, или в лучшем случае предавать забвению.[11] Тем не менее, народная память о событиях Гражданской войны, «не вписавшихся» в официальный исторический дискурс, получила своеобразное преломление в традиционных религиозно-обрядовых практиках почитания местных святынь. Такова история одного из наиболее почитаемых мест Алтайского края – святого ключа возле села Сорочий Лог Первомайского района (**рис. 3**).

Алтайские историки реконструировали события, происходившие в Сорочьем Логу в начале 1921 года, когда недовольные политикой продразверстки – и «левые», и «правые» – перешли к активным действиям против советской власти. Вовремя раскрыв «контрреволюционный заговор», коммунисты арестовали весь новый состав волостного Совета народных депутатов. Часть «заговорщиков» была расстреляна сразу, «других вывели за село и порубили шашками».[12]

Вскоре после описанных событий место гибели «контрреволюционных повстанцев» (*мучеников за веру* в современной народной интерпретации) начало приобретать сакральный статус, подтверждением чего стали регулярно наблюдаемые там «чудеса» – «пение невидимых певчих», появление свечек, которые горели сами собой и пр. Все это продолжалось до тех пор, пока, наконец, сквозь землю не «проступила кровь» и не «пробился родник», находившийся ранее «совсем в

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[10] Щепанская 1995: 118, 123
[11] Шишкин 1995
[12] Строчков и др. 2001: 57–62

другом месте» (ПМА, 2004). Общественное мнение, таким образом, было подготовлено к восприятию очередного «чуда», которое не заставило себя долго ждать. Матери одного из расстрелянных, каждый день ходившей на место гибели сына, привиделся в ключевой воде лик, будто бы сообщивший ей о том, что все погибшие «признаны Богом невиновными мучениками», а возникший на месте их гибели родник – это «слезы матерей по невинно убиенным».[13] Местное духовенство способствовало распространению новой легенды, а традиционные обходы полей в случае засухи («*с иконами и с батюшкой*») стали включать в себя обязательное посещение новообретенной святыни (ПМА, 2004).

Согласно официальной точке зрения, изложенной в донесении начальника Алтайского губернского отдела в центральное административное управление НКВД, при подавлении Сорокинского восстания «были расстреляны граждане с. Сорочий Лог в числе около 12 человек», трупы которых были сброшены «в овраг, где местные крестьяне сваливали вывозимый со дворов назем и всякий мусор». Впоследствии неподалеку от «могилы расстрелянных бандитов» «открылся» святой ключ, куда стало стекаться «огромное количество богомольцев», желавших получить исцеление от различных болезней и недугов. «Родственники расстрелянных бандитов, – как сказано в документе, – распространяют слухи (о том), что убитые… «пострадали» за православную веру, теперь они святые – их образы видели в святом ключе»: «коммунисты убили… замучили (повстанцев), забросали (их) назьмом», но Святая Богородица «смыла с их лица грязь» и «дала» оставшимся в живых «святой ключ» (ГАРФ, Ф. Р-393, оп. 43а, № 1038, л. 181–186).

Рис. 3. Святой ключ в с. Сорочий Лог Первомайского р-на Алтайского края.

Наиболее развернутая подборка рассказов «об известном алтайском источнике близ с. Сорочий Лог» оказалась представлена в старообрядческом сочинении «Повесть о святом ключе» – составной части так называемого Урало-Сибирского Патерика, капитального рукописного труда по истории часовенного согласия.[14] И хотя расстрелянные и зарубленные шашками «заговорщики» не были старообрядцами, авторы-составители Патерика описывают их как последовате-

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[13] Там же 2001: 65
[14] Публикацию текста и комментарии к Повести см.: Покровский 1999: 140–147

лей «*истинной веры*». Период Гражданской войны характеризуется в Повести как «*зима безбожия*», когда «*восташа брат на брата и сын на отца со оружием*». Сами события рисуются в ней как кровавое «*междуусобие*», когда «*несколько человек истинно верующих православных християн*» были замучены «*единоплеменными, но отступившими в безбожие народами*». Таким образом, погибшие в борьбе с «антихристовым государством» в мировоззрении старообрядцев превратились не только в мучеников за веру, но еще и в единоверцев («*свидетельствуют, что они были християне и пострадали за веру Христову*»).

В жизни каждой природной святыни, отмечает Л.В. Фадеева, происходит закономерное формирование собственного, обращенного в прошлое повествовательного репертуара, целью которого является сохранение истории свершившегося чуда.[15] Опираясь на текст Повести, попробуем проследить, каким образом происходила сакрализация места гибели участников Гражданской войны в Сорочьем Логу.

Первое чудо, согласно Повести, было связано с видениями, которые стали посещать мать одного из убитых. Тела замученных, говорится в тексте, пролежали невредимо всю зиму, божьим промыслом сохранившись «*от зверей и птиц плотоядных и от истления*» вплоть до весны, пока во сне не явился «*сын своей матери*», более других пострадавший при подавлении «заговора» (в повествовании сказано, что он «*весь был изрезан на куски и искроен на ремения*»), и не попросил перенести останки на другое место, поскольку на прежнем, по его словам, «*источник воды имать потещи*».[16]

Возникновение самого источника связывается в Повести с примечательной деталью: снова явившись во сне своей матери, сын поблагодарил ее за перезахоронение мощей, но велел найти вырезанный из его спины ремень и положить рядом с погребенными телами. Когда же старушка-мать с подругой пришли на прежнее место искать ремень и «*с велиим трудом*» обрели его, то у них «*под ногами нача являтися вода, аки источник помалу тещи начинаше*».[17] В литературе зафиксированы тексты о возникновении святых источников из мощей священных персонажей, однако в данном случае родник появляется не просто в том месте, где невредимо пролежали тела погибших, но непосредственно из-под вырезанного из тела ремня.

Известно, что наряду с крестом ремень (и функционально эквивалентный ему пояс) являлся «необходимым и достаточным предметом, ношение которого указывало на принадлежность к миру людей». И напротив, ритуальное снятие пояса означало установление контакта со сферой «чужого». Таким образом, пояс, подчеркивает А.К. Байбурин, использовался в качестве своеобразного канала или средства установления связи между «своим» и «чужим», то есть, «между различными зонами ритуально-мифологического пространства».[18] По этой причине появление в Повести такой детали, как вырезанный из спины убитого ремень, давший начало святому ключу, представляется далеко не случайным. Согласно логике религиозно-мифологического мышления, принадлежность «невинно уби-

[15] Фадеева 2002: 130
[16] Покровский 1999: 140–141
[17] Там же: 141–142
[18] Байбурин 1992: 5–8

енных» к сфере сакрального (подтверждением чего является такой признак, как нетленность их тел) наряду с особыми свойствами ремня / пояса не могли не сказаться на свойствах окружающего пространства, знаком сакрализации которого явился пробившийся родник. При этом именно ремень стал тем каналом, по которому сакральные свойства потустороннего мира получили возможность «перетекать» (в прямом и переносном смысле) к месту гибели участников «заговора», сообщая ему статус священного локуса.

Подтверждением сакрального статуса источника в Сорочьем Логу стали зафиксированные в Повести предания о регулярном явлении «божественных ликов» в святой воде, а также многочисленные рассказы о случаях чудесного исцеле-

Рис. 4. Почитаемый источник в п. Ложок Искитимского р-на Новосибирской области.

ния: «*тако потече целебный источник воды, не глубок... но вельми прозрачен... И в воде видяхуся лики или образы Пресвятые Богородицы и святых угодников Божиих. И егда хотяше кто руками в воде взяти их, ничтоже обреташе*».[19] Побывавшая на святом ключе в 7470 (1962) году черница Анна упоминает виденные ею в воде образы «*Пресвятыя Богородицы со Превечным Младенцем, ангела хранителя, Иоанна Богослова и святителя Николы*».[20] В другом описании приводятся свидетельства «*двух жен*», согласно которым вода в ключе во время молитвы начинает «*тревожиться и ходить кругами, и выкидывать пузырьки*». Примечательно, что «божественные лики» в данном случае заменяются тщательно выписанными образами «погибших страдальцев». Ср.: помолившись, жены удостоились увидеть в воде «*три венца и в каждом по три человека... Сперва вышел один разноцветный радужный* (венец), *и в нем три человечка величиной 5 сант. в рубашке, в поясочке, в штанах босые, и так проплыли по дну вниз по ручью примерно метра 4... и невидимы стали. Чрез несколько минут вышел второй* (венец)... (а потом) *третий*». «*Тамошние жители,* – подчеркивается в повествовании, – *этих страдальцев знают на имя*», поскольку недалеко от ручья находятся их могилы, куда родственники ходят молиться и поминать убитых.[21]

Аналогичный характер носит почитание источника в п. Ложок Искитимского района Новосибирской области (**рис. 4**). Считается, что подземный ключ

[19] Покровский 1999: 142
[20] Там же: 145
[21] Там же: 147

забил здесь на месте массовой гибели заключенных, отбывавших наказание в особом лагерном пункте, входившем в систему СИБЛАГА (сибирских лагерей особого назначения), который просуществовал в поселке с 1929 по 1956 год. По свидетельству очевидцев, это был один из самых жестоких каторжных лагерей бывшего Советского Союза. В течение полугода неотвратимый силикоз убивал работавших в известковых карьерах людей. Надпись на установленном возле источника стенде гласит, что «там, где когда-то царили страдания, и проливалась кровь человеческая, начинают бить родники». Как и в Сорочьем Логу, культовый комплекс в Ложке воспринимается местным населением и приезжающими паломниками как *памятник безвинно пострадавшим за веру*» (ПМА, 2005). Главной святыней почитаемого места, в честь которой в Ложке в 2002 г. был открыт храм, стала икона Пресвятой Богородицы «Живоносный источник», название которой актуализирует традиционные представления об источниках как символе божественной благодати и богородичной помощи. Таким образом, понятие «источник» употребляется здесь в расширительном смысле, поскольку относится и к объекту природы, и к Богоматери как источнику жизни.

Выявленные материалы о соотнесении почитаемых комплексов с божеством, преимущественно, женским, по всей видимости, являются отражением народных воззрений о святых местах как особой разновидности объектов, отмеченных символикой женского плодородящего начала – ср.: *родник, родище* – место, рождающее воду; *почора, печера* – пещера, печь как символ женской утробы и т.п.[22] Выделенность святого места из обыденного пространства хорошо осознается всеми носителями традиции: «*святое место Бог указал. Там произошло чудо*».[23] При этом память о самом чуде (то есть, явлении «божественной силы») находит воплощение не только в фольклорных текстах и культовых сооружениях, предстающих как материализованная история примыкающих к святыне поселений, но и в религиозно-обрядовых практиках (прежде всего, ритуалах лечения).

Религиозно-обрядовые практики

На протяжении большей части XX в. почитаемые места оставались одним из оплотов народной религиозности. Более того, в советское время, когда количество действующих сельских храмов было невелико, для многих деревенских жителей местные святыни «практически заменили церкви».[24]

Широкая популярность святого ключа в Сорочьем Логу, связанная с распространением преданий о явлении в воде «божественных ликов», пришлась на середину 1920-х годов, когда паломничество охватило буквально всю страну. «*Беспрерывные вереницы народа*, – писал корреспондент губернской газеты «Красный Алтай» летом 1925 года, – *текут к ключу за исцелением, святой водицей и песочком*» (17.07.1925). Ежедневная посещаемость святого места составляла не менее 500 человек, а в иные дни, судя по донесениям местных властей, встревоженных «контрреволюционным характером» происходившего, доходила до двух тысяч.[25]

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[22] Щепанская 1999
[23] Фадеева 2002: 126
[24] Панченко 1998; Виноградов 2004
[25] Покровский, Зольникова 2002: 355

Распространенным «способом коммуникации с сакральным миром», воплощением которого выступало почитаемое место, являлась практика «обетных» приношений. *«На благоустройство ключа и часовни»* в Сорочьем Логу, говорилось в отчете начальника Алтайского губернского отдела ГПУ, паломники *«жертвуют деньги, полотно и другие предметы крестьянского производства»* (ГАРФ, Ф. Р-393, оп. 43а, № 1038, л. 183об.). Корреспондент газеты «Красный Алтай» сообщал, что к поставленному возле родника столбу с иконой верующие несут приношения в виде отрезов холста, *«наивно полагая, что их жертва идет непосредственно Богородице»* (01.08.1925). При этом «вещественная форма» самих приношений нередко содержала сведения о бедствиях и несчастьях, характерных для данной местности.[26] Автор опубликованной в газете «Безбожник» заметки, посвященной обличению чудотворных свойств явленной иконы Божьей Матери в Ялуторовском уезде Тобольской губернии, с осуждением констатировал, что паломники: *«понавешали на нее риз, лампад… Глаз болит – подвешивают искусственный глазок из драгоценного камня, нога болит – золотую ножку несут заступнице для напоминания»* (1923, №39). Выполненные из золота или серебра приношения в виде различных частей тела, которые подвешивались к чтимой иконе во время болезни или в благодарность за исцеление, были известны не только в пределах восточнославянского ареала, но и по всей Европе.[27]

Особую категорию «ключников» или богомольцев к святым ключам составляли лица, страдавшие нервными заболеваниями («кликушеством»). В рамках антирелигиозной кампании, развернувшейся летом 1925 г., большое количество «разоблачающих» материалов на эту тему было напечатано в газете «Красный Алтай». Уже при подведении к ключу, как сообщали корреспонденты с места событий, «кликуши» начинают сильно волноваться, но после обрызгивания водой быстро успокаиваются. *«Вот пятеро мужиков,* – читаем в одной из публикаций, *– тащат к ключу тщедушную женщину, которая отбивается от них с неимоверной силой. Больная кричит, сквернословит, все лицо ее перекашивается, глаза выворачиваются, кажется, что она вот-вот испустит в конвульсиях последний вздох. Брызнули водой – она успокаивается и начинает креститься»* (01.08.1925). Таким образом, беснование нервнобольных являлось, в глазах верующих, показателем святости почитаемого места, а усмирение их водой расценивалось как чудо.

Не исключено, что приведенное описание послужило одним из источников для старообрядческих текстов об исцелении от *трясавичной болезни».* Бесноватые, которых, как сказано в «Повести о святом ключе», едва могли удержать *«пять или шесть крепких и могучих»* мужей, еще издали начинали плакать, кричать разными голосами (*«звериными, песиими и птичиими»*) и непотребно ругаться (*«ляяху матерны словесы»*). С одержимыми поступали по-разному – *«водою обливаху… питии даяху или перстию облагаху»,* после чего бесы покидали человека, а сам он получал полное исцеление.[28]

Представленные материалы подтверждают полученные на материалах Русского Севера выводы о том, что «сферы влияния» святых мест, к которым сте-

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[26] Щепанская 1995: 119
[27] Панченко 1998: 92–94
[28] Покровский 1999: 143–144

Рис. 5. Крестный ход к святому ключу в день Казанской Богоматери, с. Усть-Серта Чебулинского р-на Кемеровской области.

каются сведения о характерных для данной местности несчастьях и бедствиях, определенным образом «накладываются на видимые границы локальных групп». Основная функция местных святынь, образующих, по определению Т.Б. Щепанской, своего рода «кризисную сеть», наброшенную на заселенную территорию, заключается, таким образом, в поддержании «эколого-демографического равновесия (баланса между ресурсами территории и воспроизводством жизни на ней)».[29] Вместе с тем, формы взаимоотношений человека и святыни, по справедливому замечанию В.В. Виноградова, не могут сводиться только к «кризисной» или «экстремальной» модели. Будучи органичной частью календарной обрядности округи, ежегодные посещения сакральной точки в праздничные дни способствуют скорее «не ликвидации «кризиса», а сохранению достигнутого баланса сил в окультуренном пространстве». При этом сами святыни, то есть, почитаемые с детства места, нередко воспринимаются как символы «малой» родины, аккумулирующие в себе коллективную историческую память и формирующие локальную идентичность местного населения.[30]

Устойчивой формой регулярных (как минимум – ежегодных) посещений местных святынь являлась практика крестных ходов. Так, приуроченный ко дню иконы Казанской Божьей Матери (8 июля ст.ст. / 21 июля н.ст.) престольный праздник в с. Усть-Серта издавна был известен популярной в округе ярмаркой, на которую съезжались из окрестных сел всего Мариинского уезда. Вместе с тем, структурообразующим элементом празднества служил крестный ход – торже-

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[29] Щепанская 1995: 110
[30] Виноградов 2004; 2012

Рис. 6. Пролезание под иконой Казанской Богородицы во время крестного хода к святому ключу (там же).

ственное шествие верующих и духовенства с иконами и хоругвями к святому источнику, расположенному приблизительно в четырех километрах от селения (**рис. 5**). Исключительный интерес в данном случае представляет то, что пространство, образованное движением крестного хода, и в наши дни воспринимается верующими как сакральное. Участники состоявшегося в 2002 году шествия, среди которых были представители как старшего поколения, так и молодежь, желая получить исцеление от той или иной болезни, ложились на землю или проползали на коленях под носилками с установленной на них иконой Богородицы (**рис. 6**). Как пояснила одна из местных жительниц, А.П. Зорина (1922 г.р.), «*когда Казанскую несут, то тот, кто хочет исцелиться, крестится и под нее подлезает, а саму икону над ним проносят*». Происходящее при этом символическое пересечение границы сакрального и профанного миров, по мнению А.А. Панченко, означает приобщение богомольцев к святости и благодати, заключенной в местной святыне.[31]

Как правило, посещение местной святыни было приурочено к значимой дате народно-православного календаря, нередко совпадавшей с престольным праздником села. Вместе с тем, в ряде случаев нельзя не заметить лежащей на поверхности аналогии между названием праздника и характером почитаемого события. Так, крестный ход к святому ключу в Первомайском районе Алтайского края в память о расстрелянных и порубленных шашками «мучениках за веру» совершался дважды в год, в том числе, в день Усекновения главы Иоанна Пред-

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[31] Панченко 1998: 111–115

течи (11 сентября н.ст.), когда церковь поминает убитых на поле брани воинов (**рис. 7**). Пережив период упадка в годы советской власти, святой ключ вновь привлекает внимание паломников. Несколько лет назад в Сорочьем Логу появился женский Богородице-Казанский Иоанно-Предтеченский Скит, по инициативе Барнаульской епархии ведется строительство храма, разбит цветник, а само «святое место» облагорожено срубом, настилом и навесом. Владыка из Барнаула регулярно проводит крестные ходы к роднику, по окончании которых устраиваются массовые крещения детей и взрослых. Приезжая из ближних и дальних мест в надежде получить исцеление, люди увозят с собой воду и глину с песком в больших в пластиковых бутылках и стеклянных банках (ПМА, 2004). Все это соответствует отмеченной в последнее время тенденции использования почитаемых источников как мест забора не столько «святой», сколько «экологически чистой» воды в больших объемах.[32]

Рис. 7. Богомольцы у иконы Казанской Богородицы в день Усекновения главы Иоанна Предтечи, с. Сорочий Лог Первомайского р-на Алтайского края.

Другой современной тенденцией почитания святых мест, по наблюдениям В.В. Виноградова, является появление новых и «воцерковление» прежних культовых комплексов.[33] Так, полевые исследования в Горном Алтае показали, что в зоне русско-алтайского культурного пограничья при активной поддержке Русской Православной Церкви в последние десятилетия формируется культ священной горы, также соотносимый с богородичной символикой (ПМА, 2007, п. Чемал, Чемальский р-н). В настоящее время наиболее популярной среди туристов и религиозных паломников святыней Чемала, где еще в середине XIX в. был основан Чемальский стан Алтайской Духовной миссии, является легендарный остров Макария с высеченным в скалах или «явившимся» (в народной интерпретации) образом Богородицы с младенцем (**рис. 8**).

Один из универсальных способов сакрализации обживаемого пространства заключается, как известно, в соотнесении реально существующих объектов природы с элементами библейского ландшафта или персонажами священной истории (к примеру, монастырские иноки знаменитой православной обители на острове Валаам создали свой Иерусалим с Гефсиманским садом, Кедроном, Елеонской горой и Мертвым морем). Нечто похожее произошло и в Чемале, где

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[32] Виноградов 2012: 72
[33] Там же: 67

поднимающийся из воды скалистыми уступами остров – любимое место уединенных молитв первых миссионеров – получил свое второе название, Патмос, в честь греческого островка, на котором, по преданию, молился автор «Апокалипсиса» Иоанн Богослов. За время своего существования данное место, опекаемое монахинями из расположенного поблизости православного скита, обросло бытующими не только в русской, но и в алтайской среде преданиями, в которых дается обоснование его сакрального статуса. Появившийся при содействии Барнаульской епархии каменный лик Богородицы с младенцем уже в силу своего доминирующего положения призван освящать поселение и оберегать его жителей, придавая окружающему пространству статус священного локуса.

Таким образом, в результате процесса «воцерковления», который происходит при активном участии Русской Православной Церкви, на смену стихийным народным религиозно-обрядовым практикам почитания святых мест в настоящее время приходят организованные формы религиозного паломничества и туризма.

Рис. 8. «Явившаяся» в скалах Богородица, п. Чемал Чемальского р-на Республики Алтай.

Заключение

Святые места, повсеместное возрождение которых в настоящее время происходит при непосредственном участии Русской Православной Церкви, занимают особое место в народно-православной картине мира современного сельского населения. Будучи ярким проявлением народной религиозности, они не только формируют специфику местного ландшафта и локальные особенности народного календаря, но и определяют сами способы коммуникации с сакральным миром.

Проведенное исследование показало, что наиболее распространенным видом сакральных объектов природы в сибирской народно-православной традиции являются водные источники. Вместе с тем, в зоне русско-алтайского культурного пограничья в последнее время активно формируется культ священной горы. Тем не менее, важнейшей характеристикой святого места и в том, и в другом случае оказывается его соотнесенность с богородичной символикой, которая поддерживается преданиями о явлении «божественных ликов» (икон богородичного типа или образов самой Богородицы и христианских святых). При этом память о свершившемся чуде находит воплощение не только в фольклорных текстах и культовых сооружениях, но и в религиозно-обрядовых практиках (прежде всего, ритуалах лечения).

Трагические события отечественной истории XX в. не могли не сказаться на характере почитания местных святынь и на содержании связанных с ними преданий. Сопоставление разноплановых источников (полевых материалов автора, архивных документов, публикаций местной периодики, а также сочинений сибирских писателей-старообрядцев) позволило подробно проследить историю одного из наиболее почитаемых мест Алтайского края (святого источника возле села Сорочий Лог) и восстановить обстоятельства, при которых произошла его сакрализация. Было показано, что в результате контаминации народной исторической памяти и культа местных святынь место расстрела участников Гражданской войны стало почитаемым объектом природы, а сами погибшие приобрели статус «мучеников за веру». Таким образом, события локальной истории, не «вписавшиеся» в официальный исторический дискурс, получили своеобразное преломление в народных религиозно-обрядовых практиках почитания святых мест.

Отличительной чертой преданий о «божественных ликах» в данном случае можно считать насыщенность их мужскими персонажами, когда наряду с явленными в воде богородичными образами упоминаются образы Иоанна Богослова, святителя Николая и других божьих угодников, а также тщательно выписанные образы самих погибших. Все это не исключает актуализации народных воззрений о святых местах как особых объектах природы, соотнесенных с женским божеством и отмеченных символикой женского плодородящего и исцеляющего начала.

В результате «воцерковления» святых мест на смену стихийным народным религиозно-обрядовым практикам в настоящее время приходят организованные формы религиозного паломничества и туризма. При этом одна из современных тенденций почитания святых мест связана с восприятием их как мест «экологически чистых». В то же время, почитаемые места продолжают оставаться символами «малой» родины, которые аккумулируют в себе историческую память и формируют локальную идентичность местного населения. Значительное место в этих процессах принадлежит религиозным и экологическим ценностям, воплощением которых и становятся ландшафтные объекты, наделенные сакральным значением.

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Сокращения

БГПУ – Барнаульский Государственный педагогический университет
ГАРФ – Государственный архив Российской Федерации
ГПУ – Государственное политическое управление
ГРЦРФ – Государственный республиканский центр русского фольклора
ИАЭТ СО РАН – Институт археологии и этнографии Сибирского отделения Российской академии наук
МАЭ РАН – Музей антропологии и этнографии Российской академии наук

НКВД – Народный комиссариат внутренних дел

ПМА – полевые материалы автора

РИИИ – Российский Институт истории искусств

СИБЛАГ – Сибирский исправительно-трудовой лагерь (составная часть ГУЛАГа (Главного управления лагерей) – главного органа системы политических репрессий в СССР)

Siberian Folk Tradition of the Veneration of Sacred Places in the Context of People's Historical Memory

Galina V. Lyubimova

The centre of the world plays an important role in the traditional models of living space. In practice, it can be correlated with a holy or revered place. The symbolic presentation of these loci and the ritual practices of their worship have a strong ethnic and confessional specificity. The concept of holy places in the East Slavic tradition involves water springs, hills, trees, stones, wooden crosses and other landscape objects of natural or artificial origin, endowed with a sacred status. Narratives formed around such objects usually contain legends revealing the mythological origin of a sacred point. As a rule, the "beginning" of the revered place is interpreted as a result of activity of mythological characters, epic heroes or divine forces. Based on the author's field materials, archival documents, local periodicals and published works of the Siberian Old Believer writers, the article discusses the veneration of sacred places in tradition of the Russian population of Siberia. Special attention is paid to transformation of the narratives about the origin of local shrines in the first half of the twentieth century.

Since the end of the sixteenth century, the economic and cultural development of the Trans-Ural area was accompanied by widespread adoption of Christian shrines and symbols. It meant the inclusion of previously unknown spaces in the world of "true faith". Temples and monasteries became the pilgrimage centres of truly Siberian values. The local Orthodox cults were formed on the basis of Slavic folk beliefs associated with the worship of sacred objects of nature. Most often, it was a water source: a spring with healing and fertile properties. According to legends, these properties were gained through the icons ("faces of the divine") that sometimes appeared in the holy water. Memories of the miracle were embodied not only in the texts and places of worship, but also in the religious and ritual practices (especially the healing rituals).

The tragic events of national history of the twentieth century affected the character of the veneration of local shrines and the content of the associated narrations. A comparison of different sources made it possible to analyse the history of one of the most revered places of Altai Territory (the holy spring near the village of Sorochy Log) and to restore the circumstances of its sacralization. The paper shows that contamination of people's historical memory and cult of local shrines resulted in the place of execution of the participants of Civil War obtaining a sacred status and becoming the place of pilgrimage. At the same time those who died acquired the status of martyrs. Thus, the events of local history that have not fit into the official historical discourse

obtained a reflection in the religious and ritual practices of veneration of holy places. A distinctive feature of the legends about the "faces of the divine" in this case is a large number of Christian male characters and carefully written out images of "martyrs". All this does not exclude the mainstream folk beliefs about the holy places as special objects of nature correlated with the female deity and endowed with healing and fertile properties. The spontaneous religious and ritual practices of veneration of sacred places are replaced now by organized forms of religious pilgrimage and tourism. One of the current trends is the perception of holy places as being ecologically clean. At the same time, the revered places remain the symbols of the "small" homeland that accumulate people's historical memory and shape the identity of local population.

Stonehenge Triangle

Anđelko Đermek

This paper describes a sacred triangle in a landscape of prehistoric England that was constructed around 2400 BC. The triangle consists of three henges: Stonehenge, Woodhenge and Bluestonehenge. In form it is a right isosceles triangle lined in respect to E-W and N-S lines.

Keywords: myth in space, archeoastronomy, Stonehenge, Bluestonehenge, Woodhenge

This paper approaches the most well-known sacred landscape structure of prehistoric England with the background of the recent research of analogue structures of pre-Christian Slavs. The ancient Slavs positioned their sacred sites in a tripartite structures (Pleterski 1996) that were related to the central Slavic myth of a divine battle between a thunder god and his underworld opponent (Katičić 2003-2011). A substantial number of sacred triangles has already been described in Croatia, Slovenia, Austria and Germany (Pleterski 1996; Belaj 2007, Đermek 2010). These triangles probably give enough evidence to support the claim that the ancient Slavs positioned their sacred sites in a way that the angles between lines connecting pairs of sites have astronomical significance (usually refer the zenith and azimuth angles which the sun takes through the annual cycle). Very often in the observed triangles among some of the sides appears the ratio of 1:√2. There exist some indications that the distances between sacred sites were also important. They might have been measured using the projections of right isosceles triangles on the horizontal plane (Đermek 2012, 2013).

The assumption is that the sacred landscape structures of prehistoric England are comparable to their counterparts among prehistoric Slavs despite a huge difference in timespan. The Stonehenge World Heritage site was created by UNESCO in 1986. English archaeologists recently started to examine Stonehenge and surrounding landscape as a whole: "Only later did the more complex concentric architecture of the Southern Circle and Woodhenge develop, at a time when the former came to be physically linked to Stonehenge in a new and grand design that drew the entire landscape together" (Parker Pearson et al. 2008, p. 164). Professor Parker Pearson conjectured in his book that Stonehenge, Durrington Walls with nearby Woodhenge and Bluestonehenge form a funerary complex or landscape in which human remains made a literal and metaphorical journey from the land of the living in the Durrington Walls area to the land of the dead along a funerary processional route from the River Avon into Stonehenge for burial (Parker Pearson 2012).

An important finding in 2008 and 2009 has allowed progress in understanding the whole landscape structure. It was a discovery of a prehistoric henge and stone circle monument by the Stonehenge Riverside Project south-east of Stonehenge, very close to the River Avon (Parker Pearson et al. 2010).[1] The monument was named Bluestonehenge. Its outer henge is about 25 m in diameter and was built around 2400 BC.[2] The stone circle which is just less than 10 m in diameter was built around 3400–2500 BC.[3] Nine stone holes were identified, part of a circle of about 25 standing stones,[4] which now are missing. The imprints of the stones' bases and the shapes of the sockets indicate that these match with the dimensions of the bluestones in the inner oval at Stonehenge. The first phase of Stonehenge is the outermost ring consisting of 56 Aubrey Holes. It is suggested that those holes originally held bluestones, which were moved to the centre of Stonehenge comprising a total of about 80 stones around 2500 BC. The extra 24 stones could be the missing stones from Bluestonehenge.[5] Bluestonehenge is linked to Stonehenge itself by "the Stonehenge Avenue", which was dug around 2400 BC,[6] probably simultaneously with the outer Bluestonehenge henge. From Stonehenge's north-east entrance, the Stonehenge Avenue leads towards the direction of midsummer sunrise for about 500 m, before turning towards the river Avon, where it reaches Bluestonehenge. The avenue consists of two parallel ditches, about 20 m apart, with banks on both sides. The first 500 m of the avenue ditches stretches alongside a pair of natural chalk ridges whose azimuth is about 50°. It looks as if the builders had positioned Stonehenge onto the end of a natural phenomenon, which is coincidental with the midwinter sunset in one direction and the midsummer sunrise in the other.

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[1] Exclusive report on "Bluestonehenge" by English archaeologists Mike Parker Pearson, Joshua Pollard, Julian Thomas and Kate Welham (Parker Pearson, Pollard, Thomas, Welham 2010).

[2] "A second antler pick had been discarded on the ramp of one of the stoneholes after the stone had been removed: this has just been dated to 2469–2286BC. It is not possible to be sure whether the pick was used to remove the stone, or slightly later in digging a shallow ditch into the top of the circle of robbed-out stoneholes. This radiocarbon date does, however, demonstrate that one stone, and probably the whole circle, was removed around or before that date – at about the time of the construction of the henge" (Parker Pearson et al. 2010).

[3] "The circle's construction can be dated by two flint chisel arrowheads (a style used around 3400–2500 BC) from the packing of the stoneholes" (Parker Pearson et al. 2010).

[4] "Assuming the nine excavated stoneholes and the curvature of their plan are representative of the complete arrangement, we can propose that it would have consisted of 25 monoliths in a 10m diameter circle" (Parker Pearson et al. 2010).

[5] "Stonehenge was massively rebuilt around 2500 BC (when the sarsen circle and trilithons were erected), and renovated again around 2200 BC. The 56 Aubrey Hole bluestones were rearranged in two settings within the sarsens, together with an estimated further 23 to 33 bluestones from somewhere else. Were the monoliths from West Amesbury – Bluestonehenge – the additional stones?" (Parker Pearson et al. 2010).

[6] "While confirming that these ditches were dug around 2400 BC, after the sarsens were put up at Stonehenge (estimated to be between 2580 and 2470 BC), we noticed something unusual. Or rather our environmental specialists, Mike Allen and Charly French, did. The avenue ditches were dug alongside a pair of natural chalk ridges whose orientation was coincidentally on the midsummer sunrise in one direction and the midwinter sunset in the other. In 2009, GT Frontline, a Dutch ground-penetrating radar team, confirmed the presence of the two parallel ridges and mapped a third, equally-spaced parallel ridge to the east. It now looked as if the builders of the first Stonehenge had added their stone circle and cremation enclosure onto the end of a remarkable natural phenomenon, where the sun's solstitial extremes were apparently marked by the contours of the land." (Parker Pearson et al. 2010).

The third prehistoric henge that is situated north-east of Stonehenge was discovered 1925 and was named Woodhenge. It is a monument of similar size to Stonehenge, originally made up of a series of concentric circles of wooden posts within a circular bank and ditch. The ditch has been dated to between 2400 and 2000 BC,[7] but the construction of the timber monument was probably earlier[8] (Pollard 2012, p.101). The site consists of six concentric oval rings of postholes, the outermost being about 40 meters wide. They are surrounded by a single flat-bottomed ditch, and by an outer bank. The site had a single entrance from the north-northeast.

It could be surmised that all three mentioned henges very probably were contemporary, at least some period of time around 2400 BC. Thus, we are justified in proposed a deliberate spatial relationship between Stonehenge, Woodhenge and Bluestonehenge. I do not know whether the English archaeologists noticed that these three locations form a right isosceles triangle (Fig. 1 & Fig. 2).[9]

From Fig. 1 it can be seen that the triangle has the interior angles of 90.17°, 45.19° and 44.64°.[10] The absolute error is less than half a degree. The sides of the triangle are 2149 m, 2170 m and 3058 m, so the error in reference to the ideal right isosceles triangle is about +-10 m (in an ideal case it would have the legs of 2160 m and the hypotenuse of 3055 m = 2160√2). The orientation of the triangle is also very special. The angle at Stonehenge which has 45.19° is halved by the E-W line into two nearly equal angles of 22.66° and 22.53°. Consequently the segment Bluestonehenge-Woodhenge is tilted with respect to the N-S line for the value of 22.83° (Fig. 1, 2 & 3).

Additionally, the line that connects Bluestonehenge and Woodhenge is generally directed towards the N-NE ditch entrance into Woodhenge (Fig. 3).

Mutual visibility between three vertices of the triangle is not possible because of King Barrow and Coneybury *Ridge*. The visibility between Stonehenge (101 m) and Woodhenge (97 m) was possible only because of the structures which certainly were built at those two locations and which each had to be less than 10 meters high. Furthermore, the visibility between Bluestonehenge (69 m) and Woodhenge was possible

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[7] "Woodhenge is a small annex on the south side of this monument; dates from an antler pick (BM-677 3817±74 BP) and animal bone (BM-678 3755±54 BP) from its ditch place its digging in the period 2394-2039 cal BC (Pollard 1995)" (Parker Pearson et al. 2007, p. 624).

[8] "Woodhenge provides a case in point (Cunnington 1929; Pollard and Robinson 2007). The henge earthwork was constructed in the third or fourth quarter of the 3rd millennium BC (2470-2030 BC and 2340-2010 BC), while the one radiocarbon date from the timber settings (a cremation from post-hole C14, dated to 2576-2468 cal BC) suggests a mid-3rd millennium BC date for their construction, perhaps contemporary with that of the nearby Southern Circle. The henge itself likely belongs with a megalithic phase to the monument. The sequence is in fact more complex, perhaps beginning with a phase of Grooved Ware associated settlement which may even have pre-dated the timber rings" (Pollard 2012, p.101)

[9] Precise locating of the henges was done using the Google Earth layers prepared by the Archaeology Group at Bournemouth University at http://download.bournemouth.ac.uk/apsci/srp/Seeing-Beneath-Stonehenge.kmz:
51°10′17.11″ -1°47′52.22″ Bluestonehenge
51°11′21.83″ -1°47′08.84″ Woodhenge
51°10′43.91″ -1°49′34.30″ Stonehenge

[10] Conversion of geographic coordinates into Cartesian rectangular coordinate system is performed according to the formulas for the orthographic projection (EPSG dataset coordinate operation method code 9840) with the point of origin in the centre of the triangle.
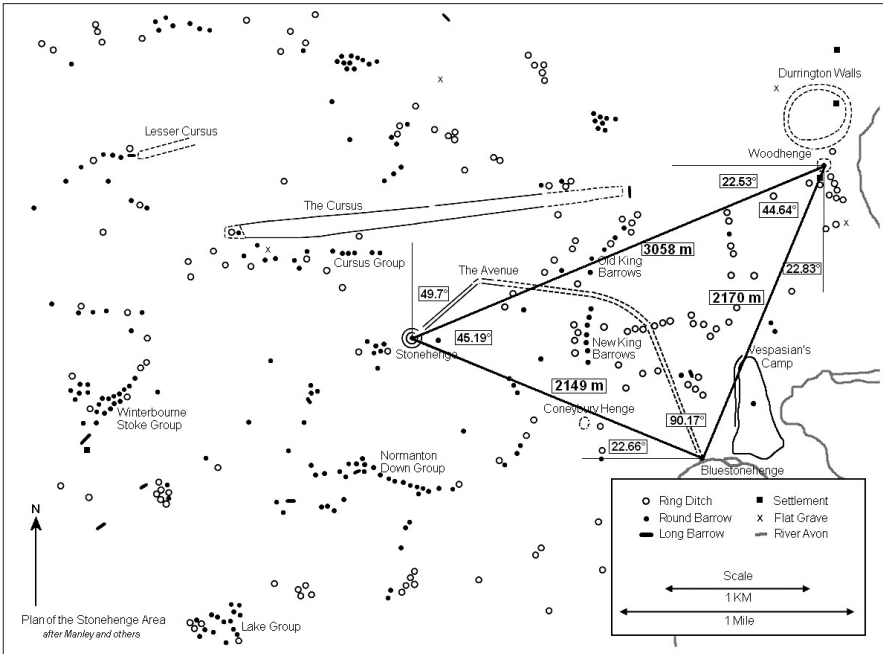
Figure 1: Stonehenge triangle superposed on a map taken at the following address: http://www.stone-circles.org.uk/stone/images/hengarea.gif

Figure 2: Stonehenge triangle superposed on the Google Earth Satellite Map
(0: Stonehenge; 1: Woodhenge; 2: Bluestonehenge; Grey lines: ditches of the Avenue and of the henges)
Visualization of the ditches is done with the help of Google Earth layers prepared by the Archaeology Group at Bournemouth University http://download.bournemouth.ac.uk/apsci/srp/Seeing-Beneath-Stonehenge.kmz
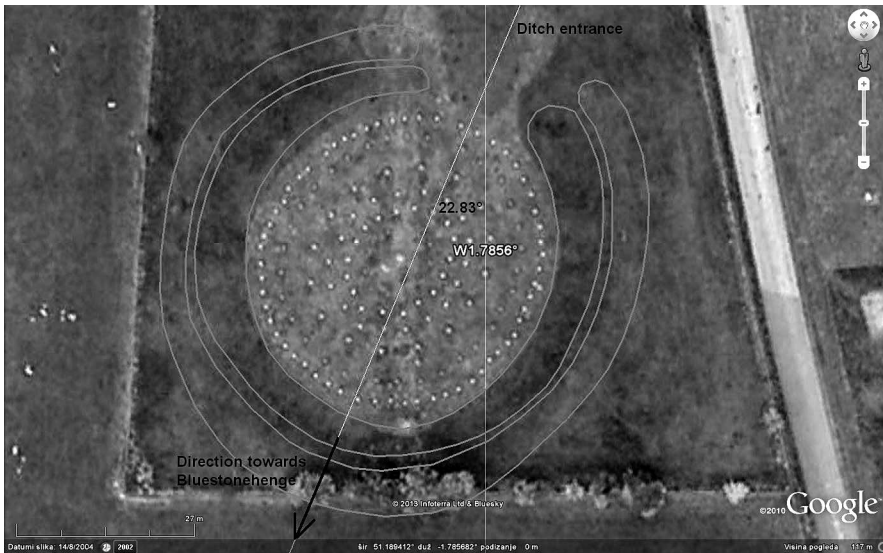
Figure 3: Woodhenge and the line Bluestonehenge-Woodhenge superposed on the Google Earth Satellite Map. Visualization of the Woodhenge ditch is done with the help of Google Earth layers prepared by the Archaeology Group at Bournemouth University http://download.bournemouth.ac.uk/apsci/srp/Seeing-Beneath-Stonehenge.kmz

only if the structures at their locations each had height less than 20 meters. Contrary to that, the visibility between Stonehenge and Bluestonehenge requires unrealistic heights of the structures at both sites of about 30 meters. Accordingly, we can assume that the architects did not measure only the angles between the lines connecting pairs of sites, but that they also measures the distances between them, because direct observation was not possible.

Judging from some excavation results and interpretations of the English archaeologists,[11] the sanctuary at Woodhenge probably was understood to be located in the world of the living, while the sanctuary at Stonehenge was understood to be located in the imaginary world of the dead. The sanctuary at Bluestonehenge which is very close to the river held symbolic balance between these two worlds as indicated by its position at the vertex which joins the two equal legs of a right isosceles triangle.

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[11] "Were bodies brought here for cremation and excarnation, prior to their bones being taken for burial at Stonehenge? If so, then this is another piece of the jigsaw which puts Stonehenge as a final destination for the ancestors, reached from the domain of the living at Durrington Walls via their riverine route to the afterworld" (Parker Pearson et al. 2010).

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Trikotnik pri Stonehengeu

Anđelko Đermek

Stonehenge, Woodhenge in Bluestonehenge so krožne strukture, ki so jih zgradili prazgodovinski prebivalci Anglije v 3. tisočletju pr. n. št. Vse te tri krožne strukture so si bile vsaj okrog 2400 pr. n. št. sočasne. Članek predlaga, da so med njimi obstajale namerne povezave. Sestavljajo pravokotni enakokraki trikotnik s koti 90,17°, 45,19° in 44,64°. Stranice trikotnika merijo 2149 m, 2170 m in 3058 m, kar za približno 10 m odstopa od idealno pravilnih dolžin stranic. Tudi usmerjenost trikotnika je nekaj posebnega. Smer zahod – vzhod razpolavlja kot trikotnika pri Stonehengeu, ki meri 45,19°, na dva skoraj enaka kota 22,66° in 22,53°. Ta dva ustrezata kotu 22,83°, ki ga oklepa stranica trikotnika, ki povezuje Bluestonehenge in Woodhenge in se ujema s smerjo vhoda v Woodhenge, s smerjo sever – jug.

The multi-faced so-called miniature idols from the Baltic Sea area

Kamil Kajkowski, Paweł Szczepanik

The aim of this text is to present early medieval miniature figurines discovered in the Baltic Sea region. The authors review interpretations of this archaeological finds from literature and offer a new perspective for their functions. The next problem dealt with is the ethno-cultural membership of the users of the objects.

We would consider those figurines as symbols or perhaps fetishes referring to a particular sacral power, perhaps associated with the four-faced god Svantevit(?), or as ritual requisites connected with magic practices (especially in the form of vegetation magic and love magic). The representations of four faces or four heads on these objects may have legitimized the creative power of these objects, i.e. a power sanctioned by the authority of a deity with particular competence. Consequently, in our view, the multi-faced figures found in different locations within the Baltic Sea area would suggest a Slavic presence.

Keywords: miniature figurines, Baltic Sea, Svantevit, ritual, Slav, Wolin.

The notion of small anthropomorphic or zoomorphic objects associated with the sphere of military or economic activities of early medieval societies still remains problematic. Such artefacts are only sporadically discussed in the academic literature, and they are often overshadowed by much larger research topics. In the majority of cases, anthropomorphic or zoomorphic artefacts are interpreted as being associated with a religion or cult, or with the practical spheres of everyday life and perceived as toys. However, a closer analysis of all such artefacts reveals that their nature is much more complex and requires a wider study.

In our analysis of the so-called miniature idols from the Baltic Sea area we will attempt to provide answers to the three, in our view, most intriguing notions. We will first consider whether the presence of such objects at various archaeological sites may imply intercultural contacts, or whether they were a supra-cultural phenomenon. Secondly, we will examine whether the production and use of such figures could be associated with a particular ethnos. The third and most significant notion that will be considered herewith concerns the symbolic values and meanings with which such objects may have been endowed.

In order to attempt at providing answers to these research questions, it is necessary to first provide a catalogue of all known finds of such miniature idols.

The best known anthropomorphic miniature idol is a four-faced figure/statue interpreted by its excavators as a representation of the Slavic god Svantevit (pl.

Światowid). The object is 9.3 cm high and has a "handle" in the form of a four sided, flat tang with a semi-circular bottom. It was found in layer XIV in trench no 6 during the archaeological excavations in the early medieval Wolin (Western Pomerania, Northern Poland). The miniature idol was discovered beneath the floor of a house dated to the 11th century (Filipowiak 1988: 89; 1993: 29), which stood nearby another building interpreted as a *kącina* (pagan temple).[1] The miniature idol was dated to the second half of the 9th century on the basis of its find-context. The upper part of the find comprises four faces, each of them facing another direction. The lower part of the find, in the form of a "tang" or "handle" was ornamented with poorly visible incisions in the form of oblique lines and ovals (Filipowiak, Wojtasik 1975: 84–85).
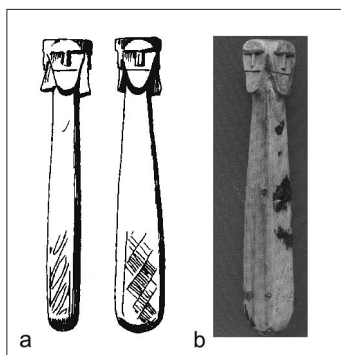
Svantevith from Wolin. After: a) Filipowiak, Gundlach 1992; b) Europas 2000, p. 138 fig. 05.01.08

Featured image from Wolin was found inside a house, which probably burned down. The sculpture was discovered in a layer that contained wood shavings, mulch and other debris associated with economic activities – all of which enabled its good preservation. According to the excavators' interpretation, this figurine was lost or trampled into the ground during its owners' escape from the burning house (Filipowiak, Wojtasik 1975: 85–86).

From the younger settlement phase in Wolin (1st half of the 10th century) comes yet another interesting find. It was discovered in the remains of one of the houses and had a form of an "idol" with a transverse hob, which gave it a shape in the form of the letter "T". However, in contrast to the other finds discussed above, this idol did not have a face (Filipowiak 1993: 29) and according to Filipowiak and Wojtasik it may have been an unfinished sculpture. In our view, this interpretation seems difficult to sustain, as the upper part of the sculpture is too small to sculpt a face. We also disagree with the interpretation of Filipowiak and Wojtasik according to whom this was a "cult object in a simplified form" (Filipowiak, Wojtasik 1975: 86).

The closest parallel to the figure of Svantevit from Wolin is a miniature from Svendborg in Jutland (Denmark). This 13-cm high sculpture was made from juniper and dates to the 12th century (Filipowiak 1993: 29; Müller-Wille 1999: 84). It has a form of a "handle" with a sharp end. In its upper part it bears a representation of four interconnected faces, each with a triangular-shaped beard. All four faces are crowned

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[1] More specifically, the building was labelled as "kącina II". It is noteworthy that in recent times there were some attempts at reinterpreting its previously assumed function and it has been argued that it was not associated with the sphere of religious practices (Stanisławski 2011: 238-239).

with a single head-covering resembling a hat with a flat top. According to Lamm (1987: 226) this item does not represent a four-faced being (as we would assume) but rather a three-headed one. In our opinion, Lamm's interpretation of this find may result from an attempt at associating it with supernatural beings from the Old Norse mythology where no four-headed beings can be found. We will return to this notion further below.
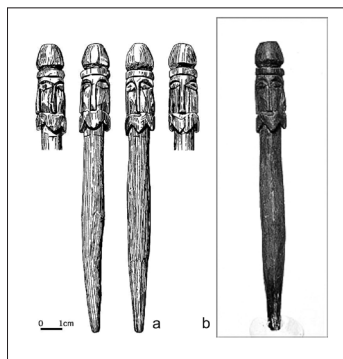
Svendborg figure. After a) Muhl 2012, fig. 5; b). Filipowiak 1993, p. 31, fig. 13.

Two other figures of a similar type have also been found in Scandinavia. The first of these was discovered in Tunby in Västmanland, Sweden in a female cremation grave dated to the 10th century (Duczko 2000: 39). It was manufactured from bone and its "handle" was decorated with a delicate ornament. The oval faces, although poorly preserved, are more realistically carved than in the case of the examples discussed above. Their shape is oval and their beards are triangular. All along the longer axis of the figure there is a hole, which according to Lamm (1987: 228), implies that the item was originally used as an awl.
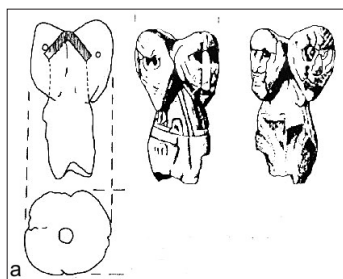
Tundby figure. After Duczko 2000, p. 38, fig. 12.

The second figure was also discovered in a cremation grave dated to the 10th century at a cemetery in Väsby in Uppland, Sweden (Lamm 1987: 229). Like the find from Tunby, this object was also made from bone and its handle was decorated with a rich ornament whose form resembles a net, with sharp triangles at its bottom. Artefacts decorated in such a way are typical for the Pomeranian emporium in Wolin and, according to Duczko (2000: 39), the object from Väsby was actually produced there. The upper part of this figure contains two oval-shaped faces with schematically carved noses, eyes and moustache. Originally the figure contained four faces, but they broke off and the places from which they broke can be clearly seen on the figure's surface.
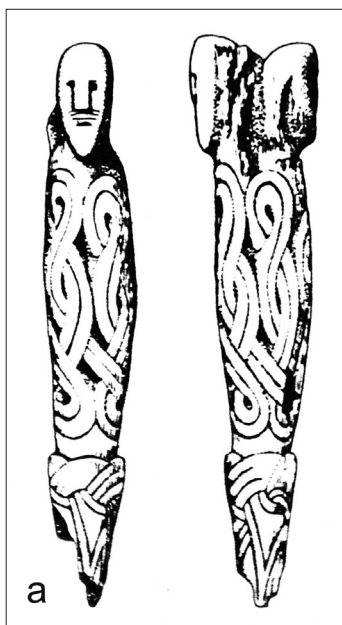
Väsby figure. After Duczko 2000, ps. 38, fig. 12.

The last find worthy of attention is a wooden figure from Riga in Latvia. This object is 13 cm long and contains a representation of two bearded male heads. Originally, just like the figure from Väsby, the find from Riga probably had four faces. The two faces have clearly demarcated eyes and noses, but also moustaches and long hair. Once again, we may observe a very schematic representation of a head-covering (Caune 1995: 26-27). In the mid-part of the figure, there is an ornament consisting of two parallel "wavy-lines", separated by a horizontal line. At the lower-end of the find, there is a schematic representation of an animal head with large eyes and a clearly shown upper part of its snout (Caune 1995: 28-29). This object was dated to the first phases of the 13th century. Interestingly, another 31-cm long object with the representation of four faces was found in the same chronological context. Although it is often seen as a parallel find to the abovementioned figure from Riga, in our view it should rather be seen as the head of a walking stick; therefore, we will refrain from associating it with the multi-headed figures discussed in this paper.

Based on the archaeological materials examined above, it is possible to assume that the multi-headed figures appear in different areas at the Baltic coast: from Stockholm in the north to Wolin in the south, Riga in the east and Svendborg in the west. The chronology of these finds is broad: between the 9th and the beginnings of the 13th century.
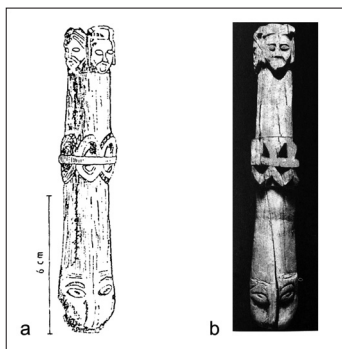
Riga figure. After a) Kolarczyk 1987, p. 166, fig. 15; b) Caune 1995, p. 27, fig. 1.

In the academic literature, such artefacts are usually interpreted as amulets (Kotlarczyk 1993: 56-57), small idols associated with domestic (private) cult (Filipowiak 1993: 33) or, as in the case of the find from Svendborg, as "travel-figures" (Filipowiak 2001: 100-101). Recently, an alternative interpretation was proposed by Wawrzeniuk (2004), who argued that such figures may have represented deceased ancestors, whose
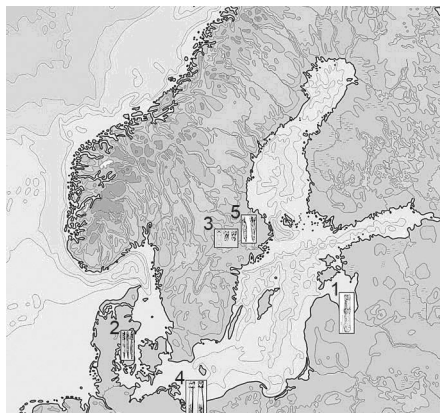
Location of archaeological objects characterized in article. 1. Riga, Latvia; 2. Svendborg, Denmark; 3. Tundby, Sweden; 4. Wolin, Poland; 5. Väsby, Sweden.

cult was allegedly one of the basic features of pre-Christian Slavic beliefs. This proposal, however interesting, does not withstand criticism and the arguments offered by Wawrzeniuk seem to have very weak foundations.

After this introduction and after the presentation of the archaeological source material, we would like to concentrate on two other recently proposed attempts at interpreting these peculiar "miniature idols". In the first attempt, the archaeological material was confronted with written accounts and the miniature idols were divided into two categories (Kajkowski in press).

The first category comprised finds made from non-ferrous metals in the form of anthropomorphic figures that may be interpreted as representations of pagan gods. From the area of Pomerania, only one such object is known. Ebo (II, 13), who was one of the biographers of St. Otto of Bamberg, describes in his account a golden figure of the god Triglav (Pl. Trygław), which was secretly transported from Szczecin during the Christianization mission. According to Ebo, the pagan priests gave it to a certain widow that lived in a village, whose name – sadly – remains unknown. As we read in Ebo's account:

Tempted by the payment, she protected the godless image in such a manner, that she hollowed a trunk of a strong tree, and she locked the image therein, previously covering it with cloth. In this way no one was able to see it or touch it. However, there was a small hole in the trunk, were a sacrifice was being put, so that no one would enter the house without making sacrifices according to godless customs. (Ebbonis, II, 13; Translation by Kamil Kajkowski and Paweł Szczepanik).

The account implies that the figure was very small in size, i.e. small enough to be transported and hidden in a hollowed tree that was already in the house of the widow or which was brought there for this special purpose. Another notion remains to be answered, however: was the building just a simple house, or could it actually be interpreted as some form of sacral place (e.g. Słupecki 1995: 53, footnote 10)? This notion, although interesting, is not so important for our considerations.

The written accounts also mention that when in 1124 St. Otto of Bamberg introduced Christianity in Wolin, the inhabitants of the town secretly removed (probably from a temple, which was usually the main target of missionary activity) and hid small-sized figures of pagan gods that were made from gold and silver. Later, these figures were to be shown during pagan celebrations (Ebbonis III, 1). Similar represen-

tations of the gods were also in use in the neighbouring lands. Widukind, who was a monk from the Benedictine cloister in Corvey, recorded in his chronicle a story of an Obodrite Prince Żelikor, who revolted against the German rule. Surrounded by the attackers in Stargard Wagryjski, he was ultimately forced to surrender. The chronicler wrote that when the margrave Herman entered the stronghold, in addition to other goods he took with him a bronze or copper figure of the god Saturn. Given the *interpretatio romana* of the chronicler, Saturn should probably be seen as one of the Slavic pagan deities (Widukind III, 68, 82; see also Strzelczyk 2006: 246). The written accounts do not specify what these figures of the pagan gods actually looked like. We only know that the figure of Triglav was made from gold, and the figure of Saturn was made from bronze or copper. We also know that the first of these figures was originally stored in a pagan temple,[2] while the latter somewhere in the main stronghold of the Obodrites. Small-sized idols were to be taken to a pagan festival celebrated in Pyrzyce. We do not know, however, who was responsible for bringing them and from where. Were these idols in any way similar to the representation of Triglav from Szczecin, which was hidden from the missionaries? Or were they figures kept in houses? Unfortunately we will not find the answers to these questions in Ebo's account. We may assume, however, that since they were shown to the people "ad antiquum poganizandi ritum impulerunt" (see Cetwiński 1995: 20–21), they were representations of beings of high esteem, and probably not associated with any "private cult".

The second category of miniature figures comprises those which were made from wood (organic materials). Objects of this kind were excavated in the area of Pomerania usually in the context of archaeological layers associated with everyday life. However, due to the scarcity of similar finds, especially within houses, it is difficult to argue that such representations were commonly used in early medieval Pomerania. It is not unlikely – though not proven – that many more figures than we know of may have existed, but wood does not preserve very well unless deposited in a waterlogged environment. In Wolin, the wooden figures were actually found in exactly such contexts, where the preservation of organic materials was possible. There may have been more of such figures in other areas, but they simply did not survive to present times (see Sanden van der, Capelle 2000: 49–52). Moreover, some figures may have been intentionally destroyed during the Christianization processes.

Organic-material figures may have been transformed in any desired way and this made them particularly suited to be used in various magic practices. They could be burned, broken or thrown into water. As Aldhouse Green has argued, the special meaning of wooden figures may also stem from the fact that they were made from living trees, well visible in the landscape: "[…] changing with the seasons and resonating with the birth, growth, florescence, decline and death and animate beings" (2005: 96).

A question arises whether similar functions were also attributed to figures made from non-ferrous metals? This was probably not the case. The first notion that raises doubt is the material from which these figures were manufactured; thus far, there are no objects of this kind made from non-ferrous metals from archaeological excavations in the area inhabited by the Baltic Slavs. This fact does not allow to analyses them with

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[2] Słupecki (1993: 80) also suggests that the idol may have been a part of the temple's exterior decorations, whose craftsmanship attracted the attention of the missionaries.

regard to their find context and to attempt at determining their meanings. Nonetheless, the very notion of using non-ferrous metal does offer some potential for interpretation. According to Aldhouse Green, using metals for producing sacral representations (of gods or other supernatural beings, for example) results from transformative processes, and these transformations were predominantly associated with fire (Aldhouse Green 2005: 24). Moreover, non-ferrous metals were very costly and probably they were not commonly available or affordable. It may be assumed that non-ferrous metals were in possession of people or institutions who were not only predestined to have control over such images, but also capable of acquiring them. All these factors were met by pagan temples, which were places of theophany and which possessed a rich treasury. The written accounts inform us that these places contained full-size statues of the gods (and their attributes), which were lavishly decorated, also with non-ferrous metals. Perhaps, among the furnishings of sacral buildings, there were also idols of smaller sizes. Ebo's mention of the golden figure of Triglav from Szczecin seems to imply such a possibility. The information about Prince Żelisław, however, does not allow any conclusions to be drawn as to where the figure of Saturn was kept, before it was robbed by margrave Herman. The archaeological excavations in Stargard/Oldenburg revealed that within the stronghold there stood buildings of 'hall-type' and a pagan temple (Gabriel 1988; 1991). It is not unlikely that the figure mentioned in the chronicle was actually kept inside it. Was it a representation of Prowe, the god of Starogard land, who was mentioned by the chronicler Helmold (I, 52) and whose sacred grove was located near the stronghold?

All these pieces of information indirectly suggest that non-ferrous metals were used to manufacture images of pagan gods, which were employed in cultic activities within sacral buildings or in their vicinity. There are no grounds for arguing that such figures were used in "private ritual practices", although such a possibility should not be completely dismissed.

In the case of figures made from wood or bone, it seems that at least some of them were not representations of the pagan gods or supernatural beings in a literal sense, or – to say it otherwise – in the sense of objects with theophanic qualities. According to Kajkowski, they should rather be associated with magic practices. This interpretation may be valid especially with regard to finds whose lower parts are in the form of a "handle" that enables the figures to be placed vertically on a flat surface. Until recently it has been assumed that the "handles" were used simply to hold the figures, but an alternative hypothesis may be proposed. The phallic shape of the lower part of some of these figures may be associated with their role in vegetation magic (e.g. Čausidis 1999: 291), which was of great importance among agrarian societies, such as that of the Slavs.[3] It is not unlikely that they were also used in love-magic in the form of dildos (e.g. Gardeła 2012: 303–304). The phallic-shaped finds from Wolin are often compared with two similar objects found in the stronghold in Łęczyca in Poland and dated between the 12th and 13th century (Nadolski 1962: 117). According to historians of religion, "if sexuality governs reproduction, then it must be associated with fertility rituals …" (Eliade 1974: 158) in which, among other things, particular requisites were used.

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[3] It is noteworthy that some scholars associate the name of the east-Slavic god Wołos with the Old Norse *völsi* – a horse's phallus that was employed in very peculiar ritual practices (Słupecki 2004).

The second variant of interpreting the so-called miniature idols associates them with fetishes that refer to a materialized idea of a deity, but which are not equated with the deity (Szczepanik in press). The basic feature of such artefacts seems to be their undetermined sacral power. The belief that some force or power "lives" within an object and emanates from the object is the very essence of fetishism (van der Leeuw 1993: 33). In this perspective "the fetish does not only resemble the conceptions and beliefs of its worshippers, but transforms them or – in the parlance of web-theory – 'translates' them. The power of the fetish cannot be reduced to its material form, and likewise the word cannot be reduced to its material representation (sound or graphic form)" (Dant 2007: 54–55).

In this perspective, the religious fetish will be an object that determines ceremonial or ritual behaviour. This behaviour is intended for the fetish and through the fetish, and not only with its use, as in the case of ritual attributes, because only in this way the fetish can be interpreted as an image of the god (van der Leeuw 1993: 33). The existence of the concept of idolatry in Slavic religion, as confirmed in the written accounts, is another problem. Idolatry assumes the sameness of the "idea" and the "image of the deity" that it represents. In this case, one deity should have only one statue, whose destruction would be equated with the annihilation of the sacral power that it embodied (e.g. Banaszkiewicz 2005). Another issue concerns the worship of particular objects, which in the case of idolatry would refer directly to the statue, whereas objects being religious fetishes should rather be seen as a symbolic materialization of mythical ideas enabling contact with the *sacrum*.

On these grounds, it is possible to assume that the so-called "miniature idols" discovered at archaeological sites are not *stricte* idols, but nonetheless they are directly associated with the religious and magical sphere and probably played an important role in ritual practices. In these practices, they may have functioned as ritual requisites or as religious fetishes. It is worth remembering that they may have actually played both roles simultaneously.

Another problem related to the notion of miniature idols is their ethnic attribution. In the academic literature, one may encounter two polarized opinions: that they were made and used by the Slavs, or that they should be associated with the Scandinavian world.

The idea that these miniature idols should be associated with the Slavs has been postulated predominantly by Filipowiak, who perceives the four-faced figures as miniature, private idols or as idols kept in houses that represented the cult of Svantevit attested in the written accounts. According to Filipowiak (1993: 29–33), the presence of these figures in different areas in Northern Europe may also confirm the existence of direct contacts between the Slavs and Scandinavians and also between the Slavs and the Balts. It is worth adding that for Filipowiak, the aforementioned figure of Svantevit from Wolin is indisputably a Slavic product (Filipowiak 1979; 1993: 29; Filipowiak, Wojtasik 1975).

An alternative opinion has been expressed by Duczko who sees the Svantevit from Wolin as an analogous find to stone whetstones from Scandinavia. This hypothesis is based predominantly on the formal similarities between the handle part of the Svantevit from Wolin and the shape of whetstones. Duczko based his assumptions on the work of Lamm, who demonstrated that in pre-Roman and Roman Age Denmark

there existed multi-headed objects (probably associated with the Celtic culture; see also Enright 2006). According to Lamm, these motifs continued to be used in later periods among the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians in association with cultic or symbolic objects, such as whetstones. In Duczko's, view a proof for the Scandinavian provenance of these multi-headed figures is the discoveries from Wolin and Szczecin of four-faced metal fittings for suspending whetstones (Duczko 2000: 26, fig. 1). Although Duczko associates them with religious beliefs of the Scandinavians who lived in Western Pomerania, he does not consider their symbolic meanings. In our view, the symbolic connotations of such finds may be a key to their correct interpretation. It must be noted, however, that Duczko sees the Wolin figure as being associated with the Scandinavians, and the Swedish figures as being connected with the Slavs. The explanation of the "Svantevit-phenomenon" should, in Duczko's view (2000: 39), be sought in the multifaceted relations between the Scandinavians and the Slavs. It is no longer possible to consider these peculiar finds only with regard to the simple notion of the "movement of goods/commodities" in these different cultural milieus, and there is a necessity to take into consideration much broader cultural and political contexts in which they appeared.

While we agree with the necessity of considering such figures in a broad socio-cultural perspective, their association with the "Vikings" seems unsubstantiated. We base our views on several arguments. The first of these arguments concerns the occurrence of multi-headed beings within Slavic, Germanic (Old Norse) and Baltic mythologies. The presence of multi-headed deities in Slavic mythology has been discussed numerous times and does not raise any doubts today (e.g. Rosik 1995; Gieysztor 2006). The written accounts referring to the Slavic beliefs inform us about Slavic deities endowed with three, four, five and even seven faces/heads. For our considerations, the most important ones are the representations bearing four faces, since this is the number of faces that the statue of Svantevit in Arkona had and also the number of heads represented on the so-called miniature idols. Interestingly, such four-faced or four-headed beings do not occur at all in the Baltic (e.g. Suchocki 1991; Greimas 2007) or Germanic (Old Norse) mythologies.

Although in the Germanic (Old Norse) mythology there are cases of Giants endowed with several heads, they are almost exclusively beings with three heads or with the number of heads which is the multiplicity of three (e.g. Słupecki 2003: 294). Therefore, if we were to consider the multi-headed figures as Scandinavian products, we would have to dismiss their interpretations as representations of mythical characters known from the written accounts, since no four-faced beings are known from the Old Norse textual sources.

Despite the fact that there is an account mentioning the cult of miniature figures in Viking Age Scandinavia, it must be noted that this cult relates to sculptures probably representing gods in an anthropomorphic form (Lamm 1987: 222). For the Slavic area, however, we do have written sources that specifically mention miniature figures. Let us remember that the first of these sources mentions a miniature figure of Triglav made from gold which was hidden in a hollowed tree and then found by a monk named Herman (Ebbonis II, 13), and the second source implies a high esteem which the Pomeranians held for miniature figures during the celebrations of their festivals.

We know therefore, that objects such as miniature figures did have a role to play in the mythical reality of the Slavs and Scandinavians, but the four-faced figures should rather be associated only with the Slavic cultural context. This interpretation may also be supported by the evidence from the Baltic lands. It seems that the figures found in Riga may bear witness to Slavic settlement in this area in the beginnings of the 13th century. The presence of Slavs there has also been recorded in the Chronicle of Henry of Livonia,[4] which describes a peculiar and tragic fate of a society that lived in the Lithuanian-Latvian border-zone. A tribe known as Vindi – as the chronicler writes under the year 1206 – was already then of minor importance and very poor:

They were driven away from the basin of the Winda River and they settled in the place where later Riga was built. However, they did not find peace and they were attacked by the Kursz tribe (one of the Baltic tribes), who drove them away and killed many. (Ochmański 1982: 27; Translation by Kamil Kajkowski and Paweł Szczepanik).

By identifying, as other scholars do, the Vindi tribe with the Slavic Veneti who lived by the Baltic coast, we may observe a perfect correspondence of the written and archaeological sources. In this context, it is not unlikely that the Slavs who arrived in Riga in the beginnings of the 13th century used for their religious or magical purposes (similarly to other north-western Slavs) small objects in the form of multi-headed figures just like the ones actually found in Riga and which date from specifically this period of time.

In conclusion, it seems that the term "early medieval miniature idols" should be made more specific, and that it should refer only to figures made from non-ferrous metals, because the miniature idols known from the written accounts were also made only from such materials. In our opinion the wooden/bone figures with phallic-shaped "handles" should not be regarded as "idols" or representations of gods in a literal sense. Rather, we would consider them to be symbols or perhaps fetishes referring to a particular sacral power, perhaps associated with the four-faced god Svantevit(?) or as ritual requisites connected with magic practices (especially in the form of vegetation magic and love magic). The representations of four faces or four heads on these objects may have legitimized the creative power of these objects, i.e. a power sanctioned by the authority of a deity with particular competence. Consequently, in our view, the multi-faced figures found in different locations within the Baltic Sea area would suggest a Slavic presence. The nature of this presence is of course a much wider issue and its considerations are beyond the scope of this paper. The geographical distribution of such figures and a "local" form of each of their finds may suggest that certain symbolic qualities were "circulating" in the Baltic Sea area. It seems however, that in this multi-cultural and multi-ethnic early medieval reality the so-called "Svantevit figures" should be associated only with the Slavs.

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[4] Henrici Chronicon Livoniae, ed. L. Arbusow, A. Bauer, Hannover 1955, X, 13-14, s. 45-46
„Wendi autem humiles erant eo tempore et pauperes utpote a Winda repulsi, qui est fluvius Curonie, et habitantes in Monte Antiquo, iuxta quem Riga civitas nunc est edificata, et inde iterum a Curonibus effugati pluresque occisi, reliqui fugerunt ad Leththos at ibi habitantes cum eis, gavisi sunt de adventu sacerdotis. Quibus conversis et baptizatis vineam iam plantatam et agrum seminatum Domino committens sacerdos Rigam rediit"

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Wielotwarzowe miniaturowe idole z basenu Morza Bałtyckiego

Kamil Kajkowski, Paweł Szczepanik

Miniaturowe figurki wielotwarzowe stanowią przykład grupy przedmiotów wyjątkowych, których funkcja w kontekście kultury wczesnego średniowiecza wciąż jest niejasna. Przedmioty te datowane są na okres są od połowy wieku IX do początków wieku XIII, jeśli zaś chodzi o miejsca ich odkrycia to odnajdywane są na całym wybrzeżu Bałtyku od okolic Sztokholmu na północy, po Wolin na południu, Rygę na wschodzie i duński Svendborg na zachodzie. Taki stan rzeczy doprowadził do wysnucia przez badaczy wielu interpretacji dotyczących zarówno funkcji jak i przynależności kulturowej twórców i użytkowników owych przedmiotów. Autorzy proponują ich rozpatrywanie w kontekście słowiańskiego systemu mityczno-religijnego. Według naszej opinii powinniśmy widzieć w nich fetysze lub symbole religijne, związane z szeroko pojętą działalnością magiczno-rytualną, a nie wizerunki bóstw *sensu stricto*.

Herberti De miraculis as a source to the history of religion of western Slavs

Michał Łuczyński

The author presents the results of his research into one of forgotten source materials in the field of religion in Slavic studies, the story "Quomodo zabulus..." from the collection "De miraculis" (1178–1180) by Herbert of Clairvaux. The analysis of the copy leads to the conclusion that it shows the beliefs of the tribes of frontal Pomerania as well as their confrontation with Christianity on the eve of the battle of Dymino (1164) which put an end to Paganism in this faction of western Slavs.

The corpus of historic sources which was in recent years reintroduced or rather discovered for Slavic studies is supplemented by an unknown piece "Herberti turrium sardiniae archiepiscopi De miraculis libri tres," entitled "Quomodo zabulus in scemate regio seipsum ydalatris ostendebat."

That collection, published by Jacques Paul Migne in his "Patrologiae Latinae" series, [1] came into being in the years 1178–1180. Its author is Herbert, from the Cistercian Order, one of the disciples of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. "Liber de miraculum" is a collection of examples whose source were mainly the Clairvaux monks' verbal reports. The purpose of the reports was to boost the morale of the novices. The texts represent a paranetic tendency and their purpose was propagating the model of piety and fulfilling didactic and moralistic function in the circle of the French Cistercian monks.

It is known that the author of that collection came from southern France and that he spent his probation years time 1153–1168 in Clairvaux. In the years 1168/9 and in 1178 he was an Abbot in Champagne. Then, in 1181 he arrived in Clairvaux again and he became Abbot Henry's secretary. In the same year 1181, Herbert became the head of the bishopric in Torres in Sardinia, where he died in 1198. [2]

The most common edition of the work in question did not include the text "Quomodo zabulus...," which is discussed here and which is included in three manuscripts only, stored in Munich, Paris and Vienna.

The first critical edition of the text, entitled "De paganis in regio scemate apparente Christianum, qui se consignaverat, indignante" is provided by Paul Joachim

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[1] Herberti De miraculis.
[2] Kompatscher 2008.

Georg Lehmann in 1927.[3] Later, that piece is cited several times by Weibull,[4] Palm,[5] and Szacherska.[6] Recently, Kompatscher took on the task of collating the text.[7] Moreover, it was mentioned in other texts.[8] However, generally it is not in wider scientific circulation. Despite the fact that it is unique and it contains numerous details of the religious life of western Slavs in medieval times, not to be found in any literary sources on Slavic studies, that text was not the subject of interest of researchers on Slavic studies.

"Quomodo zabulus…" deals with Christianization on western-Slavic territories, during which the monks had an opportunity to have direct contact with the Slavic population. According to Szacherska, the plot of the story is based on the island of Rugia which, in the period under discussion, underwent intensive Danish missionary activity. Described in the text, rites, e.g. cult feasts on fixed days, drinking bouts, theatralization elements in the official cult of the time (spectacular "revelations" of the deity), determine unquestionable cognitive qualities of the text.

The text is divided into three parts. It begins with indicating the informer (monk Henry Clairvaux) and it ends with a theological commentary. The focus is the report of one of the monks (cited after Henry) about his journey "in terram paganorum", which was inserted by the hand of Danish Cistercian Order in the "Book of Miracles" . The biggest attention is drawn by those parts of the commentary that contain the information about theology and the organization of the cult in medieval Slavs, which carry interesting evidence in the context of the issue of theological interpretation of pagan beliefs.

However, the explicitly literary character of the text should be emphasized, closest to an exemplum as far as gender, whose aim is, first of all, ideological propaganda and, to a lesser degree, documentation of historic realities (essential for a medieval editor only if they were of use to didactics). However, first of all, pagan sacrum in "Quomodo zabulus" by Herbert is shown clearly under the influence of phraseology and representations taken from the Bible and from patristic literature. Theological determinants of the description occur as early as the information about cult objects in Slavs, e.g. temple, statue, cult organization, as well as annual festivities attended by numerous people. During the festivities, cult feasts were organized and a separate table for the deity with plenty of dishes and drinks was laid. Theological determinants of the description also occur as far as negative valorization of described events and characters, desired from the moralistic point of view of the text.

An anonymous god is defined as spirit (Latin *spiritus*), deity (Latin *numen*) and demon (Latin *demon*). A typical literary measure is substituting a specific teonym, and replacing it with a definition, e.g. *devil (the angel of light)*, *Satan*, etc., as well as multiplication *rulers (princes of) darkness,* derived from the biblical set of names and epithets referring to Evil. Moreover, we deal with axiological depreciation of pagan (strange) sacrum, which is achieved by the use of adjectives such as *evil, terrifying, wild, shameless,* also derived from clichés of biblical origin, similarly to other epithets

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[3] Lehmann 1927: 79–80; 1961: 272.
[4] Weibull 1931: 288; 1948: 403.
[5] Palm 1937: 44–48.
[6] Szacherska 1968: 88–90.
[7] Kompatscher 2005: 255–256.
[8] Łowmiański 1979: 200; Caocci 2002: 252.

and similes belonging to a literary convention of biblical or patristic origins. Undoubtedly, they obscure the real image of pagan religion by laying on it a subjective filter of the author's (Christian) picture of the world.

The whole account concentrates on the participation of a young Christian diplomat in a pagan celebration, which included the speech of the deity to the gathered, among whom the Christian is hiding. In the speech, it is said about some other centre of cult from which the deity was superseded by Christianity further back and about the present centre of cult where the deity found "shelter" after "late return". A great deal of of evidence indicates that transferring the cult to the new centre is the point here. However, there are no details about that.

"Quomodo zabulus in scemate regio seipsum ydalatris ostendebat" does not contain any information about the time and place of described events or the name of the deity in question. Comparing it with other texts from the "Book of Miracles" and with Latin biographies of St. Otto of Bamberg[9], the text allows us to fill that gap.

The series came into being in the years 1178–1180 and it is gathered from the context that the described events took place before 1160, as the young Christian in question returned to his homeland (Denmark) to the abbey Vitae Schola set up in 1158 by Cistercian, Henry of Clairvaux. It proves that his diplomatic mission to a pagan land must have taken place at the end of the 1150s. Consequently, if we assume that adolescence means about 20 years of age, Herbert was about 50 while writing his work.

It is difficult to relate unequivocally the term 'terra paganorum' to a specific territory, based only on the text of the "Book", although the term appears several times alongside "regione Sclavoniae". The information from "Monk Herbert's Book of Miracles" corresponds partially with *The Life of St. Otto,* thanks to which the latter source may prove useful here. First of all, in both of them there is a record about the revelation of a god, who utters threats and who demands worship of himself. In the latter source, his Latin name Jarovit/Gerovit is mentioned.

In the light of the information from "The Life […]", Wołogoszcz and Hobolin were the centres of the cult of Jarovit/Gerovit.[10] In the reports about the cult of that deity in Wołogoszcz, the researchers suspect the reminiscence of the existence of the temple with his image in it, whereas in Hobolin, there is an explicit proof of the existence of the temple with the deity's gold shield and the rites worshipping him with the use of a flag. However, in the latter case, the mention of the statue is not explicit. It should be emphasized that it is Wołogoszcz, a seaside town or its vicinity that are the most real arenas of the events described in "Qomodo [...]". Moreover, in both of the texts, diplomatic measures connected with the preliminary phase of Christianity are discussed, which would support the above thesis. The events described in them happened in different periods of time (St. Otto's missions – the 1120s; alleged negotiations – the 1150s).

Perhaps the deity's speech about the deity's escape from the cross is a hint at Otto's activity which ended up with the baptism of Wołogoszcz in 1128. The vicinity of the sea also meant a great deal in that case, which is highlighted in the narration of Jarovit/Gerovit. Probably the "late return" of the Polabian deity is actually an unknown pagan reaction that took place in Wołogoszcz between the 1130s and the 1150s.

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[9] Vita Prieflingensis; Ebonis Vita S. Ottonis; Herbordi Dialogus de vita S. Ottonis.

[10] Ebonis Vita S. Ottonis, op. cit., III 3, 8; Herbordi Dialogus de vita S. Ottonis, op. cit., III 4.

Pomerania was then the arena of turbulent political events. In 1147, a crusade against Baltic Slavs was initiated by Pope Eugene III and Bernard of Clairvaux. The course of the crusade was described in *Vincent* of *Prague's Annales and in The Chronicle of the Slavs* by Helmold. Pomerania was still considered pagan and, consequently, the Crusades were undertaken to spread Christianity.

Chronology, as well as general similarity to the description of the Świętowit cult by Saxo Gramatyk had Szacherska assume that it was Rugia described by Herbert; it was there that the fights continued, whereas Pomerania had already been officially Christian. However, that similarity is general enough (a statue in the temple, oracles, ritual feasts), and the differences were significant enough. Consequently, identifying Rugia as the "pagan land" is not convincing. However, identifying the "pagan land" as one of the towns of the Wołogoszcz area is justified philologically (semantic identity of the deity described by St. Otto's hagiographers and by informer Herbert) and historically (possible reminiscences of St. Otto's mission). If such an interpretation proved correct, the confessors of Jarovit in the analysed text would have to be identified as the tribe of Doleńcy, who occupied the terrestrial part of Anterior Pomerania (the Dymin area).

The detailed analysis of the text "Quomodo zabulus..."[11] leads us to propose the following research hypotheses:

Semantically and functionally, the deity mentioned in the text is identical with the deity described by means of teonym Jarovit/Gerovit. It was placed in the third economic function in the Dumezil Indoeuropean three-functional theory. The analysed text describes one of the festivities of the spring cycle, which the mention of a cult feast suggests. Taking care of food, as well as the power over life and fertility (the deity could decide about diseases, plagues) were in the authority of the deity.

An ideological anti-Christian announcement including the reference to Christianization, to translation of the cult and to attempts of re-Christianization is the essence of a ritual speech.

For moralistic purposes, a primary oral report underwent editing measures consisting in transferring a group virtual addressee of a dialogue to an individual recipient, i.e. a "young and of weak faith" Christian.

The described events were set in one of the towns of Anterior Pomerania neighbouring the Wołogoszcz area (most certainly Dymin)

The described events happened before 1160, most certainly towards the end of the 1150s. One of the texts in the Slavic cycle "De miraculis" containing a clear chronological reference, mentions a big battle against the Slavs near Dymin in 1164. Except for that there is no further information about paganism of Pomeranian Slavs.

Conclusion: considering all the circumstances, the text of "Quomodo zabulus" seems one of the last, but, at the same time, one of the most interesting descriptions of still lively traditional spiritual culture of the Slavs in the early medieval period. The area of Dymin seems to be the most real arena of the events described in it, which is supported by philological and historical arguments.

Below there is a Latin original of the text, cited after Szacherska, as well as its translation into English.

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[11] Introduced by the author more closely in the paper: Łuczyński 2010.

Annex

Herberti turrium sardiniae archiepiscopi De miraculis libri tres
Quomodo zabulus in scemate regio seipsum ydalatris ostendebat. XCIII.

Vir venerabilis Heinricus, quondam monachus Claraeuallis et nunc iam per annos plurimos abbatizans in regione Danensi, de quodam honesto monasterii sui converso tale aliquid nobis significavit. Predictus itaque frater dum adhuc secularem habitum gereret, in iuvenili aetate perrexit ad negociandum in supradictam terram paganorum. Est autem in illis locis symulacrum inmundum, in quo demon atrocissimus habitans et responsa plurima prestans pro solo timore ab illis incolis excolebatur. Siquidem interdum visibiliter seipsum ostendens, quasi tyrannus aliquis vultu et voce terribilis apparebat atque miserrimos homines illos minis ac verberibus illatis ad suam reverenciam imperiose cogebat. Preterea morbos, clades, sterilitates atque similia ex divina permissione inducens frequenter, terrorem suum super infidelibus populis incuciebat. Si quando vero ab huiusmodi malignacionibus cessare aut micius agere videbatur, magni beneficii largitor tenebatur. Statutis quoque diebus in anno soliti erant undique ad phanum ipsius sollempniter convenire et pollutis sacrificiis participando convirare. Aliam vero e regione mensam laucioribus epulis copiose refertam seorsum apponebant, que videlicet omnia spiritus ille gulosus plerumque adveniens avida voracitate invisibiliter absorbebat. Cumque universa consumpta conspicerent, tunc et ipsi letanter epulabantur, quia crapulanti numinis gratiam iam secure prestolabantur. Quadam itaque die, convenientibus in unum, contigit et interesse prefatum illum iuvenem christianum. Et ecce repente apparuit ibi notifer ille spiritus imperialibus ornamentis fantastice redimitus, qui residens in throno suo in superbia et in abusione concionabatur ad illos. Porro miserandi homines illi tanta demonis impudencia ludificati in aspectu eius obstupescebant et execrando prodigio divinitatis honorem impendebant. At vero iuvenis christianus cum talia cerneret, intelligens esse diabolum in angelum lucis transfiguratum, exhorruit a facie maligni et invocans nomen Christi adhibita pectori suo manu signum crucis latenter impressit. Neque enim audebat se propter gentilium multitudinem in fronte signare. Ferum tamten spiritus nequam quae facta fuerant in abscondito linceis oculis deprehendens materna iuvenis lingua allocutus est eum dicens: Eia, perfide christiane, decito mihi, quid est, quod in abscondito machinaris? Ut quid nunc in pectore tuo operiente te pallio crucem illam idibilem figurasti? Numquid etiam de phano meo eicere me queris? Ex quo venisti ad terram meam, ego inde exivi ac fugiendo crucem tuam usque nunc in pelago latitavi et nunc tandem sero reversus, ne pateris me a facie crucis tue saltem in delubris meis habere refugium? Nunc enim saturatus epulis meis armatus es contra me signaculis tuis iterumque me de statione mea tanquam proditor impius violenter expellis. Cum ergo barbari illi homines hanc vocem demonis audirent et minime loquelam intelligerent, satis superque mirabantur, quid diceret aut cui loqueretur. At vero iuvenis audiens et intelligens pavidus in turba latitabat, quia fragilis adhuc et fide tenellus teneri ab infidelibus atque ad supplicium protrahi metuebat. Disparente autem demone solutoque conventu cum grandi admiracione recessit et ex hiis, quae viderat et audierat, multum in fide christiana profecit. Postmodum autem cum ad natalem patriam repedasset, in supradicto monasterio se convertit, ubi religiose conversando domino militare curavit et ea, quae sibi acciderant, ad multorum edificacionem abbati et fratribus indicavit. Si

quid nos ad ista dicemus: Si tanta est virtus et gloria crucifixi, ut ante pusillanimem et modice fidei christianum propter signum crucis et trepide et latenter inpressit, principes tenebrarum ita diffugerent, quid putamus fieret, si viri virtutum et fortes in fide predicatores cum gladio spiritus, quid est verbum Dei, accederent. Et quantas hostium strages darent, quantas gentilium turbas in brevi acquirerent, vere cito cognoscerent de verbo veritatis, quid legitur in psalmo: Cadent a latere tuo mille et d[ecem] m[ilia] a[d] d[exteris] tuis. Et in Levitico: Persequentur quinque de vobis - centum alienos, et centum ex vobis - decem milia. Pro huiusmodi ergo rogandus est dominus messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam. Messis est enim multa et operarii autem pauci. Verum tamen ipsi pauci, immo ut verius dicam, paucissimi, qui in partibus illis reperiuntur in missis undique; falcibus predicationis cum tanta benedictionis habundantia et animarum fruges Domino colligunt et ut nimia paganorum milia nuper in brevi tempore baptizata cottidie magis ac magis multiplicentur et adeo ut episcopi atque metropolitani in civitatibus plurimis nunc de novo creentur et vinea domini Sabbaoth in populis barbaris, qui vini forsitan nomen antea audierant, vinum tamen non biberant, hodie longe lateque propagetur.

The book of miracles by monk Herbort
How did the devil in regal gowns appear to idolaters

This is what dignified-looking Henry, once monk Claraevallis, now an abbot residing in Denmark for many years, announced to us about a noble monk from his abbey. The monk in question, now still wearing holly gowns, in his youthful years went to the pagan land mentioned above for the purpose of negotiations. However, on that territory there is an unclean statue in which the most frightening god inhabits who gives a lot of responses and who is worshipped by the local inhabitants only because they fear it. Sometimes he made himself visible and appeared as if a tyrant with a terrifying countenance and voice and he made the unhappiest people worship him by means of threats and beating. Besides that, on God's order, he frequently sent diseases, disasters, infertility and other plagues and aroused fear in the unfaithful. If it had ever seemed that he was giving up those criminal acts or that he was acting more gently, he was regarded as the minister of benefits. Every year, on fixed days they used to arrive festively to his temple from everywhere and they used to feast together although their participation was dishonor. They used to put a separate table and set it lavishly with delicious dishes, and all that used to be devoured in an invisible way by the gluttonous spirit. Then, when they saw everything had been eaten, they themselves ate joyfully because they thought the tipsy deity would be favourable to them. One day, when they gathered in one place, the young Christian mentioned before happened to be there. Suddenly, the well-known spirit appeared, decorated with royal ornamentation, sat down on his throne and spoke to them in a proud and contemptuous way. Yet, those lamentable people mocked at by that shameless deity stood terrified at the sight of him and worshipped him. When the young Christian saw it, he understood that it was the devil turned into the angel of light. He felt fear of Satan and, calling the name of Christ, made a sign of cross secretly. He did not dare, however, to make the sign of cross openly on his forehead due to a great number of people. Having noticed what

he did secretly, the wild deity spoke to him in his native language. "Hey, you deceitful Christian, tell me what you are plotting in secrecy. Hiding under the cloak, you have made the hateful sign of cross on your chest. Are you also making an attempt to throw me out of my temple? I had left the place from which you came to my land, I hid in the sea escaping from your cross and now that I have returned, you do not allow me to find shelter from your cross in my own temples. You have eaten my food, you have armed against me with your signs and once again you are expelling me against my will from my domicile like ungodly traitor". When the pagans heard the demon's voice, they hardly understood the conversation and they were very surprised at who participated in the conversation and what it was about. The alarmed young Christian who heard and who understood the speech, hid in the crowd because he was weak and young in his faith to such a degree that he was afraid he would be captured by the unfaithful and punished with death. However, when the demon disappeared, the crowd dispersed, the young man receded in astonishment and what he saw and heard helped him to deepen his Christian faith. Soon, when he returned to his native land, he went to the abbey mentioned above, where he was in the service of God, and he revealed to the abbot and to other monks what had happened to him, in order to strengthen them spiritually. What else can be said: if the power of the Cross is so big that a Christian of small faith secretly and fearfully made the sign of cross and as a result the rulers of darkness escaped, what do you think happens if men of virtue and missionaries strong in faith arrive, and what is word of God? How many piles of corpses they made, what big crowds of pagans they gained in a short time, they found it out from the words of truth which are in the Psalm: a thousand fall by your side, and ten thousand to your right. And in the Ministerial Book: Five of you will chase a hundred, and a hundred will chase ten thousand. God is desirable for this kind of harvest in order to send harvesters to reap. Harvest is plentiful, but very few harvesters. However, those very few harvesters who came from everywhere are blessed profusely and they reap the harvest of souls for God. As a result, thousands of pagans only just baptized, in a short time grow in number more and more to such a degree that the bishops and metropolitans are appointed in many towns and God's grape-vine is spread far and wide among barbaric people, who may have heard the name of wine but they did not taste the wine.

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Herberti De miraculis как источник для истории религии западных славян

Michał Łuczyński

Автор представляет результаты исследований одного из забытых слави-стических религиоведческих источников – рассказа „Quomodo zabulus...” из сборника "De miraculis" (1178-1180) Герберта. Анализ памятника позволяет сде-лать вывод, что в нем представлены верования племен Предней Померании, а также их столкновения с христианством накануне сражения под Дымино (1164), которое положило конец язычеству этой ветви западных славян.

RAZISKOVALNE METODE IN INTERPRETACIJE LJUDSKEGA IZROČILA

METODI DI RICERCA E INTERPRETAZIONI DELLA TRADIZIONE POPOLARE

RESEARCH METHODS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF FOLK TRADITIONS

Slavic Mitra. Benevolent and Legal Pole of the Function of Religious Sovereignty in the Slavic Mythology and Epic[*]

Martin Golema

Dumézil's discovery of two opposing and complementary faces of the highest power – on the one side legal and priestly, kind, benevolent, shining, near to world and people ("as Mitra"), and on the other side magic, violent, threatening, dark, invisible and distant ("as Varuna") – gave rise to a lot of research in various Indo-European traditions. Despite the impressive results of such research, the functional place of "Slavic Mitra" is still open. On the following pages we would like to try to indicate whom, where and how to look for this place. Introduced will be several hypotheses with the aim to show that just this functional place probably created an important and irreplaceable part, maybe one of the key pillars of the ancient Slavic model of the world.

Keywords: Slavs, religious sovereignty, legal pole, "Slavic Mitra"

As a basic source of substantial analogies we use the Vedic god Mitra. In the Rig-Veda there is only one hymn dedicated to him as to an independent divine being, far more often he creates an almost inseparable couple with Varuna that was often perceived as something integrated. He is worshipped at sunrise, his connection with the Sun and heaven explains the motives of the heaven ride. Horses, carriage, golden throne, metheglin, soma and cows are amongst his attributes. The name Mitra derives from the Indo-European root *mi-, *mei-, related to the idea of mediation, mutuality, legality, consent, and also to creating peace, friendship and affection (Топоров, 1988, 157–158).

In the Brahmanas commentary on Vedic hymns, according to Toporov the couple Mitra-Varuna has a fixed system of contradictions: beneficial-dangerous, close (internal) – distant (external), East – West, connected with the sun – connected with the moon, day – night, summer – winter, fire – water (the oldest Indian tradition distinguishes between two kinds of oath - on fire and on water), white – black (the corresponding colour of sacrifices brought to Mitra and Varuna), visible – invisible, related to the cosmos – related to chaos, collective – individual, social – natural, legal – magic. Mitra and Varuna work as basic classifiers in the model of the world of ancient Indians.

At the same time, within the framework of the divine couple are more complicated relations: Varuna hugs the cosmos from the outside, all others including the Sun and fire as pictures of the god Mitra are contained inside (it is possible to identify the core of cosmogonic myth with the two main characters Mitra and Varuna, in the imagination according to which Varuna put fire in the waters and the Sun to the heavens with a parallel determination of its path). So for example the symbol of Varuna is the waxing crescent and the symbol of Mitra is the waning crescent. In their relationship are also some conflict elements. Mitra as a husband expels the nymph Urvashi from heaven and curses her because she loves Varuna who lives on the seabed [Varuna's Indo-European kin are the Hittite god of sea Aruna, Lithuanian Velnias and Slavic Veles (Jakobson, 1969; Топоров, 1987, s. 217 – 218)].

As Dumézil mentions, in most cases Vedic poets do not distinguish between these two divinities whose names are mentioned **in the double dual** (in the sense "both" Mitra and Varuna) (Dumézil, 2001, 151) **which is the grammar form expressing the closest possible relationship**.[1] They are perceived as two heavenly consuls, bearers of the highest power, and if only one is mentioned, without any restraint the poets concentrate on him all aspects and means of such power (Dumézil, 1997, 129–130). In the Indian tradition a situation also arises where a poet or ceremonial leader crosses this level and wants to distinguish both gods to better highlight or use their solidarity. But in such cases various arising pictures have the same sense: Mitra and Varuna are the two poles of conceptual couples, counterparts whose juxtaposition defines two levels. It is possible to say that each element of one of them demands on the other side a homological element, and these couples – despite their difference but even at first sight – have something so clearly related that in each newly discovered pair we can define in advance which element is "as Mitra" or "as Varuna" (Dumézil, 1997, 130).

In ancient Iran the functional equivalent of Vedic Varuna became Ahura Mazda himself (Puhvel, 1997, 122), Iranian Mithra is a little lost in his shadow. Zarathustra for example made from Mithra an abstraction *Vohu Manah* (good mind, kindness), and also this "code name" expresses the basic feature of Mithra - graciousness, his element is cattle (also in the contemporary Persian word *mihr*, *mehr* means Sun and friendship). Ancient *dvandva* of the Vedic pair *Mitra-a-Varuna* continuously survived in Iran in the Avesta couple Mithra-Ahura, and also in **Misha-Auramazdah* in ancient Persia, which is substantiated in Plutarch as petrified theonym *Mesoromasdes* and in later Persian double theophoric names as *Mihrhormuz* (Puhvel, 1997, 122–123). While Ahura Mazda (as "Iranian Varuna") created the basic cosmological elements of the world, Iranian Mithra controlled the social organization of people, had a mediation function between upper and lower heaven, between heaven and the world, internal and external, divine and human. Thanks to this, he could gain some features that primarily belonged to his neighbour in the divine couple. In such way, we can explain the unexpected inclination of Avesta Mithra for war, destructive and enemy actions and killing, or his inclination to water that was primarily a feature of the other member of the divine pair. Similarly it is possible to explain the relation of Iranian Mithra to the night sky, as well as deepness and secrets (Топоров, 1988, 154–157).

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[1] According to Puhvel except the commonest form Mitra-and-Varuna, sometimes is mentioned only one of the members, and the dual form indicates the meaning "Mitra and the other" (it means he and from other "dvandva" composites proved Varuna) (Puhvel, 1997, 64).

According to Puhvel (1997, 124), the Iranian exaltation of Ahura Mazda (Lord of Wisdom) and the suppression of Iranian Mithra were accompanying phenomenon of Zarathustra's monotheistic enthusiasm. Ahura as "the director of pantheon" left all the dirty mythical work for Mithra whose functions increased: as well as the protection of human settlements and social contracts similarly as Varuna employed spies and punished oath-breakers, he also punished people who breached agreements, was patron saint of warriors, kept the thunder and was lord of the rain (because the demonized Indra was discarded from pantheon). Iranian Mithra developed step-by-step to a god of warriors with solar tone and certain connotations of cattle and fertility.

The processes of a gradual levelling or even inversion of original functional contrasts of the divine couple in ancient Iranian tradition are already clear and distinctive. Basic antithetical functional contours remain legible, and in the case of Iranian Mithra it is still possible to target what Dumézil termed "own centre" (*centre propre),* which *"enables distinguishing marginal activities (activités marginale) from the substantial core of divine character"* (Budil, 2001, 613).

Language evidence: "*mier*" and "*jatka*", * *mirъ jatiti*

Vedic Mithra was generally called together with Varuna – its antithesis and complement in one, and always acted as kind god who is "controlling" (*játajati*) the people and gives "reconciliation, safety" – this is guaranteed by "the internal peace agreement" (*mitram*). He is invoked with the supplicatory formula *"Give us reconciliation, give us peace!"* (Puhvel, 1997, 65).

In the fundamental study *Из наблюдений над этимологией слов мифологического характера,* V. N. Toporov (1969) showed the presence of terminology related to Mithra in Slavic languages. He highlighted two mainly general Slavic words with ancient roots: *"mir"* (peace), etymologically related to the Indo-Iranian word Mitra, and *"jatiti"* (its derivation is for example the Slovak word *jatka* (slaughterhouse) and the Hungarian word from the Slavic *pajta* (fence for cattle).

The old forgotten meaning of "*mir*" was also very comprehensively studied by Czech historian D. Třeštík in "*Mír a dobrý rok. Česká státní ideologie mezi křesťanstvím a pohanstvím*" (1988). The word peace, according to Třeštík, in ancient Slavic had a dominant position in the wide group of terms related to the social organization of people. The range of its meanings and its significant position is best documented in Russian vocabulary. One set of meanings defines *mir* in the negative form as the absence of conflict, hostility and war, and substantially covers the contemporary meaning of this word. The second, positive set already crosses it. It contains meanings such as "order, consent, unanimity, friendship, favour, bonhomie, tranquillity, and contentment". Only in Old Church Slavic or Russian has the word preserved meanings as "our world, land district, universe, world". The last set of meanings for us today is already unknown: "all people, whole world, human race, municipality, village municipality, assembly". Peace (*mir*) here is not the absence of war, but a "reconciliation" balance of different opinions and efforts, it is related to the internal condition of a community and not to its relation to other communities. This closed community as the world for itself is the reason "*mir*" also means world. This is the world of humans, unlike the world of non–humans, and is a world of organized human relations, the cultivated

humanized world unlike the non-cultivated world outside its borders - the world of forest, wild animals and barbarians" (Třeštík, 1988, 31). So peace (*mir*) is also a space concept (related to that it could be interesting to research the etymology of the significantly formally and also semantically similar Roman word *pomerium* that designates the sacred borders of a city – *"the boundary between imperium domi and imperium militiae, the Roman analogy of archaic symbolism of domus and agrios"* (Budil, 2001, 43).

Třeštík considers "*mir*" as a supernaturally defined eternal order, an originally sacral term that is etymologically linked with the name of the Indo-Iranian god Mitra, connected (together with Varuna) with the function of religious sovereignty. While Varuna embodied its magical side, Mitra united people into a social structure, and oversees it in a manner that secures peace, i.e. agreements and contracts. According to Třeštík, Slavs took over his function but not character. They even took over the special word determining Mitra's activity, "deployment of people to their own, proper, right place", creating a social structure. It was the word *jatati*, *jatovati* and the derived word *jata*, *jato* with the meaning of rallying point, ritual place or home where society had assembled *mir*. *Jatka* (diminutive form of *jata*) meant in Old Czech "pagan sacrificial ground". *Mir* and *jatiti* were to a certain extent complementary, and with *jatiti* was gained peace (Třeštík, 1988, 32). From these interesting findings it is necessary to specify one point – it is not productive to explain the spread of these words and their derivatives in Slavic languages with their Iranian influence; for their origin it is necessary to in common Indo-European heritage and how it indicates Russian Indo-Europeanist (Toporov).

Toporov (1969, 18–21) draws attention to the fact that the Indo-Iranian root "*jat*" is mostly used to indicate the activities of Mitra (sometimes Varuna and Arjaman), hence the great Indo-Europeanist E. Benveniste called the root "*jat-*" with the very accurate expression *"une verbe mitraïque"*. Its meaning is to deploy people to their own, adequately real and proper place. The Serbo-Croatian *jatiti se* has the meaning to assemble, in Old Czech the word *jatka* (diminutive form of *jata*) means pagan sacrificial ground, temple, ritual place ("*jiné pohanských bohů jatki*"). Old Church Slavic *jato,* Bulgarian *pojata*, Slovenian *pojata,* Slovak *jatka,* Polish *jata,* Upper Lusatia *jětka,* Lower Lusatia *jatka,* Ukrainian *jatka,* and Russian *jatka* are all expressions indicating the ancient Slavic past of the word. According to Toporov, they indicate the ancient meaning of the root **jat-*, which is a binding together in a collective, into a social structure (related to people), and herding, to stall, to flock (related to animals). These examples show a certain synonymy of "*mir*", and "*jato*", "*mir*"and "*jato*" is reached with the help of the activity indicated as "*jatiti*". On the basis of the above–mentioned it is possible to reconstruct ancient Slavic formulas such as **mirъ jatiti* (to assembly people to "*mir*"– community) which is exactly in compliance with Indo-Iranian "*mitró yátayati*" and "*mitró yatati*" (Топоров, 1969, 20). Such gathering also had a spatial–social aspect, the word "*jatka*" could also indicate a segregated municipality place for assembling *mir*.

Pursuant to Machek (1997, 364) the archaic institution *mir* even had at the beginning of the 20th Century in Russia this form: "... *an assembly of all adult inhabitants of a village. It took part whenever necessary to settle disputes (also private) of all adult inhabitants of a village, to divide land again, to schedule taxes, punish trespassers (drunkards, thieves, lazy–bones), to negotiate communal work and salaries with a landowner. Mir had absolute authority, so managed cases without delay with final validity*

and everybody respected its decisions. This archaic Russian situation could be passed into old times. Because all adult men and women took part in mir (they did it without pressure only for common interest) this why mir could be understood as a municipality... Because of this, the original mirъ is an assembly of a municipality"

The equivalent word for *mir* as a place for assembly could also be *jatka* (Old Czech meaning was "pagan sacrificial ground"), pursuant to Třeštík (1997, 305) we can imagine it as *kontina* – a sanctuary documented among Baltic Slavs, in such place assembled leaders for councils and (ritual) feasts. Originally it was probably a fence, maybe similar as that discovered at a Moravian fortified settlement in *Mikulčice,* or similar to the fort mentioned in Slavic Vagria that was destroyed with the assistance of Helmold, because the preserved meaning of *jatka* is "a fence where cattle are butchered".

Important clues highlight ritual feasts, the close connections of which with the first Indo–European function of religious sovereignty we tried to emphasize elsewhere (Golema, 2006). Such assemblies connected with feasts in the territory of Slovakia (and contemporary Hungary) is possible to see with indirect proof such as traces of toponymy, names of several municipalities such as *Jatov* in the south of Slovakia and *Jató* in Hungary (Stanislav, 2, 1948, 238), Slovak linguist J. Stanislav was puzzled by the etymology of these names.

In the Slovak language plenty of derivations from the old Indo-European root *jat-* (similar as in other Slavic languages) is preserved and modified *-jať* and *-jímať* derived from to accept (*prijať*) – perfective form, to accept (*prijímať*), friend (*priateľ*), to capture (*zajať*), to hug (*objať*), to hire (*najať*), etc.

From important derivations from root *-jat*, highlighting traces of the first function of religious sovereignty for us are especially interesting words like assembly (*snem*), friend (*priateľ*) and name (*meno*). S*nem* is maybe the best candidate indication archaic structure of folk assemblies of Western Slavic – it corresponds to the Russian *mir*. It is derived from the verb **jęti* with the suffix **sъn-,* similarly as the Polish *"sejm, soim"*, Boroń mentions them as synonyms of the more frequented name of Slavic tribe assemblies *"wieca"* (1999, 21–22).

A. V. Isačenko (1954) formulated an interesting hypothesis concerning the etymology of the word name (*meno, имя*). He supposed that the ancient Slavic starting point **jъm-men* (name) is derivable as a compound where root **jmo, * jęti* (take, accept) is the first part, and the other root **men* (approximate meaning is sign) are the same as in the compounds **znamę* (sign), **plemę* (tribe). In the word *znamenie* (sign, omen) the first part (*zna-*) is derivable from the verb *znať*(to know) (identification sign), in the word *plemeno* (tribe) the first part (*ple-*) is derived from *pled-ti, plod-ti* – give birth ("tribe sign") . Accordingly, Isačenko concludes: *"The original meaning of our * jъm-men could be accepted sign, accepted indication (prijatý znak, prijaté označenie = accepted sign, accepted indication)'... From the semantic aspect the connection between brať (take), prijať (accept, perfective form), prijímať (accept) and meno (name) is obvious. In tribal society the child received a name at birth, and its given name is in accordance with strict rules related to the cult of ancestors... But the second time receives a person got its name upon initiation – during reception into the community of adult men and women"* (Isačenko, 1954, 129). This hypothesis is not accepted generally, but is not reliably disproven, and in the framework of the above collected documents it seems to be very consistent. Receiving a name in the process of acceptance *jatiti* of the assembly

of *mir* during a folk assembly (*snem*) has deep logic, name giving as an organic part of *jatiti* is the basic competence of divine or human embodiments of religious sovereignty. Probably it was in the competence of those who led assemblies or ritual feasts (in Russian *bylinas* the head of such feasts was always "gracious prince Vladimir" whose name, consisting of two parts, could be read as "the one who is controlling (mastering) assembly (*mir*)".

Similarly "mithranian" institution *"thing"*, Germanic assembly that met on Tuesday, Tiwa's day (*Tuesday, god* Tý, Týr *is* "Germanic Mitra") – wrote in the most archaic form. *"Thing" was* voted for by chiefs and judges, where it was allowed to *"to sue and conduct trials"* (Tacitus, 1976, 339). The competence of *"thing"* was to accept and initiate young men among adults (also giving or approving a name) as follows: *"It is not a habit to wear a weapon until a community declares a person able to do so. During this act, one of the leaders or a father or relative ceremonially gives the young man a shield and spear. A male is also given a toga as its first award of young age. Until this moment they were considered members of the family, now they are citizens of the state"* (Tacitus, 1976, 340). Giving names is very probably in the sphere of that what Toporov and Třeštík understands as *jatiti* (Slovak *pri-jatie* = acceptance).[2]

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[2] Analogical activity was also done by two mysterious pilgrims in Polish Piast dynasty legend. Punishing the inhospitality of Duke Popiel and honouring the exemplary hospitality of poor ploughman Piast, they chose a new duke dynasty (Piast dynasty) to rule Poland. J. Banaskieszkiewicz (1986, 122–156) gives detailed analysis of this legend (in chapter *Fabula podania o Piaśce: analogie, motiv boga – gośćia, postrzyżyny*). In many analogies mentioned by him, missing in many details, was a similar motive of two pilgrims "deploying" before disabled bohatyr – mythical super human strong and warrior Ilja Muromets to adequate place for him in the known topic of bylinas *The Healing of Ilya Muromets* (*Исцеление Ильи Муромца*). Pilgrims forbade him to fight with some bohatyrs – convincing three functional explanations of the episode (Dumézil 2001, 660–664). Far more serious and so far unnoticed, the analogies of Piast dynasty legend contains story of Scandinavian heaven god Heimdallr (the oldest of the gods) whose palace is in high heaven. Heimdallr referred to himself as a Rígr wandering among people to choose a ruler for them. He came to the first poor house where couple Great – Grandfather and Great – Grandmother and is hospitably accepted, he spent three days in their matrimonial bed and fathered a son named "slave" (*praéll*) who is considered a son of the host couple. After he visited another richer household where he is hospitably welcomed by couple Grandfather and Grandmother and in the same way he fathered a son named Karl (free peasant). At the end he visited a luxury house where he is opulently welcomed by Father and Mother, the consequence of his stay is given the name Jarl (noble). This child remained with the host couple but at the end he adopts him. Offspring of Jarl are exclusively warriors, only the last "young Kon" (*Kon ungr*) is different from the whole group and became the first king (*konung*), his characteristic feature is knowing magic based on Runes. The aim of Heimdallr's this-worldly wandering is to choose from warriors (jarls) a king holding Scandinavian name *konung* (Dumézil, 2001, 190–191). Germanic word *konung* is etymologically close to the ancient Slavic word **kъnędzь* (Slovak *"knieža"*, Russian *"князь"*), significantly "Mithranian" connotations of this word hereinafter). Heavenly god Heimdallr in fact creates ("*jatiti*") some prototype of complete three functional social structures, completed with category of lawless slaves. Dumézil convincingly discovers the ancient Indo-European origin of this topic, Indian relative Heimdallr is Vedic heavenly god Dyaus sometimes also called Dyaus-Pitar and its epic transformations (more details Dumézil, 2001, 188–197). In Lithuania is the heavenly god Dievas (according to Greimas "Lithuanian Mitra"), who descends from heaven to earth as a beggar to try the kindness of the people" (Beťáková – Blažek, 2012, 152). In Slavic traditions comes during the spring to people to Jarilo to grow grain and father children. Among ancient Iranians an electing ruler was also involved in two divine "Siamese twins", Persian kings in accordance with Plutarch thought that they were enthroned by some *Mesoromasdes*, in whose name Iranologist S. Wikander deciphered names of Mitra and Ahura Mazda ("Iranian Varuna") who in Iran were responsible for sovereign power (Turcan, 2004, 14). Similar functional characters resulting from the logic of three functional systems we allow, including a couple of heavenly pilgrims from Piast dynastic legend.

Pursuant to Třeštík, a Slavic assembly used to be a place of politic decision, courts, cult assemblies and markets: "*There met and intersected all the areas that we divide*" (1997, 302–303), we have to add that very probably before the Indo-European function of religious sovereignty was concentrated and mutually connected into such an internally coherent union – one was such a coherent union, more precisely it was its legal and kind "mithranian" pole (a more detailed analysis of the problem of Slavic assemblies is given by Boroń, 1999).

Třeštík states that Slavics adopted through Iranians Mitra's function a special word for Mitra's activity (*jatiti*) – but they did not adopt its character. The performance of these important functions demanded a domestic mythological guarantee with a high position in the pantheon with a function near to Vedic Mitra. Unlike Třeštík, we thus consider that such very likely personified "mithranian" function was not directly imported from Iranians, it was derived from common Indo-European heritage and the performance of such functions demanded domestic mythological guarantee (guarantees) with a high position in the pantheon, functionally homological with Vedic Mitra.[3]

Greek -*laos/-damos* and Slavic *-*pъlkъ/*-mirъ*

The interesting and ancient Spartan institution of two kings was analysed by Bernard Sergent. He drew attention to the fact that kings of Sparta were hereditary from two linages *Agiades* and *Eurypontides*. The parallel and complementary impact of these two dynasties in doubled royal office depicts Sergen in an interesting way, based on the dualism of the first Indo–European function. Agiades, whose names obviously ended with -*laos* (with approximate meaning "people bearing the arms", for example *Agésilaos*, *Arkhélaos* and others) was chiefly occupied with war and conquering foreign territory, and was Varuna´s pole of sovereignty. Members of Euryptonides´dynasty whose names ended with *damos* (with approximate meaning "people assembly" for example *Arkhidamos*, *Eudamidas*), focused on the internal affairs of the state, and according to Sergent they represented the "mithranian" pole of royal function (1976, 3–52; also Budil 2001, 630).[4]

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[3] For example, the reason for the refusal of the first Czech kingdom was according to J. Kopál the power of this tradition. The story of the first Czech Kingdom was wrecked on Przemysl dynastic tradition as mythical scenario of appointing the prince also emphasizing the moment of contract among ancestors of the mythical Przemysl, the Ploughman and the politic society of Czechs. Under the light of this ideology taken over from the model of a "more despotic" "King", power seemed unacceptable because of the absence of highlighted "mithranian" element of the contract (Kopál, 2010).

[4] We think that very similarly the same Indo-European bipolar mytheme could have caused doubling of the highest power for medieval Slavic in Rügen where according to chronicler Helmold, the heathen of Svantovit had more power than the local "king" (probably in military issues, that from the perspective of an external observer were logically more important, the cult of Svantovit bears a relatively distinct Varuna connotation). We do not want to assess such situation as an inclination to theocracy, it is more probably an interesting case of dual reign and from the mythological point of view quite a logic allocation of competences. Probably a useful instrument seems to be the just allocation of competences among the axis Mitra–Varuna (Sergent discovered more interesting parallels between medieval Rügen and ancient Sparta, these parallels refer to a common Indo-European heritage (Sergent, 1994, 15–58). According to Puhvel (1997, 225) and old Teutons two types of leaders are proved. The first type was a warrior with a company of devotees – this type was characteristic for traveling tribes and was totally depending on Varuna-like Wotan/Odin. His name is *druhtinaz* and means the head of a group of warriors (formally

Contrariety of Greek *laos*/-*damos* has almost the exact meaning as Slavic couples with opposed meaning such as **-pъlkъ* (or a word with similar meaning **-vojь*, both are possible to explain as "people bearing arms")/**-mirъ* (with the meaning "assembly of people") that are extraordinarily frequented (obviously as the second component in the order) in very prestigious compound names of Slavic prince families of the pre-Christian period.

As the first part of such prince names there is very often an occurrence of derivatives from the roots **svęt-* and **jar-,* they are very often in Slavic pagan theonyms (we suppose they both have a privileged relationship with the Indo-European concept of religious sovereignty). According to the findings of Toporov and Ivanov, components of gods´ names like **Svęt-* or **Jar-* can be understood as various names of supernatural powers embodied in gods named in such way. Such components are one of the most productive in the old Slavic (mainly prince) name list, and are sometimes mutually altering (Svjato-polk, Jaro-polk, Svjato-slav, Jaro-slav, Svjato-mír, Jaro-mír (Иванов – Топоров, 1974, 185).

According to Toporov, names with the element **Svęt-,* despite not being the most frequent, are the most prestigious regardless of whether they belong to deities or people (Топоров, 1989, 30). Among the names of gods is a reconstructed known name of deity m **Svęto-* & **vitъ* (Zwantewit, Svantavit, Szuetevit) (Топоров, 1989, 38). Personal names of this sort merged with **-pъlkъ* , **-mirъ*, and also with -*slav*, -*gor*, -*bor*. First part **Svęt-* in names of deities and in anthroponyms primarily did not highlight some sacral aspect, but rather the idea of growth flourishing, abundance (for example name **Svętoslavъ* in Russian prince dynasties very often does not indicate sacral fame, but indicates whose fame is growing and spreading[5]). Among pre-Christian Slavic names with the element **Svęt-* are **Svęto-pъlkъ*; for example also Russian prince name *Святополк* (castle *Святополчь*), Polish *Swiętopełk*, *Świętopołk*, Czech *Svatopluk*, Elbe - Slavic *Svątopolk*, *Svętopolk* and others. Similarly are proven names like **Svęto-mirъ*; Russian *Святомиръ*, Polish *Świętomir*, Czech *Svatomír* (also the municipality *Svatomírov*), Serbian *Сватомир* and others. (Топоров, 1989, 39).

The Slavic root **jar-* carries in Slavic languages meanings such as stroppy, hot, fiery, enthusiastic, young, and green.[6] Except for its occurrence in anthroponyms (for example Jaropolk/Jaromír), it occurs in the name of deity Jarovít, this name of deity according to Ivanov and Toporov is significantly linked with the name of main deity

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and partially this word approximates the Slavic word **drugъ* (> Russian *друг* (a friend, mostly in, for example, a martial unit), *дружина* (bodyguards of prince)). This type of Varuna-like military leader – shaman is nearest bohatyr from bylinas *Волх Всеславьевич*, who is mainly and only the head of a martial unit: „*Стал себе Волх он дружину прибирать...*" (Былины, 1986, 90); about his Mithranian anti-pole Golema (2007, 168). The second type of Teuton leader was elective, blessed and officially sacred. He had the title **kuningaz*, (head of the family) or **thiudanaz* (leader of people). These two antagonistic types of leaders, according to Puhvel, were not mutually exclusive (Puhvel, 1997, 225). The similarity of Teuton **kuningaz* with ancient Slavic **kъnędzь* is interesting for us in terms of legitimate thinking about the important "mithranian" dimension of this archaic Slavic institution.

[5] An old Indo-European root **k'ųen-(to-)* (>**svęt-*) named not only growth, development of physical mass, material but also growth of internal fertile power and the spiritual energy linked to it. From the typical external expression, light or colour (colours of divinity are purple, red, orange, yellow) can be seen. (Топоров, 1989, 32).

[6] Very detailed analysis is given in chapter *Ярила и его соответствия у славян* (Иванов – Топоров, 1974, 180–216).

Sventovit. Relationship Svento-vit: Jaro-vit according to these scientists is as the relationship Perún : Jarilo[7].

Old compound (from two parts) Slavic, mainly prince names carry similar traces of polarity Mitra – Varuna as the name of Sparta kings. It is possible to suppose that an old concept distinguishing between the two faces of religious sovereignty was also among Proto-Slavic still alive, appreciated and analytically used in some way.

Phenomenon of mythical peaceful persons-functions (often parallel ploughmen) in Slavic epic

Applicable for Slavic text materials could mainly be considered key Dumézil´s postulates: the oldest epic creates epic heroes according to a perfect picture of the mythical world, and historical facts therein are so hidden and changed there is not even a reliable trace. Dumézil in *Mýtus a epos* (2001) dedicated an important chapter to Russian bylina epic and Slavic and Baltic folklore indicated as establishing the foundations for the future. Encouraged in such prognosis, we have a reason to look for more valuable literal relics from the Proto-Slavic and Indo-European distant past.

We assume that characters of non-militant mediators, arising in fragments of the Slavic Epic (Przemysl, The Ploughman in mythological "Maiden´s War" and his ancestor prince Neklan in mythical "Lucans´ war" from Czech medieval chronicles, gracious prince Vladimir, or bohatyr Dobrynya Nikitich from Russian bylinas) can reveal their functional value in the background of dualism Mitra-Varuna.

Difference (polarity) of magic and law represents the basic pillar of three functional systems, and if we can with reason consider its existence among Slavic, we can allow that the first function preserved the two above-mentioned distinguishable dimensions. This hypothesis will create one of the premises of our following probabilistic opinions. If it is possible to prove in epic (bohatyr *Волх*) and in pantheon (Veles) a Varuna-like pole of sovereignty, the system also supposes the presence of his antipode "x", the occurrence of which in epic or pantheon is more probable and perhaps necessary.

There is a serious reason to suppose that the mithranian aspect of religious sovereignty demanded particular, important and probably personified "entry" in myths or epics, as in the "omnivorous tribal encyclopaedia" (as a specific successor of ancient Slavonic myth-epics is necessary to consider a legend, which mainly in unofficial folkloric variants absorbs and adapts pagan mythological topics[8]). If it was a being who had "mithranian" kindness and peacefulness, such being was suitable for practically total Christianization,[9] so it's necessary to be aware that: *"Charity is not exclusively a Christian virtue"* (Dodds, 1997, 155). It means that also pagans could analytically think about this type of mutual human relationship supported by a different text tradition. Paradigmatically is the destiny of "Lithuanian Mitra" (Greimas, 2007, 153–155), the

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[7] In a prepared and more extensive publication, we would like to suggest and substantiate an interpretation solution built on possible couple relationship Sventovit ("Slavic Varuna", Veles) : Jarilo ("Slavic Mithra").

[8] About taking over important, for example, also "legal" pagan competences by Christian saints in the Slavic environment also wrote Miriam Mencej (2001).

[9] About targets relating to pagan cults as a period mission method writes Rastislav Kožiak (2007).

heavenly god Dievas who gave the Christian God many of his competences and even his own name.

Purely formal analysis resulted in postulating the existence of a mythological–epic character "x" - function, or more precisely, a set of functions of such person could be expressed with the formula *mirъ jatiti*. This affirmation has to be consequently documented in particular text material. We are going to try to focus on several characters of Slavic myth–epic, and we will also focus on something that Dumézil called "genuine centre" (*centre propre*), which *enables to distinguish marginal activities (activités marginale) from the substantial core of deity* (Budil, 2001, 613) and its epic transformations. We will research the ranges of mythical and epic attributes, and find among them typical, invariant features derivable from the Indo-European mithranian prototype. We will work on the presumption that into Slavic, fragmentary preserved (so it can be reconstructed) myth–epic was, similarly as in the other Indo-European ethnically linguistic traditions, very studiously and ingeniously transformed at least the key characters (if not the whole pantheon) or configurations of characters (also interesting are classification triads favoured among all Indo-Europeans).

Continuing the mithranian character-function (originally divine with a high position in the ancient Slavic pantheon) it is possible to find and maybe convincingly identify more Slavic text traditions. We would like to highlight a hate of war (often linked with ritual ploughing[10]), this occurs as an indicator markedly often in the attribute range of this "walking function".

Looking for the functional value of such characters of the Slavic epic, such as mythical Czech princes-peacemakers (sometimes also ploughmen) Przemysl, The Ploughman and his ancestor prince Neklan or exemplary hospitable Polish mythical Piast (Galus Anonymus called him ploughman, (*arator*), peasant (*agricola*)) or "ploughing" bohatyr from bylinas Mikula Seljanin (who is harvesting wheat, brews beer, provides peasants with food and drink, and manages their (peace) issues as a "deputy" named by his counterpart, warlike (like Varuna) conqueror named *Вольга* (*Волх*)[11]) – all these examples it is possible to use for parallel comparison with the Roman "Mithranian" the half mythical king Numa who was elected king after the warlike demigod and creator of Rome "Varuna–like" Romulus.

Numa finishes Romulus´ work and gives the other pole to the Roman king mythology (Dumézil, 2001, p. 150) as king, and the peaceful king-priest also establishes Rome in a way to give him law (Dumézil, 1997, 151). The initial human substance taken over after Romulus is a community whose power still grows, but according to Plutarch this community is *affected by feverish burning because it was at the very start with some kind of courage and crazy fearlessness of the most impudent and most warlike men who came from everywhere; at the same moment their pabulum was often war expeditions and continuous wars...* (Plutarch, 1967, 109). During the reign of King Numa, according to Plutarch for 43 years there was *totally and on all sides eliminated war*, the

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[10] We are more occupied with the problem of ritual ploughing in another study (Golema, 2007).

[11] *Тут проговорил Вольга Святославович:*
Ай же ты, Никула Селянинович!
Я жалую от себя тремя городами со крестьянами.
Оставайся здесь да ведь наместником,
Получайка ты дань да ведь грошовую (Былины, 1986, 100).

Roman nation was "tamed and soothed" and everybody (also in the surrounding city) longed for *lawfulness and peace, they longed to cultivate land, to bring up children in peace, and worship deities... So due to this, even poetic hyperbole was enough to describe the condition of things at that time: in the iron handgrips was a web of black spiders, or: rust eroded spears and two-edged swords, there were not the sounds of copper bugles anywhere and eyelids were not stolen from a dream.* (Plutarch, 1967, 107). Numa, after being elected king hesitated to accept the royal function, because he was afraid of many "perhaps undesired wars", who dedicated to the city "Varuna like" wild and stormy, he was afraid of the deeply rooted habit of Romans *"to grasp the weapon"* – a habit that was rooted due to *"war happiness"* (a similar violent and marauding action endangered the salt trade – so also Mikula Seljanin had to cope with such behaviour). Numa emphasizes his *enormous and innate love to peace, non-violent occupancy, and to people meeting to serve gods and to have friendly feasts, and to everybody who cultivates lands and shepherds his herds* (Plutarch, 1967, 107). This, chronologically second Roman half-mythological king really embodies the peaceful, kind and priest aspect of sovereignty. When Numa *diverted all people from violence and arms* and taught them farming (and also ploughing), also neighbour tribes started to appreciate him. (Livius, 1979, 69). To become praiseworthy for foreigners–neighbours, he had to *found again with law, justice and good practice the new city that had been founded before with power and arms* (Livius, 1979, 64), if we use old Slavic terminology he had to create *mir*.

So we can conclude: the legendary mist veiling the history of establishing Rome in old chronicles and legends is not isolated in the Indo-European population. It is written into the old Indo-European scheme, which demanded that society reach integrity and maturity, and accumulated more actions of more types of kings – for example in Roman chronicles - epics *after the wild magic ruler (Romulus) peacekeeper is coming (Numa). In such way it is projected epic proceeded couple Varuna – Mitra to the diachronic level* (Puhvel, 1997, 107).

Probably such an ideology in pictures with "tribal encyclopaedia" whose key "entries" are divided according to three functions we meet also in Slavic myths (and its continuing in Russian bylina epic or Czech dynastic legends). Let's have a closer look to the character-function of the Russian bylina epic with the significant name Dobrynya. It is an interesting bohatyr, who does not like arms (he fights with a dragon and uses "a cap of Greek soil" – "*шапкой земли греческой*"). It is very significant that he does not like fighting and he hates to kill, he blames his mother for delivering him bashful ("*Зародила ты на свет меня несмелого...*" (Былины, 1986, 239)), but his great and precious merit is politeness (*вежество*) – thank to this he propitiates conflicts (for example in bylina topic *Илья Муромец в соре с князем Владимиром*).

After he defeated the dragon Zmey Gorynych (Varuna-like pole of religious sovereignty), Dobrynya did not kill the dragon but concluded with it an eternal and unbreakable treaty about dividing the world and then released him (according to some variants he is even "cross brother" of the dragon). When the spirit of the above-mentioned treaty is the first time breached by the dragon Zmey Gorynych, Dobrynya renews the legal status based on treaty (he is the only one to do it without fighting, discussion and blood *"Без бою, без драки, кровопития"* (Былины, 1986, 80). In less militant and for us more interesting variants of bylina, Dobrynya was successful,

and in others the dragon refused the "peaceful solution" and consequently is killed. Dobrynya saved and released from the dragon´s lair the kidnapped niece of prince Vladimir and many prisoners. Mention of the eventual killing of Zmey Gorynych as a logical "military" solution for the situation is missing (for sure not accidentally) in more (more archaic?) variants of bylina. It is more a punitive expedition of a lawyer than a soldier. Dobrynya left the dragon alive, and labelling him as typical dragon killer – as is done in part of bylinas *Добрыня и змей* – does not have enough support in the text.

If Dobrynya receives a military task unavoidably connected with killing the innocent, tears of fathers, mothers, widows and orphans, he regrets he was even born:

> *Я не ездил бы, Добрыня, по чисту полю.*
> *Я не убивал, Добрыня, неповинных душ,*
> *Не пролил бы крови я напрасная,*
> *Не слезил Добрыня отцей, матерей,*
> *Не вдовил бы я, Добрынюшка, молодых жон,*
> *Не спущал бы сиротать да малых детушок...* (Былины, 1986, 452).

He is really too sensitive to be a representative of an old Indo-European function of military power (despite the fact that at first sight he seems to be such representative). His aversion to war is also highlighted by Dobrynya´s mother, who emphasizes that God gave strength and boldness to other bohatyrs more intimately connected to military function. Dobrynya was principally given non-military qualities, and the most praised quality is *вежество* (Былины, 1986, 452).

Dobrynya Nikitich after Ilya Muromets (transformed Thunderer – the Lord of Thunder) is the second most important bohatyr of Russian bylina epic. He is part of the popular bohatyr trio – the third of the trio is Alyosha Popovich – Dobrynya´s "cross brother" and also his Varuna–like antipode given with boldness. But Alyosha absolutely does not have Dobrynya´s typical good manners – *У Алеши вежство нерожденое...*, (Былины, 1986, 486). For Alyosha, "pop" (priest) origin is typical manly: boldness, fearlessness, aggressiveness, inventiveness, and slyness. He can deceive even his "cross brother" Dobrynya Nikitich. Alyosha likes to talk big, he is arrogant and mischievous. Alyosha´s miraculous birth links him with Volkh (*Волх*), he has magic abilities (*хитростям-мудростям*) of Volkh and from the bohatyr trio he is the nearest to Veles.

Dobrynya has a forging role in this key Russian bohatyr trio, thanks to his effort and abilities, the trio keeps in touch despite Ilya and Alyosha moving apart. Highlighted is Ilya´s peasant origin, Alyosha´s priest origin, and Dobrynya´s prince origin – so he is the nearest to the gracious Prince Vladimir (he shares with him various aspects of mithranian functions) and his relatives. His responsibility is to collect taxes, he finds a bride for the prince, he talks with *skomorokhs* and as a reliable lawyer verifies the bragging of bohatyrs. Repeatedly and constantly is emphasized his *вежество* – politeness, "good manner". In bylinas he sings, plays the gusle, skilfully plays chess, and defeats a formerly unbeatable chess expert Tatar khan. Alyosha deceitfully wins Dobrynya´s wife over, and Dobrynya wants to punish him for that. Ilya mediates in reconciliation of both "cross brothers" (a similar conflict for woman occurs between Mitra and Varuna).

Toporov interprets the analysed bohatyr trio as a "trisection" originally one person-function related to war, he worked on the assumption that all three bohatyrs are dragon slayers (Топоров, 1998, 97–101) and all three have Veles-like features. We do not agree with such interpretation because Dumézil already referred to the usefulness of distinguishing between cases of "strengthening triplication" (when from the aspect of three functional structures homogeneous triads are only particularly analysed as one of three functions) and more interesting triads with classifying and synthesizing validity (Dumézil, 2001, 646), they are coming as a cross section through the whole three functional system, or at least through its one important part. In the case of the three bylina bohatyrs, as we try to show, there is a classifying triad where the just mithranian lawyer has an essential and irreplaceable position.[12]

Old Czech Chronicle of Dalimil (created at the start of 14th century) in the chapter *Ot Neklana múdrého* (From Neklan, the wise) describes the character of this half mythic predecessor of the Przemyslid prince family as follows:

> *Jeden do sebe nedostatek jmieše,*
> *že ovšem **neudaten** bieše...*
> *Toho jemu za zlé ijeden neměj;*
> *nebo to každý za jísto jměj,*
> *že **bláznóm jest hrdinstvo dáno**,*
> ***múdrým neudatstvie vzdáno.***
> *Neb múdrý rozličně příhodu rozkládá,*
> *až jej i mine ta sváda.* (Staročeská kronika, 1988, 251).[13]

Neklan lacks bravery, but there is something he is gifted with. Such gift we can quite correctly and precisely name with the Russian word *вежество.* Neklan has good manners that help him prevent open, destructive and violent conflicts. In the structure of this old epic about the mythical "Lucans war", rewritten by "so-called Dalimil" who chose it and maybe gave it a new poetic form (respecting the deep structure of the

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[12] In heroic epic or myth it is possible to gain the attributes of a dragon slayer quite easily and undeservedly, such attributes may not indicate "the most essential core" of studied feature-function. Such dragon slayer´s attributes gained (in a very interesting way, according to Eliade) for example Dieddonné de Gozon, the third Grandmaster of Military Hospitaller´s Order of Saint John of Rhodes, who claim credit for killing the dragon from Malpasso. In the legend Prince Gozon has the attributes of St. George who was known as a dragon slayer. It is not necessary to highlight that such information is not mentioned in documents from this period, the legend is dated two hundred years later. It is possible to say, from this simple fact, that prince Gozon was considered a hero as he was classified to this category, archetype, who despite his historic features gave him mythical biography and such biography included the fight with the monster. His biography has been reconstructed according to mythical standards (Eliade, 1993, 32). Something similar probably happened to Russian bylina bohatyrs, their original archaic biography was later reconstructed and completed in accordance with the standards of heroic epic, their originally distinct functions were equalized, even inverted. According to Dumézil *in the heading of these heroic creations* is possible to prove old three-function ideology – bylina creators *decorated it with fresh eruditions – apocryphal, fairy tale topics, fragments of history* (Dumézil, 2001, p. 663) and between such obvious "decorations" we cannot omit dragon slayer motives.

[13] "He had one mistake, /**he was not brave**.../But no-one blamed him for that,/because everybody thinks for **sure,/that fools are gifted with heroics/ and wise ones are not brave.**/Because the wise consider situations in many ways/and at the end avoids violent conflict." (translated M. G.)

previous text preserved by verbal tradition), it is not an imperfection but an advantage and important functional attribute:

> *Toho daru Neklan nejměješe,*
> **múdrost jmaje, neudaten bieše.**
> **Zemi dobřě oprávieše,**
> **ale války velmi sě bojieše** (Staročeská kronika, 1988, 251)[14]

When attacked by his relative, more militant, expansive, cruel, mean, almost demonic Przemyslid Vladislav (in the older version of Cosmas of Prague Vlastislav, the name is anagrammatically linkable with the name of theonym Veles) who is blessed with bravery, magic abilities (embodiment of Varuna-like pole of sovereignty – to his army belongs a huge flock of obedient predatory birds, prepared for attack), Neklan calls his best warrior, brave Styr, and he starts to consult him:

> *... kako by mohl Lučan bez bojě zbýti,*
> *řka: "Lépe jest jim něco otpustiti*
> *než sě s nimi zavražditi"* (Staročeská kronika, 1988, 260).[15]

"So-called Dalimil" is a medieval Czech chronicler (mentioning mythical–epic Lucans war) who most significantly acts as an apologist for non-military, only seemingly cowardly acting of this "wise" prince and respects (on the basis of pretexts) the most precise record value of old couple mytheme present in ancient epic.[16] In our opinion he does not create a line of reasoning, he finds it ready in verbal epic–myth.

Such open aversion to war, typical for some characters-function such as Neklan and Dobrynya, becomes unexplainable abnormality if we would like to interpret them as the embodiment of military function (in such cases we have to ignore the quoted paragraphs). A more correct solution is the revision of the obviously simplified three column "table" of relations inside the system of three functional Indo-European ideology (1. religion, 2. war, 3. fertility and production) – such table with its elegant and ordered strength sometimes seduces us into placing these non-warrior persons in the third column of production and fertility – but such placement is only making a virtue out of necessity.

We suggest adding to this "relationship table" a fourth column – it means to divide the first function of religious sovereignty into magic and law, exactly in the spirit of Dumézil´s explanation of polarity Varuna–Mitra. This solution has, we think, more essential advantages. If we place character-functions such as Neklan, Dobrynya, Przemysl The Ploughman, Mikula Seljanin and generous Prince Vladimir to the legal pole of religious function, their pacifism or open aversion to war (to a greater or lesser

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[14] "Neklan does not have such gift,/he is wise but not brave./He governs country well/but he is afraid of war very much." (translated M. G.).

[15] "... how to get rid Lucans without fight,/he said: "Sometimes is better to retreat in something/than to murder each other." (translate M. G.).

[16] Duality Varuna – Mitra is not written here in diachronic order but one beside other -synchronously, this epic solution has to result with conflict inside the dynasty where are typically "presented" opposite styles of ruling.

extent, expressed explicitly or implicitly in texts) similarly as an episodic ploughing (that is seemingly "illogical" if perceived only as an attribute of the third function of fertility, or production results in the acceptance of sovereign prince power) stops being an unexplainable abnormality and starts being an expected result.

For example, instead of "prince–non-prince" Neklan whose competence focuses in the "table" of functional relationships is obviously outside the war function, the army is led by brave Styr. This "professional soldier" dressed in Neklan´s armour (trick of wise Neklan) wins the war, he fulfils his task, his epic existence loses reason and maybe due to this reason he dies in battle. In the final of Lucans war, it again shows the functional substance and sovereign power of Prince Neklan. When his people find the hidden small son of killed and defeated Vladislav, Neklan does not order his killing[17], he appoints a tutor for him, and gives him his father´s title and local power (he is dividing the world with him). In contrast to the mercy and pity of Neklan, the appointed tutor Durynk presents himself as a haughty and dull representative of military function. He is a soldier characterised by *unpleasant cruelty, weak mind, inability to control anger or get rid of a grudge* (Dumézil, 2001, 67), as mentioned Dumézil in another context. The contrast of Neklan and Durynk – they represent two "alive functions" - is symptomatic. Durynk unlike Neklan cannot suppress the violent urge inside him, and contrary to the orders of the prince, he wants only to cut the child´s head off. He brings the head to Neklan to demonstrate his devotion. Neklan is horrified, and instead of the thanks that Durynk had expected in his (functionally conditioned) dullness, Neklan instead orders him to commit suicide as punishment for this act.

The successor of the same Indo-European mythical–epic tradition, mythic king Yudhisthira from the Indian epic Mahabharata, sends to war his brothers, but he (typical of the generous Prince Vladimir from bylina epic) stays in the palace and does not participate in the war expeditions and: *He treats prisoners of war as a sovereign lord. Gives them freedom and releases them*, his king power does not include anything tyrannical, capricious or immoral. At the end he fights: *despite the fact he has a strong inclination withdraw* and battle *scares him* (Dumézil, 2001, 72). He mentions everything possible to say against war: enemies are his close relatives, some are very dear, others for their age, nature or function very venerable, so because of that a duty to fight against them is something criminal: *is fighting a right way to rightfully decide any dispute?* (Dumézil, 2001, 100). Yudhisthira *does not like war for which he does not have adequate professional competence* (Dumézil, 2001, 64). He is a rightful, virtuous, pure and pious king – a real dharmaraja – but without soldierly qualities and even without bravery, exactly as a human representative of the "mithranian half" of sovereignty should be (Dumézil, 1997, 145). Neklan, Dobrynya, Yudhisthira and Numa are characters distinctively specified by their function, *they are from one piece of cloth, and a man could with certainty forecast how all of them would act in every new situation* (Dumézil, 2001, 668).

The end of such consideration could be formulated like this: Czech half mythical Przemyslid Prince Neklan or bohatyr Dobrynya from Russian bylinas are epic successors of old (ancient Slavic) tradition. They are most likely moulded from divine

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[17] *Despite he was a pagan prince, as a good Christian he saw him and showed his mercy and spared him for his youth and pulchritude* (Kosmova Kronika česká, 1975, 52).

prototype. In this case it is not productive tsee a result of foreign "influence", but without this influence, the Slavic myth–epic would not have grown from the amorphous, embryonic, pre-system and pre-epic stages (from the point of view of naïve evolutionism and antiquated comparative "influencelogy"). Such very unambiguous and functionally interpretable successions refer to ancient Slavic, even Indo-European text horizon and wider functional (and absolutely not amorphous, pre-mythical and pre-epic) system of thinking; and Slavic inherited, continuously developed and adapted Indo-European ideology – with still readable value in its framework. They are alternations of very old Indo-European character-function (representing the legal pole of religious sovereignty) as precious residua of literature prehistory as half-mythical Roman king-peacekeeper Numa or King Yudhisthira, who did their best to prevent war among relatives. Such Slavic mythological–epic residua were recorded despite the aversion to pagan themes, and so were recorded too late and too fragmentary, but they remain indirect but serious proof of "Slavic Mitra".

Uspenskij´s Veles (and "the other" in his shadow)

Uspenskij in his essential monograph *Филологические разыскания в области славянских древностей. (Реликты язычества в восточнославянском культе Николая Мирликийского*, 1982) very systematically catalogues and comments on the pagan parts of the folkloric picture of St. Nicholas in Russia. He works on the thesis that this popular saint in Russia probably became a substitute for Slavic Veles, and he also assumed his key attributes and competences. Uspenskij perceives Veles mostly (and only) as a rival of Perun the Lord of the Thunder and Lightning. The relationship between these two deities (Veles and Perun) is full of conflicts and contrasts – Uspenskij considers them an essential ancient Slavic and Indo-European myth. Uspenskij "reads" (slightly a priori) all legend topics linked to St. Nicolas through such, sometimes too much, reducing optic. According to Uspenskij, from the outset the significantly very contrasting features of divine rivals could in time be complicated by various text transformations leading for example to the neutralisation and sometimes inversion of the initial contrasts. In such way, Uspenskij explains some clear abnormalities (non-Veles or non-Varuna) features and functions in the folkloric picture of St. Nicholas, he puts aside the distinct proneness of folkloric St. Nicholas to be bound in the complementary couple with some suitable being from his surroundings (so proneness to work in a complementary and equal couple) or also similar proneness to "split" into a pair of similarly linked beings.

In our opinion this noticeable "proneness" of folkloric St. Nicholas could not be explained consistently and without interpretation of the violence only in the framework of the mentioned binary scheme. It would be necessary and useful to add to the basic binary scheme (fighting of Lord of the Thunder with his enemy) a third member ("Slavic Mitra"). Our solution is mainly based on Baltic analogies, where the head of the pantheon is not only the conflict couple Perkunas-Velnias but also the strange classification trio – in the framework of this trio "Baltic Mitra" heavenly god Dievas also has an important role. (Топоров, 1987, 153–158; Greimas, 2007).

Folkloric St. Nicholas in more aspects is more or less significantly a dual being, he has, for example, an interesting "couple" relationship with the Christian God, the

pagan prototype of this important relationship could not be consistently and without contradiction explained as a relationship between the Lord of Thunder and his rival. Into folk tradition passed an interesting imagination, that Mikuláš (*Микола*) is part of the Trinity (such "adjusted" Trinity consisted of the Saviour, Our Lady and Nicolas (Успенский, 1982, 7) we feel the classification triad of pagan myth beside this triad[18]. In Russian folkloric texts Nicolas is sometimes named as a god (official church formula *Микола святитель Богом силен* is in folk tradition changed into *Святитель Микола, силен Бог наш*. Similarly St. Nicolas is sometimes called "god of sea" (*морский бог*), "burlak god" (*бурлацкий бог*), "god of beer" (*пивный бог*), and "general god" (*общий бог*) (Успенский, 1982, 10).

Uspenskij also mentions very interesting documents, with St. Nicholas not being identified with God but rather creating a couple with him, or for example standing beside God in the position of **independent and equal divine being** (Успенский, 1982, 13), the necessary coordination of activities in the framework of a divine pair could be explained with reference to the previous treaty about dividing the world. In the popular and well known kind of icon (so called *Деисус*– typical three member composition with Christ in the centre with Our Lady and St. John the Baptist) St. Nicholas can fully replace St. John the Baptist – it is the expression of the function of the mankind, mediator between man and (Varuna-like faraway) God (Успенский, 1982, 14).

It is interesting that the original form of this saint's name was among Slavic phonetically changed – the original Greek *Νικόλαος* (*Nikólaos*) was changed into the Russian *Микола, Микула.* Uspenskij, with reasons, considers this form with the letter "M" at the start, to the west Slavic element in Russian. He draws attention to the Polish *Mikolaj,* Czech and Slovak *Mikuláš,* Lusatian *Miklaws*, similar forms also asserted in the environment of Pannonian Slavic as for example Slovene *Miklavž* and Hungarian *Miklós* unambiguously borrowed from the Slavic (Успенский, 1982, 20). According to Uspenskij, this formal change of the first letter "N" to "M" cannot be explained phonetically, for now the most accepted explanations seems to be a contamination of the name Nicolas (Mikuláš) with the name Michal (through the German Michel)[19]. It is supposed that this form reflects the contamination of the names St. Nicolas and archangel Michael – it happened in the west of the Slavic settlement in the period before Cyril and Methodius, in the oldest period of Slavic Christianization (Успенский, 1982, 20). We can perform experimental replenishing to this interesting hypothesis – we can add to the two contaminated names a third - explaining the direction of this contamination (N > M). During the adaptation of the name of the being with "mithranian features" and functions in the Slavic environment, various domestic words could also be involved derived from the Indo-European root **mi-*, **mei-* related to the idea of mediation, mutual exchange (and measure), lawfulness, consent, building the peace, friendship, and affection (for example *mir*).

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[18] This triad probably guaranteed similar functions as any other classification triad, it more referred to the Indo-European distant pass: *During the reign of Artaxerxes II in the old Persian text occur for the first time three deities, they are the most important protectors of empire and dynasty: Ahura Mazda, Anahita and Mithra* (Oběti ohňům, 1985, 318).

[19] This form of name such as *Michola*, *Micholt*, *Michno* (*Mychno, Michna*), *Michon*, *Mychnyk*, *Misz* (*Mysz*), *Miszka*, *Miszec*, *Miszek*, *Miszak*, *Miska* occur for example in old Polish language as Nicolas (Успенский, 1982, 20).

The proven Russian habit of placing into the hands of a deceased person a letter to St. Nicolas – who was considered the guard of heaven's gate - refers to some eschatological functions of Slavic deity (or divine couple), whose substitution became St. Nicolas (Успенский, 1982, 25). The cult of St. Nicolas is typical mainly for northern parts of the east Slavic settlement, in the south, (including the Ukraine) the cult of St. Nicolas corresponds to the cult of St. George (for us it indicates that both substitute in folk imagination the same deity or a closely connected complementary divine couple). Uspenskij explains this equality as a product of the above-mentioned equalizations and inversions of originally irreconcilable contrasts between the Lord of the Thunder (St. George) and Veles (St. Nicolas). In the area of south Russia where St. George is placed above St. Nicholas the latter has a "Moscow nature" (*породы московской*), and it is interesting for us that he has a more complementary rather than conflicting relationship with Russian George (*русьскому Юрку*). In the Ukraine, the cult of St. Nicolas is generally less developed. In Ukrainian superstition, when we come to "the world beyond" then St. Nicolas and St. George divide (without conflict, it seems in compliance with the "contract") the incoming deceased in accordance with the code as follows: *... як прийдемо на той світ, то за москалів буде Микола, а за нас Юрій. То як іде москаль, Микола... каже: "мій" тай баре собі, а як наш, то Юрій собі бере...*[20] (Успенский, 1982, 32). Uspenskij believes St. George is a hypostasis of Perun. We do not agree with that, as in the folk cult behind these two saints with homological competences we can probably see more of a dual being – Veles as "Slavic Varuna" (and the other in his shadow – "Slavic Mitra"). To Veles belongs (probably) the foreign deceased – "Moscals" (inhabitants of Moscow, Russians) and "our dead" belong to "Slavic Mitra" (George). This motive implies an agreement about dividing the world into two deities.

Uspenskij as a variant of a basic myth about the fight of the Lord of the Thunder with his enemy, interprets folk legend about the prophet Elijah and St. Nicolas, where Nicolas deceives Elijah and saves the crop of a poor peasant (more details Téra, 2009, 280–284). Uspenskij explains this legend in a way that in the folk texts, good (from below) protecting Nicolas is confronted with terrible (from above) punishing Elijah. For scientists researching Russian folk cults, St. Nicholas in folk imagination is usually better and more merciful than the prophet Elijah who is vengeful and atrocious. Nicolas is usually a good protector of people (Успенский, 1982, 34). The relationship of the prophet Elijah and St. Nicolas in this legend is exactly the same as the conflict relationship between Perun and Veles. In our suggested table, it's more probably a relationship of one guarantee of military function (Perun, the Lord of the Thunder or his "Varuna-like" rival, demonic Veles) on the one side, and the sly "mithranian" lawyer on the other side who is unlike the two above-mentioned and nearer to the third function of production and fertility. This is why he is protecting it (using typical sly legal tricks).[21] A rare case of inversion occurs in the variant of the legend, where God

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[20] ... when we come to the world beyond, for "Moscals" there will be Nicolas, for us George. When comes a Moscal, Nicolas will say "mine" and he will take him, when he comes out, George will take him...

[21] Dumézil draws attention to the fact that also law when clever used becomes a tool how to become stronger, how to win and often destroy a rival in the same way as a fight. For example "Germanic Mitra", due to one legal trick offered his right hand as a guarantee for a useful but false statement. He stayed one-handed and could no longer be a mediator of reconciliation among people (Dumézil, 1997, 134).

Himself misleads Nicolas and in this way saves the crops of a peasant (Успенский, 1982, 41). This legend implies the "duality" of St. Nicolas, and only Nicolas acts as a terrible, punishing (so Varuna-like) being (Veles), and God Himself plays the contrary role of sly, "mithranian" lawyer, good protector of people.[22]

The distinctively interesting couple relationship of God and Nicolas in similar texts is interesting to us. Nicolas acts as an independent and equal being, in the relationship withGod. According to the belief from the Moscow region, for example when God dies, St. Nicolas takes his position (Успенский, 1982, 38), as the power to oppose God is often ascribed to Nicolas (Успенский, 1982, 42).

The Russian forest ghost (*леший*), considered an obvious hypostasis of Veles, could in folk imaginations be both a bad and good being, he can be a demon and good spirit (*дух благодетельный*), sometimes called a fair-minded forest ghost, (*лесовиком праведным*, *лесом праведным*), by Uspenskij it refers to the often and typical "splitting" of the picture of Veles. We explain differently these more time-documented transformations of Veles, during this "splitting in two" from the shadow of Veles, the second member of the divine couple (maybe, in some texts "Siamese twin" of Veles, or his merciful and kind variant, alomorph; in Indo-European mythological traditions for sure it is not the first case when the mithranian lawyer is lost in the shadow of big Varuna like magus) arises or even becomes an independent being, closely related to him.

The ritual ploughing of St. Nicolas Uspenskij is explained as the help of deity in the cultivation of land. In such first ploughing of the world, we see not an agricultural but a cosmogonic act, ending cosmogony and approving the agreement about dividing the world between two divine beings. The analogical structure of other versions of Slavic cosmogonic myth is catalogued by Tomicki (1976). The God and Devil divide their world vertically. God is coming to heaven and Devil to waters (during ploughing the world is divided horizontally). Two sovereign divine rulers cooperate during this (horizontal or vertical) division of the world[23].

Besides mythological ploughing with a hitched up dragon (involving the **couple** of saints Cosmas and Damian (Петров, 1930), in some variants also the more complicated **double being** "Kuzmodemjan"[24]) are more interesting versions for our explanation. For example: *Егорий (змееборец) запрягает Николу (заместителя змея) в соху и пашет на нем*[25] (Успенский, 1982, p. 100–101). Our explanation is different: George (mithranian pole of sovereignty) hitched up Nicolas (in this version the obvious Varuna pole). Also in other variants of Slavic cosmogonic is the obvious "mith-

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[22] A similar motive is related to Lithuanian Dievas. Dievas acts as rich farmer and neighbour of Velnias. They agree a treaty with Velnias to work together in one field and everybody will take one part, Dievas the down part and Velnias upper part (vertical dividing of the world). Dievas is planting potatoes (very sophisticated from the legal point of view) and Velnias takes only haulm (Beťáková – Blažek, 2012, 57–63). Lithuanian Dievas is not only deceiving or bad, he is only a sly lawyer, and such slyness in the name of a good thing is perceived as a positive manifestation of a mithranian type of intelligence.

[23] In Lithuanian myths, Deivas competes with Velinas – they both create the world and later they are rich farmers there.

[24] Maybe only formally, similar to old *dvandva* compounds is also the riddle name of ploughman with plough and yokes: *Вышел тюрь-юрь на Егорьев день, вынул тюрь две головы, двенадцать ног, оловяный нос, конопляный хвост* (Иванов –Топоров, 1974, 205).

[25] "Similarly, George (dragon slayer) hitches up Nicolas (dragon´s representative) and ploughs with him."

ranian" celestial God, who first creates the world with Varuna-like Satan (Tomicky, 1976), after that they agree on the world´s division (about the Iranian parallels for the motive of treaty - Eliade, 1997, p. 98) and in the conflict caused by Satan He (God) cannot fight with him (typical Mithranian deficit). So he has to delegate this military issue to a "military expert", usually archangel Michael (transformed Lord of the Thunder more closely bound with the function of military power). Belief in such "God of the Gods" (*deus deorum*) without a specification of the detailed limited powers and sphere of influence is ascribed to Elbe Slavic by chronicler Helmold (Helmolda kněze buzovského Slovanská kronika, 1947, s. 127). The same type of celestial god (moreover with same title of God of Gods and Lord of Lords) creating the world in a couple with Satanael occurs on the opposite side of the Slavic world in the apocryphal legend about Lake Tiberias (Eliade, 1997, p. 85)[26].

In our opinion it's an interpretation mistake to reduce too mixed relationships centred on folk St. Nicolas to the relationship with the Lord of Thunder. The relationships are too various to be correctly read as only variations of basic Indo-European myth. Overusing the interpretation scheme of "basic Indo–European myth" is probably the only mistake of Uspenskij´s excellent monograph – it is probably the case when ugly facts kill beautiful theories. It seems more productive to "add" a third "player" entity, and from the couple of basic Indo-European myths to create a trio. The myth about the fight of the Lord of Thunder with his rival in this particular case seems to be too reducing a model – it is not possible, without interpretation violence, to fit functional diversity and above all interesting complementary coupling (often contractually cooperating, sometimes standing in conflict as rivals) of the characters in researched texts.

The important trace, implying that within the folk cult of St. Nicolas is only the first Indo-European function of religious sovereignty, whose basic and emphasized attribute is always wisdom, are some Russian colloquial active verbs derived from the names of mentioned saints, in folklore bound to couples. There are for example words such as *микулить* – to comprehend, to understand, *обмикулить* – to deceive, parallel with it also *объегорить* – to mislead, to trick, *абигорить* – to arrange, to put into order, according to Uspenskij it conforms with its meaning to "Veles-like" word *волосить* – to manage, to own (in Slovak "*vlastniť*") (Успенский, 1982, 139). Same meanings are bearing words *обкузьмить, подкузьмить* – to deceive. Uspenskij draws our attention to the fact that words such as *обмикулить*, *объегорить*, *обмишулить*, *подкузьмить* derived from the names of saints (Nicolas, George, Cosmas) are semantically equal to the word *обволхвить* – to lie, and also to the Ukrainian word *волшити* – to out-trick. Words such as *обволхвить* and *волшити* point directly and unambiguously to word *волхв*, which is etymologically related to the name Volos/Veles. This connection allows the assumption that the Old Russian *волхв* (or Old Czech *vlchvec*) was heathen or shaman – servant of Veles (Успенский, 1982, 140) – according to Uspenskij, Veles and typical activities are also related to the above-mentioned verbs. We want to falsify this hypothesis: Varuna´s wisdom previously based on magic activities also has its pair – mithranian equivalent. So we don't want to connect the

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[26] Also in Baltic mythology, the god Dievas residing in the sky is first among deities, he is the main god, markedly passive out of mythological topics. For example in relation to Perkunas, he behaves as main to unimportant, inactual to current, as a lord towards executor (Топоров, 1987, 153–158).

lawyer´s slyness of the above quoted group of verbs as a whole only with Veles and his magic abilities. His supposed lawyer antipode could also very slyly "shuffle cards" thanks to another "mithranian" type of wisdom. For example "prince – non-prince" Neklan disguised in his armour the bravest soldier, who consequently won the war. At the critical moment intentionally lies even the prototype of veracity dharmaraja Yudhisthira (Dumézil, 2001, 64– 65).

In Slavic texts referring to ancient Slavic and Indo-European text horizon systematically and deliberately occur an interesting, more or less firmly stuck double category, which should not be analysed as a whole, but rather has to be analysed along with the axis Mitra–Varuna. Such detailed analysis can uncover and more deeply explain the potential or actual duality (being in couple) present in a range of Slavic mythic and epic texts mentioning religious sovereignty and consequent sovereign ruling. Such interesting duality we can meet not only in original pagan dynastic legends, in folklore-like adapted legends or in fragments of Slavic cosmogonic myth, but also in Slavic prince names and the oldest Slavic epic poem. In all Slavic languages it is possible to prove much circumstantial language evidence referring to Varuna–like or Mithranian style of ruling. If we summarize these findings, we can formulate our main intention as follows: apart from Veles, linked with magic (as a "Slavic Varuna") in the ancient Slavic myth (very near to Veles, sometimes small in Veles´ shadow, or even as a "Siamese twin") also his couple counterpart and addendum in one with kind heavenly Jurist "Slavic Mitra" was involved, who was in a close relationship with Veles. For example, Helmold (similarly as the Russian apocryphal legend about Lake Tiberias) labelled him the ancient Slavic "God of Gods".

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Slovanský Mitra. Láskavý a právny pól funkcie náboženskej zvrchovanosti v slovanskom mýte a epose

Martin Golema

V slovanských textoch odkazujúcich k praslovanskému a indoeurópskemu textovému horizontu sa určite nie náhodou, ale dosť systematicky a pomerne často objavuje zvláštna, viac alebo menej pevne zlepená dvojkategória, ktorá nemá byť analyzovaná ako celok, ale podrobená ešte ďalšej analýze pozdĺž mitrovsko-varunovskej osi. Takáto detailnejšia analýza môže rozkryť a hlbšie vyložiť potenciálnu alebo aktuálnu dvojnosť (párovosť), prítomnú v celom rade slovanských mýtických alebo epických textov zmieňujúcich sa nejakým spôsobom o náboženskej suverenite a z nej plynúcej suverénnej vláde. S takouto zvláštnou dvojnosťou sa môžeme stretnúť nielen v pôvodne pohanských dynastických povestiach, vo folklórne adaptovaných legendách či vo fragmentoch slovanského kozmogonického mýtu, ale tiež napr. V slovanských kniežacích menách či v najstaršom slovanskom epose. Vo všetkých slovanských jazykoch sú doložiteľné početné jazykové indície odkazujúce tak k varunovskému, ako aj k mitrovskému štýlu vládnutia. Ak zhrnieme tieto zistenia, môžeme sformulovať náš hlavný záver asi takto: popri s mágiou spojenom Velesovi (ako "slovanskom Varunovi") sa v praslovanskom mýte (veľmi blízko Velesa, niekedy tak trochu aj vo Velesovom tieni alebo dokonca aj v podobe akéhosi k Velesovi prirasteného "siamskeho dvojčaťa") angažoval jeho párový protiklad a doplnok zároveň, s Velesom úzko spojený láskavý nebeský Právnik, "slovanský Mitra", ktorého napr. Helmold (a rovnako aj juhoruská apokryfná legenda o Tiberiadskom jazere) označuje ako slovanského "boha bohov" (*deus deorum*).

Перуника – цвет небеског или хтонског света ?*

Љубинко Раденковић

For more than a century, scholars of Slavic mythology have adopted the assumption connecting the German iris (Iris germanica) plant and the cult of the god Perun. The motivation for this connection was mainly found in two (of several dozen) South Slavic names for this plant, "perunika" and "bogiša", as well as certain calendar customs where it is used. Among other things, this paper considers the main arguments of the advocates of this thesis. Based on the presented less-known facts about the role of this plant in the folklore of the South Slavic peoples, the author concludes that there are no grounds for linking the plant to the cult of Perun, the god of thunder. The motivation for the name "perunika" comes from its dominant feather-like (perasti) leaves, the name "bogiša" (bog, Eng. god) is only one of the narrowly local names (from the vicinity of Dubrovnik).

Keywords: Perun, German iris, god, folklore, South Slavs, plant, chtonic world

Више је од једног века како се међу истраживачима словенске митологије усталила претпоставка о вези биљке перунике са култом бога Перуна. Мотивација за ову везу, углавном је проналажена у називима ове биљке - *перуника* и *богиша*, као и неким календарским обичајима, у којима се она употребљава. Овде ће бити размотрени главни аргументи заговорника такве везе и изнети неки подаци о улози ове биљке у фолклору јужнословенских народа, који су недовољно или уопште нису узимани у обзир у тумачењу симболичког значења ове биљке и њене улоге у словенској митологији.

Треба поменути да је име бога Перуна у писаним средњовековним изворима познато само у Кијевској Русији. На том, и ширем простору који насељавају Источни Словени, назив *перуника* за биљку Iris germanica није познат. Иначе, ова биљка, која припада фамилији Iridaceae, има више подврста и на десетине различитих назива. У Ботаничком речнику С. Симоновића (1959: 247-248) наведено је око 40 назива, у бугарској енциклопедији народне медицине – преко 20 (ЕБНМ 1999: 306). У Вуковом рјечнику, главна одредница за ову биљку је *перуника*, а наведена су и још три регионална назива *богиша* (Дубровник), *мачиц* и *сабља* (Црна Гора) (Караџић 1986/XI/1:685, 72, 491; XI/2: 900). Сузана Марјанић у своме раду из разних извора, укључујући и своју анкету, наводи више десетина назива

ове биљке (Marjanić 2011: 109-129). Чињеница је ипак, да је међу многобројним називима код Јужних Словена, најпознатији *перуника* (буг. *перунига, пиронига, перин, перинака*). Други круг назива по учесталости има у основи *мач-, сабља-нож-*, чија мотивација потича од доминантног елемента на овој биљци – њених перастих или сабљастих листова: хрв. срп. *сабља, сабљица, сабљак, сабљарка, сабљаш, мачиц, мачинац, мачић, мачиновац, мчин, ножан* итд. Према мотивацији, блиски овим називима јесу буг. *магарешки уши* и *магарешка ружа*. Такође и руски називи за ову биљку *косички, косица* и *косатик* могу се извести из општег назива *коса*, који значи "сваку ствар која личи на реп", па отуда и назив *косички платка* (шпицасти крајеви мараме који се везују испод подбратка), или *косы у петуха* (реп петла), *косатка* (назив за ласту са раздвојеним шпицастим репом (Даль 1881/II: 172-173). Један круг назива упућује на антропоморфизам: хрв. *дивојка, колудрица*, срп. *калуђер*, буг. *крив дедо* итд. Овај последњи наведени назив по свој прилици долази од издуженог и кривог подземног стабла (ризома) који ова биљка има, и које тек понегде може да вири из земље (што такође може бити од значаја за њен симболички потенцијал).

Перуника (Iris germanica)

Перуника и Перун

Године 1904, бугарски научник Ј. Иванов, објавио је рад на руском језику у Санкт-Петербургу, у угледном часопису "Известия Отделения русского языка и словесности Императорской академии наук" (т. VII, књ. 4, стр. 140-174), под насловом *Култ Перуна код Јужних Словена*, који још увек, привлачи пажњу истраживача. Поред осталог, Иванов каже да се име Перун јавља у виду назива цвећа Iris germanica – *перуника* код свих јужнословенских народа. О томе да је ова биљка била посвећен Перуну код Јужних Словена, најбоље казује њен дубровачки назив – *богиша*, тј. "божји цвет". У прилог те везе, наводи Иванов, говори и веровање из околине Ћустендила и Пештера у Бугарској, према коме, уколико се ова биљка неке године не расцвета, то представља предзнак смрти неког члана домаћинства у чијем врту она расте. Нехотице, Иванов у свој рад уноси другу врсту доказа, а који указују на везу перунике са народним представама о смрти, што не припада делокругу бога Перуна.

Не дуго после објављеног рада Иванова, у Београду, у оквиру пиридичне публикације "Српски етнографски зборник", појавила се расправа Симе Тројановића *Главни српски жртвени обичаји* (1911, т. XVII; прештампано у Београду 1983, "Просвета", Библиотека "Баштина"), која има и поглавље *Перун* (у другом издању, које је овде коришћено, стр. 109-117). Тројановић у своме раду понавља аргументе Иванова о култу Перуна код Јужних Словена, али томе придодаје и нека своја сазнања о том питању. Поред осталог, и о вези перунике са култом Перуна, у чије постојање он не сумња: "С правом се узима да и наше цвеће *перуника* име своје извесно доводи само од бога Перуна. Занимљиво је и то што су митолози запазили да се у Дубровнику перуника зове и *богиша*, па се тај назив неоспорно односи на бога - кога другог до Перуна! Јер имена домаћих омиљених биљака из давнашњег су времена" (стр. 113). Он доноси и информације из писма Вида Вулетића Вукасовића, да у Херцеговини (Требиње) на Спасовдан, људи носе у цркву перунику (коју називају *калуђер*), те је тамо благослове, па је онда уносе у појате (где је стока) и односе у баште и поље, да би приноси били бољи. Опет, наведена аргументација сведочи о нечем другом – плодност стоке и родност њива нису били под патронатом Перуна. Додуше, Тројановић наводи и податак, да су доминиканци у Дубровнику обележавали празник под називом Св. Петар Богишар, када је, уз мису, благосиљана вода и перуника, коју су потом људи односили кући да их сачува од грома, а болесници пили ту воду ради оздрављења. Податак о благосиљању перунике још раније наводи P. Bogdan-Bijelić (1918: 318), без додатка да она штити људе од грома (што је уверљивије, јер њен цвет врло брзо увене и сасуши се): "29. aprila pada sv. Petar, koga u Dubrovniku slave dominikanci. Tad cvjetaju bogiše i u crkvi svetoga Domenika, po starinskom običaju, blagosivaju taj cvijet i po tome narod zove ovoga sveca bogišar". У другим местима пак, доминиканци благосиљају разно друго цвеће, па и маслину, и са њим се поступа као и са перуником (богишом). У Брсечинама код Дубровника, на Спасовдан су ишле крстоноше, тј. "носе се крижи", који су окићени цвећем, пре свега богишама и виолом. То цвеће, истога дана се скине с крста и разноси по баштама, да би година била родна. И у овим обичајима у основи реч је о култу родности и плодности.

Тројановић помиње и обичај у Србији (Мачва), да се перуника сматрала *девојачким цветом* – њу су девојке задевале у косу. Такође, девојке и младе невесте када пођу у госте или на сабор, њен цвет су стално држале у руци. Перуника је била и омиљени орнамент у народном везу. У околини Београда, најчешће се среће на женским прегачама и женским кошуљама.

Веселин Чајкановић у свом *Речнику српских народних веровања о биљкама* (који је по његовом незавршеном рукопису објављен после његове смрти), има одредницу *богиша*, уз коју наводи још два срп.хрв. назива – *перуника* и *калуђер*. Он са дозом опрезности указује на могућу везу ове биљке са богом Перуном: "Према једном и другом њеном имену (тј. *богиша* и *перуника*) могло би се помислити да стоји у вези са *богом* (summus deus) громовником Перуном" (Чајкановић 1994: 30). У прилог томе, наводи да се богише беру и носе у цркву на благослов, на Спасовдан, а тај дан, или неки из те сезоне, могао је некада припадати Перуну (1); да је у Дубровнику постојала слава Богиша, везана за култ св. Петра Богишара (а св. Петар је имењак Перунов) (2); освећену биљаку на Спасовдан народ разноси по кућама ради заштите од грома (3).

Скоро пола века након објављивања студије Иванова о култу громовника код Јужних Словена, на ту тему се код Срба појавила и расправа Миленка Филиповића *Трагови Перунова култа код Јужних Словена* (први пут у Сарајеву 1948, прештампано у Београду 1986). Филиповић полази од афирмативног става: "Питање се уопште више не поставља, после студије Ј. Иванова, да ли су Јужни Словени знали за Перуна: у то се више не може сумњати" (Филиповић 1986: 71). Све што потом следи, представља понављање аргумената у прилог постојања Перунова култа у јужнословенским земљама, који су већ наведени код Иванова. Велику пажњу у своме раду Филиповић посвећује биљци перуници, сматрајући да је била несумњиво везана за култ Перуна. Додуше, он уноси извесну резерву, да можда назив перунике долази од карактеристичних дугачких листова у облику пера, поготову што рогожари на Косову једну врсту шевара (Sparganium ramosum) називају *перуника*, а по њеним перастим листовима. Међутим, кључна је чињеница за Филиповића да се у Дубровнику и његовој околини та иста биљка назива *богиша*, тј. "божји цвет". Затим о перуници следе подаци које је раније изнео С. Тојановић у поменутом раду. М. Филиповић додаје, да се у Срему, перуника сматра за свету биљку, па се њоме ките иконе.

У тражењу митолошких обележја перунике, Филиповић указује да се у пољском језику ова биљка назива *лелија*, што је по њему врло слично рефрену из обредних песама "лељо" и "љељо". Овде он прави очигледну грешку, јер у пољском, као и руском, називи *лелија, лилеја лилија* представљају позајмице из немачког *lilie - die blaue lilie* и *die himmelslilie*, а код Немаца то је позајмица из латинског – *lilium*. На то упућује и један од назива код Руса за перунику - *ир немецкая* (уп. Анненков 1878: 178).

У свом осврту на студију Филиповића о Перунову култу код Јужних Словена, П. Ж. Петровић указује, да та студија није никакво напредовање у односу на ранији текст Иванова, "јер писац није показао готово никакве 'нове доказе', а уколико их је показао, да их није довољно критички проучио и искористио, па му је зато 'поуздана грађа' остала и даље непоуздана, а његови 'вероватни остаци и успомене' су сасвим наивни и сумњиви" (Петровић П. 1952: 373).

П. Петровић оспорава и исказане тврдње да је перуника везана за бога Перуна, зато што о томе не постоје никакве индикације о верском односу између те биљке и поменутог бога. Осим тога, он наводи и податак, да код Јужних Словена није ретка појава да се перуником *ките гробови или да се она сади на гробљу*. То може указивати на њену везу за култ покојника, који је старији од култа Перуна. Такође, истиче аутор, то што се перуником ките иконе у Срему, није од значаја за сам култ Перуна. Када би се њоме китила само икона св. Илије, онда би то био знак да постоји веза између ове биљке и Перуна (ако се узме да је св. Илија његова замена).

П. Петровић је и писац одреднице *Богиша* у Српском митолошком речнику (СМР 1970: 26-27). Уз народне називе за ову биљку – *богиша, цвит небески, перуника*, он уводи и назив *чуваркућа*, који у писаним изворима није посведочен међу називима биљке Iris germanica. То је сасвим друга биљка - Sempervivum tectorum. Она се држи на крововима кућа и, према широко заступљеном народном веровању – штити дом од удара грома. У Словенији (Крог, Прекмурје) позната је као *cvetje perinovo* (Barlè 1936: 207) где је у називу сачувана словенска

ознака за гром и муњу *перун*; уп. словен. *perûn bije*; рус. *Моего мужа перун забил* (СРНГ 1991/26: 294).

Најновији осврт на перунику дала је у свом раду Сузане Марјанић, која је врло детаљно и објективно прикупила и систематизовала податке, углавном из хрватских крајева. Она доноси низ народних назива ове биљке, од најстаријих помена до данас, као и опис њене улоге у обредном понашању. Посебно је занимљиво у њеном раду наведено казивање Бруне Лукин са Силбе (у запису Марка Лукина): "U staro doba za peruniku u nas su znali reći **koludrica**, a ta riječ *koludrica* je od riječi kaluđerica, časna sestra. (...) **Niko nije držao da je to neko cvijeće**. Sada je zovu perunika. Kad sam došla u Zagreb, saznala sam da se zove perunika. Poslije smo ih mi mladi uveli u vrtove, a starima je to divlje raslo. **To je bilo divlje cvijeće koje nisu koristili**. Koliko ja znam, bilo ih je samo u jednoj boji, lila" (Marjanić 2011: 119). Овом сведочењу могао бих придодати своје. Када сам ја живео као дете у источној Србији (близу града Сврљига), перунику су звали **ружа**. За њу нико није марио. Расла је и цветала на међама у виноградима, према мом памћењу, у плавој боји. Ако ју је било у вртовима, онда је расла поред плотова, где су је стално сузбијали, да се превише не шири и не заузима користан простор. Када сам дошао у Београд сазнао сам да се зове перуника. Назив *ружа* (*ружица*, *зечја ружица*) познат је и у околини Ниша (Симоновић 1959: 247), али и у Истри (Либурнија) – *plava ruoža/roža* (Marjanić 2001: 112), и код Бугара – *ружа*, *магарешка ружа*, *сиња ружа* (ЕБНМ 1999: 306). Ова два сведочанства, која међусобно кореспондирају, могу бити од ширег значаја за сагледавање односа људи према овој биљци. Реч је о подацима са периферије јужнословенског простора, која по правилу, боље чува старије стање језика и народне културе (иновације иду, како су запазили филолози, из центра према периферији).

И у многим другим публикацијама веза између Перуна и перунике прихвата се без икакве сумње или критичности. Аутори Бугарског етимолошког речника назив *перуника* сматрају прасловенским дијалектизмом, изведеним из **perunъ* "гром", али не објашњавају о каквој вези је реч (уп. БЕР 1999/V: 181-182).

Називи многих биљака изведени су од неких њихових доминантних или јасно уочљивих карактеристика, уз помоћ суфикса – (*i*)*ka*: *белоперка*, *бескорка*, *бодика*, *власика*, *грмика*, *жутелинка*, *звонарка*, *зеленика*, *иглинка*, *лозика*, *оштрика*, *танкорепка*, итд. У неким називима уочава се проширење коренске морфеме формантом – *ун*: *буцуника*, *жабочунка*, *каћунка*, *павунка*, *пампунка*, *ромунка* (уп. индекс назива биљака у Симоновићевом речнику). Овакав облик лексичког образовања врло је продуктиван у формирању личних имена људи, што је видљиво у бугарским и српским именословима: *Балунка*, *Благунка*, *Братунка*, *Владунка*, *Горунка*, *Драгунка*, *Златунка*, *Милунка*, *Павунка*, *Петрунка*, *Радунка*, *Спасунка*, итд. (уп. Заимов 1994). По свој прилици, и назив *перуника* је формиран по том моделу (*per-un-ika*), јер ова биљка има положено подземно стабло и дуге перасте листове, који се не суше и не вену све до зиме. У време цветања, које траје кратко, отвара се на дугој дршци велики и нежан цвет, коме претходи издужени пупољак, што асоцира на преслицу, па отуда и један од назива за ову биљку код Бугара – *хурка* (Геров 1901/IV: 24). И неке друге "перасте" биљке имају називе по том обележју, па се не доводе у везу са богом Перуном, као што су: *перика* (Agropyrum repens), *пернатка* (Caukalis dauokoides), *перо-

главка (Tremastelma palaestinum), *пероњика*, *пероница*, *перуник* (Cyperus longus), *перушица* (Ajuga chamaepitys), *перушина* (Salvia officinalis), *перуника гомољаста* (Hermodactylus tuberosus) (уп. Симоновић 1959: 633). *Перо*, *перје* (рус. *перьё*), је општесловенски назив, којим се, поред осталог, означавају дугачки листови код биљака, нарочито код лука, барске биљке – шевара (рус. *камыш*) (уп. СРНГ 1991/26: 298), у Метохији – кукуруза (Букумирић 2012: 417).

Да ли можда регионални назив – *богиша* (околина Дубровника), може скривати важну одлику ове биљке – њену посвећеност богу Перуну, као summus deus? Узгред, у говору Дубровника постоји израз за неслану храну *луд ко богиша* (*Ризот је био луд ко богиша*) – Бојанић, Тривунац 2002: 48. Вероватно да је он изведен из народне медицинске праксе да се деци, као врста седатива, када им ничу зуби, давао ризом ове биљке да га жваћу (уп. ЛБС 1989: 324). Појединим истраживачима овај назив је био од пресудног значења, па су га без обзира на његову уско регионалну распрострањеност, стављали на прво место. Треба напоменути да богиша није само Iris germanica већ и Iris xiphoides (*богиша цариградска*), али и Lilium candidum - *богишка бијела*, која се, поред осталог, назива и *богородичино цвијеће*. У Симоновићевом речнику има око тридесетак назива биљака које у основи имају *бог*: *божања*, *божје очи*, *божја брада*, *божја плахта*, *божје дрво*, *божје сузице*, *божји цвет*, итд. Код Руса постоје називи биљака *богун*, *богунник* (Ledum palustre), *богульник* (СРНГ 1968/III: 54), или *богошник* (Sorbus torminalis), који нису ни у каквој вези са биљком богишом. Треба напоменути да се код Руса и Белоруса називом *боги* означавају и иконе, па отуда и назив *набожник* за извезени пешкир којим су покриване.

Перуника и култ покојника

То што се биљка перуника појављује у обредном понашању у време празника пролећног циклуса календарских обичаја, није ништа необично. Она иначе цвета око Ускрса или Спасовдана ("Око Ускрса процветају богише" – Бојанић, Тривунац 2002: 48). У том периоду на Балкану је био широко распрострањен обичај колективне посете гробљима и одавање поште покојницима, који је називан *Rosalia*, *Rusalia*, *Rosa* (уп. Агапкина 2002: 348-372; Троица 2013: 8-187). У северној Грчкој то је био седмодневни празник у првој декади маја (што је врло близу празнику св. Петра Богишара у Дубровнику). Код Срба у Војводини, као и у околини Будимпеште, празник око Ускрса, када се колективно посећивало гробље и одавала пошта покојницима, називан је *Ружичара* (северни Банат), или *Ружичало* (Бачка и Срем). То је могао бити други дан Ускрса (северни Банат), трећи дан Ускрса (јужни Банат), или пак, други дан Малог ускрса (пада у недељу после Ускрса). Занимљив је податак, да су се у неким селима на Фрушкој гори, после посете гробовима својих покојника, жене окупљале на једном месту у гробљу, где су се заједно гостиле са свештеником "За покој душе мртвима, а нама за здравље". У неким селима Баната, свештеник је из гробља изводио жене у колу, певајући одређену песму (Босић 1996: 273). Код других Словена ови обреди су обично падали у Русалној недељи, која је најчешће била Тројичка недеља, у неким крајевима је обележавана и две недеље пре Тројице, а ретко је она била на средини Педесетнице, тј. између Ускрса и Тројице. На

северозападу Украјине (Волињска област) у Русалној недељи (овде је то недеља пред Тројицама), било је забрањено да се креће куће, да се не би натруниле очи покојницима. Такође, у то време, људи су ишли у поље, и газећи по житу позивали своје умрле рођаке, који су им се, према веровању, могли јавити у виду русалки (Агапкина 2002: 353).

Назив овог обичаја (*Русалија*, *Роса*, *Ружичало* и сл.) указује да је један од главних елемената у исказивању поштовања према покојницима, било ношење и кићење гробова *ружама*. По свој прилици, то није чињено ружама у данашњем значењу те речи (Rosa), већ претежно *перуникама* (Iris), или другим цвећем које се такође називало *ружа* (у Ботаничком речнику Симоновића наведено је низ различитих биљака са називом *ружа*). Уп. стихове из народне песме: "Na persi su rož'se tri. Prva je lelija/ Druga je gotraža/ Tretja je rožmarin" (Lobor; Kotarski 1918: 18). Да су перуника и ружа у XIX веку у Србији били синоними, показује и формулативни израз, који је Вук унео међу своје пословице: "Уз пут, Ружо, низ пут, Перунико!", а у значењу "нек иде куд хоће" (Караџић 1987: 296).

До сада је много пута указивано на народну представу да су од Ускрса до Тројице (или у близини тих празника) "распуштене душе", тј. оне се у том периоду времена налазе близу својих ранијих станишта на земљи. Описана је и пракса да се на Тројице, када се душе умрлих враћају у свој свет, у црквама, на гробљима, домовима, носе орахове гранчице. Поставља се питање, да ли у овоме ускршње-троичком култу постоји опозиција *ружа* (перуника и друго цвеће)/ *орах* (зова, пелин), преводљива у опозицију *слатко/горко*. "Слатким" (ружама) су душе дочекиване, а "горким" (орахом и горким травама) теране, да не би остале дуже на земљи од предвиђеног времена.

Да је перуника била део култа мртвих говори податак да су у јужној Србији (Репања Бара близу Лесковца), мртваца обавезно китили цветом перунике (Ђорђевић Д. 1985: 111). У Македонији, она је сађена на гробовима и сматрана цвећем за мртве: "Цвеќе на мртвите го рачунаат тоа – перуника" (Вражиновски 1998: 222). И у западној Босни (Дуванско поље), перуника (под називом *зумбак*), сади се око куће, али и на гробовима (Филиповић 1967: 327).

Перуника – атрибут оног света

Везу перунике са хтонским светом открива и круг бугарских народних песама, које могу имати и обележје "космичке свадбе". Марко прикупи сватове и одлази на далеко, да с друге стране Белог мора (у Латина), доведе себи невесту. Када сватови дођу до обале тога мора, оно пресушило, а његово дно је прекрила расцветала плава перуника: "(...) ка стигнаа до Белото море,/ Бело море сухо пресъхнало /пресъхнало, сух песок станало,/ из песока *модра перуника*./ Си сватове по китка бераха /Марко бере и две и три китки,/ първа бере за първо си либе,/ втора бере за мила шурнайка, / трета бере за мила бългъза./ Ка стигнаха на момини двори,/Марко дава и две и три китки /бързо са си Латина тъкмили,/ и тръгнала за Маркови двори" (БЮЕ 1971: 525-526). Три букета перунике су и једини дар који Марко даје у девојачкој кући (невести, жени њеног брата и свастици), који као да уклањају све могуће препреке које сватовима могу стајати док не одведу девојку. При повратку кући, када су сватови стигли до обале Белог мора, нема више сувог

пута преко мора, нити перунике: "Бело море од брег до брег бие". Тада се откривају елементи "космичке свадбе" – невеста пренесе преко мора сватове на гајтан, а младожењу тако што га стави себи у недра (као звезда преко неба).

Такође и у кругу песама са мотивом "девојка удављеница", показује се веза перунике са светом мртвих: када вода избаци удављену девојку на обалу, од ње изникне перуника. Овај мотив је скривен и у једној српској песми са Косова, где се девојка упозорава изразом "Перунико, девојко", да не иде по брегу, јер ће пасти. На то она одговара да ће радије пасти и умрети (тј. постати "перуника"), него се удати за Турчина: "Перунико девојко,/Не шетај се по брегу,/ Брег се рони, ће паднеш./ - Ако паднем, да умрем,/Боље м' пасти, умрети,/Да не узмем Турчина (...)" (Ястребов 1889: 157).

Још једна бугарска песма (балада), о отмици девојке по имену *Перуника*, може носити скривено митолошко значење. Јунак Негрица војвода убија девет синова у мајке, која их је сама очувала, снахе одводи у ропство, а једину кћер Перунику узима за жену. Мајка умоли Бога да јој даде "дете ненадано, ни знаено, ни богу казано" и даје му име Марко. Када Марко одрасте одлази у двор Негрице војводе, тамо пирује с њим, па када се овај напије, он му отсече главу и одводи своју сестру Перунику кући. Када се сретне с мајком, оне се загрле и обе умру (БЮЕ 1971: 368-369). Може се рећи да Негрица војвода припада змајоликим јунацима, као и Црни Арапин у другим епским песмама. Само његово име се асоцира са "црн" (буг. *негър* "црнац"). У песми се не помиње да он има порода са Перуником, исто као и у бајци, када змај отме девојку, он по правилу, нема са њом деце. Дете Марко настаје на чудесан начин, као дар бога, чија се улога своди на то да убије отмичара и врати своју сестру Перунику кући. У описаном догађају, Перуника има пасивну улогу – она је насилно одведена у двор Негрице војводе, који има елементе хтонског света. Када је поново враћена у овај свет, она више није ни девојка, ни жена и не припада ниједном свету. Зато је једино решење њена смрт. А пошто није остварила своју улогу жене и превремено умрла, онда она може имати исти статус као девојка удављеница, из чијег тела на обали реке изникне перуника. То може бити и основни мотив зашто она носи име Перуника у овој балади.

Ова песма има и неке елементе "основног мита" (у реконструкцији В.В. Иванова и В.Н. Топорова; уп. Иванов, Топоров 1974: 75-164). Сукоб два, једино активна јунака у песми – Негрице војводе и Марка, може се тумачити и као сукоб змајоликог хтонског бога (Волоса) и Громовника, зато што је змајолики бог отео његову сестру (и лишио је потомства, што је учинио и са његовом браћом и њиховим женама). Сукоб се завршава "резањем" противника и ослобађањем сестре. Њена накнадна смрт, као и смрт мајке, производ су поетичких принципа на којима се граде народне баладе. Ако би се песма тумачила у оваквом митолошком кључу, насилно одведена Перуника представља замену за Громовникову жену, која након прогонства постаје господарица онога света (тј. *Мокош*). У сваком случају, назив "перуника", био он везан за биљку или за девојку, симболизује женски принцип, и као такав, не би се могао везивати за бога Перуна.

Перуника је биљка која се употребљава и у магијске сврхе, а ради решавања женидбено-удадбених проблема. Према веровању из Бугарске, девојка може китицом перунике омађијати момка, да иде "као слеп" за њом. Довољно је да он

узме од ње китицу овог цвећа и да је стави под појас или на капу, уп. песму: "(...) Мене мома омагьоса,/ Омагьоса, та омая,/ С' росна китка, перунишка;/ Та ми мома додражала,/ Додражала, умилела" (Маринов 1994: 108). Понекад су момци отимали од девојака перунике које су оне држале у рукама у време пролећних празничних скупова, у чему се може видети да овај цвет представља замену за девојку, или можда још уже – да симболизује њен полни орган (што се одразило и у савременој анегдоти, наведеној у поменутом раду С. Марјанић).

Закључне напомене

Преиспитивањем вишедеценијски увреженог схватања да поједини називи биљке перунике, као и њена улога у обредном понашању указују на трагове Перуновог култа код Јужних Словена, показано је да за таква схватања нема поуздане основе. Најчешћа мотивација у формирању назива за ову биљку потиче од њених доминантних перастих и при врху шпицастих листова (*перуника*, *мачиц*, *сабьица*, *ножан*). Један од њених старих назива (познат у Истри, источној Србији и Бугарској) јесте *ружа*, који указује да је она класификована у категорију "цвеће" (супротно "трави"), пошто је евидентирано више десетина разних цветајућих биљака које се називају "ружа". Овај назив, као и посведочена обредна пракса, указују на улогу ове биљке у ускршње-тројичком обредном комплексу посвећеном покојницима (*Rusalia, Rosalia*, срп. *Ружичало*). И ван овог комплекса запажа се улога ове биљке у посмртним обичајима (њоме се ките покојници, сади се на гробљу, њено нецветање у башти тумачи се као најава смрти неког укућанина у тој години). У прилог овоме иде и етиолошко предање да је настала из тела утопљенице које је избацила вода на обалу.

Пошто је култ мртвих у блиској вези са култом родности и плодности, тиме се може и објаснити улога перунике у календарској обредности (уноси се у стаје и торове ради плодности стоке, односи на њиве ради повећања и заштите берићета), као и у свадбеној проблематици (њоме се ките или је носе девојке и младе невесте на празницима; момци је отимају жељеној девојци из руку; китица перунике, добијена од девојке, може "омађијати" момка). Улога перунике у женидбено-удадбеној проблематици дошла је до изражаја у неким бугарским песмама, где има улогу медијатора између овог и оног света (њоме је обрасло исушено дно мора преко кога сватови одлазе по девојку у туђи свет). И, на крају, према сижеу бугарске песме, девојку Перунику отима змајолики јунак – са њим се бори њен "богом дани" брат, који убија противника (одреже му главу), ослобађа сестру и одводи је мајци. При сусрету оне обе умиру. Тако Перуника, као превремена покојница, остаје на граници овог и оног света (као и удављеница из чијег тела израста биљка перуника).

Перуника симболизује женски прицип (расте у виду "огњишта", без диференцираног усправног стабла, и на њој се отвара велики цвет, који траје кратко). Цвета у ускршње-тројичком периоду и код Јужних Словена је уклопљена у обреде везане за поштовање покојника, као и за култ родности и плодности.

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German Iris – The Flower from the Heavenly or Chthonian World?

Ljubinko Radenković

For more than a century, scholars of Slavic mythology have adopted the assumption connecting the German iris (*Iris germanica*) plant and the cult of the god Perun. The motivation for this connection was mainly found in two (of several dozen) South Slavic names for this plant *perunika* and *bogiša*, as well as certain calendar customs where it is used. Among other things, this paper considers the main arguments of the advocates of this thesis. Based on the presented less-known facts about the role of this plant in the folklore of the South Slavic peoples, the author concludes that there are no grounds for linking the plant to the cult of Perun, the god of thunder. The motivation for the name *perunika* comes from its dominant feather-like (*perasti*) leaves, the name *bogiša* (*bog*, Eng. god) is only one of the narrowly local names (from the vicinity of Dubrovnik).

A series of ethnographic facts support the thesis that the German iris is linked to the transcendent world according to mythical representations of the South Slavs: the deceased were adorned with this plant prior to their burial, it was planted in cemeteries, it held an important place in the annual commemoration ceremonies (widespread in the Balkans is the custom of collective visits to cemeteries and paying tribute to the deceased, called *Rosalia, Rusalia, Rosa*, celebrated after Easter, which is also when the German iris blooms); according to legend, it was created from the body of a drowned girl who was washed up onto the shore.

Certain Bulgarian folk poems indicate a link between the German iris and the chthonian world: 1) while fetching the bride into another world, the wedding party crossed a dried up sea covered by blooming German irises; 2) the dragon-line brute kills all the sons raised by a single mother, and marries her only daughter, called "Perunika", who is later freed by her new-born brother, killing the brute.

Символічне значення лексеми „тканина" в контексті сімейних обрядів

Ольга Яковлєва

The vocabulary meaning of the word "cloth" is compared with its symbolical meaning, which this word acquires in traditional texts. The article analyses the sacral function of a fabric, which is represented in family traditions by different objective symbols, i.e. towel, head scarf, table cloth etc.

Keywords: symbolical meaning, objective symbol, actional symbol, sacral, cloth, everyday.

Для того, щоб уявити духовний світ людей далеких тисячоліть, замало зібрати певну кількість наукових даних. Потрібен прорив у невідоме, який обов'язково пов'язаний зі зміною ракурсу погляду на предмет дослідження, а це можливо за умови включення у пошук усієї сукупності духовних властивостей людини. Не лише її знання та розуму, а й уяви, мрійності, сили волі, небайдужості до майбутнього і нащадків, любові до рідної землі та її минулого, глибокої поваги до предків і їхнього досвіду, врешті-решт – відповідальності перед пращурами, сучасниками і нащадками, Буттям (Всесвітом, Богом) як таким (Чмихов, 2001: 8).

Символічне значення лексеми „тканина" пов'язано з міфологічним мисленням, отже, має пряме відношення до когнітивної лінгвістики, в межах якої є багато цікавого й перспективного. Актуальність зазначеної теми обумовлюється тим, що на сучасному етапі розвитку гуманітарних знань „дослідження народнопоетичної символіки актуалізуються у зв'язку з потребою глибшого пізнання традиційної культури, народного світогляду, менталітету українців, концепцій родоцентризму та антропоцентризму" (Дмитренко, 2011: 368).

Враховуючи інтерес до тематики наукових розвідок у рамках понять „мова і культура", вчені все частіше звертають увагу на етнолінгвістичний аспект при вивченні семантики слова. Важливим при цьому є вихід у макросемантику, тобто вияв широкого концептуального спектру досліджуваної лексеми. Нагадаємо думку про те, що аналіз семантичних полів можна вести на трьох рівнях: власне семантичному, мотивуючому та на рівні культурної символіки. Останній, як відомо, розташовується в так званій „культурній надбудові", і при його описанні важливими є поняття „сакральне" і „профанне" (Березович, 2004: 16).

Сакральне у світовідношенні, – услід за В. Личковах, – ми розуміємо як свого роду „екстреруми", крайні точки, що окреслюють „нижню" та „верхню" межі; іншими словами, це – полюси напруги людського життя... (Личковах, 2005: 55).

Усна народна творчість, різножанрові фольклорні тексти є такими творами мистецтва, що піднімають людину до сакральних, духовно піднесених станів. Саме в контексті обрядів і ритуалів сакральне й профанне чітко проявляє себе, розділяючи вищезгадані рівні лінгвістичного дослідження: семантичний, мотивуючий та рівень культурної символіки.

Розглянемо семантику лексеми „тканина" в межах сучасного лексикографічного значення, що, по-перше, суттєво відрізняється і, по-друге, є значно вужчим у порівнянні із символічним значенням. Отже, тканина – це виріб, виготовлений у процесі ткання на ткацькому верстаті (Великий тлумачний словник сучасної української мови, 2007: 1455).

Щодо етимологічних словників: М. Фасмер вважає, що дієслово „ткати" пов'язане зі словами „тикати", „колоти", „пхати", „стукати", „колотити". Автор відомого словника наводить і думку Міклошича про те, що слова зі значенням „ткати" слід відділяти від слів зі значенням „колоти" й „тикати" (Фасмер, 1967, Т. IV: 64).

Цікаво, що й лексема *сутки*, яка структурно розпадається на дві частини: *су-* і *тъкі*, пов'язана зі словом *тикати*, що означає: „стик дня і ночі" (Фасмер, 1967, Т. III : 811). Ймовірно, предки вірили, що день тчеться богами. В. Г. Таранець пише з цього приводу: „Дослідження германістів свідчать, що більш древнім є вузьке значення лексеми *Всесвіт*: „день, або світла частина суток. Потім це слово стало позначати *сутки* (світлу та темну частини). Обидва значення зберіглися у сучасних германських мовах. Окремого слова для позначення суток у цих мовах немає" (Таранець, 1999: 63).

На думку В. Даля: „ткать от тыкать", але якщо дія багаторазова і тривала, то вживається форма „токать, а не тыкать" (Даль, 1989: 407).

В українській мові „ткати" пов'язане з „тикати", споріднене в інших мовах зі „стукати", „товкти в ступі", „будую, виготовляю, роблю" тощо
 (Етимологічний словник укр. мови, 2006, Т. 5: 582).

З нашої точки зору, дієслово „ткати" має пряме відношення до дієслова „тикати" як основної дії, наприклад, при плетінні з рогози або лози, що, по-перше, сприяло розвитку лівої півкулі мозку, яка відповідає за логічне мислення, і, по-друге, стало фундаментом для вироблення тканини.

Дослідження археологами „вбрання палеолітичних „Венер" свідчать про існування різноманітних і складних текстильних технологій, серед яких – виготовлення вірьовок, сіток, плетення корзин та виготовлення тканини. З давніх-давен з'явилася традиція вживання поясного одягу. Отже, за однією з гіпотез, існування текстильного виробництва відноситься до павловської культури і почало розвиватися 33–29 тисяч років тому (Саннікова, 2005: 487).

Х. Вовк зазначає, що виготовлення грубої вовняної тканини, а також суконне виробництво існувало в Київській Русі „перед прийняттям хреста"... Жіночий одяг „переховав у собі значно більше архаїчних елементів, які походять з тієї доби, коли жіноча одежа не відрізнялась так од чоловічої, як тепер"... Загалом, Україна – одна з небагатьох європейських країн, що зберегла найпримітивнішу одежу: шматок тканини, обгорнутий навколо нижньої половини тіла та притриманий коло стану зав'язками або поясом. Це – запаска, дерга, плахта (Вовк, 1995: 74; 126; 149).

Сакральну функцію тканини ми розглядаємо в символічному значенні конкретних предметів у контексті родинної обрядовості, зокрема, полотна і рушника, хоча важливу роль грають й інші різновиди тканого полотна.

Символічне значення нитки, клубка закарбоване в текстах казок: чарівний клубок, як правило, вказує дорогу головному героєві, або шлях до того світу. Символіка клубка може тлумачитися амбівалентно: це, по-перше, символ життєвого шляху, визначеного наперед силами, які дають цей клубок, по-друге, це – символ зв'язку з потойбічними силами, нитка, яка поєднує героя з представниками роду у потойбіччі. „Клубок показує шлях і туди, „де тільки небо і земля", і туди, де герой здобуває чарівну дружину" (Давидюк, 2005: 75).

У міфологіях світу сталим є поняття „нитка долі". Словник символів культури України подає уявлення про Долю, згадуючи давніх греків, у міфології яких Доля персоніфікується в образі трьох богинь людської Долі... Вони володіли ниткою життя кожної людини (Словник символів культури України, 2002: 79).

Відомо, що прядіння і ткацтво в більшості первіснообщинних суспільств було пов'язане з різного роду охоронними заборонами і що, за давніми уявленнями, ці трудові процеси, здійснювані жінками, мали магічний зв'язок із ростом рослин, збільшенням поголів'я тварин, здоров'ям дитини, що народжується, іншими словами – якраз із тим, що було головною функцією Богині-матері (Кинжалов, 1990: 21, 83). У цьому ми вбачаємо аналогію з найдавнішими уявленнями українців про Долю. „Велика Богиня, займаючись прядінням і ткацтвом, здійснює акт творення, організовує, впорядковує хаос, перетворюючи його в космос" [там само]. Нагадаємо, що саме ці уявлення відбито в реінкарнальних міфах прадавніх українців. Хронологічно такі уявлення, ймовірно, сформувалися в період переходу від матріархату до патріархату. Р. Кінжалов, аналізуючи приклад, в якому Зевс тче покривало, де зображені земля й океан, робить висновок, що роль творця Всесвіту передана чоловічому персонажеві, але символіка ткацтва як організуючого начала в цьому процесі залишається (Кинжалов, 1990: 85).

Тканина як оберіг має сакральне значення у родильній обрядовості. Пуповину новонародженій дівчинці баба-повитуха перерізує на гребені від куделі, щоб з неї вийшла пряля. Перед хрестинами баба в присутності кумів купає дитину, загортає в сорочку (хлопчика – у батькову, дівчинку – у материну). Хрещена мати дарує дитині шматок тканини, що називається „крижмо": від лат. Chrisma – миропомазання; запозичено з грецької. Це – біла тканина, в яку сповивають дитину хрещені батьки після обряду хрещення. *Криж* – це хрест, а також стара міра довжини від носка правої ноги до кінця середнього пальця витягнутої лівої руки. Церковнослов'янське *крижь* – хрест, очевидно, запозичене через посередництво польської, чеської і словенської мов з романської мови північно-східної Італії (Етимологічний словник укр. мови, 2006: 89–90).

Пупок дитині перев'язували лляною ниткою, сплетеною з волоссям матері й батька. Першу сорочку дитині біля пазухи вишивали синім кольором. Дівочі сорочки вишивалися й вимережувалися тільки білим, до жіночих додавалися рожевий та жовтий кольори. Перші сорочки називалися *льолями;* їх треба було підперезувати, і пояс, як оберіг, захищав дитину (Саннікова, 2005: 492).

Дівчина, готуючи придане, все робила сама: пряла, мотала, золила (випарювала у попелі), білила тканину на рушники і сорочки.

Рушники на весіллі мали обов'язково бути білими. Про це дівчина дбала задовго до весілля. Символіку білого кольору досліджував О.Потебня: „Білизна – символ краси, і на цій основі лебідь – символ жінки і переважно дівчини; „втрачати дівочу красу" означало відставати від білих лебедів (дівчат) і приєднуватися до сірих гусей, тобто заміжніх жінок. Таке значення білого кольору випливає із того, що він є символом кохання: мити біло значить любити" (Потебня, 1860: 43).

Звернемося до тексту: *Не була я вдома на своїх заручинах,*
За Дунаєм була, полотенце білила (Українські пісні..., 1974:164).

У весільному обряді ми виділили не тільки символічне, тобто сакральне значення лексеми „рушник", а й буденне, профанне. Так, на одному з етапів ритуалу сватання дружко промовляє: „...ми люде дорожнії; у нас руки нечисті. Ми на безпутиці один другого рятували й руки свої помазали. То не була б ваша милость позволить нам руки помить і рушниками потерти?" Батько і мати нареченої підходять до столу, ставлять питун [діалектне: посуд для пиття] (Великий тлумачний словник сучасної української мови, 2007 : 945), дружки миють руки, мати підносить їм рушники на тарілці і просить, щоб вони прийняли їх обтерти руки; дружки беруть рушники й кажуть: „Спасибі свату й свасі, і молодій княгині, що вона рано вставала, подарки пряла і нам за наші труди давала..." (Українці: народні вірування: 133).

Існує в українців повір'я, що не треба витиратися разом із кимось одним рушником, бо посваришся з ним. Саме тому мати молодої дає кожній дружці – представникам іншого роду – рушник як символ згоди на мирне життя з новими родичами:
Станьте, бояри, всі в їдной стороні, –
Марисина матінка буде дари дарити:
Білиї рушнички, шовковії торочки (Українські пісні..., 1974: 307).

У церкву наречена бере з собою сваху, щоб стелила рушники під ноги, і дружку – тримати вінець (Українці: народні вірування, повір'я, демонологія, 1991: 134), тобто під час вінчання в церкві молоді ставали на білий вишитий рушник – символ світлого, квітучого сімейного життєвого шляху, яким вони підуть разом із зв'язаними на все життя руками:
Розлийся, Дунаю, по широкім краю.
Плакала Марисенька, ідучи до шлюбу:
Там же нам ручки зв'яжут і вірноє словце скажут
(Українські пісні..., 1974: 274).

Коли весільний поїзд пригощається, дружки співають: „Да давайте дари-задари!" Закінчивши пригощання, батько молодої підносить світілкам, свахам і боярам хустки, а дружкам і старостам рушники, кожному на тарілці; кожний же із них кидає на тарілку по грошеві, примовляючи: „Спасибі свату й свасі, і молодой княгині, що вона рано вставала й нам подарки пряла..." Наділивши учасників поїзда дарами, батько підносить своїм старостам теж рушники на тарілці... (Українці: народні вірування, повір'я, демонологія, 1991: 142).

Тут рушник виконує функцію подарунка. Про подарунок М.Попович пише так: „Порядок у слов'янській мові називався „ряд". Посилаючись на дослідження І. Срезневського, цей же автор наводить такі значення слова: *розташування предметів, хоровод, устав, правило, розпорядження, справа.* Уявлення про порядок

включає і значення „соціальний порядок", зокрема, обмін, причому еквівалент-ний обмін. Одним із прикладів давнього обміну був ритуальний ряд, до якого відносився і шлюб. Тут еквівалентом обміну був договір між родами як форма порядку в суспільстві (Попович, 1985 : 48) – своєрідний відгомін звичаю укладан-ня шлюбу на основі купівлі-продажу: *Дайте нам рушнички з торочками, А ми дамо сорочку з квіточками* (Українські пісні..., 1974: 369).

Цікаво, що й дотепер на Київщині відомий звичай зв'язувати руки молодих хустинкою після викупу нареченої: щоб ніхто між ними не пройшов і не розбив шлюб („хустинка на себе це візьме"). Розв'язують руки собі самі молоді, перед тим, як сідати в машину. Той з подружжя, хто забере собі хустину, буде головою в сім'ї. В. Завадська в цьому акціональному символі вбачає проекцію поховальної обрядовості: перед тим, як їхати на цвинтар, небіжчику зв'язують руки, ноги, по-тім ці мотузки знімають і кладуть до труни... Переодягання – важливий елемент усіх родинних обрядів. Одяг наречених має бути новим, сукню нареченої не мож-на показувати нареченому. У новий одяг вбирають мерця, хворого переодягають у чисту сорочку (стару відносили до спеціальних місць). Чим дорослішою става-ла дитина, тим більше одягу було на ній, а перевдягання відбувалося урочисто, із дотриманням певних ритуалів (Завадська, 2010: 119–120).

Отже, контексти сімейних обрядів підтверджують таке символічне значен-ня ткани, зокрема, рушника: 1. предметний символ рушник означає дорогу на початку життя дитини у родильному обряді; спільну дорогу з чоловіком у весільному обряді; дорогу в потойбіччя після смерті; „У всіх слов'ян поширене зближення шляху зі смертю," – писав О.Потебня (1860: 27);

2. як акціональний символ цей предмет означає: подати рушника – погоди-тися на шлюб; пов'язують рушник як оберіг і як знак згоди на родинні стосунки з новою сім'єю; дарують рушник як еквівалент колишнього обміну парубками й дівчатами між племенами; ставати на рушник, пов'язувати руки молодим руш-ником – вирушати разом у сімейне життя, не розлучатися у подружньому житті; махати рушником – стелити дорогу:

   Вступила Марисенька на терем, махнула рушиком наперед:
   – Зступітеся, бояре, з дороги, бо родина іде мене вітати,
      По червоному даровати (Українські пісні..., 1974: 393).

Рушники-хустки й досі є необхідними у похоронній обрядовості: їх дару-ють чоловікам, які несли домовину, хрест; рушники вішають на хрест, який не-суть попереду похоронної процесії; на спеціальних рушниках (поясах) опуска-ють домовину в яму тощо.

Отже, здійснене дослідження доводить багатозначну символіку тканини в цілому і рушника як обов'язкового атрибута трьох обрядів сімейного циклу.

М.Сумцов розширив значення цього предмета в житті наших предків-зем-леробів, які не тільки розмежовували споконвічні поняття добра і зла, але й вмі-ли захищати себе від усякого лиха: „Обрядове вживання рушників зустрічається, крім весіль, на хрестинах, похоронах, після закінчення жнив. У Західній Росії ді-євим засобом проти суспільного лиха вважають звичайне полотно… У випадку масової загибелі скотини це полотно чіпляють на хрест, який чоловіки встанов-люють на тій дорозі, якою найчастіше ходить скотина (Сумцов, 1996: 153–154). Тут, зрозуміло, полотно як прообраз рушника виконує функцію оберега.

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The Symbolic Meaning of the Word "Cloth" in the Context of Family Rituals

Olga Yakovleva

The vocabulary meaning of the word "cloth" is compared with its symbolical meaning, which this word acquires in traditional texts. The article analyzes sacral function of a fabric, which is represented in family traditions by different objective symbols, i.e. towel, head scarf, table cloth etc.

The research of people's and poetic symbols requires not only knowledge of history, ethnography, national culture, but also imagination, dreaming nature, care and respect for the past and the ancestors.

It is relevant for Ukrainian humanistic science to learn more about traditional culture related to people's outlook and mentality.

Weaving is one of the oldest crafts; works of weaving, especially towels, shawls, table clothes had both every-day and sacral meaning.

In the context of family rituals, these wares acquired deep symbolic meaning. For example, the "rushnyk" towel in the wedding ceremony acts as a verbal, action and objective symbol. The symbolism of the object is also important in the ritual of the funerals and giving birth. The cloth and its wares, as any other symbol, is characterized by polysemy and diversity.

Simbolika obredov cirkumambulacije v tradicijskih skupnostih

Mirjam Mencej

The paper presents different forms of circumambulations in traditional societies, classifies them according to their functions and offers a possible interpretation of its symbolism.

V tradicijski kulturi pogosto naletimo na obrede obkrožanja. Glavne oblike krožnih obredov v letnem ciklusu praznikov so *ob-hodi* (hodeč, plazeč se po kolenih ali trebuhu), *ob-oranje*, *ob-jahanje* in *o-pasovanje* določenega objekta ali prostora. Obkroženje določenega mesta nedvomno predstavlja primer cirkumambulacije. Enako lahko ježo in oranje, kadar potekata okrog določenega mesta oziroma prostora, razumemo kot različico krožnega obhoda. Kot posebno različico obreda kroženja pa lahko razumemo tudi opasovanje[1], tj. obkrožanje določenega objekta, na primer cerkve, polja, včasih tudi človeka, z vrvjo, nitjo, verigo, svečo ipd. Dejstvo, da gre v teh različnih obredih zgolj za različice istega, krožnega obreda, je razvidno iz raziskav etnologov, ki so te obrede preučevali. Tako Dimitrij Zelenin v isti razpravi obravnava beloruske šege opasovanja vasi, polja ali cerkve z (»enodnevnim«) platnom, obenem pa opozarja na podobnost te šege z obrednim oranjem okrog vasi (1994 [1911]: 193-213; 202). Nikita I. Tolstoj v svojem članku Obhod in opasovanje cerkve (1995), v katerem obravnava tako obhode (hojo in plazenje okrog cerkva, jezera in drugih mest) kot opasovanje, poudarja tudi sorodnost med obredom opasovanja (za katerega pokaže, da je soroden z obkroženjem nekega prostora oz. objekta peš ali plazeč se) ter obredom oranja okoli vasi. Tako so na primer vas v boljevaškem okraju v Srbiji, da bi jo zaščitili pred kolero, ob-orali, se pravi z ralom zaokrožili po njenih mejah, ko pa so hoteli pred kolero obvarovati posamezno gospodinjstvo v vasi, pa so združili pasove vseh članov družine v enoten, dolg pas in z njim opasali hišo. Na podlagi sorodnosti teh dejanj Tolstoj sklepa o skupni semantiki obeh obredov: »Kot vidimo, je obred opasovanja za zaščito zelo soroden obredu ob-oranja in se ga lahko izvaja celo istočasno, z istim namenom.« (1995: 185) Da gre v vseh teh različnih oblikah obredov zgolj za različice istega obreda, lahko potrdimo tudi na

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[1] Beseda *pas* je etimološko povezana z besedami *vrteti, viti, upogibati* in posredno z besedo *krog*. Kot piše Snoj, umbrijska beseda *cringatro* »pas«, angleška *ring* »obroč, prstan«, nemška *Ring* »obroč, krog, prstan«, psl. *krpg'* »krog« - vse izhajajo iz iste indoevropske baze **(s)kreng(h)-*, ki je izpeljana iz korena **(s)ker-* »vrteti, viti, upogibati« (Snoj 1997: 276).

podlagi primerjave različnih oblik obredov, ki jih izvajajo na različnih območjih Evrope z istim namenom: da bi utrdili meje skupnosti. Tako meje vasi v Makedoniji utrjujejo z oranjem okrog vasi, na Irskem, Škotskem, v Grčiji s hojo okrog vasi, na Škotskem tudi z ježo po mejah okrog vasi, v Belorusiji pa z njenim opasanjem. Obkrožanje s hojo, po kolenih ali plazeč se, pa tudi z ježo okrog posameznih mest, opasovanje posameznih mest ter oranje okrog meja določenega prostora ali objekta lahko torej razumemo kot različice istega dejanja, tj. obreda obkrožanja, cirkumambulacije, krožnega gibanja okrog določenega prostora.

Obrede cirkumambulacije so ljudje izvajali ali na posamezne praznike v letu ali pa po potrebi, zlasti v primeru, kadar je pretila nevarnost bolezni, epidemije, nesreče. Včasih je sicer izvajal del obreda tudi posameznik ali posamezna družina, ki je imela pri tem osebne interese, a praviloma je pri izvajanju obredov sodelovala celotna skupnost. Tudi kadar je obred na isti dan izvajalo vsako gospodinjstvo ločeno, so se ti vendarle odvijali v vseh gospodinjstvih v vasi hkrati oziroma na isti dan.

Obred cirkumambulacije ima sicer različne funkcije, ki pa se med seboj v veliki meri tudi prepletajo. Bernard Sergent našteva vrsto razlag za izvajanje tega obreda pri Indoevropejcih. Po njegovem mnenju so Indoevropejci obrede obkrožanja izvajali zato, da bi prostor posvetili; da bi se prepojili s svetostjo, ki jo tak prostor skriva v sebi; da bi sveti prostor ločili od profanega; polja in črede naj bi obkrožali zato, da bi jih magično zaščitili; grobove zato, da bi zagotovili prehod umrlega na oni svet; hiše, da bi jih »očistili«; obred vrtenja novorojenca okoli ognjišča naj bi izvajali kot del obredov, s katerimi so otroka integrirali in sprejeli v družino; sovražnikovo vojsko so obkrožali, da bi jo obsodili na neuspeh, lastno pa zato, da bi jo naredili za nepremagljivo. Z obkroženjem so lahko prostor tudi magično izolirali, ustanovili novo mesto ali pa ga zaščitili. Kot poudarja, naj bi bili takšni obredi razširjeni predvsem v indoevropskem svetu, ne pa toliko v drugih delih sveta, razen v tistih kulturah, ki so bile z Indoevropejci v stiku in pripadajo istemu kulturnemu okolju: pri Turkih, Mongolih in Semitih (Sergent 1995: 366-7). Vso to množico različnih funkcij pa je vendarle mogoče zvesti na nekaj temeljnih funkcij. Tudi na podlagi gradiva, ki sem ga uspela zbrati, bi lahko prepoznali predvsem štiri funkcije, ki naj bi jih obred obkrožanja na tak ali drugačen način izpolnil: omejitev oziroma prilastitev prostora, prevzem in demonstracija oblasti nad obkroženim prostorom, preventivno in kurativno obnavljanje meja za zaščito prostora ter zavarovanje sakralnosti obkroženega prostora. V nadaljevanju bo predstavila primere za vsako od teh funkcij in na koncu članka skušala pokazati še izvor in ultimativni namen obreda.

Omejitev / prilastitev prostora

Cirkumambulacija, krožno gibanje okoli prostora, je v tradicijski kulturi Indoevropejcev igrala pomembno vlogo v ritualih simbolne prilastve ozemlja. Gozd oziroma kakršno koli nenaseljeno območje, ki je po tradicijskih verovanjih veljalo za območje kaosa, nevarnosti, si je bilo potrebno z rituali najprej prisvojiti, ga izločiti iz divjega, kaotičnega prostora in ga, preden se je bilo mogoče v njem naseliti, kozmizirati, urediti, narediti za »svojega«. To prisvajanje ozemlja je lahko potekalo sicer s pomočjo različnih obredov (prim. Eliade 1992: 15-58), a obkrožeje prostora je bilo pri Indoevropejcih vsekakor eden izmed najbolj tipičnih načinov prilaščanja prostora (Sergent 1995: 366), način, ki se je najdlje ohranil tudi v tradicijski kulturi podeželske Evrope.

Veliko podatkov o tem obredu, najpogosteje v obliki oranja v krogu po mejah naselbine, najdemo že v antičnih virih. Kadmus naj bi tako ustanovil Tebe z ritualnim oranjem s plugom okoli izbranega ozemlja (Della Volpe 1990: 168, op. 13[2]). Romul je sveto mejo Rima zaznamoval tako, da je s plugom, ki sta ga vlekla bik in krava, zaoral okrog ozemlja brazdo, ki je zaradi njenega religioznega pomena nihče ni smel prestopiti. Plutarh takole opisuje ta postopek: »Okrog sedanjega Komicija so skopali jašek, vanj pa položili prvine vsega, česar rabo so imeli po postavi za dobro in po naravi za potrebno. Na koncu je vsak prinesel nekaj prsti iz kraja, od koder je prišel, in jo vrgel noter, da se je pomešala z ostalim. Temu jašku, pa tudi nebu, pravijo *mundus*. Nato so okrog tega kot središča zarisali mesto. Ustanovitelj je vdel v plug bronast lemež, vpregel vanj bika in kravo, ju pognal in po mejah sam zoral globoko brazdo, tisti, ki so hodili za njim, pa so morali grude za plugom obračati na notranjo stran ter niso smeli nobene pustiti obrnjene navzven. S to črto so določili potek obzidja; s skrajšavo jo imenujejo *pomerium*, kar pomeni »za zidom« ali »ob zidu«. Kjer so nameravali postaviti vrata, so lemež izvlekli ven, plug prenesli in naredili presledek. Zaradi tega imajo za sveto vse obzidje, razen vrat; ko bi imeli za sveta tudi vrata, ne bi mogli brez obrednih prestopkov prinašati in odnašati stvari, ki so sicer potrebne, vendar nečiste.« (Plutarh, Romul 11; prim. tudi Plutarh, Rimska vprašanja 27.271a-b). Obred oranja so v Rimu vsako leto 21. aprila odigrali v spominskem praznovanju ustanovitve mesta. Tak ritual so poznali in odigravali vsi ustanovitelji svetih mest, poleg Rimljanov tudi Etruščani in Grki (Della Volpe 1992: 109).

Obred obkrožanja in s tem omejitve in prilastitve ozemlja lahko prepoznamo tudi v Eneidi. Kot piše Vergil, je Dido z volovsko kožo, narezano na ozke trakove, ogradila mesto, na katerem je zgradila Kartagino: »Tja so dospeli, kjer vidiš sedaj velikanske zidove,/ tja, kjer se dviga Kartagine nova mogočna trdnjava;/ toliko zemlje kupili so tam, da lahko jo pokrije / koža volovska; zato imenuje trdnjava se Birsa.« (Vergil, Eneida 1.335-368; Della Volpe 1992: 107) Ker je krog, v tem primeru iz trakov volovske kože, tako rekoč »zamrznjen produkt« kroženja – kajti »cirkumambulacija je simbol kroga, prevedenega v akcijo« (Della Volpe 1992: 94), lahko tudi v tem dejanju prepoznamo isti obred obkrožanja kot v obredih prisvojitve prostora z oranjem.

Podobne obrede lahko prepoznamo tudi iz skandinavske mitologije. Snorri nastanek danskega otoka Zealanda pojasnjuje s pripovedjo o mitičnem švedskem kralju Gylfiju, ki je boginji Gefjun, ne da bi vedel za njene božanske moči, v zahvalo za dobro zabavo prisodil nagrado. Pripadlo naj bi ji toliko zemlje, kolikor bi je lahko v enem dnevu in eni noči obkrožila s plugom, vpreženim v štiri vole. Gefjun je nagrado dodobra izkoristila: orala je tako globoko in močno, da je zemljo odrezala od Švedske in otok odplavila v morje (Snorri Sturluson Edda, Gylfaginning I.).

Spomin na obred prisvajanja zemlje z obkrožením le-te se je ohranil tudi v kasnejši evropski folklori. Povedka o ustanovitvi Ravensburga pripoveduje, da je bilo ozemlje, na katerem je bilo zgrajeno mesto, določeno s pomočjo kroga, ki so ga uspeli z

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[2] V angleškem prevodu Metamorfoz sicer nisem našla neposrednega dokaza za trditev Della Volpejeve. Odlomek resda govori o Kadmusovem oranju, a iz njega ni razvidno, da bi šlo za oranje *okrog* ozemlja: »But behold, the hero's helper, Pallas, gliding down through the high air stands beside him, and she bids him plow the earth and plow therein the dragon's teeth, destined to grow into a nation. He obeys and, having opened up the furrows with his deep-sunk plow, he sows in the ground the teeth as he is bid, a man-producing seed (…)«. (prim. Ovid, Metamorphoses 3.100-110)

oranjem obkrožiti v enem dnevu. Turinška kronika podobno opisuje ježo v krogu z namenom, da bi si tako pridobili ozemlje, ki bi ga objahali (Della Volpe 1992: 107). Rituale prisvajanja ozemlja z obkrožanjem njegovih meja s hojo (včasih z ognjem v roki) ali ježo so poznali nekoč tudi v Skandinaviji, sledove teh pa še vedno najdemo v skandinavski folklori (Kvideland, Sehmsdorf 1991: 334). Spomin na tak obred prisvajanja ozemlja lahko prepoznamo tudi v povedki o nastanku Pavlove vasi na Kozjanskem, ki nam jo je domačin pripovedoval leta 2000: »*(...) Ja, to pa vem, da tale, ko se reče Pavlova vas, to recimo izvira iz Pavla. Da je enemu sinu rekel tisti grof:* **Kolikor boš en dan obhodil ozemlja, toliko je tvojega!** *In pol je menda obhodil to našo Pavlovo vas in to se je pol imenovalo Pavlova vas (...)*«[3] (Mencej 2010: 22-3).

Obkrožanje ozemlja kot način prilastitve, osvojitve tega prostora nikakor ni »samo« del mitologije, folklore in literature, ampak so tak obred Indoevropejci dejansko prakticirali z namenom, da bi si tako prisvojili ozemlje, določili meje lastnine in zemljo umestili v »svoj« prostor. Vikingi so, ko so prvič pristali na Islandiji, nov teritorij integrirali v svojo kozmografijo prav z obkroženjem tega ozemlja z ognjem v rokah (Dodgshon 1988: 77). V Moldaviji so po podatkih iz srede 16. stoletja ločevali območje enega čebelnjaka od območja drugega z mejo, ki je potekala v krožni liniji, določeni z razdaljo, do katere je človek, ki je stal na sredi, lahko vrgel svoj sekač. Dokument iz srede 17. stoletja je podobno določal meje lastnega območja glede na to, kako daleč je lahko lastnik vrgel gorjačo[4]. Človek, ki je stal v središču, se je tako prek svojega delovnega orodja projeciral v to krožno ozemlje, ki je s tem predstavljalo razširitev njegovega lastnega telesa, kar je po mnenju romunskega raziskovalca Raduja Dragana enako ritualom obkrožanja ozemlja po njegovih mejah (1992: 92-3). Podobno so na Škotskem v srednjem veku ozemlje delili s pomočjo ritualnega krožnega oranja, s katerim so simbolno ponavljali gibanje Sonca (Dodgshon 1988: 77).

Prevzem in demonstracija oblasti nad obkroženim prostorom

S kroženjem okrog ozemlja si je bilo mogoče omejiti in prilastiti ozemlje, obenem pa lahko ta obred razumemo tudi kot simbolni prevzem in demonstracijo oblasti nad tem ozemljem. Ta funkcija je razvidna iz obhodov nekdanjih indijskih budističnih kraljev: kralj Mahasudanassa je takoj po svojem ustoličenju celotno deželo obkrožil v smeri gibanja Sonca. Enak obred so nekoč poznali kralji tudi v Kambodži in na Fidžiju[5] (Brenneman 1995: 33). Srednjeveški irski kralji so po ustoličenju izvedli krožni obhod (t.i. *king's circuit*) okrog Tare ali celotne Irske[6] in ob tem od lokalnih princev zahtevali talce kot dokaz podreditve njihovi oblasti (Brenneman 1995: 18-19; http://www.libraryireland.com/Atlas/XVII-Diarmid-McMurrogh.php). O kraljevem obhodu Irske govori tudi pesem iz desetega stoletja, ki jo je napisal Cormacán Éigeas. Nanaša se na obhod Muircheartacha, Niallovega sina, po njegovi inavguraciji v kralja Tare (Brenne-

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[3] Povedal sogovornik, rojen 1933, Pavlova vas, julija 2000. Posnele: Alenka Bartulović, Mirjam Mencej, Tina Volarič.

[4] Predhodnik takšnega določanja ozemlja je bil po mnenju Dragana najverjetneje strel z lokom – velikost ozemlja je bila v tem primeru določena glede na dolžino leta puščice (1992: 92).

[5] Avtor žal ne navaja časovnega konteksta teh obredov.

[6] Obkrožanje celotne Irske naj bi se začelo v času kraljevanja Cormaca v 3. stoletju, pred tem pa so obkrožali samo Taro, sedež kraljestva.

man 1995: 33). Ideja v ozadju simbolnega obreda obkrožanja ozemlja, nad katerim je novo ustoličeni irski kralj dobil oblast, naj bi bila po Brennemanovem mnenju ta, da tisti, ki obkroža, vpije moč svojega kraljestva in njegovih podanikov in obratno, njegovo kraljestvo oziroma podaniki (to, kar obkroži) dobijo moč od njega (1995: 34). Obred z enakim namenom opisujejo tudi zgodbe Ulstrskega cikla, v katerih nastopa mitični junak Cúchulainn. Ta si je že kot otrok preskrbel voz in zahteval od kočijaža, da z njim trikrat obkrožita Emain, glavno mesto dežele, sedež oblasti in najverjetneje nekdanje ritualno središče. S tem naj bi Cúchulainn, kot to interpretira Christian Guyonvarc'h, glavno mesto Ulstra simbolno prevzel pod svojo zaščito (po Sergent 1999: 167).

Takšno funkcijo obkrožanja lahko prepoznamo tudi v obredu ustoličevanja koroškega vojvode, katerega najstarejši opis je najverjetneje mogoče najti v Predlogi vrinka v Švabsko zrcalo iz 11. stoletja. Vojvodova trikratna ježa okrog kamna med inavguracijskim obredom (prim. Pleterski 1997: 34) je bila po najbolj splošno sprejeti razlagi interpretirana kot simbolni prevzem oblasti nad ozemljem (Kehnel 2008: 232-3). Po mnenju Schneiderja je ježa okrog ozemlja lahko celo nadomestila uradno ustoličenje: na frankovskem območju so jo izvajali od časa merovinških vladarjev dalje in je postala konstitutiven element kraljevskega obreda kronanja (Schneider 1972: 81, 84; po Kehnel 2008: 233).

Enak namen obreda kroženja lahko prepoznamo tudi v obredih ob zmagi v antičnem Rimu in evropskem srednjem veku. Po vzoru rimskega praznovanja zmage sta na srednjeveškem krščanskem Zahodu obstajali dve glavni obliki ritualnega vstopa v zavojevano mesto, s katerima so zmagovalci razglasili oblast nad osvojenim teritorijem. Prvi tip, poznan kot »penetracija«, je predstavljal gibanje procesije skozi mesto naravnost proti njegovemu središču. Drugi tip trimfalnega vstopa v mesto, ki nas tu bolj zanima, pa je temeljil na rimskem *circuitus murorum*, tj. obredu obkrožanja mestnega obzidja pred vstopom v mesto. Pripoved *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (O osvojitvi Lizbone), ki jo je napisal anglo-normanski duhovnik Raol, opisuje triumfalni vstop križarjev v Lizbono maja 1147 na način *circuitus murorum*. V tem primeru je kralj, morda kot znamenje svoje ponižnosti pred Bogom, obkrožil mestne zidove celo peš, medtem ko so Rimljani zavojevana mesta obkrožali s kočijo[7]. V srednjem veku je ta ritual postal tudi del cerkvenih posvetitvenih ritualov in obenem način ritualnega prihoda novega škofa v mesto (*adventus novi episcopi*). (Throop 2009: 90). Z obredom obkrožanja ozemlja si je bilo torej mogoče ne le zagotoviti lastnino nad le-tem, ampak obenem prevzeti in pokazati tudi (politično, religiozno) oblast nad njim.

Odsev predstave, da je z obkrožanjem prevzeto oblast nad tem, kar je znotraj kroga, lahko v malce drugačni obliki najdemo tudi v mnogih tradicijskih magijskih obredih. Po verovanjih, zapisanih v Đevđeliji, v Makedoniji, naj bi znale nekatere ženske na predvečer jurjevega v posebnem obredu živini »odvzeti« mleko. To so lahko naredile le ženske, ki niso bile več v rodnem obdobju, in sicer opolnoči, gole, jahaje tkalsko vratilo[8] (*krosno*) po vasi. Potem ko so trikrat obkrožile vaški vodnjak, so šle na dvorišče ali v ograjo, da bi tam živini odvzele mleko. Preden so vstopile v ograjo, so trikrat obkrožile tudi to, med tem pa posipale pepel, ki so ga prinesle s seboj. V ograji so nato vsaki kravi ali ovci pomolzle malo mleka, potem pa pomazale vhod v ograjo ter rekle: »Meni mle-

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[7] Kot meni Suzanna Throop, pri tem obredu ne gre zgolj za razglasitev lastnine teritorija, temveč obenem tudi ritualno očiščenje tega prostora.

[8] Navijalni valj na ročnih statvah.

ko in maščoba, tebi govno.« Nato so se molče vrnile po isti poti, kot so prišle (Risteski 2000a: 56). V Jarmenovcih v Srbiji so pravili, da so pred jurjevim, v najtemnejšem delu noči (v »gluhi dobi« noči)[9], opolnoči, čarovnice (*mađesnice, mađionice, činilice, činjarice*) gole, z razpletenimi lasmi jahale na tkalskem vratilu in naredile magijski krog okoli ograde. Ko so prišle do ograde z živino, katere mleko so si hotele prilastiti, so to trikrat obkrožile, nato pa vstopile vanjo in zagovarjale živino. Poskakujoč na vratilu so med tem govorile: »Hop, hop, hop, Stamenki (ali kakorkoli je bilo že ime gospodinji) trop, meni pa mleko in mast!« (Knežević, Jovanović 1958: 113).

Preventivno obnavljanje meja za zaščito prostora

Tudi ko je bilo ozemlje že osvojeno in so bile meje ozemlja mesta, vasi, domačije že začrtane, jih je bilo od časa do časa potrebno ponovno obnoviti in utrditi, da bi bilo osvojeno območje zavarovano in mu bolezen, nevarnost, neplodnost, smrt, ki so vedno pretili od zunaj, iz nevarnega prostora, ne bi mogli do živega – ne glede na to, ali je realna nevarnost v tistem obdobju pretila ali ne. Tudi to obnovitev meja ozemlja so ljudje zagotovili prav s ponovnim kroženjem okrog njega, po njegovih mejah. Preventivnost teh obredov se jasno kaže v tem, da je vaška skupnost obrede obnavljanja meja organizirala ciklično, na določene praznike v teku leta, ne glede na to, da ozemlje ni bilo tedaj neposredno ogroženo.

Kot primer takšnega obreda v Sloveniji lahko razumemo obhod farnih meja po mejah srenjske posesti v Zgornji Ziljski dolini na binkoštno soboto zvečer ali v nedeljo zjutraj. Udeleženci so na čelu procesije nosili križ, sprevod pa se je vil po polju in obhodil vso vaško mejo. Na poti so se posebej ustavljali pri »vremenskih kamnih«, na katere so polagali dve sveči križem, kar naj bi župnijo obvarovalo pred nevihto (Kuret 1989/1: 325–6). Verjetno lahko enak namen prepoznamo tudi v obredu, ki je potekal v Preložah v Sloveniji v šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja. Da bi zagotovili vasi plodnost, so v procesiji hodili »od pila do pila«, tj. od pila sv. Marije device do pila sv. Jurija pod vasjo. Procesija je potekala spomladi, maja ali junija, pri vsakem pilu in vmes pa je župnik blagoslavljal za rodnost[10] (Čok 2012: 36).

Bolj običajni so bili (in so še vedno) ti obredi v Makedoniji. Obred obkrožanja vasi po njenih mejah se v Makedoniji imenuje *pokrsti,(s)krsti*.[11] Navadno ta obred izvajajo na drugi dan velike noči ali v času binkošti (*Duovden*). Izvajajo ga zato, da bi zavarovali vaško skupnost pred negativnimi naravnimi vplivi in obenem zagotovili plodnost posevkov. Med obredom gre procesija okrog vasi z duhovnikom ali starejšim članom vaške skupnosti na čelu, za njim hodijo moški s cerkvenimi insignijami. Obhod začno pri sakralnem središču vasi (cerkev, kultni križ, drevo ali voda) in ga nato nadaljujejo po vnaprej določeni krožni liniji meje. Ob tem se ustavljajo ob določenih mestih, kot so impozantni hrasti, kamniti križi ipd., ob katerih potekajo še dodatni obredi (Risteski 2005: 216–7).

Tudi v vzhodni Grčiji (Latsida) se je na veliki petek okoli vasi vila procesija, se na poti ustavljala ob cerkvah, pot pa končala na pokopališču (Megas 1963: 100–1), a o

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[9] Navadno to obdobje (*gluvo doba noči*) pomeni čas nekako od enajstih zvečer do treh zjutraj. To je najbolj nevaren del dneva, ko imajo moč onstranske sile.

[10] Več o pomenu meja in oznakah na meji vasi glej v Šmitek 2004: 211-4; Hrobat 2010: 61-89, 107-18.

[11] Prim. posnetek obreda na http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V5VdayzQqkY

razlogih za obhod iz opisa žal ne izvemo ničesar. Zgodaj zjutraj na novoletno jutro pa so na otoku Chiosu v Grčiji poznali tudi obred obkrožanja meje domači, katerega namen je bil očitno zagotoviti blagostanje kmetije: gospodar je hišo obkrožil z vrčem, v katerem so bili sadje, sladkarije, kruh, zatem pa vstopil v hišo, raztresel po sobah vsebino vrča in zaželel gospodinjstvu blaginjo[12] (Megas 1963: 43–4).

V Walesu in v Angliji še danes izvajajo obred »zakoličenja meja« (t.i. *beating the bounds* ali tudi *gangdays*), ki izgleda tako: procesija vaščanov se na čelu z duhovnikom napoti okrog meja župnije, z vrbovimi ali brezovimi vejami tolče po mejnikih ter ob tem moli za zaščito vasi v prihodnjem letu. Ta obred izvajajo na ponedeljek, torek ali sredo po peti nedelji po veliki noči (t.i. *Rogation days*) ali v dneh pred Kristusovim vnebovzetjem[13].

Podobne redne letne obrede cirkumambulacije okrog vasi so poznali tudi na Škotskem. Tam so prebivalci otoka Inverness na veliko noč obkrožili celoten otok (N2, Neil Angus MacDonald, SA 1976/26/B7; DSSA[14]), v Comrieju v Perthshiru pa so na silvestrovo z baklami v rokah, ki naj bi odgnale zle duhove v prihodnjem letu, obkrožali meje vasi (Comrie Flambeaux is ancient custom, 25.12. 1957; A village chases away the spirits, Scot. Daily Mail 29. 12. 1958; DSSA). Utrjevanje meja lahko prepoznamo tudi v škotski obredni ježi okrog skupne meje (t.i. *riding the marches*, *perambulation of the marches*), in sicer zlasti na prvi november (*halloween*), na tretjo soboto v avgustu, na prvo nedeljo po binkoštni nedelji (na t.i. *Trinity Fair*), marca, 29. aprila, zadnji petek v maju, 8. junija, 19. junija, 4. septembra, 7. septembra, 1. oktobra … Gre za tradicionalne obrede ježe okoli meja skupne zemlje, pri čemer se jezdeci posebej ustavljajo ob mejnih kamnih. Na otoku Barra na Škotskem pa so okoli otoka jezdili prvega avgusta, na praznik žetve (*lugnasad*) (John MacNeil, SA 1985/79/B10, Calum MacLean; DSSA).

Nekateri opisi procesij okrog meja vasi posebej poudarjajo pomen teh za zagotavljanje plodnosti. Na točno določen dan v letu, največkrat na prvi maj (*beltane*), sredi poletja (tj. na predvečer ivanjega ali dne sv. Petra), na predvečer sv. Mihaela ali pa celo novembra so ponekod na Škotskem na lokalnih hribih zgradili grmado. Potem ko so obredno obkrožili ogenj, so se s prižganimi baklami vrnili na svoje kmetije, kjer so v spremstvu družine in poslov obkrožili še svoja orna polja, nato hleve in hiše, nato pa ritualno ponovno prižgali ogenj v ognjišču za naslednje leto (Dodgshon 1988: 75). Na večer pred kresom oziroma na ivanje (t.i. *Johnsmas*) so tudi v Orkneyu kmetje z grmade na vrhu hriba odnesli baklo gorečega resja na svoje posestvo in z njo počasi obkrožili svoja polja, skedenj in hišo tako, da so »zahtevali svoj delež Sončevega obilja za svojo družino in živino« (Dodgshon 1988: 76). Dejanje je očitno torej namenjeno zagotavljanju dobrobiti kmetije.

Tudi na vzhodnih območjih Irske (zlasti deli Leinstra) so do srede 19. stoletja na predvečer prvega maja (*bealtine*) kmetje skupaj s posli in člani družine obkrožili meje svojih kmetij v procesiji, noseč ob tem gospodinjsko orodje, semena, svete rastline in

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[12] Megas sicer razlaga ta obred kot simbolno daritev dobrohotnemu duhu hiše, ki po verovanjih prebivalcev biva v vsaki hiši.

[13] Prim. posnetek obreda na http://www.strangebritain.co.uk/traditions/bounds.html; http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SfzGk3xcbq8

[14] DSSA = Arhiv Oddelka za škotske in keltske študije Univerze v Edinburgu (Department of Scottish and Celtic Studies Archive, Univeristy of Edinburgh). Zahvaljujem se Oddelku, da mi je dovolil pregled arhivov,

drugo (Lysaght 1993: 38-9; Danaher 1972: 116). Na prvomajsko jutro, to je na dan, ko je bilo posebej nezaželeno, da bi kak tujec prečkal meje posestva, je član gospodinjstva obkrožil mejno obzidje kmetije še z vodo iz vodnjaka (Lysaght 1993: 38). Patricia Lysaght meni, da je namen tega obreda ponovno utrditi meje v času, ko so bile te še posebej ranljive. Ta praznik pomeni namreč eno od štirih temeljnih ločnic v keltskem letnem ciklusu in obenem začetek pomladi. Meje kmetije so bile na ta dan metaforično redefinirane na mnoge načine, s simbolno utrditvijo meja kmetije pa so kmetje skušali nadzorovati »grožnjo, ki prihaja od sosedov, ki bi lahko izkoristili nadnaravno energijo nevarnega prehodnega obdobja mejnega majskega praznika, ko je bilo čutiti nadnaravno, ki pronica skozi površino eksistence« (Lysaght 1993: 42). Sosedi so seveda potencialno ogrožali zlasti plodnost, dobrobit kmetije, saj je je bilo po splošnem prepričanju, značilnem za zaprte vaške skupnosti, tega vedno premalo za vse, zato so jo poskušali odvzeti drugim in jo tako pridobiti zase (prim. Foster 1965; Mencej 2006: 101–7).

Kurativno obnavljanje meja za zaščito prostora

Cirkumambulacija torej preventivno varuje vse, kar se nahaja znotraj meja obkroženega prostora, pred nevarnostmi, ki potencialno pretijo od zunaj in lahko ogrozijo zdravje, blagostanje, plodnost, napredek skupnosti. A isti obred obkrožanja skupnost lahko izvaja tudi v primeru, ko je nevarnost že realna in ko je treba vas zaščititi pred konkretnimi nevarnostmi, ki že pretijo od zunaj, na primer naravnimi nesrečami, vremenskimi neprilikami, boleznimi, epidemijami, zvermi in škodljivci ipd. Tak ritual so, kot ugotavlja Obrembski, poznala tako evropska kot azijska ljudstva, ki so se ukvarjala s poljedelstvom in živinorejo. V Poreču, v Makedoniji, so tako v primeru epidemije izvajali ritualno oranje okoli vasi, ki naj bi bolezni preprečilo vstop v vas[15]. Obred oranja se lahko izvaja šele po sončnem zahodu, vodi ga stara gola ženska, orati pa morata brata dvojčka s pomočjo dveh volov dvojčkov (Obrembski 2001: 105-110). V vasi Moštica v Makedoniji so nekoč v preteklosti zaradi škode, ki jo je napravila toča, začeli slaviti svetnika Atanasija, ki naj bi vas zavaroval pred podobnimi nesrečami v prihodnje. V teku obreda, ki so ga izvajali, da bi preprečili točo, so zaklali dva jagnjeta, dva moška z istim imenom pa sta morala vas obredno obkrožiti z njunimi kožami (Risteski 2005: 217). Na Hrvaškem je skupina maskiranih žensk (ali moških, preoblečenih v ženske), t.i. »oračev«, ki jo sestavljajo oseba s plugom, dve osebi, vpreženi v jarem, gonič in sejalec, z ralom (plugom) obkrožila vas in medtem po njivah in okoli hiš orala brazde. To šego so izvajali, da bi vas, predvsem živino, zavarovali pred boleznijo. Izvajali so jo navadno takrat, ko je bolezen v vasi že terjala davek, včasih pa tudi že preventivno (Gavazzi 1988: 17–19).

Obred oranja s plugom okrog vasi v primeru epidemij ali drugih nesreč lahko po mnenju Risteskega razumemo kot ponavljanje ustanovitvenega obreda vasi. »Kod 'ustanavljanja nove vasi',« meni, »je v obrednosti Makedoncev magijsko-obredno oranje okrog vasi (t.i. *zaoruvanje* ali *oboruvanje*), s katerim se vaška skupnost simbolno povrne v prvotno, mitično stanje, mitični pra-čas, kar je pogoj, da se začne z obrednim ustvarjanjem novega stanja.« (Risteski 2005: 184-5) V obredu vaščani »utrdijo« sakralno središče vasi – navadno je v središču vodnjak, okoli katerega izvajajo posebne obrede in

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[15] Obrembski omenja primer izvajanja obreda leta 1919, ko je vasi grozila epidemija tifusa.

plešejo (Risteski 2005: 186–7), predvsem pa utrjujejo mejo vasi (t.i. *sinor, međa, mežda, atar*), ki je vedno zaprta linija in velja za sveto. Izbrisana ali načeta meja bi imela za skupnost negativne posledice, zato jo varujejo, utrjujejo in ponovno obnavljajo, takoj ko je »načeta«. Na vsej njeni dolžini se nahajajo svete točke, ki dodatno pričajo o njeni svetosti: to so trajni naravni objekti, npr. izstopajoči kamni, skale, drevesa (navadno plodna) in umetna znamenja (Risteski 2005: 195–7). Struktura obreda oranja okrog vasi je bila strogo in detajlno določena: obred sta vedno izvajala brata dvojčka ali vsaj brata z istim imenom. Vola, s katerim sta orala okoli vasi, sta morala biti črna in prav tako dvojčka. Ralo, ki so ga uporabljali, je moralo biti novo, še nerabljeno, ali pa narejeno iz češnjevega lesa, izključno za obredno oranje. Brata sta morala začeti orati na enem koncu vasi, najpogosteje na vzhodu, nadaljevati v smeri gibanja Sonca, končati pa na isti točki, kot sta začela – tako sta zorala magijski krog okoli vasi. Med oranjem po meji vasi so navadno na vse štiri strani neba postavljali pokončno kamenje, nanj pa so polagali razne predmete, kamnite znake v podobi križa ipd., kar je bilo znamenje, da je vas ob-orana (Risteski 2005: 202–3). V Gevgelijskem (vas Sveta Bogorodica) so, kadar so hoteli vas zaščititi pred kugo, naredili ralo iz drevesa dvojčka, dva brata dvojčka pa sta morala vpreči dva vola dvojčka in z ralom zaorati brazdo okoli vasi (Tanović 1927: 76; Risteski 2005: 202). V Srbiji (boljevaško območje) so, kadar so želeli vas zaščititi pred kolero, izvajali obredno oranje: brata dvojčka sta vpregla v plug dva črna vola in zaorala brazdo okoli celotne vasi (Tolstoj 1995: 185). Tudi Hrvati in ponekod na Balkanu, pa tudi v nekaterih drugih deželah Evrope (npr. v Rusiji), kjer so se ukvarjali z živinorejo, so v primeru nevarnosti okrog celotnih naselij ali pa okrog ograd z živino zorali brazde[16], ki so veljale za zanesljivo zaščito pred boleznijo (Gavazzi 1988: 18). Podobno je mogoče razumeti tudi obred opasovanja in z njim povezana dejanja, ki so jih proti kugi izvajali v Belorusiji. Konec 19. stoletja so za zaščito vasi pred kugo ženske stkale »enodnevno platno«[17], nato pa so z njim vsi prebivalci vasi obkrožili vas (zatem so se morali vsi še splaziti pod njim, nato pa so platno sežgali) (Zelenin 1994 [1911]: 194)[18].

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[16] Magična moč se pripisuje tudi brazdi, še bolj pa železu (pri plugu), ki je eno najpomembnejših apotropejskih sredstev – to naj bi delovalo kot zanesljiva zaščita živine in ljudi pred boleznijo (Gavazzi 1988: 18).

[17] To je platno, stkano v enem dnevu in eni noči.

[18] Zelenin navaja še več obredov z »enodnevnim platnom« ali »enodnevnimi cerkvami«, o o katerih je mogoče poročila najti že v 19. stoletju ali na prelomu iz 19. v 20. stoletje, v okviru katerih se lahko pojavlja tudi krožni obhod, včasih s krščanskimi simboli – na primer obred iz Grodnenske gubernije, v katerem je bilo potrebno platno obesiti na križ v vasi po tem, ko so z njim obkrožili vas (Zelenin 1994 [1911]: 195). Omenja pa tudi obrede, ki jih izvajajo proti nevarnosti kolere, kuge, suše, toče ipd., v katerih imaglavno vlogo zgolj platno oz. brisača, krožnega obhoda pa ne izvajajo (prim. Zelenin 1994 [1911]). V obredu, ki so ga izvajali v Sluckem okraju Minske gubernije, pa so z enodnevnim platnom trikrat opasali cerkev – ne kot zaščito vasi, ampak kot »žrtev Bogu« (Zelenin 1994 [1911]: 197). Tak obred so od Belorusov prevzeli tudi Mordvini iz vasi Lobaski v Lukojanovskem okraju, ki so obredno opasovali cerkve vsaj še konec 19. stoletja. Obred so izvajale ženske v noči na Marijino vnebovzetje (15. po julijanskem / 28. avgusta po novem koledarju). V izbrano hišo so morali vsi prinesti kolikor je bilo mogoče platna, ki so ga razrezali na dolg trak, nato pa so ženske z njim ponoči opasale cerkev v dveh ali treh vrstah (in cerkvi darovale tudi brisače in robce) (Zelenin 1994 [1911]: 198; Tolstoj 1995: 180–2). Kot komentira Zelenin, se je v tem primeru obred, ki ga sicer drugod izvajajo *ad hoc*, v primeru nevarnosti, začel izvajati kot prostovoljno, hoteno žrtvovanje, ki so ga izvedli enkrat na leto na določen praznik (Zelenin 1994 [1911]: 198). Kljub vsemu pa so po njegovem mnenju obredi z enodnevnim platnom (brisačo, cerkvijo) prvotno namenjeni preprečevanju kuge; šele kasneje so jih začeli izvajati tudi v primeru drugih nevarnosti ali na verske praznike, na primer med »krestnym hodom« , ko cerkev v procesiji obkrožijo ne več s platnom (brisačo), ampak z ikono. Zelenin je sicer mnenja, da prvotna oblika obreda ni zajemala obkrožanja,

V strahu pred kolero in epidemijo so se prebivalci vasi Bolšoj Rožan v Minski guberniji v vzhodnem Polesju v Belorusiji leta 1906 najprej tri dni postili, nato so moški v gozdu posekali bor, naredili iz njega križ in ga postavili na vidno mesto, ženske pa so medtem pripravile prejo, nasnule in stkale platno, ki je bilo tako dolgo, da so z njim trikrat opasali cerkev (Tolstoj 1995: 181). V Volkovyskem okraju Grodnenske gubernije v Belorusiji so se morale spomladi ženske iz vse vasi zbrati v eni hiši in v eni noči stkati brisačo, ki so jo zjutraj posvetile, zatem pa iz nje izvlekle vse niti in jih namotale na kole okrog polja. To so počele zato, da toča ne bi uničila posevkov (Zelenin 1994 [1911]: 198). Tudi v tem obredu lahko seveda prepoznamo neke vrste magični krog iz kolov (z nitmi), ki predstavlja magični krog. V Franciji (Tulle) so proti kugi od leta 1340 dalje izvajali procesije, s katerimi so obkrožili vas kot v neke vrste magičnem krogu – začeli so pri kapeli svetega Janeza, nadaljevali mimo sedmih kapel do katedrale in prek pobočij, dokler se niso vrnili do kapele sv. Janeza (van Gennep 1999/1: 1693–4).

Kot piše Zelenin, je pomen obhoda okrog vasi enak začrtanju magičnega kroga, ki se ga nečiste sile bojijo. Enako velja za oranje okrog vasi, kjer je krog še poudarjen z brazdo, ter za obkrožanje živine, preden jo spustijo na prosto pašo (prim. tudi v nadaljevanju), pa tudi v primeru zdravljenja kuge in nekaterih drugih bolezni z očrtanjem kroga (Zelenin 1994 [1911]: 202). Kot primer za takšno verovanje navaja nemško povedko, ki jo je zapisal Jakob Grimm. Ta govori o kmetu, ki mu je Kuga (personificirana bolezen) v zahvalo za pomoč povedala, da lahko sebe in svojo družino zavaruje pred njo tako, da gol obkroži svojo hišo, potem pa pod pragom hiše zakoplje železno kljuko. Kmet jo je ukanil in naredil krog okrog celotne vasi, kljuko pa zakopal na vhodu v vas in Kuga vasi ni mogla škodovati (Jakob Grimm, Deutsche Mythologie 1844: 1138-9; po Zelenin 1994 [1911]: 202–3).

Tudi namen krožnih obredov skupnosti, da bi z preprečili vstop bolezni in drugim nesrečam v notranjost obkroženega ozemlja in tega tako zavarovali pred nevarnostjo, ki je pretila od zunaj, lahko prepoznamo v magijskih praksah, s katerimi so skušali ljudje to, kar je znotraj kroga, zavarovati pred nesrečo, sovražniki od zunaj. V Franciji so tako na božič obkrožili sadno drevje, da bi ga zavarovali pred vetrom (van Gennep 1999/2: 2723). V Pforzheimu v Nemčiji so na pustni torek obkrožali vrtno ograjo, da v prihodnjem letu ne bi nihče mogel ničesar ukrasti z vrta (Grimm 1882–1888/4: 1820, št. 981). Ponekod v Nemčiji so drugega februarja, na svečnico, z verigo, ki so jo vlekli po tleh, trikrat obkrožili hišo, da bi preprečili vstop v hišo mišim in kačam (Feilhauer 2000: 32), na cvetno nedeljo pa so trikrat obkrožili hišo z butarico zato, da bi stran od hiše zadržali lisice in kragulje (Feilhauer 2000: 73).

Včasih šege obkrožanja z namenom zaščite tega, kar je znotraj kroga, dopolnjujejo še drugi elementi ali dejanja, kot so zagovori in uporaba raznih predmetov, pripomočkov, na primer sveče, ognja, verige, ključavnice, ikone ipd. V Makedoniji, na Ovčem Polju, so pred *mratinci*, volčjimi prazniki, ki so jih praznovali sredi novembra (prim. Mencej 2006), proso, zmešano s koruznim zrnjem, potresli okoli staje ali ograde, med tem zagovarjali, nato pa ograjo trikrat obkrožili in zaklenili vrata, da bi živino zavarovali pred volkovi (Raičević 1935: 54-61; podobno v Đevđeliji – prim. Tanović 1927: 16–17). Podobni obredi proti nevarnosti divjih zveri, zlasti volkov, so zelo razširjeni med vzhodni-

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ampak prepreko bolezni pri vstopu v vas, obhod okrog vasi pa se je pojavil šele v drugi fazi (Zelenin 1994 [1911]: 200-1).

mi Slovani (prim. Mencej 2001), ki so obredno obkrožali živino navadno na prvi dan odgona na pašo, na jurjevo. V demjanskem okraju novgorodske gubernije je pastir na jurjevo med zagovarjanjem obkrožil živino in prosil svetega Jurija, naj živino obvaruje pred divjimi zvermi. V andreapoljskem okraju kalininske pokrajine je pastir ob prvi paši črede na prostem to trikrat obkrožil s sitom, v katerem sta bila ječmen in ikona sv. Jurija, ter zagovarjal s prošnjo, da bi bila živina varna pred divjimi zvermi (Sokolova 1979: 165). Tudi pastirji iz kadnikovskega okraja vologodske gubernije so se, medtem ko so obkrožali čredo, obračali na svetega Jegorija (Jurija) z enako prošnjo (Sokolova 1979: 184, op. 12). V olonecki guberniji so, po zapisu iz 17. stoletja sodeč, trikrat obkrožili živino, medtem pa molili za zaščito živine pred zvermi (Eleonska 1994: 147-8). V porečškem in krasninskem okraju smolenske gubernije sta gospodar in njegova žena z ikono sv. Georgija (Jurija), s svečo, kruhom in soljo obkrožila vso svojo živino in obenem prosila svetnika, da zaščiti živino pred zvermi in zlimi ljudmi (Dobrovoľski 1908: 150). V rjazanskem okraju je vsak gospodar obkrožil svojo živino, da bi jo ubranil pred volkovi. V novoaleksandrovskem okraju so trikrat obkrožili živino, gospodarica pa je med tem s svečo natrla živali, »da bi se jih zver ne dotaknila« (Sokolova 1979: 159). V nekaterih okrajih vologodske gubernije so pastirji obkrožili živino z železno ključavnico, to pa so potem zakopali na pot, po kateri je hodila živina, da volkovi in druge zveri ne bi mogli priti mimo nje v vas (Sokolova 1979: 164, 168). V vjazemskem okraju smolenske gubernije je pri prvem odgonu živine iz hlevov na prosto na jurjevo kmet s svojo družino z ikono, kruhom in soljo trikrat obkrožil živino (Dobrovoľski 1908: 150). Tudi v Estoniji so na dan prvega odgona živine na prosto to obkrožili z jajcem, ki so ga nato zakopali v najbližje mravljišče ali pa ga vrgli prek rame, da bi živino zavarovali pred divjimi zvermi (Rantasalo 1945: 59–62), pašnik pa so včasih obkrožili tudi s ključavnico (Rantasalo 1945: 101-3). Nemci na Poljskem pa so na dan prvega odgona živine na pašo le-to trikrat obkrožili (Riemann 1974: 134–5).

V vasi Komaroviči v gomeljski pokrajini v Polesju v Belorusiji so leta 1983 pripovedovali tudi, da so vaščanke v primeru, ko je babica, ki bi morala biti praviloma že zunaj rodnega obdobja, rodila otroka, stkale ozko »enodnevno« platno in z njim opasale cerkev, da »grešnega« otroka ne bi odnesla nečista sila (Tolstoj 1995: 182–3). Tako so torej otroka zavarovale pred nevarnostjo, smrtjo, pred onstranskim svetom, ki bi ga lahko pritegnil k sebi.

Zavarovanje svetosti prostora

Z obrednim obkrožanjem (hojo, oranjem, ježo ali opasovanjem) meja skupnosti in gospodinjstva se torej vzpostavljajo ter vedno znova utrjujejo in potrjujejo meje te skupnosti ali kmetije. Končni namen takega konstantnega vzpostavljanja in utrjevanja meja z obkrožanjem je dvojni: na eni strani utrjuje zaščitno pregrado med svetom znotraj in svetom zunaj meja, ter tako prostor zavaruje pred nevarnostmi, ki pretijo od zunaj, istočasno pa potrjuje in varuje sveti značaj omejenega prostora znotraj (le Borgne 2002: 56) Območje znotraj teh meja velja za »svoje«, varno, urejeno, sveto, nasprotno prostoru zunaj meja, ki je v vsem njegovo nasprotje. Pregrada med obema prostoroma ni nujno le fizična, lahko gre tudi za mentalno konstrukcijo, kot poudarja Aude le Borgne, ki dejanje obkrožanja razume kot dejanje, ki »ustvarja duhovno pregrado« (2002: 56). Obkrožanje območja s tem, da se zariše krog, fizično ali simbolno, je obred, ki se

uporablja za označevanje meja kateregakoli svetega teritorija, tudi meja vasi ali kmetije ali njegovega dela, na primer oltarja, groba, hiše … (Della Volpe 1990: 168)[19]. Seveda že zgoraj navedeni obredi zavarovanja obkroženega območja pred nevarnostmi, ki pretijo od zunaj, implicirajo zavarovanje vsega pozitivnega, dobrega, svetega znotraj meja hiše, kmetije ali skupnosti, ki po tradicijski konceptualizaciji sveta veljajo za »svoj«, urejen, svet prostor (prim. Eliade 1992: 5-58), a ta aspekt obreda, namreč da bi se z njim ohranilo sakralnost prostora, ki se ga obkroža, je posebej očiten v primerih, ko se s krožnim obredom ali krogom zavaruje prostore, ki veljajo za svete prostore *par excellence*.

Iz skandinavske pravne zgodovine vemo, da so bila vsa mesta, ki so imela poseben socialni ali religiozni pomen, vedno ločena od zunanjega prostora z ograjo, mejo ali vrvjo. Te pregrade so bile uporabljene prav zato, da bi bil sveti prostor znotraj ločen od profanega zunaj. V islandski sagi o Egilu (poglavje 57)[20] iz 14. stoletja tako lahko beremo: »Na mestu, kjer se je nahajalo sodišče, je bilo ravno polje in leskovi koli so bili zabiti v njegova tla tako, da so tvorili krog, okoli njihove zunanje strani pa so bile napeljane vrvi; te so imenovali *vébọnd*. Znotraj kroga so sedeli sodniki (...)« (http://www.sacred--texts.com/neu/egil/egil58.htm)[21] Izvajanje prava je seveda veljalo za sveto religiozno dejanje, ki je zahtevalo ločitev svetega prostora, kjer so sedeli sodniki, od profanega zunaj njegovih meja (Della Volpe 1990: 157), v tem primeru z vrvmi, speljanimi okrog kolov tako, da je bil prostor, namenjen sojenju, omejen s krogom.

Tudi cerkev z oltarjem za vernike pomeni seveda sveti prostor in sakralnost tega najbolj svetega središča v vasi je bilo treba še posebej zaščititi. Ena od oblik obkroženja svetega ozemlja, s katerim se zavaruje svetost tega, kar se obkroža, je tudi opasovanje. Že Kuret je obred opasovanja cerkva razumel kot način, s katerim naj bi se zavaroval sveti prostor cerkve, ki se jo opasuje, da bi bila v njej mogoča nemotena pobožnost (1989/II: 106-7). V Sloveniji in nasploh v vzhodnih Alpah so opasovali zlasti cerkve sv. Lenarta, največkrat z verigami, ki naj bi jih, po izročilu sodeč, rešeni ujetniki prinašali v dar svetniku, zavetniku ujetnikov, iz njih pa naj bi nato skovali skupno verigo okoli cerkve. Po gorenjskem izročilu naj bi ovijali verigo tudi okrog cerkve sv. Tomaža pri Ratečah, in sicer za obrambo le-te pred Turki. Cerkve naj bi še ob koncu 18. in v začetku 19. stoletja obkrožali tudi z vrvmi (Šmitek 2004: 71). V jugozahodni Sloveniji so cerkve opasovali na žegnanje, na proslavo obletnice posvetitve cerkve ali na god cerkvenega zavetnika (Kuret 1989/II.: 106–7, 151–2). Na Primorskem so na žegnanje opasovali cerkev tako, da so okrog nje postavili prižgane sveče (Šmitek 2004: 71). O tem, da so nekoč opasovali cerkve z voščenimi svečami, pričajo tudi ljudske pesmi s Koroške, Štajerske in z Goriškega (prim. Štrekelj 1980 (1895-1898)/ I.: 433-8, št. 404; 463, št. 445; 477, št. 459). Podobno so v vasi Svilanovoj leta 1940, ko so posvetili novo cerkev, to opasali s prejo (Filipović 1967: 206; Tolstoj 1995: 172–3). Opasovanje cerkva s svečo so poznali tudi v Franciji in Španiji (Kuret 1989/II.: 107) oziroma je bilo, kot piše Zmago Šmitek, znano v širšem sredozemskem območju in naj bi segalo v čas pred razširjenjem krščanstva in

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[19] »Enclosing an area by drawing a circle, whether real or imagined, is a practice employed not only in chthonic rituals, but generally to mark any sacred territory, whether this enclose an altar, a grave, a house, or a village.«

[20] Glavni rokopis, v katerem lahko najdemo to sago, je Möðruvallabók (AM 132 fol., Reykjavík), zbirka islandskih sag iz 14. stoletja.

[21] »Now where the court sate was a level plot, with hazel-poles planted in a ring, and outside were twisted ropes all around. This was called, ‚the precincts.‘ Within the ring sate twelve judges of the Firth-folk, twelve of the Sogn-folk, twelve of the Horda-folk. These three twelves were to judge all the suits.«

islama: v helenistični dobi je bil na primer popek sveta upodobljen s prevezo iz verig ali vozlanih trakov, enako kultna drevesa in stebri v svetiščih. Kot meni tudi Šmitek, gre pri opasilu za dejansko ali simbolno ograditev cerkve od ostalega sveta (2004: 71).

Enako lahko razumemo obred obkrožanja kapelice na planini blizu Komušine v Bosni, ki so ga katoliki izvajali leta 1875, »da bi pokazali spoštovanje« sveti Katarini in sveti Mariji«. Čeprav v kontekstu krščanske religije, ga lahko razumemo kot poskus zavarovanja svetosti prostora s spoštljivim kroženjem okoli njega: »Vsak kmet se je takoj, ko je prišel, ponižno poklonil pred zgradbo in izvedel mistične in pobožne gibe, povezane z njegovo religijo. Zatem je, korakajoč, korak za korakom nadaljeval pot okoli kolibe, pri čemer se je obračal, kot tukaj rečejo, s Soncem, od leve proti desni; nekateri posebej pobožni in pretirano zavedni so šli naokrog po kolenih.« (Evans 1965 [1877]: 152) Obenem bi obred lahko razumeli tudi kot željo ljudi, da bi bili prek obkroženja deležni svetosti kapelice oziroma da bi vstopili v stik z njo.

Verniki so po kolenih ali plazeč se obkrožali tudi cerkev sv. Varnave na bregu reke Vetluge v Zavoložju (Niženovgorodska pokrajina) v Rusiji, in sicer trikrat zaporedoma (s prekinitvami ob molitvah za cerkev) (prim. Tolstoj 1995: 161–2). Žal kontekst šege (kdaj in zakaj so jo izvajali) ni znan, glede na zapis lahko le domnevamo, da je v njej sodelovalo veliko ljudi in da se je obred odvijal na praznik svetnika, po katerem se je cerkev imenovala. Obkrožanje, a po kolenih, so ljudje vsaj še donedavna[22] izvajali tudi okoli jezera Svetlojara (vulkansko jezero na reki Ljundi v Niženovgorodski guberniji). Obred so predvidoma izvajali 23. junija po starem oziroma 6. julija po novem koledarju, ko so slavili sv. Bogorodico (Marijin praznik), ki je bil obenem praznik cerkve vasi Vladimirsko, ter pred ivanjem (24. junija po starem oziroma 7. julija po novem koledarju). Poročila o trikratnem obkrožanju jezera na kolenih lahko zasledimo že konec 19. stoletja (Tolstoj 1995: 162–3).

Obkrožanje svetih izvirov in templjev, ki je tako pogosto zlasti v v škotskih zdravilskih ritualih in ki jih je škotska raziskovalka Aude le Borgne interpretirala kot način, kako ločiti dve različni območji, ki sta v svojem bistvu nasprotni druga drugi, sveto in profano (2002: 56), je prav tako mogoče razumeti kot poskus bolnikov, da bi po tem, ko so z obkroženjem še utrdili mejo in razliko med sveto notranjostjo obkroženega mesta in njegovo profano zunanjostjo, vstopili v sakralno območje znotraj kroga (kjer se sicer že nahaja sveti templj ali sveti izvir), se prežeti z njegovimi dobrohotnimi močmi ter tako ozdraveli.

Na Slovenskem je bila običajna tudi obredna ježa okoli cerkva, ki je potekala na praznik svetega Štefana[23], 26. decembra. Krščansko praznovanje sv. Štefana je sicer sestavljeno iz več prvin, ki jih je težko povsem ločiti: ježe (okoli cerkve in pokopališča, po polju), blagoslova konj, darovanja in včasih še napoja (vino), a tu nas zanima predvsem element krožne ježe. Kot piše Kuret, lahko – v nasprotju z blagoslovom konj, ki je krščanski element tega praznovanja – v ježi prepoznamo ostanek poganskih obredij (1989/II.: 386). Kuret ježe sicer ne interpretira, a razumemo jo lahko, tako kot obkrožanje cerkve peš ali plazeč se, kot simbolno ustvarjanje pregrade med svetim prostorom

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[22] Vsaj še v šestdesetih letih dvajsetega stoletja so bile ob jezeru postavljene table, da je plazenje okrog jezera prepovedano.

[23] Sveti Štefan naj bi po Kuretovi interpretaciji nasledil indoevropsko božanstvo, ki je varovalo konje in živine (skandinavskega Frôja, slovanskega Velesa …), in obred na ta dan naj bi prekril z njim povezano praznovanje v času zimskega kresa, med katerim so obredno žrtvovali konje (Kuret 1989/II.: 382–3).

znotraj in profanim zunaj cerkve, ki se utrjuje in poudarja prav z ježo; na drugi strani pa lahko tudi tu obred razumemo tudi kot način, kako sebe in konje prežeti s svetostjo cerkve. V Sloveniji so bili ti obredi najbolj razširjeni na Koroškem, a ne samo tam. V Ziljski dolini (vasi Sveti Štefan in Šteben) so na ta dan jahali okrog cerkve, v Štebnu v Zgornji Podjuni pa so do konca šestdesetih let 19. stoletja jahali okoli cerkve ob notranji strani obzidja, nato pa so se jezdeci razvrstili pred vhodom na pokopališče. Tudi v Žvabeku v Podjuni so do 1. svetovne vojne na štefanovo jezdili okoli cerkve in pokopališča. Na Zgornjem in Spodnjem Jezerskem so na ta dan še po prvi svetovni vojni dva- ali trikrat jezdili okoli cerkve. Šega je bila razširjena tudi v osrednji Sloveniji in na Štajerskem in je ponekod še vedno. Na dan sv. Štefana so še do prve polovice 19. stoletja vsako leto iz okolice Mozirja na konjih prijezdili fantje in po blagoslovu konj odjezdili v krogu okoli kapelice sv. Štefana. Na Gomilskem v Savinjski dolini, kjer je farni patron sv. Štefan, so na konjih na štefanovo jezdili okrog cerkve, enako so na Teharjih pri Celju potomci nekdanjih plemičev jahali okrog cerkve sv. Štefana, sprevod konjenikov pa je trikrat objahal cerkev tudi v Stari vasi pri Šentjerneju na Dolenjskem (Kuret 1989/II.: 387–389).

Obredno ježo okrog cerkve so poznali tudi na Škotskem, a razlaga ljudi, zakaj so ta obred izvajali, ni zapisana. Sprevodi jezdecev so bili tam običajni na praznik svetega Mihaela, a ne izključno. Na otoku Barra (v vasi Kilbar), na primer, so na konjih obkrožili cerkev sv. Barre na dan sv. Mihaela, a trikrat so obkrožili cerkev tudi 27. septembra, na praznik svetnika, po katerem cerkev nosi ime (Le Borgne 2002: 104–105). Podoben obred so do leta 1890 izvajali na zahodni obali Norveške, na območju Inner Njordfjord, le da so posli in mladeniči 26. decembra navsezgodaj zjutraj jahali najprej okrog lastnih kmetij, nato pa še okrog sosednjih (Le Borgne 2002: 111), kar daje slutiti, da je bil tam v ospredju predvsem namen vzpostavljanja meja in zavarovanja obkroženega ozemlja.

Tako kot svetost sodišča, cerkvenih zgradba ali svetih izvirov je bilo potrebno obvarovati tudi svetost drugih prostorov s sakralnim pomenom. Kadar so bile ogrožene meje pokopališča, svetega prostora mrtvih, na primer v primeru, ko je bilo treba izkopati nov grob, ob tem pa premakniti stare meje pokopališča, je bilo potrebno ponovno zaščititi tudi ta prostor. V Makedoniji so po pogrebu na mejo okoli novega groba postavili jasna znamenja (kamne, trnje, veje ...), da je magijski krog vzpostavljen. V nekaterih vaseh so izvajali tudi obed za umrlega po pogrebu (*zadušna trpeza*); ko so pogrebci prenehali jesti, je *mesarka*[24], skupaj s še eno žensko, vdovo, izvedla obred, med katerim je z robom tkanine[25] vlekla po zemlji in z njim naredila krog okrog groba. Ljupčo S. Risteski je mnenja, da so s tem obredom »na simbolnem nivoju ponovno aktualizirali mejo, zato da bi prostor zaščitili pred uničenjem njegove meje, s tem pa preprečili, da bi se pokojnik po smrti povampiril« (2005: 215).

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[24] Mesarka je ena glavnih protagonistk pogrebnega in drugih obredov, namenjenih umrlim. Pripravlja obredni kruh ter druge stvari, ki se jih potrebuje med obredom.

[25] To je običajno 1 do 2 m dolga in en laket (cca 0,778 m) široka, precej prozorna tkanina, s katero se pokriva testo za kruh med vzhajanjem. Zahvaljujem se Ljupču S. Risteskemu za obe pojasnili.

Simbolizem krožnega gibanja: kroženje kot komunikacija z onim svetom

V tradicijski kulturi Slovencev, Slovanov, pa tudi v Evropi in širše, v Aziji oziroma pri Indoevropejcih nasploh smo lahko torej videli vrsto obredov, ki zahtevajo od izvajalcev neke vrste krožno gibanje (krožni obhod, ježa v krogu, opasovanje, oranje v krožni liniji). Na podlagi opisov obredov kroženja in verovanj, povezanih z njimi, smo lahko v teh obredih prepoznali funkcije prilaščanja prostora, prevzema in utrjevanja oblasti nad njim, zavarovanja ozemlja znotraj meja pred nevarnostmi od zunaj in hkrati ohranitve njegovega svetega značaja (prim. tudi Ellis Davidson 1993: 8). Meja prostora je bila lahko ustvarjena in poudarjena fizično ali pa simbolno, z obkrožanjem s hojo, plazenjem, ježo, oranjem ali pa z opasovanjem, kajti vse te različne oblike obkrožanja imajo v ljudski kulturi isto semantiko. Simboliko krožnega gibanja v teh obredih lahko razumemo predvsem skozi njegov rezultat, produkt – krog, ki ima vlogo meje, pregrade med svojim in tujim svetom, svetim in profanim, varnim in nevarnim, pozitivnim in negativnim. Indoevropski lingvistični in literarni viri obrede razmejevanja oziroma ograjevanja mest z obkrožanjem kažejo kot ritualne prakse, ki so odsevale kozmološke predstave o binarni strukturi prostora.

A še vedno ostaja nepojasnjeno vprašanje, zakaj se je kot najbolj primeren za doseganja tega cilja pokazal prav obred cirkumambulacije. Angela Della Volpe dokazuje, da naj bi obred cirkumambulacije izhajal iz obreda češčenja prednikov in kulta ognja (1990, 1992). Središčna točka tega obreda naj bi bilo prvotno domače ognjišče, ki je bilo pri Indoevropejcih simbol temeljnega socialnega nukleusa. Celična socialna struktura in iz nje izhajajoča religiozna ideologija sta zahtevali ločitev enega ognjišča od drugega, tj. enega gospodinjstva od drugega, ta ločitev pa se je vzpostavljala prav z ritualom cirkumambulacije, tj. s kroženjem okrog ognjišča, ki je bilo hkrati grob in oltar, na katerem so častili prednike, ki so postali družinski bogovi (Della Volpe 1990: 158–9). Prvotno so bili družinski predniki namreč pokopani pod ognjiščem, šele kasneje so grobove prenesli ven iz hiše, obred obkrožanja pa je tedaj zaobjel ne več samo ognjišča, ampak območje celotne kmetije, skupaj z družinskim grobom v bližini hiše. Kasneje, ko so se meje kmetij še dodatno razširile in so začeli mrtve pokopavati na bližnjih poljih, so družine začele na poljih tudi častiti prednike, zato so polja, kjer so bili umrli predniki pokopani, ločili od drugih polj s pregrado – zidom, jarkom, brazdo ali ozkim trakom neobdelane zemlje. Rimsko pravo je celo zapovedovalo trak zemlje med hišami, ki je bil posvečen bogu ograde (Della Volpe 1990: 171; 1992: 95–7). Pogrebni ritual je lahko izvajala le družina umrlega in zaradi groba prednikov na polju je ta po rimskem pravu veljala za permanentno lastnico tega polja. Na določene dneve v letu je gospodar družine obkrožil polje po njegovih mejah, med tem pa pel himne, izvajal žrtvovanja (v Rimu na primer na 23. februar, *terminalije* – prim. Ovid, Fasti 2.639–84) in postavljal na mejo polja mejnike (rimsko *termini*), ki so bili obenem spominski kamni (Della Volpe 1990: 173–4; 1992: 97–8). Tako se je ideja pripadnosti kmetiji oziroma posestvu, ki se je začela in na začetku potrjevala okrog domačega ognjišča, sčasoma raztegnila z ognjišča na kmetijo in nato na okoliška polja, mrtvi predniki pa so zdaj varovali tako domače ognjišče kot tudi vse, kar je bilo znotraj teh novih meja. Ritual, s katerim so sveti prostor ločevali od profanega, je bil vedno ritual cirkumambulacije. Kadar je več ljudi z različnim družinskim poreklom ustanovilo novo skupnost, je novo naselje predstavljalo nov svet ograjen prostor, katerega vzpostavitev je zahtevala novo skupno ognjišče

in obenem ritual cirkumambulacije, ki je zaobjel vse člane nove skupnosti in njihova posestva (Della Volpe 1992: 102). Po splošnih prepričanjih Indoevropejcev skupnost sestavlja zaprt krog, v središču katerega je oltar, kamor se spustijo bogovi in od koder se širi božanska pomoč. Znotraj tega ograjenega prostora naj bi vladala red in harmonija, zunaj njega pa se širi kaos, brez meja in zakonov. Na periferiji svetega prostora izvaja ritualni krog okoli božanskega središča (Hertz 1973 [1909]: 13), isti ritual torej, ki je bil prvotno izveden okoli posameznega ognjišča oziroma groba (Della Volpe 1992: 106–7). Ograditev območja s pomočjo kroga, resničnega ali imaginarnega, je bil torej obred, ki so ga Indoevropejci uporabljali za označevanje svetega območja (Hertz 1973 [1909]: 13; Della Volpe 1992: 94–5), razmejevanje le-tega od profanega prostora, njegov izvor pa je, če držijo raziskave Della Volpejeve, mogoče najti prav v prvotnih ritualih češčenja prednikov in kulta ognja.

Nekateri raziskovalci so krožno gibanje v tem obredu, ki navadno poteka v smeri navideznega gibanja Sonca, poskušali razložiti s posnemanjem gibanja Sonca kot tistega, ki zagotavlja obilje, plodnost, regeneracijo, saj so se indoevropski rituali cirkumambulacije praviloma izvajali v smeri gibanja Sonca, Sonce pa je bilo, kot kažejo ikonografski in literarni viri, tudi samo upodobljeno kot kolo ali preprosto kot krog oziroma krog s točko na sredi (prim. West 2007: 201-2). Obred cirkumambulacije okrog ognjišča, ki je bilo s svojo prvotno krožno geometrično obliko tudi zemeljska reprezentacija Sonca (Della Volpe 1990: 92, 159), naj bi torej imitiral pot Sonca, tudi z namenom, da bi pospešil njegovo gibanje in s tem blagostanje in dobrobiti, ki jih to prinaša: produkcijo hrane, človeško reprodukcijo, toploto, skratka, življenje samo (Funk and Wagnals 1949: 234–235; Della Volpe 1992: 94). Dodgshon s simboliko obredov obkrožanja kot imitacije gibanja Sonca razlaga ritualno delitve zemlje na Škotskem v srednjem veku in zgodnji moderni dobi, za katero meni, da temelji na simboliki Sonca kot vira plodnosti. Da bi izkoristili moči Sonca, so vaščani z delitvijo zemlje začeli ob sončnem vzhodu na vzhodu in nadaljevali v smeri gibanja Sonca prek juga do zahoda, ki so ga dosegli ob sončnem zahodu (1988: 75). Gibanje v smeri Sonca, ki se zahteva v obredih obkrožanja večine indoevropskih ljudstev, takšno simboliko še dodatno poudarja, pa tudi tam, kjer se ljudje gibajo v obratni smeri, kot se navidezno giblje Sonce (v Pravoslavni cerkvi), svoje gibanje utemeljujejo z gibanjem Sonca, saj se, kot pravijo, premikajo »Soncu naproti«.

Toda obenem ne smemo pozabiti, da ognjišče ni bilo le zemeljska replika Sonca, ampak hkrati tudi grob in oltar (prim. Rig Veda 1.59.1), reprezentacija prednikov, ki so bili pokopani pod njim (Della Volpe 1990: 92, 159). Z umrlimi predniki pa ni bilo povezano le ognjišče; tudi Sonce samo je predstavljalo magijsko-religiozno moč, ki je bilo skozi ponavljanje letnih časov povezano s predstavo o izmenjavanju življenja in smrti. Po splošno razširjenih tradicijskih predstavah naj bi se Sonce ponoči spustilo v spodnji svet, nato pa vsako jutro spet vstalo iz njega in se vrnilo na naš svet – tako kot človek, ki umre, in se po smrti ponovno vrne v življenje (prim. Vaz da Silva 2008: 46, 73–5, 78, 82). Krožno gibanje v obredih cirkumambulacije torej na eni strani imitira navidezno pot Sonca, na drugi strani pa tudi človekovo ciklično kroženje iz življenja v smrt in nazaj v rojstvo. Tako kot se Sonce v krožnem gibanju vsak večer na zahodu spusti na oni svet in vsako jutro nadaljuje svoj krožni cikel na vzhodu, lahko tudi ljudje vstopajo v stik s svojimi umrlimi na onem svetu na enak način: s kroženjem. Ljudje, ki so izvajali obred obkrožanja, so z njim torej simbolno ponovili pot, ki jo je prešla duša človeka v trenut-

ku, ko je prehajala iz življenja v smrt, iz tega na oni svet, s tem pa simbolno tudi sami vstopali v stik onstranskim svetom, kjer je bila komunikacija z umrlimi edino mogoča.

Zelo očitno postane, da je ultimativni namen obkroženja predvsem vzpostavljanje stika z onim svetom, kadar je obred izrecno namenjen vzpostavljanju komunikacije z božanskim. Tako lahko trikratno obkroženje konja v protoindoevropskem ritualu *aśhvamedha*, tik preden ga žrtvujejo božanstvu, razumemo kot komunikacijo z božanstvom, ki mu je namenjena konjska žrtev, kot poskus navezovanja stika z božanstvom, da bi od ljudi sprejelo žrtev (prim. Rig Veda 1.162.4). Pogosteje pa naletimo na navezovanje stika z onstranstvom z obratnim namenom, namreč da bi božanstvo uslišalo prošnje ljudi in poskrbelo za njihovo uresničitev, in v obratni smeri, kot je »potoval« konj v obredu žrtvovanja, poslalo svoje usluge ljudem. Opasovanje cerkve kot eno od oblik krožnega obreda so tako v vzhodni Bosni najpogosteje izvajali tisti, ki so se nadejali božjih uslug: neplodne ženske; tiste, ki so žalovale za umrlimi otroki, zlasti, kadar jim je umrlo več otrok zaporedoma, oziroma za sorodniki nasploh; ter impotentni moški in vsi tisti, ki so bolehali za neozdravljivo boleznijo (Tolstoj 1995: 171–172). Ženske so torej izvajale obred z namenom, da bi zanosile, preprečile umiranje svojih otrok ali zagotovile mir dušam umrlih sorodnikov, moški, da bi postali potentni (in s tem potencialno plodni), bolni, da bi ozdraveli. V vzhodni Hercegovini (Kifino selo) so tako z vpleteno svečo opasovali za duši pokojnih staršev, v vasi Cvetanovci je mati opasala cerkev s svečo za pokoj sinove duše, ki je naredil samomor z obešenjem[26], v vzhodni Hercegovini je mati opasala cerkev s svečo za pokoj umrlih sinov (Filipović 1967: 275). V valjevski Podgorini so opasovali cerkev tisti, ki jim je umrlo več otrok, da jim ne bi več umirali, pa tudi tisti, ki so želeli spočeti otroka (Tolstoj 1995: 172–173). Neplodne ženske iz okolice Novega Pazarja v Sandžaku v Srbiji so med saborom s stenjem trikrat opasale tudi Petrovo cerkev (Filipović 1967: 206; Tolstoj 1995: 172-3). Neplodne ženske, ki so si želele otrok, so morale na dan cerkvene slave s stenjem trikrat opasati cerkev sv. Vasilija v Gornji Srbici (Kosovo) (Filipović 1967: 68). Do prve svetovne vojne so v Majdanu in Gornjem Milanovcu v Takovcu premožnejše, zlasti neplodne ženske s tkanim platnom opasovale cerkev pred večjimi cerkvenimi prazniki in slavami (Filipović 1972: 213; Radenković 1996: 87). V južni Črni gori (skupnost Mišković) so z vrvjo opasovali cerkev sv. Ilije v Pečuricah, kadar je kdo zbolel, potem pa vrv omotali okoli bolnega dela telesa bolnika – to naj bi mu prineslo ozdravitev. Na Prespanskem jezeru v južni Makedoniji so na določene praznike v letu (na dan sv. Nikole zimskega, 6. oziroma 19. decembra, in sv. Nikole pomladnega, 9. oziroma 22. maja) pravoslavke opasovale cerkev sv. Nikole zato, da bi pomagale ljudem v primeru bolezni in neplodnosti, muslimanke pa so jo opasovale zlasti v petek pred sončnim vzhodom zato, da bi pomagale živini (Tolstoj 1995: 174)[27].

Glavni razlogi za opasovanje so bili torej želja po odpravljanju neplodnosti in impotentnosti, bolezni, preprečenju umiranja ter po zagotovitvi pokoja umrlim, le redko tudi za zdravje živali. To so poznali tudi ponekod v zahodni Evropi– z namenom, da bi ozdravili živali, so na določen dan v letu obkrožili cerkev. V Franciji so tako na silvestrovo hodili v cerkev v Saône-et-Loire h kipu sv. Silvestra prosit za ozdravitev konj

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[26] Samomorilci veljajo po tradicijskih verovanjih za nečiste umrle, ki po smrti ne najdejo miru; samomor z obešenjem pa, poleg utopitve, velja za sploh eno najbolj nečistih smrti.

[27] V Stupnici pri Zagrebu so se ženske, ki niso mogle roditi, same sebe opasale s kačjo kožo (Korenić 1896: 149).

in volov. Po molitvi so naredili tri kroge okoli cerkve, imitirajoč pri tem hojo živali, za katero so želeli, da ozdravi (Van Gennep 1999: 2783). V Neaplju so bolnega konja vodili okrog cerkve sv. Elije, da bi ozdravel (Hartland 2005: 188). Že zgoraj sem omenila, da se v obredih obkrožanja, katerih namen je zavarovanje svetosti prostora, pogosto lahko zasluti tudi željo ljudi, da bi se obenem spojili, preželi s svetostjo le-tega. Verjetno lahko obrede ježe s konji okoli cerkva na štefanovo v Sloveniji in drugod razumemo ne le kot zavarovanje svetosti cerkve, temveč tudi kot preventivno zavarovanje zdravja konj prek stika s svetim znotraj svetega objekta oziroma prostora.

Ker gre za tako različne želje, ki so jih poskušali uresničiti z opasovanjem, ježo ali hojo okrog svetih objektov, pri tem pa ni mogoče govoriti o magiji po podobnosti (simpatična, homeopatska, imitativna magija), saj ne opasovanje, ne hoja in ne ježa v krogu na noben način ne odigravajo oziroma imitirajo nosečnosti ali poroda, ozdravljenja (ljudi ali živali), preprečitve umiranja ali pokoja duš umrlih, moramo razlago za izbiro teh dejanj iskati drugje. Krožno gibanje lahko razumemo torej kot način vstopanja v sveto, vzpostavljanja stika z onstranskim, ki ga cerkev kot sveti prostor *par excellence* uteleša, s svetom, od koder vse vrednote, ki si jih ljudje želijo – plodnost oziroma otroci in zdravje –, pravzaprav prihajajo in kjer lahko vplivajo tudi na posmrtno življenje duše umrlega sorodnika. Opasovanje, hoja v krogu ali ježa v krogu kot oblike krožnega gibanja stik z onstranskim omogočajo prav zato, ker krožno gibanje oponaša potovanje duše na njeni poti iz življenja v smrt in nato v ponovno življenje.

Da je krožno gibanje kot način navezovanja stika z onim svetom ključ za razumevanje njegove simbolike, je jasno razvidno tudi iz obredov Indoevropejcev, na primer v Indiji in Grčiji, ki otroka sprejmejo v skupnost z vrtenjem okoli ognjišča (prim. Sargent 1995: 367) – ker po tradicijskih predstavah na naš svet prihaja z onega sveta, mu očitno prav krožno gibanje simbolno zagotovi prehod na ta svet. Na enak način, s kroženjem okoli groba, trupla, odra, grmade, pokopališča, se na drugem koncu življenjskega cikla s tega sveta na oni svet pospremili umrle, tako na primer v antičnem Rimu, pri Germanih, Slovanih, v Indiji (prim. Sargent 1995: 367), pa tudi v novejših pogrebnih šegah na Irskem in Škotskem. Te opise lahko najdemo že v antičnih in srednjeveških literarnih virih. Vergil v 11. spevu Eneide opisuje žalujoče vojščake, ki trikrat tečejo in nato galopirajo okrog pogrebnih grmad mrtvih junakov, padlih v bitki: »Opasani s svetlim orožjem so trikrat / tekli junaki okoli grmad in na konjih so trikrat / ogenj pogrebni objahali, zraven pa žalostno vpili.« (Vergil 1964: 246) Tudi v staroangleškem epu Beowulf (nastalem med 8. in zgodnjim 11. stoletjem) vojščaki med pogrebom obkrožijo kraljevo gomilo: »Potlej je dvanajst sinov aethelingov,/ pogumnih v spopadu, pojoč svojo žalost,/ objezdilo v krogu kraljevo gomilo,/ tožilo za kraljem s trpko besedo (Beowulf 43.3172; prim. tudi Della Volpe 1990: 168).

V novejših etnoloških zapisih lahko naletimo tudi na šego opasovanja trupla umrlega ali groba. V makedonskem Kruševu (vas Bučin) in Prilepu so na mrtvaškem odru s svečo iz voska, dolgo 4 metre, okoli celotnega telesa opasali pokojnika, v Bitoli in Ohridu so opasovali umrlega s svileno nitjo, enako tudi v Kruševu in Prilepu. V severozahodni Bolgariji so svež grob tri dni po pogrebu opasali z laneno nitjo (Tolstoj 1995: 174–180). V vasi Ambéli v severni Euboei v Grčiji so pokojniku na odru okrog popka zavezali svečo iz voska, pritrjenega na vrv, nato pa svečo zavijali okrog in okrog v ploščat zvitek, in sicer v desni smeri, tj. v obratni smeri od smeri urinega kazalca, kot je nasploh značilno za obrede Grške pravoslavne cerkve. Ko je bilo zvijanje končano, so

sredino tega zvitka potegnili navzgor in prižgali. Sveča, ki je enake dolžine kot višina umrlega, po mnenju Juliet du Boulay simbolno predstavlja umrlo osebo. V isti smeri, kot je bila sveča navita okrog telesa, so pogrebci tudi kadili s kadilom, pri čemer so se v krogu gibali okrog trupla, in peli žalostinke, ki so si jih »podajali«, kot so pravili, »kot ples« (ki je prav tako vedno potekal v krogu, in sicer v desno smer). Kot interpretira krožno gibanje v grških pogrebnih obredih Juliet du Boulay, »… se zdi, da princip kontinuiranega gibanja v desno … zagotavlja ne le zdravje živeče skupnosti, ampak tudi varen prehod duše na drugi svet. Tako spiralni ples življenja, ki nepovratno ločuje … žive od mrtvih, obenem prežema nasprotna svetova življenja in smrti, in prekoračuje, čeprav ne tudi izglajuje, njuno nasprotje.« (1982: 236) Namen obkrožanja v vseh teh obredih je bil torej predvsem zagotoviti duši umrlega prehod na oni svet in v širšem smislu tudi vzpostavljanje komunikacije med svetovoma živih in mrtvih.

Pomembno vlogo pri komunikaciji med tem in onim svetom oziroma pri prehodu pokojnikove duše na drugi svet je imel v pogrebnih šegah mnogih ljudstev tudi ples v krogu ali v spirali. Poznala so jih razna indoevropska ljudstva: znani so že iz Rig Vede, opisov hetitskih, egipčanskih, grških obredov in raznih literarnih tekstov – večinoma gre za kolo oziroma oro, ki je krožno, najpogosteje zaprto, včasih pa tudi spiralno, v podobi mosta, kače (Risteski 2000: 136–146).V Makedoniji, Srbiji, Bosni in Hercegovini, Črni gori, Bolgariji so ob smrti plesali *oro* za umrle (*črno kolo, oro naopako, oro naopačke, kolo žalovito, tažno oro* …). Sled plesov okoli mrtvega se je ohranila tudi v srbskih ljudskih pesmih in pregovorih, kjer so se ti imenovali *kolo naopako*. Sled pogrebnih plesov v krogu lahko morda prepoznamo tudi v slovenskem plesu oziroma žalni igri *ovrtenica,* ki so ga plesali ob pogrebih na Virju pri Stični (prim. Hrovatin 1951: 283). Vasićeva navaja tri vrste plesov, ki so se ohranili na Balkanu in jih je glede na koreološke oblike mogoče povezovati s posmrtnimi rituali, čeprav jih danes ne izvajajo več in ne povezujejo z njimi: *sitan tanac* v Srbiji, *žalostivo kolo* v Bosni in *krivo kolo* v Liki (1986: 223, 226, 230). V jugozahodni Srbiji se je vloga plesa ob smrti na neki način ohranila prek šege, imenovane *tužba*. V vaseh Pještersko-sjeničke Visoravni so jo okoli pokojnikovega groba izvajali še do tridesetih let dvajsetega stoletja: povorka, sestavljena iz zastavonoše, narekovalke in sorodnikov, je v obredu počasi korakajoč obkrožila grob. V nekaterih vaseh so med pogrebnimi rituali obredno obkrožili hrano, ki so jo položili na zemljo med plesom v kolu ali med obkrožanjem cerkve (Vasić 1986: 225, 230). V jugozahodni Srbiji naj bi *sitan tanac* po mnenju Vasićeve nekoč plesali okoli mrtveca ali predmetov, povezanih z njim. Prvi del plesa se pleše kot odprto ali tesno zaprto kolo, v drugem delu pa izvajajo plesalci obračanje (*izvrtanje*) kola[28].

Posebne plese za umrle prednike so ponekod izvajali tudi v času božičnega in velikonočnega posta (*poklad*) ter ob splošnih zadušnicah in žegnanjih (*zavetinah*). V jugovzhodni Srbiji pa tudi v Bosni so ob grobu plesali na žegnanja in v obdobjih, ko se »zima preobrača v poletje«, kar po mnenju Vasićeve ni naključje, saj je bilo prav to obdobje, ko je bilo potrebno počastiti prednike in zagotoviti rodnost v prihajajočem letu, obenem pa je bil prostor (grob), kjer so plesali, bivališče prednikov (1986: 230).

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[28] Obračanje kola narobe, tj. nasprotno od smeri, v kateri se ta pleše med svatbo, po interpretaciji Vasićeve predstavlja obrambo pred demoni, ki se v trenutku smrti nahajajo okrog umrlega, tako kot je tudi obračanje oblačil narobe tipična tehnika obrambe pred demoni (1986: 226; za obračanje predmetov prim. Tolstoj 1990).

Ljupčo S. Risteski poudarja, da je ena glavnih funkcij krožnega plesa za umrlega ta, da se umrlemu z njim pomaga najti pot na drugi svet (2000: 147). Tudi Vasičeva meni, »s prvim delom plesa (ki se pleše kot kolo – op. M.M.) pomaga duši umrlega, da se pridruži drugim dušam (prednikom)« (Vasić 1986: 227), kar je zelo podobno interpretaciji, ki jo je podala o krožnem gibanju med grškim pogrebom tudi du Boulayeva. Pri tem je razumljivo, da je v takem primeru posebej pomembno pomagati na drugi svet dušam tistih umrlih, ki so umrli nečiste smrti (prim. Vinogradiva 1999; Risteski 1999), katerih duša je sicer obsojena na dolgotrajno blodenje v vmesnem svetu. Na Hrvaškem (v Kastavštini) so tako plesali na pogrebu neoženjenega mladega človeka, kar velja za eno od kategorij nečiste smrti, v Makedoniji ob smrti otrok (prim. Risteski 2000). Tudi nasploh je bilo s pomočjo krožnega plesa po tradicijskih predstavah mogoče vstopati v druge čase in svetove. Jolanta Kowalska ples v krogu nasploh, ne le za umrle, razlaga kot magično manipulacijo časa in prostora (1991: 88–9, 93–4, 101). To je zlasti očitno v ekstatičnih plesih, ki lahko vzpostavijo stik z drugim svetom, z božanskim, kar se lahko kaže kot obsedenost ali »odpeljanje« duše na oni svet skozi ples (prim. Pócs 1999: 44).

V obredih skupnosti, ki zahtevajo krožno gibanje, lahko torej, kljub temu da ti poudarjajo funkcijo ločevanja, ustvarjanja pregrade med svetovoma živih in mrtvih, svetega in profanega, prepoznamo tudi na videz nasprotno funkcijo: namreč da obenem pomeni način komunikacije ljudi z onim svetom. A to nasprotje je resnično zgolj navidezno, kajti, kot poudarja Radu Dragan – »komunicira se natanko tam, kjer se ločuje, in z istimi dejanji« (1999: 95)!

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The Symbolism of the Rituals of Circumambulation in Traditional Communities

Mirjam Mencej

In traditional culture in the Balkans and Europe, various types of circling rituals which are carried out by the entire community and which are part of the annual holiday cycle or are performed as needed are found. The main forms of circular rituals are *walking* (walking, crawling or walking on one's knees), *ploughing*, *riding* around and *girding* a certain object, place or person. In the traditional cultures of Indo-Europeans in general (as Bernard Sergent points out, these rituals are characteristic only of Indo-Europeans), circumambulation, i.e. the ritual circling of a place, played a significant function in the ritual symbolic demarcation and claiming of land, in the seizing and demonstration of (political) authority over territory, in preventive and curative protection of an area against external dangers, in ensuring the sanctity of that area etc. Circular movement as part of group rituals can also be found in dances performed either by the entire community or by groups of people. Angela Della Volpe claims that the ritual of circumambulation stems from the ritual worship of the ancestors and the cult of fire; originally it was performed around domestic hearth where the ancestors were also buried. Later, when the burial place was transferred first to the household and then nearby fields, the ritual of circumambulation was performed around the households and fields, respectively. The purpose of this paper is to show that the ultimate purpose of the ritual circumambulation is to establish the contact with the other world, i.e. through circumambulation the performers symbolically enter the other world in order to obtain from it what they desire (health, fertility etc.).

The Merry Mystery of the Maypole
A Few Observations on the Role of the Comic Object in Religion and Culture

Izar Lunaček

This article begins by analysing the maypole rituals in European folklore as a case study to make a point that it is arguably expandable to religious practice in general: that the humorous is intimately interwoven with the sacred and that the comic object is the most rudimentary type of a sacred entity. Carnivalesque or New Year's rituals, it is claimed, are characterized precisely by a temporary reign of the comic object, while their ending in the banishment or killing of the comical ruler open up a space for the emergence of a transcendent, wholly serious god. Frazer, Freud and Girard's theories of culture and religion are re-examined in the view of this assumption and a number of concrete rituals and mythologies from different cultures re-evaluated as a test of its consistency.

Particularly within more archaic (tribal or popular) religious practices, rituals involving laughter and the element of comedy seem to form as subsistent a part of culture as their more serious counterparts. Historically, however, they have been faced with such patronizing dismissal that they are still nowhere near being granted the same gravity. Mikhail Bakhtin's ground-breaking account of medieval carnival as the heir to an ancient tradition of sacred mockery was in its time an honourable exception that set out to revive ritual laugher as "equally (or more) serious" to the more solemn forms of worship.[1] To begin to appreciate them on their own terms, comic rituals, the ones that not only worship but also mock their central idol at the same time, should be approached as more than mere secondary parodies or light-hearted versions of straightforward worship. If examined according to their own particular logic, they could perhaps prove independent of or even primary to that of serious devotion. In this essay, I will attempt to propose a particular conceptual interpretation of the relations at work between the merry congregation and their ridiculed idol that might be able to link religious mockery to "profane" forms of comedy but also, perhaps more

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[1] Mikhail Bakhtin: *Rabelais and his World*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984, p. 6. Recently peaking studies of the trickster archetypes seem to share a similar goal yet sometimes mystify the role of comic subversion in a way highly divergent from Bakhtin's healthy materialism. Since we are concerned here with comic *ritual* rather than comic myth we will only touch on the trickster themes occasionally and when appropriate in context.

importantly, to propose a privileged place for this odd, funny type of sanctity at the very core of humanity's symbolic forms.

Carnival rites from the Middle Ages to the present day often feature a comical temporary ruler that governs the upside-down world: sometimes a real man of flesh and blood (most frequently a tramp or a person deemed a "fool" by the community) and sometimes an oversized anthropomorphic doll.[2] We would, however, like to start our investigation with a more basic figure that has long presided over merry spring rituals in much of European folklore: the ubiquitous young tree known in English-speaking countries as "the maypole". Customs usually associated with the ritual erection of the maypole are not carnival as such (although Bakhtin would probably deem them carnivalesque), but their merry spirit as well as the ambivalent attitude of the community to the juvenile tree definitely fit the structure of comic worship. The basic form that the latter takes in the maypole rites will afford us an interesting starting point for a general interpretation of comic ritual.

Alongside others, the maypole rituals were covered extensively in several chapters of James Frazer's highly influential and today highly outdated *Golden Bough*.[3] While the *magnum opus* by one of the pioneers of comparative mythology might well have proved too dismissive of local context for modern ethnographic tastes, it is precisely this schematic approach that brings out certain general, formal and universal characteristics of comic rituals that have gone unnoticed in studies of isolated cases and should prove highly useful for a study centred on the most general conceptual form of the ritual.

1. Mors victrix?

The basic scenario of a general maypole ritual extractable from Frazer's accounts consists of the following elements: a group of worshippers march out of the village to the forest, they pick out a well-sized but still young tree, cut it down and bring its rootless trunk to the village square or other communal centre swept clean for the festivities.[4] There, often festooned with colourful ribbons, the maypole presides over the community during a limited period of festivity at the end of which it is brought down again, taken back out of the village and usually "buried" in one way or another. One of the most common methods is to throw the dead tree into a river whose flow carries the former festival king out of the territory of the community over which it had briefly presided.[5]

Frazer's interpretation of this whole set of actions was the worship of a "vegetation god" or a "tree spirit" whom the maypole supposedly embodies. The watery burial of the idol was supposedly aimed at assuring sufficient rainfall for the deity's domain

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[2] Comp. Bakhtin, p. 197
[3] Particularly in the chapters "The Worship of Trees" and "The Killing of the Tree Spirit". We will be citing from the latest Oxford abridgement: James G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough, a Study in Magic and Religion – A New Abridgement from the Second and Third Editions*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, pp. 82–97 and pp. 273–299.
[4] Comp. Frazer, p. 88.
[5] See examples in ibid, pp. 286–288

of jurisdiction.[6] In this logic, the maypole would metonymically, *pars pro toto*, stand for the whole of vegetation and its death in the water would provide rain for the latter.

The first doubt that comes to mind when we follow this argumentation, however, is why would the randomly chosen king-tree have to be drowned in the process of assuring water for its subjects? If it is their holy representative and anything that happens to it happens to the whole, why would it not suffice to water the still-planted tree without killing it? And, if the tree does have to be uprooted in order to attain its metonymical role, why does then not the whole world of vegetation drown and rot in an apocalyptic flood at the moment that its representative is submerged? We should bear in mind here that *water*, albeit always recognized by archaic communities as vital when applied in manageable doses, also features heavily in mythologies as a limitless, formless and chaotic expanse that can disintegrate the whole world in a cataclysmic flood and return it to its primary state. Taking this into account, it would be equally if not more reasonable to assume that, as the maypole's grave, water plays the latter role, i.e. that of an all-accepting and limitless abyss that annihilates the individual form of anything thrown into it, and *not* that of a carefully applied fertile power.

We could still explain the beneficiary environmental effects of this annihilation in the familiar terms of religious *sacrifice*. Within this logic, nature's offspring becomes clipped in its prime as a gift for the supernatural beings governing the world; man renounces nature's freshest fruit in favour of the gods, so that, in return, they might spare the whole of their anger. Sacrifice is an ascetic practice: man introduces an artificial split between himself and the natural world in which he thrives, by making a biologically senseless gesture (destroying a perfectly useful part of nature) as a bow to a more permanent domain beyond. However, rephrasing the problem in terms of sacrifice merely raises a new question: which "gods" might the young tree be sacrificed *to*, if the only deity we are explicitly dealing with at this point is the very maypole, i.e. the "vegetation god" or "tree spirit" itself? Within the maypole ritual, there is nothing but the comic, material mock-idol; we are not yet entitled to presume any concept of a purely spiritual domain populated by deities worthy of serious worship. This is a problem field that has been opened up by Frazer, Freud, Girard and many others, and has centred on the strange relation between 1) sacrificing a purely material god, 2) sacrificing a (material) effigy or embodiment of the (spiritual) god to the same god, and 3) sacrificing a material object that has nothing to do with the god to the purely spiritual god. The explanations proposed were many and diverse, but we will outline them in contrast with our own in the continuation of this essay.

Another pertinent question that seems to haunt the maypole ritual is closely connected to the first one: not only why the death of an idol might be thought beneficiary for its delegated domain, but why should the idol as such in the first place be created by an aggressive intervention into that domain? In other words: why is the "god of vegetation" produced by cutting down a tree to begin with? Why, if these rituals are indeed, as common wisdom has it, "celebrations of nature's annual revival", do they entail the killing of a part of nature in whose revival they supposedly rejoice? Frazer sought to address these antinomies by proposing a naturalistic logic behind the rituals: the death of the old is unavoidable for the new to prosper and so the old effigies of the

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[6] See the argument on pp. 337–338.

god of nature have to be annually destroyed to transfer their spirit into a new, younger and stronger abode. The maypole ritual however demonstrates with utter clarity that it is not the old but precisely *the young tree* that must die and that even though this death is sometimes used as an agent to fertilize the new crops, the dead corpse of the tree is more frequently banished beyond the confines of its worshipers' community.

It seems as if the mechanism at work within the maypole ritual can be satisfactorily described neither with the naturalistic logic of fertilizing the new with the death of the old nor with the ascetic logic of metaphysical religion where the innocent and young is sacrificed in favour of a bloodthirsty immaterial domain, although it seems to bear links with both at the same time.

The answer I would like to propose in this article is that the particular dialectic of life and death at work in the maypole ritual is thus neither that of natural cycles nor that of a truer life beyond death in metaphysics but that of the most basic, purely material level of *signification*. If the maypole is indeed a "symbol of vegetation" or a "tree spirit", then it seems that *a tree has to die in order to become a "spirit" or a "symbol"*. This is not yet the paradigm of the soul being freed by the death of the body but that of a much more basic and mechanical operation. It appears that when the tree is killed, when it is cut off from its roots in the soil, excised from its natural forest environment and brought onto the empty expanse of the village square, this fulfils all the conditions for it to begin a second life as a "symbol" or a "spirit", not yet really a symbol or spirit *of* anything but *a symbol as such, a symbol in its basic, as-yet non-referential form*, merely as an uprooted, isolated and free-floating fragment of natural matter.

Following the logic of this thesis then, the maypole as a "tree-spirit" would not really be the spirit of a tree or even of trees in general but *a tree as a spirit*, a tree remade into a material symbol by being violently excised from nature and then resurrected as an undead corpse in the clean-swept village square. This hypothesis might provide us with a consistent explanation as to why in some parts of Europe, at the time of Frazer's writing, very similar festivities, taking place around the same period of the spring solstice, centered on a figure identified as the precise opposite of a "god of new life" – as "death" or "winter" [7] – a figure most often represented as an old lady or a skeleton, but treated in an almost identical way as the maypole and sometimes even embodied in the same kind of object, i.e. a rootless tree carried around in public processions. [8]

Frazer's claim was that these were two distinct sets of rituals conflated into one: one bent on exorcising evil annually built up within the community via a scapegoat figure, and another focused on celebrating the arrival of the new year. [9] The two aspects, however, seem to appear within a single figure much too often to be separable into clear-cut opponents.

René Girard later offered a famous reading of this dialectic that ascribed the positive aspects of the sacrificial victim to the beneficial effects of its ritual murder on the stability of the executing community. The scapegoat was identical with the positive

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[7] Ibid, pp. 288–290.
[8] Comp. a Russian ritual where a felled and festooned tree is explicitly named "Morena" (Winter or Death, as Frazer adds in brackets), ibid, p. 293.
[9] Frazer, pp. 589–590.

god because its killing "miraculously" restored peace and order;[10] hence the logic of a god who sacrifices himself for the good of the community. However, it seems to us that within the comic rituals, death and sanctity have an even more immediate connection that does not call for a bypass via social or psychological effects, and, more importantly, one that has been established well before the carnival king's final annihilation. If we follow our thesis on the maypole as a pure, non-referential yet material symbol, we will provisionally dub it a *pre-symbol* for the purposes of this argumentation, it makes perfect sense that it should appear both as a spirit of awakening nature *and* as a symbol of death. If a pre-symbol is nothing but a piece of nature cut from its surroundings and resurrected as a living corpse, then it is always a "symbol of death" and "life as a symbol". A pre-symbol *is* by definition natural growth, *plus* a contour of the pure negativity of death excising it and suspending it in an undead state. The mock-idol is thus not, as Girard claims, mocked as a prelude to the more direct aggression of its lynch, and venerated in anticipation of the beneficiary effects of its death; rather, the mock-idol is venerated because it is, in a way, already dead but – and this is its funny side – still keeps on existing as the concrete, palpable central idol of the celebrations. The maypole is both holy and funny because it hovers halfway between mere nature and fully constituted spirituality.

Therefore, if the mock idol is always already dead at the time of its ruling then the death that meets the king of carnival at the conclusion of the festivities – the death that drew the attention of Frazer as well as Girard – is already his *second death*. These two distinct deaths – with the comic idol claiming the interlude between them as his period of temporary triumph – can be pinpointed in most rites containing an element of the comic. Let us consider an example. If we carefully observe the operations carried out by the use of water in the spring rituals described by Frazer, we will notice two types of its application, which are in a way similar but also highly distinct. Many types of spring idols end up being buried in a river or even the sea, but many of them are also exposed to more controlled watering, to ritual washing (not the maypole *per se* of course but persons and statues that take its place in analogous rites[11]), to having water poured over them or merely being sprinkled with it. Frazer explains them all via the theory of sympathetic magic[12] – and in the case of the sprinkling this is actually a more convincing argument than if applied to the burial. However, what cannot escape one's attention here is the obvious link of these gentler watering practices with the other great role of water in modern religion; i.e. complementing its already mentioned part as a chaotic primal state of being, namely that of the blessing by the sprinkling of

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[10] Rene Girard: *Violence and the Sacred,* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979. Most explicitly formulated on pp. 85–86

[11] See e.g. Frazer, p. 273 for the bathing of Kostroma in Russia, pp. 303 and 341 for the washing of the effigy of Tammuz in ancient Babylon. pp. 341.2 see also for washing rituals connected to St. John's Eve in southern Italy.

[12] "For ignorant people suppose that by mimicking the effect which they desire to produce they actually help to produce it; thus by sprinkling water they make rain [...] The throwing of the gardens and the images into the water was a charm to secure a due supply of fertilizing rain. The same, I take it, was the object of throwing effigies of Death and the Carnival in the corresponding ceremonies of modern Europe. Certainly, the custom of drenching with water a leaf-clad person, who undoubtedly personifies vegetation, is still resorted to in Europe with the express purpose of producing rain. [...] The throwing of the Karma tree into the water is to be interpreted as a rain-charm." (Ibid, p. 338–339)

holy water and of baptism. Water as a primordial abyss and water as a spiritually pu-
rifying, baptizing agent are two distinct concepts that however also display a strange
link within rites featuring the pre-symbol. Examined in the light of our thesis about
the comic idol, it seems that here, water as a mythic element diametrically opposed to
differentiation, is actually used, in limited quantities, as the purely negative means of
differentiation before finally becoming an agent of complete annihilation of the dif-
ferentiated entity. At the beginning of the ritual, water plays the role of washing off
all traces of nature from the piece of matter that is to become a comic idol, it plays
the role of pure negativity, separating the bit of nature from the natural world and
baptizing it as a cultural object. At the end of the ritual, on the other hand, still acting
as pure negativity, it "finishes the job" and destroys the idol altogether, engulfing it in
its undifferentiated totality. Water as an agent of negativity, as "pure difference", is at
once what transforms natural matter into an object, that which excises it from its im-
mersion in a relative organic whole and isolates it – which ultimately makes it "holy",
consecrates it, baptizes it – and what finally destroys it without a trace.

   In some comic rituals, the idol at the end of the carnival is not drowned but
burned,[13] and this gesture also has its gentler analogue in a "baptism by fire", where
a piece of natural matter is transformed into a sacred object by temporarily exposing
it to flames: this is the logic behind the "Yule log", a block of wood consecrated into a
powerful charm by being scorched in the fire,[14] as well as behind ritual leaps over the
bonfire in certain folk customs. One might of course argue that it is not the piece of
matter *per se* that is considered holy in these rites but the medium – the "sacred fire",
the "holy water" – and that contact with this medium transfers the sanctity onto the
object. However, this too could well be rephrased using our logic: water and fire are
here not really holy in their positive substance but precisely as agents of pure negativ-
ity; what is holy here is the nothingness, the gap, and whatever shines, excised and
isolated on the background of this gap, can serve to embody the flipside of this purely
negative holiness as a concrete partial object.

   In concession with our argumentation this far, our thesis is thus that carnival,
ritual mockery and *any* true comical constellation for that matter, is a cosmic world-
view organized around a central, presiding comical object, whose defining charac-
teristics are that it is, on the one hand, perfectly material and perfectly contingent in
the choice of its material, but, on the other hand, also "unnatural", uprooted from the
firm ground, free-floating and stubbornly insistent in its undead status, perhaps even
indestructible, for although it seems to be annihilated at the closure of the festivities it
inevitably makes a comeback in a year's time, sometimes residing in a utopian "other
land" during its absence.[15] While a traditional logic would lead us to state that it is the
immaterial, absent form of the idol that accounts for its permanence and that the tem-

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[13] See e.g. p. 287, where drowning and burning are directly posited as interchangeable in one example, as
well as p. 285 for an example of a typical combination of burning and throwing into the water at the
burial of Carnival.

[14] Ibid., p. 738. See also the Slovene-Croation tradition of the "badnjak".

[15] This, at least, is true of Carnival and St. George in Slovenian folklore: as attested by comparative
mythologist and ethnologist professor Zmago Šmitek both figures are said to be "on a journey" when
their festival is not taking place (see for instance Zmago Šmitek: *Kristalna gora – mitološko izročilo
Slovencev*, Ljubljana: Forma 7, 1998, p. 110 for the case of Carnival), and a similar claim could be made
for other rulers of temporary, festival-based utopia, such as the golden age rulers Chronos and Saturnus

porary presence is merely a profane incarnation of this undying spiritual principle, we would like to suggest the inverted relation as primary: the idol is primarily present, material (the touch of absence implicit already in his "living death") and his final departure only opens up the spiritual domain for the first time: the spiritual domain *is* that of the comic object as absent.

Let us now examine the relation between god and the sacrificial victim schematically within pre-existing theories in light of this hypothesis. As historically the first in line Frazer claimed that the victim was initially identified with a god, but that its death enabled the enduring spiritual aspect of this god to be transferred to a fresh material vessel. In Frazer, thus, the victim and god are identical, but the spiritual aspect of god is still thought of as primary and essentially separate from its embodiment. Freud's theory is more dialectical: death is not seen as an unfortunate contingency of the spirit's representative to be repaired with his periodic replacement, but as the very origin of spirituality. The domain of the spiritual with the killing of the *Urvater,* a pre-human clan's alpha-male and the figure of God is traced back to this dead father. His original murder, claims Freud, opens up first the domain of unnaturally orgiastic enjoyment, enabled by the sudden release from his constraints and then, as the moral hangover takes over, the domain of self-imposed asceticism ruled over by the dead father: this original scene is then mirrored in the form of the festivities, i.e. the phase of carnivalesque abandon followed by a return to the asceticism of the human quotidian. Any further separation of God and the victim is but a masking of this primary identity: even ritual sacrifice to a transcendent God merely relieves humanity of the burden of guilt for the *Urvater's* murder by making the murder a request of this very same Father transposed into a super-sensual domain.

Girard subscribes to the same hypothesis about a god being created with the death of the victim, but adds his own twist, where the victim is not the king but an innocent outsider and his killing does not open the carnivalesque, orgiastic phase of the festivities but serves as its culmination and closure.[16] Subsequently, in Girard, the orgiastic phase (conceived as the re-enactment of the "sacrificial crisis") is not a time of freedom from the Father's rule but a time when the viral element of violence reigns supreme and circulates the community, embodied in the "carnival king", whose killing ends the chaos and reinstates a stable community.

Our theory a critique of both attitudes formed at their intersection. Girard is right in criticizing Freud for not seeing that carnival is not simply freedom but an obsession, a time ruled over by *something* killed at the *end* of it; but Freud would also be right in criticizing Girard for not seeing that we can only be so obsessed by an element that already contains an element of death. Hence, the virus of violence that circulates the community has to be first created by a violent incision into nature that gives birth to the holy comic object, but this comic object has to be killed a second time at the end of the ritual to create a properly transcendent God presiding over an ascetic society. The separation of the victim and the god that follows is at once misleading and inevitable: the spiritual and serious god *has* to be separated from his material base

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who were said to preside over the Greek Chronia and Roman Saturnalia respectively and were said to be spending the rest of the year ruling over a permanent ideal state on an exotic island.

[16] See Girard p. 214 for his critique of Freud's misrecognition of the victim and his misplacement of the time of its death, "at the end – not the beginning – of the sacrificial crisis." (Ibid)

in the comic pre-symbol in order to function as the base of a stable society but this separation also necessarily denies the truth of the actual identity of the comic and the sacred embodied in the two-sided pre-symbol forming a barrier and link between the material and the spiritual domains. And this hidden truth of the stable symbolic is what periodically breaks through in all comical rituals.

2. Frazer and the phallus

This brings us to the question of a reason. With Frazer, the carnival king is worshipped because he embodies the principle of nature on which primitive man depends for his survival; with Freud, on the contrary, the cultural importance of the dead alpha-male lies in the implied divorce from natural law; with Girard, at last, the lynched outsider is revered because he has restored peace in the proto-community – what explanation do we offer for man's fascination with a concrete nomadic object that is at the same time a king and an outcast of a given field? The first explanation that comes to mind is that what man worshiped here was an image of himself as situated in the physical world. Conceptual descriptions of man's particularity in relation to the rest of creation have always oscillated between that of a king and ruler and, on the opposite, that of an outsider, a being with no fixed place in the natural order that can adapt to almost any environment because he is perfect for none. We might thus argue that the violent excision of the young tree from its natural environment and its re-erection in the blank space of the village square actually *re-enacts the impossible, mythical point of man's exclusion from nature and his establishment as a singular exception*. Following up on this premise, when man jocularly worships the maypole he, therefore, does not worship nature and its miraculous regeneration, but bows to his own specifically human, comic status of a homeless and vagrant, undead and unnatural fragment. When the festivities end and man's arboreal double is expelled beyond the confines of the community's local world, however, its role becomes the precise opposite. Sent off into an "Other world", the carnival king becomes the ruler of a fictive domain that man, in contrast to the one he resides in, may truly call home. What started as an external formulation of man's homeless and senseless status in the world, becomes, when its material symbol is destroyed, the domain of man's sense and true home. After the destruction of the pre-symbol, man only appears homeless, senseless and groundless in this world because his true sense, home and ground reside in another.

However, there is something we must add to this image for it to attain its full complexity. If our thesis seems to campaign for the maypole simply as man's double, which turns into God when it is projected beyond the pale, we should note that there is something too opaque and non-reflective about the comic idol in relation to its worshippers to allow for this reduction. In other words, an air of "mystery" already surrounds the maypole even before its expulsion into invisibility, although it is a mystery very distinct from the concept of God's ultimate ineffability within a metaphysical framework. The most consistent solution offering itself to us is the one that had been stuck to discussions about the maypole all along – that of casting the maypole as a "phallic symbol". The maypole is not simply man's symbol for himself but for his phallus, or, better put, the maypole is the phallus as such as far as the phallus is *per se* a symbolic function that, despite endowing man with his specific nature of a being of

symbols, is nevertheless distinct and separated from him. The phallus, our maypole, marks precisely the point where man is not identical with his own self and, simultaneously, the point that makes up his very essence and is, in a way, a miniature copy of the human whole.

What is opaque and non-reflective about the maypole in relation to man is precisely their analogy: the fact that the phallus is to man what man is to the world in which he resides. St. Augustine claimed, in his work *On Marriage and Concupiscence* that man's punishment for rebelling against God's will was to provide him with an organ on his own body that copied his independence by rebelling against man's will – thus effectively stopping man from enacting his free will fully and becoming God. The only difference between man and God *post* the original sin then, according to St. Augustine, is that man is torn apart, fissured by lust and thus not fully identical with himself, a bit of his body always slipping away from the control of his conscious mind. In other words, the only difference between God and man is the latter's phallus and this, incidentally, is also the only difference between man and the maypole: man and his phallus. Thus, we come to the seemingly contradictory formula that phallus does equal man, only minus the phallus.

In line with the comic spirit of these rites, then, we propose the thesis that man's original, comic-sacred god is precisely his own phallus, blessed with a specifically idiotic ineffability, and that this phallus needs to be annihilated in order for God to be established as his persistent absence.[17] Man's affliction is more complex than merely being excluded from the natural world – if he were to be completely excluded from it, he would effectively already be God in the metaphysical sense – no, on top from being an outcast of nature, something is excluded from his own inner world as well, something that is essential precisely to his specification as excluded from nature. We should be careful not to read this thesis in the classic sense, as man being strung out between the heavens and earth, with the divine pulling him upwards and his phallic lust tying him down: the phallus is *not* a piece of nature that has been left behind at man's excision from the natural whole – the lust of the phallus itself is "unnatural" and plays a crucial part precisely in extracting man *from* the instinctive confines of nature. So what the comic rites really bow to, is precisely this double-senselessness of man – not only unlike any other natural animal but also unlike himself, unlike his own essence as human, as well – and, simultaneously, these rites also salute the impossible, miraculous figure of the phallus, excluded from the world without having anything excluded from itself.

When he cuts down the young tree and makes it into a maypole, man enacts the impossible moment at which he was already excluded from nature but when he was not yet torn apart by sexuality. This is why the objects used in these customs have a pronounced sense of youth and innocence: a young not an old tree, and in certain versions of the rites, where the place of the tree is taken by a human being, a young girl.[18] A young girl can stand for the phallus precisely because she is perceived as not having

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[17] A thesis that has, of course, been elaborated by numerous structuralist accounts of the "transcendental phallus". The Slovenian Lacanian philosopher Alenka Zupančič put it to use in an analysis of comedy in her 2008 book *The Odd One In* and it is in part to her discussion of this entity that we owe our argumentation here.

[18] Comp. the Kostrubunko ritual quoted by Frazer, pp. 292–293.

it. On the mythic level, where the maypole is often identified with a fictitious entity of a male god, the latter is a gentle, youthful and almost hermaphroditic figure – as is the case with the myths of Attis and Adonis put forward by Frazer. The story of Attis, whose cult also involved a cut-down tree said to represent the deity,[19] actually ends with Attis ending his life by castrating himself – following which he is said to have been idolized in the form of a Pine-Tree.[20]

While mentioning Attis and Adonis, who both feature in their respective myths as lovers of powerful goddesses, it is worth making an aside note on the role of women within the framework we have described here. We cannot overemphasize the fact that the very literally *phallocentric* structure of these rituals in no way implies the dominance of men. On the contrary, in many cases, the procession of the phallic idol is either reserved exclusively for women or features them as its bearers, as if the phallus' independency of man's will made it just as much – or even more – a women's issue. The role of Attis and Adonis, likewise, seems to be less that of independent men and more of a type of boy-toys at full disposal to their influential mistresses. It is telling that in a scene painted on an Etruscan mirror mentioned by Frazer, where Aphrodite and Persephone fight over the possession of baby Adonis, the latter is never pictured as a person but merely as a wooden chest supposedly containing him, a passive and impersonal object of dispute between the two female deities.[21] The rage felt by manly Ares at his mistress' addiction to this walking dildo is indicative of the negative side of the ambivalent male attitude towards the purely phallic element as impersonal.

It is also not without importance that these mature goddesses with teen lovers – from Aphrodite through Astarte to Mylitta – have often been associated with the ancient world's cults of holy prostitution and although the latter can well function as a breeding ground for highly chauvinist practices of female submission into available sexual objects for the male priests, this is in no way the only route of its interpretation. Holy prostitution could also be, in line with our interpretation of comic phallic cults, conceptually associated with the relation of woman to the phallus as a perfectly impersonal object of enjoyment, universal and unrelated to any particular male. It is highly telling that Frazer's examples of sacred harlotry are usually associated either with the service to a powerful female deity, able to treat men as mere objects,[22] or with a reptilian, snake god[23] – classically read as an emancipated phallus – to whom the priestesses have sworn their fidelity. It is possible to see the link of St. Augustine alternative between celibacy, a recanting of lust in favour of a fidelity to God, and, if one cannot endure it, the marital institution where lust is preserved in a monogamous and

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[19] Ibid, p. 346.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Frazer, p. 305.

[22] "In Cyprus it appears that before marriage (*a claim disputed by Schelling as part of a formidable argument in his* Philosophy of Mythology *claiming that the custom was reserved for* married *women*, note by I.L.) all women were formerly obliged by custom to prostitute themselves to strangers at the sanctuary of the goddess, whether she went by the name of Aphrodite, Astarte, or what not. Similar customs prevailed in many parts of Western Asia. Whatever its motive, this practice was clearly regarded not as an orgy of lust, but as a solemn religious duty performed in the service of that Great Mother Goddess of Western Asia whose name varied, while her type remained constant, from place to place" (Frazer, p. 312).

[23] See Frazer, pp. 323–324 for West African brides of a python or snake god. The two forms sometimes coincide, as witnessed by a carving preserved in the Astarte/Venus temple in the Middle-Eastern ruins of ancient Palmyra, where the goddess is featured holding a large snake slouched around her neck.

controlled environment, and the pagan alternative between holy prostitution, where the phallic element reigns in its utter detachment from anything particular or personal (and is thus "sacred"), and marriage, where the phallic is fixed, personalized and relatively profanized in the individual member of the woman's steady partner. Augustine warns of the diabolical dangers of an unchecked phallic element by prescribing either its domestication in marriage or a fidelity to its transcendental mode, while the above-described religious practices consider precisely this "diabolical" status holy – but ultimately, the crucial difference is that holy prostitutes recant marriage because of their fidelity to the phallus as impersonal and universal while Roman Catholic nuns do the same because they are bound to the phallus post its transcendence, post the ending of carnival.

The phallus is the comic king of carnival and carnival is a time when phallus as a pre-symbol temporarily reigns supreme – neither still a natural organ of reproduction nor a transcendent God, but a material non-referential symbol, a floating, mobile piece of matter that does not yet signify anything – or rather, *that signifies nothing*, that is a mark of Nothing as the comic universe's holey holy. Frazer quotes an ancient Persian custom called "The Ride of the Beardless one" that makes this link between the phallus and the comic idol even more visible. Here, "a beardless and, if possible, one-eyed buffoon was set naked on an ass, a horse, or a mule, and conducted in a sort of mock triumph through the streets of the city."[24] "The Beardless one" is a bona fide phallic element as, completely naked, clean-shaven, and one-eyed, he circulates around the village suspended above the ground on horseback. This circulation of the mad ruler through the arteries of the community, threatening to wreck havoc, is a highly common feature of the mock-idol and its associated festivities. Most commonly, both in Frazer and Girard,[25] this was seen as a method of assuring that the scapegoat accumulates all of the community's sins and negative energy before he is lynched at the carnival's closure. However, from the point of view of our theory it seems that this circulation through the whole of community is simply what the pre-symbol as a floating, unfixed signifier does by definition and as this excluded and obscene base of human culture, hidden from view in everyday circumstances, is set loose to navigate the public space, it enables unabridged enjoyment and chaos. Negativity is deposited onto it in some cases simply because, as an amoral and impersonal material ground of culture, it can take it all on, just like it can take on the hyperbolic quantities of goods within other rituals – still seen in "trick or treat" Halloween customs in the west, but also true of Frazer's bare-beard for instance who, in his circulation, gathers not negative energy but a share of wealth from the local merchants.[26]

3. The Feathered Snake

A similar claim may be made about the monster or dragon so often featured in creation myths throughout the world. This beast is most often interpreted as a kind of undifferentiated primal state of the world that is to be killed by the culture hero so that an ordered world, fit for humans to live in, might be built from its dismembered

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[24] Frazer, p. 662.
[25] Comp. Girard, p. 287.
[26] Frazer, p. 662.

carcass. However, since the monster so often surfaces in the form of a giant snake or at least a dragon with a serpentine head, one might wonder whether the beast might not be better interpreted precisely as the element of an emancipated and ravaging phallus, nowhere near the concept of "undifferentiated nature" but, rather, a floating and mad organ without a fixed place, cut off from its anchor in the natural world by a pure, empty difference. In ancient Babylon, this monster took the name of Tiamat, brought down by Marduk, and the temporary period of Tiamat's reign was celebrated as a carnivalesque phase of a broader cosmogonic festival called Akitu[27] – but carnival in general could be interpreted in terms of a period of the world being comically misruled by a ravaging, monstrous phallic element. Following Eliade's examples, it seems ancient mythologies most often concluded the creation myth not by a completely destructive triumph over the giant snake, but by the use of its dead body as building material or its head as a founding stone for the world to be created by the culture hero.[28] Considering the wide-spread practice of ancient festivals to periodically revisit the time of the snake's reign, the hero's triumph was apparently never permanent since the snake would annually come alive again to the great enjoyment of the community in need of a rest from the hero's ordered world. I really cannot see why this chain of motifs would not be interpreted, rather than as an annual return of excluded "natural instincts" into culture or as a submergence into undifferentiated chaos, firstly, as a re-enactment of the primary reign of the rampaging phallus, the comic idol, spreading unhindered unnatural enjoyment with its circulation through the community; secondly, at the point of the culture hero's slaying of the beast and basing the new order on its severed head, as a fixating concealment of the madly gliding element at a steady spot and, henceforth, the founding of culture on the phallus as fixed, hidden and transcendental; and finally, of the annual re-emergence of the dragon as a reduction of the steady cultural order to its true base in the "wild signifier" of the material phallus, the entity that we have here called "the pre-symbol".

The stability of culture is at once based on this element and constantly threatened by it – culture hinges on it *as* excluded; that is, the pre-symbolic element has to be banished so it may serve, hidden, as a basis for a steady culture, something it can only do *in absentia*, as a transcendent symbol. When it breaks back to the surface in carnival and comedy in general it has the effect of a comically realized utopia – that which has hitherto been projected "beyond" is suddenly here, but in an all too concrete and risible form. However, what also occurs with the beginning of carnival is that things, which have been up to now thought of as "vulgar", natural or merely material, suddenly become unhinged from their fixed places, hover around freely and generally seem to possess supernatural qualities. The closure of carnival thus has a twofold task – firstly, it has to remove the pre-symbol from the field of vision so it may

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[27] "The first act of the ceremony represents the domination of Tiamat and thus marks a regression into the mythical period before the Creation; all forms are supposed to be confounded in the marine abyss of the beginning, the *apsu*. Enthronement of a 'carnival' king, 'humiliation' of the real sovereign, overturning of the entire social order (according to Berossus, the slaves become the masters, and so on) – every feature suggests universal confusion, the abolition of order and hierarchy, 'orgy', chaos." Mircea Eliade: *The Myth of the Eternal Return or, Cosmos and History,* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974, p. 57

[28] Comp. Eliade, p. 55 (for Marduk creating the world from torn fragments of the snake's body) or p. 19 (where he comments on an Indian ritual of securing the head of the underground snake supporting the world before laying the first stone of a new building).

reclaim transcendental status, but secondly, the material aspect of the dragon, which had gotten loose from its anchorage in the earthly soil, also needs to be re-grounded to matter's proper place.

This is why the burial of the dragon's head underground is different in several ways from the burials by fire and by water met by other comic rulers discussed at the beginning of our essay. For one thing, our formula of "twice applied negativity" does not fit here, and for obvious reasons: the first dose of fire and water, at the beginning of the rite, in our primary examples, was aimed precisely at washing off all traces of the emerging idol's *connection to the earth* and establishing it as a free-floating entity; using earth to do this would be a contradiction in terms. Secondly, while water and fire dissolved the idol at the end of the festivities, making it one step more sublime than after their first treatment, earth, again, cannot do that: while it does remove the idol from sight, it also makes it *more earthly* than before. The burial of the head thus entails a two-way reading: from the thoroughly comic perspective, the burial actually continues the logic of the pre-symbol's revolution – if the carnival started with an emancipation of matter from itself enabling the free-flotation of its dislodged fragment, the burial carries this even further by actually *replacing* earth as a natural foundation with the unnatural element of the free-floating phallus. Precisely because culture is conceived as founded on this element – and not on natural ground – it can dissolve annually into an enjoyable carnival state. In contrast, the burial also lays the ground for establishing a permanently serious order. Hiding the dragon's head from the world enables the world to be ruled by its absence in the form of a transcendental signifier that also signifies nothing apart from itself but is non-material and highly unfunny, while at the same time its material side, the scandalously embodied free-floating signifier, is re-naturalized, i.e. pushed back into its place in the immobile ground and fixed to a steady signified. In many versions of the myth, the monster is actually chained to an underground rock: the trouble with the dragon is not solely that it is an earthly element but that it has wings, that it will not "stay in its place", will not stay underground but keeps springing up to wreck havoc and enjoyment upon the populace.

4. A New Beginning

We have stated repeatedly as our thesis that the ritual of comic worship *enacts the origins* of serious sanctity, but – even though it is perfectly possible for the two aspects of rituality to have coexisted from the beginning – comic worship can never be posited as actually chronologically *preceding* all forms of metaphysics and ideology. In other words, we are in no way saying that man initially performed the first comic rite and then, at its ending, with the expulsion of the pre-symbol, discovered serious worship for the first time. As we have tried to demonstrate above, the comic ritual itself can be viewed as a re-enactment of the point in the fictive, mythical past when man was excised from nature but was not yet excised from his own essence by the inner dissections of sexuality – a point which is, in itself, an impossibility. It is impossible to conceive of oneself as being "excised from nature" if one is not already estranged in relation to oneself – the very notion of nature as a harmonious whole and of man as its dislodged part already testifies to man's distance from his own self. And this necessary retrospective stance is precisely what makes these rituals *comic*, accom-

panied by laughter: the comic sentiment, if we follow Freud's lead, can only emerge if we return to something *after* its initial loss – while it is still held as one's own, the object can never be recognized as a source of enjoyment – enjoyment, that is, as an affect distinct from simple pleasure. In the case of Freud's theory, laughter indicates a return to the infantile sources of pleasure after they have been made unattainable by censorship[29] – it is precisely this barring that enables the build-up of energy that is then released when the bar is dissolved.[30] Even more to the point, Alenka Zupančič's Lacanian theory of comedy claims that within the comic, castration itself becomes not primarily what separates us from the sources of our enjoyment but what links us to them as well.[31] Without this trench dug out between ourselves and our organs of pleasure, only childish "immediate satisfaction" is possible – the bar of castration alone enables the enjoyment, the *jouissance* in the external object. Carnival, and comedy in general, enables us to mock-attain this impossible point of origin – not merely imagine it, but actually physically enjoy it, that is, neither return to the impossible state of non-reflective exceptionality nor remain excluded from it but to return to it in its sweet loss; to at once enjoy it and be aware of this; to savour the idiotic maypole as our external organ of enjoyment.

This is why I believe the advocates for murder as the origin of culture, Frazer, Freud as well as Girard, are ultimately wrong. It seems there can be no single real event that opens up culture, just like the relative humanity of the higher apes is always at question and just as it is impossible to pinpoint a moment when a child becomes "fully human". It would seem there can only be a period of slowly evolving recognition that we had already been human for a while without having noticed it, and the reaction that accompanies this realization is laughter. Girard's proposal of a proto-community torn apart by uncontrollable violence (and not functional animal aggression) already presupposes a specifically human element that circulates through it – the lynching of the innocent victim that supposedly jump-starts humanity already entails the conception of the victim as its embodiment. The innocent outsider is only selected as a justifiable sacrificial victim because in his relation to the community he embodies precisely the culprit, the secret ruler of the chaos, the virus that is itself transmitted down the chain of violence but is never affected by it, the phallus as the innocent cause of moral

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[29] See: Sigmund Freud: *Jokes and their Relation to the Unconscious*, p. 145: "The repressive activity of civilization brings it about that primary possibilities of enjoyment, which have now, however, been repudiated by the censorship in us, are lost to us. But to the human psyche all renunciation is exceedingly difficult, and so we find that tendentious jokes provide a means of undoing the renunciation and retrieving what was lost." For further elaboration see particularly chapter IV, "The Mechanism of Pleasure and the Psychogenesis of Jokes", pp. 165 and on.

[30] Comp. ibid, p. 200: "In laughter, therefore, on our hypothesis, the conditions are present under which a sum of psychical energy which has hitherto been used of cathexis is allowed free discharge." and 203: "If a quota of cathectic energy capable of discharge is to be liberated in the third person […], it must be ensured that this third person is really making this cathectic expenditure […] It cannot be but an advantage if the cathexis which is to be liberated in the third person is intensified beforehand, raised to a greater height."

[31] See Alenka Zupančič: *The Odd One in*, pp. 191–192: "Castration […] refers to the gap that separates the body, from within, from its enjoyment, and *at the same time*, binds it to it. […] Castration is not simply an amputation of enjoyment, but precisely its emergence in the form of an appendix, that is, in the form of something that belongs to the subject in an essential yet not immediate way; something that belongs to the subject via a necessary interval."

corruption. The original father of Freud's conception, in contrast, must always first be viewed as ruler that can be missed, as a parasite of the common goods by the brotherhood before he can be considered fair game – he must in other words be transposed from king to intruder. It seems that any lynch of a human victim – be it of an outsider as in Girard's or a chieftain as in Freud's and Frazer's case – is always already a displacement of the feelings felt towards the indestructible pre-symbol, always simultaneously master and outcast of a given symbolic field.

The comic ritual is not simply about degrading and lynching an individual – as it is often interpreted – but primarily about jocularly worshipping the phallus as the object-base of culture and, at the end of the festivities, about suppressing it, i.e. excluding it *into* the groundwork of the community so it can actively take up this role, the role of the absent base of a stable society. The lynch of an individual is simultaneously too external and too personal to faithfully represent the suppression of the phallus: too external because it transposes the affect from man's inner enemy, his phallus, onto another human being, and too personal because the fellow individual is always too much of our mirror image when compared to the mute non-transparency of the impersonal phallus. This is why we insist that the maypole tree is far from a polite, civilized replacement for the original human victim, but rather the very original phallus, representing nothing but itself, while the human victim is its personification, its lynch a mere secondary displacement of the culture-grounding act of phallic suppression. Not even the physical penis is the most perfect embodiment of the phallus, because it is too carnal and individual for its symbolic function: as Freud once stated, even the penis is nothing more than a phallic symbol. The tree or the phallus-as-mask worn by the ancient Greeks is far closer to the literal meaning of the phallus: a singular, universal and unnatural element artificially attached to the organic body – ever halfway between the biological member and the God of metaphysics.

As comic, this liminal entity is always discovered in retrospect, after it has already been suppressed, its ritual celebration may mark the beginning of humanity only as the discovery that the threshold between nature and culture had already been crossed and must now be comically reconstructed. If European comedy really has its ritual origin in phallic processions, as Aristoteles maintained, we might suggest that all subsequent comedy is to be recognized as a kind of prototypical religion rather than its "profanization". Comedy's "nothing is sacred" attitude could be understood not merely as a pejorative dismissal of religion as silly in its claims of a transcendent God, but also as a reduction of this God to what is posed as its origin: a universal, material and silly entity on the background of holy Nothingness, that evokes laughter as a particular form of worship – one that, perhaps, does no less than reconstruct the fundamental religious sentiment towards the sacred as inextricably interwoven with the comic.

Vedra skrivnost mlaja
Nekaj opažanj o vlogi komičnega v verovanjih in kulturi

Izar Lunaček

Članek si za izhodišče jemlje evropske obrede povezane s pomladnim posekom mladega drevesa in njegovim čaščenjem kot začasnega malika, pri čemer skuša argumentirati širšo poanto o komičnem objektu kot izvirnem tipu svetinje ter intimni prepletenosti pojmov svetega in smešnega. Karnevalski in novoletni obredi v primitivnih skupnostih po tej tezi natanko določa začasna vladavina komičnega objekta: ta je ob njihovem sklepu ubit ali izgnan iz skupnosti, to pa odpre prostor za vzpostavitev nadčutnega in scela resnega Boga. Razlika med poganskimi in metafizičnimi religijami, še trdi članek, je v tem, da se v poganskih religijah vladavina resnega božanstva v obredih obnove sveta periodično zruši, pri čemer kot njegov skriti temelj ponovno vznikne začasni komični vladar kozmosa. V luči te teze so ponovno preučene teorije Freuda, Frazerja in Girarda o vzpostavitvi kulture in vlogi religije, njena veljavnost pa je preizkušena tudi na več primerih iz različnih kultur široko po svetu.

Introduction to the Analysis of Gender in the ATU 514 Fairy Tale Type on Examples from the Balkans

Maja Pan

Не то чудо из чудес,
что мужик упал с небес,
а то чудо из чудес,
как туда он влез.[1]
(Folksong from Russia)

Not surprisingly, from the aspect of feminist and queer critique, the fairy tale turns out to be a non-moralising yet strongly standardised embodiment of the social and cultural morals themselves. This type of fairy tale acts in favour of the ideological conception that the marriage of man and woman is rightful only because of their sex, but not because they have won each other, i.e. the prize, in the course of the fairy tale's events. Even more so, the heroine becomes deprived of any agency over her sex and sexuality. We are led to believe that the fairy tale acts restitutively as it resolves the relationship between the protagonist and the princess on two levels: first by sacrificing the protagonist's sex in favour of "promotion" to the male sex, by which it morally justifies the next move: the re-establishment of the structural male-female couple, thus – another "blessing in disguise" – eliminating the lesbian relationship that was produced this way, to finally remake it into a normative fairy tale as well as a social ideal. Rather than looking for an interpretative key to change the sex fairy-tale type, we approach it genealogically to explain and analyse gender construction from essentialisation, naturalisation and gender performativness.

Keywords: fairy tale type ATU 514; gender change; post-structural analysis; queer, feminism; philosophy of gender

When researching fairy tales, it is far from typical to examine them as a possible theme for philosophical analysis. However, if we consider that fairy tales are teeming with miracles and wonders that nobody marvels at, a philosopher might, followed by the perpetual philosophical drive to wonder – *to thaumázein* – be just the one to do precisely so, to marvel about the marvel, to wonder about the wonder.

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[1] R. Jakobson, O ruskim bajkama (1944), in: Lingvistika i poetika, Nolit, Beograd, 1966. Transl: It is not a mere wonder among wonders/ That *mužik* fell off the heavens./ But it is real wonder among wonders/ How he got up there.

The analysis of the marvellous material in this paper is close to a paraphrasing of Foucault's depiction of the "statement" as "exposed invisibility – invisible exposure" (Foucault 2001: 119), in which statements are elementary units of discursive formations, and of knowledge in general. The knowledge that is created this way considers the event on the surface, and is intuitively termed "archaeology". Whatever there is in the fairy tale or about it, is there, on the surface, exposed but hidden: not simply in the course of narration, not in its functions, in actants, nor in its structure. One needs to blow away the dust gathered on the fairy tale to be able to see what there is to be seen. So, what is narrated when a fairy tale is narrated?

The usage of enchantment infuses fairy tales with a potential that is essentially utopian, meaning that it opens a chance for the possible within the impossible. As the present analysis will show, the ATU 514 type has a negative potential by fixing the possible as the only possible and, by this, marking the impossible as impossible, the invisible as invisible/non-existent. Contradiction that is created this way encompasses a total departure from reality that a fairy tale needs to support its hero/ine, and it obstructs the realistic possibility that seems to offer itself within the narrative course: to maintain woman as ruler of the kingdom and woman as a spouse to another woman.

Various comparative and interdisciplinary interruptions and dynamics of this fairy tale type will bring the analysis closer to questions central to the feminist philosophy of gender: what is gender? How is gender constructed? What is the relation between gender and a subject's agency? And the question posed in the intersection of both: how is gender theorised from gender change? And, how do we interpret the cultural or civilisational meaning of this fairy-tale type in the background of the contemporary theory of gender as performative?

To make this or other possible tasks more accessible, also for other scholars, I enclose the fairy-tale sample and extensive findings of the type in the end. I do not deploy an analysis based on different examples of respective miraculous gender transformations, because this sequence takes functionally the same place in the structure and bears essentially the same ideological motivation even if we can trace some differences in all of the variants. Therefore, the parameters of the analysis that I initially put in question here are: where the transformation function is positioned within the fairy tale's composition? What is the effect of the miraculous on the formal syntax? What is the relation between other functional elements, for example the relation of the heroine towards the magical helper, towards the tsarina, and other actants? Thus, we can focus on the crucial task of determining what the motivation is to perform the gender transformation of the heroine in the first place.

Due to the complexity of such research, this analysis presents introductory features, the first stages of critical gender analysis of the type, and also preliminary sketches stemming from such analysis that is built upon insights based on "Foucauldian" and "Butlerian" post-structuralist queer feminist theory.

In the course of fairy-tale research, from atomistic schools to contemporary ones in which the fairy tale is perceived as a narrative element among other cultural phenomena, to the post-structural school, in which statements are gripped in the vicinity of the event, the research of Propp has probably made such an important contribution to study of fairy tales, but even more so to structuralism itself, that some authors speak of "the birth of structuralism from the analysis of the fairy tales" (Olshansky 2008, on-

line source).[2] What is certain is that his pioneering formalistic method that developed upon syntagmatic analysis was highly influential and helpful in the subsequent developments in fairy tale studies. Among many of his influences, the work of Lévi-Strauss in mythology and anthropology, also in polemics with Propp's form in comparison to his structure, have been most fruitful.

Propp's syntagmatic analysis of the fairy tale in his morphological work from 1928 is an example of its kind *par excellence*. The structure of the formal organisation of a folklore text is depicted and described as a chronological succession of linear sequences in the text. While the other type of structural analysis of the folklore is centred around patterns that rely on a priori binary oppositions (of which the male/female or man/woman is central), "This pattern is not the same as the sequential structure at all. Rather the elements are taken out of the 'given' order and are regrouped in one or more analytic schema. Patterns or organization in this second type of structural analysis might be termed 'paradigmatic'" (Dundes 1968: xii). The dispute between Propp and Lévi-Strauss in the 1960s was inevitable.

Apart from structural anthropology, the work of narratologists (Bremond, Greimas, Genette) and semiologists (Hjelmslev, Barthes, Todorov) must also be mentioned. Since then, fairy-tale research has been proliferated in varied and heterogeneous disciplines or approaches, many of them interdisciplinary. At this point, I would like to pause in the development of the research at Lévi-Stauss' structuralism, as it represents the foundations in the direction of the research that I am initiating in this paper, when applying post-structuralist critical gender analysis to the fairy tale.[3]

I. The basic composition of the folktale type ATU 514

At the end of the 1990s, in one of Belgrade's libraries, I found a formalistic-structuralistic study of a fairy tale and, while reading through it, came across a fairy tale mentioned in that work that captured my attention and became an obsession for the years to come. It was entitled *Father and his Daughters* (Filipović Radulaški 1997: 35–36) and was gathered in the second part of the 19th century in Hercegovina. Classified in Aarne-Thompson-Uther's *Type Index*, as folktale type ATU 514 "Change of sex"/ "Geschlechtswechsel", it has its variants around Europe, the Middle East and South Asia (Lanclos 1996: 70), yet remains a relatively unknown or even marginalised fairy tale motif. My analysis is limited to European examples, and predominantly materials from the Balkan region.

The ATU 514 type is a motif series that starts with the heroine's cross-dressing, disclosure of deceit, and final transformation into a male. Motif D11 plays a central role in the miraculous gender change of a woman into a man. It is executed in a chain-like sequence: a girl disguises herself as a man and departs (K 1837); the girl, disguised as a man, acquires a prize for accomplishing the task, i.e. she gets married to a princess (K 1322): the heroine miraculously changes into a man (D11). In all examples of this fairy-tale type, the miraculous change is executed after the female protagonist earns

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[2] http://www.utoronto.ca/tsq/25/Olshansky25.shtml

[3] In some other articles and in my MA thesis I attempted to apply other approaches, such as formalist and structuralist. A more complete list of literature can be found in those respective writings, see: references Pan 2012.

the princess (tsarina, merchant's daughter, etc.) by resolving a difficult task, or it is the princess herself who "mistakenly" desires the protagonist (Uther 2004). All acquired samples of the ATU 514 type include all those three motifs and follow the usual pattern:

Girl cross-dresses (puts on a disguise) and departs from home

At this initial point, cross-dresing offers two possible hypotheses for the interpretation of the motif for the heroine's departure, consequently, also for a general cultural interpretation of the tale as a whole. The first interpretation constructs the gender of the heroine already at the time of her birth:

"Hey, tsarina if you deliver me a girl again, be assured that you will no longer live" (A Girl Dressed Up As a Young Man, Nanevski 1983).

Thus, the heroine's sex is hidden by clothing, name, and education from her birth (also in Ovidius Naso's *Iphis and Ianthe*). Those tales could be interpreted as originating in the initiation of a boy in ancient societies (Wrocławski 1993; Lanclos 1996).

According to the second hypothetical interpretation, the heroine cross-dresses when she reaches the age of a young woman, and departs for various reasons, most often as a soldier to protect her father's honour, but also for some unexplained reasons, e.g. to be able to travel at all, because of some quarrel with her father, etc.:

"Vse bom moral prodati, da bom plačal kralju, ker nimam sina, da bi bil vojak!« je tarnal oče. Najmlajša hči ga je slišala in mu dejala: "Oče, nič ne bodite žalostni, bom pa jaz šla k vojakom." In res se obleče in gre na štelengo. Seveda, tistikrat še niso tako gledali kakor danes, a se jim je vseeno čudno zdelo, kako mora biti kakšen vojak tako lep."

"I will have to sell all my property to pay back to the king. If only I had a son to make him become the king's soldier", the father was crying. The youngest of his daughters heard him and said, "Father, don't be sad, I will become a soldier." And so it happened, she goes and sets out for enlistment. At those times, they were not looking at things the same way as we do today, but nevertheless they found it weird that a soldier can be so pretty."
(*About the Pretty Soldier, or I have Nothing*, Černigoj 1988)

Or, as in this example, where a reason for departure or some kind of initial lack is not specified:

"Soon after her two older sisters attempted to go around the world unsuccessfully (as their father would always be able to return them by use of magic) the youngest tells her father, "Daddy, make me a man's robe, give me a horse and weapons. I would like to go around the world." Her father tried everything to dissuade her from this plan but in vain, she still insisted. Finally, the father gives her a suit, a horse and weapons, she puts it on and departs" (*A Girl Who Became a Man*, Sarajlija 1886).

Tests and trials

Usually testing will encompass the common tripartite *Difficult Task,* during which the heroine obtains and receives a magical agent i.e., helper/donor for performing a good deed. It can be also some other trial, but they are all in the function of Propp's *Difficult Task*. This intermediate part will be consistently comprised of multiple gender check-ups i.e, gender tests as well.

"As she was going, the night fell. She reached an inn in a small village where the son of the owner was working. When she was making her bed, he noticed her breasts and told to his father, 'Listen father, the one who overnights with us, is not a man but a woman.' 'What do you mean, a woman, don't be ridiculous, can't you see he's a kind of merchant? But ok, we can check.' 'There's no doubt father, I have checked it myself. He has breasts just like a woman.' 'All right, all right, we shall check it. We have a garden full of different flowers. Bring him in there. If he's a man he'll walk over all the flowers. But if he's a woman, he won't be able to resist them and will pick up at least one.' That's exactly what the son did. But as the girl stepped into the garden in her boots, she just trampled on the flowers and wouldn't pick a single flower" (*A Girl Who Became a Man*, Sarajlija 1886).

It is common in fairy tales that a tsarina (queen) requests a trial for a hero with whom she is to be married. Usually, this comprises demands to accomplish some task over the course of a night, related to building, harvesting etc., that are meant to display power stemming from the progression of initiation rites and, of course, of the hero/ine's ability to reign and rule the kingdom. In regard to the tests and trials, it is interesting to note that the magic helper's skills precisely fit the task placed for the hero/ine. For example, a hero/ine who is facing the impossible task of taking a boiling bath will have a horse who will help by blowing his cold breath, and this way the task will be fulfilled. Steadiness and boundless solidarity in helping their heroes is a functional constant. In the type ATU 514, a magic helper contributes in fulfilling all three difficult tasks but is powerless against the curse (or other magic change) that is awaiting the heroine. These are relevant for the cases when the heroine is not seeking gender transformation herself but it strikes her without warning. This might be interpreted as an exception from a functional rule rather than its violation, but only if we can assess the curse as a punishment that is, in effect, a reward, as we will show later on. It is usually the heroine alone who acquires the magical change, although with some animals (the duck, or "el Oricuerno" as in the Hispanic fairy tale) or mysterious divine intervention (as in *Iphis and Ianthe*).

From the magical helper, let us turn our attention to the tsarina and her role in these difficult tests, to see how she becomes positioned in this situation. The most usual way[4] is that the heroine performs a difficult task with the assistance of her magical

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[4] In the variant in which the gender curse is a medium for gender transformation, gender-play often takes place before the final act. It is abundant with stereotyping that announces the heroine's predestination for a role of a hero, hence man. The tsarina falls in love with a hero at first sight: "Already from the window Ileana Simziana has noticed a newcomer and her heart started to beat stronger as soon as she set her eyes on 'him'. She had no idea what could possibly upset her so but her heart truly was joyfully excited by the sheer thought that she might be facing her rescuer" (From the Romanian fairy-tale: Ileana Simziana). More on such and similar gender plays in Bošković Stulli 1969.

helper and unknowingly wins the princess' hand. At the moment of winning another woman's hand, the fairy tale wraps a structural-narrative loop around three marital nights. During those nights, the tsarina finds out, or the princess tells her that she is a woman, and the heroine is sent on to the typical tripartite, impossible-to-solve trial, where she always succeeds, assisted by her magical agent(s):

"In the morning, the tsar's daughter wakes up and tells her father, 'Kill your son-in-law. For he is not a man but a girl like me.' But the tsar doesn't believe her, so he tells to his daughter, 'I will have him executed but not before I meet my knights.' The tsar meets his knights and tells them: 'Do you know that I have married off my daughter?' 'No, we haven't heard about it.' 'Well, I have done so,' says the tsar, 'but now I need to kill one of them. They can't live together. Definitely, I will kill my son-in-law.'" (*Father and His Daughters*, Čajkanović 1929).

Or, as in the following fairy tales, with even more passion and bitterness of a heterosexual bride outwitted:

"How did I sleep, father? He's a woman and so am I. She laid on one side, and I laid on the other." [...] "Daughter, how was your night? How did you spend the night with my son-in-law, a hero?" "What kind of a hero are you talking about, father? She's a woman! It would be better for me not to have any husband than to have such." (*A Girl Dressed Up As a Young Man*, Nanevski 1983).

"Please daddy, kill my husband as he definitely has earned it." (*Father and His Daughters*, Čajkanović 1929).

It is also possible that the heroine does not reveal herself but rather refuses to perform her "marital duties":

"The tsar immediately holds a wedding and marries his daughter to the girl. But on the first wedding night, the girl stabs a knife between the two of them, saying, 'If you come near me, I'll stab you.' The tsarina complains to her mother the next morning, and she goes and tells this to the tsar. The tsar became very worried as he didn't know what to do..." (*A Girl Who Became a Man*, Sarajlija 1886)

The heroine may be sent away to fulfil the Difficult Task even prior to the wedding. In such a (rarer) case, this function is clearly in the position to correct, or to use a more neutral Proppian term: to transform the heroine's gender:

"The tsar has heard that the Arab is dead and he sent out the herald to announce: the one who killed the Arab should approach the tsar as he will receive a great reward. She went to the tsar in her men's clothes and told him that she killed an Arab. The tsar became very happy and gave him, believing that she was a man, his daughter to marry. Dammit! The wedding was supposed to take place in two or three days. The hero pretended to be ill and went to a fortune-teller and told her what a misfortune struck him. The fortune-teller said, 'This is great evil and it can happen that you lose

your head because of it. You should do the following...'" (*A Woman Became a Man*, Stanojević 1911)

At the wedding ceremony, the story could end in complete accordance with canon, as the heroine did prove herself as a rightful, therefore true hero who won a prize; in type ATU 514, this is a princess. However, it does not happen this way, as the disguised, the cross-dressed heroine is still not Right, though she is certainly not a false hero – in Meletinski's sense of the word (Meletinski 1969/2005: 218).

In the case of a groom's unsuitability, the fairy tale will establish particular dynamics through the involvement of antagonistic forces (tsar, king, father) to be rid of the hero/ine. Such threats actually open up the possibility for the hero/ine to finally prove her/himself and rightfully take over the throne. In the ATU 514 type, where the heroine, dressed-up (passing) as a man, successfully accomplishes all the tasks, i.e. defeating her antagonists, the fairy tale introduces an overall conclusion by simultaneously solving the heroine's unsuitability.

Solution / Victory
In this part of the story, it is crucial to establish a chance for a magic gender transformation, for the heroine to be able to return and consummate her marriage with the princess. Those chances are, if not sought by the heroine herself, set by the reactions of the heroine's antagonists when she is revealed to be a woman. It happens similarly even if she sets out without assistance to solve her gender trouble herself (as presented in the previous quote of the east Serbian tale "A Woman Became a Man"). In the absence of a "natural resolution" to this entanglement, the fairy tale introduces a *deus ex machina* and tightens the rope of the previously mentioned loop. On the way back from the third mission of the tripartite difficult task, she becomes struck by a curse, formulated more or less according to the following utterance:

"If you are a man, become a woman; and if you are a woman, become a man!"

Here are some variants of this incredible magical moment of transformation that define the type ATU 514:

"At that moment the dragon curses the girl, 'By the god of mine, if you are a man, become a woman; and if you are a woman, become a man!'" (*A Girl Who Became a Man,* Sarajlija 1886).

"When the hermit heard that someone had stolen the holy water stoup and from afar he noticed a horseman riding away, he raised his arms towards the sky, kneeled down and uttered a curse: 'Lord, dear God, make the lawless one who dared to steal the holy water stoup into a woman if he's a man, and into a man if he is a woman!' The hermit's curse came through at the same moment, and the tsar's daughter became the most handsome young man. He was so handsome that the whole world appeared graceful when one would look at him" (Ileana Simziana, 1974).

"If you are a man, become a hag; if you are a hag, become a man!" (*Če si moški, bodi baba, če si baba, bodi moški!*) (*The Girl Soldier*, Hadalin 1994).

"The one who did that to me should drop his what-is-it, and if not, she should have it!" (*Tisti, ki mi je to naredil, če ima, naj bo ob ono, če nima, naj ga ima!*) (*About the Pretty Soldier Or I Have Nothing*, Černigoj 1988).

This signifies the canonical happy ending, the regular and consummated wedding and accession to the throne. The solution has to bring a combination of some other functions, for example, one of *transfiguration*, by which the hero is given a new appearance: if the hero was not whole, he is made whole, handsome or dressed in new garments. After this, the hero is also recognised and vindicated, recurring trials are suspended for good:

"The princess noticed the tsar's son-in-law coming back and he said to tsar, 'There's your son-in-law coming and he is carrying the crown from the giants' tsar.' Then they met him and the tsar placed him next to himself and the son-in-law started telling him how he managed to get the crown. After a girl became a man, she returns to the castle where he – finally a he – is welcomed with all honours. Early next morning, the tsarina tells her father, 'Don't kill my husband, Father, nor send him anywhere to die'" (*Father And His Daughters*, Čajkanović 1929).

"When she reached the tsar's castle, she could hardly believe her eyes, so much about her has changed. On the way back, she felt that she isn't the one she used to be and that she was consumed by the sensation of a different strength and valour than she had had before. But she didn't know how those changes happened" (Ileana Simziana 1974).

"Daddy, your son-in-law is a hero above all heroes" (*Girl Dressed Up As a Young Man*, Nanevski 1983).

In the resolution, one might expect also some punishment of the villain but in ATU 514 type, this is not the case. The only moment of revenge can be found in *Ileana Simziana* where she decides to avenge the tzar for threatening her arduously gained hero/ine:

"Seeing that even that wish had been fulfilled, Ileana Simziana decided to seek vengeance upon the tsar for sending her handsome young man to complete difficult tasks that threatened his life. After all, the tsar could go and fetch the stoup himself. It would be easier for him than for any of the others as everyone must submit to the tsar" (Ileana Simziana 1974).

The occurrence of not avenging and not punishing the antagonists can be considered logical only as far as we base it on the presumption that the curse does not harm or does not have any negative impact on the heroine. Even more so, in the restitutive sense, the curse is simultaneously a punishment and a reward, a so-called

"blessing in disguise". "The motif of a curse indicates an unusual, also uncharacteristic feature for a fairy tale, where the expected effect of the curse to harm, results in rather the opposite for the hero/ine; as such, it is in the function of a magical gift, and likewise has to remain unchanged, not dismissed (*nicht wieder aufgehoben werden*)" (*Enzyklopädie des Märchens* 1985: 170–171). To understand gender transformation in the context of a narrative proceeding as a gift, we need to assume at least one of the following two premises: that the heroine has either desired a gender change, meaning that she is a transgendered hero, or that the change from a woman into a man represents an uplift that simultaneously presents a shift to a more normative social sexual position, as well. If so, the latter allows us to comprehend the blessing in disguise as an overt, undisguised exposition of a normative gender/kinship binding for exactly both features, it is important also to say the "privilege": the uplift into a man, and a shift into a heterosexual relation.

II. What gets changed when gender is changed in a fairy-tale?

Though all of the world's cleverness were concentrated here, though Daedalus were to return on waxen wings, what use would it be? Surely even his cunning arts could not make a boy out of a girl?
(Ovidius Naso: Methamorphoses IX: Iphis and Ianthe, Chant 714–763)

This provisionally set organisation of common features in all ATU 514 type variants can encompass those with the same motif of other literary genres, like epic poems, romances, biographies of saints, legends, and tales. The frequency of this motive in the Balkans (Kerkez, *Delija devojka* 2006) proves that women's bravery was one of the motifs that people were most interested in. In Slovene tradition, the motif of the girl monk is best known (Matičetov 1953: 292–299). The main difference from other genres is that the fairy tale depicts a miraculous gender change while other genres tend to stay more focused on the moralistic "domestification" of the heroine. More precisely, other genres solve the problem of a potentially transgressive heroine by omitting her "fairy-tale" heroic bravery and placing her in a normative gender role, first by returning her home, setting aside her male robes, and finally, by marrying her to a man.

Apart from being cursed, which is the most common method, there are other methods of gender change. All these different ways are rooted in some existing beliefs, imaginations, persuasions, rites, superstitions or mythical representations about the alchemic change of essence, in this case the essence of gender. Potentially, there could be numerous examples of those methods but, in fact, only few are in use:

"She entered the third room. There she found the *hajduks* sleeping. As soon as she noticed the duck, it started to shriek so loud that the whole cave was shaking. The girl grabbed the duck, cut her heart out, ate it and suddenly became a man. As a man, she returned to the tsar's daughter and lived happily ever after with her." (*A Woman Became a Man*, Stanojević 1911).

My claim is that gender transformation is not simply a fantastic or fabricated motif that would exist due to being intrigued by unusual sexuality, or due to rare gender expressions in the social reality, and that would simply proliferate in human

imagination. In this way, one could interpret the motif either along the theme of "the reflection of the reality in the fairy tale" (and research it in the social sciences, i.e. ethnology, anthropology, sociology, folkloristics), or the theme of the inter-relationship of the fairy tale and reality where the fairy tale affects reality (and research it in post-structuralist linguistics, for example, within the theory of performativity). To connect both, as structuralism did and post-structuralism brought further, I assess the gender change to be a completely structurally bound motif but, likewise, of utmost importance for understanding social constructions of gender and sexuality. In this sense it is paradigmatic. Furthermore, we can follow Butler and claim that "the body is not a 'mute facticity', i.e. a fact of nature, but like gender it is produced by discourses" (Butler 1990: 129), and trace it in our fairy-tale type. In following Butler, I am also suggesting that there is no body prior to cultural inscription, which leads us to argue that "sex as well as gender can be performatively reinscribed in ways that accentuate its factitiousness (i.e. its constructedness) rather than its facticity (i.e. the fact of its existence)" (Salih 2002: 55). If so, gender should be explained as heavily ideological, i.e. discursive regulations that are at work in this fairy-tale type or other cultural artefacts. Therefore, I will attempt to elaborate on it in the third part of the paper, aiming to argue about the fairy-taleness of reality and about the reality of the fairy tale.

True or false hero/ine

Taking into consideration Lüthi's analysis of fairy-tale heroes and heroines, one has plenty of reasons to simply abstract the notion of a transgendered hero/ine as unjustified or even unjustifiable one. Within the economy of the structure of lack/removal of lack, we can conclude the following:

The heroine is doubled within herself. She is both the false and the true hero at the same time, "a hero that gives no hope", which is very much like the hero who uproots the oaks and similar (Meletinski 1969/2005: 218); and/or

The heroine's initial condition is negative. This condition becomes positivised by the end when she becomes a man.

After executing various lines of analysis on fairy-tale material within the same motif, I noticed a slight difference in the usage of the definition of the motif itself. What German language marks as *geschlectwechsel*, English refers to by two synonymous expressions: *change of sex/gender*, and *sex/gender shift*. If we take sex and gender as overlapping in this context, as Butler has proved in many points (Salih 2002: 55), in order to argue that sex is always already gender, the notions of "change" and "shift" have meaningful differences that can be used and employed in feminist, deconstructive (but not limited to deconstructive only) understandings of gender. Moreover, "reinscriptions", or re-citations as Butler calls them in *Bodies That Matter*, constitute the subject's agency within the law, in other words, the possibilities of subverting the law against itself" (ibid.). The subject's agency has an important role here, as it signifies opportunities for subverting the law against itself if the law is, as Butler claimed in her analysis of *Antigone*, to be a "sedimented ideality of the norm" (Butler 2000: 20–21).

To get there, it is reasonable to start with the insight that the symbolic locus, i.e. the place of a heroine in ATU 514 type is unambiguous: in fairy tales that end up in weddings, the heroine is a figure that occupies both functional positions, as for the

trials and also in fulfilling the *Difficult Tasks,* while fairy tales can have both of those narrative lines or just one, as Lévi-Strauss was claiming after Propp (1960: 231–234). What follows from such an analysis is that gender is utterly contingent, changeable within a rigid frame, while simultaneously its contingency produces a very rigid plug-in for gender identity. Therefore, the heroine who acts like a man will finally become a man. Radically, this means that gender is nothing but acting (Butler in Salih 2004: 129), specifically performative acting. However, as fairy tales go, if we see it changeable once, one might assume that it is nothing but ever changeable.

When it comes to normative gender/sexual/kinship binding, the heroine acts out what Antigone uttered already: "Yes, I confess: I will not deny my deed", when confronted with the normative rule of law. The law, like gender, thus, becomes itself through performative utterance: "This is the law!" as Butler found out in *Antigone's Claim* (Butler 2009: 39, Bahovec 2009: 123). This bears important consequence for the difference between symbolic and social law: "[N]ot only is the symbolic itself a sedimentation of social practices but that radical alterations in kinship demand a rearticulation of a structuralist presupposition of psychoanalysis and, hence, of contemporary gender and sexual theory" (Butler, 19). If the symbolic can "influence" the social in return, this also gives a certain possibility for agency, potentially even freedom, to the established subjectivities. The symbolic, based on loci in the topological structure, should not or, better, cannot overlap with the social norm. Therefore, it is important that we contrast our previous feminist, i.e. ideologically weighted, interpretation of this motif (as we did), to another provisional assumption: if our heroine, much like Antigone, is paradigmatic in going against the laws regarding allowed sexual relations, then she stands on the turning point where we can interpret this as a setting where we are made to believe, as Butler was made to believe by Lévi Strauss, that the prohibitions of incest and homosexuality are both embedded in the foundations of establishing heterosexuality. They are placed on the side of culture, on the side of ideal normative law, precisely as expelled, prohibited, as the natural residue in the culture itself.

One of the sub-hypotheses of my study is that the figure of the narrative lesbian serves the function of a structural gambit (like in chess where the gambit is an attack strategy in which at the very beginning a pawn is sacrificed while in the context of structural analysis, the gambit represents a kind of a "sacrifice" in which incest and homosexuality are prohibited and placed on the side of nature for the sake of establishing heterosexuality as being on the side of normative culture). By such means, I use the insights of the value of a "structure" compared to "form" (in the sense of Propp's formalism) to analyse kinship structures and their construction of gender/sexuality within societies. This is mainly founded in Lèvi-Strauss' arguments and feminist critiques by Héritier (2001), Butler (2000), Bahovec (2009) on the qualification of (gender/sexual) positions within the structure.

As opposed to her theoretical forebears, Hegel and Lacan, Butler herself sees social or societal changes as those that affect the symbolic structure, or the symbolic order itself, which is considered inherently contingent in this concern. Thus, the agency of an often mute heroine is in her power to act out of necessity to constitute the order she is said to be restrained from. As Butler claims for Antigone, this is an opportunity to read this necessity as that of the contingency of sexual or kinship relation itself. The bottom line is that we cannot insist on unchangeable reasons for the kinship or like-

wise for the sexual relations within the symbolic. Once changeable, there is no reason for it to be the basis for a causal relationship with the social (or more radically: with reality as we know it).

The curse and/or the gift was sent to symbolically terminate the old hero as a heroine, and to stop the repetitive structure of the trials. Though, through the use of gift enabled with the logic of gender positions, the heroine does "survive" in reality, or more precisely, "the heroine survives the reality". She escapes the structure of a ring that traps all the heroines of the ATU 514 type, and as far as she does "escape" reality, she does so by creating it. Let me affirm this by highlighting the structural position of the curse, as well.

In the ATU 514 type, the position of the curse is the same one as the *water of life/ živa voda* takes in other fairy tales. The water of life revives the dead and cures the ill, and brings the final magical transformation. To the sick, the dead or the ones captured in animal skin, it brings disenchantment, freeing them from their condition. Unlike the curse, the water of life is intended for the sphere of action of the hero/ine. Paradoxically, it is by the cut that the fairy tale pulls together its structure into one, seemingly unified, closed down ring. What the curse attempted to seal is an opposition of two ends: "the sexual relation of two women – definite death assured", or "heterosexual relationship – definite life assured". To pull together two oppositional ends, the structure has to take on non-explicated double transformative logics: the one of identity-overlapping and its contradictory but simultaneous/con-spatial (so to say, homolocutional) possibility of locus shift. The miraculous is used as, or better, becomes a universal heteronormative structural imperative against the (anti)meritocracy of a fairy tale: if a woman desires another woman or wins her because of her position in the course of events, either her "essence" will have to change or her structural topos will have to shift. Does the heroine need to become "someone" else to merit the princess, her prize? The expression "shift" is thus used in the sense of "shifting the topos within the structure" of a fairy tale and/or reality while the expression "change" is rather used to depict a metamorphosis of the "essence" of sex. In the ATU type 514, both happen. The fairy tales in which heroines change into men push us to debunk the structuralist myth of a transcendent, normative symbolic system of kinship and gender positions, in which the concrete person is an overdetermined by-product of a static, pre-given order. It also gives us an opportunity to debunk the overlapping of cultural expectations with a natural order. If so, the woman who performs everything as a man, does not become a man but becomes, i.e. is constructed as, a woman. This way one can conceive a subject, i.e. a heroine that is an agent of her gender position, inasmuch as it is a reiteration of her gender performance.

III. To wield the sword

If the gods wanted to spare me they should have spared me, but if they wanted to destroy me, they might at least have given me a natural, and normal, misfortune. Mares do not burn with love for mares, or heifers for heifers: the ram inflames the ewe: its hind follows the stag. So, birds mate, and among all animals, not one female is attacked by lust for a female. I wish I were not one!
(Ovidius Naso, Methamorphoses IX: Chant 728–735)

If we wield the queer sword, the change of sex in fairy tales of the ATU 514 type is, by way of alternation, placed in the "heteromatrix structure" (Butler 1990) of "compulsory heterosexuality" (Rich 1980). The protagonist's relationship with another female is presupposed by the narrator and the audience as "the relationship of non-relationship" (Butler 2001), whose occurrence is foreseen in the very concept of the fairy tale and, most importantly, it also forecasts the seemingly incidental event of miraculous resolution.

It is possible to show that by following the logical mistake: *post hoc ergo propter hoc,* we reach the core of queer feminist insights about gender being performatively produced as an effect rather than cause of discursive practice. In most cases, the latter takes place through the functional mechanism of a "blessing in disguise", shaped by and as the performative illocution: "If you are a man, become a woman; and if you are a woman, become a man!" In retrospect, this allows us to see the sex perceived as an essential yet changeable factor of the protagonist's self. Furthermore, all enactments of the structural norm, as we see them also as gender performances, necessarily introduce a margin of deviation into this same norm, i.e. not exactly the same enactment of the performative gender re-enactment takes place every time gender gets constructed.

Similarly to fairy tales of the type ATU 514, many films (e.g. *The Florida Enchantment*, 1914 and *Viola di Mare*, 2009) fabulate the cultural excess into which the naturalisation and essentialisation of sex becomes entangled when constructing any gender or any gender identities. So, however, does the structure of the positions of sexual alliances that is based on those binary (re)constructions. The analysis of the figure of the "woman hermaphrodite" and the figure of the "female groom" (Donaghue 1993) help us to further indicate that the gender and the sexual normativity of depicted heroes is based on a contradictory ambivalence of either anatomic (i.e. biological) or symbolic (i.e. social, the sphere of laws and norm) form. Apart from normative embodiment, these paradigmatic figures direct us to further possibilities for theorising bodily subjectivities against the normativity of either the symbolic or the social order. It then follows for us to assess a turn in the point of departure: how do specific ways of thinking, speaking and acting, produce the subject?

What to reason out of these conclusions? What are the immediate social readings of it if we insist that they do bear and bring the interchanges in the symbolic and social order?

The topic of kinship and kinning represents one of the potential focal points in queer feminist analysis of the magical gender change motif in fairy tales or other cultural fictional materials, such as novels, film, etc. The other focal point, and it would be complementary to my analysis, is based on the theory of performativity. Both form a strong argument in broadening the conceptual "shift of sex/gender change" motif type as a discursive strategy that is of immense importance in understanding some contemporary social phenomena like, for example, medically assisted sex surgeries, but also for the development and the epistemological foundations of women's studies, feminism and feminist queer theory.

Critics might exclaim, "But fairytales are not true, and we all know it!", or "In real life, things work differently!" It was Röhrich who claimed that fairy tales, despite being completely fictional narrations, do maintain a certain experiential reality (Röhrich 1979/1991: 27). Compared to legends, fairy tales seem to be more realistic in

trying to maintain rationality. By doing so, they are more confrontational to a ratio that is in a way its "inner truth".[5]

To wonder about the wonder

If so, is it then absolutely true that when we enter a fairy tale we find ourselves facing nothing but the wonder? The marvellous is such a wonderful power that no fairy tale doubts it or mocks it. It is not likely that the unlikely will not happen. At the same time, it is never very likely that what is likely to happen will happen. Therefore, it is the least likely, i.e. the unlikely, the unbelievable, the marvel that finally most certainly occurs. This specificity and the power of the wonder in relation to the self-evidence of the reality which is ruled by necessity, *anánke* and broadly, also *moira*, and chance (or luck), *týche*. By this characteristic, the fairy tale probably became most distinct as a genre, too. In its reality the marvellous, fairy creatures also find their place. However, the fairy tale is not marvellous because of them, it is rather that they became marvellous when they find domicile in the fairy tale, away from the non-fairy social reality.

For chance, it is essential to be contingent, meaning, to occur where the least necessity or the most unnecessity, i.e. pure accident takes place. It is exactly the other way round in the fairy tale: the more it is necessary, the more it seems accidental. It is possible to recognize chance in the fairy tale because it is very important in determining the consequent courses and repercussions, as far as it is an automatised cause of events and actions in the fairy tale, i.e. *automaton*. It is due to chance as such or due to such necessary chances that all the *týche* within the fairy tale preponderates into fatal certainty and luck. When the effect of the marvellous in the fairy tale unfolds, we are not marvelling at it, we are not even surprised, as it is the whole course of events, all the accompanying factors that are foreshadowing it.

Seifert (1996: 23–25) claims after Propp that every fairy tale has a necessary narrative element: lack, deficiency that is a predicament for the upcoming occurrence of the wonder agent. Analogical expectations on the side of the audience are also structured, and the hero/ine's action fulfils those expectations. Apart from the marvellous assumption that no explanation is possible (as with Todorov's depiction of the marvellous in contrast to the fantastic's hesitation between the "natural" and the "supernatural"), "the marvellous also reproduces and reaffirms familiar social structures and values" (Seifert 1996: 23). There is only a "lucky", "by chance" collision and accordance between hero/ine's and audience's expectations, while actually what seems to be placed in front of the heroine as the path, as her quest, her search, it is always already an effect of re-naturalised normative expectations, i.e. prohibitions and requests. The reproduction of familiar realities and the revealing of its constructedness is guiding the narration towards the reduction of the oppositional positions or elements on the one hand, and towards their maintenance, or their reassertion, on the other. "Aspects of reality among others, notions of sexuality and gender in the fairy tale are deliberately bracketed from the constraints of the ordinary and of the everyday. Yet, the fairy tale's own seemingly distinct world acts to define what its readers conceive as 'normal' and 'real'" (Seifert 1996: 12). It is by emphasising the supernatural and its unreality that

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[5] Apart from Röhrich's work, there is rich scholarship on socio-historical aspects of interrelation between fairy-tale and reality: Rudolf Schenda 1970, Jack Zipes 1979, Ruth B. Bottigheimer 1986.

the audience grasps what stereotypically is a certain, solid reality and what is not. By opposing the dominant cultural understanding of reality and even by undermining it, a fairy tale imparts this stability. In this way, "on the one hand, the marvellous is an estrangement of empirically defined reality since it is either an exaggeration of the real or an assertion of the impossible" (Seifert, 23), while apart from this "revolt", the marvellous does a complete accommodation: "the movement from disequilibrium to equilibrium, so basic to narrative structure, is in fact a movement from a situation of disruption in the social order to a situation in which this order or its equivalent is (re) affirmed" (Seifert, 13). Allowing the revolt or what we have also termed excess, to pass itself off as conformity then, reducing the negativity or conflictedness established by it, finally returns to conformity and piety, a total accommodation of the social order (cf. Robert in Seifert, 13).

With the effect of such a moral, social and ontological likelihood, the marvellous in the fairy tale is ideological, i.e. it resists the order about which it gives the impression that it has never ruled over it, anyway, then transgresses this order, to finally condition and predetermine it. In this ideological feature, one can also trace the fairy tale's subversive and utopian but mostly emancipatory potential.

IV. Conclusion

If fairy tales use a total departure from commonly perceived reality (for example: sex change), it is only to disable and even prohibit the unacceptable relationship. Furthermore, I claim that by this departure from reality, by this by-pass, reality actually is produced. To do so, it first has to enable the possibility that emerges almost spontaneously within the course of the narrative: to grant a woman the reign of a kingdom, a woman as a master of another woman just the same as a man/husband would be. Within the framework of identity, the essentialist dealing with gender represents a fairy-tale substance that allows for the existence of an essence of gender while simultaneously allowing for its performance as changeable. In the course of "overdetermining determinants", this last instance is also a performative category, meaning that it is constituted within a language, or within the discursive powers of the fairy tale. Feminism has convincingly proved the dangers of essentialism on many occasions; this way, the female body is placed either in relation to representation or in relation to the "history of women" (Russo in Malabou 2011). This is taken into consideration in my analysis, therefore the body and the gendered self of a heroine are not only constituted and represented, but are themselves the agents, i.e. the creators of their sexual and gender reality by the means of repetition, i.e. continuous repetitive prohibition from the reiterated curse. In this sense, gender follows the definition of performativity meaning that it produces what it names (Butler 1993). By these means, we can demonstrate a conceptual break with the identity framework where hero and femininity coincide: the heroine of the type ATU 514 is, therefore, neither woman nor man.

Appendix

Женцко стану́ло ту́шко / A Woman Became a Man[6]

There was a man who had three daughters. All of them were fit to marry, but he definitely had no intention to marry them off. The daughters told their father to give them away in marriage but he didn't want to do that. Thus, they decided to run away. First, the oldest daughter ran away. When he noticed that, he jumped on a horse and soon caught up with her. She suddenly transformed into a snake, and he killed the snake. Then the second daughter ran away, but the father caught up with her too, and when she turned into a snake, he killed her just the same. There was only the youngest daughter left. She was the real hero. She ran, and the father soon ran after her. When they were nearing a big river the father nearly caught up with her, and she turned herself into a bridge. He walked over the bridge with the horse and as soon as they reached the middle of it, the bridge collapsed and he drowned. At that moment she changed back into what she was before and set out for the world.

After a couple of days, she met three hanged persons who were still alive. They asked her for a little water to quench their thirst: "If you do that, we will always be there to help you. Just keep a piece of hair from each of us, and when in trouble, burn a piece on fire, and our spirits will immediately come to help you." She gave them a drink, took a piece of hair from each of them and carried on.

Not a long time had passed when she met a dragon hero riding on a dragon horse. The hero told her to step aside, and she responded, "No, it is you who had better step aside." As she noticed that she couldn't beat him, she lit one hair and the spirit came immediately to help her and killed the dragon hero. She took his clothes and dressed as a hero, took his horse and all his equipment, and set out to another empire.

There she met another hero, the Arab, who had very big ears. The whole empire dreaded him. They engaged in a fight, they wrestled and wrestled, but neither could overturn the other. At that moment the Arab asked, "Where do you come from, which empire?" "I am coming from another empire," said the girl and told him about it all, how much she suffered and how she came to kill the dragon hero. But she didn't tell him that she was a woman. The Arab admired her for her power and said: "I fought him many times but I could never defeat him. Since we are both such strong heroes, let's become friends." She accepted it and they set off together and reached his town. The Arab went to his home and the girl went to an inn.

After a while the Arab came to our hero and they started living together. Once the girl hero asked, "Hey, where do you keep you power, my sworn friend?" "I will tell you, but only as to my sworn friend," said the Arab, "however, you must not reveal it to anyone, regardless of a threat. My power lies in my big ears. From one ear of mine the great fire blows and burning water flows that can destroy a quarter of this town. From the other ear first the hot wind blows and then the whole power leaves me and I am not anymore the one I am now." After this he laid down and fell asleep while the hero woke up around midnight and made a hole into one of the ears. Fire and burn-

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[6] I would like to thank Prof. Ljubinko Radenković for helping me to find these bibliographical data. Published in: Српски дијалектолошки зборник, vol. II, Расправе и грађа, Beograd: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1911, pp 360–363 (see: Sources)

ing water destroyed and scalded a quarter of the town. When the Arab woke up, the girl told him: "Hey, my sworn friend, I dreamt that a jackdaw made a hole in your ear. Check it out if it is true!" The Arab grabbed his ear and indeed, there was a hole in it. Then he ordered all the jackdaws to come but since none of them had made the hole in his ear, everything remained as it was. The next night our hero made a hole in the Arab's other ear, and hot wind blew from it and blew half of the town. When dawn broke, the girl told him that she had done it, and that from then on he was going to be her slave. Then she pulled out her sword and chopped his head off. This is how she saved the empire from the Arab.

The tsar heard that the Arab was dead, and he sent out the herald to announce: the one who killed the Arab should approach the tsar because he would receive a great reward. She went to the tsar in her men's clothes and told him that she had killed the Arab. The tsar became very happy and gave him, believing she was a man, his daughter to marry. Dammit! The wedding was supposed to take place in two or three days. The hero pretended to be ill and went to a fortune teller and told her what a misfortune had struck him. The fortune teller said: "This is great evil and it can happen that you lose your head because of it. You should do the following: near the town there is a cave with all sorts of animals staying in there, arranged in three rooms. In the first one there are all sorts of wild carnivorous animals, like lions, bears, wolves, foxes and what not! If you kill them you will get to the second room, where there are snakes. If you kill those too, you will get to the third and last room where there are hajduks.[7] Among them you will find their chief as well. He has a wild duck on the top of his head. As long as they keep sleeping nothing can wake them up, unless they wake up on their own. If you catch them during their sleep, it won't be hard to capture the duck, cut its heart out and eat it. This way you will become a man."

The girl listened to her. She took her arms and headed towards the cave. She entered the first room, killed all the animals there but the lion, their king. She started to wrestle with him but she could not overturn him, so she remembered and lit a second hair that she got from the hanged person. Powers came to her immediately and she killed the lion. Then she entered the second room. The serpents immediately uncoiled and started to approach her with their heads raised. She grabbed her sword and cut them all but the serpents' king. He wrapped around her strongly and the moment he wanted to devour her, she remembered the third hair and lit it. Immediately, the spirit came and killed the serpents' king.

She entered the third room. There she found the *hajduks* sleeping. As soon as she noticed the duck, it started to squawk so loud that the whole cave was shaking. The girl grabbed the duck, cut her heart out, ate it and suddenly became a man. As a man, she returned to the tsar's daughter and they lived happily ever after.

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[7] Balkan term for outlaws.

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Uvod v analizo spola junakinje pravljičnega tipa ATU 514 na primerih iz Balkana

Maja Pan

S stališča feministične in queerovske kritike pravljic nas ne preseneča, da se le-te zmeraj znova izkazujejo za nemoralizirajoče, pri čemer obenem predstavljajo utelešenje družbene in kulturne morale same. Tip pravljice ATU 514, v kateri se spol junakinje transformira, tj. spremeni oziroma zamenja v moškega, deluje v prid ideološke predstave, da je poroka moškega in ženske pravična zgolj zaradi njunega spola, ne pa, kakor je v pravljicah vtis, ker bi si eden drugega prislužila, zaslužila. Pravljica tipa ATU 514 nas navaja misliti, da deluje restitutivno, ko odnos junakinje in princese rešuje na dveh ravneh: najprej z žrtvovanjem junakinjinega spola na račun povišanja v moški spol, s katerim moralno utemeljuje sledečo potezo, ponastavi raven strukturnega para moški – ženska, s čimer, po ključu „sreča v nesreči“, odstrani tudi lezbično razmerje, ki se v pravljičnem toku ponudi samo od sebe. Na takšen način razmerje odpravi in poustvari v normativno pravljični, pa tudi družbeni ideal. V pravljici ne iščem interpretativnega ključa, s katerim bi jo razložila, temveč raje pristopam genealoško ter analiziram konstrukcijo spola iz esencializacije, naturalizacije ter performativnosti spola. S tem je odprta možnost teze o pravljičnosti realnega in o realnosti pravljičnega.

Estetska struktura in funkcija folklorne molitve z vidika teksta, teksture in konteksta[*]

Saša Babič

Folk prayers are usually researched in the area of folk beliefs and religiosity. They may also be considered on the folklore-research field as a minor folklore form. We have observed folk prayers from the text, texture and context level to find out the elements of aesthetics.

Keywords: folklore, folk prayers, aesthetics, text, texture, context

Opredelitev folklornih molitev

Folklorne molitve[1] so na stičišču slovstvene folklore in religije, vendar jih uvrščamo pod ljudsko religioznost, ki se opira na versko tradicijo, hkrati pa je na njenem robu; gre za folklorne obrede, verovanja, simbole, povezane z zunajcerkvenimi, celo predkrščanskimi predstavami in verovanji … Zato jih uvrščamo pod tradicionalni del kulture, saj ima takšna religioznost globoke korenine in izvore v časih pred sprejetjem krščanstva na Slovenskem in je bolj ali manj tostransko naravnana in magijsko interpretirana. V folklornih molitvah se človek obrača na (krščanskega) Boga in svetnike s prošnjami in zahvalami. Gre za t. i. »neprave, nepristne oz. apokrifne molitve« (Sloven-

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[*] Téma je širše obravnavana v doktorski disertaciji Saše Babič *Estetska struktura slovenskih folklornih obrazcev v časovnem preseku z vidika slovstvene folkloristike* (Ljubljana, 2012).

[1] Folkloristi se do danes niso zedinili glede rabe levega prilastka *folklorno / ljudsko*. Marija Stanonik je v knjigi *Teoretični oris slovstvene folklore* (2001: 42–114) podrobno utemeljila rabo levega prilastka *folklorno [slovstvo, molitve itd.]*. Drugi raziskovalci rabi *folklorno* nasprotujejo z argumentom, da nas termin asociira na folklorne skupine, folklorizem ipd. in predlagajo rabo levega prilastka *ljudsko*. Zdi se, da je v ozadju spora želja folkloristov, da bi druge vede prepoznale *ljudsko* kulturo kot enakovredno t. i. visoki kulturi (morda se s terminom *folklorno* lažje približamo temu cilju, saj implicira anglosaksonsko tujko; na angleških tleh ima folkloristika dolgo tradicijo, kar morebiti implicira močnejšo znanstveno ukoreninjenost in pomembnost vede).

V tem članku bomo uporabljali prilastek *folklorni* zaradi njegove širše uporabe, saj lahko tako slovstveno folkloro povežemo v širše področje, poleg tega je *folk-* besedotvorno bolj ploden, pa čeprav je tujega izvora. Tako tudi pri folklornih molitvah ni dileme, kam sodijo.

Za folklorne molitve je M. Stanonik predlagala termin *molitvice*, tudi sama v disertaciji uporabljam navedeni termin, vendar pa po temeljitem premisleku menim, da je nesmiselno ločevati folklorne molitve s pomanjševalnico jedra besedne zveze. Ker gre za priprošnjo Bogu tako v folklornih molitvah kot v uradnih cerkvenih molitvah, se zdi smiselno za oba tipa molitve ohraniti enako besedo, pri čemer ju lahko razlikujemo z določujočim levim prilastkom.

ski etnološki leksikon[2] 2004: 335).[3] Čeprav gre za apokrifne molitve, pa jih definicijsko še vedno lahko uvrščamo v širše polje molitev, saj se z njimi – ne glede na to, ali gre za cerkveno priznan ali za folklorni obrazec – človek obrača na Boga s prošnjo, zahvalo, razmišljanjem ali željo v ritmizirani in rimani stalni obliki. Gre za vernikov poskus vzpostavljanja osebnega stika z Bogom ali drugo obliko duhovnega bitja.

Vilko Novak (1983: 7) poimenuje folklorne molitve kot paraliturgične, saj so izšle iz liturgije ali njenega okvira (npr. pasijonske pobožnosti), kar je še ohranjeno tudi v sledovih petja in načinu njihovega podajanja s slovesno dvignjenim glasom (recitiranje). Med folklorne molitve ne uvrščamo zagovorov in zdravilnih besed; sicer so zagovori molitvam blizu, večkrat se pojavlja celo, da je v funkciji zagovora uporabljena molitev – zato jih tudi uvrščamo v skupno polje obrednih folklornih obrazcev (Babič 2012: 57) – pa vendar gre za različna tipa: zagovori so zdravilne besede, folklorne molitve pa so izraz zahvale, prošnje po duhovni pomoči, njihova naloga ni zdraviti.

Iz vsebine folklornih molitev je očitno, da smo sprejemali iz skupnega evropskega izročila, hkrati pa je razvidna tudi ustvarjalnost ožjega (regijskega slovenskega) področja; vir je bil za vse isti: Biblija, apokrifi, likovne upodobitve na cerkvenih freskah, pridigarski zgledi itd. Motivika in vsebina, pesemske in pripovedne snovi so potovale od naroda do naroda preko potujočih obrtnikov, vojakov, romarjev […], kar je npr. očitno pri folklorni molitvi *Zlati Očenaš*, ki jo poznajo skoraj povsod po Evropi, vse tri oblike ali vsaj kakšen odlomek« (Kumer 1999: 8, 9).

Čeprav je veliko folklornih molitev »prevzetih od drugod«, so folklorne predvsem s stališča sprejemanja, prirejanja in ohranjanja med ljudmi, pri čemer se je uveljavlja domišljija ljudi in pesniška poustvarjalnost posameznikov; folklorne so tudi zato, ker so se v veliki večini širile z naravnim tipom komunikacije[4], le redke so se širile s prepisovanjem ali v tiskani obliki – od tod tudi mnoge različice, ki se večkrat le malo razlikujejo (Novak 1983: 6).

Delitev folklornih molitev

Strukturna delitev razdeli molitve na 1. strnjene rimane molitve (tukaj lahko govorimo o dveh skupinah: vsebinsko samostojne folklorne molitve in folklorne molitve, ki so sklop več različnih molitev (lahko skrajšanih ali odlomkov), 2. dialoške molitve in 3. molitve na ključ. Strnjene molitve, ki so tudi vsebinsko enotne in samostojne, so krajše, rimane in v večini vezane na specifične situacije (vojne, nagovarjanje določenih svetnikov). Daljša ko je molitev, več možnosti je, da je nastala kot sklop različnih celih ali odlomkov starejših molitev.

Dialoška zgradba molitve je v *Zlatem Očenašu*, in sicer v dialogih med Marijo in Jezusom ali med Marijo in drugo osebo, npr.:

[…] *Zadi za njim kleči ljuba roža Marija Devica,*
Tak nemilo joče, tak debele solze stače, kak so vinske jagode.

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[2] Slovenski etnološki leksikon bo v nadaljevanju označen s kratico SEL.
[3] Tako so poimenovane, ker jih Judje in kristjani niso priznavali za pristen vir »božjega razodetja« in niso bile sprejete med kanonske spise (Verbinc 1976: 60).
[4] K. V. Čistov je razdelil komunikacijo na naravni tip (govorjenje) in tehnični tip (pisanje) komunikacije; glej: M. Stanonik: Teoretični oris slovstvene folklore, str. 141, 142.

- Marija, kaj tebi je, da tak nemilo jočeš,
Tak debele solze stačeš, kak so vinske jagode?
»Nisem imela več sinekov kak samo enega,
Pa še tistega so mi Judje vkradli,
Daleč odpeljali, na križ so ga pribili,
S križa je padala zlata kri,
So angeli prišli, so v zlate kelihe gor pobirali.
[…] (Novak 1983: 455)

Za take dialoške folklorne molitve je značilna vsebinska razširitev biblične zgodbe, npr. v pogovoru med Marijo in Jezusom velikokrat Jezus sam pripoveduje, kaj se mu bo dogajalo ob križanju in dogodkih, ki spremljajo križanje. Do teh razširitev je prišlo zaradi verske in domišljijske potrebe po prizorih »zasebnega«, po počlovečenju teh oseb, po približanju dogajanja domačemu okolju (Novak 1983: 8). Z dialogi in drugimi vsebinskimi dopolnitvami so ljudje izražali tudi svoje osebno in skupno telesno in duševno trpljenje (vojne, kuge, lakote, tegobe tlačanstva, bridkosti v družinah) (Stanonik 1999: 87), hkrati pa so z molitvijo upali na boljše življenje in na pomoč višje sile.

Molitve »na ključ« zgradbeno sestavljajo samostojno skupino: *1) Se parporočim Bogu Očetu, ki me je stvaru 2) Se parporočim Bogu Sinu, ki me je odrešiu /…/* (Novak 1983: 274) itd. *Sedem nebeških zapahov, Sedem nebeških ključavnic, Sedem nebeških rigli* ipd. so različni naslovi vsebinsko in zgradbeno ene in iste molitve. Narejene so »po ključih«; gre za naštevanje, komu se molivec priporoča: večinoma gre za molitve sedem ključev/ključavnic, najdemo pa tudi molitve na 12 ključavnic. Gre za tip folklorne molitve, ki je mednarodno znan (*Himmelsrigel*), objavljena je bila tudi že v *Duhovni brambi* v obliki sedmih krajših molitev. To besedilo naj bi bilo izrecno večerna folklorna molitev (Novak 1983: 276, 277)

Novak (1983) je folklorne molitve razdelil glede na čas molitve oz. glede na tri dnevne čase: jutranje, opoldanske in večerne:

1) zjutraj, ko so vstali in se priporočili bogu za prihajajoči dan, se zahvalili za preživeto noč, podali so prošnje po varovanju, predvsem pred lastnimi slabostmi, pa tudi za lepo smrt, zahvaljujejo se za preživeto noč ter hkrati prosijo za varovanje čez dan:

Molim Vas, nebeški Oča,
Karme moti Hudoba,
Dol pošajte mi Marijo
De premagam hudobijo.
Dol pošajte mi angela
De bom bugu Ježuša.
Zak' želim Vam biti zvjest
An na prit hudič' u pest. (Novak 1983: 272)

2) opoldanske molitve (novejšega izvora) – v to skupino lahko uvrstimo tudi tiste, ki jih je Novak (1983) uvrstil med t. i. druge [o teh nižje].

3) zvečer po opravljenem delu, da so se zahvalili za preživeti dan in se predvsem priporočili Bogu za prihajajočo noč; glavni namen večernih molitev je bilo zavarovati

spečega človeka pred vsakršno nevarnostjo, telesno in duševno (po starem verovanju, da duša med spanjem zapusti telo), zato se priporoča Bogu, svetnikom in predvsem angelom varuhom, posredno in neposredno pa odganja zle duhove, včasih naravnost omenja satana. Jedro večernih molitev je evropsko, kar dokazuje njihov verski značaj in izvor. Pri teh najstarejših in najkrajših besedilih je poleg zagotovila varnosti značilno zagotovilo pomoči treh angelov (Novak 1983: 15, 16). V večernih molitvah so najpogostejša priporočila Mariji in zaupanje v njeno brezmejno dobroto, sv. Trem kraljem in zaupanje v Božje varstvo. Novak (1983: 20) uvršča med večerne molitve tudi *Zlati Očenaš* in *Marijine sanje* (slednje Kumer (1999) uvrsti kot različico *Zlatega očenaša*)[5]. Navedeni folklorni molitvi imata največ različic, iz katerih so izpeljane tudi nekatere krajše verzije, kot ugotavlja Novak, vendar se sprašuje, ali gre res za molitev, ki so jo ob večerih célo molili in se je sčasoma skrajšala, ali gre le za odlomke, ki so jih molili zvečer.

> *Pejmo spat,*
> *Bogom rat,*
> *Tri ajgelce k nam poslat:*
> *Ta prvi nas bo vižov,*
> *Ta drugi nas bo spižov,*
> *Ta treči na popelje v Paradiš.*
> *V paradiži so trije stolci:*
> *Na prv'm sedi svet Petr,*
> *Na drug'm svet Pav,*
> *Na trečem Jezus sam sveto mašo bere,*
> *Marija tam kleči. »Kdo te je to molituco navadu?«*
> *»Ta prva bo za vučeta,*
> *Ta druga bo za matr,*
> *Ta treče bo zame. Amen«. (Novak 1983: 86).*

Novak (1983) je vse folklorne molitve, ki jih ni mogel uvrstiti v časovni del dneva, uvrstil med t. i. druge molitve. Gre za krajše rimane molitve, ki so vezane na določene situacije v življenju, npr. bolezni, vojne … V teh molitvah gre predvsem za čaščenje Marije, priporočilo Mariji in drugim svetnikom (sv. Miha, sv. Barbara, sv. Jedrt), molitev proti Turkom, zahvala nebeškemu Očetu itd. Te folklorne molitve bi lahko razdelili na tri skupine: na molitve s prošnjo po božji pomoči (molitev proti Turkom), molitve za srečno smrt in na molitve s priporočilom za dobro življenje sveti osebi (sv. Jedrt, sv. Barbara). Gre za delitev, ki kaže na pomen in rabo folklornih molitev; to delitev bi lahko razširili na vse molitve.

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[5] Novak (1983: 28) je razločil pri molitvi Zlati Očenaš tri oblike:
  1. kot pripoved o poteku Kristusovega trpljenja,
  2. kot pogovor med Jezusom in Marijo o dogajanju vsak dan velikega tedna in
  3. kot vsebino sanj, ki jih Marija razodeva Jezusu, potem ko jo je spečo zbudil, tj. Marijine sanje.
  Vse tri oblike *Zlatega očenaša* se končajo s sklepno formulo, v kateri je najprej navedeno, kdaj naj bi molili *Zlati očenaš*. Največkrat je rečeno, naj bi ga molili ob petkih, sicer pa navajajo, da ob praznikih, v velikem tednu, ob nedeljah, zjutraj ali zvečer, v nedeljo pred mašo, celo večkrat na dan. Po navadi je obljubljena tudi rešitev treh dušic iz vic, sicer pa odpuščanje grehov, varstvo pred nesrečami (npr. ne bo v ognju zgorel, ne bo v vodi utonil), prejem obhajila pred smrtjo ali da bosta Jezus in Marija prišla ob smrti po dušo (Kumer 1999: 65).

Estetska struktura in funkcija na ravni teksta

Oblika folklornih molitev je »povzela značilnosti folklornega pesništva: jezikovne, metrične in slogovne značilnosti, saj so večkrat prevzeli vanje kar cele vrstice iz drugih ljudskih pesmi, podobe, prispodobe, okrasne pridevke, pomanjševalnice« itd.; folklorne molitve so se recitirale, ne péle (Novak 1983: 8, 9).

Na tekstovni ravni je v folklornih molitvah veliko stilnih postopkov: paralelizmi členov, rime, parafraziranja, elipse, pomanjševalnice itd.

Krajše folklorne molitve ter uvodni obrazci teh molitev (*Pejmo spat, Bog je zlat* […]) se načeloma rimajo. Rima sicer ni obvezna v vseh verzih in lahko na določeni točki izzveni, vendar pa je pogostejša kot pri daljših besedilih:

> *Pojmo sp**at**,*
> *Boh je zl**at**,*
> *Pojmo gledat*
> *Na stez**ice**,*
> *Na gred**ice**,*
> *Kaj Marija dela.*
> *Angeljce nap**aja**,*
> *V sveti raj jih pos**aja**.*
> *Boh je vkazal/ Doli leč itd.* (Novak 1983: 127)

Pri daljših folklornih molitvah je večkrat zaslediti različna ponavljanja. Gre za ponavljanje samostalnikov in pridevnikov ([…] *Mir **božji**, dar **božji*** […]), stavčnih struktur ([…] *Na čast gospodi Bogu,/ Na čast svete Marije,/ Na čast pet krvavih ran Jezusovih* […]) ali parafraziranje (*Bodi **ofrana, prporočena*** […]), asidenton (*Potroštajte nas/ In vsa naša dela,/ Želje, opravila/ Vse naše djanje in nehanje,/ Vse naše življenje,/Vse naše trpljenje!*). Pogoste so pomanjševalnice ([...] *na **gredice**, na **stezice*** [...]) in vzkliki ([...] *naj **za Božjo voljo** stori zibko Sinu božjemu* [...]; [...] *O moj Bog, O moj Stvarnik!* [...]) ter hiperbola/pretiravanje (najbolj pogosto v *Zlatem očenašu*), npr.

*/…/ Preden Jezus tisto vodo prebrodi,/ Je **sedeminsedemdesetkrat** obnemogu./…/* [op. a.] (Novak 1983: 418).

Navajam primer molitve *Završila večerne molitve* iz Vrtojbe:

> *Bodi ofrana, prporočena*
> *Ta sveta božja molitevca,*
> *Ker sem jest spela in zmolila*
> *Na čast gospodi Bogu,*
> *Na čast svete Marije,*
> *Na čast pet krvavih ran Jezusovih,*
> *De se Bog usmili*
> *Črez naše stariše nu mlajše*
> *Inu čez vse verne dušice u vicah.*
> *O milostlivi gospod Bog,*
> *Jeh vzemite un z vic nu trpljenja;*
>
> *Položite jeh, pomesite jeh*
> *U to nebeško veselje,*
> *U ta nebeški svetli raj,*
> *Kjer nam ga Bog vošči inu dej,*
> *Vsim vernim kristjanom/*
> *Nam tem živim*
> *To ljubo zdravje,*
> *Dobro srečo,*
> *Mir božji,*
> *Dar božji,*
> *Tega daru svetega Duha!*

O moj Bog,　　　　　　　　　　　*Vse k časti božji strimo,*
O moj stvarnik,　　　　　　　　　*Vse v imei božjim!*
Ki ste vi nas ustvaru,　　　　　　*Dar svetu Duh,*
Na svet spomnu,　　　　　　　　　*Vse nam nadehni,*
Previdte nas,　　　　　　　　　　*Vse nam našpižej.*
Potroštajte nas　　　　　　　　　*Vse nam nagmirej!*
In vsa naša dela,　　　　　　　　*Sveti žegen božji,*
Želje, opravila.　　　　　　　　　*Požegnajte nas*
Vse naše djanje in nehanje,　　　*Enu naše dušice,*
Vse naše življenje,　　　　　　　*Enu vse, kar nam je Jezus*
Vse naše trpljenje!　　　　　　　*Posodu eni dau! Amen.*
Vse gospodi Bogu opramo,　　　　(Novak 1983: 142, 143)

Večina folklornih molitev ima večdelno zgradbo. Predvsem večerne folklorne molitve so daljše in imajo trideleno zgradbo (uvod – jedro – zaključek):

uvodna formula (*Bog nam je reku dol lečt /…/* (Novak 1983: 165); *Pejmo spat/Bog je zlat /…/* (Novak 1983: 120)),

jedro, v katerem je zapisan osrednji vsebinski del folklorne molitve ter

zaključna formula (*Tri duše 'do zveličane: / Ena 'de očina, ena 'de materna, / Tretja pa prava jegova* (Novak 1983: 84)), ki se je končno zaključila z besedo *Amen.*

Praviloma se končajo s **sklepno formulo**, ki se lahko prenaša iz ene molitve v drugo in je le redko vezana na eno samo. Pri sklepni formuli gre za izpolnitev obljube (da bo duša molivca, lahko tudi njegovih najbližjih, s to molitvijo rešena), ki je dana tistemu, ki bo to (molitev) molil.

Pri folklornih molitvah je najti tudi t. i. **potujoče verze**[6](Kumer 1968). Z. Kumer je potujoče verze opredelila in prikazala na folklornem pesništvu, podoben pojav pa najdemo tudi v folklornih molitvah (ki po oblikovanosti deloma že lahko prihaja na področje folklornega pesništva): ne le verzi, ampak cele kitice »potujejo« iz ene folklorne molitve v drugo, tj. enake ali zelo podobne kitice najdemo v različnih folklornih molitvah, kar je poseben način oblikovanja besedila, gre za t. i. **potujoče kitice**.

Potujoče kitice tako dobijo funkcijo uvodnih kitic:

Hodmo spat, Boga zvat […] (Novak 1983: 207); *Pejmo spat, Bog je zlat* […] (Novak 1983: 197); *Spat, spat, z Bougon prebivát* (Novak 1983: 196) itd.

Lahko pa se pretvorijo tudi v sklepne formule folklornih molitev, kjer gre kar za potujoče kitice, npr.:

[…] *Kdor bi to molitvico izmolil* […] *bi tri duše iz vic izpeljal; Prvo očetovo / Drugo materino, / Tretjo pa sam svojo* (Novak 1983: 300); *Kdor bo to molitvico molil / vsak juter, vsak večer, / bo rešil tri duše iz vic, / očetovo, materino in sam svojo.* (Novak 1983: 238).

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[6]　Tèrmin Zmage Kumer, 1965; potujoči verz naj bi bil po mnenju Kumerjeve »stilna značilnost slovenske ljudske pesmi« (Kumer 1968: 1157).

V jedru folklornih molitev je najti takšne verze predvsem znotraj variant ene folklorne molitve; te variante se med seboj lahko precej razlikujejo (npr. *Zlati Očenaš*), npr. […] *V sv. Paradižu, / Je 'na zlata miza. / Pr' ti zlati mizi / So trije stoli, trije škofje./ Pr' tem prvem sedi sv. Peter, / Pr' tem drugem sv. Pavel apostl / Pr' tem trečem usmiljen Jezus* […] (Novak 1983: 92); *[…] V svet'mu paradižu / Je ena zlata hišica, / 'Na zlata mizica, / Trije jogri, trije stoli: / Na enem sedi Jezus, / Na drugem sveti Peter, / Na tretjem sveti Miha* […] (Novak 1983: 95).

Pogost in opazen postopek pri folklornih molitvah je tudi sklaplanje različnih krajših molitev v eno daljšo (pri čemer je lahko npr. večerni del skrajšan); ta postopek je dobro viden pri daljših folklornih molitvah, npr. pri večernih:

Bog je vkazal
Lepo dolvleč',
Rahlo zasopat',
Nikogar se bat'.
in
Bog bo nam poslal angeljce tri:
Eden bo nas špižal,
Eden bo nas vižal,
Eden bo nas varval
Po noči in po dni. (Novak 1983: 100)

sta se združili v eno večerno molitev. S tem postopkom folklorne molitve pridobivajo pri dolžini, hkrati pa jih sklaplanje več različnih folklornih molitev v eno skupno izločuje iz skupine najkrajših žanrov. Kratke folklorne molitve, ki se pretvorijo v t. i. potujoče kitice, so načeloma vedno iste.

Vsebinsko se vse folklorne molitve nanašajo na svetopisemsko zgodbo in tudi osebe, na katere se molivec obrača, so izključno krščanski liki: Jezus, Mati Božja in različni svetniki. Poganska božanstva (njihove lastnosti in zgodba) – če so bila imenovana v folklornih molitvah – so popolnoma zabrisana.

Estetska struktura na ravnini teksture

Folklorne molitve se deklamirajo kot poezija, pa tudi zapis je večinoma v verzni obliki (lahko pa je tudi v prozni obliki), kar kaže na percepcijo tovrstne besedne umetnosti kot višjo raven besedne umetnosti, kot poezijo. Gre za besedila, ki funkcionirajo kot umetniška ali celo slavnostna besedila. Pri teh besedilih so značilna stilna sredstva, kot rima, paralelizem členov, personifikacija, pretiravanja itd. Nagovarjanje višje sile je terjalo tudi izbran jezik, ki se giblje med narečjem in knjižnim oz. formalnim jezikom (navadno so iz narečja, in sicer predvsem prevzete besede iz nemščine ali italijanščine, ki so bile že tako vključene v jezik govorcev, da jih niso več dojemali kot prevzete). Izbrani jezik in stilna sredstva tvorijo obredni jezik, značilen predvsem za folklorne molitve, pa tudi za zagovore:
Pejmo spat,/ Boh je zvat!/Na voske stezice, Kaj Marija dela:/Vboje včice napaja,/ Jež'š Krist'š! Amen. (Novak 1983: 127)

Molitve so izgovarjali pojoče, monotono, počasi, lahko celo nerazumljivo, momljajoče, če je molivec molil sam (osebna molitev). Glas je lahko zamaknjen. Gre za besedila, pri katerih je izvedbena dramatizacija potisnjena v ozadje, saj je besedilo namenjeno višjemu, božjemu bitju, in ne sogovorcu. Tako lahko govorimo celo o notranjem dialogu z višjim, božjim, čeprav je sporočanje zgolj enosmerno (prošnje in zahvale molivca).

Pri folklornih molitvah je pomembno ponavljanje – ne le v besedilu folklorne molitve, temveč ponavljanje celotne molitve po večkrat, pri čemer postane ritmično govorjenje bolj poudarjeno.

Estetska struktura na ravni konteksta

Pri folklornih molitvah gre za izraz vernosti, duhovnosti in mišljenja tistih, ki so te molitve ohranili ali njihovih rednih ali občasnih uporabnikov, ki so jih uporabili kot izraz in sredstvo obrambe pred zlim, kot sredstvo češčenja (trpečega Kristusa, Marije) ter prošnje (Stanonik 1999: 87). Z njimi se izraža vdanost v božje varstvo pred vsem hudim.

Funkcija folklornih molitev ni le verska, ampak tudi namensko uporabna in čeprav so njihove prvine zajete iz cerkvene nabožnosti, živijo te molitve zunaj cerkve; ljudem so bile bližje od cerkvenih molitev, saj so deloma nastajale iz domišljije ljudi, ki so jih z dialoškimi pogovori med osebami (npr. Marijo in Jezusom) in raznimi podrobnostmi približali ljudem in zemeljskemu življenju. Obkrožujoča realnost se odseva predvsem v teh dialoških zgodbah, kjer s podrobnostmi kažejo na dojemanje sveta in s tem približajo svetopisemsko zgodbo ljudem (oz. samim sebi). Glavna funkcija folklornih molitev je vzbujanje upanja pri ljudeh ter tolažba v težkih trenutkih, kar je mogoče razbrati iz priporočil Mariji, zaupanje v njeno dobroto in v brezmejno Božje zavetje.

Nekatere apokrifne molitve so molili tudi za obrambo pred boleznimi, zato imajo tudi »obrambno« funkcijo – seveda na psihološki ravni občutka varnosti; prepisi takih molitev naj bi varovali človeka »vsake nesreče na duši in telesu«.[7]

Folklorne molitve so ljudje molili skupno ali v družini ali posamezno (osebna molitev); s tem so ljudje izražali svoje osebno trpljenje« (Novak 1983: 7) ter svojo hvaležnost in prošnje. Molivci so bili v glavnem ženske in otroci; mame, tete in babice so tudi največkrat učile otroke novih molitev. Ženske so se priporočile Jezusu ali svetnikom, otroci pa so jih večkrat izgovarjali ob večerih za svoje želje. Največkrat je bila nagovorjena Marija kot zavetnica, npr.:

> *Pod svetim križem dol ležem,*
> *Pod Marijinim plaščem zaspim,*
> *Če živ ostanem, Bogu hvalo dam,*
> *Če umrjem, Bogu dušo izročim.* (Novak 1983: 198)

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[7] Obrambne »žegne« z navodili: »kateri to molitvo per sabe nosi udrukano … zadobi razne milosti in bo vsake nevarnosti frei!«, ki jih najdemo v *Kolomonovem žegnu* in *Duhovni brambi,* Ivan Grafenauer opredeli za orientalski amulet. Isto velja tudi za t. i. *Kristusovo* in *Marijino »delavo«* (dolžino), »saj so tam isti pristavki (hver to S. Delavo … persabe nosi alpa doma jma …«)« (Grafenauer 1907: 11). Obramba zoper dušno in telesno nesrečo je bil tudi *Sveti list*, ki vsebuje *Pobožne molitve, Sanje Marije Device* in *Pergodbico*. Vse ali eno izmed molitev naj bi imeli pri sebi zlasti vojaki, da bi bili obvarovani pred sovražnikom, in porodnice, da bi lažje rodile (Makarovič 2008: 121).

Največkrat so se folklorne molitve molile ob jutrih ali/in večerih ter ob raznih opravilih, kot ličkanje, skupinska ročna dela itd. Čas molitve je bil predvsem odvisen od namena: zahvala ali prošnja, ki pa se deli na prošnje po varovanju, odpuščanju ali prošnja za boljše življenje/pogoje/ozdravljenje. Folklorne molitve, v katerih so se zahvaljevali, so navadno molili zjutraj, medtem ko so bile molitve s prošnjo po varovanju ali odpuščanju večinoma večerne. Molitve s prošnjo po boljšem življenju/ pogojih/ zdravljenju navadno niso molili v določenem delu dneva, temveč glede na izredne življenjske razmere, kot npr. ob vpadu Turkov, težkih boleznih itd. Folklorna molitev *Zlati očenaš* je ena najdaljših tovrstnih molitev in je bila verjetno molitev v postnem času, zlasti v velikem tednu, kar omenjajo tudi nekateri sklepni obrazci. Molili naj bi ga tudi ob navadnih petkih, tudi ob sobotah in nedeljah (Kumer 1999: 14). Z. Kumer (1999: 14) navaja celo primer, ko se priporoča moliti *Zlati očenaš* zlasti, »ko se bo eno dete na svet rodilo«.[8]

Folklorne molitve so se širile z naravnim tipom komunikacije, tj. z živo besedo, govorom.[9] Možnosti za stike med ljudmi raznih narodov in jezikov so bila lahko romanja; ta so bila v srednjem veku priljubljena pri vseh slojih: z romanji so se približevali Kristusu, Materi Božji in svetnikom. Ustno posredovanje dokazujejo tudi uvodni verzi, stalne besedne zveze, ki sodijo v način pesemskega izražanja, trikratno ponavljanje, popačene besede, ker izraz molivcu ni bil razumljiv … (Kumer 1999: 13).

Estetska struktura folklornih molitev na ravni konteksta se kaže predvsem v moči besede, v upanju in moči, ki ju posameznik dobi ob izrekanju/deklamiranju. Stilna sredstva in besedišče folklornih molitev gradijo svečanost, mističnost molitev in jih uvrščajo med umetniške tekste, vendar pa dojemanje teh molitev kot pomoč v življenju in uvrščanje v osebno sfero posameznikovega dojemanja sveta uvrščajo ta žanr med najbolj estetske strukture na ravnini konteksta v slovstveni folklori. Moč besede in upanje, ki ga folklorna molitev vzbuja v molivcu je tudi najpomembnejši del folklorne molitve; gre za neke vrste meditativno stanje in samopomoč v ritualu, ki ga je posameznik ali družina izvajal vsakodnevno.[10] Ritual[11] je v tem smislu lahko razumljen tudi kot ustvarjanje svetega prostora, kjer se dosega presežek vsakodnevne izkušnje; tako folklorna molitev lahko funkcionira kot del časa, v katerem je udeleženec postavljen izven vsakdanjih zavedanj (O'Sullivan 2001: 127). Pri tem sta v ospredju potrpežljivost, poslušanje – za meditativno stanje, ki odpira molivca za učinek pozitivne afirmacije. Folklorno molitev lahko interpretiramo tudi kot samoprepričevanje, ki posameznika prestavi iz miselnega koncepta »kaj pa, če se bo zgodilo (-) …« v »zgodilo se bo (+)«. (O'Sullivan 2001:128). Ta učinek niti ni samozavedanje kot predstava izkušnje posameznika (zavedanje sebe je zgrajeno skozi predstavnost/predstavo vsega). O'Sullivan trdi, da bi lahko govorili celo o *ne*osebni stvari. Gre za naše reagiranje in resoniranje z obkrožujočim, kar je tisto, kar nas povezuje s svetom. V tem pogledu je učinek »transčloveški« in učinek je vsekakor »transčloveško estetski« (O'Sullivan 2001: 128), prehaja in se širi po družbi.

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[8] Ta molitev naj bi po podatkih Möderndorferja po verovanjih v 30. letih 20. stoletja v ljutomerski okolici lajšala porod (Kumer 1999: 14).

[9] Širjenje s tiskom je postalo mogoče šele po prvi tiskani knjigi v reformaciji. *Zlati očenaš* in *Marijine sanje* sta bili edini molitvi, ki sta se tiskali na posamezne lističe, najdemo ju tudi v *Kolomonovem žegnu*, kljub temu da Cerkev tovrstnih molitev ni podpirala. Na to je verjetno vplival močan nemški vpliv in prevzem besedila iz nemščine (ljudje so besedilo pozneje tudi preoblikovali).

[10] Danes podobno dosegajo tudi z v zadnjem času popularnimi t. i. afirmacijami in meditacijami.

[11] Bataille kot ritual obravnava umetnost, vendar v ta koncept lahko vstavimo tudi folklorne molitve (kot folklorni umetniški tekst in performanco) (O'Sullivan 2001: 127).

Folklorne molitve predstavljajo tudi vstopno točko v drug svet: v svet mitološkosti, kjer najdemo svetopisemsko zgodbo z vsemi simboli in junaštvi (Campbell 2007). V tej mitološkosti se kažeta imaginacija in dojemanje junaštev in ljubezni ter pragmatičnost v dojemanju dogodkov in v njihovi povezavi z upanjem.

Zaključek

Dandanes le redko zasledimo folklorno molitev na terenu; zdi se, da ta žanr izumira v takšni obliki. Kljub temu folklorne molitve niso bile in niso brezpomenske, saj imajo svojo vlogo, pomembno vlogo: odpirajo sveto skozi estetsko funkcijo, magično funkcijo in funkcijo transformacije. Molitve ne ustvarjajo smisla sveta, temveč odpirajo možnosti bivanja, postajanja v svetu (O'Sullivan 2001: 130). V sodobnejšem času folklorne molitve nadomeščajo s t. i. afirmacijami, dobrimi mislimi in meditacijami, vendar njihova estetska struktura in funkcija ostajata enaki: imeti občutek, da smo bliže svétemu in da smo s svétim v stiku ter vzbujati upanje. Kljub temu, da se pri obravnavi folklornih molitev najprej posvetimo estetiki v poetološki analizi jezika in stilnih postopkih, je treba poudariti, da ti sicer delajo jezik bolj obreden, pravo estetsko funkcijo pa folklorne molitve dobivajo skozi kontekst. Preko konteksta folklorne molitve dobivajo pravi pomen v življenju uporabnika.

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Aesthetic Structure and Function of Folk Prayers from the Aspect of Text, Texture and Context

Saša Babič

Folk prayers are usually researched in the area of folk beliefs and religiosity. They may also be considered on the folklore-research field as a small folklore form: although folk prayers seem to be fixed folklore forms, they are re-created and re-interpreted by individuals. Folk prayers are spread by natural interaction, only a few are spread by transcription or in printed form. We can discuss this genre on the levels of folklore event: text, texture and context. All three levels show aesthetic structure: in the text, we search for poetic processes, while rhythm is one of the most evident in the texture; on the context level aesthetics is mainly reflected in the perception of the genre.

Lik psa v zbirki Glasovi: Mitološki pes[*]

Tanja Kovačič

The dog is not merely an interesting subject in the Slovenian tradition, but is known to all civilizations. The mythical dog usually acts as a companion of the gods and a guardian of the dead. The author of this paper questions which of these ideas have been preserved up to the twentieth century and how they have affected the everyday life of people and their attitudes towards dogs in Slovenia. The mythological dog is investigated through Glasovi, *a collection of Slovenian folk tales. The author concludes that the dog is usually associated with mythical, superstitious and negative connotations and people included its positive character only rarely.*

Keywords: dog, folklore, mythology, fear

Psu, ki je danes sinonim za človekovega najboljšega prijatelja, je človek vedno zaupal izredno pomembne naloge, tako v vsakdanjem življenju kot v mitoloških pripovedih. Pes ni zanimiv lik zgolj za slovensko tradicijo, temveč za številne svetovne civilizacije. Mit o volčjem ali pasjem predniku so poznala mnoga azijska, predvsem mongolska, stepska ljudstva. V izročilu Kirgizov in Kazahov je izpričana zveza med žensko in psom ali volkom. V Evropo so mit o svojem volčjem predniku prinesli Huni (Šmitek 2004: 271).

Še bolj razširjena je bila ideja o psu, ki čuva prehod v onstranstvo. V antični Grčiji so na primer poznali večglavega psa Kerberosa, ki je stražil vrata Hada (Šmitek 2004: 37). Iranski zoroastri so verjeli v most Činvat, ki je povezoval zemljo in onstranstvo in ki sta ga čuvala dva psa (Šmitek 2004: 39, 159–160). Egipčanski čuvaj vrat, ki so razmejevala zgornji in spodnji svet, je bil bog Anubis v podobi šakala (Šmitek 2004: 128). Podobno je bivališče mrtvih v nordijski mitologiji čuval pes Garm (Sax 2001: 87). Po indijski vedski mitologiji pa sta dva psa, vsak s štirimi očmi, stražila pot do palače boga Yama, sodnika umrlih. Lik dveh psov se je pojavljal še v babilonski in arabski kulturi (Šmitek 2004: 159–160).

Pes je občasno razumljen kot solarna žival, večinoma pa se povezuje z luno. Pasje tuljenje številne kulture razlagajo kot znamenje smrti (Sax 2001: 86). Na podlagi predstav, ki dajejo psu sposobnost komunikacije z onim svetom, se je razvil običaj osetinskih šamanov iz Zakavkazja. Ti so ob novoletnih večerih potovali na oni svet, da bi se spopadali z dušami sosednjega plemena ali dušami pokojnikov. Ta potovanja so izvedli tako, da so jezdili na psih ali mačkah, pa tudi na metlah in klopeh (Šmitek 2004: 211).

Mitološki pes je bil poznan tako Keltom (Sax 2001: 87) kot tudi Germanom. Germanski Wodan pa tudi indijski bog smrti Rudra sta namreč paraleli slovanskemu 'volčjemu pastirju'. Psa Volka je imela ob sebi tudi naša Pehta, najverjetneje po vzoru grške boginje Hekate, ki je blodila po nočnih gozdovih s čredo podivjanih psov (Šmitek 2004: 128). Po izročilu vzhodnih in južnih Slovanov so Kresnika spremljali lovski psi ali volkovi. Tudi nekateri poznoantični rimski reliefi kot lovca s psom upodabljajo boga Mitro (Šmitek 2004: 159–160). Za ozemlje Makedonije je izredno zanimiv prispevek o pretepanju in izgonu vaških psov ob začetku letnega obrednega cikla ter v navezavi z volčjim kultom opisala Aneta Svetieva (2002). Pes je znan lik tudi iz majevskih (Bošković 1988: 76, 122), azteških (Sax 2001: 87–88), severnoameriških staroselskih (Virk 1990: 10, 24, 39) in afriških (Allan, Fleming in Phillips 2012; Parrinder 1984: 45, 77, 134) mitov. Pod izrazom dingo pa nastopa tudi v avstralskih staroselskih mitih (Smith 2003).

Mitološkega psa so očitno poznala številna ljudstva sveta. Po teh predstavah je pes pogosto opravljal svoje običajne vloge – vloge čuvaja in spremljevalca – le da je v mitih to počel v onstranstvu in za bogove. Mene pa zanima, katere od teh predstav so se med našimi predniki ohranile vse do 20. stoletja in kako, če sploh, so vplivale na odnos ljudi do psa.

Gradivo iz zbirke Glasovi

Gradivo za pričujoče besedilo je nastalo kot del raziskave za mojo doktorsko disertacijo *Odnos med človekom in psom v urbanem okolju: Socializacija psa v Ljubljani in Tolminu*. Današnji odnos ljudi do psa sem želela primerjati z odnosom, ki so ga imeli do psa naši predniki. V času zbiranja in prebiranja gradiva na to temo sem spoznala, da poglobljena raziskava na to temo za slovensko ozemlje ne obstaja. Našla sem zgolj posamezne etnološke drobce (Cevc 1987: 49, 61; Smrdel 1989: 71, 87–88, 111; Smrdel 1995: 107–117; Torkar 2008: 25; Miklavčič-Brezigar 1996: 185). Zaradi pomanjkanja podatkov za primerjavo današnjosti s preteklostjo sem se odločila izvesti literarno analizo zgodb, ki pripovedujejo o življenju v preteklosti.[1]

Za potrebe raziskave sem prebrala vseh štiridesetih knjig, ki so do poletja 2012 izšle v zbirki Glasovi. Zbirka, ki jo ureja dr. Marija Stanonik in je zbirka slovenskih folklornih pripovedi, je začela izhajati leta 1988. V njej je do avgusta 2012 izšlo štirideset knjig. Nastale so s pomočjo terenskega raziskovanja in zbiranja folklornih in spominskih pripovedi po posameznih slovenskih pokrajinah. V njih je bilo skupaj objavljenih 13.543 zgodb, od katerih jih je psa omenilo petsto šest zgodb.[2] Med branjem zgodb sem

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[1] Zanimalo me je kako so ljudje sobivali s psom, kakšne ideje o psu so gojili in kako so te vplivale na vedenje do psov. Poleg literarne analize sem se pri raziskovanju zanašala še na tehniko polstrukturiranega intervjuja in preučevanja starejše kinološke in etnološke literature.

[2] Lik volka, ki je soroden obravnavanemu liku zaradi obsežnosti gradiva in pomanjkanja časa v analizi nisem upoštevala. Prav tako nisem upoštevala analize žanra, saj so me zanimale vse ideje o psu, ki so

gradila seznam ponavljajočih se motivov. Osnovne kategorije so zajemale motive: 1. pes kot *Canis lupus familiaris*, 2. pes kot mitološko bitje, 3. pes kot osnova za zemljepisno ime in 4. pes kot osnova za primero. Zavedam se, da je samo kategoriziranje vsebine za seboj potegnilo svoje omejitve.

V tem besedilu se bom omejila na predstavitev in analizo kategorije psa kot mitološkega bitja. Znotraj te so se ponavljali naslednji motivi: demonski pes, divja jaga in psoglavec ter pes, ki zazna demona, pes, ki naznanja smrt, pes, ki varuje zaklad, in pes, ki je povezan z božjimi silami. Pri prvih treh kategorijah je sam pes mitološko bitje, preostale kategorije pa izražajo nadnaravne lastnosti psa, ki pa se prav tako vežejo na mitološke in folklorne predstave o pasjih sposobnostih.

Pes kot mitološko bitje

V obliki psa se pogosto pojavlja demonsko bitje, ki lahko grozi človeku (Morato in Pahor 2002: 48) ali pa se ga človek le boji (Gričnik 1995: 103–104; Gričnik 1998: 69; Morato in Pahor 2002: 47–48; Kocjan in Hadalin 1993: 98). Demonski pes je najpogosteje opisan kot črn (Medvešček 1990: 74–75; Cvetek 1993: 78; Gričnik 1995: 104) ali velik (Gričnik 1995: 358, 359; Piko 1996: 149–151; Glaseničnik 1998: 99–100).

Tak pes se lahko pojavi zaradi kršitve številnih prepovedi. Lahko je posledica izrečene kletvice (Gričnik 1995: 104; Ajtnik, Peserl, Lozar in Pšajd 2008: 36–37), rezultat dejstva, da je človek obogatel na krivičen način (Dolenc 2000: 111–112), da je delal na nedeljo ali praznik (Dolenc 2000: 39) ali če je bral Kolomonske bukve (Gričnik 1995: 316). Zanimiva je tudi izpričana zgodba, po kateri naj bi se demonski pes prikazal tistemu, ki je malo potrebo opravil v bližini hiše (Primc 1997: 65). V obliki psa se rad pokaže tudi sam hudič (Rešek 1995: 137; Podpečan 2007: 216–217).

Takega psa lahko prežene kropitev z blagoslovljeno vodo, molitev (Glaseničnik 1998: 99; Cvetek 1993: 78), pokrižanje (Podbrežnik in Kotnik 2009: 67; Gričnik 1995: 104) ali branje iz črnih bukev (Bokal 2010: 35). Če se zvečer uležeš vznak, lahko pride mora kot pes ali mačka in skoči nate ter te tlači (Ožbolt 2004: 52). Tudi volkodlak (Tončič 2005: 31–33) in mrak (Morato in Pahor 2002: 44) lahko prevzameta obliko psa.

Žareče pse in druga demonska bitja pa so po prerokovanjih pogosto videli tisti, ki so se rodili med dnevom in nočjo, v mraku ali svitu (Gričnik 1995: 42). Ob srečanju z demonskim psom človeka pogosto doleti nesreča. Človek lahko izgubi glas (Tomšič 1989: 93; Piko 1996: 149–151; Gričnik 1998: 68–69) ali pa sluh (Dolenc 2000: 115–116).

Kot opozarja Monika Kropej, je tudi v slovenskih bajkah s prihodom krščanstva hudič začel prevzemati vloge nekaterih poganskih bajeslovnih bitij, še posebej likov htonskega značaja ali strašljivega obnašanja oziroma videza (2008: 277). Po mojem mnenju je pes idealen za pripis takih lastnosti. Prestrašen ali ogrožen pes se zna vesti izjemno napadalno, pri tem nasrši dlako in pokaže nevarne in na videz grozljive čekane. Lastnost psa, da se je pogosto sam potepal naokoli, pa je vodila v številna soočanja človeka z nepoznanim psom. Kaj si je pes ob tem mislil, ne bomo nikoli izvedeli. Na podlagi opisanih zgodb pa lahko sklepam, da so se ljudje neznanega psa bali in se najverjetneje temu primerno tudi vedli tako na verbalni kot neverbalni ravni. Slednje pa

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krožile med ljudmi ne glede na vsebino zgodb, načine njihovega podajanja ali izvor. Prav zato se nisem spraševala niti o resničnosti posameznih dogodkov in bitij.

je lahko pri psu povzročilo umik ali pa obrambno vedenje, ki je le potrdilo človekove predstave o nevarnem demonskem psu.

Divja jaga, znana tudi kot nočna, ponočna ali peklenska jaga oziroma kot nočni lov, se v zgodbah praviloma pojavlja zvečer in ponoči. Gre za demonsko dogajanje, ko psi lajajo in se sliši vse sorte dretje (Cvetek 1993: 99). Takrat se mačke derejo, psi lajajo, ptiči prhutajo (Cvetek 1993: 104), sove pojejo in krave mukajo ter vse to gre po zraku (Zupan 1999: 27). Ob tem pa še strašno poka iz lovskih pušk (Podbrežnik in Kotnik 2009: 91–93). Pravijo, da morajo tisti lovci, ki jagajo na krvavo nedeljo, za kazen nazaj hoditi in jagati ponoči (Gričnik 1995: 133). Divja jaga naj bi prišla z onega sveta. To so tisti jagri, ki so šli raje na lov, kot da bi šli v nedeljo k maši (Gričnik 1995: 135–136). Pravijo, da so to zli duhovi, hudobni lovci oziroma ljudje, ki so kaj hudega storili, pa morajo zdaj za kazen loviti. To so isti, ki so z živalmi grdo delali, po smrti pa se morajo z živalmi okoli po gozdu loviti. Tisti pa, ki so ljudem kaj hudega storili, se morajo po smrti z ljudmi loviti (Verdinek 2002: 37–38). Divji jagri vsako leto jagajo na velik petek ali kvatrno nedeljo, zvečer okoli devetih (Gričnik 1995: 136–137). Najpogostejša pa je divja jaga v tistih letih, ki niso zagovorjena (Cvetek 1993: 155).

Divji jagi se morajo pridružiti tisti, ki so lovili ob prepovedanih dneh. Med slednje spadajo predvsem kvatrni dnevi: druga postna ali kvatrna nedelja med 15. februarjem in 21. marcem, sreda, četrtek in petek po prvi postni nedelji oziroma kvatrni teden po Binkoštih, navaja Damjan Ovsec. V to kategorijo spada še čas dvanajsterih noči in čas od Božiča do Svetih Treh kraljev, ko se na svet vračajo pokojniki ter drugi duhovi in ko naj bi imele demonske sile še posebno moč (Ovsec 1991: 235). Vera v divjo jago in divje lovce je bila razširjena tudi severozahodno od območja današnje Slovenije (Lecouteux 2011: 56–84). Gre za stare predstave o nočnih bojih duhov ali duš umrlih, ki lovijo po zraku. Izvorno naj bi šlo za bojevnike, ki so padli v boju, po smrti pa se vedno znova prebujajo in se še naprej borijo. Kasneje pa se je ta predstava razširila na vse ljudi, ki so umrli nasilno (Petzold 2003: 186–187).

Nočni lov se običajno dogaja tam, kjer se stikajo tri meje. Kaznovanega lovca pri tem lahko spremlja tudi njegova pokojna žena, ki je spremenjena v psa. Njuni otroci pa hkrati nastopajo kot zajci (Glaseničnik 1998: 65–66). Včasih pa imajo psi v divji jagi človeške glave (Verdinek 2002: 62). Divja jaga potuje po kolesnicah. Če gre človek takrat po isti cesti, mora sesti na panj, ki ima vsekan križ (Gričnik 1995: 139–140) oziroma se uleči v levo (Gričnik 1995: 139–140) ali desno kolesnico (Glaseničnik 1998: 65–66). Še bolj pa je, da ne hodi po gazi, temveč le po sredini poti (Gričnik 1995: 139). Če se divji jagi ne umakneš, te po hrbtu udari in ti sekiro v hrbet zapiči. Če se želiš znebiti bolečine v hrbtu, moraš ob letu dni iti na isti kraj, da ti divji jager sekiro izdere (Gričnik 1995: 137–140). V primeru srečanja z divjo jago lahko stopiš tudi za drevo in moliš za duše v vicah (Karničar 1997: 34). Na mestih, kjer se je rada pojavljala divja jaga, so ljudje postavljali kapele (Glaseničnik 1998: 64).

Monika Kropej razlaga, da je v slovenskem izročilu veliko bajeslovnih bitij povezanih s predstavami o smrti, duhovih, dušah in demonih. Te predstave so pogosto izvirale iz strahu pred mrtvimi in vračajočimi se dušami. Tovrstna bitja pa so bila osnovana tudi v starih verskih predstavah in družbenih institucijah (2008: 276). Duše nekaterih pokojnikov so bile zaradi hudega greha, storjenega v času življenja, preklete. Po smrti so se morale zato kot grozljive nočne prikazni klatiti po območju, kjer so storile pre-

povedano dejanje (Kropej 2008: 282). Divja jaga je dober primer takšnega verovanja. Pes v tem primeru ni zgolj spremljevalec demonskega dogajanja, temveč je njegov lajež, poleg pokanja pušk, eden od glavnih znanilcev tega dogajanja. V tem primeru sam pes sicer nikoli ne grozi človeku. Pa vendar so se ljudje celotnega dogajanja v zvezi z divjo jago močno bali, saj so verjeli, da ima lahko srečanje z njo izredno negativne posledice.

V nasprotju z divjo jago, ki je nihče nikoli ni videl, pa so imeli psoglavci značilno zunanjo podobo. Imeli so grd spačen obraz, podoben pasjemu, in eno samo oko sredi čela. Po pasje so javkali in imeli dober čut za izsleditev (Gričnik 1995: 219–220). Ljudje so se jih na splošno bali (Zajc-Jarc 1993: 37). Pasjeglavci so bili znani po tem, da odkupujejo (Penec in Toplišek 2009: 155–156), ugrabljajo in žrejo ljudi (Černigoj 1988: 170). Nekateri so jih imenovali za pesjanarje in jih enačili z volkodlaki (Penec in Toplišek 2009: 155–156). Glavni sovražniki cesarstva naj bi bili nekoč Psoglavci in Turki (Primc 1997: 271–272).

Izročilo o pasjeglavcih pa je prepleteno tudi z izročilom o Psu Marku oziroma Pasjemarku (Dolenc 1992: 137). Tega je rodila grofova hči, katero je dal lastni oče zapreti v ječo. Za igračo ji je podaril psa, s katerim je dekle zanosilo in rodilo sina Pasjemarka. Ta je naposled postal vladar Benetk in v maščevalnem besu pokončal svoje rodno mesto. Po Šmitku lahko omenjenemu motivu sledimo vse do Psa Marka, vzdevka resnične zgodovinske osebnosti, vojaškega poveljnika v fevdalni službi na Slovenskem v začetku 16. stoletja. Okoli njega so se spletli starejši pripovedni motivi iz Atilove življenjske zgodbe. Tudi ta se je po slovenskem izročilu rodil iz zveze med kraljično in psom (Šmitek 2004: 270–272). Atila je vedno, preden je spregovoril zalajal (Morato in Pahor 2002: 84), pripoveduje ena od zgodb iz zbirke Glasovi.

Šmitek opozarja, da izročila o Atilu in psoglavcih ne smemo vselej samodejno povezovati s hunskim pripovednim ciklom. Ta zveza vendarle obstaja v nekaterih zgodbah, na primer v eni od zgodb, ki jih je zapisal Josip Jurčič in ki je po jedru podobna slovenski koroški tradiciji o Miklovi Zali. V nekaterih poznejših variantah so psoglavce zamenjali Turki, pri zamejskih Korošcih pa roparji. Donald J. Ward je opozoril na podobnosti slovenske inačice s starogermanskim izročilom o Waltherju v norveški *Thidreks sagi* in latinskim epom *Waltharius manu fortis* iz 9. stoletja. V samem jedru zgodbe boj med psoglavci in ljudmi simbolizira spopad med naravo in kulturo (po Šmitek: 272–274).

Pripisovanje pasjih značilnosti določenim ljudstvom je izviralo iz zelo starega evropskega spomina, navaja Šmitek. O kinokefalnih bitjih so namreč pisali že v antiki (2004: 270). V slovenskem izročilu se pasjeglavce enači s pesjani, pesoglavi, pesoglavci in pasjedlani (Kropej 2008: 295–296). V vzhodni Sloveniji je bilo razširjeno izročilo, da so pasjeglavci preganjali, mučili in pobijali kristjane in uživali njihovo meso ter kri. Bili so nizke čokate postave, le usta so imeli podolgovata kot psi (Šmitek 2004: 273). V slovenskem ljudskem izročilu obstaja več kombinacij motiva psoglavcev z različnimi demonskimi bitji, pri čemer je vidna tendenca nadomeščanja psoglavcev s hudičem (Šmitek 2004: 297).

Gre za tradicije, ki so se več tisočletij širile med ljudmi. Posamezniki, ki si delijo tako pasje kot človeške lastnosti, so v njih razumljeni kot grdi in spačeni. Njihovo oglašanje je mešanica pasjih in človeških glasov. Po Šmitku je problem porekla in geneze teh predstav zelo kompleksen. Na splošno pa psoglavce umešča v eno od naslednjih kategorij: 1. divjaško ljudstvo, ki živi bodisi na mejah obljudenega sveta ali na nedostopnih

krajih v domačem okolju, 2. konkretni zgodovinski sovražniki, kot so bili na primer Turki, ali 3. demoni oziroma človeški izrodki (2004: 296).

Očitno ima pes tudi v pripovedih o psoglavcih negativne konotacije. S psom so ljudje v preteklosti enačili ljudi, predvsem tujce in sovražnike, za katere so menili, da niso polnovredni ljudje. Ta negativna simbolika psa (Germ 2006: 174–178) se je vse do danes ohranila kot psovka, ki pomeni grobo, zelo žaljivo besedo ali besedno zvezo, navadno izrečeno v afektu (Bajec 1993a: 281).

Pes z mitološkimi lastnostmi

Naslednji primeri opisujejo psa, ki biva s človekom pa vendar mu človek pripisuje nadnaravne sposobnosti, ki izvirajo iz predstav o mitološkem psu. V ospredju je predvsem njegova sposobnost zaznavanja demonskega dogajanja. Ljudje so iz opazovanja nenavadnega pasjega vedenja pogosto sklepali, da ta zaznava demonske sile (Gričnik 1995: 97–98), da se spopada z njimi (Gričnik 1995: 98; Glaseničnik 1998: 21) ali pa da se jih boji (Podpečan 2007: 27; Podbrežnik in Kotnik 2009: 67, 101–102; Gričnik 1998: 239–240; Verdinek 2002: 58, 61–62). Trdili so, da pes namerno sedi na mestu (Piko 1996: 97) ali pa laja proti območju (Gričnik 1995: 357–358), kjer je bil nasilno ubit človek. Pes naj bi bil sposoben zaznati in spopasti se z boleznijo, na primer s kugo (Rešek 1995: 91).

Pripisovanje psu sposobnosti zaznavanja demonov ne preseneča. Iz zgoraj opisanih prigod je očitno, da so pred nami mnogi verjeli v obstoj mitoloških oziroma demonskih psov. Če pa so psa osebno poznali in ga niso mogli označiti za nadnaravnega, pa so to lahko pripisali vsaj njegovim lastnostim. Nenavadno vedenje psa, ki bi ga danes morda pripisali določenim izostrenim sposobnostim zaznavanja dražljajev iz okolice, so si razložili kot nadnaravno oziroma mitološko. Nenazadnje so predstavniki starejših generacij prek folklornih zgodb o mitoloških psih in pasjih mitoloških sposobnosti socializirali mlajše člane skupnosti ter jih uvajali v lokalne tradicije in verovanja.

Pravijo, da pes lahko čuti in naznanja tudi smrt (Gričnik 1995: 358). Nekateri so bili prepričani, da pes s tuljenjem kliče smrt (Krševan in Krebelj 2003: 92). Drugi so verjeli, da je pes zgolj najobčutljivejši od vseh živali, saj je že vsaj dan pred smrtjo gospodarja ali katerega drugega domačega, tulil in jokal ter s tem naznanjal njegovo smrt (Ravbar 2007: 62; Podbrežnik in Kotnik 2009: 112–113). Ljudje so si tudi srečanje z nenavadnim psom razlagali kot *cahn* oziroma kot znamenje za nesrečo ali smrt človeka (Gričnik 1995: 359, 378–380, 388–389; Glaseničnik 1998: 41; Gričnik 1998: 207; Krejan 1999: 99).

Razširjenost verovanja, da pes naznanja ali kliče smrt, ne preseneča ob dejstvu, da je pes v številnih mitologijah opisan kot varuh prehoda med tem in onim svetom. Primeri, ki so našteti v uvodnem delu pričujočega članka, nakazujejo, da gre za motiv, ki je bil razširjen od Indije, prek Bližnjega Vzhoda, Egipta pa vse do Grčije ter v arabski kulturi.

Tako na Slovenskem kot verjetno tudi ponekod na Hrvaškem je bilo v preteklosti razširjeno prepričanje, da ima kmečki pes z belimi ali rjavimi lisami nad očmi – torej s štirimi očmi, ki pomenijo nenehno budnost in čuječnost – sposobnost, da začuti smrt in z laježem napove njen prihod ali da človeka obvaruje pred demoni in drugimi nevarnostmi, povzema Šmitek. Med iranskimi Parsi je še danes živ običaj, da k umirajočemu

človeku pripeljejo takšnega psa, saj verjamejo, da ima njegov pogled apotropejsko moč, pa tudi, da pes začuti, če je človek že izdihnil (Šmitek 2004: 159–160).

Očitno lahko pes, ki ima sposobnost videti onkraj, ljudi na tem svetu opozori na potencialno nevarnost ali pa nasprotno prikliče nevarnost iz onstranstva. Njegova vloga je v bistvu ambivalentna. Prav zato ne preseneča, da so se številni posamezniki v analiziranih zgodbah bali psa, saj niso vedeli, s kakšnim namenom je prišel oziroma zakaj se je oglasil.

Pes, ki varuje podzemni zaklad (Piko 1996: 53; Dolenc 2000: 65), lahko žari, ima črn kožuh ali pa bruha ogenj in žveplo (Gričnik 1995: 212–213, 231–232). Čeprav se da takega psa po eni od pripovedi odgnati s šibo (Gričnik 1995: 231–232), pa se ga ljudje večinoma zgolj bojijo. Črni pes pa lahko nosi okoli vratu privezne ključe od zakladnice (Medvešček 1990: 138–141).

Motiv psa, ki varuje zaklad, sloni na eni od najbolj osnovnih pasjih nalog: varovanju lastnine. Tudi Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika psa definira kot »*domačo žival za čuvanje doma, za lov*« (Bajec 1993: 573). Psi so namreč teritorialne živali, ki z laležem opozorijo na približevanje neznanca in ga poskušajo odgnati z opozorilnim ali agresivnim vedenjem. Pes po vsem svetu še danes opravlja funkcijo varovanja človekove lastnine. Prav zato ni čudno, da so naši predniki psu zaupali varovanje tistih predmetov, ki so jih ocenjevali za najbolj vredne. Pes pa za vlogo varovanja podzemnega zaklada ni primeren zgolj zato, temveč tudi zaradi svoje povezanosti z onstranstvom.

Čeprav je pes pogosto razumljen kot demonski, se mu hkrati pripisuje tudi povezava z božanskim. Kot nasprotje črnega demonskega psa v nekaj zgodbah nastopa beli pes. Če črni pes predvsem grozi človeku, mu beli pes lahko pomaga (Tomšič 1989: 54, 98; Tončič 2005: 110–111). Lahko pa predstavlja tudi nenevarne duše umrlih[3], na primer otrok (Tomšič 1989: 93). Pravijo tudi, da je maček vraži, pes in konj pa sta nasprotno božji živali (Gričnik 1998: 67). Bog naj bi imel rad psa (Penec in Toplišek 2009: 117), zato je pes lahko pri njem izprosil za pšenico oziroma kruh zase in za ljudi (Penec in Toplišek 2009: 117–118, 136–137). Bog naj bi iz pasjega repa izdelal celo Evo (Kure 2004: 27; Penec in Toplišek 2009: 116). Po drugi pripovedi pa naj bi pes človeku prostovoljno podaril dvajset let svojega življenja, zato je človekova življenjska doba danes daljša od pasje (Gričnik 1998: 44).

Vse družbe posameznim barvam pripisujejo določene pomene, razlage njihovih pomenov pa so kulturno specifične. Postavljanje bele barve kot nasprotne črni izvira iz krščanske ikonografije po letu 1000 (Pastoureau 2009: 51–52). Ko ti dve barvi nastopata skupaj, po navadi izražata spopade nasprotnih sil, razlaga Ovsec. Pri tem črna barva reprezentira nočne, negativne sile, bela pa dnevne, pozitivne sile. Bela je simbol miru, tišine, miroljubnosti, nevtralnosti. Kot simbol začetka in čistosti je močan simbol vsega dobrega v nasprotju s črno barvo, ki v tej opoziciji simbolizira zlo, krščanskega hudiča, črne sile, črno magijo in zle namene. Bele živali so bile pogosto svete (Ovsec 2001: 204–206). Kot kaže moja analiza, so naši predniki črne živali pogosto imeli za demonske, hudičeve in nevarne.

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[3] Psa, ki reprezentira dušo umrlega, pa bi lahko povezala tudi s predstavo starih Slovanov, ki so si duše pokojnikov, pa tudi živih posameznikov, simbolično predstavljali v podobi živali (Mencej 1995).

Zgodbe so imele vpliv na ljudi

Kot navaja Tine Germ, je simbolizem psa zapleten, obširen, predvsem pa ambivalenten (2006: 174–178). Moja raziskava zgodb iz zbirke Glasovi potrjuje njegove trditve. V zgodbah, ki pripovedujejo o srečanju človeka z mitološkim psom ali s psom z mitološkimi lastnostmi, pes in človek le redko sodelujeta. Prav nasprotno. Veliko večino teh soočen človek interpretira kot neprijetna, nevarna in grozljiva. Tudi zgodbe o psoglavcih nakazujejo, da so tisti, ki so intimneje povezani s psom, na zunaj grdi, znotraj pa sovražni in nevarni. To potrjuje tudi analiza čustvenih stanj, o katerih poročajo obravnavane zgodbe. Edino človekovo čustvo v teh zgodbah je namreč strah (Tomšič 1989: 54, 81, 84, 98; Kocjan in Hadalin 1993: 98, 285; Primc 1997: 64–65, 159–160).

Zdi se mi, da pes za naše prednike pogosto ni bil le žival s štirimi nogami in repom, temveč tuzemska krinka demonskega bitja, pa naj bo to mora, mrak, volkodlak ali sam hudič. Tak demonski pes je bil najpogosteje opisan kot črn. Prisotnost nepoznanega psa je lahko pomenila tudi znamenje za nesrečo ali smrt človeka. Ta pes je lahko grozil človeku, sodeloval v nevarnem nadnaravnem dogajanju ali pa se je prikazal kot kazen za storjeno grešno dejanje. Vero v tovrstna prepričanja in skrivne povezave danes imenujemo vraževerje.

Opisani primeri nakazujejo, da so se v folklornih pripovedih, zbranih na ozemlju slovensko govorečega prebivalstva, ohranili številni drobci mitoloških predstav o psu in njegovih lastnostih. K njihovi ohranitvi je med drugim pripomoglo tudi dejstvo, da so ljudje vanje tako ali drugače verjeli. Pri tem so imele močan vpliv vraže, ki so obstajale v vseh časih, zelo žive pa so tudi danes (Wiseman 2003). Damjan Ovsec navaja, da je človeštvo navešeno z arhaičnimi, starejšimi in novejšimi vražami, duhovnimi in posvetnimi spekulacijami ter verovanji različnih oblik in virov. Ker se spomin nanje ohranja iz roda v rod, se jih človek ne more kar znebiti (Ovsec 2001: 23, 30). Vse, kar danes označujemo za praznoverje, je bila nekoč vera. Vraževerje je živa ostalina, je način mišljenja in razmišljanja naših prednikov ter del nekoč cvetočih verovanj. S propadom posameznih civilizacij so se izgubila tudi njihova duhovna verovanja in postala folklorni gradbeni material. Spomin na njihove izvore in pomene se je popačil, v drobcih pa je preživel v obliki idej in prepričanj posameznih človeških skupnosti (Ovsec 2001: 32–33).

Definicija praznoverja je zahtevna, saj je pojem izredno kompleksen in zapleten, težko pa je potegniti tudi jasno mejo med vero in praznoverjem. Na splošno velja prepričanje, da je praznoverje nastalo iz človekove potrebe po iskanju vzročnih povezav in iz želje po razlagi pojavov, ki jih človek ni razumel ter je bil ob njih nemočen. Vraže kot del ljudskega izročila, navad, človeških strahov, želja in tolažb izražajo opažanja, da se na svetu dogajajo stvari, ki nimajo opravka z razumom in ki jih znanost ne zna pojasniti. Vera v vraže kaže na to, da človek sprejema idejo obstoja sil, ki jih ne pozna in za katere pravi, da so nad njim, hkrati pa verjame, da lahko vpliva nanje. Magija to počne načrtno, praznoverja pa nenačrtno. Praznoverje v resnici nalaga človeku več obveznosti kakor dogmatična religija, saj ga sili k veri v skrivne nadnaravne povezave (Ovsec 2001: 31–35).

Kot nalaga vraževerje, so mitološkega psa lahko priklicali storjena krivica, izgovorjena kletvica, kršenje prepovedi in ukvarjanje z magijo. Odgnal pa si ga lahko s pomočjo krščanskih obredov, kot so molitev, prekrižanje in škropljenje z blagoslovljeno

vodo. Podobno moč je imelo tudi branje iz magičnih črnih bukev. A le kdor je znal brati ta znamenja in je poznal načine odganjanja nesreče, je lahko vplival na svoje in tuje življenje. Vsi pa niso imeli tega znanja.

Temu je treba dodati, da so bile zgodbe o demonih, psoglavcih in drugih mitoloških in folklornih bitjih izredno priročno vzgojno sredstvo. Tudi Monika Kropej ugotavlja, da se je spomin na te motive pogosto ohranjal prav prek vzgoje. S pripovedovanjem strašljivih zgodb so v otrocih vzbujali strah in jih s tem odvračali od številnih nevarnosti (Kropej 2008: 276). Te zgodbe pa otrok niso učile zgolj, kako se izogibati nevarnim krajem in ljudem, temveč tudi kako naj čutijo in kako naj se vedejo ob srečanju z nepoznanim psom. Pripovedovanje omenjenih zgodb je tako imelo tudi funkcijo vzgoje odnosa do živali. In osrednje sporočilo, ki bi ga sama danes lahko povzela iz analiziranih zgodb, je bilo, da so nepoznani psi nevarna, demonska bitja, ki prinašajo nesrečo in smrt. Takega psa se je zato treba bati, se mu izmikati ali ga odgnati, da bi z njim odgnali tudi nesrečo.

Takoj pa moram poudariti, da predstavljene zgodbe nikakor niso bile edine zgodbe, ki so si jih ljudje pripovedovali. Pripovedovali so si tudi zgodbe, ki so o psih govorile na pozitiven način. Poleg tega so imeli številni ljudje, predvsem pa otroci, stike s hišnim ali sosedovim psom. Na podlagi teh izkušenj so se naučili, da vsi psi niso tako grozeči in nevarni, kot pripoveduje folklorno izročilo.

Sklep

Za konec naj poskusim odgovoriti še na vprašanje, kako, če sploh, so mitološke predstave o psu vplivale na praktični odnos ljudi do psa. Čeprav se je kinologija na Slovenskem začela intenzivneje razvijati šele sredi 20. stoletja, so si ljudje vedno poskušali razlagati pasji razum in njegovo vedenje. Na vprašanja, kako negovati, hraniti in vzgajati psa ter kako se vesti do njega in v njegovi bližini, so si posamezniki odgovarjali na različne načine. Mnogi so se zatekali k učenju iz opazovanj in izkušenj. Vsi pa so bili v procesu socializacije soočeni z družbenimi tradicijami v obliki idej in praks, prek katerih so se naučili za posamezno skupnost primernega oziroma zaželenega odnosa do drugih živih bitij. Kulturno značilne ideje o psu so se med drugim širile tudi prek vraževerij in folklornih pripovedi. V večini slednjih pa je imel pes izredno negativno konotacijo, ki ni mogla ostati brez posledic. Največji del pasjih sporazumevalnih sposobnosti sloni na sposobnosti branja (in oddajanja) neverbalnih znakov komunikacije: sukanja oči, glave in telesa ter prepoznavanja tona glasu. Pes, ki zna pozorno spremljati govorico človekovega telesa, se odlično odreže v pomenskem tolmačenju tistega, kar mu posameznik želi povedati (Coren 2001: 36–38, 123). Pes se torej ves čas odziva na signale, ki jih človek zavedno in nezavedno oddaja (Millan in Jo Peltier 2012: 64–75; Ule 2009: 169–255). Prestrašen in sovražno nastrojen človek torej v psu vzbuja drugačna čustva in reakcije kot zadovoljen in miren človek.

Folklorne pripovedi iz zbirke Glasovi, ki pripovedujejo o mitološkem psu in psu z mitološkimi lastnostmi, ohranjajo spomin na številne predstave, ki se vežejo na psa. V tem okviru psa povezujejo z onstranstvom, nevarnostjo, nesrečo in smrtjo. Le redko se zgodi, da je pes predstavljen kot božja žival, ki lahko človeku stori dobro. Predstavljene zgodbe psa prikazujejo predvsem v negativni luči. Srečanje z nepoznanim psom je v večini primerov slaba napoved. Prav zato med ljudmi v zgodbah prevladuje strah do psov.

Predstave o psu, ki so se med ljudmi širile preko pripovedi, so imele pomemben, vendar ne odločilen vpliv na praktični odnos med človekom in psom. Posameznik ni bil zgolj žrtev svojih predstav in verovanj, temveč je imel moč vplivati na svoje življenje. Z učenjem iz izkušenj je človek svoje ideje o svetu lahko prilagajal in spreminjal glede na lastne potrebe in želje. Naši predniki se zato niso zgolj bali psov, temveč so imeli z njimi tudi dobre in dolgotrajne odnose.

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The Dog in the Collection *Glasovi*: Mythological Dog

Tanja Kovačič

Today, the dog is almost a synonym for man's best friend. However, in the past it has always been trusted important tasks both in everyday life as in the mythological narratives. A dog appears in mythologies of ancient Greece, Egypt, India and Iran and also in Babylonian and Arab cultures; it is known by many Asian peoples, as well as to European Celts, Germans and Slavs. The mythological dog is also mentioned in records of native North and South American, African and Australian civilizations. Many of those associate the mythological dog with the moon and believe that it has the ability to communicate with the world of the dead.

The author of this paper questions which mythological ideas about the dog have survived on the territory of Slovenian language up to twentieth century and how they affected people's attitudes towards dogs. Because there was no detailed research on this topic, the author carried out a literary analysis of *Glasovi*, a collection of folk stories. In its forty books, 13,543 stories were published and of those 506 mentioned dogs. This article focuses on those stories that portray the dog as a mythical creature, or a creature of mythological properties. The most common motifs are a demonic dog, the wild hunt and cynopheli, as well as a dog detecting a demon, announcing death, protecting treasure, and a dog that is connected to a god.

Analysis of the stories revealed that the dog is described primarily as dangerous demonic creature that threatens a man, or a man is just afraid of it. It can be associated with demons, devil, or death. The case of cynopheli shows that attributing characteristics of a dog to humans also has negative connotations. However, there are also stories that attribute a divine nature to a dog, which indicate that attitude toward dog was in many cases ambivalent.

The author concludes that our ancestors were more often than not afraid of the unknown dog. Their fear must have been demonstrated both in their verbal and non-verbal communication. The dog that is excellent in reading of bodily signs must have reacted to it by withdrawal or defensive behaviour. While doing so, it must have often confirmed the ideas that people had about it. These ideas have been transmitted through storytelling traditions, child socialization practices and superstitions.

MITOLOGIJA IN KNJIŽEVNOST

MITOLOGIA E LETTERATURA

MYTHOLOGY AND LITERATURE

The Cooperation of Grimm Brothers, Jernej Kopitar and Vuk Karadžić*

Monika Kropej

This article is focused on Kopitar's work for oral tradition in the eras of the Enlightenment and Romanticism, and on his contribution to South Slavic publications of folk narrative and linguistics, especially from the perspective of his cooperation with Jacob Grimm and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić. Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844), Slovene linguist, censor, and scribe in Vienna, was one of the founders of Slavic studies and the author of the renowned first Slovene scientific grammar book, entitled Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steiermark (Grammar of Slavic languages in Carniola, Carinthia and Styria 1809). He was also translator of the Freising Manuscripts (Brižinski spomeniki). As an accomplished philologist, Kopitar maintained contacts and corresponded with numerous intellectuals of that period, notably with Josef Dobrovský and the great German philologists Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm. Some of their letters have been preserved to this day. As a mentor to Vuk Karadžić, whom he encouraged to publish literary folklore, dictionaries, and grammar, he introduced Karadžić to Jacob Grimm and made references of Karadžić in his letters to Grimm, who took Karadžić under his guidance.

The Reformation period and the beginnings of Romanticism left visible cultural and political effects in Slavic lands. The movement that had originated in Scotland with James Macpherson's ballad collection of the Celtic bard Ossian, *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760), and with Thomas Percy's publications,[1] stirred wide interest in literary folklore. Particularly resonant in the Slovene ethnic territory was the work of Johann Gottfried von Herder who proclaimed, in the spirit of the teachings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, that folk songs were a product of natural poetry worthy of becoming the foundation of modern poetry. In his collection *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* (1778/9, 1807) Herder also published translations of the folk songs of Slavic peoples, for

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1 *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* (1763) and *Reliques of Ancient Poetry* (1765).

example the Serbian *Hasanaginica* (*Klaggensang von der edlen Frauen der Asanaga*[2]). Yet it was not until Josef Dobrovsky observed in the *Slavin* magazine in 1806 (Kidrič 1930: 151) that the Slavic nations became acquainted with Herder's homage to the Slavs in his *Ideen zur Philosofie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1791).

In Slovenia, Marko Pohlin, an initiator of the Slovene cultural revival, encouraged the creation of the first collection of Slovenian folk songs collected by Jožef Zakotnik. Pohlin's iniciative was followed by Anton Janez Zupančič, who published, on August 8, 1807 in the *Laibacher Wochenblatt*, an article with an appeal to the general public to send him folk songs and other ethnographic material. It was in this period that Jernej Kopitar started his linguistic and philological work.

Jernej Kopitar (Repnje near Ljubljana on August 21–Vienna on August 11, 1844) was a younger representative of cultural revival and one of the most prominent Slovene philologists.
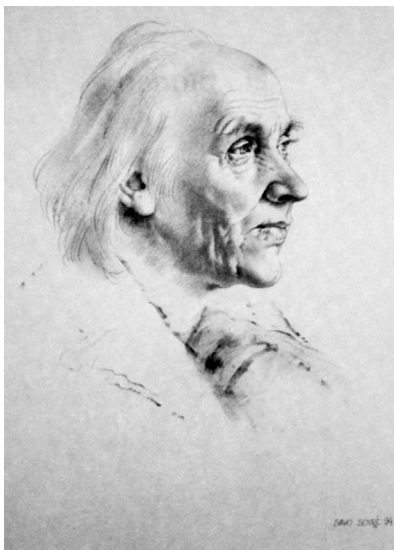
Jernej Kopitar (by Savo Sovre) and the house in Repnje near Ljubljana in which Jernej (Bartholomäus) Kopitar was born.

It was of great importance for the young Jernej Kopitar that Žiga Zois Baron Edelstein took him under his wing in 1803. The founder of the "literary republic" (*res publica litteraria*),[3] Zois was the central figure of the Slovene cultural revival during the Enlightenment. After completing his education, Jernej Kopitar came in 1800 to live in the house of Zois's sister who was married to a nobleman by the name of Bonazza. Kopitar became the private teacher of their son Franz Anton. After Franz Anton had left for Vienna, Kopitar worked in Zois's private residence as a secretary, librarian, and curator of Zois's mineral collection. Among the intellectuals of that time that have been gathering in Zois's circle were also poet Valentin Vodnik and count Anton

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[2] The song was translated by Goethe after Alberto Fortis had published it in *Viaggo in Dalmazia* (1774) (Kidrič 1929–1938: 177; Jezernik 1988: 71–72).

[3] Jernej Kopitar, who became an orphan, after cholera outbreak 1795

Rudež; both were pupils of Marko Pohlin, who had instilled in them an interest in folk lore.

While teaching the Slovene language to Countess Eugénie L. A. Belegarde, Kopitar started to closely examine Slovene grammar. A result of this interest was his grammar book *Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark* (1809) that was published after he had already left for Vienna.[4]

Since 1804, Kopitar had greatly admired Bohemian literary historian and linguist **Josef Dobrovsky** (Balassagyarmat, Hungary, August 17, 1753–Brno, January 6, 1829), and introduced Dobrovsky and his *Slavin* newspaper to the public by publishing
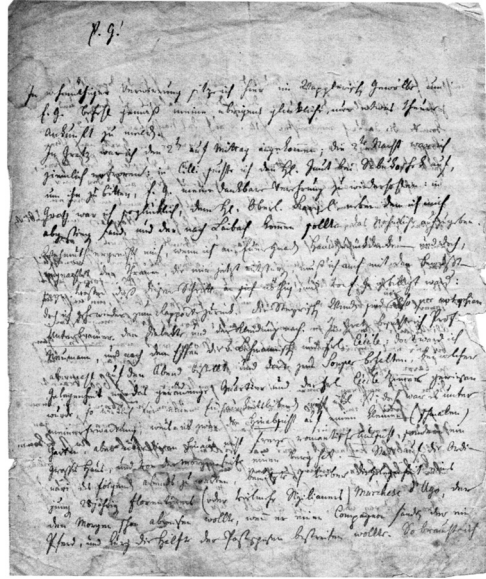
Žiga Zois Baron Edelstein, the founder of the "literary republic" (Res publica litteraria) in Ljubljana, and a central figure of the Slovene cultural revival.
The first letter of Jernej Kopitar from Vienna (1808) to Baron Žiga Zois.

an article in the newspaper *Laibacher Wochenblatt* titled *Nachricht an die Freunde der slavischen Literatur* (1806).

Because Valentin Vodnik, in his letter to Dobrovsky on January 28, 1808, in which he reported on the situation in the field of Slavic studies in Slovenia, mentioned

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[4] The standards of this first Slovene scientific grammar were based on the folk language. Rather than adopting the principle of the language being determined by grammatical rules, Kopitar decided to seek these rules in the spoken language. His preface to the book discusses, on the basis of works written by Schlözer and Herder, Slavism; the history of Slavic tribes; the work of Saints Cyril and Methodius; and their alphabet. In addition, he presents his classification of Slavic languages after Dobrovsky and discusses at length the concept of Pan-Slavism that would enable the use of a universal Slavic alphabet. Kopitar also lists Slovene manuscripts and printed grammar books written first by Adam Bohorič and Jurij Japelj, all the way to Marko Pohlin. The first part of the book contains a critical overview of the development of the Slovene written language and spelling from 1550 to 1808. A true reformer of the Slovene literary language, Kopitar took the common man and as an example of the only strata of society that still masters the genuine Slovene language as opposed to the artificial language spoken by the bourgeoisie and intelligentsia.

only his own work on the Slovene grammar book and chose to completely overlook Kopitar's efforts in that field, on March 3, 1808, Kopitar wrote his own letter to Dobrovsky in which he introduced his work on his Slovene grammar book and offered to become Dobrovsky's correspondent and to contribute news and information on this subject. From then on, Dobrovsky and Kopitar had an intensive working relationship. It would seem that Kopitar's repeated initiatives and requests for collecting Slovene folk songs and tales addressed to the Slovene public, were mainly the result of his wish to satisfy the famous Bohemian philologist (SBL 1932: 508).

In October 1808, Zois sent Kopitar to Vienna, which he reached on November 5) to study law. However, Kopitar soon discovered his talent for philology and also started to study Slavic languages. He was instructed by Zois to establish ties between Zois' circle and other Slavic centres in the Austrian Empire. Zois' personal, financial, and social support and his letters of recommendation enabled Jernej Kopitar access to the higher social circles and intellectual society.

During his studies in Vienna, Jernej Kopitar was also in contact with Josef Dobrovsky, and sent him information on Slovenian language and folklore. Acting upon Kopitar's request, Zois had been looking for a long time, although with no success, for the manuscript collection of adages collected by Janez Mihelič, a pupil of Marko Pohlin and a collector of folk songs and tales.[5] Zois sent to Kopitar "songs of a truly national character" that had been collected by Valentin Vodnik and Jurij Japelj, a priest and a linguist, 27 of which Kopitar translated to German and forwarded to Dobrovsky.

Kopitar graduated in 1810, and at the end of that year he took the post of a private teacher in the house of Gika, a Romanian nobleman. However, Kopitar's innate talent for languages made him embark on the study of philology. Spending much time in the library, he was able to meet many prominent scholars of the day (SBL 1932: 499). The fact that he was mentored by Zois opened up many doors, for example to the Imperial court, government cabinets, the archbishopric's palace, salons of the nobility (e.g. the salon of Karl von Schreibers, the house of historiographer Jožef Kalasanc Baron Erberg), and to the university (Vidmar 2010: 160). Even though Kopitar did make acquaintances on his own, he still very much depended on letters of recommen-

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[5] In his report on the period when Mihelič was a parish priest in Radovljica, Marko Pohlin states that Mihelič was in possession of a number of Carniolan proverbs (*Adagia Carniolica*). If this very extensive manuscript could be edited and published systematically, a great deed would be done for Carniolan (Slovenian) literature. When this report was published, the collector of proverbs was probably already deceased. Although Kopitar found Pohlin's report only after he had returned to Vienna, he must have assumed from the first letter sent to him by Dobrovsky that the great patriarch of Slavicism felt very strongly about the discovery of Mihelič's proverb collection. On February 1, 1809, Kopitar wrote to Zois the following: "According to the bibliography of Father Marko Pohlin, there is allegedly a priest in Dolenjsko by the name of Mihelič who is in possession of a collection of Carniolan proverbs. It seems that Dobrovsky cares about this collection very much. Although Mihelič is already deceased it might still be possible to find the manuscript." Zois enlisted others to look for the manuscript in Kropa and elsewhere but with no avail (SBL 1933: 113).
Examining Pohlin's Bibliotheca Carnioliae (1803) in Vienna, Kopitar found a report on the Father Dizma Zakotnik (Jožef Zakotnik). Largely under the influence of Pohlin's cultural revival circle, Zakotnik was collecting folk songs among the common people, including the oldest ones such as *Pegam and Lambergar*, *Jurij Kobila*, *Kralj Matjaž*, and *Lepa Vida* (SBL 1932: 501), this collection was lost as well.

dation written by Zois. These letters were particularly valuable when Kopitar applied for a position in the Imperial Library in Vienna.

On September 7, 1810, he became the censor for books written in Slavic languages and in Modern Greek. On December 10 of the same year, he was finally appointed to the post of the fourth scribe of the Imperial Library (Vidmar 2010: 163). Nine years later, in May 1819, Kopitar became the first scribe of the Imperial Library. He was also inducted into office of the censor for Slavic, Romanian, and Modern Greek books. Yet it was not until April 24, 1844, that Kopitar finally attained the highest position in his line of work and was appointed First Curator and an imperial councillor. He belonged to over twenty prominent European scientific academies and societies, e. g. of France, Russia, Bavaria, Prussia, Göttingen, and Serbia (Pogačnik 1977: 8).

Although Kopitar's scientific explorations focused on Slavic philology, he was also keenly interested in cultural and political ideologies. Even before he had obtained his first post in Vienna, Kopitar was already known as an authority on the circumstances concerning the South Slavs. It was in his favourite inn, "Zum weissen Wolf", where Kopitar socialized with Balkan merchants and learned to speak their languages.
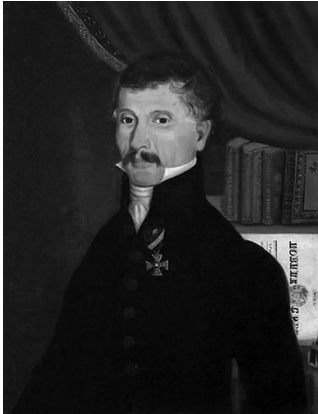
Dimitrij Davidović and Dimitrije Frušić with his family (by Jožef Tominc, National Gallery in Ljubljana). Serbian physicians who with the help of Bartholomäus Kopitar started to publish a Serbian newspaper in Vienna, Novine serpske (1813–1821).

In addition to his friends at home, Kopitar had a wide network of friends and acquaintances abroad – over six hundred correspondents. Among the more prominent were Wilhelm von Humboldt, Friedrik Schlegel, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, Leopold von Ranke, Polish patriot Count Ossolinski and Serbian writer Dimitrij Davidović. Together with Dimitrije Frušić, Davidović was encouraged and aided by Kopitar to start publishing a Serbian newspaper in Vienna, called *Novine serpske* (1813–1821). There was also Wenzel Hanka, a pupil of Dobrovsky, whom Kopitar met at the beginning of 1814 when Hanka made a stop in Vienna. In 1813, Kopitar met Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in Vienna, and two years later Jakob Grimm who at that time was a librarian in Kassel and had come to Vienna on diplomatic business. Grimm stayed there from October 1814 to June 1815. Kopitar met Štefan Stratimirović, the Serbian Metropolitan, on March 22, 1817. In 1818, Kopitar struck up a friendship with Pavel Solarić, a

Serbian Enlightenment philosopher and a proofreader of the Slavic printing house in Venice. Among others, Kopitar corresponded with Paul Josef Šafařik who in 1819 was still a private teacher in Bratislava. One of Kopitar's subsequent correspondents was also Jan Kollar (SBL 1832: 504).

His stimulating environment and his exceptional aptitude for linguistics enabled Kopitar to produce an exceptional number of articles. His texts were published in numerous journals, for example in *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichische Kaiserstaat*, *Wiener Jahrbücher*, and *Wiener allgemeine Literaturzeitung*. Kopitar received descriptions of the Slovene folk culture as well as folk songs and folk tales mainly from Urban Jarnik, a priest and poet from Carinthia,[6] and from the aforementioned Anton Rudež.[7] In 1813, he published in *Wiener allgemeine Literaturzeitung* (191, 192) a legend about the rib of a giant maiden (*ajdovska deklica*) in the church in Gornji Grad in Štajersko/Styria.[8] The tale, about the rib from which drips a single drop each year until eventually it dissolves completely, is very similar to the folk tale from Crngrob.

In 1838, Kopitar made a number of suggestions to Emil Korytko, a young Polish emigrant, obviously trying to mould the enthusiastic Pole into a man similar to Vuk Karadžić (SBL 1932: 509). However, Korytko's untimely death prevented him from publishing all the instances of the Carniolan folk lore that he had originally planned. In his article entitled *Historische Frage* (Wiener allgemeine Literaturzeitung 1813), Kopitar examines Slovene folk songs about Pegam and Lambergar and analyses the etymology of the name Pegam from *Beheime* (Bohemian = hist. Czech).

Kopitar published notes written by Polish count Jan Potocki during his travels through Resia in approximately 1790 in his article *Die Slaven im Thale Resia* in the publication *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichische Kaiserstaat* (1815).

Kopitar's enthusiasm for cultural revival is particularly pronounced in his work *Patriotische Phantasien eines Slaven* in *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichische Kaiserstaat* (1810) that aroused widespread enthusiasm. It was due to this article that Jan Kollar pronounced Kopitar one of the principal proponents of the concept of Slavic mutuality. The article also induced Pavel Josef Šafařik to write his *Geschichte der slav. Literatur nach allen Mundarten*, requesting Kopitar to contribute a list of Slovene authors furnished with short biographies. Kopitar complied, but instead of compiling the list himself he enlisted Matija Čop, whom he had met at the Imperial Library in Vienna, either in 1816 or in 1817. When Čop forwarded the completed text to Šafařik through Kopitar, Kopitar enclosed a letter with a very flattering evaluation of Čop's work. Years later, however, Kopitar became an opponent of Čop's literary theory. In addition, he also sharply criticized France Prešeren, the most prominent Slovene poet, who had sent a small volume of his poems for evaluation (SBL 1932: 504) to Kopitar in 1825/26. In 1833, when Kopitar had a falling-out with Čop and Prešeren, and consequently lost his fight for the so-called *metelčica*[9] script, and after 1837, when Kopitar

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[6] In the Imperial Library in Vienna, Jarnik's letters to Kopitar from 1813 to 1833 are preserved: Signature ÖNB 140/29-1 to 140/29-41 Han.

[7] Kopitar published their texts in *Vaterländische Blätter für den österreichischen Kaiserstaat* (Vienna 1812).

[8] Rippe zu Oberburg in Steirmark (Kopitar / Miklošič 1857: 151).

[9] In 1820 and 1821, when Dobrovsky was in Vienna due to the upcoming publication of his Old Church Slavonic grammar, Kopitar established closer contact with him. Since Dobrovsky had no intention of composing a Slavic alphabet, Kopitar set to work by himself. The so-called *metelčica*, a special alphabet

took an even fiercer stance against Ljudevit Gaj and against supporters of the concept of Illyrism, it became obvious that the conflict over the alphabet was essentially a conflict between two cultural periods (Murko 1908: 351).

It was only due to his close friendship with Vuk Karadžić that Kopitar was able to recover from this breach between himself and his fellow citizens in Slovenia. Further stricken by Dobrovsky's death in 1829, Kopitar started to focus primarily on Old Church Slavonic manuscripts. In 1836 he published *Kločev glagolit »Glagolita Clozianus«*, a manuscript written in the Glagolitic alphabet and in the possession of Count Cloz from Trident. This publication brought Kopitar considerable fame. The book also contained the so-called *Brižinski spomeniki* (Freising Manuscripts) with translation and several scholarly treatises.

In the summer of 1837, and at his own expense, Kopitar travelled to Rome and Bologna, where he made notes on Glagolitic manuscripts and on the Old Church Slavonic Psalter (Bonazza 1980). Several years later, Kopitar was selected to establish the Chair of Old Church Slavonic in Rome, which is why on October 28, 1842, he once again departed for Rome. Although originally planning to remain in Rome for two years and to lecture on Slavic literature to his Ruthenian students, he was forced to return to Vienna at the end of April of the following year due to his advanced lung disease. It was at that time that he met Franc Miklošič who had come to Vienna upon the recommendation of Polish count Ostrovski. Recognizing Miklošič's considerable talent, Kopitar provided him in 1844 with the post of the civil clerk in the Imperial Library, which enabled Miklošič to devote most of his time to Slavic studies. As his disease progressed, Kopitar was installed in the home of his fellow countryman, Professor Jožef Jenko, where he died in August. After his death, Miklošič – who remained loyal to his teacher and also supported his "Carinthian and Pannonian theory" about the origin of Old Church Slavonic – published Kopitar's *Kleinere Schriften I* in1857.

The Cooperation

Kopitar was avidly interested also in folk songs, tales, proverbs, and customs. Among the non-Slavic Romaticists, he particularly respected Herder, Grimm, Schlegel, and Kant among the philosophers. He was searching for a gifted Slavicist who would, under his mentorship, lay the foundations of the Slovene language and literature. Unable to find such a person among the Slovenes, Kopitar was all the more impressed by Vuk Karadžić. He pledged his considerable influence and his powerful position to defend Karadžić from many hateful accusations and criticisms from Serbia as well as from Vienna, particularly in disputes over spelling and other linguistic issues. Kopitar also helped him financially, since Karadžić frequently had financial problems due to the fact that he was generally without permanent employment. **Vuk Stefanović Karadžić** was originally from a Herzegovinian family that later moved to Tršić. He briefly went to school in Srijemski Karlovci and later worked as a teacher and a judge, but not for long. A frequent and enthusiastic traveller, he was constantly taking notes on folk heritage and on the history of places he was encountering on his journeys.

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composed by Franc Metelko, originated during the 1820 "alphabet assembly" in Vienna but did not entirely meet Kopitar's requirements. In view of this, Kopitar hastened to further Dobrovsky's publication *Institutiones linguae slavicae dialecti veteris* (Vienna 1822), also adding *Epimetra tria*.

Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (Tršić, October 26, 1787 – Vienna, January 26, 1864)

In 1813, he had joined the leaders of the Serbian uprising who were fleeing the Ottoman Empire's repeated assault on Serbia, and arrived in Vienna. He met Kopitar in December of that year.[10] Very impressed by his extraordinary intelligence and kind manners, Kopitar became Karadžić's most loyal friend, teacher, consultant, and patron. He perceived Karadžić as the figure who could end the anarchy in the Serbian literary language and lay the foundations of spelling and literature. Wasting no time, he wrote about Karadžić in a letter sent that very month to **Jacob Grimm**, a prominent German philologist. This was also the period in which Grimm started his diplomatic career. After Napoleon's defeat in 1814, Grimm arrived to attend the Congress of Vienna. But Kopitar departed for Paris on July 11, 1814 in order to arrange the return of the books, manuscripts, and other valuables Napoleon had taken from Vienna, and before returning to Vienna on February 14, also visited London and Oxford. Although in Paris at that time,[11] Kopitar was able to establish contacts between Grimm and

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[10] After the death of Dositej Obradović in 1811, Kopitar started to look for a Serbian writer who would be ready to, and capable of, realizing his reform of the Serbian literary language. Neither Pavel Solarić nor Lukijan Mušicki, who were two of his correspondents, possessed the ability to realize this task. In 1813, Kopitar met Vuk Karadžić, who soon became his principal helper in the realization of his meticulously planned Serbian literary revival. On March 9, Kopitar sent an enthusiastic report on this meeting to Žiga Zois, stating: "Have I already written to Your Lordship about the wonderful Serbian folk songs that have been published, upon my initiative, by an exile here in Vienna? There are about one hundred poems, each more beautiful than the last one. […] This Serbian exile, who is extremely bright, had studied in Karlovci in three different schools but is unfortunately lame due to syphilis. I have tried my best to help him regain his health." However, Kopitar's Serbian protégé resisted his help (Vidmar 2010: 250). Their relation was nevertheless extremely harmonious, a reliable proof of which was the fact that in his letters to Zois, Kopitar never uttered a single negative word about Karadžić; the same could not be said for the majority of Kopitar's many Viennese acquaintances (Vidmar 2010: 251).

[11] In his letter sent to Dobrovsky in 1814, Grimm regretfully mentioned that he had been unable to become acquainted with Kopitar in Vienna since Kopitar had gone to Paris at that time. Feeling that they shared

Jacob Ludwig Carl Grimm (Hanau, January 4, 1785–Berlin, September 20, 1863) and Wilhelm Carl Grimm (Hanau, February 24, 1786–Berlin, December, 16,. 1859)

Karadžić[12] but he himself had not personally met Grimm in Vienna until 1815 (Glonar 1938: 134).

The first Slavic scholar that Grimm, who at that time was already interested in Slavic languages, established contacts with was Dobrovsky; acting upon Brentano's[13] intervention, Dobrovsky had sent his *Slavin* to Grimm in 1810. The following year Grimm and Docen, a Germanist from Munich, advanced the discovery of the Freising Manuscripts. Grimm started to learn Old Church Slavonic from Dobrovsky's *Institutuines*; Slovene from Kopitar's grammar book; and Russian from the grammar book written by J. S. Vater (Glonar 1938: 133-134). Grimm founded the Scientific Society for the Collection of Folklore Material (Vasmer 1938: X, ref. 1; Lauer 1987: 8) and in 1815 composed the *Circular wegen Aufsammlung der Volkspoesie* (A Circular on Collecting Folk Poetry). Together with an enclosed list of the then known books of folk tales, the Circular was sent to Vuk Karadžić through Kopitar.

Kopitar also exchanged letters with **Wilhelm Grimm**,[14] but his cooperation was much stronger with Jacob Grimm, who was interested in Slavic philology. A large part of their correspondence was preserved in Berlin in Preussische Staatsbibliothek, and was published with comments by Max Vasmer (1938).

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the same scholarly interests, Grimm felt that Kopitar's expertise on Slavic studies could be very beneficial (Glonar 1938: 134).

[12] Grimm's close relationship with Karadžić, who was of simple birth, was rather surprising since Grimm was from a distinguished family and highly educated. Kopitar certainly played an important role in this process, but also Grimm's interest in non-Germanic languages was prevalent. Grimm participated in the publication of many collections of folk tales of other nations and often included in his literary studies Serbian, Russian, Finnish, Italian, and Greek folk lore.

[13] Even in his youth, Jacob Grimm collaborated with Achim von Arnim and Clemens Brentan on the collection *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (1805).

[14] In Imperial Library in Vienna is preserved Wilhelm Grimm's letter to Kopitar from the year 1828: Signature ÖNB 45/36-1 Han.

The communication between Kopitar, Karadžić, and Grimm never completely ceased. Pronouncing folk songs the pinnacle of folk poetry, quite in the spirit of Romanticism, Karadžić collected and published Serbian folk songs. The first two collections were published in the 1814-15 period.[15] Kopitar wrote enthusiastic reviews of Karadžić's books that were published in various newspapers and magazines, for example in *Wiener Literaturzeitung* in 1815. In that same year, Kopitar translated the first part of Karadžić's folk songs in German and forwarded the translation to Goethe, hoping to arouse his interest in Serbian folk songs since Goethe had translated so magnificently the *Hasanaginica* in German. Goethe did publish one of them, namely the song titled *Dioba Jakšića* (The Division of the Jakšić Brothers), in his newspaper *Über Kunst und Altertum*. After the publication of Grimm's review of Karadžić's folk songs in *Göttingenische Gelehrten Anzeigen* in 1819, the interest of the German public in Serbian folk songs further increased.

Inspired by Kopitar's work, and with his considerable help, Karadžić wrote a grammar book of the Serbian language (1814).[16] Following Kopitar's grammatical principles, he reformed the Cyrillic alphabet and faithfully followed the phonetic principle of Johann Christoph Adelung, a German grammarian. Karadžić's literary and linguistic reform reflected the Romantic notion of the unity of language, nation, and folk songs and tales. While writing his grammar book, Karadžić followed Kopitar's advice to allot each phoneme its own letter and to construct the grammar according to the speech of common people. Another philologist who agreed with this concept was Grimm, who was of the opinion that the pure speech of the common people should definitely be taken into account when establishing linguistic rules. This is also one of the reasons it is so important to collect folk songs, tales, belief legends, and proverbs, and to record customs and usages. In 1824, Grimm published an abridged German edition of Karadžić's *Serbian Grammar Book* from 1814, furnished with his own preface *Kleine Serbische Grammatik*[17]. This introduction of Vuk Karadžić and his work to the German-speaking part of the world garnered Karadžić recognition both in Serbia and abroad. Having assumed a prominent position in the development process of the Serbian Slavic studies in the German-speaking part of Europe, this book also indicates how thoroughly Grimm had investigated Slavic linguistics, etymology, and mythology.

In 1818, Karadžić compiled his Serbian dictionary,[18] which was once again the result of cooperation with Kopitar and Grimm. Kopitar prepared the Latin and the German part of the dictionary in the period from October 1816 to March 1817. This dictionary is a true indication of the joint efforts of these three prominent philologists. In addition to contributing translations in German and Latin, Kopitar also provided Karadžić with the relevant literature. Grimm suggested to include practical explanations of the dictionary's entries, which gave the book special value (Glonar 1938: 135). After the dictionary's release, Kopitar consistently rejected all negative reviews and critical remarks, particularly those of Štefan Stratimirović, against Karadžić's linguistic reform (Wiener Jahrbücher, 1818). Moreover, he ensured that Grimm could draw

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[15] *Mala prostonarodna slavenoserbska Pesmarica* (Serbian folk songs, Volume I). Beograd 1814.

[16] *Pismenica serbskog jezika, po govoru prostoga naroda*. Beograd 1814.

[17] Vuk's Stephanowitsch, *Kleine serbische Grammatik mit der Vorrede J. Grimms*. Berlin-Leipzig: G. Reimer 1834.

[18] *Srbski rječnik*. Beograd 1818.
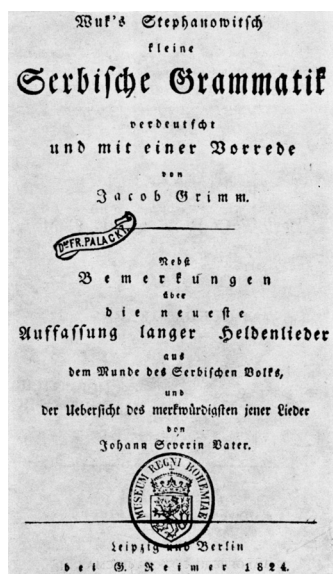
Kleine serbische Grammatik (Berlin-Leipzig 1834) published by Jacob Grimm.

upon the rich data collected in this dictionary for his material on German traditional law (Glonar 1938: 134).

Throughout this period, Kopitar strived to help his protégé achieve a professional breakthrough in the German scholarly world and gain the well-deserved recognition that Karadžić needed in order to succeed with his reforms in Serbia. Kopitar and Grimm also helped Karadžić to get his doctoral degree from the German university in Jena. Karadžić became a member of various German scholarly societies[19] and was even received in 1823 in Weimar by none other than Goethe, which was considered a particular honor at that time (Glonar 1938; 143; Lauer 1987; 8).

Jernej Kopitar helped also Therese Albertine Loise von Jacob (Talvj) to arrange and publish his translations of the first part of Karađić's collection of folk songs arranged by Goethe, under the title *Volkslieder der Serben* (1825–1826).

Kopitar also intervened on Karadžić's behalf in England, linking him with John Bowring. Bowring's interest in Serbian folk songs was aroused in 1826 when *Westminster Review* published an article on *Pesnarica* (Serbian Popular Poetry) Karadžić had published (Portridge 1987: 12, 13). In 1827, Bowring translated them in English and prepared English edition published in London.[20]

The correspondence between Kopitar and Vuk Karadžić is extremely extensive (Stojanović 1907ff). They discussed folk songs and tales, customs, traditional legal customs, narratives, and proverbs.[21] While Karadžić always wrote his letters in Serbian,

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[19] Karadžić became a fellow of the Academy in Jena, was elected a corresponding member of the Göttingen Scientific Society in 1824, and in 1849 became a fellow of the Academy of Science in Berlin. Grimm, on the other hand, became a member of the Belgrade Society of Serbian Science atKaradžić's initiative.

[20] *Narodne Srpske Pjesme: Servian Popular Poetry*. Translated by John Bowring. London 1827.

[21] In 1836, Karadžić published a collection of Serbian proverbs entitled *Narodne srpske poslovice*. Revised editions were released in 1849 and posthumously in 1900. Among other things, he published historic essays and descriptions of the lifestyle, customs, and traditional law practices of the Serbs.

Kopitar constantly replied in German. Their letters clearly illustrate just how intensive their cooperation was regarding all aspects of Karadžić's work.

In contrast, Grimm and Karadžić actually only rarely met in person. While he was travelling around Germany in 1823, Karadžić stopped at the end of September in Kassel to visit Grimm at his home. This visit additionally stimulated Karadžić to continue collecting folk songs and tales, which resulted in further publications in 1823, 1824, 1826, 1828, 1829, and 1833. When Grimm lived in Berlin, Karadžić repeatedly visited him (in 1843, 1844, 1854, and in 1857). In 1853, Karadžić published a book of Serbian folk tales,[22] and dedicated it to Jacob Grimm. Among other material, the book contains 166 riddles and a preface by Grimm. While some of the tales were those Karadžić had heard in childhood, others had been collected and written down by friends and acquaintances, teachers, students, merchants, etc. It needs to be mentioned that Karadžić already distinguished and pointed out the difference between folk tales told by female and male narrators.

This long and prolific cooperation was also the result of Grimm's growing interest in Slavism and in all authentic manifestations of the common people's spirit, and particularly in those that had been incorporated in the language and song. Corresponding with Jozef Dobrovsky and a number of other Slavicists, Grimm studied Bohemian belief tales and the old Russian epic *Slovo o polku Igoŕevě* (The Song of Igor's Campaign). He believed that the Slavic nations within the Austrian Empire should maintain close cooperation and contacts (Lauer 1987: 6).

After Dobrovsky's death in 1829, Kopitar was considered the most important Slavicist. Indeed, Grimm pronounced him the Slavicist who, after Dobrovsky had passed away, assumed the leadership of all Slavicists of the day (Glonar 1938: 137). The copious correspondence between Kopitar and Grimm that has been preserved to this day is a proof of their mutual respect and fruitful cooperation (Sauer 1908; Vasmer 1938; Stojanović 1907). The first letter written by Kopitar to Grimm that has been preserved bears the date February 4, 1819 (Vasmer 1938: 1-2). Its content already shows their efforts to help Karadžić in collecting folk lore and in documenting the Serbian language; Kopitar's endeavours for language reform among the Serbs; and their willingness to popularize Karadžić's work among the Germans and other non-Slavic nations (Vasmer 1938: letters 1, 2).[23]

Grimm and Kopitar shared an interest in etymology, grammar, and Old Church Slavonic records. In addition to this, their letters reflect a concern for literary folklore and mythological traditions. In many of his letters, Kopitar was sending Grimm information on the significance and etymology of Slavic as well as Greek and Albanian words; on grammar; on Slovene folk songs and tales; and on fables and mythology, all of which Grimm needed for his future publications. Among other subjects, Kopitar wrote about supernatural beings from Slavic folk tradition, such as Korant, Torka, Kresnik, Veles and Perun, and explained customs such as the *kolednica* and the *kupalo* (Vasmer 1938: 95–104; 135–138). Grimm and Kopitar exchanged views on linguistic

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[22] *Srpske narodne pripovijetke, skupio ih i na svijet izdao Vuk Stef. Karadžić*, in Vienna, in the Jermen monastery publishing house, 1853.

[23] At Kopitar's initiative, Grimm wrote a review of Karadžić's dictionary and published it in *Göttingischen Gelehrten Anzeigen 10*. April 1819, 569-578. His review of Karadžić's songbook *Pesmarica 1-2* was published in *Wiener Allgemeine Literatur Zeitung* 1815, 1168ff. In 1816, 314ff.

Bartholomaeus Kopitar, Glagolita Clozianus (Vienna 1836)

research of the Albanian language, the Romanian dialect of the Vlachs; Bulgarian and Celtic languages; and the language spoken in Brittany (Vasmer 1938: 15-16). They also discussed Kopitar's "Pannonian theory" about the origin of Old Church Slavonic.

Initially a proponent of Kopitar's theory, Grimm changed his opinion when Kopitar published his notable *Glagolita Clozianus*,[24] the very work intended to successfully justify his theory (*contra omnes et singulos*). Grimm became an advocate of the so-called "Macedonian-Bulgarian theory", taking in his review the position of Kopitar's opponents, for example of Šafařik, Köppen, and Vostokov. This position slightly dampened their friendship[25] and their correspondence became, although briefly, less frequent. Afterwards, they resumed their close relations, exchanging relevant literature and views on philologists and publications on philology, literature, mythology, and ethnology until Kopitar's health critically deteriorated at the end of the summer of 1842. Kopitar's last preserved letter to Grimm is dated July 5, 1842.

Conclusion

Jernej Kopitar was, together with Josef Dobrovsky, the founder of Slavic philology. He was generally known and admired for his enormous erudition and extreme intelligence (he was called "monstrum scientiarum" by Jacob Grimm). But toward the end of his life, Kopitar engaged in a dispute with his fellow citizens. Kopitar's character was notoriously difficult. His testiness additionally contributed to his unpopular

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[24] Bartholomaeus Kopitar, *Glagolita Clozianus* (Vienna 1836) a manuscript written in the Glagolitic alphabet, at that time in the possession of Count Cloz from Trident.

[25] The only person who remained faithful to Kopitar and his concepts until his death was his prominent pupil Fran Miklošič and, owing to Miklošič's considerable reputation, this particular theory of Jernej Kopitar remained artificially alive for several more decades. It was conclusively refuted by Vatroslav Jagić, a Croatian philologist who succeeded Miklošič at the Department of Slavic Studies in Vienna.

status among the scholars (he was named *Visoki Gromovnik*, the "Supreme Thunderer" by France Prešeren, the greatest Slovenian poet). Many of Slovenian scholars unjustly underestimated him for producing fewer books than other leading Slavicists of that time.

Kopitar's unpopular status among the scholars in his field increased with his rejection of the Bohemian cultural revival movement and of Hank's falsifications of Old Church Slavonic manuscripts. Far more impartial were Grimm and Leopold Ranke, who thought highly of Kopitar's work with which they were thoroughly familiar. Ranke, who personally knew Kopitar well, wrote after his death to the grieving Karadžić: "His departure denotes a heavy loss not only for you but also for me – and indeed for the entire world. He was quite possibly the best philologist, and possessed knowledge that in its scope and exactitude was unsurpassable in the entire Austrian Empire" (Glonar 1938: 137). Karadžić was well aware that he could not have achieved what he had without Kopitar's help and, although to a lesser extent, also without Grimm who helped him win respect and reputation throughout Europe, and gave him many important scientific instructions.

Vuk Karadžić's efforts to collect folklore, particularly literary folklore, were invaluable. His many publications were followed by a number of translations.[26] A special committee entrusted with the task of publishing his extensive legacy edited in Belgrade his collected works (*Sabrana dela Vuka Karađića)* in thirty-six volumes (1965-1974). But while his work and cooperation with Jacob Grimm are well known, very few are aware of the role that Jernej Kopitar had played in Karadžić's life, although it may be said that it was Kopitar who had created the scholar that Karadžić certainly was. The cooperation of Grimm, Karadžić, and Kopitar reflects their diversified aims and interests. Both Karadžić and Grimm lay the foundations of their respective languages and wrote, each for his own nation, a grammar book and a dictionary, in addition to collecting and publishing numerous folk songs. Moreover, Grimm published articles on mythology, traditional law, and etymology. Kopitar prepared for his nation a grammar book and published studies on Old Church Slavonic and on etymology. The cooperation between the three scholars was based on their desire to strengthen their respective nations' self-affirmation. Grimm was also stimulated by his belief in the cognate characteristics between German and Slavic languages. He was certain that the key to an understanding of the etymology of German words lies in Slavic languages (Vasmer 1938: VII), and he tried, among other things, to explain traditional German relics of the past with the help of Slavic languages. In this way, the research of the three scholars was constantly enriched, and their achievements have remained of fundamental importance to this day.

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[26] Translated into German by his daughter Wilhelmina, Karadžić's collection of folk tales titled *W. Stephanowitsch Karadschitsch: Volksmärchen der Serben* (1854/) contains fifty folk tales and approximately 1000 proverbs. After Karadžić's death, his widow Ana ensured the publication of his folk tales that were published in 1870.

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Sodelovanje bratov Grimm, Jerneja Kopitarja in Vuka Karadžića

Monika Kropej

V članku je predstavljeno delo Jerneja Kopitarja v luči sodelovanja z Jacobom in Wilhelmom Grimmom ter Vukom Stefanovićem Karadžićem. Osvetljeno je predvsem njihovo sodelovanje na področju ljudskega slovstva v času razsvetljenstva in romantike. Jernej Kopitar (1780–1844), slovenski jezikoslovec, cenzor in skriptor na Dunaju, je bil eden od utemeljiteljev slavistike in avtor prve slovenske znanstvene slovnice *Grammatik der slavischen Sprache in Krain, Kärnten und Steyermark* (Slovnica slovanskega jezika na Kranjskem, Koroškem in Štajerskem, 1809). Prevedel je *Brižinske spomenike* ter izdal Kločev glagolit (1836). Bil je razgledan filolog in si je dopisoval s številnimi izobraženci tistega časa, med drugim tudi z Josefom Dobrovským ter Jacobom in Wilhelmom Grimmom. Bil je mentor Vuku Karadžiću in ga je spodbujal k pripravi izdaje ljudskega slovstva, slovarjev in slovnice. Pri nastajanju marsikaterega Karadžićevega dela je tudi aktivno sodeloval. Predstavil ga je velikemu nemškemu filologu Jacobu Grimmu, ki je Karadžićevo delo – predvsem izdaje ljudskih pravljic in povedk ter slovnice in slovarja – strokovno usmerjal in mu utiral pot v svet. Njihovo delo in sodelovanje pa se je poslej nenehno prepletalo in pri tem so se uresničevali zelo različni interesi in cilji. Tako Grimm kot Karadžić sta za svoj narod pripravila temelje jezika, slovnico ter slovar in narodno poezijo; Grimm poleg tega tudi mitologijo, pravne starine ter etimologijo. Tudi Kopitar je pripravil slovensko slovnico in študije o stari cerkveni slovanščini in etimologiji. Sodelovanje med Grimmom, Karadžićem in Kopitarjem je usmerjala želja po utrditvi nacionalne samozavesti, poleg tega pa tudi Grimmovo prepričanje o sorodnosti med germanskimi in slovanskimi jeziki ter njegova domneva, da v slovanskih jezikih leži ključ za razumevanje etimologije germanskih besed. Pravzaprav bi lahko rekli, da je skušal Jacob Grimm s slovanskim jezikom osvetliti germanske jezikovne starine in korenine. Z medsebojnim sodelovanjem so se njihove raziskave bogatile in dosežki vseh treh so dobili neprecenljivo vrednost.

Anekdote o Lemberžanih in vpliv ljudskega izročila na Butalce Frana Milčinskega

Katarina Šrimpf

This article investigates correlations between Fran Milčinski's Butalci and humorous Slovenian folk narratives about Lemberg. A small market town, called Lemberg, is famous for being the centre of numerous jokes and humorous stories. Slovenian writer Milčinski's popular stories about the people of the fictional town of Butale are regarded as a literary work, and have become part of the nation's narrative repertoire. Nevertheless, as their comparison with the Slovenian and foreign narrative tradition demonstrates, almost all the stories in the book are based on popular, internationally known humorous folk tales about "numskulls".

Keywords: folk narratives, folklore, humorous stories, Butalci, Fran Milčinski, Lemberg, Slovenia

Vpliv ljudskega pripovednega izročila na prozna avtorska dela je mogoče opaziti že v samih začetkih tovrstnega ustvarjanja. Podobnosti med ljudsko pripovedjo in proznim literarnim delom so »večje, kot se običajno domneva,« je ugotavljal med drugimi že Bruce Rosenberg v knjigi *Folklore and literature : rival siblings* (Rosenberg 1991: 12). To povezavo lahko zasledimo tudi med šaljivimi zgodbami o Butalcih Frana Milčinskega in zgodbami iz ljudskega izročila, kot so npr. prigode Lemberžanov.

Šaljive zgodbe

Šaljive zgodbe[1] (tudi smešnice, šaljivke, zabavljice, šale, anekdote) so pripovedi, ki na humoren in satiričen način podajajo vsebine za zabavo poslušalcev. Milko Matičetov je šaljive zgodbe opredelil kot posebno vrsto zgodb, »kjer je glavni ali celo edini element smešno, šaljivo« (Matičetov 1956a: 121), njihova funkcija pa je kratkočasenje oz. zabavanje poslušalcev (Matičetov 1956a: 121). Z besedno zvezo šaljiva zgodba pa se označuje tudi ena izmed oblik humoristične književnosti, v katero spadajo tudi Butalci (Hladnik 1999: 6).

Veliko število šaljivih zgodb je v ljudskem izročilu vezanih na točno določen kraj. Najbolj znani kraji v Sloveniji, o katerih se pripovedujejo šaljive pripovedi, so Lemberg,

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[1] Za to obliko ljudske proze obstaja veliko poimenovanj in opredelitev. Šaljiva zgodba je v tuji literaturi označena kot *fabulat*, anekdota ali *schwank*. *Fabulat* je oznaka, ki jo je uvedel C. W. Sydow in označuje »migracijske povedke, ki ne odražajo osebne izkušnje, ampak se pripovedujejo izključno za zabavo« (Ellis 1997: 274), v nemški literaturi pa Schwank označuje zgodbo s šaljivo vsebino (Bausinger 2007: 318).

Ribnica in Veržej, vendar sorodne zgodbe najdemo tudi drugod po Sloveniji (npr. Dobliče v Beli krajini, Višnja gora pri Ljubljani, Zapudje pri Dragatušu, Marenberg – danes Radlje ob Dravi).

Lahko bi rekli, da ima vsaka država svoje norce, o katerih se pripovedujejo različne šaljive zgodbe. Tako sta verjetno najbolj znana kraja, v katerih naj bi živeli bedaki ali norci, grško mesto Abdera in nemško mesto Schilda. Leta 1597 je bila izdana knjiga z naslovom *Das Lalebuch*[2]. Tarča posmeha so bili prebivalci izmišljenega kraja Laleburg, ki naj bi se nahajal za Kalecutom, v kraljestvu Utopija (Trümpy 1983: 88). Eno leto pozneje (1598) pa je bila izdana knjiga z naslovom »*Die Schiltbürger*[3]« (ta je pozneje doživela še veliko izdaj), v kateri so bile objavljene iste zgodbe kot v knjigi *Das Lalebuch* s to različico, da so bile zgodbe umeščene v resnični kraj, in sicer saško mesto Schilda (Trümpy 1983: 88). Teorij o morebitnem avtorju in njegovem motivu za objavo zgodbe je veliko (glej Wunderlich 1983). Predvidevamo pa lahko, glede na to da je bilo slovensko ozemlje v veliki meri povezano z nemškim kulturnim in jezikovnim prostorom, da zgodbe o prebivalcih mesta Schilda pri nas niso bile neznane. Nekatere zgodbe in motive sicer povezane s Schildburgerji, prebivalci Schilde, lahko najdemo tudi v šaljivih zgodbah o prebivalcih različnih slovenskih krajev. Enako lahko rečemo za zgodbe o Abderitih, prebivalcih antičnega grškega mesta Abdera. Motiv tepeža oslove sence, znanega v zgodbah o Abderi in njenih prebivalcih, je v literaturo prenesel Josip Jurčič v delu *Kozlovska sodba v Višnji gori* (Jurčič 1884: 263–277).

Tudi Slovenci smo konec 19. stoletja in v začetku 20. stoletja dobili izdaje številnih šaljivih zgodb. Leta 1866 so bile v slovenski jezik prevedene zgodbe o Pavlihi, objavljene so bile v knjigi *Nemški Pavliha v slovénski obléki : bukve polne smešnih povest za kratek čas : poslovénjene*[4]. Leta 1884 je bila nato izdana knjiga z naslovom *Šaljivi Slovenec: zbirka najboljših kratkočasnic iz vseh stanov* (Brezovnik 1884). Knjiga je do leta 1923 doživela štiri dopolnitve in predelave prve izdaje. Zgodbe o Marburžanih iz Marenberga, današnjih Radelj ob Dravi (Golec 1997: 17), so bile v knjižni obliki izdane v knjigi *Šaljivec iz Podravja* (Pivko 1910), pred tem jih je Janko Osojnik/Ljudevit Pivko objavljal v humurističnem časopisu Jež[5]. Kasneje so bile objavljene še zgodbe o Veržejcih ter Lemberžanih. Edini avtor, ki se je v Sloveniji ukvarjal z raziskovanjem šaljivih zgodb, je bil Niko Kuret. Leta 1954 je objavil knjižico z naslovom *Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih*. To je bila prva in tudi zadnja raziskava, ki se je ukvarjala s šaljivimi zgodbami v slovenskem pripovednem izročilu.

Lemberžani

Tudi Slovenci imamo svojo Abdero in Schildo, in sicer kraj z imenom Lemberg. Trg Lemberg na Štajerskem, z uradnim imenom Lemberg pri Šmarju pri Jelšah, je na-

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[2] Originalno izdajo je mogoče videti v Avstrijski državni knjižnici na Dunaju (Wunderlich 1983: 4), sicer pa je bila leta 1982 ponovno izdana verzija knjige *Das Lalebuch* iz leta 1597 pod uredništvom Wernerja Wunderlicha (Wunderlich 1982).

[3] Originalno izdajo je mogoče najti v Mestni in univerzitetni knjižnici Hamburg (Wunderlich 1983: 4). Leta 1975 pa je bila v zbirki Deutsche Volksbücher in Faksimiledrucken ponovno izdana verzija iz leta 1598 (Schmitz 1975).

[4] *Nemški Pavliha v slovénski obléki : bukve polne smešnih povest za kratek čas : poslovénjene.* Ljubljana : J. Giontini, 1866.

[5] *Jež: polmesečnik za šalo in satiro.* Izhajal od leta 1902 do leta 1909.

selje, ki je imelo leta 2002 ob popisu 136 prebivalcev (Popis 2002). Leži v ozki dolini ob cesti, ki je bila včasih glavna prometnica skozi te kraje. Naselbina je dobila tržke pravice leta 1244, s tem pa tudi sodne pravice in svoj grb (Krajevni leksikon 1937: 1139).

Trg je bil v dobi turških napadov pomembna obrambna točka. Po ljudskem izročilu naj bi ga obdajalo sedem gradov oz. utrdb, vendar ni mogoče najti ruševin ali drugih materialnih ostankov, ki bi pričali o obstoju vseh gradov. Naselje Lemberg se je razvil pod istoimenskim gradom, njegova prva omemba je datirana v leto 1228. Grad je bil v svoji zgodovini dvakrat popolnoma porušen, prvič v letih 1437–38, med boji Celjanov s Habsburžani, drugič pa leta 1469 ob prehodu Turkov skozi te kraje (Krajevni leksikon 1937: 1140).

V trgu sta bili precej razviti tudi trgovina in obrt. Tako je bilo v trgu precej gostiln, mesarij in trgovin ter obrtnih delavnic žebljarjev, steklarjev, glavnikarjev, lončarjev in usnjarjev. Slednji so bili organizirani v ceh, katerega patron je bil sv. Miklavž. Domneva se, da so v čast cehovskemu patronu usnjarji dali sezidati celo cerkev, ki danes stoji v trgu (Krajevni leksikon 1937: 1140).

Sejmi so bili poleg obrti in trgovine glavni vir tržkih dohodkov. Kraj je imel pravico do tedenskega tržnega dne, ki je bil vsak četrtek, ter do šestih letnih sejmov in dveh prošenj: na dan sv. Pankracija in sv. Ulrika. Na bogastvo trga kaže tudi podatek, da občina Šmarje pri Jelšah, v katero spada Lemberg, do 1924 ni pobirala nikakršnih občinskih prispevkov, temveč je vse potrebe krila z dohodki sejmov. »Iz zavisti so zato nastale med okoličani številne šale in zbadljivke na račun tržanov.« (Krajevni leksikon 1937: 1140). Vendar Lemberg ni razvil več kot tržno ulico. Svoj višek je dosegel v 18. stoletju. »V prvi polovici 19. stoletja je začel propadati zaradi prenosa župnije na Sladko Goro in premestitve ceste skozi Pečico in Podplat.« (Lemberg 2012).

Niko Kuret je v svoji knjižici z naslovom *Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih* leta 1954 zapisal tole razlago o nastanku šaljivih zgodb o Lemberžanih: »Nič ni čudnega, če je (trg, op. a.) vzbujal ne le zavist, ampak tudi upravičeno jezo okoliških kmetov. Zabavljice, ki so si jih izmislili ali jih prikrojili na njegov rovaš, torej niso samo znamenje dovtipnosti našega kmečkega ljudstva, ampak predvsem onemogla oblika maščevanja« (Kuret 1954: 24).

V malih mestih in trgih »se je zaredilo kratkovidno, zložno, malenkostno-sebično malomestno življenje. Malomeščani in tržani, brez vsakega širšega obzorja, so hoteli dobro živeti in hitro obogateti brez velikega napora in tveganja. Zato so skušali doseči razne predpravice, ki so jih nato prav ozkosrčno izrabljali za svoje dobičkarije. Zlasti so izkoriščali kmete na deželi« (Kovačič po Kuret 1954: 24). Nič drugače naj ne bi bilo tudi v Lembergu. Najmanj 300 let[6] so tržani bogato služili na račun sejmov, saj niso smeli okoliški kmetje ničesar kupiti ali prodati zunaj trga. Kljub izgradnji železnice leta 1904, ki je odrezala trg od glavne prometne žile, je Lemberg obdržal finančno neodvisnost še vsaj do leta 1924, ko je kraj sam kril vse stroške. Kot pišejo nekateri avtorji, naj bi bilo blagostanje v trgu zelo veliko, tržani pa zato domišljavi in naduti. Pravijo, da naj bi se celo poročali med seboj, kar naj bi pripeljalo do tega, da so imeli »pri vsaki hiši kakega bebca« (Kuret 1954: 24). Ozkogledost prebivalcev Lemberga, udobno življenje in genet-

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[6] Prvi podatki o tedenskih sejmih naj bi bili iz 16. stoletja. Tedenski sejmi v Lembergu pa naj bi se ukinili konec 18. stoletja, vendar je bilo število sejmov, ki so se zvrstili čez leto, vse do obdobja med obema vojnama še vedno precejšnje (Kuret 1954: 24).

ske bolezni, ki bi bile posledice porok med bližnjimi sorodniki, bi lahko bil vzrok, da so sosedje začeli na Lemberg gledati, kot na mesto bedakov.

Niko Kuret je videl vzrok za nastanek teh zgodb v zavisti in jezi ljudi, ki so bili podložni Lemberškemu gospostvu. Zapisal je: »Nič ni čudenga, če je (trg - op. p.) vzbujal ne le zavist, ampak tudi upravičeno jezo okoliških kmetov. Zabavljice, ki so si jih izmislili ali jih prikrojili na njegov rovaš, torej niso samo znamenje dovtipnosti našega kmečkega ljudstva, ampak predvsem onemogla oblika maščevanja« (Kuret 1954: 24). Pavel Strmšek, učitelj, ki je raziskoval zgodovino kraja, je na to temo zapisal: »Sosedje niso mogli odvzeti Lemberžanom njihovih pravic niti njihovih dohodkov, zato so se pa tolažili s tem, da so jih smešili in žalili« (Strmšek 1937: 21).

Dober finančni, gospodarski in družbeni položaj prebivalcev trgov in mest je bil torej očitno vzrok za zavist manj premožnih okoliških prebivalcev, ki so si nato na račun bogatih sosedov izmislili hudomušno zgodbo ali pesem. Najbolj znana in razširjena zgodba o dogodivščinah Lemberžanov je ta, kako so bika v zvonik vlekli (ATU 1210), variante so znane skoraj po vsej Evropi, od Portugalske, Španije, Nemčije (Schildbürger), Češke, Slovaške, Rusije in na Madžarskem (Uther 2004: 75–76). Ta in podobne zgodbe so znane v širši okolici kraja.

Kako so Lemberžani bika v zvonik vlekli

Nekega dne so Lemberžani opazili, da jim trava raste v žlebu pod zvonikovo streho. To jim nikakor ni bilo všeč. Ali kako priti do trave in kako jo spraviti v kraj? Pokositi se ne da, pustiti je pa tudi ne kaže.

Najpametnejši med njimi se domisli, da bi jo bilo najbolje popasti. Tako bi bila vsaj nekomu v prid. Ali kdo naj jo popase?

Odločili so se za občinskega bika. Temu so vsi brez ugovarjanja privoščili slastno pašo.

Brez pomišljanja so se lotili priprav.

Najprej so trden tram porinili skozi cerkveno streho, na koncu trama pritrdili škripec in skozenj spustili močno vrv. Na koncu vrvi so naredili zanko, zanko pa nataknili biku za vrat. Krepke pesti so zgrabile za drugi konec vrvi in ga začele vleči.

Bik je bil težak, kaj ne bo, saj je bil krepke pasme in dobre reje. Počasi, počasi, z glasnimi vzkliki so vlekli Lemberžani težko žival k višku.

Bik je hudi bolečini kmalu začel rjuti in debelo gledati, ker mu je začela sapa pohajati. »Glejte ga, glejte kako se veseli mastne paše!« so vpili Lemberžani.

Ko so privlekli bika do škripca, ga je vrv že toliko davila, da je pomolil jezik iz gobca. Zdaj šele so zagnali Lemberžani vesel krik!

»Jo že voha, travo! Glejte, že jezik steza po njej!«

Bik je bil tik ob žlebu. Samo šavsnil bi. Toda ni se več ganil.

Lemberžani so mu začeli prijazno prigovarjati. Zaman. Trmasto je iztegnil noge in se dokončno umiril.

Tedaj je eden izmed Lemberžanov zlezel v line, da bi bika od blizu pogledal. Dregal ga je in dregal, nazadnje se mu je pa zazdelo, da je bik poginil.

Lemberžani so bika počasi spustili spet na tla. Priznati so si morali, da so ga zadavili. Odtistihmal so pustili travo v žlebu, da je rasla, kakor jo je bila volja.

(Kuret 1954: 8)

Prva znana omemba Lemberga kot kraja, kjer prebivajo norci, bedaki, sega v leto 1858, ko je bila v *Kmetijskih in rokodelskih novicah* objavljena novička z naslovom Slovenske humoreske, v kateri je bilo na kratko orisano dogajanje na poroki v kraju Vrbovec (Verbovec)[7], na koncu članka pa: »*Z Bogom, dragi moji Verbovčani, bratje Ribnčanov in Lemberžanov! Hej brata Ribničan in Lemberžan: ali ne bi tudi vidva kakošne povedala o svojih rojakih?*« (Vicko 1858: 142). Po zapisu sodeč so bile že takrat znane šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih in Ribničanih. Podobne pripise različnim člankom lahko sledimo skozi celotno drugo polovico 19. stoletja.

Leta 1859 se je v istem časopisu pojavila opomba, ki je del članka, ki ne govori o šaljivih zgodbah.

Kdor nima doktorskega klobuka, in kdor ni člen dunajske in berolinske akademije, ne čepi v rezidencii, ali pa ne uči na visokih šolah, ta velja toliko, kolikor Lemberžan in Ribničan. (Vicko 1859: 93).

V članku o domačih hišnih imenih in priimkih na Konjiškem[8] iz leta 1886 je omenjen priimek Lemberžan s pripisom, da utegne biti ta priimek zasmehljiv (Napotnik 1886, 290).

Prva znana objava celotne zgodbe je iz leta 1884, ko je Josip Pajek v svoji knjigi *Črtice iz duševnega žitka štaj. Slovencev* objavil zgodbo, kako so Lemberžani vlekli bika v zvonik, da bi jim popasel travo (Pajek 1884: 245–246). Večja objava zgodb o Lemberžanih je bila v humorističnem časopisu Brus. Leta 1890 so bile v 19., 20., 21. in 22. številki objavljene naslednje zgodbe: *Kako so Lemberžani kašnato klobaso ustrelili* (ATU 1339), *Kako so se Lemberžani v lanu kopali* (ATU 1290 + 1287), *Kako so si Lemberžani magistrat delali* (ATU 1245), *Kako so Lemberžani cerkev nategnili* (ATU 1326), *Kako so Lemberžani svinjo preganjali* (ATU 1201), *Kako je Lemberžanom kobila valila* (ATU 1319), *Kako sta Lemberžana veverico lovila* (ATU 1227), *Kako so Lemberžani polhe lovili* (Ad. ATU 1250). Naslednja številčnejša objava Lemberških zgodb je bila leta 1892 v knjigi *Godčevski katekizem: ženitne ali svatbine navade in napitnice, smešnice in narodne zastavice*, v kateri je Dragotin Batiančič objavil pet lemberških šaljivih zgodb o tem, kako so Lemberžani širili cerkev, kako sta Lemberžana veverico lovila, kako so Lemberžani streljali na kašnato klobaso, kako so Lemberžani plavali v lanu ter kako je Lemberžanom kobila valila (Bastiančič 1892: 36–39).

Čeprav so se na račun Lemberžanov šalili bolj v prozni obliki, pa obstajata tudi šaljivi pesmi o prebivalcih Lemberga. V *Godčevskem katekizmu* (Bastiančič 1892) je bila zraven petih proznih zgodb objavljena tudi pesem[9].

Lemberžki rihtar na pragu sedi,
Si hlače obera, in tolče u..

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7 Žal ni pripisano, kje naj bi se ta kraj nahajal. Istoimenski kraj se nahaja na Hrvaškem, tudi v Sloveniji je nekaj krajev s tem imenom, vendar se nahajajo v južnem in osrednjem delu države, kjer se poznajo opisanih ženitovanjskih šeg. Josip Pajek ima v knjigi Črtice iz duševnega žitka Štajerskih Slovencev dodan opis, iz katerega je mogoče sklepati, da je Vrbovec staro ime za Veržej (Pajek 1884: 246).

8 V to območje se uvrščajo kraji v okolici Slovenskih Konjic na slovenskem Štajerskem.

9 Pred pesmijo je opomba, ki se glasi: »Pripovedoval star Lemberžan. Zapisal Rok D. Gorski« (Bastiančič 1892: 36).

Šribarja imajo iz bel'ga gradù.
Po cimri špancira in joče gladù.

Po trgu špancirata purgarja dva,
»Zok-ure« iz repe imata obá.

Godce pa imajo od štirih vetrov,
Na »probi« so se stepli od samga gladu.
(Bastiančič 1892: 36)

V letu 2011 pa je bila na terenu posneta pesem o poroki v Lembergu, ki so jo zapele Ljudske pevke iz Sladke Gore[10].

V Lembergu je ohcet bla,
prav lušna in vesela vsa.
/Rihter[11] je starešina bil,
od pet do glave ves ušiv./[12]

Protfirar[13] bil je domačin,
čeravno starešnji to sin.
/Če očka bil je ves ušiv,
zakaj bi tudi sin ne bil./

Nevesta bla je ušikana,
od uš in bolh opikana.
/Zamazana kot dimnikar,
pozabla si je umiti stvar./

Tud kuharce imeli so,
prav lušne in nazbrihtane.[14]
/U vsakem štruklju grilov šest,
pa uši eno pest./

Imeli so zadost mesa,
mačkijega in pesjega.
/Konjske klobase kozji sir,
saj manjkalo jim ni nikjer./

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[10] Pesem je bila posneta 28. 10. 2011 na Sladki Gori. Odpela jo je skupina Ljudskih pevk iz Sladke Gore. Posnela: Katarina Šrimpf.
[11] Sodnik
[12] S poševnicama je označen del besedila, ki se pri petju ponovi.
[13] Drug, priča
[14] Mogoče je, da je beseda popačenka besed »narihtan oz. zrihtan«, kar pomeni urejen ali pa »zbrihtan« oz. priseben, mentalno prisoten.

Protagonisti v šaljivih zgodbah o Lemberžanih so posamezniki, ki utelešajo definicijo bedaka. Obnašanje teh oseb je absurdno, neprimerno, neumno, istočasno pa so njihova dejanja sprejeta kot komična in zabavna. Tako je v preteklosti oznaka Lemberžan veljala za osebo, ki ni šolana, ki nima velike družbene veljave ter dela neumnosti, bedarije ali pa je butasta, neumna. Stavek: *Si kot Lemberžan!* je bil v širši okolici Lemberga splošno znan izraz neodobravanja. V sodobnem času, so to vlogo prevzeli Butalci. Tako kot Lemberžani, Ribničani, Marburžani, Zapujci ali Veržejci[15] tudi Butalci s svojimi dejanji predstavljajo popoln odklon od sprejetih in želenih družbenih norm.

Butalci Frana Milčinskega

Danes so zgodbe o Lemberžanih, Ribničanih in ostalih norcih zamenjale zgodbe o Butalcih. Zgodbe o Butalcih, prebivalcih izmišljenega kraja z imenom Butale, in njihovih peripetijah je Fran Milčinski[16] najprej objavljal v različnih časopisih. Šele leta 1949, torej 17 let po smrti Frana Milčinskega je izšla zbirka šaljivih zgodb – humoresk pod naslovom *Butalci*. Zgodbe so skozi leta postale tako priljubljene, da so do danes že prešle v pripovedno izročilo. Celo Slovar slovenskega knjižnega jezika je med svoja gesla vključil besedo *butalec*, njen pomen pa označuje zelo neumnega človeka (Butalec 1997).

Milčinski je bil po poklicu pravnik in je dolga leta služboval kot sodnik. Snov za svoje pisanje naj bi jemal iz spominov, iz svojega dela na sodišču in iz družinskega in družabnega življenja (Koblar 2012). Literarni zgodovinarji pravijo, da je Milčinski v svojih literarnih delih pogosto smešil slovensko trško-malomeščansko okolje, da se je posmehoval napačni družinski vzgoji, uradništvu, političnim in kulturnim razmeram tistega časa (Koblar 2012, Šoštaršič 1994). Pri Butalcih je bila satira zelo izrazita, zgodbe naj bi bile »parodija na slovenski narod, na vse pozitivne in negativne lastnosti, kar jih premoremo, še posebej v času, ko javna kritika ni bila sprejemljiva« (Verovnik 2012).

Čeprav naj bi bile zgodbe o Butalcih povsem avtorske, pa je podrobnejša analiza zgodb in njihova primerjava s pripovednim izročilom, presenetljivo pokazala, da je Fran Milčinski kot predloge za svoje zgodbe, nedvomno uporabil šaljive zgodbe iz ljudskega izročila. Zelo velikemu številu zgodb iz knjige *Butalci* je mogoče določiti pripovedni tip po Aarne – Thompson – Uther klasifikacijskem sistemu (ATU)[17], kar nedvomno kaže na povezavo zgodb o Butalcih s slovenskim oz. mednarodnim pripovednim izročilom. S to klasifikacijo je mogoče določiti tudi mednarodno razširjenost tipov in motivov različnih zgodb.

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[15] Omenjenih je le nekaj krajev oz. njihovih prebivalcev, o katerih obstajajo šaljive zgodbe, ki so objavljene. Krajev, o katerih krožijo šaljive zgodbe, je v Sloveniji še precej več.

[16] Milčinski Fran, pravnik in humorist, rojen. 3. dec. 1867 v Ložu na Notranjskem., umrl 24. okt. 1932 v Ljubljani (Koblar 2012).

[17] Pripovedni tipni indeks je razvil finski folklorist Antti Aarne leta 1910. Aarnejevo delo je nadgradil ameriški folklorist Stith Thompson, leta 2004 pa še Hans-Jörg Uther, ki je izdal delo z naslovom *The Types of International Folktales: A Classification and Bibliography* (Uther 2004).

[18] S to oznako so označene zgodbe, ki se pojavljajo tudi v povezavi z Lemberžani.

	Naslov zgodbe iz Butalcev	ATU številka	Lemberžani*[18]
1	Butale in Butalci – Županska uš	ATU 1268	L*
2	Turki v Butalah		
3	Butalci gredo po sol	ATU 1284	
4	V Butalah sejejo sol	ATU 1200	Ad. L*
5	Butalski jež	ATU 1960	
6	Kobilja jajca	ATU 1319	L*
7	Kako so Butalci širili cerkev	ATU 1326	L*
8	Dve poletji in ena zima		
9	Kriva vera v Butalah		
10	Novi pridigar	Ad. ATU 1825	
11	Kako je krivi veri v Butalah odklenkalo	ATU 1572* + 1829	L*
12	O tepanjskih mrličih	Ad. ATU 1676	
13	O Butalcu v smreki in o mački, ki ni marala pipca	Ad. ATU 1240	L*
14	Kašo pihal		
15	Butalski zajec	Ad. ATU 1310A	
16	O županu, pastirju in ovcah	Ad. ATU 1287	
17	Butalski policaj in Cefizelj	Ad. ATU 1526	
18	Razbojnik Cefizelj in občinska blagajna	Ad. ATU 1525Z	
19	Semenj v Butalah		
20	Zgodba o veverici	ATU 1227	L*
21	Zaljubljena zgodba županovega sina		
22	Še ena z butalskega semnja	ATU 1693	
23	Historija o posebnem blagru		
24	Kako so si Butalci omislili pamet		
25	O županovi suknji		
26	Butalski župan gre za botra		
27	Kako so Butalci peljali vino	ATU 1275 + L* 7[19]	L*
28	Županova hči vre mleko	ATU 1328	
29	Butalski medved	ATU 1312	
30	O dedcu, babi in svinji, o Cefizlju in policaju	ATU 1341	
31	Skušnjava v koruzi		
32	Butalski kovač		
33	Butalski gasilci	ATU 1335*	L*
34	Kako sta se skušala Butalec in Tepanjčan	ATU 1346A*	
35	Butalski grb		

Kot prikazuje razpredelnica, je mogoče dvaindvajsetim zgodbam o Butalcih od petintridesetih, določiti ATU tipno številko, kar je precejšnje število za delo, ki naj bi bilo avtorsko. Od petintridesetih zgodb o Butalcih se jih devet motivno ujema tudi z zgodbami o Lemberžanih.

Večina zgodb o Butalcih vsebuje mednarodno znan motiv. Nekateri od teh motivov so bili vsekakor znani tudi na slovenskem ozemlju, kar nakazujejo tudi zgodbe o Lemberžanih. Žal ni znano, ali je Milčinski uporabil ravno lemberške šaljive zgodbe ali druge zgodbe iz slovenskega ljudskega pripovednega izročila ali je snov črpal iz mednarodno znanih zgodb o grški Abderi ali nemških Schildi ali iz del Hansa Sachsa ali druge starejše šaljive literature. Morda pa je zgodbe slišal v družini, saj je bil oče češkega rodu (Koblar 2012). Tako kot Slovenci imajo namreč tudi Čehi svoja mesta norcev. Vsekakor se je navdihoval tudi iz ljudskih pripovedi, saj je znano, da si je dopisoval s Francem Kramarjem, ki je pošiljal Karlu Štreklju ljudske pravljice, povedke in pesmi in je med drugim zbral tudi veliko šaljivih zgodb z Iga in okolice (Kropej 2005).

Glede na to, da je tako velikemu številu zgodb o Butalcih mogoče določiti ATU številko, je mogoče z veliko gotovostjo trditi, da je Milčinski imel predlogo ali morda celo več predlog, iz katerih je črpal ideje za svoje zgodbe. Žal pa ni znano, iz katerih virov je črpal gradivo.

Večina zgodb podobnih tistim o *Butalcih*, je bila objavljena po smrti Frana Milčinskega, vendar ni znano, ali so bile druge podobne zgodbe z obravnavanimi motivi objavljene že pred letom 1932 v časopisih in revijah. Morda pa je Fran Milčinski celo poznal dela Alberta Wesselskega, ki je med drugim leta 1911 objavil knjigo šaljivih zgodb z naslovom *Der Hodscha Nasreddin* in nato še leta 1914 *Das lachende Buch*.

Spodaj dodana tabela[20] kaže razširjenost posameznih motivov in pojavljanje v okoljih, iz katerih bi Milčinski lahko uporabil vir.

	Slovenija	Češka	Slovaška	Poljska	Nemčija	Avstrija	Judovske zgodbe	Albert Wesselski
ATU 1200	X		X				X	X
ATU 1227	X			X		X		
Ad. ATU 1240	X	X					X	X
ATU 1268			X	X	X	X	X	X
ATU 1275 + lem. Št. 7	X			X				
ATU 1284		X	X		X			X
Ad. ATU 1287	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ad. ATU 1310A			X					
ATU 1312					X			
ATU 1319	X	X	X	X			X	X

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[19] Gre za zgodbo z naslovom **Kako so Lemberžani v Trst vozili**. V knjižici Nika Kureta *Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih*, je objavljena pod številko 7 (Kuret 1954: 11).

[20] Tabela je bila narejena na podlagi podatkov, zbranih v knjigi z naslovom *The types of international folktales : a classification and bibliography, based on the system of Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson* (Uther 2004).

ATU 1326	X	X	X	X		X	X	
ATU 1328							X	
ATU 1335*	X							X
ATU 1341		X						X
ATU 1346A*				X	X	X		X
Ad. ATU 1525Z		X		X			X	
Ad. ATU 1526			X	X	X			
ATU 1572*				X	X		X	
Ad. ATU 1676				X	X		X	
ATU 1693			X				X	
Ad. ATU 1825			X	X	X			
ATU 1829	X		X	X	X	X		
ATU 1960		X			X		X	
Skupaj	**9**	**8**	**11**	**13**	**11**	**6**	**12**	**9**

Butalci in slovensko pripovedno izročilo

Vse stopnje dosedanje analize nam kažejo, da se *Butalci* Frana Milčinskega v svojem jedru vsekakor naslanjajo na ljudsko izročilo. O izposoji ljudskih predlog v avtorskih delih je Marjetka Golež Kaučič zapisala naslednje: »Taka "izposoja" /.../ je zavestna, z njo želijo avtorji priklicati že znano v svoja besedila, da bi se s tem hitreje približali bralcu, obenem pa je tudi transformativna, ni samo uporaba znanega, ker se avtorji sami ne spomnijo česa novega; gre za preklicevanje tradicije, da bi okrepili inovativno z že znanim in si morda tako tudi razširili občinstvo« (Golež Kaučič 2003: 106). Milčinski ni želel posnemati ljudskega pripovednega sloga. Njegova naj bi bila celo naslednja izjava: »Način, kakor narod pravljice pripoveduje in kakor so bile zabeležene, je jako preprost, okoren, brez sleherne pesniške lepote« (Matičetov 1956: 51).

Danes lahko o motivih Frana Milčinskega za uporabo ljudskih predlog v svojem delu samo ugibamo. Čeprav je neizpodbitno dejstvo, da imajo *Butalci* v ozadju ljudske predloge, pa te niso tako znane, ker izhajajo iz lokalnega ljudskega pripovednega izročila (Lemberg, Ribnica…), morda prihajajo iz tujega pripovednega izročila, kar pomeni, da so težje prepoznavne.

Čeprav je do sedaj veljalo, da so zgodbe o Butalcih avtorsko delo in so nekateri raziskovalci želeli »ugotoviti morebitno zgodovinsko jedro šaljivih zgodb in vsaj hipotetično nakazati, kje bi Butale utegnile ležati« (Golec 1997: 14), pa so realen kraj ali dejanske osebe in njihove peripetije, po katerih bi Fran Milčinski črpal svoj navdih, malo verjetne. Glede na to, da je tudi sam zbiral pripovedno izročilo in leta 1919 izdal knjigo ribniških šaljivih zgodb z naslovom *Süha roba* (Milčinski 1919), lahko sklepamo, da je poznal šaljivo pripovedno izročilo o Ribničanih. Poznal je gradivo, ki ga je zbral Franc Kramar, kar pomeni, da je poznal tudi ižansko pripovedno izročilo in šaljive zgodbe o Ižancih (Kropej 2005). Glede na te podatke, lahko sklepamo, da je Milčinski vsaj del gradiva črpal iz slovenskega ljudskega izročila.

V članku je predstavljen del gradiva šaljivih zgodb o Lemberžanih, ki sem ga zbrala na terenu v občinah Šmarje pri Jelšah, Rogaška Slatina in Rogatec. Šaljive zgodbe o Lemberžanih, Veržejcih in Ribničanih so bile v prvi polovici dvajsetega stoletja splošno poznane na slovenskem ozemlju, kar lahko sklepamo iz časopisnih objav iz tega obdobja. Danes so jih skoraj popolnoma nadomestile zgodbe o Butalcih Frana Milčinskega. Med ljudmi pa so se kljub temu ponekod do danes ohranile ljudske šaljive pripovedi o prebivalcih nekaterih krajev, ki pa ostajajo znane bolj ali manj samo v lokalnem okolju. Eden od krajev oz. njegovih prebivalcev, o katerih je še mogoče slišati šaljive pripovedi, je tudi Lemberg. Glede na rezultat primerjave Butalcev Frana Milčinskega in ljudskega pripovednega izročila lahko rečemo, da bi Lemberg lahko bil resnične Butale, vendar pa nič bolj in nič manj kot številni drugi kraji v Sloveniji ali Evropi, na račun katerih si ljudje pripovedujejo šaljive zgodbe.

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Folk Anecdotes about the Inhabitants of Lemberg and Fran Milčinski's Butalci

Katarina Šrimpf

The influence of folk narrative traditions on literary works can be seen from the beginning of literary fiction. This influence of the Slovenian folk narrative tradition, especially stories about the people of Lemberg, is evident in Fran Milčinski's humorous stories about the fictional town of Butalci.

Humorous stories in the oral tradition are often tied to a specific place. Lemberg, Ribnica and Veržej are the most famous settings for humorous stories in Slovenia, although stories set throughout the country can be found, such as in Dobliče v Beli Krajini, Višnja Gora pri Ljubljani, Zapudje pri Dragatušu and Marenberg.

The most well-known story about the adventures of Lemberg inhabitants is how they dragged the bull into the bell tower (ATU 1210). Versions of this story are known in Portugal, Spain, Germany (Schildbürger), the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Russia, Hungary and throughout much of Europe. A story with the same motif can also be found in the literary work *Butalci*.

The protagonists of humorous stories about Lemberg are individuals who embody the definition of "the fool". Fools are absurd, inappropriate and silly; their actions are accepted as comical and entertaining. In the past, the word "Lemberžan", the name for an inhabitant of market town Lemberg, also applied to a person who was not schooled, had low social status, or was known for stupidity, foolishness or dumbness. The sentence "You are like a Lemberžan!" was a common insult in the wider area of Lemberg. Since the publication of the Milčinski's book, the term "Butalci" has taken on this meaning in the popular Slovenien culture.

A collection of humorous stories, *Butalci* was published in 1949, 17 years after the death of the writer. Stories about inhabitants of fictional town Butale have become so popular over the years that they have passed into the narrative tradition. Even the *Dictionary of the Slovenian Language* includes the word "butalec", which refers to a very stupid man.

Although the stories about Butalci are regarded as literary works, closer analysis and comparison with stories from the folk narrative tradition reveal surprisingly strong motif resemblances. It is almost certain that Milčinski used stories from the folk tradition as a basis for his work. A number of stories from the book *Butalci* can be classified according to narrative type using the Aarne-Thompson-Uther classification system (ATU). This clearly demonstrates the connection between stories about Butalci with the Slovenian and international narrative traditions. Today, folk narratives about the people of Lemberg, Ribnica and other towns of fools have been almost forgotten and replaced by Milčinski's Butalci in the popular consciousness.

SODOBNA MITOLOGIJA

MITOLOGIA CONTEMPORANEA

CONTEMPORARY MYTHOLOGY

Pravljične junakinje v oglasih na Slovenskem

Simona Klaus

Throughout the decades, folklore has proven to be a valuable resource for adverti-sing. There are many folklore motifs, elements and features that are used in ads to enhan-ce their communication with customers. Fairy tale heroines, like Snow White, Little Red Riding Hood, Sleeping Beauty and Rapunzel are one example of such folklore use. The aim of this article is to review and analyse such examples in Slovene advertisements in a ten-year period from 2003 to 2013. Most often folklore elements are forced to adapt their content and form to the characteristics of advertising, mainly to the fact that adverts must be short and concise, which leads to a variety of modifications. Stereotyped image of the heroines, unexpected twists and fragments of the most famous fairy tales today still manage to retain a certain degree of recognition and of its original meaning, which is vital to its usage in adverts.

Keywords: Faity tale, advertisement, Slovene, fairytale heroine, Snow white, Little Red Riding Hood, Sleeping Beauty, Rapunzel

Pravljični tipi so v potrošniškem svetu enaindvajsetega stoletja stalno prisotni v pestri paleti sodobnih množičnih medijev. Že površen pregled časopisnih člankov, televizijskih nadaljevank in filmov, literarnih del, računalniških iger ter glasbe razkrije nove kontekste, v katerih dnevno srečujemo čarobne predmete in pomočnike, junakinje in junake ter boj med dobrim in zlim. Zato ne preseneča, da se pravljični tipi pojavljajo tudi v kontekstu oglaševanja. Oglaševalska stroka je že v dvajsetem stoletju dobesedno pograbila pravljice, saj so se izkazale za zelo učinkovito obliko nagovarjanja širokega spektra publike. Pravljica sicer velja za fikcijsko pripoved in ne spodbuja niti ne dovo-ljuje takega rezumevanja, da bi bil kateri koli del resničen. Linda Dégh in Andrew Váz-sonyi (1979) to definirata kot eno izmed njenih najpomembnejših splošnih značilnosti. V kontekstu odnosa med oglasom, ki vsebuje pravljični element, in gledalcem pravita, da je »tisto, kar pravljica zahteva in spodbuja bolj preprosto dejanje: začasno preneha-nje nevere s strani občinstva, kar je bistvo in pogoj za umetniški užitek ter popolnoma racionalno vedenje« (1979: 59), kar je nakup. Če bi gledalca lahko prepričali v to, da bi iracionalno verjel, da so elementi iz čudežnih pravljic, ki se pojavljajo v televizijskih reklamah, resnični, potem ne bi bilo razloga za oglaševanje.

Opozoriti je potrebno, da oglasi pravljičnost in pravljične motive uporabljajo na različne načine, od zelo očitnega, kot bo omenjen v nadaljevanju, do prikritega. Veliko-krat gre zgolj za omenjanje pravljičnega, čarobnega in magičnega v kontekstu lastnosti

izdelka ali storitve[1]. Kot primer lahko omenimo podjetje Petrol, ki je v letu 2011 uvedlo Zlato kartico, ki prinaša strankam različne ugodnosti. V začetni fazi oglaševalske akcije je bil osrednji motiv ženski lik z zlato krono, ki v ospredju drži zlato kartico (priloga 8). Zanimiva je izbira barve kartice, saj naj bi zlata barva nakazovala dobrodušnost, razkošnost in pravljičnost oz. opozarja na prisotnost nadnaravnih in pravljičnih lastnosti (Bettelheim 1999). V pravljicah navadno ni posebej izpostavljeno, da imajo kralji in kraljice na glavah zlate krone, so pa nasprotno realni zgodovinski vladarji in vladarice vedno upodobljeni s kronami.

Primerov pravljičnih tipov v sodobnem oglaševanju je veliko, tudi v slovenskih oglasih, vendar pa se v oglasih pojavljajo le nekateri pravljični tipi, ki se nanašajo na peščico najbolj prepoznavnih pravljic, kot so Rdeča kapica, Sneguljčica in sedem palčkov, Motovilka in Trnuljčica. Ob pregledovanju številnih primerov s pravljičnimi elementi se poraja vprašanje, zakaj je tak tip oglaševanja tako priljubljen. Na primeru ameriških oglasov je Linda Dégh ugotovila, da je razlog za uporabo pravljičnih elementov v oglasih čarobnost. »Po čarobnosti je povpraševanje, čarobno prodaja,« pravi (1994: 36). Ko pravljice in iz njih izhajajoči motivi vstopijo v oglaševalski prostor, začno delovati kot simboli prepričevanja. Pravljični junaki so v oglasih pogosto zakrinkani v običajne ljudi. Oglasi ponujajo nekakšen čarobni pogled na svet, kjer so vse težave rešene z nakupom prave storitve ali izdelka. Potrošnik upa, da bo s kančkom čarobnosti nekoč postal tako uspešen, lep in priljubljen kot oseba iz oglasa (1994: 44–45). Pravljice so oglaševalcem zelo blizu tudi zaradi svoje domišljijskosti, saj je oglaševanje samo izredno kreativen proces, ki črpa iz domišljije. Ker so pravljice relativno dolge zgodbe z veliko junaki, predmeti, situacijami in dogodki, oglasi pa so časovno zelo omejeni, oglaševalci praviloma iz prvotnega konteksta izvzamejo posamezne dele in jih na kreativen način vdelajo v nov kontekst oglasa. Uporabljen je torej le del zgodbe, junak ali predmet, ki je najbolj prepoznaven in nikoli ni uporabljena celotna vsebina pravljice. Ustvarjalci oglasov lahko vsebino pravljice poljubno spremenijo in sporočilo prilagodijo sporočilu oglasa. Oglase lahko razdelimo na dve skupini, in sicer na tiste, ki oglašujejo knjige, revije in dogodke, in v naslovih ali podobi vsebujejo pravljični element. Drugo skupino pa predstavljajo oglasi, kjer so pravljični elementi osrednji del oglasa, na katerega sta vezana vsebina in sporočilo. V nadaljevanju bo govor o drugi skupini oglasov oziroma o oglasih, kjer se pojavljajo pravljične junakinje.

Werner Bies je v kontekstu oglaševanja prepoznal tip t. i. oglasne pravljice (nem. Werbemärchen), ki parodira tako pravljico kot oglasna sporočila. Za oglasno pravljico je značilno, da se norčuje iz načina pripovedovanja in oblike pravljice ter hkrati iz »neprestanega nagovarjanja oglasov o osrečevanju in fiksacije na svetovne blagovne znamke« (Bies 2009: 361–362). V oglasni pravljici mora biti naštetih kar največ blagovnih znamk, ki so vpletene v zgodbo[2]. Kljub manipulaciji z vsebino, obliko in načinom podajanja klasičnih pravljic njihove predelave vseeno spominjajo na »original« (Bies 2009: 362).

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[1] Spletna stran pravljicna.si (http://www.pravljicna.si/category/lepota-kozmetika), pregledano 12.9.2011, pravljična potovanja in destinacije, Čarobni dan (Priloga 1) ipd.

[2] W. Bies navede dva primera tovrstne pravljice za nemško govoreči prostor. Za slovenski prostor nisem zasledila podobnega primera.

Pravljične junakinje

V obdobju desetih let je bilo v slovenskih množičnih medijih mogoče zaslediti kar nekaj uporab pravljičnih junakinj in referenc na pravljice. V nadaljevanju je deset primerov razdeljenih glede na posamezno junakinjo, in sicer Sneguljčico, Rdečo kapico, Trnuljčico in Motovilko. S. Swann Jones v zvezi z omenjenimi junakinjami prepoznava poseben tip pravljic, in sicer tip nedolžne preganjane junakinje (Swann Jones 1993: 13). Sam sicer trdi, da je to žanr, in ne tip, o katerem je pisal že A. Isaakovich Nikiforov. V ta »žanr« prišteva še okrog dvajset čudežnih pravljic. Za vse naj bi bilo značilno vsaj eno dejanje od treh, in sicer da junakinji že doma grozi nevarnost ali pa je preganjana, da je junakinja napadena ali pa ji je preprečeno, da bi se poročila, in da je junakinja po rojstvu otroka izpodrinjena, obrekovana ali žaljena (Swann Jones 1993: 17).

Sneguljčica

Sneguljčica in sedem palčkov je ena izmed danes najbolj prepoznavnih čudežnih pravljic (ATU 709) v svetovnem okviru. Na področju Slovenije je bila poznana že pred Grimmovimi pravljicami, ki so dosegle svetovni sloves (Kropej 2008: 219–221). Prelepo mlado dekle, izgnano od doma zaradi nečimrnosti in ošabnosti svoje mačehe, se za las izogne smrti, zatočišče pa najde pri sedmih palčkih, ki prebivajo globoko v gozdu. Kljub poskusom mačehe, da bi svojo pastorko ubila, Sneguljčica na koncu s princem živi sreč-

no do konca svojih dni (Grimm 1954: 92–105). Oglas za avto *Dacia logan* iz leta 2007 se je poigral z vsebino pravljice in namesto sedmih palčkov in Sneguljčice prikazal sedem Sneguljčic in le enega (vrtnega) palčka.

Televizijski spot se začne s Sneguljčico, ki prepevajoč si *la la la* priskaklja k avtomobilu in pogleda v njegovo notranjost. V naslednjem kadru zažvižga in na prizorišče priteče še šest enakih Sneguljčic. V hipu so v avtomobilu, kjer se kljub zaprtim vratom presedajo s sedeža na sedež. Ko se umirijo, moški pripovedovalec predstavi slogan *Pravljično prostoren, resnično ugoden!*. Ko se Sneguljčice odpeljejo, predstavi še znamko avtomobila in dodatne ugodnosti pri nakupu oglaševanega avtomobila.

Primerjava s pravljico Sneguljčica in sedem palčkov z oglasom pokaže številne vsebinske razlike. Prva razlika je razpoloženje Sneguljčice, ko se približa avtomobilu, kar lahko primerjamo s trenutkom, ko Sneguljčica v pravljici najde hiško v gozdu, v kateri prebivajo palčki. V pravljici je prestrašena in utrujena ter išče zatočišče, v oglasu pa je izredno dobre volje in si prepeva. Sneguljčica najprej pokuka v hiško skozi majhno okno, v oglasu pa pokuka v notranjost avtomobila. V naslednjem kadru priteče še šest enakih Sneguljčic, ki se z nekaj prerivanja posedejo po avtomobilu. V pravljici je izpostavljeno dejstvo, da je hiša tako majhna, ker v njej živijo palčki, in da je Sneguljčica tako velika, da zaspi kar na sedmih posteljah, ne le na eni. V oglasu je to razmerje obrnjeno, saj gre v avtomobil brez težav kar sedem Sneguljčic. Palček se pojavi le kot neživa figura vrtnega palčka in referenca na pravljico. Na pravljico pa se namiguje tudi slogan, ki oglašuje avtomobil kot »pravljično prostoren«.

Vsebina oglasa je popolno nasprotje poznani varianti pravljice o Sneguljčici in sedmih palčkih. Oglas se sicer začne z le eno Sneguljčico, nato pa sledi nepričakovani preobrat, ko v kader vstopi še šest identičnih likov. Vzrok lahko iščemo v predstavljanju velikosti tako palčkov, Sneguljčic kot avtomobila. Da bi oglaševalci poudarili velikost avtomobila so palčke zamenjali z večjim likom Sneguljčice, ki so jo še pomnožili na sedem. Sedem velikih Sneguljčic se brez težav usede v avtomobil skupaj z vrtnim palčkom v naročju, kar apelira na prostornost avtomobila. Da je osnovni namen oglasa poudariti prostornost avtomobila, potrjuje tudi spremljajoči slogan. Avtorji oglasa se na neki način poigrajo z našim poznavanjem izročila o majhnosti palčkov nasproti velikosti Sneguljčice.

Podoba Sneguljčic oz. njihovi kostumi so poustvarjeni glede na podobo iz risanega filma, ki ga je leta 1937 ustvaril Walt Disney s svojo ekipo. Deklica, ki ima črne lase povezane z rdečo pentljo in urejene v stilu tridesetih let dvajsetega stoletja, bleda polt in obleka, ki je v zgornjem delu modra z napihnjenimi rokavi, krilo, ki sega do tal, pa je rumeno, je v dvajsetem stoletju osvojila cel svet. Obleka na splošno spominja na srednjeveško oziroma renesančno predvsem zaradi napihnjenih rokavov in visokega ovratnika, ki sta bila del evropskih srednjeveških oziroma renesančnih oblek. Da je ta podoba najbolj prepoznavna, je razvidno iz številnih kontekstov popularne kulture, v katerih se pojavlja. Od literarnih del, gledaliških predstav, filmov, televizijskih nanizank, pa do pustnih kostumov in tematskih parkov. Podoba Sneguljčice, kot si jo je zamislil Walt Disney, je močnejša od vseh ilustracij in podob, ki so nastale do danes. Disneyjeva podoba je tako postala univerzalno prepoznavna, kar oglasi s pridom izkoriščajo.

Tudi v oglasu iz leta 2010 za izdelke *Ljubljanskih mlekarn* s sloganom »Nahranite otroka v sebi« Sneguljčica v stereotipni podobi bere otrokom pravljico za lahko noč.

V oglasu instrumentalna glasbena podlaga, ki spominja na uspavanko, prikazuje pravljične junake v podobi Sneguljčice[3], volka, Trnuljčice in viteza., ki berejo otrokom. Liki referirajo na pravljice o Sneguljčici in sedmih palčkih (ATU 709), Rdeči kapici (ATU 333), Trnuljčici (ATU 410), Motovilki (ATU 310) in na pravljice na splošno v podobi viteza oziroma princa v oklepu. Gledalec dogajanje v otroški spalnici opazuje z okna in potuje med različnimi otroškimi spalnicami. V vsaki ujame trenutek branja, ko so otroci še pokonci, razen v zadnji sobi, v kateri otrok že spi. Ne vemo natančno, kaj pravljični liki berejo, predvidevamo lahko, da pravljice. V prvi sobi na postelji sedi Sneguljčica in bere, v drugi sobi bere volk, ki se ga dva otroka očitno bojita, saj kukata k njemu izpod odeje. V tretji sobi mora deklica zdramiti Trnuljčico, ki je zaspala med branjem, v zadnjem kadru pa vitez v oklepu, lahko tudi princ, zapre knjigo, poboža spečega otroka po laseh, spije kozarec mleka in odide. Oglas se zaključi s sloganom, naštevanjem nekaterih izdelkov in omembo naročnika s strani komentatorke z zelo umirjenim glasom.

V oglasu je že sam kontekst referenca na pravljice, saj je dogajanje postavljeno v večerni čas in domove ljudi, natančneje otroške spalnice, kjer se običajno otrokom pred spanjem prebirajo pravljice. Referenco na pravljice še okrepi vizualna podoba oseb, ki ravno prebirajo, domnevno pravljice, preoblečeni v pravljične like. Gledalec lahko sklepa, da gre za pravljice le iz širšega konteksta, saj oseb ne sliši brati, ker zvočno prevladuje glasba. Prva oseba je Sneguljčica (ATU 709), oblečena v kostum, kot ga je zasnoval studio Walt Disney. V pravljične like so najverjetneje oblečeni starši, ki uspavajo svoje otroke z branjem pravljic za lahko noč, kar skupaj s sloganom »Nahranite otroka v sebi« ustvari kompleksen preplet pravljičnosti in realnosti. V oglasu zadnji lik spije mleko, drugi izdelki oglaševane znamke pa so predstavljeni šele, ko dogajanje zapusti otroške sobe, kjer otroci že spijo in v hišah pogasnejo luči. Oglas deluje zelo pomirjujoče v duhu tematskega konteksta, ki je uspavanje otrok. Gledalec lahko poveže določen pravljični lik s pravljico, ki naj bi jo bral. Čeprav je Sneguljčica publiki znana kot pravljični lik, pa je njeno podobo v popularni kulturi zaznamoval risani film, po katerem njeno podobo povzemajo tudi oglasi. V omenjenih oglasih se torej pojavljajo novi elementi, ki se pogosto medsebojno prepletajo s tradicionalnimi motivi ter s tem ustvarjajo sodoben domišljijski svet.

Banka *Raiffeisen Bank* je leta 2009 v oglaševalski akciji za naložbeno zavarovanje publiko nagovarjala s citatom iz pravljice Sneguljčica in sedem palčkov (ATU 709) ter podobo junakinje. Osrednji del oglasa prikazuje lik sedeče Sneguljčice, ki je tik pred tem, da ugrizne v rdeče jabolko. Le jabolko in ustnice so rdeče barve, ki nekoliko izstopa. Oglas dramatično gradi napetost z besedami: »Sneguljčica pa je ugriznila v jabolko, ne vedoč, da je zastrupljeno…« V spodnjem delu oglasa je z velikimi črkami zapisano vprašanje »Kaj pa, če ne bi bilo srečnega konca?«. Drobnejše besedilo na dnu pojasnjuje: »Ker življenje ni pravljica, potrebujete resnično zavarovanje. Izberite življenjsko in naložbeno zavarovanje ter tako poskrbite za varno finančno prihodnost vas ali vaših najbližjih.«

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[3] Videz je prevzet iz knjig in risanih filmov Walta Disneyja.

Folklorni elementi, ki v oglas vnašajo prepoznavnost na eni strani in dramatični trenutek na drugi, so sicer izvzeti iz konteksta pravljice, niso pa bili spremenjeni. Sneguljčico lahko prepoznamo po polti, ki je bela kakor sneg, kot ebenovina črnih laseh in ustnicah rdečih kot kri, prav tako kot v pravljici. Njena podoba nekoliko presenetljivo ne spominja na podobo junakinje, ki jo je ustvaril Walt Disney. Kljub temu pa je še vedno hitro prepoznavna. Situacija je postavljena v trenutek tik pred največjim zapletom pravljice, ko junakinja ugrizne zastrupljeno jabolko in kot mrtva omahne na tla. Oglas izkoristi najbolj napeti del pravljice, da izpostavi pomen oglaševane storitve. Sneguljčica nagovarja gledalca, ki ne ve, kaj ga čaka v prihodnosti, naj si za primer stiske priskrbi ustrezno zavarovanje. »Življenje ni pravljica«, zato potrošnik »potrebuje resnično zavarovanje«. Praviloma srečen konec je postavljen pod vprašaj. Pravzaprav je zavarovanje kot oglaševana storitev tisto, kar naj bi omogočilo srečen konec. Podoba Sneguljčice ustvarja intenzivno vzdušje stiske in nevarnosti, ki je hkrati del pravljičnega in resničnega sveta. Le v resničnem svetu lahko v realnih stiskah ljudi »srečen konec« omogoči oglaševana bančna storitev. Pravljična junakinja je v tem primeru uporabljena kot sredstvo za pritegnitev pozornosti, kjer poznan element iz pravljice pomaga k večji zapomnljivosti oglasa.
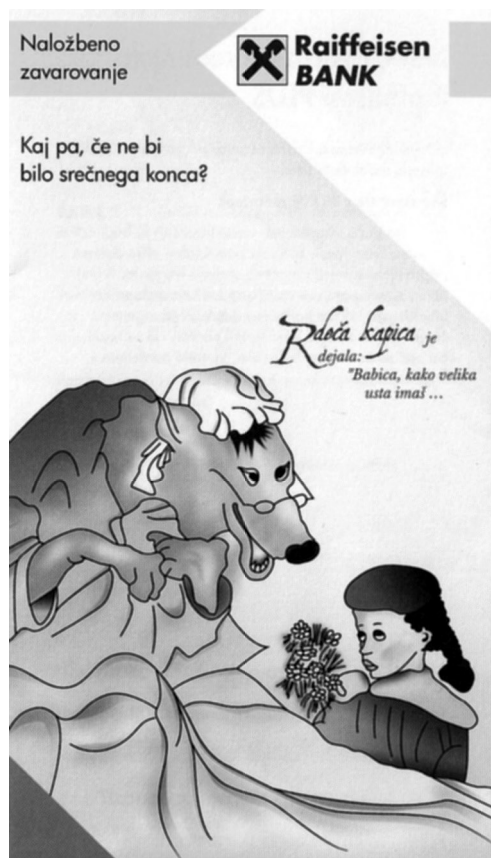
Naj omenim še dva primera oglasov, ki se nanašata na pravljico o Sneguljčici in sedmih palčkih, vendar brez dejanske podobe Sneguljčice. Prvi primer je oglas za podjetje Ljubljanske mlekarne, ki je leta 2012 tudi novo obliko sladoleda Planica (na palčki) oglaševalo z referenco na pravljico o Sneguljčici in sedmih palčkih. Namesto imena Sneguljčica je zapisano ime izdelka Planica, pod njim pa pripis v pisani pisavi »in sedem palčk«. Na sedmih palčkah, ki štrlijo iz sladoleda, so označeni dnevi v tednu. Število palčk sicer sovpada s številom palčkov, vendar pa znani tip pravljice spomni tudi na zven in ritem besed.

Drugi primer je oglas za podjetje Oriflame, kjer v novembrskem katalogu za leto 2012 filmska igralka Demi Moore oglašuje nakit in parfum omenjenega podjetja kot zlobna čarovnica. Igralka v rokah drži rdeče jabolko, katerega del je nekdo (predvidevamo lahko, da Sneguljčica) odgriznil. V ozadju je viden del velikega ogledala. Vzdušje oglasa je temačno, saj je igralka oblečena v temna oblačila, pa tudi ozadje je črno sivo. Oglas uporabi besede, ki jih v pravljici izgovori zlobna mačeha, ko vpraša čarobno ogle-

dalo, »zrcalce, zrcalce na steni, povej, katera najlepša v deželi je tej?« (Grimm 1954: 92). Oglas uporabi samo prvi del vprašanja, in sicer »Zrcalce, zrcalce na steni, povej«. Nakit je opisan kot pravljično glamurozen. S tem ko oglas upodobi zlobno mačeho, hkrati sporoča, da je nakit namenjen nečimrnim in ošabnim potrošnicam. Tako je namreč v pravljici opisana zlobna mačeha, in sicer kot lepa, ošabna in domišljava, pa tudi hudobna, nevoščljiva in radovedna (Grimm 1954: 92–105).

Rdeča kapica

Pravljica o Rdeči kapici (ATU 333) je ena izmed najbolj problematiziranih in raziskanih pravljic nasploh. Pravljica o deklici, ki ji babica podari rdečo kapico ali ogrinjalo s kapuco in ki jo ogroža zlobni volk obstaja v veliko različicah. Obstajajo številni zapisi pravljice, ki so jih zapisovalci od C. Perraulta do bratov Grimm predelovali in popravljali glede na lasten pogled na svet, kasneje pa jih je spreminjala še produkcija risanih filmov in celovečernih filmov[4]. Predmet razprav so predvsem spremembe, popravki, izpuščanja in dodatki, ki so jih zapisovalci folklornega izročila v preteklosti vnesli v vsebino pravljice. V folklornem izročilu se v pravljici pojavijo simboli, ki predstavljajo prehod deklice iz otroštva v puberteto in v spolno zrelost ter razmerja med različnimi stopnjami ženske starosti (nedolžnost, spolna zrelost, menopavza), kjer mlajša ženska izpodrine starejšo (Swann Jones 1987: 104, Georges in Jones 1995: 39). Vsebina je zaradi tega veliko bolj seksualna in krvava, kot je bilo sprejemljivo za francosko družbo v času C. Perraulta ali za nemško v času bratov Grimm. Posledično se je zaradi sprememb vsebine spremenilo tudi sporočilo oziroma nauk pravljice, ki je v Perraultovi različici namesto razmerja med mlado in staro žensko izpostavilo svarilo dekletom pred nevarnimi moškimi (Perrault 2010: 123). Grimmova različica pravljice pa se konča s posredovanjem lovca, ki je iz volkovega trebuha rešil babico in Rdečo kapico.

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[4] Zadnji primer filma, ki izhaja iz pravljice o Rdeči kapici, vendar je zelo prirejen, je film z naslovom Red Riding Hood iz leta 2011.

V oglasu za *Raiffeisen Bank* so enako kot s pravljično junakinjo Sneguljčico stranke nagovarjali z Rdečo kapico. V oglasu je takoj pod imenom oglaševanega zavarovanja vprašanje, ki je skupno obema primeroma, in sicer, »Kaj pa, če ne bi bilo srečnega konca?«. Ugotovimo lahko, da se besedilo nanaša na Grimmovo varianto pravljice, ki ima srečen konec. Sledi podoba Rdeče kapice ob postelji, v kateri je v njeno babico oblečen volk, in besedilo: »Rdeča kapica[5] je dejala: 'Babica, kako velika ušesa imaš …'«. Ponovno je izpostavljen najbolj dramatičen del pravljice. Volk je veliko večji od Rdeče kapice in se sklanja nad njo z odprtim gobcem. Rdeča kapica, ki v rokah drži šopek cvetja, pa deluje nekoliko prestrašeno in nebogljeno. Volka gleda izpod čela, obraz pa ima resen. Pravljični element je umeščen v kontekst oglasa nespremenjen. To velja tako za situacijo, v kateri je volk preoblečen v babico, kot za vprašanje Rdeče kapice o njegovem videzu. Podoba Rdeče kapice in volka je poenostavljena, skoraj stilizirana. Publika ve, da ima Grimmova varianta pravljice (Grimm 1954: 140), pa tudi kasnejše popularizirane variante, srečen konec, oglas pa bralca nagovarja, naj si predstavlja drugačen, tragičen konec. Nesrečen konec sicer zaznamuje zgodnejšo različico pravljice, ki jo je zapisal C. Perrault in je manj znana. V tej različici se zgodba konča z volkom, ki požre Rdečo kapico (Perrault 2010: 101). Namesto lovca, ki ga sicer v oglasu ni in ki jo v Grimmovi varianti pravljice reši, pa nastopa banka, ki je naročila oglas.

Sledi primer oglasa iz oglaševalske akcije podjetja *Stiffelkönig*, ki je lik Rdeče kapice leta 2011 uporabilo za oglaševanje nove linije obutve. Elementi, po katerih lahko povežemo omenjeno pravljico z oglasom, so rdeče ogrinjalo, košara, ki jo ima v rokah dekle, ter koča sredi temačnega gozda. Dogajanje je postavljeno v temačen gozd tik pred babičino kočo, v osrednji del oglasa pa je umeščen lik Rdeče kapice. Tudi v tem oglasu je precej razlik v primerjavi s pravljico. Rdeča kapica je pravzaprav odraslo dekle, ne deklica. Kratka obleka, ki jo nosi Rdeča kapica, je bele barve in razkriva noge od kolen navzdol, s tem pa oglaševane čevlje z visoko peto. Model nosi zelo dolgo rdeče ogrinjalo s kapuco. V eni roki ima košarico, iz katere moli vrh steklenice z rdečo vsebino, kar namiguje na vino, v drugi pa kar pet povodcev, na katerih je pet belih plišastih kužkov. Pet kužkov v oglasu je zamenjalo zlobnega volka v pravljici, dodano pa je še ogledalo v obliki črke »O« s krono, ki ga zasledimo tudi v logotipu podjetja. V ogledalu je čevelj, enak tistemu, ki ga nosi Rdeča kapica.

V oglasu najdemo tako podobnosti kot razlike s pravljico o Rdeči kapici. Prepoznaven je temačen gozd, v katerem je babičina koča, do katere je namenjena Rdeča kapica. Tudi dekle s košarico v rokah in rdečim ogrinjalom jasno spominja na lik Rdeče kapice, kot so ga upodobili nekateri ilustratorji, torej z ogrinjalom, ne s kapo. V imenu osrednje junakinje pravljice so se kot posledice prevajanja pojavile nekatere spremembe. V angleškem jeziku se pravljica imenuje *The Little Red Ridding Hood*, kar pomeni rdečo kapuco oziroma kratko ogrinjalo, v slovenskem jeziku pa je junakinji ime *Rdeča kapica*, zato se v ilustracijah pojavlja deklica z rdečo kapico ali deklica z rdečim ogrinjalom s kapuco. Vendar je kljub temu, da lahko gledalec bolj ali manj hitro prepozna motiv pravljice, veliko popolnoma novih elementov. Rdeča kapica je odrasla, zlobnega in ne-

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5 Poudarek je tudi v originalnem besedilu.

varnega volka pa so nadomestile plišaste živalce, ki jih ima Rdeča kapica na povodcih, torej pod nadzorom. Skupaj s poudarjanjem čevljev celotna podoba ustvarja občutek samozavesti lika, ki nosi oglaševano blagovno znamko.

Trnuljčica

V pravljici o Trnuljčici (ATU 410) si pred davnimi časi kralj in kraljica želita otrok, in ko se jima rodi hčerka, priredita veliko slavje. Na slavje sta povabila celotno kraljestvo in dvanajst modrih žena oziroma sojenic, vse razen ene, ki so obdarovale otroka s čudežnimi darili kreposti, bogastva, miline ipd. Nepovabljena modra žena se je maščevala tako, da je nad kraljevo hčerko izrekla urok in napovedala, da se bo dekle na petnajsti rojstni dan zbodlo z vretenom in umrlo. Zadnja modra žena je lahko le omilila hudo napoved, s tem da to ne bo smrt, ampak stoletno spanje. Na petnajsti rojstni dan se je Trnuljčica v odmaknjenem stolpu gradu zbodla z vretenom in zaspala, z njo pa ves grad. Grad je zaraslo trnje, skozi katerega sto let ni mogel nihče, po točno stotih letih pa je v deželo prišel princ, ki ga je cvetoče trnje kar samo spustilo do gradu, kjer je našel Trnuljčico in jo prebudil s poljubom. Zbudil se je ves grad, princ in Trnuljčica pa sta se poročila in živela srečno do konca svojih dni (Grimm 1954: 204–209).

Oglasni spot za pralni prašek znamke Ariel je v enem izmed oglasov uporabil motiv iz Trnuljčice, postavil pa ga je v kontekst otroške gledališke predstave. V kratkem videu mladi princ prijezdi na lesenem konju in poljubi Trnuljčico. Ta se sicer zbudi, vendar namesto da bi vstala iz postelje, malo pomisli, nato pa se zavije nazaj pod odejo in zapre oči. Glas v ozadju pa gledalcu pove, da se mehkobi perila opranega s praškom Ariel ni možno upreti.

V pravljici o Trnuljčici je osrednji prinčev cilj, da Trnuljčico zbudi, in z njo celoten grad, nato pa srečno živita do konca svojih dni. Oglas pa dogajanje najprej postavi v kontekst otroške igre, nato pa zgodbo zaključi na nepričakovan način, ko »princu« glede na pravljico sicer uspe zbuditi »princeso«, ampak ona se raje odloči za spanje. Nekoliko presenetljivo je dejstvo, da junakinja noče biti (od)rešena, kar je sicer značilno za pravljice tipa preganjana nedolžna junakinja (prim. Swann Jones 1993: 1–17).

Če primerjamo vsebino pravljice in oglas, lahko vidimo, da oglas povzema le dogajanje na koncu pravljice, saj naj bi gledalec že poznal začetek oziroma preostanek pravljice. S koncem, ko »Trnuljčica« noče vstati iz postelje, se zgodi nepričakovan preobrat. Takšno moč spreminjanja ima oglaševani izdelek – pralni prašek Ariel, ki je kombiniran z mehčalcem za perilo Lenor. S tem oglaševani izdelek deluje kot čarobni predmet (Propp 2005: 56), ki pomaga potrošniku do zmage na njegovi junaški poti boja z umazanijo. Ker je kontekst pravljičnega motiva otroška šolska igra skozi naivno zmedenost dečka, ko stvari na predstavi ne gredo po načrtu, označuje počutje publike, ki je prav tako zmedena ali presenečena nad nenadnim zasukom. Ta zasuk bi lahko pripisali muhavosti deklice, ki noče vstati iz postelje, če ne bi posredoval pripovedovalec in pojasnil, čemu se deklica ne more upreti. Konec je presenetljiv, ker čarovnija ni premagana kot v pravljici. Ta čarobnost označuje oglaševani izdelek, ki so mu poleg osnovne lastnosti očiščenja izdelkov pripisane tudi čarobne moči uspavanja.

Trnuljčica se, tako kot Sneguljčica, tudi pojavi v oglasu Ljubljanskih mlekarn za mlečne izdelke v okviru oglaševalske akcije *Nahranite otroka v sebi*. Trnuljčico mora deklica zdramiti, saj je videti, kot da je med branjem zaspala. To deluje humorno, saj naj bi Trnuljčica z branjem zgodbe uspavala otroka, ne pa sama sebe.

Njena podoba ni stereotipna, kot pri Sneguljčici. Da gre za Trnuljčico, gledalec prepozna po spanju, saj je v pravljici največ poudarka prav na uroku, zaradi katerega osrednja junakinja in vsi prebivalci gradu za sto let padejo v globok spanec. V pravljici mora preteči sto let, da lahko princ doseže grad in zbudi Trnuljčico, v oglasu pa jo z rahlim dregljajem zbudi kar deklica, ki ji je zgodba za lahko noč namenjena. Trnuljčica je v tem oglasu le ena izmed bolj prepoznavnih pravljičnih likov, saj so zraven že omenjena Sneguljčica, volk in vitez oz. princ, ki je edini, pri katerem so otroci že zaspali.

Motovilka

Pravljico o Motovilki prištevamo v tip pravljice ATU 310 oziroma Devica v stolpu. Med najbolj poznanimi variantami je Grimmova varianta, vendar je pravljica zapisana tudi v starejših virih. G. Basile je pravljico z naslovom Petrosinella objavil v zbirki pravljic *Pentamerone* leta 1634 (po Georges in Jones 1995: 39). Pravljica pripoveduje o deklici Motovilki, ki jo čarovnica vzame staršem kot plačilo za njihovo krajo motovilca z njenega čarobnega vrta in odpelje k sebi ter jo vzgaja kot lastnega otroka. Čarovnica Motovilko, ko dopolni dvanajst let, zapre v stolp brez vrat in stopnic. Ker ima deklica čudovite dolge zlate lase, navadno spletene v kito, ji čarovnica ob obisku zakliče: »Motovilka, Motovilka, spusti lase, da lahko uporabim zlate stopnice«. Motovilka v stolpu lepo prepeva, kar nekega dne sliši princ. Začne se dnevno vračati k stolpu in nekoč po naključju sliši čarovnico, kako prosi Motovilko naj spusti svoje lase. Isto noč naredi enako in uspe mu priti v stolp. Z Motovilko se zaljubita in načrtujeta pobeg, ki pa ga čarovnica prepreči, ker se junakinja izda, ko naivno vpraša, zakaj ji je obleka postala preozka (razlog je nosečnost). Motovilko izžene, princ pa oslepi in slepo blodi po deželi, dokler nekega dne spet ne sliši Motovilkinega petja in se ponovno združita. Motovilkine solze ob veselem srečanju pozdravijo prinčeve oči in skupaj se vrneta na grad, kjer srečno živita do konca svojih dni[6]. V nekaterih variantah Motovilka in princ uspeta zbežati iz stolpa brez soočenja s čarovnico, pa tudi za čarovnico je včasih konec tragičen, na primer ostane sama zaprta v stolpu ali pa njen konec sploh ni omenjen.

Leta 2011 je bil predvajan oglas za trgovsko podjetje *Stiffelkönig*, v katerem Motovilka sedi na velikem svitku svojih las v naravi pred zrcalom in občuduje svoje čevlje. V ozadju je visok stolp, do katerega se vijejo njeni lasje in pred katerim čaka princ, ki jo v pravljici reši. To so tisti elementi oglasa, po katerih prepoznamo pravljico o dekletu v stolpu. Oglas na veliki oglasni deski je brez spremljevalnega teksta, pa vendar je moč

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[6] Motovilka, Spletni vir: http://www.squidoo.com/Rapunzel, 3. 4. 2012.

razbrati sporočilo, ki kaže na moč čevljev, da spremenijo zgodbo pravljice. Na spletu pa je poleg motiva iz oglasa tudi besedilo: »Najlepši čevlji v deželi« (nem. "*Die schönsten Schuhe im ganzen Land).* Motovilka naj bi se sama spustila iz stolpa, da bi občudovala čevlje, ki jih prodaja oglaševana trgovina. Ponovno je pravljična vsebina podvržena spremembi, ki jo publika, ki pozna zgodbo, hipno prepozna.

Če primerjamo zgodbo oglasa s pravljico, hitro opazimo razlike. Motovilka ni več ujeta v stolp in se ne meni za svojega ljubimca, ampak občuduje svoje čevlje. Sodeč po videzu, Motovilka ni mlado dekle kot v pravljici, ampak odrasla ženska. Namesto boja z zlobno čarovnico, je v oglasu v ospredju občudovanje čevljev, ki so osnovni izdelek oglaševane blagovne znamke. Ni naključje, da je nad ogledalom ovalne oblike del logotipa podjetja, in sicer krona, ki je v imenu *Stiffelkönig* na mestu preglasa na črki O. Na spletnem naslovu podjetja je poleg Motovilke tudi besedilo: »Najlepši čevlji v deželi tej[7]« (nem. *Die schönsten Schuhe im ganzen Land).* V oglasu je folklorni element uporabljen v močno spremenjeni obliki. Po eni strani opazimo prepoznavne elemente tipa pravljice dekle v stolpu, po drugi strani pa je zgodba oglasa zasnovana v nasprotju s pravljično. Znova gre za preplet domišljije in realnosti, kjer je folklorni element uporabljen kot poznana kulisa, njegove spremembe pa so poskrbijo za pritegnitev gledalčeve pozornosti.

Zaključek

V oglasih, ki se pojavljajo v slovenskih množičnih medijih, se pravljični motivi pojavljajo precej redko. Predstavljenih je bilo sicer deset primerov, vendar jih je v primerjavi s količino vseh drugih oglasov relativno malo. Pravljične junakinje, ki se pojavljajo v zgoraj obravnavanih primerih, izvirajo iz Grimmovih zbirk pravljic, ki so v našem in širšem evropskem prostoru najbolj prepoznavne oziroma so univerzalne. To je povezano z dejstvom, da se večini globalno delujočih podjetij finančno ne obrestuje vlagati v oglase, ki bi bili namenjeni izključno slovenskemu prostoru, zato so oglasi namenjeni širšemu evropskemu trgu, za Slovenijo zgolj sinhronizirani v slovenski jezik. Reiffeisen banka, pralni prašek Ariel in Stieffelkönig svoje izdelke najbolj očitno povezujejo s pravljičnimi junakinjami. Le majhno število oglasov, katerih naročniki so slovenska podjetja, je nastalo v slovenskih oglaševalskih agencijah. Izstopajo oglasi za Ljubljanske mlekarne, ki redno posegajo po pravljičnem, pa tudi širšem folklornem gradivu. Oglaševanje si iz pravljic izposoja nosilce in prizore izpolnjevanja želja ter njeno čarobnost. Pravljice v oglasih ustvarjajo občutek poznanega, zato so junakinje znanih pravljic, uporabljene predvsem zaradi svoje prepoznavnosti med publiko. V obravnavanih oglasih so se pojavile Sneguljčica, Rdeča kapica, Trnuljčica in Motovilka. Tudi avtorji prepoznavajo v tovrstnih primerih čarobni pogled na svet in čudežnost, vendar pa za obravnavane primere to le delno velja. Pomembnejši je faktor prepoznavnosti, na kar nakazuje raba stereotipne podobe v primeru Sneguljčice. V obravnavanih oglasih se v veliko primerih zgodi nepričakovani preobrat, s katerim oglas pritegne pozornost gledalca. Tudi uporaba dela pravljice pri oglasih Raiffeisen banke je namenjena ustvarjanju napetosti in dramatičnosti, in ne toliko čarobnosti. Glede na splošno prepričanje, da so pravljice namenjene otrokom in da se pravljični elementi pojavljajo predvsem pri

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[7] Prevod povzemam po tiskanem oglasu iz revije City Magazine 7 (16), 17. 10. 2011.

oglaševanju storitev in izdelkov, ki jih nagovarjajo, to za obravnavane primere ne velja, saj se pravljični tipi pojavljajo v oglasih, ki so usmerjeni k nagovarjanju odrasle publike.

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Fairy Tale Heroines in Slovene Advertisements

Simona Klaus

This article discusses ten examples of Slovene ads from the previous decade that feature fairy tale heroines. They most often featured Snow White, in two distinctively different ways. Firstly, Snow white's image is stereotypical, taken from Walt Disney's image of short black hair with red ribbon and the hairstyle of 1930s, white collar, blue vest with short sleeves, and long yellow dress. The second kind of image is nothing like the Walt Disney one, but it is still highly recognizable, since there are other fairy tale features used, for instance a red apple or a mirror. Other heroines, Little Red Riding Hood, Sleeping Beauty and Rapunzel, are also depicted in non-stereotypical way. Each one has certain recognizable attributes, such as a red hood in the case of the Little Red Riding Hood, waking up from an enchanted sleep in the case of Sleeping Beauty, and long blond hair in the case of Rapunzel.

It is a fact that fairy tale motifs used in advertisements are forced to adapt the content and form to the characteristics of advertising, mainly to the fact that adverts must be short and concise. Stereotyped images of the heroines and fragments of the most well-known fairy tales are used, together with unexpected twists. They manage to retain a high degree of recognition among public. It is this ability of recognition that enables faster communication of the message in adverts about products and services.

Slovenske ljudske pravljice na višji stopnji slovenske osnovne šole

Petra Novak

This article presents, with the help of comparative analysis, fairy tales included into Slovenian curriculum and textbooks of various publishers for upper level of primary school. The main part of the discussion represents all the texts with fairy-tale elements that are included in the analysed literary learning books from the genre and motif point of view. Each interpretation of the text includes didactic and literary instruments that present fairy tale elements to pupils.

Keywords: fairy tales, primary school, teaching, literature, curriculum, textbooks, poetry, storytelling

Uvod

V raziskavi, katere glavne rezultate prinaša pričujoča razprava, sem nadaljevala pregled in analizo zastopanja ljudskih vsebin v zadnjem letu drugega triletja in v vseh treh razredih tretjega triletja v slovenski osnovni šoli. Raziskava se deloma navezuje na raziskavo, objavljeno leta 2011; tokrat gre za zastopanost ljudskih pravljic. Primerjalni pogled omogoča pregled zastopanosti v učnem načrtu, ki je predpisan dokument, in v berilih različnih založb, ki jih je pri pouku mogoče uporabljati.

Namen analize učnega načrta in učbenikov za pouk književnosti je ugotoviti, koliko in kako so slovenske ljudske pravljice predvidene v učnih načrtih in potrjenih[1] učbenikih.

Pred samimi rezultati analize kratko predstavim žanr ljudske pravljice.

Glavni del razprave predstavi pravljice v analiziranih berilih. Ob vsaki interpretaciji besedila so poleg navedeni deli didaktičnega in literarnega instrumentarija, v katerih so učencem predstavljene pravljične prvine.

V zaključnem delu prispevka predstavim rezultate v konkretni šolski praksi izvedene raziskave o poznavanju pravljičnih tipov pri slovenkih devetošolcih.

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[1] S strani Zavoda za šolstvo.

Načrtovanje pouka književnosti: učni načrt in učbenik

Analizirani so bili trije učni načrti[2], in sicer zadnji učni načrt, ki je v veljavo stopil s šolskim letom 2011/2012, vendar se v praksi uporablja le v 7. in 8. razredu. Raziskava je v največji meri temeljila na zadnjem posodobljenem učnem načrtu iz leta 2009, ki pa se v glavnem navezuje na učni načrt iz leta 1998. Vsi učni načrti določajo število ur, namenjenih književnemu pouku, učne cilje, ki naj bi se pri pouku dosegali, ter učno snov, preko katere bi te cilje dosegali – v različnem obsegu.

Konkretizacija učnih ciljev in določil v učnem načrtu temelji v veliki meri tudi na uporabnosti didaktičnih pripomočkov, v mojem primeru učbenikov[3] za pouk književnosti.

V raziskavi sem analizirala vsa berila, ki sovpadajo z učnimi načrti od 6. do 9. razreda 9-letne osnovne šole in so na voljo na založniškem trgu, torej dostopna tako učiteljem kot učencem. Analizirana so bila štiri berila za 6. razred, pet beril za 7. razred, tri berila za 8. razred in tri berila za 9. razred.

Slovenske pravljične vsebine v učnih načrtih

Posebnost učnega načrta iz leta 1998 je v zelo natančni določitvi in razčlenitvi splošnih, funkcionalnih in izobraževalnih ciljih za posamezna triletja osnovne šole. Ti cilji se dodatno delijo glede na obravnavo umetnostnih in neumetnostnih besedil.

V učnih načrtih za 6. razred 9-letke, ko učenci pridejo na predmetno stopnjo in poučevanje prevzame za določen predmet usposobljeni učitelj, slovenske pravljične vsebine niso eksplicitno nikjer navedene, kar pomeni, da jih učni načrt ne predvideva, je pa v vseh treh analiziranih učnih načrtih predlagana ljudska pesem Desetnica. Čeprav gre za pesniško obliko, jo na tem mestu navajam zato, ker jo edino Slovenci poznamo v vezani besedi, pri drugih narodih gre za prozno, pravljično obliko.

Ljudsko slovstvo je v učnem načrtu iz leta 2009 navedeno v navedbi procesnociljnih in vsebinskih sklopov pri več kategorijah, in sicer pri *razvijanju recepcijske zmožnosti z branjem, poslušanjem umetnostnih besedil in govorjenjem, pisanjem o njih*, kar kaže na bolj poglobljeno razdelanost ciljev/vsebin. Vse navedene smernice se navezujejo na obravnavo predlagane ljudske pesmi *Desetnica***,** ki je v priporočilnem seznamu ostala od leta 1998. Vendar pa **za** razliko od učnega načrta 1998 učni načrt 2009 (sicer isto) ljudsko besedilo omeni večkrat, učni načrt iz leta 2011 pa določenih besedil ne ponavlja.

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[2] Učni načrt določi cilje in vsebine določenega predmeta na določeni stopnji šolanja, njihovo razporeditev in globino ter tako opravi makroartikulacijo učne snovi. Odnos med učnimi cilji in vsebinami je soodvisen, vendar so bistvenega pomena jasno izraženi cilji, kajti ti že nosijo zaželene psihofizične kvalitete, npr. določene vednosti, sposobnosti, spretnosti, lastnosti ipd., ki naj jih pouk z ustreznimi vsebinami čim bolje uresničuje (Pevec Grm 2001:21). Cilji so pomembne vhodni parameter, ki soodloča v izboru vsebin, predvsem pa je taksonomija ciljev pomembna pri razvrščanju vprašanj in nalog v učbenikih in drugih učnih načrtih. Njihova strukturiranost kaže, katero znanje naj učitelj oz. pisec učbenika razvija pri učencih.

[3] Učbenik naj bi bil most med učnim načrtom in neposrednim poukom. Pogosto naj bi bil tudi vodilo učiteljem, saj se nanj opirajo bolj kot na učni načrt in je od njega odvisna tudi kakovost pouka (Krakar Vogel 2004: 142). Učbenik za pouk književnosti oz. berilo vsebuje z učnim načrtom usklajeno učno snov za pouk književnosti.

Za 7., 8. in 9. razred (3. triletje osnovne šole) nobeden od analiziranih učnih načrtov ne navaja didaktičnih priporočil eksplicitno navezujočih se na pravljične elemente niti ne predlaga nobenih pravljičnih vsebin. Res da so v teh razredih predlagane druge ljudske vsebine (bajčne, zgodovinske …) in celo med obvezna besedila vključena slovenska ljudska romanca Pegam in Lambergar. Očitno je, da strokovnjaki, ki predpisujejo cilje in standarde znanja slovenskih učencev ne predvidevajo na predmetni stopnji (v štirih letih obveznega izobraževanja) nobenega pravljičnega besedila. Morda to opravičuje nadvse poudarjena avtonomija učitelja, ki jo zagovarja zadnji učni načrt za pouk slovenščine.

Vsi učni načrti navajajo tudi *Standarde znanja* ob koncu posameznega triletja, tj. po 6. in po 9. letu šolanja. V učnem načrtu iz 1998 naj bi po 6. razredu učenec doživel in prepoznal slovensko ljudsko pravljico, kar učenec dokaže tako, da *samostojno pripoveduje\piše pravljico in pri tem upošteva značilnosti, tipične za slovensko pravljico.* Ob koncu šolanja naj bi naštel in razložil razlike med ljudskim in umetnim slovstvom.[4] V učnem načrtu iz leta 2009 in 2011 naj bi učenec po drugem triletju, eksplicitno v povezavi z ljudskim slovstvom, ločil ljudsko književno besedilo od umetnega, tako da navede avtorja, ter prepoznal in doživel pravljico, kar dokaže tako, da *ob upoštevanju znanih/obravnavanih značilnosti: pripoveduje/piše pravljico/nadaljevanje pravljice ali predzgodbo/narobe pravljico/kombinacijo dveh pravljic/živalsko pravljico/pravljico z značilnostmi slovenske ljudske pravljice.* Po tretjem triletju v istem učnem načrtu v navedbi pričakovanih rezultatov ljudsko slovstvo izrecno ni nikjer navedeno, so pa navedeni posamezni elementi le-tega, npr. pri doživetju, razumevanju in vrednotenju proze, prim. *ob izbranem besedilu učenec izpostavi značilnosti pripovedne vrste in jih primerja z znanimi značilnostmi te vrste besedila (basen, pripovedka, bajka …).*

Predstavitev v berila vključenih pravljičnih vsebin

Desetnica

Evropsko izročilo pozna desetništvo le v prozni obliki. Naša Desetnica je toliko dragocenejša, saj smo edino Slovenci motiv upesnili (Terseglav 1996: 17) in v takšni obliki je predstavljena tudi učencem.

Desetnica naj bi bila drobec starega verovanja, »velikega mita«, katerega rekonstrukcija nastaja postopno s primerjanjem besedil različnih narodov. Pesem motivno temelji na starodavnem prepričanju, da desetina oz. vse deseto od tega, kar človek pridela, priredi ali upleni, kakor tudi deseti otrok istega spola pripada bogovom (Bogu). Domnevajo, da so ponekod sprva res žrtvovali tudi otroke, pozneje pa so nadomestili z izgnanstvom ali z oddajo desetega otroka Cerkvi. Čeprav je Desetnica po snovi uvrščena med bajčne in pravljične pesmi, je po obliki balada. Prvotno je bila to plesna pesem, zdaj pa je to besedilo z mračno, tragično, lahko tudi fantastično vsebino; dogodki so podani zgoščeno in le v skopih obrisih, z veliko dialoga očrtuje in včasih samo nakazuje razvoj dejanja. Zadržano, nesentimentalno oziroma suho stvarno ubeseduje pretresljive usode upovedenih oseb (Stanonik 1999: 104, 105). Deseti, deveti, dvanajsti, trinajsti pa

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[4] To velja kot srednji, temeljni cilj.

tudi sedmi otrok istega spola naj bi bil po ljudskem izročilu bodisi božanstvo, demonsko bitje, jasnovidec ali vrač, hkrati pa tudi žrtev, desetina, namenjena nekemu boštvu. V slovanskih ljudskih pesmih morata desetnica oz. desetnik po svetu. Usoda desetega otroka, namenjenega božanstvu, ki odloča o rojstvu in o smrti, je, da tava po gozdu in po tujih krajih. Raziskave ljudskega bajeslovnega pesemskega in pripovednega izročila, kot sta ugotovila Radoslav Katičić in po njem tudi Vitomir Belaj, so nadalje pokazale, da je kot desetnik zaznamovan tudi Zeleni Jurij, boštvo, ki naj bi prineslo pomladno obnovo in rodovitnost (Kropej 2000: 87–88).

Pravljični motiv desetništva je izpostavljen v berilu *Branje za sanje*. Glede na to, da je ljudsko slovstvo imenovano tudi umetnost narečij, je prav, da so besedila zapisana v narečni podobi (na besedoslovni ravni, ne fonetični), besede pa so potem razložene, *lejto (nar.) leto* ipd.

V razdelku Pogovarjajmo se o besedilu so zasnovana vprašanja, ki naj bi razgrnila poglavitne sporočilne, zgodbene, osebnostne sestavine. Vprašanja spodbujajo identifikacijo, npr. *Kako se počuti desetnica in kam spet odide?,* kar naj bi podpiralo spoznavno--sprejemno dejavnost doživljanja (Cirman, Kocijan, Šimenc 2004: 13).

Pri Desetnici ni razložen pojem okrasni pridevek, kot predvideva učni načrt. Razdelek literarnovednega instrumentarija torej v berilu *Branje za sanje* lahko ocenim kot nepopoln, pomanjkljiv.

Razdelek Ustvarjajmo ob besedilu tudi za primere obravnave ljudskih besedil ponuja kar nekaj oblik, ki bi pokazale sposobnosti učencev in spodbujale njihove govorne, pisne, organizacijske sposobnosti, tj. raznolike prenosne dejavnosti, hkrati pa spodbujale utrjevanje in uporabo znanja. Učence napelje na vsebinske poudarke v pesmih z vprašanji, kot so: *Kakšna je do Marjetice narava in kakšni ljudje; utemelji s primeri iz besedila.*
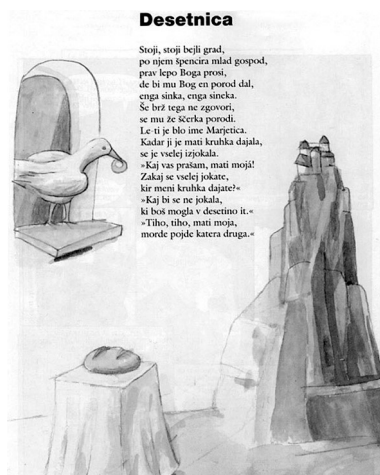
Ilustrativno gradivo Desetnice v berilu Branje za sanje

Zdravilno jabolko

Na osnovi Lüthijeve literarne analize pravljice bi lahko rekli, da so besedila slovenskega ljudskega slovstva enodimenzionalna, da se torej dogajajo na ravni čudeža, v

njih prevladujeta nedoločen čas in prostor (nekoč, nekje …), čudežni rekviziti so znani (jabolko), opazen je zakon dvojnosti/trojnosti (dva vrana/trije brati), literarni liki so tipizirani (brat). Etična osnova je večinoma črno-bela polarizacija likov in dejanj (zlo je na koncu kaznovano, dobro je poplačano) (Blažić 2007: 118). Po Proppovi strukturalistični teoriji pravljice imajo številna slovenska ljudska besedila znanih 31 funkcij in 7 književnih likov (Blažić 2007: 118), v pravljici *Zdravilno jabolko* sicer lahko najdemo 6 književnih likov (kralj/oče, berač, služabnik, najstarejši sin, srednji sin, najmlajši sin) in 1 ključni predmet (zdravilno jabolko), skupaj 7.

Motivno-tematsko lahko pravljico *Zdravilno jabolko* primerjamo tudi s stališča Aarne-Thompson–Uthrove komparativne klasifikacije, kjer zasledim motivno prvino preizkusa oz. preizkušnje. Pravljica vsebuje motive,ki se uvrščajo v skupino[5] F in H[6]. Velika skupina motivov so čudeži (skupina F), ki ima številne podskupine /…/ čudežni prostori in stvari (jabolko). Tematska skupina H z naslovom Preizkušnje, ki je predstavljena s številnimi podskupinami, in sicer identitetna preizkušnja, preizkus resnice, preizkus moči z nalogami … in drugi preizkusi (vzdržljivost, preživetje, značaj …) (Blažić 2009: 326).

Če pravljico analiziramo z vidika feministične teorije Marie Tatar, je jasno, da so ženske v domestikalni vlogi oz. jih (v pravljici *Zdravilno jabolko*) sploh **ni** (Blažić 2007:119).

Če primerjamo vlogo čarobnega rekvizita v slovenski ljudski pravljici *Zdravilno/ Zlato jabolko* in pomen ter vlogo jabolka v evropski kulturi (jabolko spora, jabolko v Bibliji, jabolko pri Sneguljčici, granatno jabolko pri Oscarju Wildu itn.) odkrijemo nekatere podobnosti in razlike: enako funkcijo čarobnega rekvizita na primer opravljajo druge rastline in sadeži v različnih kulturah (v japonski pravljici kaki, v kitajski bambus, proso ipd.) (Blažić 2009: 329). Po Jeleazarju Meletinskem se v pravljici, ki govori o iskanju zdravila za bolnega očeta, zlivata tradiciji zgodb:

o pridobivanju (kraji) nenavadnih stvari in čudežnih predmetov, ki izvirajo iz mitov kulturnih junakov, in

pravljice, ko gre junak v 'druge svetove', da bi tam osvobodil ujetnice, saj spominjajo na mite in legende o potovanjih šamanov ali čarovnikov, ki iščejo dušo bolnega ali umrlega (Blažić 2006: 210).

Pravljica *Zdravilno jabolko* je vključena v berilo *Branje za sanje* v istoimenskem sklopu omenjenega berila.

Razlaga neznanih in manj znanih besed je na dnu vsake strani besedila, razloženih besed (s slovarskimi kvalifikatorji, npr. *star.*), je precej: *jeti zapuščati: pričeti zapuščati.*

Sledi razdelek, v katerem se nahajajo razlage literarne teorije in naj bi učencem pomagali pri sprejemanju književnega dela. Zapisane so opredelitve literarnih pojmov v skladu z učnim načrtom. Na tak način naj bi se kopičilo znanje, ki je nujno potrebno, če hočemo, da bi mladi brez težav in s polnim razumevanjem dojemali leposlovje (Cirman, Kocijan, Šimenc 2004: 13). Pri obravnavi ljudske pravljice *Zdravilno jabolko* so navedeni pojmi pravljica, pravljični predmeti, nasprotje dobro : zlo, nedoločenost časa in kraja. Pravljica nima določevalca 'ljudski'. Značilnosti ljudskega slovstva, razen v priročniku, niso navedene nikjer,

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[5] Številne pravljice nimajo čistega ali enega motiva, ampak gre v njih za skupine različnih motivov ali le prvin motivov (Milena Blažić 2009: 325).

[6] V Stith Thompsonovem motivnem katalogu pravljic so motivi označeni s črkami angleške abecede, od A do Z.

Za primere obravnave ljudskih besedil ponuja eden izmed razdelkov kar nekaj oblik, ki bi pokazale sposobnosti učencev in spodbujale njihove govorne, pisne, organizacijske sposobnosti, tj. raznolike prenosniške dejavnosti, hkrati pa spodbujale utrjevanje in uporabo znanja, npr. *Pripoveduj, o čem sanjaš; Prestavi pravljico v sodobni čas*.

Uporabo znanja in preverjanje sposobnosti spodbuja tudi razdelek *Vaje*, npr. *Navedi vsaj tri značilnosti pravljice* ipd.

Besedilo *Zdravilno jabolko* je barvno ilustrirano.

Železni prstan

Pravljica *Železni prstan* je čudežna pravljica, saj v njej nastopa čudežni predmet, zato bi jo po mednarodni klasifikaciji lahko uvrstili v prvljični tip, kjer prevladujejo čarobni rekvizitioz. V motivno skupino D. Ta skupina je tudi druga najbolj pogosto zastopana. Sicer pa so prvine pravljice *Železni prstan* precej moralnega značaja. Kdor je dober in usmiljen, pa čeprav reven, bo prejel plačilo za svojo dobroto (tu lahko prepoznamo vplive krščanske vere). V ospredju je motiv bogastva, ki celo nadvlada motivu ljubezni. Na koncu je junak namreč srečen, čeprav ostane brez neveste. Nasprotno je nevesta predstavljena kot oškodovana, kljub temu da je uresničila svojo ljubezen. S tega vidika lahko pogledamo tudi vlogo kače v primerjavi s svetopisemskim motivom, kjer kača zavede Evo: železni prstan kot darilo kače (jabolko), ne more vzpostaviti popolne sreče (raja), ima razdiralni učinek. Zanimiv je odnos med junakom in njegovo materjo. V vseh linijah pravljice se vrne k njej, tudi nevesto pripelje domov. Eden od motivov v tej pravljici je soroden o kralju Ojdipu, kjer se Ojdip nevede oženi z lastno materjo. Ideal dečka je samo, da bi on in njegova mati za vedno živela sama in drug za drugega, za vse njune potrebe in želje pa bi bilo poskrbljeno (Blažić 2009: 326, 328).

Besedilo *Železni prstan* je berilu *Kdo se skriva v ogledalu?* V razdelku *Male učenosti* je najprej razložen žanr ljudske pravljice in značilnosti le-te, sledi naloga za samostojno delo učencev, ki vsebuje tudi razumsko sklepanje, povezovanje znanja. V pomoč so navedene trditve (pravilne oz. napačne); pri tem pa je ponujena tudi možnost, ki podpira prenosniško (govorno, dialoško) dejavnost – *Pogovori se s sošolci, sošolkami in učiteljico/učiteljem*.

Sledijo naloge, ki spodbujajo učenčevo domišljijo, izvirnost, in ustvarjalno pisanje, s tem, da so za usmeritev ponujene določene možnosti, iztočnice. Elementi le-teh so podani tabelarno.

Razdelek *Pravljica je tudi tvoja*, je osrednji del didaktičnega dela in usmerja, opozarja na tisto, kar besedilo ponuja v 'obdelavo' in se hkrati prekriva s cilji učnega načrta (Brcko 1999: 38). Pri pravljici *Železni prstan* se navezuje na prebrano književno besedilo, nekaj je tudi nalog, ki spodbujajo komparacijo z drugimi prebranimi besedili in nato sintezo znanja. Tudi v primeru obravnave slovenskih ljudskih pravljic lahko govorimo med spoznavno-sprejemnimi dejavnostmi o zapostavljanju doživljanja, saj nobeno vprašanje ne sprašuje učencev o prvotnem vtisu, ki se jim je porodil med branjem odlomka.

V analiziranem berilu so prisotni pomembni literarni pojmi, ki so organizirani na načelu pojem – besedilo, v katerem se pojavi – stran v berilu ter razdelek *Iz berila v knjižnico*, kjer so navedeni bibliografski podatki izbranih odlomkov. Med pomembnimi literarnimi pojmi, ki se navezujejo na ljudsko slovstvo, pa se pojavijo *ljudska pravljica*,

ljudsko in umetno slovstvo. Pri le-teh pogrešam navedbe več literarnovednih pojmov, nanašajočih na ljudsko slovstvo.

Slovenska ljudska pravljica *Železni prstan* je štirikrat ilustrirana.
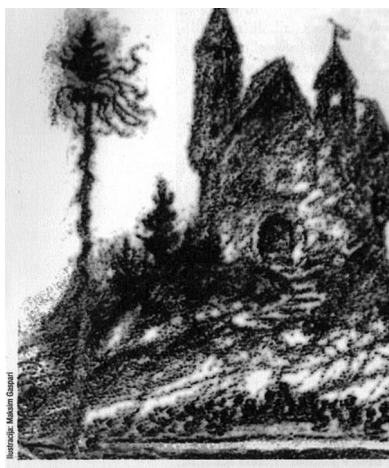
Primer ilustrativnega gradiva pravljice Železni prstan v berilu Kdo se skriva v ogledalu?

Trap

Ljudska pravljica *Trap* je bolj realistična; v njej sta pomembni junakova iznajdljivost in pridnost. Po ATU-klasifikaciji bi to pravljico lahko uvrstili v največjo skupino pravljic z motivom pametni in neumni (Blažić 2009: 328) in sodi v motivno skupino J. Po Bettelheimnu pa bi pravljico lahko uvrstila k tistim, v katerih je najmlajši otrok opredeljen kot 'tepko'. Čeprav je junak s strani drugih kategoriziran kot neumen, nazadnje zmaga. Zasmehovanje 'preprostega' brata, tistega, ki ostaja blizu svojim naravnim temeljem, nam pove, da zavest, ki se je odtrgala od svojih nezavednih izvorov, vodi na kriva pota. Pravljični motiv otroka, s katerim grdo ravnajo ali ga zavračajo, je znan v vsej zgodovini pravljice, predvsem v različicah *Pepelke*. Vendar pravljica *Trap* (v svetovni književnosti pa npr. *Tri peresa*), pripovedujejo drugačno zgodbo; ne omenjajo, da bi bil 'neumni' otrok nesrečen. Da velja za neumnega, je omenjeno kot življenjsko dejstvo in zdi se, da ga to pretirano ne skrbi. Kadar pravljični junak ni edinec, ampak eden izmed otrok, je skoraj vedno tretji otrok, tako tudi v *Trapu*. Razlaga števila tri v pravljicah izhaja iz otroka samega v odnosu do obeh staršev, ne pa do bratov in sester. Kadar je otrok v pravljici tretji, se poslušalec z njim zlahka identificira, kajti v najosnovnejši družinski razporeditvi je otrok tretji po vrsti; samo v primerjavi s starši je razumljivo, da je 'tretji', se pravi otrok, sprva tako nesposoben in len, pravi tepček, in ko odrašča to razliko veličastno nadoknadi samo nasproti njim (Blažić 2002: 149–154). V različnih junakovih lastnostih (pri nas Trapovih) pa se skriva tudi globok ritualno-mitološki pomen, čeprav se zavestno poudarja prav njegova brezpravnost. Kar izražajo številne revne sirote v izročilu Melanezijcev, gorskih tibetansko-burmanskih plemen, Eskimov, Paleoazijcev, severnoameriških Indijancev ipd., na primeru evropskih pravljic aplicirajo zapostavljeni mlajši bratje (Maletinski 2006: 212).

Slovensko ljudsko pravljico *Trap* vsebuje tudi berilo *Kdo se skriva v ogledalu?* Podatki v Malih učenostih so pri *Trapu* zelo skromni, ne seznanijo z nobenim novim literarnovednim pojmom. Tudi tu pogrešam vpetost določenega žanra v celotni sistem ljudskega slovstva, ki je zelo skopo razložen pri razlagi pojma umetno slovstvo. Menim, da literarnovedni instrumentarij, kar se tiče razlage žanrov ljudskega slovstva, ni zadovoljiv, zadovoljivejše je pri razlagi posameznih značilnosti ljudskega slovstva.

Slovenska ljudska pravljica Trap je kar štirikrat ilustrirana.

*Primer ilustrativnega gradiva Trapa v berilu Kdo se skriva v ogledalu?*

Zaključek

V zadnjem razredu osnovne šole je bila glede poznavanja ljudskega slovstva v konkretni šolski praksi izvedena tudi raziskava. V ta namen je bil, kot eden najpogosteje rabljenih pripomočkov v konkretni v pedagoških razsikavah (Sagadin 1974: 175), uporabljen anketni vprašalnik. Eno izmed vprašanj se je navezovalo tudi na pravljične tipe. Na anketni vprašalnik je skupaj odgovarjalo šestdeset naključno izbranih devetošolcev oz. devetošolk v dveh slovenskih osnovnih šolah. Sicer rezultatov, ki jih daje ta raziskava, zgolj zaradi enega preizkusa in ne dovolj velikega vzorca, ne kaže posploševati, je pa eden od pokazateljev dejanskega poznavanja osnovnošolcev ljudskega slovstva in eden od prispevkov k razpravam o upravičenosti temeljitega premisleka o večji oz. drugačni predstavitvi ljudskega slovstva na predmetni stopnji osnovne šole.

Vprašanje v povezavi s pravljičnimi motivi, je bilo odprtega tipa oz. naj bi učenci poleg dveh že navedenih žanrov pravljice (živalske, čudežne) navedli še tretjega. Kar oseminpetdeset učencev (96,7 %) je pokazalo nepoznavanje le-tega in zgolj dva učenca (2,3 %) sta manjkajoče mesto dopolnila z realistično pravljico. To dokazuje, da so v učnih načrtih in berilih za nižje razrede zastopane pravljice učenci v 9. razredu pozabili, in bi bila kratka ponovitev njihovih značilnosti smiselna.

Sklep

V kakšni meri se aplicira ljudsko slovstvo pri načrtovanju pouka književnosti v višjih razredih osnovne šole, je pokazala analiza učnih načrtov in učbenikov/beril.
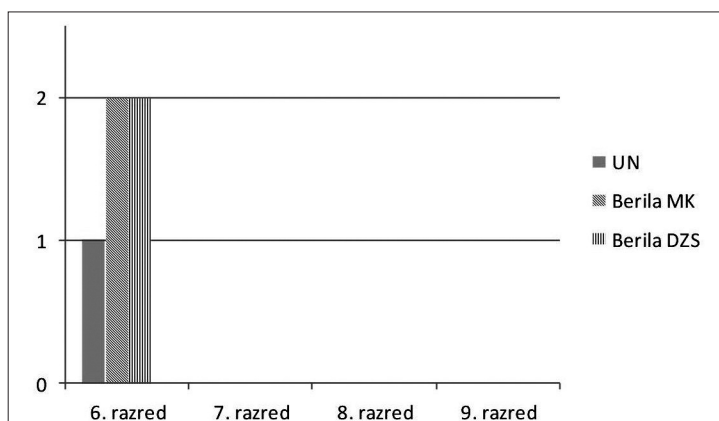
Vključenost pravljičnih vsebin na predmetni stopnji OŠ v učnem načrtu in posameznih berilih

Iz grafa je razvidno, da so vse pravljične sestavine ali predlagane ali vključene v 6. razredu. Učni načrt predlaga motiv desetništva, ki pa je udejanjen v berilu *Branje za sanje* založbe DZS. Isto brilo vsebuje tudi ljudsko čudežno pravljico Zdravilno jabolko. Berilo založbe Mladinska knjiga (MK) ponudi učiteljem/učencem v obravnavo dve slovenski ljudski pravljici, čudežno Železni prstan in realistično, z motivom tepčka Trap. Berila založbe Rokus na predmetni stopnji osnovne šole ne ponujajo v obravnavo nobene od pravljičnih motivov, vsebin.

Različni avtorji, ki so tematizirali otroštvo na Slovenskem – kar se odraža tudi v besedilih slovenskega ljudskega slovstva – so ugotovili, da so bili otroci duševno zanemarjeni: otrok je bil obdan z družino, nikoli ni bil sam, pa vendar se z njim niso ukvarjali, vsaj ne v smislu pestovanja, ljubkovanja ali igranja. Ta poteza razmerja med starši in otroki ni bila naključna, bila je element vzgoje k hitri odraslosti in lastni skrbi za preživetje. Otroštvo je bilo torej kratko in je v najboljšem primeru trajalo deset let, ko so otroci že morali sami poskrbeti za svojo eksistenco (Huzjan 2008: 114). In očitno se slovenska zgodovina ponavlja. Ali je res primerno, da so otroku že pri enajstih letih odvzete pravice do branja ljudskih pravljic? In da učenci ob zaključku obveznega šolanja ne poznajo posameznih pravljičnih žanrov?

Resda ne vemo, v kolikih primerih popoldne še zaživi materin glas in morda pripoveduje slovensko ljudsko pravljico. A bolj verjetno – glede na današnji način življenja – zaživijo zgodbe na televizijskih in računalniških ekranih. Žal, tudi to niso zgodbe o junaškem Petru Klepcu ali Kralju Matjažu, temveč sodobni Spidermani in drugi filmski junaki. Zato lahko učitelji svojo avtonomijo uveljavljamo tudi tako, da sami posežemo po kakšni slovenski ljudski pravljici[7] in jo obravnavamo pri pouku.

Uporabljeni viri

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[7] Možnost za to nam ponuja tudi zbirka založbe Didakta Zakladnica slovenskih pripovedi.

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Svet iz besed 9: berilo za 9. razred devetletne osnovne šole in 8. razred osemletne osnovne šole. Ljubljana: Rokus, 2003.

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Slovenian Folktales at the Upper Level of Slovenian Primary Schools

Petra Novak

The article *Slovenian folk tales at the upper level of Slovenian primary schools* describes representation of fairy-tale components offered to Slovenian teenagers at school and included to the curriculum and different textbooks.

Three curricula were analysed; that 1984, of 1998 and of 2009 (2011). All curricula determine the number of lessons devoted to literary teaching, learning objectives (differently named and divided) that need to be achieved in the classroom and learning material through which the objectives should be achieved, to various extents. All fairy-tale components are proposed or included in the 6th year. The curriculum suggests the motif of the tenth child. It is included in the textbook *Branje za sanje* (Reading for dreaming).

The same textbook also includes the magical folk fairytale. The textbook *Kdo se skriva v ogledalu?* (Who is hiding in the mirror?) offers teachers and students two Slovenian folk fairytales, *Železni prstan* (The Iron Ring) and *Trap* (The Fool). The textbook *Svet iz besed 6* (The World of Words 6) does not provide any fairy-tale content. In the main part of the discussion, all text with fairy-tale elements included into analysed textbooks are represented from the genre and motif perspective. These texts are *The Tenth Child*, *The Healing Apple*, *The Iron Ring* and realistic fairy tale *The Fool*. Along with the interpretation of the texts, didactic and literary instruments that present fairy--tale elements are listed.

A more detailed analysis of the curriculum and textbooks revealed that in the third triad of Slovenian primary school texts with fairy-tale components are neither mentioned nor proposed.

RECENZIJE IN POROČILA O KNJIGAH

RECENSIONI DI LIBRI

BOOK REVIEWS

Karel Jaromír Erben, Slovanské bájesloví. Věnceslava Bechyňová, Marcel Černý, Petr Kaleta (ur.). Praha: Etnologický ústav AV ČR, v. v. i. a Slovanský ústav AV ČR, v. v. i., 2009, 511 str., ilustracije.

Leto 2009 je bilo za Etnološki inštitut in Slovanski inštitut pri Akademije znanosti Češke republike v Pragi izjemno uspešno, saj so trije uredniki Věnceslava Bechyňová, Marcel Černý in Petra Kaleta uspešno dokončali in nadgradili projekt, ki ga je v 19. stoletju zasnoval *Karel Jaromír Erben* (1811–1870). Po študiju prava in filozofije je bil zgodovinar in arhivar. Za slovansko bajeslovje se je začel zanimati od konca tridesetih let 19. stoletja, ko se je pri zbiranju pesemske folklore posebej trudil za epske pesmi. Še toliko bolj, ker sta bila Jan Rittersberk (1780–1841) in František Ladislav Čelakovský (1799–1852) do njih v svojih zbirkah premalo skrbna. Erbenu se je posrečilo zbrati 550 pesmi iz vseh čeških pokrajin, od tega 39 epskih in s tem je daleč svoja predhodnika.

Toda proslavil se je predvsem kot pesnik. Njegove balade in pravljice sodijo v vrh češke literarne romantike, zajemal je iz češke slovstvene folklore, katere zaslužen zbiralec je bil. Od tod zbirke Kitice (*Kytice,* 1853), Ljudske češke pesmi in reki (*Prostonárodní české písně a řikadla,* 1864), Izbrane ljudske pravljice in povedke drugih slovanskih narodov (*Vybrané báje a pověsti národní jiných větví slovanských,* 1869).

Če priznavamo splošno genialnost in nesmrtnost Erbenove poezije, je tukajšnja knjiga, posvečena slovanskemu bajeslovju, izplačan dolgoletni dolg češkemu narodnemu klasiku. Njegovo prvič v celoti izdano delo o bajeslovju je nedvomno pomemben prispevek k zgodovini češke folkloristike in etnografije in bistveno dopolnjuje vrzel o Erbenu kot romantičnem raziskovalcu v okviru slavističnih mitoloških študij, ki so bistveno povezane z njegovo poezijo.

K. J. Erben je bil zelo dejaven v revolucionarnem letu 1848. Pomagal je organizirati srečanje čeških in nemških pisateljev za podporo enakopravnosti in svobodo tiska, izvoljen je bil v stočlanski narodni odbor in nekoliko pozneje je prevzel nadzor nad mestno knjigarno in arhivom. Spadal je med pisatelje in umetnike, ki so se udeležili priprav Slovanskega kongresa o južnih Slovanih. Za posredovanje v tej zvezi se je samoumevno obrnil na Stanka Vraza (1810–1851), vendar se kongresa ni udeležil, ker je bil v Zagrebu navzoč ob umestitvi hrvaškega bana Josipa Jelačiča.

Strokovno ga je posebno privlačila slovanska mitologija, o kateri je bil dobro razgledan in tudi sam je pripravljal knjigo o njej. Erben se je z njo začel ukvarjati že v štiridesetih letih, ko je objavil prve spise, zgoščeno pa v petdesetih in šestdesetih letih 19. stoletja. To je bilo obdobje, ko je češko romantiko docela zapeljala mitologizacija folklornih pojavov, nanje se je gledalo kot na dokumente pradavnega ljudstva.

Erbenu za njegovega življenja niso izšle češke pravljice pač pa slovanske v češkem prevodu (1865, 1869). Ti dve izdaji sta najpomembnejša spodbuda za Erbenovo bajeslovno delo in študij. V zbirki izbrane ljudske pravljice in povesti drugih slovanskih narodov (*Vybrane báje a pověsti národni jinych větví slovanských,* 1869) je očitno dajal prednost pravljicam z mitično vsebino. Posvečal se je tudi češkim šegam: »Želim študirati narod in dopolnjevati zbirke v vseh življenjskih pojavih, da bi se tako mogla sčasoma sestaviti sistematična podoba češkega naroda.« Ta načrt je deloma uresničil z zbranimi zagovori. Prav tako je ostalo na pol poti njegovo komparativno delo o slovanski pesemski folklori, oz. antologija slovanskih ljudskih pesmi. Erben se je že zgodaj

odločil znanstveno posvetiti bajeslovnemu sistemu starih Slovanov, pri čemer je kombiniral mitološki in etnografsko-folkloristični vidik raziskovanja. V rokopisni zapuščini je poleg češkega ohranjeno ukrajinsko, malorusko gradivo, ki ga je v ta namen zbiral že od štiridesetih let 19. stoletja.

Erbenovi koncepciji slovanske mitologije se doslej ni posvečala zadostna pozornost, ker se je Erbenova študijska smer zavračala kot slepa ulica.

Seveda je nanj kot na druge zbiralce ljudskih pesmi vplival Johann Gotfried Herder (1744–1803), še bolj pa brata Jakob (1785–1863) in Wilhelm Grimm (1786–1859) in njuni nasledniki, ki so izhajali iz predpostavke, da si je vsak narod v nižjih ljudskih plasteh ohranil globinski spomin na »poganske« čase. Prvotni mit je podlegel vplivu krščanstva in v zgodovinskih virih se o njih ne najde kaj prida. Sledovi o poganskih bogovih in drugih mitičnih dogodkih se morejo rekonstruirati le iz ljudskih pesmi, šeg, izmišljotin, uver itn. Načela mitološke šole je sprejel tudi Karel Erben, eden najznamenitejših slovanskih »grimmovcev«.

Poleg J. Grimma je nanj najbolj vplival nemški filolog Georg Friedrich Creuzer (1771–1858). V obsežnem delu Simbolika in mitologija starih ljudstev, posebno Grkov (*Symbolik und Myhtologie der alten Völker, besonders der Griechen*) v 4 zvezkih (1810–1812) se slovanskega bajeslovja ni dotikal, toda v predelani izdaji leta (1819–1823) je kot 5. in 6. zvezek izšlo nadaljevanje tega Creuzerovega dela izpod peresa Franze Josefa Moneha (1796–1871) z naslovom Zgodovina poganstva v severni Evropi (*Geschichte des Heidentums im nördlichen Europa*) I–II, ki v prvem delu podrobno obdeluje duhovni svet Slovanov. Čeprav gre za kompilacijo starih virov, je nepredstavljivo, da bi češki raziskovalec prezrl to delo.

Zelo veliko prahu so v prvi tretjini 19. stoletja v tedanjih intelektualnih krogih dvignili (konec 19. stoletja se je dokončno izkazalo, da ponarejeni!) starodavni *Kraljedvorski rokopis* (1817) in *Zelenogorski rokopis* (1818) ter (prav tako ponarejene) »staročeške« glose v slovarju Mati besed (*Mater verborum*) kot dokaz o visoki kulturni zrelosti starih Čehov. Teh znamenitih spomenikov niti Erben ni mogel obiti, enako kot jih pred njim nista Josef Šafařík in František Palacky, ki jih je imel za znamenite vire za študij o življenju naših prednikov, torej tudi slovanskega bajeslovja. Položaj se je spremenil šele po Erbenovi smrti, ko so se konec sedemdesetih let začeli oglašati načelni ugovori o izvirnosti teh spomenikov.

Erben se je v mitoloških člankih v Riegerovem Znanstvenem slovarju skliceval na Vacerada, tj. navideznega avtorja staročeških glos v slovarju Mati besed (*Mater verborum*) iz začetka 13. stoletja. V resnici je te glose tako kot omenjena rokopisa, izumil Václav Hanka (1791–1861) leta 1827. Ta vir se je že ob izidu zdel nezanesljiv edino Jerneju (Bartolomeju) Kopitarju (1780–1844), o čemer je pisal pod psevdonimom Cosmas Luden. Mlada generacija pod vodstvom Jana Gebauerja je začela razburljivo diskusijo, poimenovano: »*boj za Rokopise*«. Desetine študij je dokazovalo njih ponaredek, in na dela, ki so se sklicevala nanje, se je začelo gledati kot strokovno presežena in zastarala. Kljub temu je leta 1870 Matica Češka izdajo Slovanskega bajeslovja zaupala Janu Gebauerju. Ta se je dela intenzivno lotil, napisal je seznam gesel, toda od leta 1875 se o tem ni več govorilo. Vse kaže, da je Gebauer zaradi vsega navedenega resigniral nad izdajo Erbenovega bajeslovnega slovarja.

To ne zmanjšuje zgodovinske vrednosti Erbenovega mitološkega dela, ki z naslovom Slovansko bajeslovje (*Slovanské bájesloví*) – poleg Slovanov se dotika tudi litovske

in germanske mitologije – tokrat prvič zajeto v celoti. Razumeti ga je kot češki prispevek k zgodovini evropske [slovstvene] folkloristike in slavistike v obdobju romantike in prestreza stališča o poznavanju slovanske mitologije v obdobju, ko se je že začela pojavljati migracijska teorija. Ta je mitologom odpirala popolnoma nove perspektive, toda Erben jim ni zaupal.

Vrh navedenega Erbenovega mitološkega dela je prva izdaja po abecedi urejenega slovarja iz slovanskega bajeslovja, s katerim se je trudil od srede 60 let 19. stoletja do smrti. Njegov rokopis (v petih zvezkih) je bil dotlej raziskovalcem težko dostopen, ker so se njegovi posamezni deli hranili na različnih krajih.

Uredniki knjige *Slovanské bájesloví* najprej predstavijo pobude in potek dela zanjo do končnega rezultata.

Prvo poglavje umešča Erbenovo delov prostor in čas. Po nacionalno hladnem in objektivnem razsvetljenstvu je prišlo na začetku 19. stoletja do emocionalnega angažiranja znanosti in s tem subjektivizacija.

Brata Grimm sta z zbirkami *Kinder und Hausmärchen* I–II (1812, 1815), ki sta jih zbirala od leta 1806, in kmalu nato nemških povedk *Deutsche Sagen* (1816–1818) v narodopisnem raziskovanju začela kakovostno novo obdobje. *Deutsche Mythologie* (1835, 1844) Jakoba Grimma je ostala za dolga leta fundamentalno delo, ki mu je sledila tudi češka mitologija.

Brata Grimm in njuni nasledniki in nadaljevalci izhajajo iz predpostavke, da vsak narod v nižjih ljudskih plasteh ohranja globinski »spomin« na davne (tj. poganske) čase v obliki ostankov nekdanjih primitivnih navad in (v glavnem nabožnih) predstav. Prvotni mitos je sicer podlegel krščanstvu in v zgodovinskih virih o njem najdemo le pičla in posredna pričevanja. Toda sledovi poganskega kulta in drugih mitičnih dejstev so se ohranili v folklori in jih je mogoče rekonstruirati iz ljudskih pesmi, šeg, izmišljotin, uver, kmečkih opravil ipd. Da eruditski raziskovalec dokaže in iz skromnih odlomkov sestavi vsaj del stare podobe, je treba zbrati in preiskati kar največ gradiva in zahteva primerjalni študij. Primerjava nemških pravljic s folkloro drugih, časovno in zemljepisno nekdaj zelo oddaljenih narodov, je presenetila brata Grimm z domiselnimi soglasji in podobnostmi, ki so osvetljevale njihovo mitično jedro. Za cilj primerjalnega mitološkega študija sta upoštevala razpoznavanje prvotnih stvaritev in primerjavo variant. Marcel Černý je dodobra raziskal nemško »mitološko šolo« in med drugim poudaril, da je nemogoče, da bi češka romantiška veda prezrla raziskovalni program bratov Grimm za rekonstrukcijo starega bajeslovja in pojasnjevanje predkrščanskega svetovnega nazora na temelju analitičnega sondiranja slovstvene folklore.

Kot pri nastanku vrste znanstvenih disciplin na Češkem so tudi češki začetki slovanske mitologije kot znanstvene discipline ozko povezane z imenom Josefa Dobrovskega (1753–1829). Ta je očistil slovansko bajeslovje vseh psevdoznanstvenih konstruktov iz starih kronik, čeprav na drugi strani ni zaznal, da si v slovanskem mitološkem sistemu ni mogoče izmisliti npr. Daždboga… Priljubljeno mu je bilo prepričanje o dualističnem načelu verovanja starih Slovanov ali vera v sorodnost indijskih božanstev s slovanskimi, kar sta pozneje pri Čehih trdno zagovarjala Jan Kolar in Ignac Hanuš. Morda je tu zaledje za podobna stališča slovenskega v njegovem času tako popularnega mitologa Davorina Trstenjaka (1817–1890).

Pavel Josef Šafařik (1795–1861) se je že pri pisanju Zgodovine slovanskega jezika literature v vseh narečjih (1826) moral ukvarjati z bajeslovjem, pri čemer ni zavrgel

številnih izmislekov Josefa Dobrovskega. Pri zbiranju gradiva za Slovanske starožitnosti je poznal velikanske pomanjkljivosti tedanjega položaja in nujnost začeti od začetka na novo. V sorodnost hindujskega Šivo in slovanske Žive ni dvomil niti Erben, pač je v obstoj slovanske Žive podvomil Erbenov kritik Ignac Hanuš (1865). K znanstveno samostojnejši presoji se je Šafarik približal v članku o Črnobogu. Čeprav ni ustvaril nobenega celotnega sistema slovanskega bajeslovja, so doživele njegove študije v svetu mnoge pozornosti.

Ignác Jan Hanuš (1812–1869) je zelo podpiral Šafařika in se je pri pisanju lastne razprave Znanost o slovanskem mitu (1842) neposredno navdihoval pri Šafařikovih Slovanskih starožitnostih. Nista bila prijatelja, Šafarik Hanuša ni maral, sumničil ga je skupaj s slovenskim slavistom Jernejem Kopitarjem. Tedanja mitološka veda se je trudila odkrivati sledove mišljenja davnih prednikov na nekaj načinov: po historični metodi (Karl Otfried Müller in njegova šola) se je trudila ugotoviti, kdaj, iz kakšnih zgodovinskih podlag, v kakšni formi je nastal in se razvijal mit. Primerjalna etimologija (K. W. F. Schlegel, J. C. Adelung, J. Joseph Görres) je skušala dokazovati sorodnost evropskih mitov z orientalskimi (indijskimi) na osnovi jezikovne korespondence (posebno med germanskimi jeziki in sanskrtom). Po tej teoriji Germani izvirajo v Perziji, kar so mladi slovanski raziskovalci po analogiji prenesli na Slovane, češ da je Indija njihova pradomovina.

Hanuš je na podlagi dela *Die Vorhalle europäischer Völkergeschicten vor Herodotus, um den Kaukasus und an den Gestaden des Pontus* (Berlin 1820) Karla Ritterja domneval, da so se Slovani preselili iz Azije kot samostojna veja in zato prinesli s seboj tudi svojo mitologijo, ki so jo prevzeli iz indijskih mitov in staroparskih (Parsi so bili Peržani < Perzija), preseljeni v Indijo in so poznali Zaratuštrov kult. V petdesetih letih 19. stoletja se je Hanuševa pozornost preusmerila iz filozofije k primerjalnemu jezikoslovju in mitologiji. *Bájeslovný kalendař* je bil zasnovan folkloristično kot priprava za sistematičen popis lastnega slovanskega bajeslovja. Hanuš je bil dober poznavalec slovanskega pravljičnega gradiva, a tudi če se je terenskemu zbiranju folklore sam ni posvečal, se je bogato okoriščal z delom svojih kolegov in si prizadeval za slovaška, češka in moravska hribovska področja.

Jakob Grimm je imel poleg številnih starejših naslednikov Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića, Pavla Josefa Šafařika še tri mlajše: A. N. Afanasjeva, F. I. Buslajeva (1818–1897) in K. J. Erbena. Le-ta je bil v okviru slovanskega primerjalnega jezikoslovja cenjen že za življenja in ugled se ga je držal še po smrti. Jiří Horák je povzdignil pomen Erbenovih bajeslovnih razprav nad Hanuševe. Erben ni dosegel Buslajeva na polju historične slovnice in literarne in kulturne zgodovine; Afanasjev ga je prehitel po obsegu njegovih del. Erbenu se ni posrečilo v dolgoletni zbirateljski folkloristični dejavnosti lastnega zbranega gradiva urejeno publicirati, toda bil je dedič pesniškega duha Jakoba Grimma, njegove interpretacijske sposobnosti in zmožnosti stvarnega kombiniranja in z današnjega stališča celo »nadkriljuje Grimma s svojo pesniško močjo in presega oba Rusa z uglajenim/blagim umetniškim smislom«.

Od začetka šestdesetih let je Erben sodeloval v znamenitem Znanstvenem slovarju (*Slovník naučny*), ki ga je izdajal Frančišek Ladislav Rieger. Vanj vključena Erbenova gesla sestavljajo **drugo poglavje** tukajšnje knjige. Vmes so gesla, ki bi zanimala slovensko etnološko in folkloristično stroko: baba, brezen (= marec), bog/-ovi, čarovnica, čarovnik, divje žene, divji mož, koleda, mlaj, Pepelka, Perun, prosinec, slovansko

bajeslovje, slovansko narodno pesništvo in njegova literatura, škrat, štriga. Pri tem se poraja polno vprašanj: je mogoče npr. muro etimološko povezati z reko Muro? Triglav ni le ime slovenskega gorskega očaka, za kar Erben ve, temveč tudi ime najvišjega boga pomorjanskih Slovanov v mestih Štětin in Volyn. Triglavi bog je enako kot Sventovit za Erbena – upoštevaje solarno mitološko teorijo – utelešenje sonca. Obe boštvi se tudi razlikujeta. Štetinski Triglav kot bog zraka, zemlje in vode (podzemlja), je gospod prostora, medtem ko arkonski Svetovit s štirimi glavami gospoduje ne le štirim stranem neba, kot se številni raziskovalci pogosto varajo, pač pa najbrž štirim letnim časom, torej ureja čas.

Sledi seznam gesel, ki jih je Erben tudi pripravil za omenjeno enciklopedijo, vendar niso bila sprejeta vanj, med drugim tudi *beseda*. To poglavje je pomembno ne le zaradi pietete do njihovega avtorja, temveč enako zaradi pripomb, ki obdelana gesla posodabljajo z novimi dognanji.

V **tretjem poglavju** je ponatisnjenih pet Erbenovih študij o slovanském bájeslovju.

Prva govori o prikaznih ali sojenicah, druga o srhljivi stavbni daritvi, v kateri iz zbirke Vuka Stefanovića Karadžiča navaja pesem o zidanju Skadra. Velik odmev je doživela njegova primerjalna razprava o imenih mesecev pri slovanskih narodih. Tudi slovenski očak Triglav se pojavi v razpravi »o dvojici in o trojici v slovanskem bajeslovju in je njena osrednja téma štetinski bog Triglav pri polabskih Slovanih.

Ob koncu življenja je Erben pripravljal veliko sintetično monografijo o slovanskem bajeslovju. Slovanstvo zanj ni bilo le plemenska in jezikovna, temveč predvsem kulturna enota. Pesnik, mitolog in prevajalec si je žilavo prizadeval za mnogostransko utemeljitev lastnega pojmovanja mitologije. Za razliko od subjektivnega Mache je v vse njegovo prizadevanje praviloma zajeta možnost za objektivnost znanstvenega dela. Kdor hoče študirati slovansko bajeslovje, naj najprej zbere njegovo simboliko. Simboliko je iskati v pravljicah, povedkah, pesmih, pregovorih in rekih, zagovorih, različnih šegah.

Erben ni poznal monumentalnega dela *Vozzrenije slavjan na prirodi* (I–III, Moskva, 1866–1869), znanega ruskega folklorista Aleksandra Nikolajeviča Afanasjeva (1826–1871). Pač je dobro poznal Aleksandra Afanasjeviča Potebnja (1835–1891), ki ga je ruski avtor J. M. Meletinskij (1918–2005) v monografiji *Poetika mita* imel za utemeljitelja ruske znanstvene mitologije.

Poglavitni namen obravnave slovanskih kozmogonskih mitov, z veliko praslovansko apologetsko tendenco je bil v tem, da je njen avtor na osnovi zbranih in obdelanih bajk o nastanku sveta zavračal splošno prevladujoče mnenje, da se pri Slovanih ni ohranila nobena izvirna kozmogonska bajka. Proti tej trditvi je postavil s svojega stališča nedvomne dokaze, da je v poganskih obdobjih gospodovala po celem slovanstvu od Urala do Jadrana taka predstava o stvarjenju sveta. Erben je polemiziral s Konradom Schwenckom (*Die Mythologie der Slawen*, 1853), ki je trdil, da ni nobenega besedila, iz katerega bi se dalo rekonstruirati, kako si Slovani predstavljajo nastanek sveta, čeprav so prav kozmogonske bajke zelo privlačne za karakteristiko kulturne ravni pri posameznem narodu. Ali je ta diskusija spodbudila Janeza Trdino za zapis šišenske in mengeške bajke?

Končno je po 140 letih čakanja tu prvič objavljeno Erbenovo življenjsko delo. **Četrto poglavje** namreč vsebuje slovar slovanskega bajeslovja (*Abecední slovník slo-*

vanského bájesloví) iz rokopisne zapuščine K. J. Erbena. To ni dokončano delo in le dopolnjuje objave o slovanskem bajeslovju v Erbenovih bajeslovnih študijah in njegova gesla v Riegerovem Znanstvenem slovarju (Slovník naučný).

Slovenskemu bralcu domača gesla so: bazilisk, božič, čas, čarovnik, čarovnica, ljudožerci, Mokoš, sojenice, Pehta, Pepelka, Perun, rojenice, šiva baba, (Žiri), /Š/triga, Triglav, Veles, Zlatolaska (Župančič). Tako kot pri geslih za Riegerov znanstveni slovar so tudi tu k skoraj vsakemu geslu dodane temeljite pripombe uredniškega odbora.

Delu je dodan temeljit znanstveni aparat. Najprej Erbenova citirana literatura v tokrat prvič objavljenem slovarju in seznam kratic in natančno redakcijsko pojasnilo. Za vsakršni študij slovanske mitologije so posebno dragoceni avtorsko skrbno razčlenjeni in kronološko razvrščeni viri in literatura – posebej češka in slovaška – o slovanskem in njemu bližnjem (o germanskem in baltskem) bajeslovju. Zelo dobrodošel je seznam tuje literature, ki se predmetu ustrezno osredotoča na slovansko, tudi v cirilici, saj ta pogosto izpada iz mednarodnih okvirov. Sledi povzetek v ruščini in angleščini. V imensko kazalo so od slovenskih avtorjev vključeni Urban Jarnik (1x), Jernej Kopitar (6x), Gregor Krek (1x), Fran Miklošič (9x), Matija Murko (1x), Janez Trdina (2x), Davorin Trstenjak (4x), Matija Valjavec (6x), Stanko Vraz /Jakob Fras (6x). V tem seznamu se pogreša Jakob Kelemina, ki je *Slovenske bajke in pripovedke slovenskega ljudstva* (Celje 1930) opremil z mitološkim uvodom. Sicer je pa tudi Jiři Polivka, njegov poglavitni kritik, omenjen samo enkrat.

Čeprav je pregled mitologije kot znanosti v 20. stoletju v knjigi predstavljen kot del uvoda v Erbenovo delo, je v tukajšnjem članku prestavljen na konec.

Od ruskih avtorjev je v začetku 20. stoletja na prvem mestu Jevgenij Vasil'jevič Aničkov (1866–1937). V diskusijo o slovanski mitologiji se je vključil tudi Aleksander Brückner (1856–1939), brezkompromisni kritik večine dotedanjih del, tudi Luoborja Niederleja (1865–1944). Njegov cilj je bil očistiti slovansko mitologijo od nezanesljivih virov in pojasniti imena božanstev. Za to je uporabil primerjalno metodo z dosledno etimološko razlago, kar pa njegovi nasledniki niso sprejeli. Odstranil je izmišljeni slovanski Olimp, ki so ga izdelale nemške kronike v 15. stoletju. Kritičen je bil do večine sodobnih avtorjev. Cenil pa je delo F. Miklošiča z zunanjim kriticizmom in skepticizmom V. Jagića, ki sta število slovanskih bogov znatno skrčila. L. Niederleja je kritiziral zaradi njegove pomanjkljive filološke izobrazbe in zato prevelike odvisnosti od drugih avtorjev in zato ker zapostavlja prusko in litovsko mitologijo. Po Brücknerju se mora slovanska mitologija opreti predvsem na ruske vire. Od tod njegovo popolno zaupanje v *Povĕst dávných let* in v *Slovo o polku Igorovem*. Na čelo slovanskih bogov je postavil Svaroga (Svarožice, Dažboga), za njim Peruna in Volosa-Velesa. Kazimierz Moszynsky (1887–1959) se je leta 1934 s knjigo *Kultura ludowa Słowian* omejil na duhovno kulturo.

V devetnajstem stoletju bilo eno od najpomembnejših odkritij zgodovinskega jezikoslovja, da evropski jeziki skupno z jeziki Indije in Irana ustvarjajo eno jezikovno družino. 'Triumf jezikoslovja je pomenil škodo za mitologijo.' Številni raziskovalci so začeli odkrivati stike med evropskimi bogovi in božanstvi Perzije in Indije in osnovna interpretacijska metoda je postala alegorija narave. Nastala je mitologija burje Adalberta Kuhna (1812–1881), živalska alegorija Angela de Gubernatis (1840–1913), mitologija ognja Johannesa Hertela (1872–1955), lunarna teorija Georga Hüisinga (1869–1930) in poglavitna – solarna teorija Maxa Müllerja (1823–1900). V opoziciji do Kuhnove smeri je Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831–1880), predstavnik demonološke smeri, izhajal iz

domneve, da so miti, ki se vzdržujejo v predstavah nižjih ljudskih plasti, njihova prastara lastnina, ki se po zaslugi njih pomanjkljive izobrazbe stalno dopolnjuje in razširja. Pred razcepitvijo so imeli Indoevropejci skupne mitološke predstave. Iz tistega obdobja so gozdni, poljski in hišni demoni, vile, škrati, orjaki. Demoni se veliko bolj skladajo s prvotnimi nazori ljudi o naravi kot idealne postave velikih bogov.

Nastajale so še druge mitološke teorije. Med njimi sta v prvi polovici 20. stoletja imela pomembno vlogo psihoanaliza in ritualizem, ki je slonel na delih Edwarda Burnetta Tylora (1832–1917), predstavnika animistične smeri, ki je imela svojo osnovo v nauku o dušah in jih je primitivni človek prisojal ne le vsem živim bitjem, temveč tudi neživim predmetom. V nadaljevanju so orisani še Herbert Spencer, Georg Frazer in Mircea Eliade (1907–1986). Prav tako tudi Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009), ki ima mit za avtonomno sintezo strukturalne in statistične strani jezika. Pesniški jezik je nasprotje mitičnega: s prevodom v drug jezik pesem izgubi prvotno kvaliteto, medtem ko mit ostane v prevodu neprizadet.

Po drugi svetovni vojni se je analizi in raziskavi najstarejših čeških povedk posvetil etnolog, filozof in muzikolog Vladimir Karbusicky (1925–2002), ki poudarja kot metodološko neizogibno kombinacijo primerjalistike in strukturalizma; v njem se kaže stik s fenomenologijo, posebno z M. Heideggerjem.

Metodološko bogata monografija Aleksandra Gieysztora (1916–1999) *Mitologia Słowian* (Varšava 1982, 1986) se opira na predstavnike nove primerjalne mitologije, ki je nastala z razvojem jezikoslovja in etnosociologije. Upošteva nekatere smeri Dumézila, Romana O. Jakobsona (1896–1982), Vjačeslava Vsevolodiča Ivanova (1929) in Vladimira N. Toporova (1928–2005). Od čeških avtorjev je najpomembnejši Zdeněk Váňa (1924–1994), ki v knjigi *Svět slovanských bohů a démonů* (Praha 1990) ne soglaša z Dumezilovo teorijo o tročlenosti indoevropskega panteona, na katero se aplicira klasifikacija slovanskih bogov (V. V. Ivanov, V. N. Toporov, A. Gieysztor). Svetlana Tolstaja in Ljubinko Radenkovič, sta omenjena predvsem z enciklopedičnim slovarjem *Slovenska* [= Slovansko] *mitologija* (Beograd, 2001).

Od sodobnih slovenskih avtorjev je omenjen edino Damjan Ovsec, čeprav imajo tudi Zmago Šmitek, Mirjam Mencej in Monika Kropej za seboj že tudi tozadevne knjižne objave. Pietetno je v tej zvezi omeniti izjemnega ruskega filologa, slavista in baltista Nikolaja Mikhailova (1967–2010), avtorja knjig in člankov o slovanski in baltski mitologiji.

Skrbno urejena knjiga je zgledno opremljena z znanstvenim aparatom. Kazalo mitoloških pojmov in bajčnih bitij zajema imena bogov, junakov, svetnikov, šeg in izbrana literarna dela. 511 strani obsežna knjiga večjega formata na kvalitetnem papirju je tudi bogato ilustrirana z zadevnimi risbami in črnobelimi in barvnimi fotografijami nekaterih bajčnih bitij.

Marija Stanonik

Suzana Marjanić i Antonija Zaradija Kiš (ur.), Književna životinja. Kulturni bestijarij II. dio. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada i Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, 2012, 1144 stranica, ilustracije.

Drugi dio *Kulturnog bestijarija* pod naslovom *Književna životinja* pojavljuje se pet godina nakon prvog (*Kuturni bestijarij,* ur. S. Marjanić i A. Zaradija Kiš, Zagreb 2007) i nastavlja posao utemeljivanja kulturne animalistike (odnosno kulturne zoologije) u hrvatskoj humanistici, ovaj put s naglašenijim književnim usmjerenjem. Ovdje poduzet utemeljiteljski posao može se pozvati tek na nekoliko prethodnika – najavljivača animalističkih tema u hrvatskoj antropologiji, teoriji i književnoj kritici, u prvom redu na Nikolu Viskovića i njegovu knjigu *Životinja i čovjek* iz 1996, te njegov zbornik (zajedno s Nenadom Cambijem) *Kulturna animalistika* iz 1998. Književnopovijesni prilog animalistici dala je 2009. godine Zlata Šundalić svojim knjigom o životinjama u Držića, a 2010. Ana Horvat objavila je hrvatsku antologiju pjesama posvećenih životinjama od 15. stoljeća do suvremenosti. Uz to, animalističke su teme bliske medijevalistima koji se bave bestijarijima, a nešto su češće i u tumača dječje književnosti. U predradnje bi valjalo ubrojiti i rafinirani ljubiteljski rad na *mačkologiji* Gige Gračan. S obzirom na sve to, i na dinamično stanje discipline na internacionalnom planu, koja okuplja animalistiku i njoj srodne grane (književnu ekologiju, zelene kulturalne studije, ekokritiku itd), pravi je trenutak za otvaranje novog znanstvenog polja i u nas, za definiranje njegovog mjesta među znanstvenim disciplinama, utvrđivanje metodologija i ustanovljavanje terminologije. Ova knjiga čini sve to, ali vodeći se pri tome načelom disciplinarne (bio/zoo) raznolikosti, odnosno dopuštajući autorima iz raznih područja da temi daju svoj prilog, metodu i termine, te s pravom očekujući da čitatelj u toj raznolikosti nazre zajedničke provodne niti. Te niti - tematske, teorijske, metodološke, etičke – bez sumnje će obilježiti sve radove koji nakon ovog zbornika budu napisani u području animalistike.

Prema uvodnoj riječi urednica, zbornik se smješta u trag zapadne animalistike koja se formirala od sedamdesetih u okviru pokreta za oslobođenje životinja (Peter Singer, *Oslobođenje životinja*, 1975), te kasnijih pokreta za istraživanje prirode u folkloru, antrozoologije te teorije prava životinja. Moglo bi se reći da je zapadno polje animalistike podvojeno između akademskog i aktivističkog pristupa. Akademski pristup obično se opisuje kao apolitičan, apstraktan, teoretski, interdisciplinaran, ali nezainteresiran za političku ekonomiju; on je dio "akademskog kapitalizma", a u životinji, kako mu predbacuju njegovi kritičari, često vidi tek povod da se napiše znanstveni članak. S druge strane, aktivistički pristup proizveo je "kritičku animalistiku" (ICAS, *Institute for Critical Animal Studies*) koja se bori za prava životinja, pri čemu joj je ključna stavka politička ekonomija (kako uočavaju S.Marjanić i A.Zaradija Kiš, ta kritička animalistika po pristupu je srodna Frankfurtskoj školi – ujedinjuje društvenu teoriju, politiku i kritiku kapitalizma, i stvara revolucionarni projekt transformacije društva). Sličnost s feminizmom ovdje nije slučajna: i na području feminizma postoji stanovit rivalitet akademskog i aktivističkog pola koji surađuju, pretječu se (nove teme i problemi ponekad dolaze iz prakse u teoriju, ponekad obrnuto), sukobljavaju, međusobno katkad plodno a katkad razorno kritiziraju. No vjerojatno zbog ekonomije manjih intelektualnih sredina, ni hrvatski feminizam, a kako se čini ni nova hrvatska animalistika, ne dopuštaju sebi luksuz rasipanja snaga (već i zbog toga što nemaju stabilni institucionalni smještaj), već radije

ulažu u međusobno preplitanje. Ova je knjiga tako smještena na presjecištu tradicionalne akademske i kritičke animalistike; ona nastupa ujedno znanstveno i angažirano. Moralna i pravna pitanja oko ljudskih i neljudskih životinja provodna su nit brojnih od okupljenih članaka; osobna angažiranost autora često nalazi svoje mjesto u tekstovima (pa ponekad strogo filološki radovi kao npr. onaj Antonije Zaradije Kiš o glagoljskim egzemplima, završavaju apelom za spas neke ugrožene životinjske vrste, u ovom slučaju žaba), a sveukupna oprema ovog djela, s čudesnim ilustracijama (iz srednjovjekovnih bestijarija), fotografijama vlastitih ljubimaca, kroz tekst porazbacanim zoofilskim i pacifističkim izrekama različitih autora, te duhovitim pojedinostima (članci, na primjer, nemaju "ključne riječi" nego "ključne životinje"), upućuje na autorski/urednički rukopis koji se ne skriva iza znanstvene objektivnosti nego se za svoju temu otvoreno i srčano zalaže.

Golemi broj od 48 priloga (zbornik ima čak 1144 stranice) urednice su prema disciplinarnim, žanrovskim i kronološkim kriterijima rasporedile u 8 cjelina. Prva je skupina radova koji animalističkim temama pristupaju iz vidika etnologije (*I. Mitske i etno književne životinje*), slijede književnoanimalističke teme složene po povijesno-poetičkim razdobljima (*II. Književno srednjovjekovlje i humanizam životinja, III. Književna renesansa, manirističe i barokne životinje, IV. Suvremena književna životinja*), zatim animalistika u književnim žanrovima (*V. Književno-fantastična životinja, VI. Dječji književni zoo*), filozofski blok (*VII. Filozofsko-književna životinja*) te raznolika posljednja skupina koja okuplja književnoteorijske, mitološke, arhetipskokritičke ali i esejističke, te jedan književni tekst (*VIII. Život životinja kroz književnost*). Autori su internacionalni, njihove animalističke teme smještene globalno (od staroslavenskih tekstova do suvremenog ruskog pisca Pelevina, od Shakespearea do Grassa), no naravno, s obzirom da je cilj zbornika utvrđivanje animalistike u domaćem prostoru, prevladavaju regionalne teme.

Tako među etnološkim prilozima u prvom dijelu nalazimo istraživanja životinjskih motiva u slovenskom (Monika Kropej, Mirjam Mencej), južnoslavenskom odnosno štokavskom/desetaračkom (Mirjana Detelić, Pieter Plas), međimurskom (Lidija Bajuk), staroslavenskom (Konstantin Rahno) i litavskom (Mirjana Bračko) folkloru, a tri nas rada odvode daleko na istok i zapad: u indološke (Krešimir Krnic), sino-korejske (Snježana Zorić) i meksičke (Zeb Tortorici) teme. Istraživači su zainteresirani za baštinu i suvremenost folklora, i to u njegovim jezičnim i vizualnim manifestacijama, te u okviru visoke i pučke kulture (Kropej analizira motiv lisice u usmenoj književnosti, na pčelinjim košnicama i u sakralnoj umjetnosti); za ritualne aspekte i mitska vjerovanja vezana uz životinje (Rahno prati demijurške moći lončara koji su izrađivali glinene životinje), za način na koji se u folkloru opisuje granica ljudskog i neljudskog, sa svim ideološkim i seksualnim konotacijama koje ona sa sobom može ponijeti (osobito u kolonijalnom kontekstu, o čemu piše Tortorici).

Medijevalistički dio zbornika kreće se među Biblijom (Marie-Geneviève Grossel), slavenskim misalima (Adelina Anguševa i Margaret Dimitrova), glagoljskim tekstovima (Antonija Zaradija Kiš) i zbirkama recepata zvanim "ljekaruše" (Marija-Ana Dürrigl i Stella Fatović-Ferenčić), te Danteom (Snježana Husić). Čini se da su životinje u srednjem vijeku manje znak naklonosti prema prirodi a više potrebe za figurama moralnih i teoloških pojmova, pa tako primjere empirijskih životinja nadmašuju njihovi fantastično-simbolički oblici. Pri tome ptice prednjače po raznolikosti atributa (estetskih,

duhovnih, ljudskih i božanskih; mistike pjeva te simbola gnijezda i leta), a jednorog po misterioznosti (Anna Loba), koja se pokazuje pri njegovu susretu sa ženom; taj evidentno senzualni i erotični susret u srednjovjekovnom je traktatu o ćudoređu udanih žena pretvoren u simbol duhovne dimenzije braka. Što se pak tiče nasljeđa srednjovjekovne građe o apokaliptičnim životinjama u suvremenoj književnosti, njihov izvorni simbolizam iskorišten je u hrvatskoj fantastičnoj prozi, postajući znakom nesvjesnog i tabuiziranog (Kornelija Kuvač-Levačić). Za razliku od fantasyja, suvremena znanstvena fantastika svoja čudovišna bića gradi postupkom očuđavanja, te ih koristi za pokretanje etičkih pitanja o čovječnosti i nasilju (Dejan Ajdačić). No da žanr nije objektivna nego kulturološki uvjetovana kategorija, i da isto djelo može biti različito definirano u različitim društvenim okolnostima (mit, na primjer, može postati bajka, a priča o upozorenju može se pretvoriti u priču o životinjama), dokazuje Marijana Hameršak: na dječjim se književnim žanrovima dobro vidi kako njihova taksonomija i recepcija ovise o filozofskim, psihološkim i sociološkim, u svakom slučaju povijesno promjenjivim, predodžbama o djetinjstvu.

Od rajske ptice do crva, od konja do magarca – životinje u renesansi i baroku temeljito su reinterpretirano nasljeđe srednjovjekovnih bestijarija, u kojem se alegorijska značenja sudaraju sa svakodnevnim, visoko s niskim. Magarac je tako česti povod za humoristične učinke u renesansnim tekstovima (Dunja Fališevac), a u motivu konja može se pratiti pad iz viteškog modusa na Rosinantea (Lovro Škopljanac). Neposredan odnos sa životinjom, empatija i angažman za neljudsko biće neočekivanom ljepotom zatječu nas u Marulićevoj tužaljci za ubijenim psom koju je 1995. u Glasgowu pronašao Darko Novaković (citirano u radu Dunje Fališevac), a čitanje u ključu zooetike i kritičkog animalizma može nam otkriti i da je sam Shakespeare razmišljao o životinjama, a ne samo o životinjskim osobinama ljudi. Usto, njegovo razotkrivanje zvjerskog nasilja u ljudi skriva misli o antropologiji mržnje prema koloniziranima u imperijalističkom svijetu (Suzana Marjanić).

Pitanje nasilja prema onima koji su isključeni iz ljudskog društva postaje još prisutnijim u bloku posvećenom suvremenoj književnosti, a središnje je u filozofskom dijelu zbornika. Ako se priroda shvati kao totalno drugo, Lacanovo Realno što izmiče simbolizacijskim procesima – a odnos pisca i životinje nužno ide preko riječi – onda se taj odnos ne mora postaviti u ključu empatije i prepoznavanja, nego također u smislu krajnje čovjekove samoće i prihvaćanja razlike kao takve, razlike koja traži da "svatko ostane na svom mjestu" (Branislav Oblučar). Tema iznevjerujućeg govora koja se ovdje pojavljuje kao neostvareni medij između pisca i životinje, u članku Vladimira Bitija prerasta u urgentno etičko pitanje odnosa prema ljudima odbačenim iz ljudske zajednice - žrtvama holokausta. Biti polazi od širenja semantičkog polja holokausta na čovjekov odnos prema životinjama (Charles Patterson, *Vječna Treblinka,* 2002). Kako to spominje i Predrag Krstić u članku o fenomenologiji psa u zapadnoj filozofiji, osobina je modernizma – odnosno drugo lice njegove dijalektike - to da se lišio humanosti. Bitijeva refleksija o biopolitici moći i tretiranju ljudskog života kao gole supstance (Agamben, *nuda vita*) prati na etičkim osnovama utemeljenu kritiku teze o golom životu kao onom koji se ne može reprezentirati (Cathy Caruth, Hayden White). Ta teza naime u sebi krije opasnost da se događaju oduzme tvarnost, da ga se sublimira, a uz to ona sa sobom nosi i nerješivo pitanje o tome tko od preživjelih onda ima pravo govoriti u ime žrtava kojima je oduzeta mogućnost svjedočenja i koje su svedene na životinje. Stoga je rizik

širenja metafore holokausta ujedno etički i politički, a mučenje životinja pokazuje se, zaključuje Biti tumačeći Coetzeea, kao dio složenog spleta ideoloških, etičkih i političkih pozicija koje se ne mogu riješiti generalizacijom u primjeni pojma holokausta.

Posljednja skupina radova vraća se književnim i mitološkim temama, pretpostavljajući ponekad da je književnost u svom prikazivanju životinja učinkovitija i emotivnija od filozofije, ali ipak ne napuštajući prethodno otvorena etička pitanja čovjekova odnosa prema životinji, kao i ljudskog nasilja koje zovemo zvjerskim (Marjetka Golež Kaučić o slovenskoj usmenoj i suvremenoj poeziji). Množina pristupa tu se obogaćuje računalnim stilističkim analizama (Davor Piskač); otkrivaju se neki zaboravljeni tekstovi poput operete *Pas Fidelio* Bore Pavlovića (Branimir Donat); prate se čudovišne metamorfoze magarca sve do suvremene književnosti (Miranda Levanat-Peričić), a među ostalim radovima čitatelja provocira i zoofilski književni prilog Nenada Viskovića. Zbornik se dakle zaključuje ovim zoolikim i šarolikim repom (a rep imaju i gotovo svi tekstovi, u vidu jasne zaključne *code*, što uvelike pridonosi njihovoj usklađenosti i preglednosti), koji još jednom potvrđuje kako je umijeće urednica bilo ponajprije u tome da, poštujući i znanstvenu i biološku raznolikost, budućim istraživanjima pruže privlačan i siguran vodič u teorijski i kritički, analitički i angažirani svijet kulturne animalistike.

Natka Badurina

Slavjanskie drevnosti, Etnolingvističeskij slovar' pod obščej redakciej N. I. Tolstogo. 5. del (S-Ja). Moskva: Meždunarodnye otnošenija 2012, 731 strani; ilustracije.

Leta 2012 je izšel zadnji, 5. del slovarja *Slavjanskie drevnosti*, etnolingvističnega slovarja, katerega naslov bi v slovenščino morda še najustrezneje lahko prevedli kot »Slovanske starožitnosti« ali »Slovanske starine«. Ob izidu prejšnjih del Slovarja sem sicer že pisala recenzijo (prim. Mencej, Etnolog 10/ 2000: 341-4), a morda je vendarle prav, da posebej obeležimo natis tudi tega, zadnjega dela, ki zaključuje dolgo obdobje izhajanja ene najpomembnejših, če ne najpomembnejše publikacije na področju slovanske tradicijske kulture v zadnjih desetletjih sploh.

Slovar je delo raziskovalcev Oddelka za etnolingvistiko in folkloro Inštituta za slavistiko Ruske akademije znanosti v Moskvi. Sodelavci inštituta so svoje delo za slovar začeli pod vodstvom akademika dr. Nikite Iljiča Tolstoja, po njegovi smrti leta 1996 pa je glavna urednica Slovarja postala Svetlana M. Tolstoj, ob pomoči uredniškega odbora, ki ga sestavljajo Tanja A. Agapkina, Ljudmila N. Vinogradova ter Vladimir J. Petruhin. V ekipi ustvarjalcev so bili (z manjšimi spremembami) skozi leta še Olga V. Belova, Aleksander V. Gura, Galina I. Kabakova, Elena E. Levkievska, Anna A. Plotnikova, Irina A. Sedakova, O. A. Ternovska, Valerija V. Usačeva, Elena S. Uzeneva in Marina M. Valencova. Začetek izhajanja slovarjev Slovanske drevnosti sega sicer že v leto 1984, ko je bil izdan osnutek slovarja in nato poslan v presojo in pripombe jezikoslovcem, etnologom, folkloristom in zgodovinarjem. Na podlagi tega načrta je leta 1995 v Moskvi izšel 1. del slovarja, ki je (glede na cirilično abecedo) vseboval gesla od črke A do G. V naslednjih letih so izšli še naslednji štirje zvezki: 2. del leta 1999 (D-K), 3. del leta 2004 (K-P), 4. del leta 2009 (P-S) ter leta 2012, kot že rečeno, zadnji, 5. del (S-Ja).

Slovar zajema vse glavne elemente slovanske tradicijske kulture, povezane s človekom in njegovim pogledom na svet ter glavnimi kategorijami, ki le-tega sestavljajo. Beseda »slovanski« iz naslova kaže, da je v njem upoštevano gradivo vseh slovanskih ljudstev, »drevnosti« (starožitnosti, starine) pa so definirane kot »tiste oblike in elementi srednjeveške slovanske kulture, ki so se ohranili do današnjega časa ali do nedavnega«. Dejstvo, da gre za »slovar«, pa pomeni, da je tradicijska slovanska kultura v njem »razbita« na kulturne enote – gesla. Gesla sledijo strukturi tradicijskega modela sveta, ki je po etnolingvističnih izhodiščih sestavljen iz osmih kategorij: oseb/bitij, živali, rastlin, predmetov in pojavov, prostora, časa, dejanj (akcij) in atributivov. Znotraj teh kategorij sledijo nadaljnje delitve; tako se, na primer, prva kategorija (osebe, bitja) deli še na: resnične ljudi z mitičnim značajem (ki ga dobe zaradi svojega rojstva, spola, dejavnosti ali družbenega statusa), epske osebe, bogove, krščanske osebe, mitična (bajna) bitja ter personificirane figure. V vsakem geslu so najprej navadno navedena glavna poimenovanja pri različnih slovanskih ljudstvih oziroma znotraj posamezne kulture, zatem sledi opis pojavnih oblik, funkcij oz. dejanj, prostora, časa in atributivnih elementov.

V slovarju so kot vir upoštevani predvsem folklorni, etnološki in jezikovni elementi. Zlasti jezik, ki v sebi ohranja arhaične elemente pogleda na svet, psihologije in kulture, se je izkazal kot eden od najbolj bogatih in zanesljivih virov za rekonstrukcijo predzgodovinskih oblik kultur, ki niso imele zapisanih pričevanj. Jezik in tradicijska ljudska kultura (šege, folklora …) sta se izkazala za tista vira, v katerih je mogoče prepoznati stanje praslovanske kulture in tedanjega pogleda na svet, in skupaj sestavljata nedeljivo celoto. Ker je starejših etnoloških in folklornih zapisov za Slovane malo, je

bilo praslovansko stanje mogoče rekonstruirati predvsem na podlagi natisnjenih del iz 19. in 20. stoletja, obenem pa so upoštevali tudi lastne terenske zapise, predvsem iz Polesja, kjer so od šestdesetih let dalje potekale intenzivne terenske raziskave Oddelka za etnolingvistiko in folkloro. Slovar pomeni na neki način poskus predstavitve podobe staroslovanske kulture, modela tradicijskega sveta, rekonstruiranega s pomočjo primerjave različnih slovanskih tradicij.

V Slovarju je v veliki meri zastopano tudi slovensko gradivo – upoštevana je večina pomembnejših raziskav z obravnavanega področja. Od slovenskih avtorjev so med osnovnimi viri zastopani Jakob Kelemina: *Bajke in pripovedke* slovenskega ljudstva; Monika Kropej: Od Ajda do Zlatoroga; Zmaga Kumer: *Vsebinski tipi slovenskih pripovednih pesmi*; Zmaga Kumer et al., ur.: *Slovenske ljudske pesmi;* Niko Kuret: *Praznično leto Slovencev*; R. Ložar, I. Grafenauer, O. Orel, ur.: *Narodopisje Slovencev*; Mirjam Mencej: *Pomen vode v predstavah starih Slovanov o posmrtnem življenju in šegah ob smrti, Gospodar volkov v slovanski mitologiji* in *Coprnice so me nosile*; Vinko Möderndorfer: *Verovanja, uvere in običaji Slovencev* ter *Ljudska medicina pri Slovencih*; Josip Pajek: *Črtice iz duševnega žitka štaj. Slovencev*; Zmago Šmitek: *Mitološko izročilo Slovencev*; Karl Štrekelj: *Slovenske narodne pesmi*; Metod Turnšek: *Pod vernim krovom* ter Pavle Zablatnik: *Od zibelke do groba*. Poleg tega najdemo v spisku še revije *Etnolog, Studia mythologica Slavica* ter *Traditiones*, od slovarjev pa so zastopani še *Slovenski etnološki leksikon* (ur. Angelos Baš), *Etimološki slovar slovenskega jezika* Franceta Bezlaja ter Pleteršnikov *Slovensko-nemški slovar*.

V prvem delu Slovarja najdemo še zemljevide gubernij oziroma zgodovinskih in etno-kulturnih območij slovanskih dežel in območij posameznih dialektov slovanskih jezikov ter spisek temeljnih virov za raziskave slovanske tradicijske kulture, iz katerih je slovar zajemal, medtem ko je dodatna, specifična literatura navedena pod vsakim posameznim geslom. V vsakem od naslednjih delov Slovarja lahko v spisku virov najdemo še literaturo, ki v času izida prejšnjih delov še ni bila natisnjena, zadnji del pa prinaša popoln pregled virov in raziskav, ki so jih ustvarjalci slovarja upoštevali pri svojem pisanju, od začetka do konca izhajanja Slovarja.

Relativno majhna skupina raziskovalcev je v teh slabih tridesetih letih (če štejemo za začetek dela na Slovarju leto 1984) opravila izjemno delo ter z njim navdihnila izid podobnih slovarjev tudi drugod, na primer v Srbiji (*Slovenska mitologija. Enciklopedijski rečnik*, ur. Svetlana M. Tolstoj in Ljubinko Radenković, Beograd: Zepter Book World 2001) in na Poljskem, kjer je leta 2012 pod vodstvom Jerzyja Bartmińskega in njegove lublinske etnolingvistične šole začel izhajati večdelni etnligvistični slovar z naslovom *Słównik stereotypów i symboli ludowych*. Ne glede na to, ali se strinjamo z možnostjo rekonstrukcije praslovanske kulture predvsem na podlagi podatkov, zapisanih šele v 19. in 20. stoletju, ali ne (kar je predmet nekaterih znanstvenih diskusij), pa nam petdelni etnolingvistični slovar *Slovjanskie drevnosti* nedvomno prinaša izjemno bogat vpogled v verovanja, šege, folkloro slovanskih ljudstev, ki bi jih zaradi razdrobljenosti virov, njihove pogosto težke dostopnosti in množice različnih slovanskih jezikov posamezniki sami le stežka zbrali skupaj. Ob koncu tega izjemnega podviga nam preostane torej le še, da se avtorjem slovarja iskreno zahvalimo za njihov trud, jim čestitamo in želimo še mnogo uspehov pri nadaljnjem delu na drugih projektih.

Mirjam Mencej

Barbara Ivančič Kutin, Živa pripoved v zapisu. Kontekst, tekstura in prekodiranje pripovedi Tine Kravanja iz Bavšice. Ljubljana: Založba ZRC, ZRC SAZU, 2011, 179 strani, ilustracije.

Knjiga folkloristke Barbare Ivančič Kutin *Živa pripoved v zapisu. Kontekst, tekstura in prekodiranje pripovedi Tine Kravanja iz Bavšice* je izšla leta 2012 pri Založbi ZRC SAZU. Prvi del knjige obsega štiri temeljna poglavja: Kontekst – okoliščine pripovedovanja; Tekstura – način izvedbe; Metodologija na terenu in v kabinetu. V drugem delu avtorica aplicira teoretično znanje iz prvega dela knjige na konkreten folklorni dogodek – pripovedovanje Tine Kravanja iz Bavšice ter prikaže dvaindvajsetih njenih pripovedi. Na koncu je dodano še poglavje, ki podrobno opiše značilnosti bovškega govora in govora Bavšice, ki ga je prispevala Karmen Kenda-Jež.

Avtorico je zanimala predvsem raziskava konteksta in teksture folklornih pripovedi (seveda nujno povezanih tudi s teksti), se pravi dveh od treh ravnin folklorne pripovedi (poleg teksta), preučevanje je bilo v slovenskem prostoru do sedaj, vsaj v praksi, v glavnem zanemarjeno.

Medtem ko je bila pozornost folkloristike nasploh, tudi v tujini, v preteklosti usmerjena k raziskavam teksta, je vsaj od sedemdesetih let dvajsetega stoletja dalje vedno bolj v ospredju prav zanimanje za raziskave teksture (tj. načina izvedbe pripovedovanja, npr. rime, aliteracije, naglaševanja, intonacije, onomatopoeje, glasbene spremljave, mimike…) in konteksta folklorne pripovedi (specifične socialne situacije, v kateri se ta odvija, tj. specifike glede časa, prostora in družbe, v kateri se zgodi folklorni dogodek). Raziskave teh dveh aspektov folklore se je avtorica lotila na konkretnih primerih folklornih pripovedi, ki jih je sama snemala, in sicer v krajih na Bovškem, od koder je doma. Dejstvo, da je domačinka, ji je brez dvoma olajšalo tako »odkrivanje« dobrih informatorjev in neposreden stik z njimi kot tudi fonetično transkripcijo posnetkov.

V Uvodu avtorica naredi pregled terminologije oz. temeljnih pojmov in definicij s področja folkloristike ter pregled zgodovinskega razvoja folkloristike, zlasti z vidika premika njenega fokusa od teksta h kontekstu. V prvem poglavju najprej analizira vrste izhodiščnega situacijskega konteksta, zatem definira »pripovedovalsko folklorno srečanje« (celotno pripovedovalsko dogajanje, tj. dogajanje od prihoda folklorista k sogovorniku do konca pogovora med njim in naratorjem, se pravi ne le en folklorni dogodek, ena zaokrožena zgodba, temveč niz folklornih dogodkov in veznih besedil), čas, prostor in razmerja med udeleženci le-tega. Posebej obravnava vlogo udeležencev v folklornem srečanju, ki jih razčleni na več tipov: pripovedovalca, sprejemalca, spodbujevalca, pomočnika (asistenta), poizvedovalca (detajlista), pritrjevalca /nasprotovalca (cenzorja), dopolnjevalca (suplenta) in pripominjevalca (komentatorja). Vsi navzoči v srečanju, kot ugotavlja Ivančič Kutinova, v teku folklornega srečanja opravljajo vsaj eno ali več od teh vlog. Posebej se ustavi tudi pri obravnavi tehničnih sredstev za dokumentiranje, ki jih razume kot sestavni del konteksta.

V Poglavju Tekstura – način izvedbe avtorica natančno pokaže, kako se pripovedovanje razlikuje od vsakdanjega govornega posredovanja (večja estetska funkcija, poudarjeni določeni slogovni prijemi, s katerimi pripovedovalec vzdržuje stik s poslušalci, dramatiziranje besedila …). Posebej obravnava spremenjeno funkcijo jezika pri pripovedovanju, teksturo pa ločuje na jezikovno (diskurzivne označevalce, besedne in stavčne figure, ponavljanje, elipsa, pretiravanje, dramatični sedanjik …, ki gradijo slo-

govno podobo besedila in njegovo semantiko), glasovno teksturo (zvočna podoba: na-glaševanje, višina glasu, intonacija, onomatopoija …) ter neglasovno teksturo (mimika, gibi rok, telesa). Tudi tu se avtorica posebej sprašuje še o vplivu tehničnih sredstev za dokumentiranje na teksturo.

Sledi poglavje Metodologija na terenu in v kabinetu. V njem najprej razčleni dve fazi terenskega dela: motivacijsko fazo (začetni klepet, spodbujanje) in aktivno fazo (pripovedovanje). Srečanja na terenu nadalje deli glede na način vstopanja raziskovalca v situacijo, v kateri se je razvilo folklorno srečanje: dogovorjeni sestanek, načrtovana navzočnost raziskovalca, naključna navzočnost raziskovalca. Delo v kabinetu posebej obravnava s stališča urejanja gradiva, transkripcije in redakcije.

Drugi del knjige je posvečen pripovedovalki Tini Kravanja iz Bavšice in njenim pripovedim. Posebej analizira vloge udeleženk v folklornem srečanju med raziskovalko, pripovedovalko in občasno pripovedovalko, Vero Černuta, hčerjo Tine Kravanja, vse tri ravni folklorne pripovedi (tekst, tekstura, kontekst) ter tri oblike prekodiranja njenih pripovedi: zvočni zapis, narečna fonetična transkripcija in oblika, približana knjižnemu jeziku.

V naslednjem poglavju so vse pripovedi Tine Kravanja predstavljene z različnih vidikov: najprej v fonetični transkripciji, nato pa še v priredbi, prilagojeni knjižnemu jeziku (z dodanim slovarčkom narečnih besed); dodane so še opombe o redakciji, vse-bini in besedilnem kontekstu.

Na koncu je dodano še posebno poglavje Karmen Kenda-Jež o bovškem govoru in posebej govoru Bavšice, od koder prihaja glavna naratorka. Karmen Kenda Jež je tudi uredila fonetične transkripcije in prispevala razdelek s pojasnili za branje.

Razčlenitev vrst izhodiščnega situacijskega konteksta, poteka folklornega srečanja ter razdelitev vlog, ki jih lahko udeleženci zavzemajo med potekom folklornega sreča-nja, nam omogočajo drugačen vpogled v konkretno folklorno srečanje, kot smo ga bili vajeni doslej. Avtoričina opažanja in analiza konteksta in teksture so izjemno povedni, njena spoznanja o samem folklornem dogodku (faze), poslušalcih oz. njihovih vlogah v folklornem dogodku, o čemer je objavila tudi že več člankov, pa zelo tehtna. Medtem ko je bila vloga pripovedovalca že obravnavana, pa so bile v folkloristiki nasploh, ne le v slovenski, redkeje obravnavani sprejemalci, zato je tu doprinos Barbare Ivančič Kutinše posebej pomemben.Transkripcije folklornih pripovedi, ki jih je opravila, so narejene po zahtevnih pravilih dialektološkega zapisovanja, besedila, ki jih je zbrala in transkribira-la, pa so že postala pomemben del zakladnice slovenskih folklornih pripovedi. Dodatno vrednost knjigi prinašajo še nazorne preglednice ter strip in sheme, ki ponazarjajo spo-ročila knjige in jih je prispeval Ciril Horjak.

Naj poudarim, da je poleg odličnega empiričnega in teoretičnega dela, ki ga je av-torica pokazala v knjigi, vrednost le-te še toliko večja, ker na tem področju kandidatka tako rekoč orje ledino. Zaključenega obsežnega dela, ki bi teoretska spoznanja o teks-turni in kontekstualni ravnini folklorne pripovedi preveril v praksi, pri lastnem teren-skem delu, v Sloveniji doslej namreč še nismo imeli. Njeno knjigo lahko beremo tudi kot učbenik, ki ga bo odslej mogoče priporočiti študentom pri njihovem terenskem delu. Vsekakor lahko na koncu z mirno vestjo zapišemo, da je Barbara Ivančič Kutin, kar zadeva terensko delo, ta čas najpomembnejša folkloristka, ki jih premoremo v Sloveniji.

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