

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

DESCRIPTION OF THE MONUMENT (T.II)

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

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

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

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

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

Upper part

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

Middle part

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

Lower part

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

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

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

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

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

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

DATING OF THE MONUMENT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ICONOGRAPHIC ELEMENTS AND THEIR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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

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

— GRAVESTONES FROM VUKSANLEKAJ/VUKSANLEKIĆI (T.IV)

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

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

⁷ On the gravestones: Bešlagić 1970; Autoresh 2015.

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

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

— ANCIENT FIGURES OF PRIAPUS (T.V)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

– MEANING OF THE POSE OF THE ARMS

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

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

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

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

b) Elements in the area of the neck and head

– ARCHED RIB IN THE AREA OF THE NECK

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

– DIVISION IN THE AREA OF THE FOREHEAD

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

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

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

– THE WHOLE MONUMENT AS A PERSONALIZED PHALLUS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c) Indentations in the area of the chin

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a) Prehistory

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

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

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

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

b) Antiquity

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

c) Middle Ages

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

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

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

d) Folkloric traditions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF THE MONUMENT'S PAGAN SLAVIC AFFILIATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

b) Surrounding toponyms with a Pagan Slavic character

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

– VELES

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

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

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

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

– TRIGLAV

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

– CRNOBOG/CHERNOBOG

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

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

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

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

– THE DEVIL

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

c) Stone pillars on Mount Galičica

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

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

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

BOGOMIL AND OTHER DUALISTIC IMPLICATIONS

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

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

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

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

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

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

a) Attributes and functions of the Slavic chthonic god

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

— AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

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

— WATER

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

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

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

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

– COMMERCE AND CRAFTSMANSHIP

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

– HEALING

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CLOSING REMARKS

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

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

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

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

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

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CATALOGUE OF ILLUSTRATIONS

T.I

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

T.II

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

T.III

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

T.IV

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T.V

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T.VI

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

T.VII

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T.VIII

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T.IX

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T.X

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

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

T.XI

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T.XII

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

T.XIII

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T.XIV

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T.XV

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T.XVI

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T.XVII

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T.XVIII

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ITIFALIČNI KAMENI IDOL IZ SAMOSTANA SV. NAUM KOD OHRIDA

NIKOS ČAUSIDIS, IGOR EFTIMOVSKI



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

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

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

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

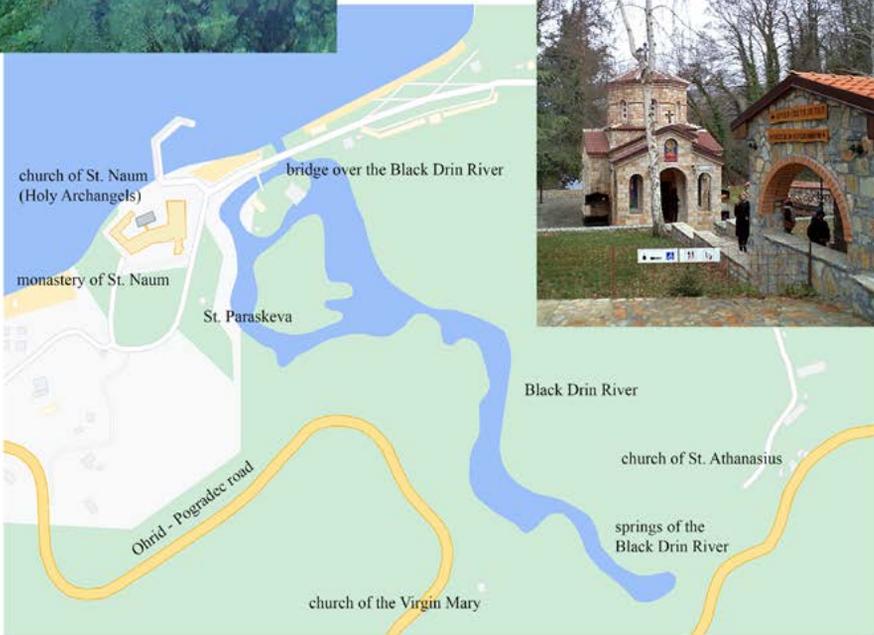
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T.I



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T.II



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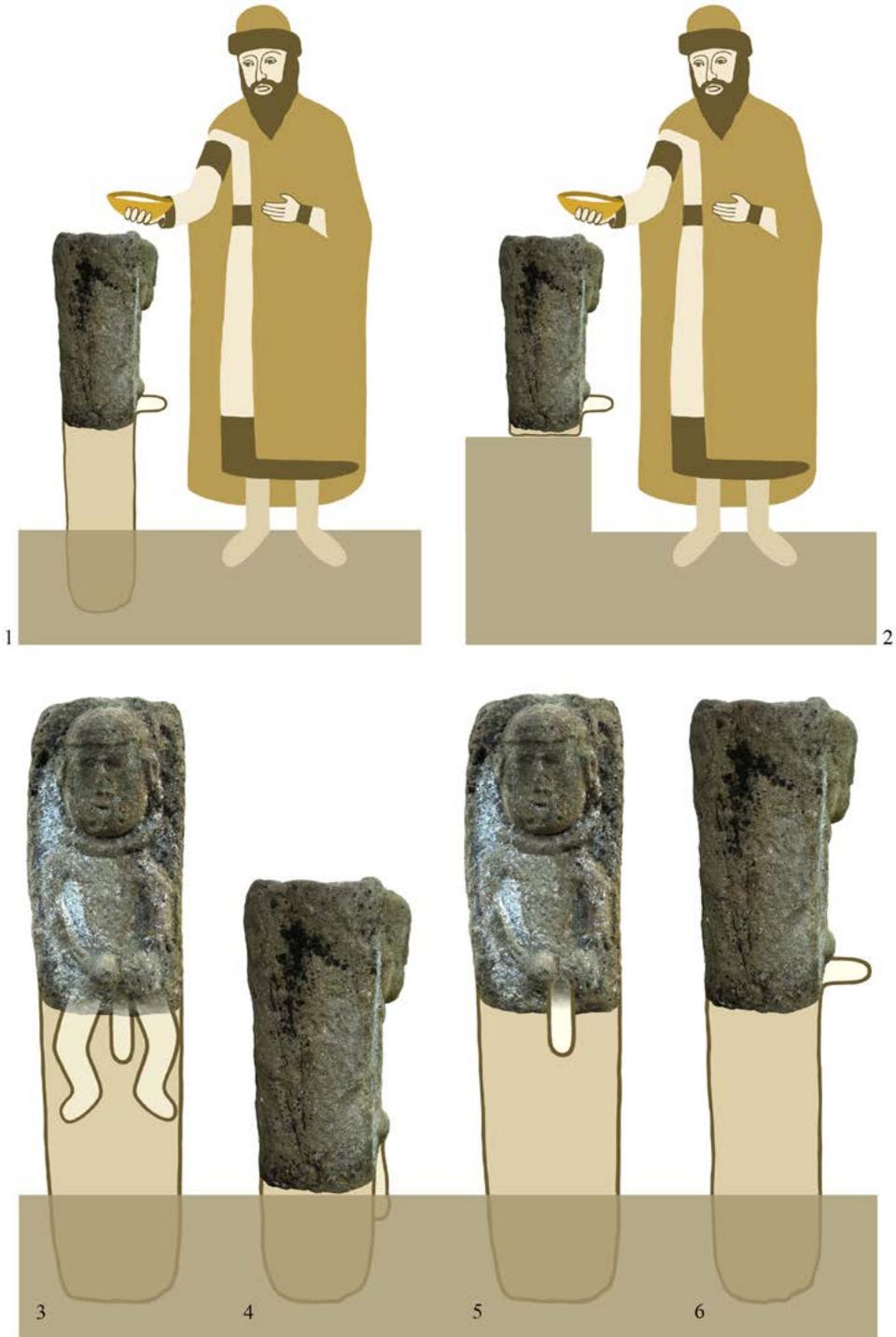


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T.III



T.IV



T.V



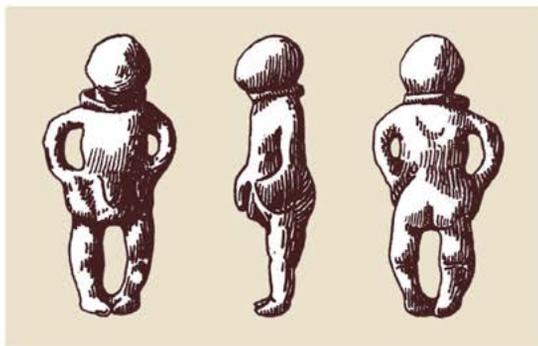
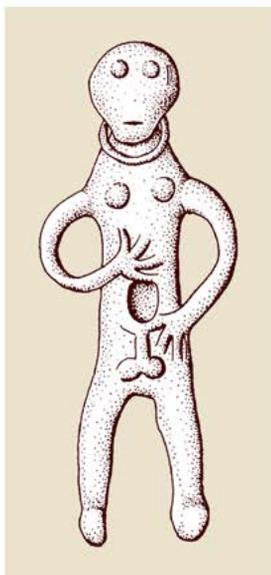
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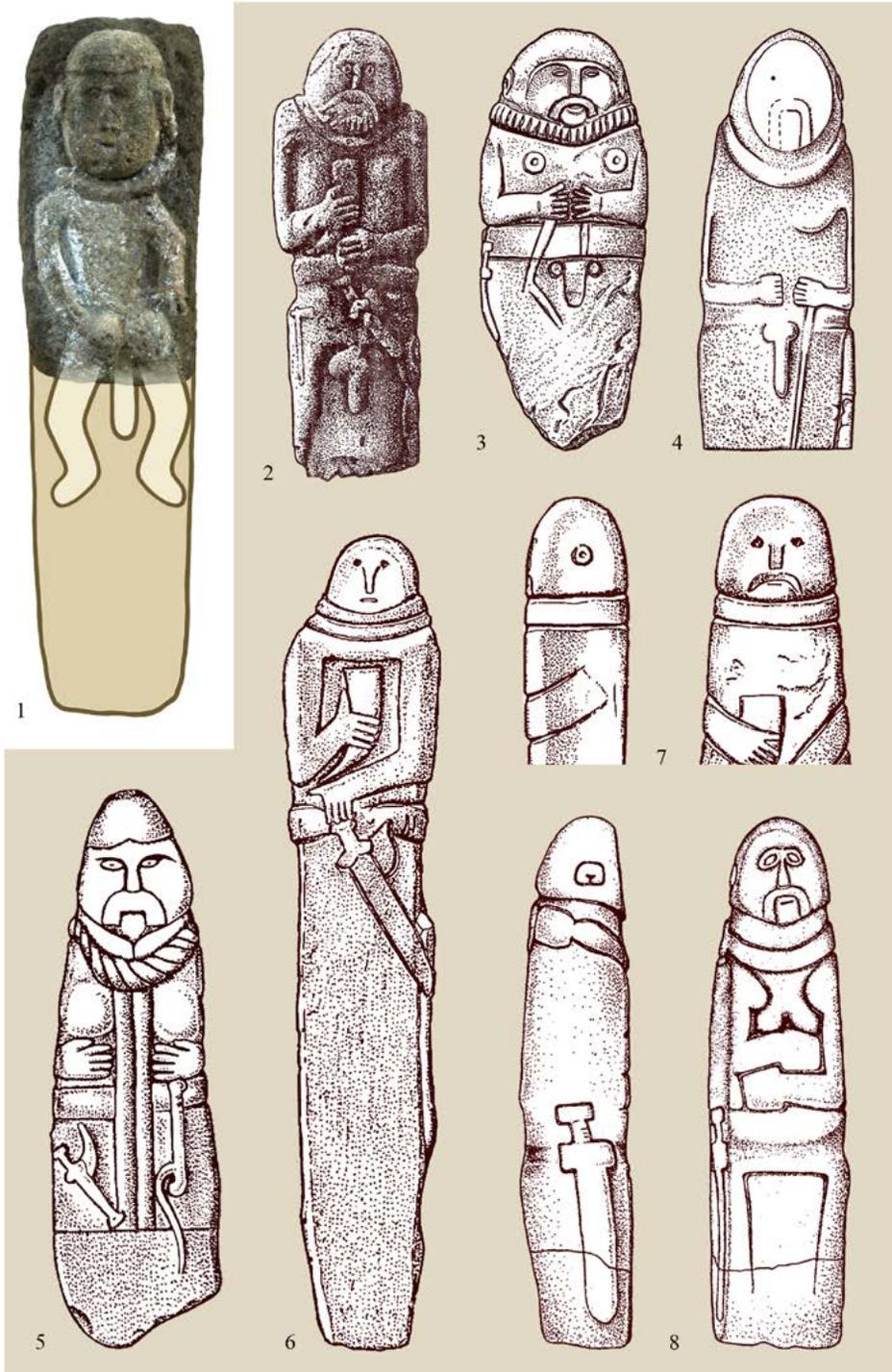
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T.VIII



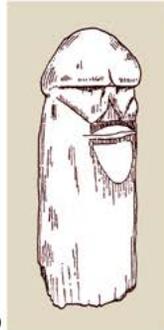
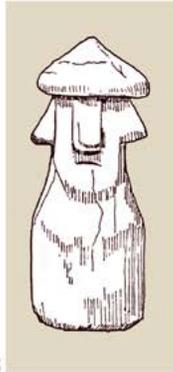
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T.X



T.XI



T.XII



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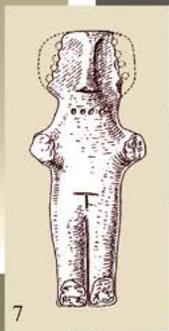
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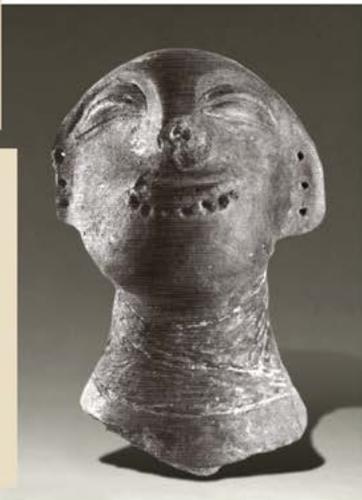
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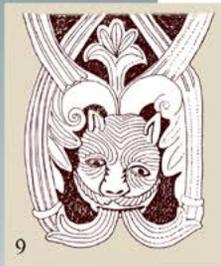


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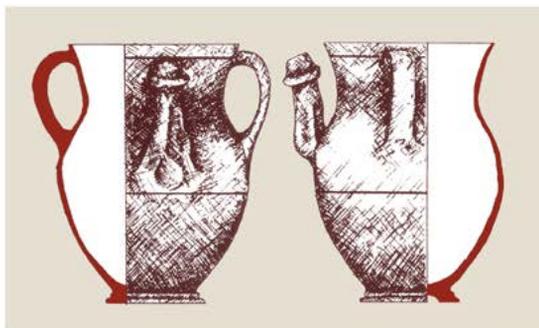
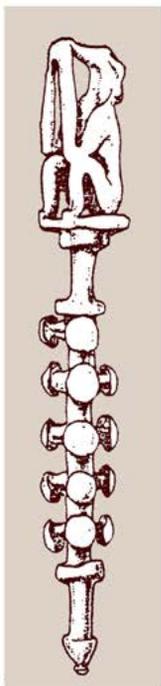
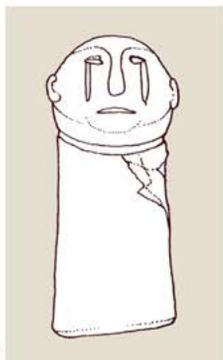


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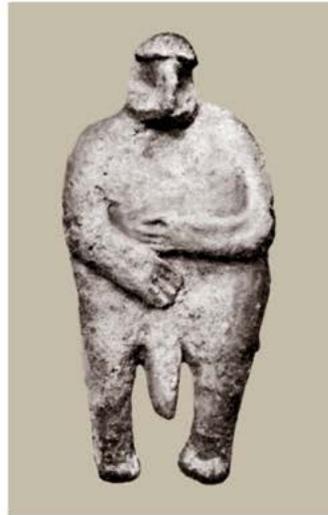
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T.XIV



T.XV



T.XVI



T.XVII



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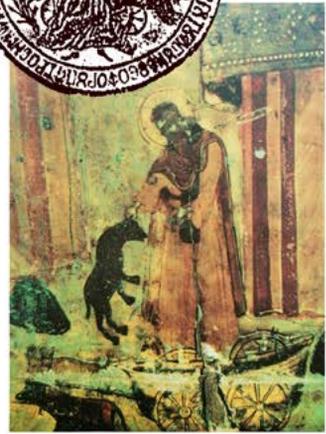
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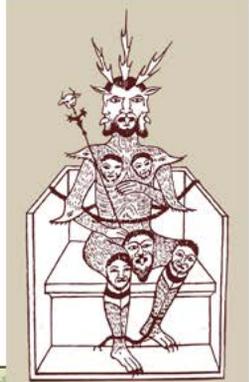
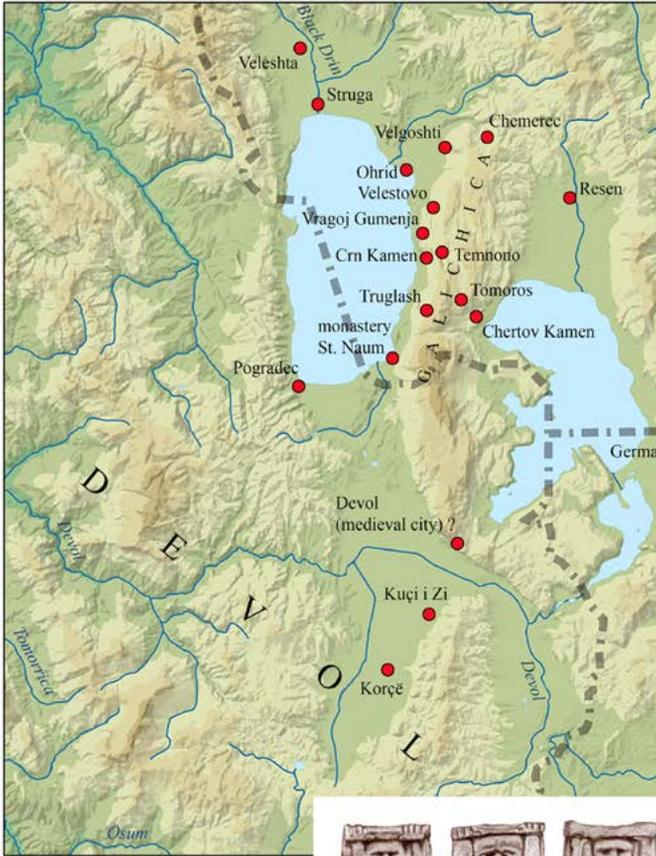


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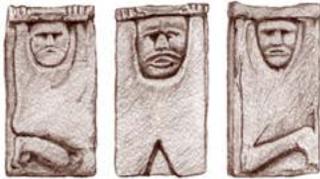
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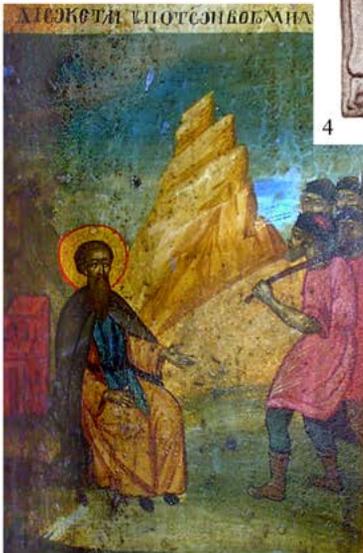
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