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WORLDS THAT MAKE STORIES AND STORIES THAT MAKE WORLDS: IMAGINED SOCIETIES OF FAIRY TALES AND FOLKTALES

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ABSTRACT

That fact that fairy tales and folktales are produced in a certain time and space and intended for a specific audience has, until now, often been neglected. In the past they performed specific social or political functions, such as for instance, being a part of nation building, they were meant to discipline a certain population or educate. The author claims that fairy tales and folktales arise from social needs and tell of imagined societies. Their social and political functions can be analyzed through the relation between the structural features and the specificities of individual versions, considered in regard to social needs.

Keywords: fairy tale studies, folktale studies, critical theory, computational folktale studies, storytelling, formalism, structuralism, utopianism, social criticism, psychoanalytical studies, performance and communication studies

MONDI CHE CREANO STORIE E STORIE CHE CREANO MONDI: SOCIETÀ IMMAGINARIE DELLE FIABE E DEI RACCONTI

SINTESI

Spesso viene trascurato il fatto che le fiabe e i racconti popolari siano prodotti di determinati periodi e luoghi, destinati a un pubblico specifico. In passato, queste narrazioni svolgevano funzioni sociali o politiche specifiche, fungendo, per esempio, da supporto nel processo di costruzione della nazione, mezzi per disciplinare certe popolazioni o strumenti di educazione. L'autrice sostiene che le fiabe e i racconti popolari nascono da esigenze sociali e narrano di società immaginarie. Le loro funzioni sociali e politiche si possono comprendere attraverso un'analisi della relazione tra le caratteristiche strutturali e le specificità delle singole versioni, valutate in riferimento ai bisogni sociali.

Parole chiave: studi sulle fiabe, studi sui racconti popolari, teoria critica, studi computazionali sui racconti popolari, affabulazione, formalismo, strutturalismo, utopismo, critica sociale, studi psicoanalitici, scienze dello spettacolo e della comunicazione

INTRODUCTION

The great social changes that took place in the transition from the Middle Ages to the Modern Period in Europe were reflected in the establishment of fairy tales as a genre.[1] Fairy tales have played a significant role in shaping modern society. As a literary genre, fairy tales took shape in the late seventeenth century in France. "Contes de fee" arose from the culture of storytelling in salons. The emergence of the literary tale as a shorter story took place in fourteenth-century Florence, leading to various collections of stories called novelle in Italian and Latin, influenced by Boccaccio's *Decameron*. Novelle were influenced by oral wonder tales, folktales, fabliaux, chivalric romances, epic poetry, and fables (Zipes, 2012a, 12). Jack Zipes connects the consolidation of literary fairy tales as a genre with the spread of the "civilizing process" (a notion taken from Norbert Elias) in Europe (Zipes, 2012a, 33). To comprehend the meaning of this notion, the origin of the word *civilité* is significant as it was consolidated during the disintegration of chivalric society and acquired a special character of refinement and an educational function in the sixteenth century (in 1530 Erasmus of Rotterdam published a treatise on the upbringing of boys *De civilitate morum puerilium*) (Elias, 2000, 47). By "civilizing process" Norbert Elias was referring primarily to 1.) systematic behavioral education and refinement (higher social classes in seventeenth century France), as well as 2.) nation-building i.e. state building (the case of Germany and the introduction of the concept of culture in the nineteenth century). The development of the press was an important factor in the consolidation of literary fairy tales as a genre and which facilitated their existence, development, distribution and popularity – and thus the function of "civilizing" society.

Literary theorists have interest in literary fairy tales that are considered to be canonized in the modern era (cf. Wanning Harries, 2001). Folklorists "make a distinction between wonder folk tales, which originated in oral traditions throughout the world and still exist, and literary fairy tales, which emanated from the oral traditions through the mediation of manuscripts and print, and continue to be created today in various mediated forms around the world" (Zipes, 2012b, 2–3). However, the historical relations between the oral tradition of storytelling and the literary tradition of fairy tales are complex and connections exist among them. The stories traversed geographically across different cultures, from literary genre to folklore and vice versa, as well as from different sorts of ancient tales to literary genres and folktales. Accordingly, literary fairy tales and folktales often share similarities amongst themselves and with other types of narratives, such as myths and legends, and other literary genres such as novellas and short stories. At times it is even difficult to differentiate between different genres, although attempts to do so frequently re-appear. In addition, certain fairy tales or parts of fairy tales and similar narratives appear in different cultural contexts and at different times. This fact has been acknowledged by evolutionary theory. Zipes introduced the theory of memetics and cultural evolution, inspired by genetically oriented evolutionary theory. In his view, only some fairy tale memes, defined as a unit of cultural transmission that can be a motif or a plot, a simple idea, story, phrase, or key information, are capable of surviving cultural evolution – these are memes that are repeated and that we remember. These memes are universal as they are immediately understood by people in different cultural environments, which is why they persist (Zipes, 2006, 5).

The theory of memetics speaks of persisting elements that can be preserved over centuries and in different cultural environments, and acknowledges that other elements change in different social contexts, but it does not explain how or why this happens. At the same time, the concept of the meme is too broad, as it can refer to a motif (such as the lost shoe in Cinderella) or to the structure of the tale (such as that of the dragon slayer). Accordingly, evolutionary theory does not say much about why particular fairy tales were interesting in some social circumstances nor what role they played. However, this characteristic testifies to the fact that fairy tales are obviously a flexible matter in their essence, so that through certain adaptations they can serve different needs in different social circumstances. Some schools of thought saw this characteristic of fairy tales but failed to recognize that changes in narratives are not arbitrary. The purpose of this article is to link fairy tales and folktales with cultural and political reality in order to show that it is precisely this flexibility of fairy tales and folktales that makes different societies adapt fairy tale narratives in such a way that through discourse they perform certain functions that are all related to building imagined societies, such as disciplining, nation-building, and education.

1 The article was written within projects "Political Functions of Folktales" (ARIS N6-0268) and program "The Practices of Conflict Resolution between Customary and Statutory Law in the Area of Today's Slovenia and Neighboring Countries" (ARIS P6-0435), supported by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency.

A CRITICAL NOTE TO THE PSYCHOANALYTICAL STUDIES OF FAIRY TALES

The psychoanalytic method of studying fairy tales, introduced by Bruno Bettelheim (1976) which emphasizes the importance of fairy tales to a child's upbringing, has achieved great popularity, but also harsh criticism (Zipes, 2002, 179–205). Fairy tales as models for navigating reality, helping children develop the brightness and courage they need in an adult-ruled world have also been studied by Maria Tatar (Tatar, 1992), who has also psychoanalytically studied the darker dimensions of the tales written by the brothers Grimm (Tatar, 2003). The problem of the psychoanalytic approach introduced by Bettelheim is that it disregards the conditions of production and reception. Instead, it employs a universalist perspective which appears in the writing of another psychoanalytic scholar of fairy tales, Carl-Heinz Mallet, in the following statement: "Human beings *per se* are the focal point of the fairy tales, and people are pretty much alike no matter when or where they have lived" (Mallet, 1984, 38). A similar problem with universalization appears with the theory of archetypes. Jungian psychoanalysts tend to disregard the fact that "archetypes" can have diverse meanings in different cultures, as the meanings of symbols vary in different cultures and can shift with cultural changes and advancements in science. The view introduced by the psychoanalytic, archetypal, and anthroposophical-spiritualist (the Waldorf school) readers of fairy tales, of the folk and their world-view was thus informed by a universalizing tendency that completely disregards social, historical, and cultural factors. This is again expressed by the thoughts of Carl-Heinz Mallet: "Fairy tales developed outside the great world, beyond the centers of political and cultural power. They absorbed nothing from these areas, no historical events, no political facts, no cultural trends. They remained free of the moral views, behavioral standards, and manners of the various epochs" (Mallet, 1984, 38). In accordance with this perspective, psychoanalysis tends to treat fairy tales regardless of the social circumstances of their origin or of whom they addressed. Bruno Bettelheim completely disregarded the fact that before the twentieth century, literary fairy tales were mostly not intended for children. The brothers Grimm published seven editions of the tales between 1812 and 1857, which they censored, revised and reworked to conform to "positive" cultural values and adjusting in order to achieve popular approval (Tatar, 1997, 10), yet not as children literature, such as they were taken by Bettelheim. As reading for adults, their tales functioned as many genres later taken over by the culture industry within the process of industrialization. Bettelheim treats fairy tales, such as those of the brothers Grimm, as universal factors in the growth of children and does not consider the primary functions they might also have had for those other than children in the circumstances of their origin, such as disciplining women, consolidating national identities, etc. His "point of view is problematic, because what he believes to be universal truths ultimately turns out to be the values of nineteenth-century Europe" (Haase, 1993, 391).

Figure 1: Illustration for Charles Perrault's "Le Petit Poucet" from Histoires ou Contes du Temps passé: Les Contes de ma Mère l'Oye (1697). Gustave Doré's illustrations appear in an 1867 edition entitled Les Contes de Perrault. Seventh of eleven engravings (Wikimedia Commons).

Many, particularly early studies of fairy tales, neglect the fact that fairy tales and/or folktales appear in different cultural contexts in different versions and focus on particular versions of fairy tales that they proclaim to be classic – usually those from the seventh edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the brothers Grimm, ignoring the fact that the Grimms were changing details and editing each edition, most significantly the fifth edition from 1843,

which they also Christianized, and the collection of fairy tales from *Histoires ou contes du temps passé* by Charles Perrault (cf. Opie & Opie, 1974; Tatar, 2002). Studies of this kind reproduce cultural hegemony, as they give priority to cases from Western Europe. Recently, however, fairy tale studies have begun to pay more attention to the non-Western versions of the so-called classical fairy tales (cf. Teverson, 2019; Joosen & Lathey, 2014; Hennard Dutheil de la Rochère et al., 2016).

ISSUES AND PERSPECTIVES OF TRADITIONAL AND COMPUTATIONAL FOLKTALE STUDIES

Because the "same" folktales appear in different variants, folklorists have organized folktales into types. The type index of folktales or commonly known as the ATU index[2] has become an internationally established classification system of narrative tradition. The type index could be taken as principally open to evidencing ever new versions of the registered tale types, the initial setting of the type index is essentially related to cultural hegemony. Although the last version of the type index upgraded by Uther has been significantly enriched, it still classifies folktales based on the supposedly "representative" versions of folktales, which as a rule originate from Western Europe. In such a manner, it consolidates certain versions as the dominant ones, while at the same time ignores many others. The types are conceptualized around certain key features, such as enchantment, which might not be present in another version set as a mere variation of the dominant one or is even neglected.

The earliest studies of folktales appeared in the nineteenth century with the so-called "mythological theory" of folktales, which studied the mythological significance of folktales.[3] At the end of the nineteenth century, however, younger folklorists diverted research away from this theory and introduced more realistic approaches. Folklorists began to collect versions of the folktale types. Marina Roalfe Cox published a historical-geographical study of 345 versions of Cinderella in 1893 (Roalfe Cox, 1893), in which she listed many versions, mostly from western European countries. Soon after Aarne drafted the first type index, an extensive comparative study of Grimm's fairy tales was conducted by Johannes Bolte and Jiři Polivka (Bolte & Polivka, 1912–32). The Cinderella variants were further examined by Anna Birgitta Rooth (Rooth, 1951). Her organization of Cinderella types was recently used to conduct a phylomemetic case study derived from computational biology to oral traditions with the aim to trace the mutation and diversification of folk narratives (Sakamoto Martini et al., 2023). Gerhard Lauer, the editor of a thematic volume of the journal Fabula (summer 2023) on computational folktale studies classified the articles into three blocks that also denoted three phases of computational folktale studies: 1. collecting, which means building reliable databases, 2. annotating collected data and metadata and 3. analyzing the data with analytical methods and data visualizations (Lauer, 2023, 3). An ambitious collaborative program Transatlantic Digging into Data funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities (USA) and the European Union enabled three partner institutions (the Meertens Institute from Amsterdam, UCLA, and the University of Rostok/Wossidlo Research Center) to conduct the ISEBEL project: Intelligent Search Engine for Belief Legends (2017–2020), within which the research group harvested three databases of folktales: The Dutch Folktale Database (Meertens Institute), the Danish Folktale Database (UC Berkeley) and the Wossidlo Digital Archive (Rostock). The aim of the project was to create a European database with an intelligent search function and geographic visualizations. To illustrate the capacities of ISEBEL as a research tool or "a platform to support research," the research team presented the dispersion of mermaids and werewolves in the region of Denmark and Northeast Germany (Meder et al., 2023). There are further possibilities for the visual representation of different aspects of werewolf legends, such as narrative repertoire by motif, gender, place etc.

Marina Warner, Jan M. Ziolkowski and Graham Anderson traced selected fairy tale motifs to the ancient past. Warner drew connections with legends and myths, as well as with representations in the visual arts (Warner, 1994), while Ziolkowski searched for the roots of the modern fairy tales in the medieval past (Ziolkowski, 2007). Anderson finds variants of the "classical" modern fairy tales in ancient tales that were not meant for children (Anderson, 2000). Compared to the computational folktale studies, Warner, Ziolkowski and Anderson offer humanistic interpretations originating from a diachronic examination of motifs. The approach of the ISEBEL search engine is synchronic and does not assure qualitative interpretation. Instead, results from ISEBEL "can provide an alternative starting

2 The Finns Kaarl Krohn and Julius Krohn promoted the comparative method, a student of this school Antti Aarne drafted a type index in 1910 (Aarne, 1910) which was perfected in 1928 (Aarne & Thompson, 1928) and 1961 (Thompson, 1961) by an American, Stith Thompson, and in 2004 by a German, Hans-Jörg Uther (2004).

3 Especially Jacob Grimm and Max Müller, while Theodor Benfey and E. B. Tylor, and initially also Andrew Lang, represented the anthropological school; Andrew Lang then pointed out the similarity of folktales with Greek myths and myths, customs and habits of the indigenous peoples, similarly to Hermann Oldenberg and J. G. Frazer that also focused on ancient customs and primitive religions.

Figure 2: Hänsel and Gretel depicted by Alexander Zick (1845–1907), circa 1900 (Zick, 1975, n. p. (4–5)).

point for the researcher" by "complementing traditional analysis with graph analysis techniques and clustering algorithms," especially in the cases of larger corpuses composed of thousands of stories, when manual analysis becomes a challenge (Meder et al., 2023, 122). As computational studies do not provide final interpretations, combing traditional interpretative methods with contemporary computational folktale and fairy tale studies that basically provide quantitative results, promises to open the door for such innovative humanistic interpretations as were not possible before, especially because of the scope that can be much broader when using digital tools. Computational analysis might help surpass the issues with cultural hegemony, at least as long as reliable and equally qualitative databases can be digitally built for different regions. The task to conduct qualitative research remains for humanities researchers. Still more, one can establish that with computational folktale studies it has become

clearer what tasks a computer can do better than a human, and what the real research objectives of the humanities are.

DEFICIENCY OF THE FORMALIST AND STRUCTURALIST APPROACH

When Vladimir Propp examined wonder tales, he established that many legends, some animal tales and novellas have the same structure. Considered from the historical perspective, they merit the name "mythical tales" (Propp, 2009, 100). Many of the archaic myths present the same structure as wonder tales, thus this is the realm back to which the tale may be traced. At the same time, "the very same structure is exhibited, for example, by certain novels of chivalry. This is very likely a realm which itself may be traced back to the tale" (Propp, 2009, 101). Propp differentiated between the structure of the tale, the theme (Rus. sjužét), composition and variants. The content can be summarized in a few sentences. The tale consists of constants and variables. The attributes of the dramatis personae change, while their actions and functions do not. "Function is understood as an act of a character, defined from the point of view of its significance for the course of the action" (Propp, 2009, 21). The functions of the dramatis personae are thus the constants and are to be considered the basic components of the tale. It often happens that identical actions are attributed to various personages. "This makes possible the study of the tale *according to the functions of its dramatis personae*" (Propp, 2009, 20). The composition of the tale is set by the predicates. From the point of view of composition, it is irrelevant, whether a dragon kidnaps a princess or a devil a peasant's daughter. The subjects, objects and other elements define the theme. "In other words, the same composition may lie at the base of various themes" (Propp, 2009, 113). A variant differentiates from the theme. Another variant appears when a sequence or some sequences of the form are altered, while retaining all the others. The question of quantity turns to one of quality. It is impossible to draw a strict dividing line between the theme and variant. With his formalistic method, Propp studied the form of wonder tales that he ascertained can be linked to some ancient forms as wonder tales are reflections of myths and legends. He examined the inner structure and elements of the wonder tale, yet he did not continue by studying the meaning that the tales had for the societies that produced them: "Following the study of separate elements, there must be a genetic study of the axis on which all fairy tales are formed. Certainly the norms and forms of metamorphoses must be studied. Only after this can one proceed to the study of the question of how separate themes were formed, and what they represent" (Propp, 2009, 115).

Claude Lévi-Strauss structurally studied myth. He ascertained that:

> *Whether the myth is re-created by the individual or borrowed from tradition, it derives from its sources – individual or collective (between which interpenetrations and exchanges constantly occur) – only the stock of representations with which it operates. But the structure remains the same, and through it the symbolic function is fulfilled. If we add that these structures are not only the same for everyone and for all areas to which the function applies, but that they are few in number, we shall understand why the world of symbolism is infinitely varied in content, but always limited in its laws. There are many languages, but very few structural laws which are valid for all languages.* (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, 203)

Myth is, like the rest of language, made up of constituent units, wherein each gross constituent unit consists of a relation. Within the structure of a myth, essential are the relations between the gross constituent unit, so that Lévi-Strauss concluded: "The true constituent units of a myth are not the isolated relations but *bundles of such relations*, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning" (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, 211). Claude Lévi-Strauss connected the structure of a fairy tale to that of a myth. He compared the American Ash-Boy cycle with the Indo-European Cinderella and found out that the trickster plays the role of mediator in a similar manner as the emergence of myth "provides us with a series of mediating devices, each of which generates the next one by a process of opposition and correlation" (Lévi-Strauss, 1963, 226).

Formalist and structuralist theory considered the concept of an inner or underlying structure determined by internal relationships and functionalities of the elements. The notion of such a structure can explain the fact that different fairy tales have a uniform general structure, a composition structured by the actions a character takes, the predicates, although some sequences might be altered or subjects change. Formalism and structuralism open the realm of fairy tales so as to connect it to other kinds of narratives, such as myths and legends. Both schools consider the structure as universal, i.e. that it always remains the same, only the content (Lévi-Strauss) or the theme (Propp) change. Although Claude Lévi-Strauss avoided this issue to a certain degree, as he primarily studied myth, both schools disregard the fact that the needs for narratives

Figure 3: Arthur Rackham illustration of Hansel and Gretel which appeared in Grimm, Jacob and Wilhelm (1909): The Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm. Translated by Edgar Lucas. London, Constable & Company Ltd. (Wikimedia Commons).

such as folktales differ with societies. Both schools acknowledged that narratives such as folktales and wonder folktales do change as regards the contents or themes, but they did not question, why this takes place nor did they study what different functions these narratives play in different social contexts. This relationship between the underlying structure and the theme on the one hand and the function the particular variant or group of variants of a certain type of narrative played in a particular society on the other, was neglected by formalist and structuralist scholars. They simply did not pay attention to the social circumstances that are key to understanding why a particular narrative appeared at a certain time. They did not study the need for these narratives in societies nor their social function.

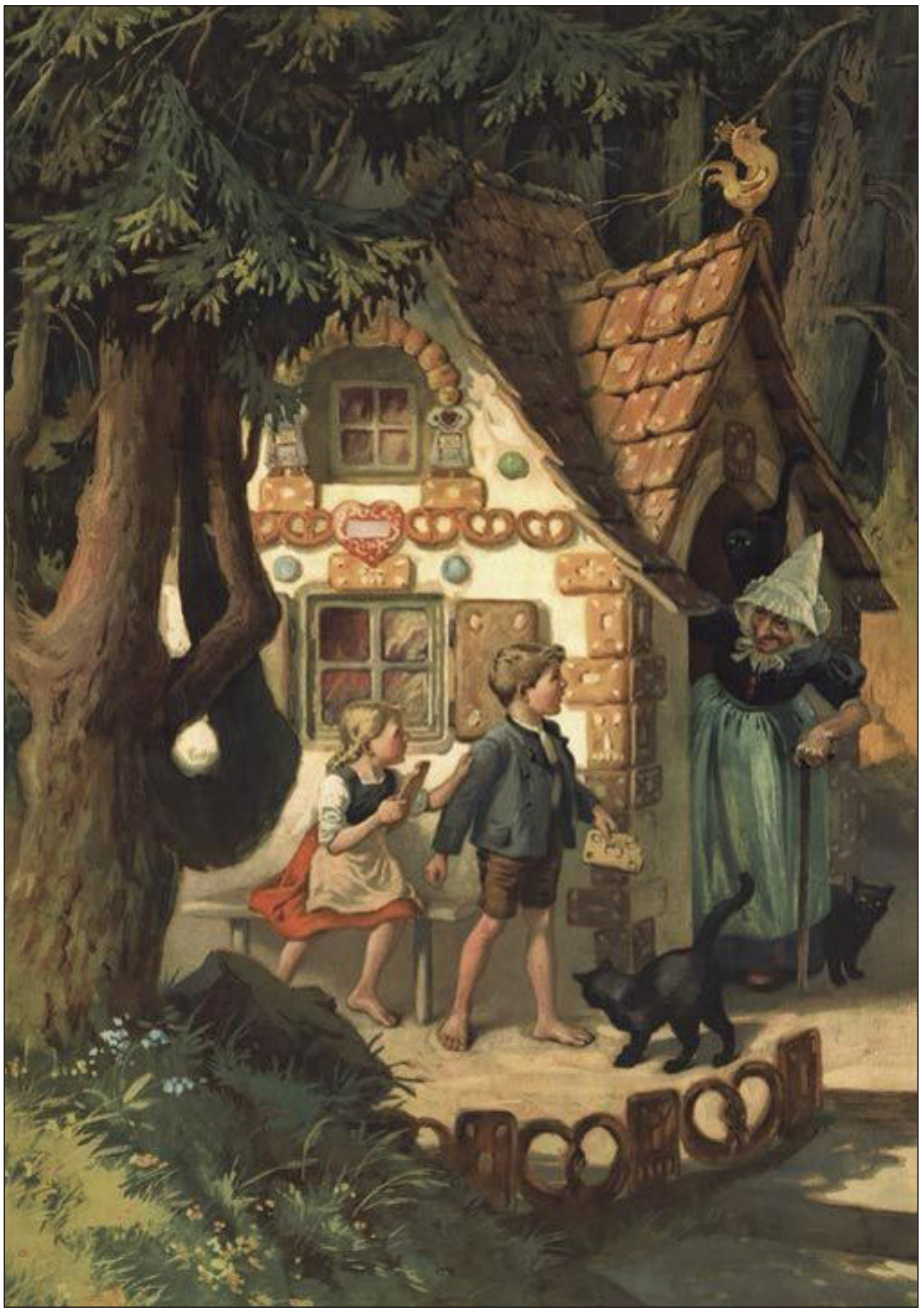
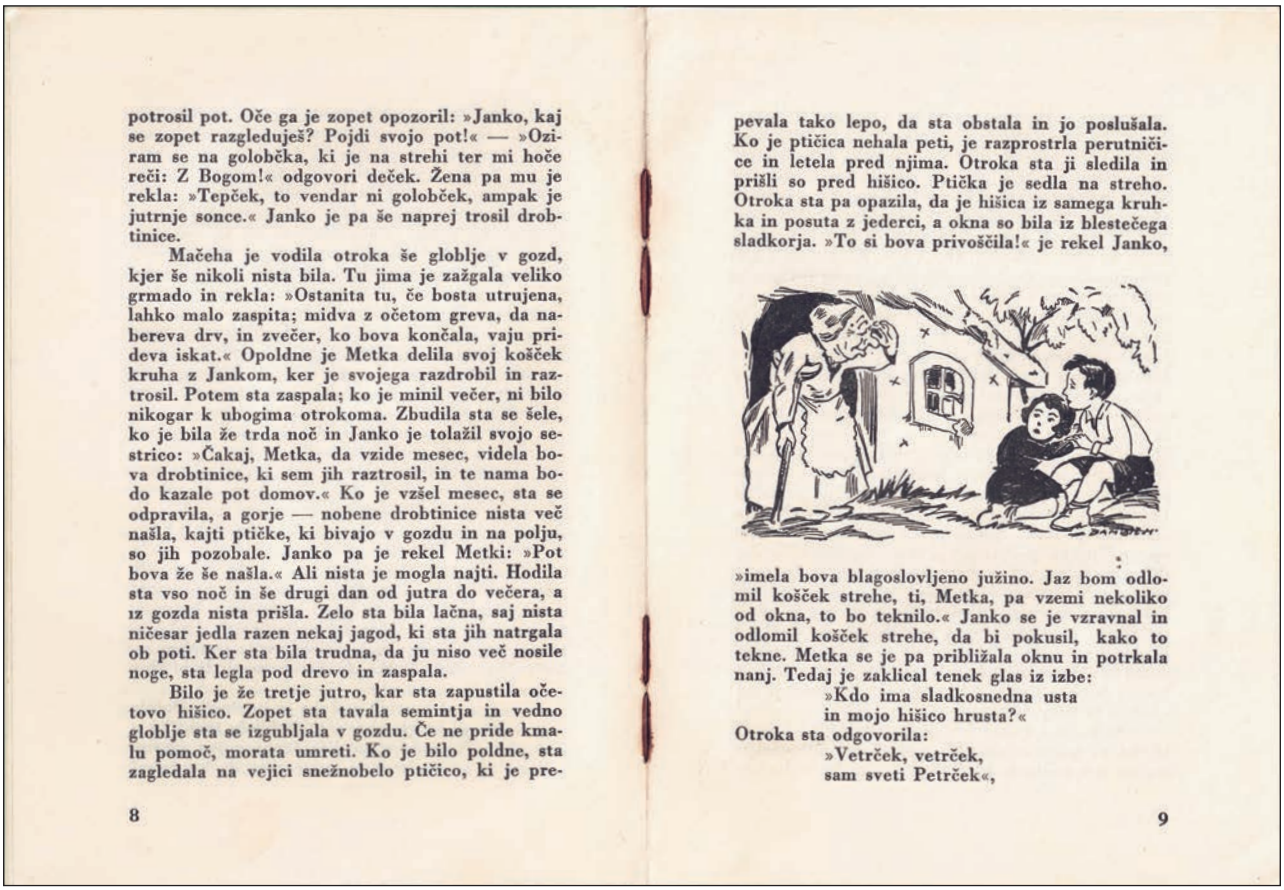


Figure 4: Illustration of Hansel and Gretel in front of the witch's house by Otto Kubel (1868–1951) from 1930 (Wikimedia Commons).

SOCIAL ORDER AND UTOPIANISM AS SOCIAL CRITICISM

Scholars originating from various disciplines have analyzed how fairy tales and folktales reflect the way of living, social order and roles, as well as social changes. Lewis Seifert analyzed representations of sexuality, masculinity and femininity in the late seventeenth-century French fairy tales. He acknowledged the rise of literary fairy tales and interest in the marvelous was related to the establishment of the awareness of the importance of motherhood as a sign of deeper social change at the decline of the reign of Louis XIV (Seifert, 1996). Ruth Bottigheimer connected the origin of the modern fairy tale heroine with the declining control of women over their own fertility, which appears simultaneously with the rise of capitalism. Around 1700, modern attributes



potrosil pot. Oče ga je zopet opozoril: »Janko, kaj se zopet razgleduješ? Pojdi svojo pot!« — »Oziram se na golobčka, ki je na strehi ter mi hoče reči: Z Bogom!« odgovori deček. Žena pa mu je rekla: »Tepček, to vendar ni golobček, ampak je jutrnje sonce.« Janko je pa še naprej trosil drobtinice.

Mačeha je vodila otroka še globlje v gozd, kjer še nikoli nista bila. Tu jima je zažgala veliko grmado in rekla: »Ostanita tu, če bosta utrujena, lahko malo zaspita; midva z očetom greva, da nabereva drv, in zvečer, ko bova končala, vaju prideva iskat.« Opoldne je Metka delila svoj košček kruha z Jankom, ker je svojega razdrobil in raztrosil. Potem sta zaspala; ko je minil večer, ni bilo nikogar k ubogima otrokoma. Zbudila sta se šele, ko je bila že trda noč in Janko je tolažil svojo sestrico: »Čakaj, Metka, da vzide mesec, videla bova drobtinice, ki sem jih raztrosil, in te nama bodo kazale pot domov.« Ko je vzšel mesec, sta se odpravila, a gorje — nobene drobtinice nista več našla, kajti ptičke, ki bivajo v gozdu in na polju, so jih pozobale. Janko pa je rekel Metki: »Pot bova že še našla.« Ali nista je mogla najti. Hodila sta vso noč in še drugi dan od jutra do večera, a iz gozda nista prišla. Zelo sta bila lačna, saj nista ničesar jedla razen nekaj jagod, ki sta jih natrgala ob poti. Ker sta bila trudna, da ju niso več nosile noge, sta legla pod drevo in zaspala.

Bilo je že tretje jutro, kar sta zapustila očetovo hišico. Zopet sta tavala semintja in vedno globlje sta se izgubljala v gozdu. Če ne pride kmalu pomoč, morata umreti. Ko je bilo poldne, sta zagledala na vejici snežnobelo ptičico, ki je pre-

8

pevala tako lepo, da sta obstala in jo poslušala. Ko je ptičica nehala peti, je razprostrla perutničice in letela pred njima. Otroka sta ji sledila in prišli so pred hišico. Ptička je sedla na streho. Otroka sta pa opazila, da je hišica iz samega kruhka in posuta z jederci, a okna so bila iz blestečega sladkorja. »To si bova privoščila!« je rekel Janko,

»imela bova blagoslovljeno južino. Jaz bom odlomil košček strehe, ti, Metka, pa vzemi nekoliko od okna, to bo teknilo.« Janko se je vzravnal in odlomil košček strehe, da bi pokusil, kako to tekne. Metka se je pa približala oknu in potrkala nanj. Tedaj je zaklical tenek glas iz izbe:

»Kdo ima sladkosnedna usta
in mojo hišico hrusta?«

Otroka sta odgovorila:

»Vetrček, vetrček,
sam sveti Petrček«,

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Figure 5: Illustration of Janko and Metka at the witch's house by Milko Bambič, which appeared in 1932 Alojzij Bolhar's translation of selected tales from Kinder- und Hausmärchen (Grimm, 1932, 8–9).

of femininity were formed that were understood as normal until recently (Bottigheimer, 2000, 64). Holly Tucker connected scientific research and marvelous fictions of early-modern France in order to illuminate the gender politics underlying dramatic changes in reproductive theory and practice (Tucker, 2010). Monika Kropej Telban analyzed folklore and culture as the way of living as represented in the folktales from the legacy of the collector Karel Štrekelj (1859–1912) (Kropej, 1992). Folktales can inform their audience regarding diseases and epidemics in times of medical deprivation.[4] Jack Zipes illuminated the cross-cultural connections of the "classical" fairy tales (Zipes, 2001).

Anja Mlakar analyzed religiosity and nationalism as reflected in nineteenth-century Slovenian literary folklore (Mlakar, 2022), the role of religion in the legends of Turkish attacks (Mlakar, 2021) and the representation of the Other as a mysterious stranger and a demonic enemy in the Slovenian literary folklore (Mlakar, 2019). Maria Nikolajeva showed how Russian fairy tales promoted communist ideas (Nikolajeva, 2002).

Fairy tales and folktales often express utopian aspirations. In Ernst Bloch's view, magical wish-fulfillment and utopian fantasies make folktales essentially utopian as a genre: "the future that folklore tells about, as it is in prophecy, is a totally false one" (Bloch, 1988, 104). The utopian longing is however relevant for the present time: "possibility as a philosophical category must be regarded seriously, and both Bloch and Adorno

4 Mojca Ramšak studied how the nineteenth and early twentieth century folktales from Pohorje thematize "human mortality in all of its' physical and mental decline, with ageing and dying, disabled, injured and defective bodies, social stigmatizing of disabled people, times without disability, pension or old-age insurance, dependence from the goodwill of the relatives or the community, hard work until the very end, mutual help, the social outcasts because of their physical or mental impairment and Christian values together with the patriarchal notions of gender roles. Stigma attached to the disabled and impaired in the past, is a niche into the process of assigning or denying social values and managing identity" (Ramšak, 2022, 675).

agreed that the utopian wish-image, even when it is false, conveys a critique of what is present and points at the same time to what could and should be" (Zipes, 2015, 189). Giovan Francesco Straparola's fairy tale type rags-to-riches no longer spoke of the restoration of royal social status as did many ancient and medieval tales, but "his newly invented tales were the first to address the aspirations of an urban artisanal readership" (Bottigheimer, 2002, 2), as they depicted marriages between people from low and high social classes that were not allowed in the context of the sixteenth century Venetian Republic. The utopian element has remained relevant in the culture industry, which has taken over the motto that anyone can succeed in an upward social rise, having become a constituent part of the myth of the American dream. One important role fairy tales play in societies is that they convey subversive criticism. For instance, writers from the Weimar Republic recovered the utopian spirit of fairy tales and fables for the present (Zipes, 1997b, 3). Furthermore, two-thirds of the published late seventeenth century fairy tales were written by women. As male authors were more interested in other, "higher" literary forms, women appropriated this genre as their own and used it for social criticism, to question the representation of gender roles in the context of royal absolutism and materialism (Hannon, 1998). The representations of gender roles by female writers were often quite different than the dominant cultural and political setting of the gender roles in the court society as women were often keen on attributing autonomy in actions to heroines. *Contes de fées* expressed nostalgia that also served "subversive utopian longings expressed through the marvelous" (Seifert, 1996, 222).

THE ROLE OF STORYTELLING IN SOCIAL COHESION

Folktales and fairy tales shape identities and build communities. They play a vital role in the socialization of individuals, since they build values as the foundation of culture and, therefore, of society, thus being distinctly socially cohesive. "From the very beginning, thousands of years ago, when all types of tales were told to create communal bonds in the face of inexplicable forces of nature, to the present, when fairy tales are written and told to provide hope in a world seemingly on the brink of catastrophe, mature men and women have been the creators and cultivators of the fairytale tradition" (Zipes, 2007, 1). Before industrialization and the dominance of mass media, the practice of oral distribution and reception of folktales was the dominant means for conveying ideas that speak of the proper social order. In rural parts of Slovenia and its neighboring countries, oral storytelling was preserved until recently. A renowned folktale collector Milko Matičetov noticed, when he lived in Ter (Slavia Friulana) for a month in 1940, that no one held a book, nor did people read newspapers. The only book he saw in Ter was *The Tenth Brother*, the first Slovenian novel written by Josip Jurčič (Matičetov, 1948, 3). Reading was not widespread, while on the contrary, the practice of storytelling was very popular and had a significant role in community building. A known Resian storyteller Valentina Pielich Negro (born in 1900) also known as Tina Wajtawa from Solbica in Resia died not long ago, that is in 1984.

Considering fairy tales and folktales as a means of communication, their primary communication function, understood according to classification of communication functions of language by Roman Jakobson (Jakobson, 1981), is not the referential function, which is to speak of or report on historical events in a truthful manner. This is not the case because of the fictional dimensions,[5] as fairy tales and folktales also speak of society in their themes, as well as they speak of the society that produced it. Historian Robert Darnton even claimed that "folktales are historical documents" (Darnton, 1999, 13). Fairy tales and folktales need to be considered a discourse, within which they convey relevant messages from one social subject to another by addressing the recipients and thus also directing them to certain behavior. Accordingly, the conative function is a very relevant feature of fairy tales and folktales, which especially comes to the fore when telling a story. The moment of performance arises from the need for counsel and lessons from the preceding generations on the one hand and the urge to convey those counsels and lessons condensed in the community lore on the other, under special social, technical and other conditions that enable the tale's oral distribution. A storyteller is not the ultimate source, the origin of the narration. A "folk" storyteller is, however, not to be considered an unconscious mediator between the truth and the community. In folklore, the personality, the ability to narrate and perform, aesthetic qualities, the overall integrity of the storyteller are factors in storytelling, as well as are the specifics of language, culture, the message conveyed, the counsel, the individual and collective wisdom.

5 Fairy tales are often regarded as fiction literature (cf. Nikolajeva, 2000), while wonder tales (according to Propp) are expected to contain wonders. According to Jakobson, there is no difference between fiction and truthful reporting as concerns the definition of the referential function. Still more, the most common primary communication function of fiction literature is referential.

Figure 6: Illustration of Janko and Metka eating the house of Grandma and Grandpa by Roža Piščanec, which first appeared in 1963 edition of Janko and Metka written by France Bevk (Bevk, 1975, n. p. (5)).

All these radiates from a tale told by an excellent "folk" storyteller and co-creates the outcome. The renowned folktale collector Milko Matičetov believed that a genuine "folk" storyteller holds more aesthetic sense and authenticity than an educated writer. He took an example of storyteller Regina Karmaro and compared her virtues of storytelling to the professional skills of educated author Josip Jurčič. The barriers of folklore, wrote Matičetov, partly accept, partly deny the ancient tradition that they are familiar with, and creatively reshape it by adding their own experiences and experiences of their contemporaries, or even create the stories anew – in any case they mediate their inner richness to their surroundings and in such a manner to future generations (Matičetov, 1948, 10–11). According to Walter Benjamin, the storyteller conveys "counsel" to his audience, wherein the storyteller is the one that first has to tell the story. "Counsel woven into the fabric of real life is wisdom. The art of storytelling is reaching its end because the epic side of truth, wisdom, is dying out" (Benjamin, 2007, 86–87). Storytellers had relevance in transmitting knowledge and experiences from past to future generations of active social subjects. Folktales thus invoke the "underlying cognitive matrices through which the political community traditionally thinks itself" (Horvat, 2022a, 620).

INDUCING POLITICAL IDEOLOGY THROUGH FAIRY TALES

Folktales and fairy tales can be a relevant political means. A very generalized theoretical view could differentiate between the bottom-up practice of folklore storytelling that represents the unmediated communication of community members to other community members on the one hand, and the top-down distribution of fairy tales, which means the production (writing and publishing) of fairy tales controlled or directed by the dominant power forces on the other. The obvious case of the latter is the culture industry and especially obvious is the case of fairy tale production in totalitarian political regimes, when the government directs cultural production through a mechanism of control, although one might not neglect that different sorts of appropriation and ideological adaptation are at work also in democratic regimes. In practice, the boundary between the former and the latter is difficult to draw as critical voices can also appear in the dominant production, such as in the case of the "feminist" voices of the French salon fairy tale culture, as well as fairy tales written with a tendency to build society as imagined by the ruling elite, could also be written with genuine intentions to contribute to building a better society and later taken as a means to foster certain political ideologies (such as in the case of the brothers Grimm; cf. Bottigheimer, 2009, 40). Given the importance that fairy tales played in the German socialization process, particularly the Grimms' tales, it was not by chance that the occupation forces, led by the British, banned the publication of fairy tales in 1945 (Bastian, 1981).

The socio-political circumstances condition the production of folktales and fairy tales. Folktales and fairy tales are cultural products which are distributed according to the politics of aesthetics, composed of a priori laws which condition what is possible to produce. The distribution of the sensible delimits forms of inclusion and exclusion in a community, and the politics of aesthetics define the ideological inclinations and erasures.[6] When translated into other languages and cultures, the narrative is adjusted to the specific cultural context in which it appears in order to play a role in building the society as imagined by the community members or leaders. Totalitarian regimes were explicit, but not exclusive in adjusting the "classical" tales to their needs in the sense of censoring and erasing elements they considered improper for the imagined communities. Nike Kocijančič Pokorn paid attention to how the production of children's literature was directed in the context of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and how the translations of fairy tales by the brothers Grimm were cleansed of additions considered unhealthy (Kocijančič Pokorn, 2012). Marijana Hameršak related the politics of the early translations of the Grimms' fairy tales into Croatian, such as omitting the authors, with the ambitions to build a society of its own kind (Hameršak, 2014).

A short survey of the translations and adaptations of Hansel and Gretel into Slovene shows how the tale was adjusted to correspond to the needs of the changing political regimes. The Grimms' tale Hansel and Gretel was first translated into Slovene as Janezek and Jerica in 1887 (trans. J. Markič), while in 1932 (trans. A. Bolhar) the names were changed to Janko and Metka, which remain to the present day. The early translations of the Grimms' tales were quite literal, while in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia the religious elements were removed in the translations by

6 According to Jacques Rancière, the "distribution of the sensible" is "the system of self-evident facts of sense perception that simultaneously discloses the existence of something in common and the delimitations that define the respective parts and positions within it" (Rancière, 2004, 12).

Figure 7: Illustration of Janko and Metka meeting the witch in front of her house by Jelka Godec Schmidt from a comprehensive edition of Kinder- und Hausmärchen translated to Slovene by Polonca Kovač (Grimm, 2012, 52).

Fran Albreht and Jože Zupančič. They however returned in 1993 with the literal translation by Polonca Kovač. The translators of the socialist era censored content not considered appropriate for a socialist society. From 1954 onwards, the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Slovenia (SAWPS) established various committees that monitored publishing activity. Each publishing house in Slovenia was obliged to have a publishing council, whose members were selected by the SAWPS printing committee, and the decision-making positions in these councils were given to trustworthy party members. The main goal of the publishing councils was to approve the yearly publishing program (Gabrič, 1995, 72–73). In addition, a sui generis version of Janko and Metka was written by renowned writer France Bevk and published as a picture book equipped with illustrations by Roža Piščanec in 1963 by Mladinska knjiga, a socialist publishing house covering the domain of children's literature. In France Bevk's fairy tale Janko and Metka there is no mother or step-mother, but only a father who takes care of the children and does not abandon them, while this motif is central to the Grimms' fairy tale. There is no witch that wants to eat the children and who the children kill and rob as in the Grimms' version. The analysis of this tale by Bruno Bettelheim does not apply to France Bevk's version, nor can it be classified as a tale of magic under the type ATU 327A, which refers to Hansel and Gretel.

Translation is a process of familiarization, of appropriation of someone else's language (Zipes, 1997a, 198). Zipes considers translation in a very broad sense, thus facilitating a discussion on how some memes survive in different cultural contexts. Translation could still be considered a transference of texts produced in one cultural context into texts that appear in another cultural context. In other words, a certain version of the tale is transferred to another cultural context, where it is made understandable to a different social group. The translation is, in this case, supposed to preserve the message of the tale that is being translated. However, as the case of the translations of the Grimms' tales into other languages, especially in the context of socialism shows, translation is more than making a certain story taken from one cultural context understandable to another social group. The decision to translate a narration and the mode of translating it are defined by the politics of aesthetics dominating the context of its production. Translation is thus related to the social function of the product distributed to a certain population. The cultural context into which a tale is translated might be different to such a degree from the one in which the tale being translated was produced that both tales can no longer play the same social role. For instance, the Grimms fulfilled various functions by the publications of their fairy tales. Their tales were not (only) meant to be instructive for children, but were also interesting for adults because of the entertaining manner in which they were written, later adopted by the culture industry. Today the tales as they had been published by the Grimms have lost the function of entertainment and their pedagogical role has decreased, while their historical and even archeological value has increased. However, their tales are repeatedly recycled by the culture industry to fulfill various entertainment functions such as horror, romance, and adventure. In addition to translating, there are also other sorts of cultural appropriation at work in producing fairy tales. The goal is often not to transfer a certain version of the tale to another audience, to familiarize it, but adaptations of the tales could range from subversions to complex political appropriations, where the messages the tales convey could radically change. Zipes has shown how far the revisions of the Grimms' tales reached in the FDR and GDR after 1966, especially after the 1970's radical break in the reception of the Grimms' fairy tales, related in West Germany to the student movement, rediscovery of the radical left-wing writers of the Weimar period, the interest of publishing houses in progressive children's literature and the emergence of a new generation of young teachers, as well as the desire to produce new radical fairy tales,[7] and how much those depended on the political context (Zipes, 1993). Such "recycling" does not only mean "translating" certain fairy tales from one language to another. The case of the FDR and GDR speaks of the difficulties the Germans had with the legacy of the Grimms' fairy tales, which were considered in relation to building the nineteenth and early twentieth century German nation, as well as of the post-second World War nations to build a different kind of society.

Fairy tales that "stick," to borrow a term from Zipes and his theory of cultural evolution, are often quite newly designed according to the anticipated reception and the intention related to its production. Additionally, there are also the interests of publishing houses or other parties concerned involved in the production. These could

7 Zipes classifies basic types of these tales: 1. the social satire, 2. utopian, 3. pedagogical, 4. feminist, 5. comic parody and 6. spiritual.

be political, economic or other. The messages and social functions can change in the distribution of the sensible, which is conditioned by the politics of production and the anticipated reception. In those cases, fairy tales may begin to perform different social functions than the earlier versions, which, though serving as a reference or these new ones, cannot be considered the "original" versions.

The writer's and publisher's motives and intentions, as well as the anticipation of the addressee are relevant factors for the production of particular variants of fairy tales and folktales. The interests of publishing houses and other parties involved, such as the state or sponsors, also play a role in the production of a fairy tale edition. These interests may be political economic or social. The messages and social functions can change in the distribution of the sensible, which is conditioned by the politics of production and the anticipated reception. In the cases of translations or appropriations, fairy tales may begin to perform different social functions than the earlier versions, which, though serving as a reference for these new ones, cannot be considered the "original" versions, as each edition is unique. Scholars highlighted the relevance fairy tales had in nation building (Snyder, 1951; Crowther, 2022; Norberg, 2022; Zima, 2022).[8] Jack Zipes analyzed aspects of socialization and politicization through fairy tales, especially in reference to the brothers Grimm, paying regard to the social atmosphere that conditioned the production of their fairy tales (Zipes, 2012a). Different regimes aimed to induce specific views of society (cf. the case of the Soviet Union in Balina et al., 2005) and used folktales to legitimate socio-political transformation (for Yugoslav self-governing socialism, cf. Horvat, 2022b).

Fairy tale narratives create heroes for political needs. With Martin Krpan (1858), Fran Levstik intentionally created "a national literary character that would constitute a foundation for both further literary creation and the national political struggle" (Darovec, 2021, 457). Martin Krpan corresponded to Levstik's political agenda to implement an outlaw hero, Martin Krpan, for the needs of Slovenia's nation-building process. In 1954 Walt Disney created the all-American hero Davy Crockett, a frontier fighter who became a pop culture symbol in the context of the cold war. In addition, the culture industry appropriates "classical" fairy tales, such as when Walt Disney production took Cinderella and Snow White from Charles Perrault's legacy, and re-created them according to the socio-political needs. Walt Disney announced that in March 2024 they plan to release a remake of the 1937 animated film Snow White, this time in a movie with real actors, a racially diverse set of actors to play the dwarves with only one actor who has dwarfism and a Hispanic actress Rachel Zegler depicting the titular princess. The movie makers claim the product will be modernized, the princess is not going to be saved by the prince and she is not going to dream about true love, but she is dreaming of becoming a leader. The critics claim the producers have racialized the characters to check every box they can. The remakes of the known fairy tales are becoming increasingly "woke" for embracing diverse casting and feminist themes and turning off many fans. According to critics, in doing so, they also further divide people (Murray, 2023). However, the production of modernized remakes of classical fairy tales is obviously considered a profitable business (Reid, 2023).

CONCLUSION: APPROPRIATING FAIRY TALE STRUCTURES ACCORDING TO THE NEEDS OF COMMUNITIES

If fairy tales were considered only children's literature, the role of which is to introduce a minor to the world of the adult, as is the current, widespread understanding of this genre, the variety of roles that fairy tales and folktales played in societies would be neglected. Fairy tales and folktales can perform important political functions. They are important factors in building imagined communities – not only nations, as analyzed by Benedict Anderson (Anderson, 2006), but also as other sorts of communities that understand themselves as communities. Analyzing fairy tales and folktales can provide insight into how a particular society understood itself, which were the issues of people's concern and what messages they aimed to transmit to the members of their community and to their ancestors. Folktales and fairy tales have a double social functionality: 1. They reflect society or they can be understood as texts that show how society understands itself. 2. They address social subjects and thus direct them to certain behavior, they are didactic tools, not only for children, but also for adults (cf. Toplak, 2022).

The existing studies have illuminated fairy tales and folktales as an incredibly rich domain, worthy of study, contrary to the obsolete prejudice that

8 While on the other hand the case studied by Cristina Fossaluzza shows that the decision to use the form of a fairy tale to "mythologize the social" in times of historical urge for cultural production to serve political needs, such as in war, seems to be "a conscious stand against the culture and society of the time" (Fossaluzza, 2022, 730).

they are less scientifically interesting than the aesthetically "superior" forms of literature, written by esteemed authors. A fairy tale is embedded in society, it is interwoven with diachronic and synchronic connections to the related tales, and at the same time it radiates the spirit of its age and social context, which is the one that establishes the real need for it. What Roland Barthes wrote about what is a text, applies to the structural logic of fairy tales or folktales: a "text is not a line of words releasing a single 'theological' meaning (the 'message' of the Author-God) a multi-dimensional space in which a variety of writings, none of them original, blend and clash. The text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture" (Barthes, 1977, 146). It makes no sense to look for the origin of fairy tales, to search for the beginning, as each version is original in terms of its embeddedness and the function it has in society. Fairy tales or folktales lead not to one, but to numerous references. This is exactly the opposite of the methods that look for the final reference, as Fredric Jameson critically reads Claude Lévi-Strauss's insistence on the underlying deep narrative structure and Vladimir Propp's deep structure of the fairy tale that rejoin Northrop Frye's perspective (Jameson, 2002, 108). According to Frye in Jameson's reading, "the oral tales of tribal society, the fairy tales that are the irrepressible voice and expression of the underclasses of the great systems of domination, adventure stories and melodrama, and the popular or mass culture of our own time are all syllables and broken fragments of some single immense story" (Jameson, 2002, 91). These methods tend to subsume all fairy tales or similar narratives to one grand underlying narrative, rather than in terms of a synchronic system (Jameson, 2002, 108).

Folktales have historical dimensions. Their psychological dimension is not to be denied, however they also reflect social mentalities and show how they changed, precisely because of the characteristic of folktales to re-appear in different cultural contexts in different variants: "They have evolved over many centuries and have taken different turns in different cultural traditions. Far from expressing the unchanging operations of man's inner being, they suggest that *mentalités* themselves have changed" (Darnton, 1999, 13). If we connect them diachronically with earlier versions of that type of tale or similar tales from the past, some folktales and fairy tales might not change their inner structure, yet they do change the themes and their subjects. There could be synchronic links established among similar tales appearing in different cultural contexts, in different geographic regions. Both diachronic and synchronic perspectives enable one to make comparisons, to detect similarities and differences, elements that persist and those that are specific. The narrative of the dragon slayer could be traced back to the ancient mythological past and to modern popular films. These connections might not be relevant in order to understand the meaning a particular version had for those who produced it and those whom it addressed. The variety of otherwise similar tales played very different social functions. The Mesopotamian myth of the dragon slayer explained the formation of the world and civilization in particular. In Christian legends of Saint George or Saint Michael, the dragon slayer served to promote Christianity, while in the pre-Enlightenment Carniola region, it served the needs of building memory and the local community's identity. In the context of the national revival, it was used in nation building. The tales of the dragon slayer might be similar or one might refer to an earlier one and that to the one preceding, but they do not repeat one and the same message. Each singular tale brings its own references and thoughts. Each singular version matters, as "It matters what matters we use to think other matters with; it matters what stories we tell to tell other stories with; it matters what knots knot knots, what thoughts think thoughts, what descriptions describe descriptions, what ties tie ties. It matters what stories make worlds, what worlds make stories" (Haraway, 2016, 12).

SVETOVI, KI USTVARJAJO ZGODBE, IN ZGODBE, KI USTVARJAJO SVETOVE: ZAMIŠLJENE DRUŽBE PRAVLJIC IN LJUDSKIH PRIPOVEDI

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POVZETEK

Dosedanje raziskave pravljic so vse prepogosto spregledovale dejstvo, da pravljica vselej nastane v določenem času in prostoru, da izhaja iz družbe in je namenjena družbi. Avtorica v prispevku zagovarja tezo, da so pravljice izvajale specifične družbene in politične funkcije, kot na primer, da so prispevale h grajenju naroda, bile so sredstvo disciplineiranja in izobraževalno orodje. Pravljice izhajajo iz družbenih potreb in pripovedujejo o zamišljenih družbah. Čeprav se folkloristika ukvarja z evidentiranjem različic istega tipa pravljice, nastalih v različnih družbenih okoliščinah, pa se ne posveča družbenim potrebam po določenih sporočilih, ki jih prinaša posamična inačica. Evolucijska teorija sicer razlaga, da se skozi čas in v različnih okoljih ohranjajo le določeni memi, toda ne pojasni, zakaj družbe uporabijo določene meme. Literarna zgodovina umesti pričetek literarne pravljice v novi vek, ko se ta žanr kanonizira. Toda literarne pravljice se bogato navezujejo na ljudske pripovedi, antične mite in legende ter srednjeveške romance. Formalistična in strukturalistična teorija sta iskali spodaj ležečo strukturo, ki opredeljuje vse pravljične inačice. Pri tem pa sta zanemarili diskurzivno analizo variant, ki bi pokazala posebnosti inačic. Te so tiste, ki govorijo o vsebinah in problematikah, ki zanimajo določeno družbo, v kateri so nastale in ki so jo nagovorile. Avtorica v prispevku zagovarja tezo, da lahko družbene in politične funkcije pravljic razumemo na podlagi primerjave različic, ki pokaže strukturne podobnosti, pa tudi vsebinske posebnosti posamičnih inačic. Prek opredelitve strukture s temeljnimi notranjimi funkcijami, ki se razbere na osnovi primerjave različic, obravnave posebnosti inačice z metodo diskurzivne analize ter analizo konativne funkcije te inačice v kombinaciji z analizo družbenih potreb je moč podati razlago družbene funkcije, ki jo je imela določena inačica pravljice v družbi, ki ji je bila podana.

Ključne besede: študije pravljic, študije ljudskih pravljic, kritična teorija, računalniške študije ljudskih pravljic, pripovedništvo, formalizem, strukturalizem, utopizem, družbena kritika, psihoanalitične študije, študije performansa in komunikacije

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L'IMMAGINE DEL FUORILEGGE TRA MITI, LEGGENDE E FIABE

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SINTESI

Gli stereotipi che caratterizzano la figura del fuorilegge sembrano fondere intensamente folklore e leggenda, elaborando racconti e narrazioni che hanno decisamente il timbro della fiaba. In realtà l'immagine del bandito-brigante, che la società e la cultura ottocentesca veicolano, costituisce il riflesso delle nuove realtà politiche nazionali e l'emergere di un ceto borghese che, sin dalla seconda metà del Settecento, elabora un concetto di cultura popolare come tratto distintivo dei ceti subalterni. Sullo sfondo si può intravedere chiaramente il distacco culturale e ideologico venutosi a creare nei confronti di un mondo caratterizzato dalle consuetudini e dall'oralità, così come le difficoltà a cogliere la dimensione sociale e politica di realtà del passato provviste di un diverso concetto di ordine e di razionalità.

Parole chiave: fuorilegge, bandito, relazioni di giustizia, cultura popolare, miti

THE IMAGE OF THE OUTLAW IN MYTHS, LEGENDS AND FAIRY TALES

ABSTRACT

The stereotypes that characterize the figure of the outlaw seem to intensely blend folklore and legend, developing tales and narratives that definitely have the tone of a fairy tale. In reality, the image of the bandit-brigand, which nineteenth-century society and culture conveyed, constitutes the reflection of the new national political realities and the emergence of a bourgeois class which, since the second half of the eighteenth century, developed a concept of popular culture as a distinctive trait of the subordinate classes. In the background we can clearly glimpse the cultural and ideological detachment that has arisen from a world characterized by customs and orality, as well as the difficulties in grasping the social and political dimension of realities of the past with a different concept of order and of rationality.

Keywords: outlaw, bandit, relations of justice, popular culture, myths

DAL BANDITO AL BRIGANTE

Agli inizi di ottobre del 2002 si svolse in Sardegna uno degli ultimi incontri internazionali dedicati al tema del banditismo in età moderna.[1] A diversità del precedente grande convegno veneziano tenutosi nel 1983, che per la prima volta aveva affrontato sul piano interpretativo e di comparazione la figura del fuorilegge in molte delle sue implicazioni sociali e culturali (Ortalli, 1986), quell'incontro era rivolto al Mediterraneo e sin dal titolo stesso del volume che ne avrebbe raccolto gli atti, sottolineava in realtà le difficoltà ad inquadrare un fenomeno che sembrava difficilmente prestarsi ad una sintesi in grado di coglierne le linee di fondo (Manconi, 2003).

La diversità degli approcci interpretativi era di certo un ostacolo non indifferente per raggiungere questo obiettivo, soprattutto nel momento in cui l'immagine del bandito si prestava sensibilmente a rappresentazioni e narrazioni assai contrastanti, in quanto per lo più non adeguatamente collocate nel contesto da cui aveva tratto origine[2].

È significativo, ad esempio, che nei due convegni internazionali, poco sopra ricordati, non si sottolineasse in maniera adeguata come il termine stesso di bandito avesse indicato per lungo tempo una persona colpita da una pena, quella del bando per l'appunto, che la esponeva ad una interdizione da una comunità e da un territorio.

La figura del bandito veniva quindi inevitabilmente a enuclearsi nell'interrelazione tra le istituzioni che ne avevano decretato l'espulsione e il contesto sociale da cui proveniva. Un'interrelazione tanto più significativa se solo si riflette che nell'età medievale e moderna l'ambito costituzionale di riferimento era la struttura giurisdizionale policentrica che caratterizzava ogni stato territoriale (Hespanha, 2003, 98–99). E che la pena del bando si costituiva essenzialmente come un sofisticato strumento antropologico-giuridico volto a contemperare le tensioni tra le istanze giuridico-costituzionali e le logiche insopprimibili delle inimicizie e della vendetta (Povolo, 2017).

La figura del fuorilegge cominciò a delinearsi vividamente, sia a livello pubblicistico che scientifico, nella seconda metà dell'Ottocento, a seguito degli eventi che sul piano politico e sociale avevano drammaticamente fatto emergere la tipologia del *brigante*, in particolare quella che si aggirava tra le desolate brughiere della Maremma[3], oppure, ben più temibile e pericolosa, quella del brigante meridionale che, senza tema e per lunghi anni, in aree spesso densamente popolate, affrontò in imboscate e in veri e propri scontri armati le truppe regolari del neonato Regno d'Italia.

Si trattava di una figura che venne ben presto insignita di stereotipi e di luoghi comuni, inclini a tracciare senza esitazioni la pericolosa dimensione di un criminale postosi completamente al di fuori della legge e dell'ordine pubblico concepiti in una ben regolata società.

Fu inevitabile che anche la storiografia dell'epoca venisse contraddittoriamente attratta dal fenomeno e ne cercasse, per così dire, gli archetipi o, comunque, volgesse la sua attenzione a coloro che, in qualità di protagonisti, sembravano esserne stati gli antesignani, se non i precursori. E sulla scorta di queste convinzioni, compulsando documenti d'archivio e manoscritti di biblioteche, non si tardò a scoprire i fuorilegge che le fonti giudiziarie dell'età medievale e moderna, non esitavano ad indicare come persone pericolose e che andavano combattute con ogni mezzo. Ma quelle fonti non parlavano di briganti, bensì di banditi. E non fu operazione difficile, anche se spesso in maniera indiretta ed irriflessa, accostarli ai briganti che inquietavano la società ottocentesca[4].

In realtà, come si sarebbe scoperto molti decenni più tardi, il bandito, in quanto tale, aveva ben poco da spartire con il brigante maremmano o meridionale. E la trasformazione del nome stesso avrebbe dovuto suggerire una certa prudenza e una maggiore accortezza

1 Il presente saggio è il risultato della ricerca svolta nell'ambito dei progetti "Le funzioni sociali delle fiabe" (ARIS J6-1807) e "Il raporto con gli stranieri nelle città dell'Alto Adriatico tra il Medioevo e la prima Età Moderna" (ARIS J6-4603), finanziati dall'Agenzia slovena per la ricerca e l'innovazione (ARIS).

2 Osservazione che va pure rivolta al recentissimo Gregory & Graziani (2020). I diversi interventi si soffermano sul tema della rappresentazione del banditismo, senza per lo più affrontarne le implicazioni giuridiche e antropologiche.

3 Sono numerosi i testi dedicati al famoso *brigante* Domenico Tiburzi, anche se per lo più privi di un'adeguata contestualizzazione storica. Per un'ampia rassegna bibliografica si veda l'interessante volume curato Padiglione & Caruso (2011). L'immagine del fuorilegge (soprattutto nella sua accezione di *brigante*) assume tratti decisamente nuovi, anche rispetto a talune consimili precedenti delineazioni settecentesche, in quanto venne investita da una politica criminale che aveva completamente smarrito i tratti tradizionali della giustizia penale.

4 In questa direzione svolse un notevole influsso la diffusione della criminologia negli ultimi decenni dell'Ottocento (cf. Wetzell, 2000). Un penetrante sguardo d'insieme sulla realtà italiana dell'Ottocento in Davis (1988), in particolare l'introduzione (Davis, 1988, 1–14) e il capitolo dedicato a *Beggars, brigands and bandits* (Davis, 1988, 66–90). Davis osserva: "Language provides one important pointer to changing perceptions, and in the course of the late 18th and early 19th centuries the terms brigands and bandit began to assume a number of new meanings. Of the two terms, banditry was the older and carried the more precise meaning. Under medieval law, communities and feudatories were entitled to banish (bandire) those who committed crimes against the community and those who were banished (banditi or fuor-banditi which translates directly as 'outlaws') were deprived of the protection of the law, their goods were distrained and they might be killed with impunity. At law, however, banditry was a condition not a crime since the criminal action was what had led to banishment" (Davis, 1988, 73). Va comunque sottolineato che la pena del bando era uno degli strumenti importanti del sistema di autoregolamentazione di una società caratterizzata dalle intense inimicizie; e le trasformazioni semantiche che tra Sette e Ottocento investirono i termini di bandito e brigante riflettevano, come si avrà occasione di sottolineare, un cambiamento radicale nell'amministrazione della giustizia penale.

Immagine 1: Tignale (Brescia), Santuario di Montecastello: ex-voto che rappresenta la grande battaglia in cui nel 1617 venne ucciso il bandito Giovanni Beatrice detto Zanzanù (immagine del comune di Tignale)[5].

filologica[6]. Ma ormai l'equazione brigante/bandito si era imposta ed affermata, imponendo la tipologia del criminale più pericoloso, emblema del lato più oscuro della società ottocentesca. Vere e proprie opere vennero dedicate al banditismo e ad alcuni dei suoi esponenti più rinomati. Come, ad esempio, *Le brigandage en Italie* di Armand Dubarry (1875). O il più noto *Cento anni di brigantaggio* di Alessandro Dumas (1863)[7].

Una svolta decisiva non si sarebbe avuta che in un periodo molto più tardo, grazie all'opera dello storico anglosassone Eric Hobsbawm, *Bandits*. Apparso nel 1969, il testo di Hobsbawm, pur tracciando ambiguamente una sorta di continuità dell'immagine del fuorilegge attraverso i secoli, ne delineava la complessità e soprattutto le sue interrelazioni sociali e letterarie. Dalle pagine del grande storico anglosassone emergeva la figura del *bandito sociale*, un fuorilegge che, nonostante l'ostracismo decretato dalle autorità politiche delle varie epoche, godeva in realtà di un consenso sociale che, in un certo senso, lo poneva in sintonia con le regole morali e consuetudinarie del contesto locale da cui proveniva.

Divenuto per lo più fuorilegge, di seguito ad un'ineliminabile istanza di vendetta o di giustizia, il bandito sociale assurgeva a vero e proprio mito nel momento in cui osava sfidare apertamente i poteri costituiti. Un'immagine suggestiva, che indubbiamente distingueva il bandito sociale dal semplice criminale, il cui comportamento era stigmatizzato dalla comunità, anche perché ostile alle sue regole fondanti.

5 Per gentile concessione a pubblicare le immagini presenti nel saggio si ringraziano il comune di Tignale (Brescia), il Museo d'arte sacra di Monte Berico di Vicenza, la Biblioteca Bertoliana di Vicenza, la Biblioteca nazionale Marciana di Venezia.

6 Come è stato notato il termine *brigante* era alquanto raro nell'età medievale e moderna e stava per lo più ad indicare il soldato di ventura, spesso incline al saccheggio e alle sopraffazioni (Gaudosio, 2001, 20–21). In realtà i termini bandito e brigante sono utilizzati da molti studiosi in maniera ambivalente, ignorando la complessità e il rilievo sociale della pena del bando. Come ad esempio da parte di F. Braudel nel suo notissimo lavoro sul Mediterraneo (Braudel, 1986, 785–797).

7 Si veda inoltre Tatasciore (2017, 269–303). Sul tema del brigantaggio meridionale la bibliografia è amplissima. Mi limito qui a ricordare il recente Pinto (2019).

Un'immagine comunque stilizzata, non adeguatamente correlata al contesto politico ed economico e pure priva di veri e propri riscontri storici, ma che poteva comunque contare sul fascino di un mito che rintracciava la sua forza suggestiva nella capacità del fuorilegge di riassumere in sé istanze profonde di giustizia e di equità. Come è stato dimostrato dall'antropologo olandese Anton Blok la figura del bandito sociale individuava la sua forza nel mito che lo circondava, ma nella realtà e nei diversi periodi storici il fuorilegge postosi al di fuori del sistema sociale aveva ben scarse possibilità di sopravvivenza e, molto spesso, non aveva come alternativa che quella di porsi al servizio di qualche potente[8].

Il dibattito seguito alla pubblicazione del testo di Hobsbawm ha posto in evidenza l'importanza di una figura sociale che riuniva in sé le forti tensioni culturali e politiche delle diverse società sino alla fine del secolo XIX. Ed inoltre ha sottolineato l'incidenza delle molteplici forme di narrazione nella trasmissione del mito del fuorilegge attraverso il tempo. Narrazioni che evidentemente si prestavano a ricostruzioni fantasiose e fiabesche, che potevano agevolmente catturare l'attenzione del lettore, ma che poco avevano a che fare con il contesto sociale e istituzionale che aveva dato origine al banditismo.

In occasione del convegno del 2003 avevo così ritenuto opportuno soffermarmi su un *case study* che avrebbe permesso di affrontare un tema sfuggente e controverso, aggirando l'*impasse*, apparentemente insormontabile, dettata dalla relazione tra interpretazione e narrazione[9]. Un'*impasse* ampiamente sottolineata dalla tendenza decostruzionista del post-modernismo e dal valore aggiuntivo assegnato alla narrazione dell'interprete[10]. La vicenda da me affrontata (Povolo, 2011) offriva ovviamente un ampio e iniziale lavoro di decostruzione, soprattutto in quanto essa era stata tramandata non solamente dalle fonti d'archivio e da una tradizione orale, ma pure da un ex-voto di straordinaria importanza. Tutti aspetti che sarebbero riemersi vividamente con l'affermarsi nel corso dell'Ottocento di una storiografia di carattere locale, assai poco incline a contestualizzare i fatti esaminati.

La storia di Giovanni Beatrice detto Zanzanù si prestava ad essere esaminata sottolineando quegli aspetti che più inquietavano la società dell'epoca. Nel 1880 il conte Francesco Bettoni avviò una vera e propria tradizione colta nei confronti del fuorilegge del Garda:

> *Fra le bande di assassini che si resero funestemente celebri fu quella guidata dal bandito Zuane Zanone di Tremosine, che per 17 anni consecutivi sfuggì alla publica forza e riempì la Riviera di delitti e di sgomento, né fu distrutta se non quando fu ucciso il suo capo nell'anno 1617 reggendo come Provveditore e Capitano il Badoer. Delle tristi gesta di quella mano di feroci non ne narreremo se non una sola, perché si raggruppa alla storia ed ebbe un'eco dolorosa in tutta la provincia. Era uno degli ultimi giorni di maggio del 1610, un dì di festa solenne, e il nob. Bernardino Ganassoni, podestà di Salò, erasi recato, come ne era l'uso, alla basilica di S. Maria, in compagnia d'altri impiegati per assistere alle sacre funzioni. Giunta la messa alla epistola, gli si avvicinò un tale fingendo di porgergli una lettera pressante ed ecco una fucilata lo colpisce nel petto ferendolo mortalmente. L'uccisore era Zuan Zanone, il terribile bandito che nessuno osò arrestare e che gli stessi micheletti, i soldati cioè che facevano ala al podestà, lasciarono fuggire: tanto spavento incuteva la sua ferocia e la sua audacia.* (Bettoni, 1880, 233–234)

L'autore si soffermava su un episodio di violenza politica che le fonti giudiziarie del Seicento attribuivano immotivatamente al noto fuorilegge. E le fonti che, via

8 Il lavoro, pubblicato nel 1969, venne riedito nel 2000 con un *Postscript* (Hobsbawm, 2000, 167–199) in cui lo storico anglosassone affrontava gran parte delle critiche che erano state rivolte alla sua tesi. Oltre alle osservazioni di Anton Blok (1972) riprese da Hobsbawm, ricordo ancora Slatta (1987 & 1994). Ed inoltre Sant Cassia (1993). In realtà, gran parte della discussione incentrata sul testo di Hobsbawm nasceva dall'equivoco di fondo che considerava il *bandito* (*sociale* oppure no) come una figura perseguita da chi deteneva il controllo della giustizia, senza considerarne gli aspetti costituzionali e giuridici. Si veda, a questo proposito, la voce *banditry* di Jütte (2004), ma anche la voce, poco sopra ricordata, di W. Slatta in cui la definizione di banditry "is the taking of property by force or by the threat of force" (Slatta, 1994, 99). Appare evidente che una tale definizione può essere accolta solo nel momento in cui la forma stato, nella sua accezione contemporanea, presuppone un esteso controllo del suo territorio e dei suoi confini.

9 Sulla figura del brigante delineata tra Sette e Ottocento da una serie di narrazioni dal taglio prevalentemente letterario cf. Tatasciore (2022).

10 Nella sua monografia dedicata al famoso fuorilegge Billy the Kid, lo studioso statunitense Stephen Tatum ha decisamente posto in rilievo il valore narrativo delle descrizioni compiute da coloro che nel corso del tempo se ne sono occupati. A suo giudizio il linguaggio non può essere considerato come "a windowpane between the viewer and the external reality: if the pane is clear, so too will be that we see; if the pane is cloudy then so too will our perceptions be distorted". Tatum avanza infatti forti dubbi che, un volta rimosso "the window dressing" (cioè le presunte distorsioni ideologiche di chi osserva), i fatti ritenuti comunque come indipendenti possano essere percepiti nella loro essenza. In realtà "such a view appears plausible, indeed harmless, but it is ultimately coercive, for the interpreter is required to submit himself to the facts, and to consider his language as an ex post facto expression of the facts". Infatti, egli sottolinea "the implausibility of viewing the human mind as ontologically distinct from any material reality existing in the external world": e "[the] reality is created and maintained in a complex interplay of mind, environment, and communIty". Tatum può quindi concludere, a proposito del fuorilegge da lui studiato: "thus, we can examine the predominance of a certain image of the Kid not for what it disguises about the Kid's historical presence, but for what it reveals about the interpreter, his audience and his cultural context" (Tatum, 1982, 172–178). Una posizione, quella di Tatum, che sarebbe divenuta predominante nel corso degli anni '80 con l'affermarsi della storiografia post-modernistica e che, più di recente, lo storico britannico David Evans ha messo fortemente in discussione rivendicando il valore dell'interpretazione nella ricostruzione del fatto storico (Evans, 2001, 102–103): "il lavoro dello storico non comincia sulla porta dell'archivio, ma molto prima: lo storico formula una tesi, va in cerca di prove e scopre dei fatti". Sul post-modernismo e sul cosiddetto *linguistic turn* cf. Muslow (2006, 164–166). Si veda inoltre per la discussione intorno ad una vicenda analoga Benigno (2011).

via, riemergevano dagli archivi inducevano a delineare una figura che sembrava ricordare così da vicino il brigante ottocentesco:

> *Dell'audace bandito Zuane Zanon che sul principio del secolo XVII° tenne in spavento per più di quindici anni tutta la Riviera e fu tra i più sanguinari, oltre che con lettere da Salò al Cons. dei Dieci, fanno particolare menzione nelle loro Relazioni al Doge i Provveditori Pietro Benetti (24 novembre 1609) e Giuseppe Michiel (27 marzo 1617); il primo dei quali accennando agli omicidi et svalisi dallo stesso Zanon commessi e dai suoi seguaci, aggiunge che li avevano compiuti tutti impunemente senza poter essere neppure tocchi da varie provvisioni di soldati cappelletti. Le quali parole doveano suonar ben amare agli orecchi della Serenissima che vedea così ingenuamente messa in evidenza da un suo magistrato la propria debolezza. Del Zanon narrano l'Odorici (sulla fede di un Diario del Bianchi) e il Bettoni, che nel maggio del 1610 uccise o prestò mano ad uccidere nella Parrocchiale di Salò il Podestà bresciano Bernardino Ganassoni che assisteva ai divini uffici, senza che il molto popolo e i micheletti presenti al fatto ardissero d'arrestarlo.* (Solitro, 1897, 614)

L'assoluta inconsistenza ed inverosimiglianza delle notizie riportate non sconsigliava comunque ad un noto cultore di storia veneziana di riprendere le vicende del fuorilegge per inserirle in un volume dedicato ai banditi:

> *Un Zuane Zenone di Tremosine, che per diciassette anni riempì la contrada di delitti e di sgomento, ebbe l'audacia di uccidere con una fucilata in chiesa, durante la messa, il bresciano Bernardino Ganassoni, podestà di Salò. Nessuno osò arrestare il terribile bandito, che solo dopo sette anni fu ucciso nel 1617.* (Molmenti, 1896, 164)

In realtà la morte del fuorilegge era stata consacrata da un maestoso ex-voto, che per anni avrebbe contribuito alla trasmissione orale di una vicenda, altrimenti condannata all'oblio e comunque fagocitata dalle fonti giudiziarie che testimoniavano l'azione repressiva delle istituzioni locali e centrali nei confronti del banditismo. L'ex-voto, conservato nel santuario della Madonna di Montecastello di Tignale (Brescia) svolse evidentemente un ruolo non indifferente nella trasmissione della memoria del fuorilegge, dilatandone sia il mito che alcuni stereotipi negativi. A metà dell'Ottocento il colto sacerdote Emilio Tiboni non poté esimersi dal raccogliere una tradizione che ormai era sconfinata nel fiabesco:

> *Non a caso ho detto qualche secolo fa, conciossiaché nel decimosettimo secolo il vicino Tignale credeva propriamente indemoniato quel Giovanni Giacomo Beatrici detto Zanzanù di Gargnano, il quale ricoverato ne' propinqui monti viveva di rapine, taglie e violenze. Ed il paese lorché sollevato moveva ad espugnarlo, si raffermò davvantaggio nella sua opinione, riputando tutto potenza diabolica lo straordinario e meraviglioso modo onde il Zanzanù lunga pezza si mantenne dalla pioggia delle archibugiate illeso, saltando quando sopra l'uno e quando sopra l'altro colle, volteggiando destramente ed ora dietro antica pianta, ora dietro ingente macigno riparando. Ma dopo tre giorni di continuato conflitto con un intiero paese il malaugurato malandrino, già stracco ed inetto alla difesa, cadde trapassato da una palla di archibugio. Ed il popolo giulivo ritornava vittorioso dalla pugna, gridando che il diavolo aveva alla fin fine abbandonato il suo cliente e che la Madonna del Montecastello aveva fatto un miracolo a pro del divoto suo popolo di Tignale che a lei ne appese il voto nel 1617.* (Tiboni, 1859, 91–92)

L'autore non aveva esitazione nel sottolineare il carattere diabolico del *malandrino* che, nonostante le sue esibizioni fisiche era comunque destinato a soccombere di fronte all'intervento miracoloso della Vergine.

La leggenda e il mito sembrano sovrapporsi in queste prime delineazioni del famoso bandito. Come è stato osservato da Maurice Aymard:

> *Non c'è banditismo senza leggenda; quella leggenda che depurando e trasfigurando ciò che potrebbe apparire come una banale sequenza di furti e di assassini, lo proietta nella tradizione orale e nell'immaginario collettivo, collocandolo nei cieli dei fatti eroici, secondo un modello culturale dal funzionamento quasi costante.* (Aymard, 1986, 505)

Se la tradizione *culta* si soffermava sopra ttutto sull'immagine negativa del fuorilegge, quella orale sembra indugiare maggiormente sul mito che la pervadeva. Entrambe non rifuggono però dal cogliere quegli elementi leggendari e fiabeschi che si erano addensati intorno alla figura del bandito, divenuto ormai brigante e criminale efferato.

L'invincibilità del fuorilegge va così di pari passo con talune caratteristiche violente del suo comportamento come, ad esempio, l'imposizione dello *ius primae noctis* nei confronti delle giovani del villaggio[11]. Una chiara influenza della tradizione

11 Come è stato ben evidenziato, l'invenzione del cosiddetto *ius primae noctis* risale alla tarda età moderna. Così come per altre *favole* elaborate nel corso dell'Ottocento, l'invenzione era funzionale a porre in risalto l'oscurità del Medioevo e dell'antico regime per sottolineare, indirettamente, i valori positivi dell'età borghese (cf. Boureau, 1995).

colta scritta sul mondo consuetudinario, ma pure una testimonianza significativa di come quest'ultimo fosse disponibile ad accogliere talune versioni adulterate del fuorilegge che ne dilatavano il mito e la leggenda[12].

CULTURA POPOLARE E CULTURA DEL POPOLO

Gli stereotipi che caratterizzano la figura del fuorilegge sembrano fondere intensamente folklore e leggenda, elaborando racconti e narrazioni che hanno decisamente il timbro della fiaba. In realtà l'immagine del bandito-brigante, che la società e la cultura ottocentesca veicolano, costituisce il riflesso delle nuove realtà politiche nazionali e l'emergere di un ceto borghese che, sin dalla seconda metà del Settecento, elabora un concetto di cultura popolare come tratto distintivo dei ceti subalterni. Sullo sfondo si può intravedere chiaramente il distacco culturale e ideologico venutosi a creare nei confronti di un mondo caratterizzato dalle consuetudini e dall'oralità, così come le difficoltà a cogliere la dimensione sociale e politica di realtà del passato provviste di un diverso concetto di ordine e di razionalità.

Come ha sottolineato Peter Burke, è nel corso dell'età moderna che i membri dei ceti egemoni modificano la loro percezione nei confronti della cultura dei ceti sottoposti. Se in una prima fase, pur condividendone la cultura, disprezzavano la *gente comune*, agli inizi del diciannovesimo secolo i loro discendenti, nonostante avessero cessato di partecipare spontaneamente alla *cultura popolare*, la percepivano come un fenomeno esotico e comunque degno di notevole interesse:

> *It was in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when traditional popular culture was just beginning to disappear, that the 'people' or the 'folk' became a subject of interest to European intellectuals. Craftsmen and peasants were no doubt surprised to find their homes invaded by men and women with middle-class clothes and accents who insisted they sing traditional songs or tell traditional stories*[13].

Il presunto distacco tra *cultura popolare* e cultura borghese sembra essere paradossalmente confermato dalla sovrapposizione, o per meglio dire commistione, tra folklore e il mondo della fiaba e del mito. La narrazione folklorica non può evidentemente prescindere dal filone di studi, denominato folklore, che nel corso dell'Ottocento avrebbe assunto i tratti di una vera e propria disciplina. Come ha sostenuto l'antropologo britannico Michael Herzfeld:

> *The term 'folklore' means both a body of material and the academic discipline devoted to its study. Although the description of customs, verbal lore and, more rarely, material culture was not unknown even in medieval Europe, the idea of the systematic collection and analysis of such data emerged most strongly with the dramatic rise of European romantic nationalism in the first half of the nineteenth century.* (Herzfeld, 2010, 300)

Le narrazioni folkloriche investirono pratiche sociali che come le feste, le danze e le ballate non si esitò a definire e a catalogare come aspetti di una *cultura popolare*, distinta da quella egemonica del ceto borghese. In un significativo volume lo studioso britannico John Storey ha descritto molto bene quel processo che avrebbe condotto rapidamente all'elaborazione ed *invenzione* del concetto di *cultura popolare*, soffermandosi sulle fasi che l'avrebbero poi contraddistinto:

> *In the late eighteenth, throughout the nineteenth, and into the early part of the twentieth century, different groups of intellectuals, working under the different banners of nationalism, Romanticism, folklore, and finally, folk song, "invented" the first concept of popular culture. In fact, these debates eventually produced two definitions of popular culture. The first was popular culture as a quasi-mythical rural "folk culture," and the other – and it was very much the "other" – was popular culture as the degraded "mass culture" of the new urban-industrial working class.* (Storey, 2003, 1)

12 Sulla diffusione delle diverse leggende e favole inerenti il fuorilegge Zanzanù si veda l'inchiesta condotta tra la popolazione di Tignale da Di Qual & Poggetti (2010). La persistenza di questa invenzione e della contaminazione tra tradizione scritta e orale è del resto confermata dal più recente volume di Di Giovine (2009) dedicato al banditismo della Riviera del Garda, che prosegue idealmente la tradizione ottocentesca del mito negativo di Zanzanù, integrandola acriticamente con alcune fonti archivistiche emerse successivamente.

13 Burke (1978) in particolare il cap. 1. Lo studioso britannico mette in evidenza: ''the change in the attitudes of educated men seems truly remarkable. In 1500, they despised the common people, but shared their culture. By 1800 their descendants had ceased to participate spontaneously in popular culture, but they were in the process of rediscovering it as something exotic and therefore interesting. They were even beginning to admire 'the people', from whom this alien culture had sprung'' (Burke, 1978, 286). Si veda, a questo proposito, il commento di John Storey alle osservazioni di Peter Burke (Storey, 2003, 4).

Immagine 3: Tignale (Brescia), Santuario di Montecastello: particolare dell'ex-voto che rappresenta la grande battaglia in cui nel 1617 venne ucciso il bandito Giovanni Beatrice detto Zanzanù (immagine del comune di Tignale).

Gli studi e le ricerche inerenti le *tradizioni popolari* cominciarono ad infittirsi in tutta Europa. Peter Burke ricorda uno degli esempi più significativi:

> *For this purpose, in the early 1770's, the Italian priest Alberto Fortis visited Dalmatia and his account of his travels devoted a chapter to the way of life of the 'Morlacchi', their religion and 'superstitions', their songs, dances and festivals. As Fortis put it, 'the innocence and the natural liberty of the pastoral centuries still survives in Morlacchia'.* (Burke, 1978, 7)

Il decreto napoleonico che dispose l'avvio in Francia di una grande inchiesta nazionale verso le culture locali si riflesse anche nei dipartimenti di recente acquisizione. Il decreto approvato nel 1808 era volto a ricercare lo *spirito della nazione*. L'Académie Celtique di Parigi elaborò un questionario in più punti che mirava ad individuare le caratteristiche più salienti della *cultura popolare*. I questionari vennero affidati ad esponenti della cultura borghese dei vari dipartimenti, tra cui quello di Passariano (Friuli) e dell'Adriatico (Venezia, Istria e Dalmazia) (Bernardi, 1986)[14]. Nonostante fossero essenzialmente caratterizzate dall'esigenza di natura economica e religiosa, rientrano pure, in questo nuovo modo di percepire le consuetudini, le riforme avviate da molti paesi europei nei confronti delle cosiddette *feste popolari*. Anche se tardiva e non priva di esitazioni e dubbi, la riforma venne pure attuata nella Repubblica di Venezia, conducendo ad una grande inchiesta, che abbracciò sia lo stato di Terraferma che l'Istria e la Dalmazia (Povolo, 2015a).

I prodromi di quella che a partire dall'Ottocento sarebbe divenuta una vera e propria disciplina, sono dunque rintracciabili sin dal secolo precedente. Peter Burke ha analizzato le diverse cause che portarono a questo fenomeno. Di certo una delle spinte più forti fu la ricerca di uno spirito della *nazione*, che mirava evidentemente a caratterizzare le presunte caratteristiche storiche e culturale di uno specifico territorio. John Storey ha ben sintetizzato questo processo:

14 L'approccio dello studioso è però essenzialmente rivolto agli studi della disciplina folklorica. Si veda quanto osservato da Burke (1978, 15).

> *The 'discovery' of folk culture was an integral part of emerging European nationalisms. We find the same idea repeated over and over again: folk culture is the very embodiment of the nature and character of a nation. For this reason, if for no other, it should be collected and treasured.* (Storey, 2003, 2)

In realtà si trattava di una vera e propria *invenzione*, che distorceva il passato, ma che avrebbe a lungo interferito con la stessa interpretazione storiografica:

> *In many ways the idea of folk culture was a romantic fantasy, constructed through denial and distortion. It was a fantasy intended to heal the wounds of the present and safeguard the future by promoting a memory of a past which had little existence outside the intellectual debates of the late eighteenth, nineteenth, and early twentieth centuries.* (Storey, 2003, 13)

La distorsione non era solo storica, ma anche giuridica, in quanto gli intellettuali che costruirono il concetto di *cultura popolare* (e di folklore) ignoravano la complessità del diritto consuetudinario, che implicava non staticità e fissità, ma progressivi aggiustamenti, che come ha sottolineato l'antropologia giuridica, si muovevano tra un *ordine ideale* (che faceva riferimento al mito) e un *ordine del vissuto* (caratterizzato all'inverso dai conflitti)[15]. L'equilibrio tra i due ordini era mantenuto dall'oralità e dalla mediazione, che evidentemente poco si prestavano all'astrazione e ai criteri interpretativi delle discipline che aspiravano ad assumere i tratti di una presunta scientificità. E la redazione per iscritto, che nelle intenzioni dei folcloristi doveva essere promossa per salvaguardare le antiche consuetudini, non ne avrebbe rispecchiato l'essenza e le potenzialità di cambiamento[16]. Così come ogni tentativo dei giuristi colti di coglierne le caratteristiche salienti era destinato ad essere inconcludente[17].

A questo proposito Peter Burke ha ironicamente osservato:

> *Thus to read the text of a ballad, a folktale or even a tune in a collection of this period is much like looking at a Gothic church which was 'restored' at much the same time. One cannot be sure whether one is looking at what was originally there, at what the restore thought was originally there, at what he thought ought to have been there, or at what he thought should be there now.* (Burke, 1978, 20)

Ma la distorsione della presunta *invenzione* poggiava su un altro decisivo fraintendimento. Come ha notato lo stesso studioso britannico, nell'età medievale e moderna esistevano due tradizioni, che possono essere definite *great tradition* e *little tradition*, il cui spazio di condivisione era assai ampio e si rivolgeva a molti aspetti della vita quotidiana:

> *Thus the crucial cultural difference in early modern Europe (I want to argue) was that between the majority, for whom popular culture was the only culture, and the minority, who had access to the great tradition but participated in the little tradition as a second culture. They were amphibious, bi-cultural, and also bilingual. Where the majority of people spoke their regional dialect and nothing else, the elite spoke or wrote Latin or literary form of vernacular, while remaining able to speak in dialect or a second or a third language.* (Burke, 1978, 28)

L'*invenzione* di una *cultura popolare* a partire dalla fine del Settecento rifletteva ovviamente il profondo divario venutosi a creare sul piano sociale ed economico, la più accentuata differenza culturale tra città e campagna; e, soprattutto, l'emergere di un ceto sociale, la borghesia, che impose un nuovo sistema giuridico e politico. Le nuove definizioni si accompagnarono a pratiche di distinzione, soprattutto laddove la preesistente condivisione (dell'età medievale e moderna) non poteva essere neutralizzata sul piano culturale. Un processo che è ben visibile, ad esempio, con la tradizione operistica o con autori come Shakespeare[18].

15 "Ogni società possiede un ordine giuridico ideale che non può restare intatto quando è inserito nell'ordine del vissuto. La valorizzazione dell'armonia e dell'equilibrio assume significato soltanto quando la si confronta con le tensioni e i conflitti del mondo reale; orbene, questi non sono risparmiati alle società tradizionali; anche se esse tentano di prevenirli o di regolarli nel modo meno traumatico per la società. Allo stesso modo i gruppi sociali, la cui complementarietà viene pure valorizzata, restano portatori di valori specifici, che possono essere contraddittori. In genere un valore è dominante, ma gli altri persistono, enfatizzati soltanto da alcuni gruppi, o espressi in forme velate. Il controllo sociale esercitato dal diritto nell'ordine del vissuto ha per fine la gestione dei conflitti che possono risultare da questo stato di fatto, o restaurare l'ordine iniziale o creandone uno nuovo, nel rispetto, per quanto è possibile, dell'ordine ideale" (Rouland, 1992, 183–184).

16 Come è stato osservato: "una volta che una norma consuetudinaria è stata messa per iscritto, comunque, la versione scritta assume una esistenza propria e una certa permanenza; la scrittura fissa il testo e limita ogni ulteriore modifica" (Van Caenegem, 1995, 59–61).

17 Si veda a questo proposito la vicenda svoltasi in Friuli nella prima metà del Cinquecento (Povolo, 2015b).

18 Si vedano le osservazioni di John Storey, che si è avvalso dell'elaborazione concettuale di Pierre Bourdieu (Storey, 2003, 44–45).

Di seguito al nuovo clima sociale e politico i racconti del folklore tesero ad assumere tratti immaginifici e fiabeschi, che riflettevano non solo l'individuazione di una presunta e artefatta cultura popolare, ma pure, in molti casi un vero e proprio fraintendimento della realtà preesistente. É stato osservato come in realtà questo processo traesse origine, sin dai secoli precedenti, dalla redazione a stampa di un patrimonio culturale che si caratterizzava soprattutto per l'oralità e per la flessibilità della sua trasmissione:

> *What is most interesting about the historical development of the folk tale is the manner in which it was appropriated in its entirety by the aristocratic and bourgeois writers in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries with the expansion of publishing to become a new literary genre which one could rightly call the fairy tale.* (Zipes, 2002, 9–10)

In realtà la diffusione e l'affermazione della stampa, e di conseguenza della cultura scritta, non sarebbe stata sufficiente di per sé a decretare questo profondo cambiamento:

> *but rather the formation of a new group of middle-class readers, the growth of literacy among the people of this class, and its creation of a public sphere which began organizing and exercising control over most forms of cultural expression. Consequently, folk art when appropriated by middle-class writers and publishers underwent drastic changes in its printed mass-mediated form.* (Zipes, 2002, 14)[19]

E'dunque ravvisabile, già a partire dalla seconda metà del Settecento, una vera e propria distorsione storica e culturale, che porta al travisamento della tradizione folclorica incentrata sulle consuetudini e sull'oralità.

L'*invenzione* di una *cultura popolare* distinta da quella egemonica, pone comunque un rilevante problema interpretativo, soprattutto in riferimento alle inevitabili manipolazioni cui fu soggetto il preesistente mondo incentrato sulle consuetudini e sulle pratiche sociali, caratteristiche del pluralismo politico e giuridico che aveva contraddistinto così a lungo il mondo medievale e della prima età moderna. A questo proposito è stato osservato che talune manifestazioni della precedente cultura, come ad esempio la danza e la musica, rimasero predominanti presso la gente comune, ancora per buona parte dell'Ottocento, senza subire trasformazioni rilevanti. Anche se, infine, con l'affermarsi della stampa e dell'industrializzazione, molti aspetti della cultura folclorica assunsero inevitabilmente i tratti della fiaba e della pura invenzione (Zipes, 2002, 18).

Un aspetto, quest'ultimo, che avrebbe influito in maniera determinante sulla figura del bandito e, più in generale, sulle caratteristiche della conflittualità e delle forme di composizione ritenute più idonee per regolamentarla.

NEL MONDO DELLA GIUSTIZIA PENALE E DEL 'CRIMINE'

Quello che è stato definito ritiro delle classi dominanti dalla cultura popolare, con la concomitante e conseguente *scoperta* del mondo del folklore, si riflesse in molti settori della vita culturale e sociale. Come già si è osservato, le raccolte di usi, costumi e tradizioni, si accompagnò alla creazione di nuovi stereotipi e alla distorsione di pratiche sociali che per secoli avevano contraddistinto la vita quotidiana.

Un campo di osservazione interessante è quello che attiene al complesso e variegato mondo della giustizia penale, esaminato sia nelle sue specifiche caratteristiche, che nella descrizione di alcuni dei suoi controversi protagonisti. Nel corso dell'Ottocento letteratura, memorialistica e storiografia si rivolgono al passato attraverso una lente deformante, indugiando in descrizioni dai toni fiabeschi e mitici.

Un passato di cui non si coglie la complessità e pure investito di stereotipi fuorvianti, spesso privi di ogni aderenza alla realtà storica. Una percezione che, come è stato sottolineato, traeva linfa dall'invenzione di un concetto di cultura popolare che, senza infingimenti, veniva attribuito ai ceti sottoposti, ma che incontrava comunque diversi riscontri pure in talune testimonianze artefatte dei secoli precedenti.

Nel caso specifico del mondo della giustizia penale la cultura orale, le consuetudini e le stesse dinamiche istituzionali sono infatti prevalentemente percepiti alla luce di una pubblicistica che tra Cinque e Settecento era ricorsa, tramite libretti e fogli volanti alla cosiddetta *retorica del patibolo*, volta sia a esorcizzare paure e inquietudini sociali, che ad imporre una visione edificante della morte del condannato.

19 L'autore osserva giustamente: ''Once the folk tale began to be interpreted and transmitted through literary texts its original ideology and narrative perspective were diminished, lost or replaced, its audience was abandoned'' (Zipes, 2002, 15). Peter Burke ha analogamente sottolineato: ''In the long run, print undermined traditional oral culture; in the process, it also recorded much of it, making it appropriate to begin when the first broadsides and chap-books were coming from the press'' (Burke, 1978, XII–XIII).

Immagine 4: Vicenza, Santuario della Madonna di Monte Berico: tavoletta votiva degli inizi del sec. XVIII in cui è rappresentata l'aula di un tribunale dove si svolge il giudizio nei confronti dell'imputato Francesco Zancan (Museo d'arte sacra di Monte Berico, Vicenza).

La storiografia ha evidenziato le caratteristiche di tali narrazioni, che oscillano tra verità e finzione e che, nell'ansia di sottolineare la redenzione del *criminale*, non esitano ad imporsi tramite una retorica contraddistinta dall'invenzione e dalla menzogna. Le testimonianze che filtrano tramite le *Relazioni di giustizia* o il resoconto di delitti efferati riflettono evidentemente, e soprattutto, l'incidenza e il grado di consenso della giustizia criminale, non solo nei confronti del pubblico variegato che assisteva alle esecuzioni, ma più in generale della società nel suo complesso.

È stato osservato come, nell'ambito di rappresentazioni che indugiano sulla crudeltà esercitata nei confronti dei giustiziati, esista una sostanziale diversità tra il caso italiano e gli altri paesi europei. Nella tradizione inglese, come ricordato da Adriano Prosperi, a prevalere è l'ultimo discorso del condannato a morte, dato poi alle stampe. Un discorso da cui poteva emergere vividamente la personalità del giustiziato e le motivazioni che l'avevano condotto a compiere i delitti per i quali veniva punito (Prosperi, 1999, 225–227). Nulla del genere nella pubblicistica italiana in cui prevalgono i toni edificanti e la redenzione del condannato, anche se non viene meno sia la sottolineatura della mostruosità del delitto compiuto, che la personalità aberrante del suo autore. Sono i tratti di una giustizia punitiva che ha prevalentemente il fine di distinguere il bene dal male e i buoni dai cattivi (De Romanis & Loretelli, 1999, 16–17).

Le *Relazioni di giustizia* non erano le uniche manifestazioni dell'interesse suscitato dalle esecuzioni capitali presso un vasto pubblico di ogni parte d'Europa. Altrettanto diffuse erano le ballate che rievocavano taluni crimini violenti e la loro punizione. Una prassi che, evidentemente, sembrerebbe sottolineare non solo e non tanto l'intento didascalico e moraleggiante implicito nelle esecuzioni pubbliche, ma anche la personalità e

Immagine 5: Vicenza, Santuario della Madonna di Monte Berico: tavoletta votiva degli inizi del sec. XVIII in cui Francesco Zancan ringrazia la Vergine per l'esito favorevole del giudizio (Museo d'arte sacra di Monte Berico, Vicenza).

le caratteristiche delle persone che avevano compiuto i delitti evocati. Una pubblicistica contraddistinta da piccoli opuscoli o fogli volanti, che esprimeva certamente il forte interesse goduto presso un pubblico variegato la rievocazione di figure *criminali* che avevano subito la giusta punizione.

Diffusa in tutta Europa, questa pubblicistica ha potuto riemergere nel corso dell'Ottocento grazie alle ricerche di carattere folclorico di cui si è parlato e che ha potuto successivamente essere esaminata dagli studiosi che hanno rivolto la loro attenzione alle interrelazioni tra testo e musica. In una sintesi di grande rilievo la studiosa australiana Una McIlvenna si è soffermata sulle caratteristiche e sulla diffusione in tutta Europa di ballate composte in occasione di esecuzioni capitali.

In gran parte dei paesi europei le melodie erano tratte da un diffuso e ben conosciuto repertorio, che tramite la tecnica del *contrafactum*[20] venivano applicate ad un testo redatto in occasione dell'esecuzione di un condannato a morte. Un aspetto, quest'ultimo, che stabiliva un impatto emotivo con un auditorio, incline a considerare l'evento alla luce della tradizione, ma anche sensibile alle sollecitazioni della giustizia punitiva:

> *Such sharing and participation helped to forge communal bonds, echoed in the communal and performative means by which each member of society was expected to participate in the punishment of criminals. As they laughed at the satirical use of tunes that mocked despised traitors and murderers, or cried at the poignant tune that linked a mother's loss of her military son with the brutal murder of an innocent daughter, the listener-singers of execution ballads participated in an exchange of cultural references that perpetuated beliefs around punishment and repentance.* (McIlvenna, 2022, 88)

In realtà le ballate composte in Italia in occasione di pubbliche esecuzioni, si distinguono nettamente da quelle diffuse negli altri paesi europei. Come ha osservato Una McIlvenna:

20 Tecnica tramite la quale si adattava ad un nuovo testo (in questo caso il resoconto di un'esecuzione capitale) una melodia preesistente. Una sorta di imitazione, esercitata da persone che si rifacevano esplicitamente ad una tradizione comunitaria condivisa e collaudata; sul *contrafactum* (cf. Phan, 2012, 302–303).

RELAZIONE
CON LE COLPE, E MISFATTI,
Della Giustizia seguita in Venezia
li 18. Decembre 1758.
CONTRO
GIO: MARIA MILLEVOI
DA CAPODISTRIA,
d'anni 45.
Sartor da Donna, solito abitar in questa Città, ed ultimamente in Calle detta del Volto in Contrada di Sant' Apollinare.
Condannato ad essergli tagliata la testa, e diviso in quattro parti.
In Venezia, Con Licenza de' Superiori.

Immagine 6: Relazione di giustizia del 18 dicembre 1758 eseguita in Venezia contro Giovan Maria Millevoi di Capodistria (Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana).

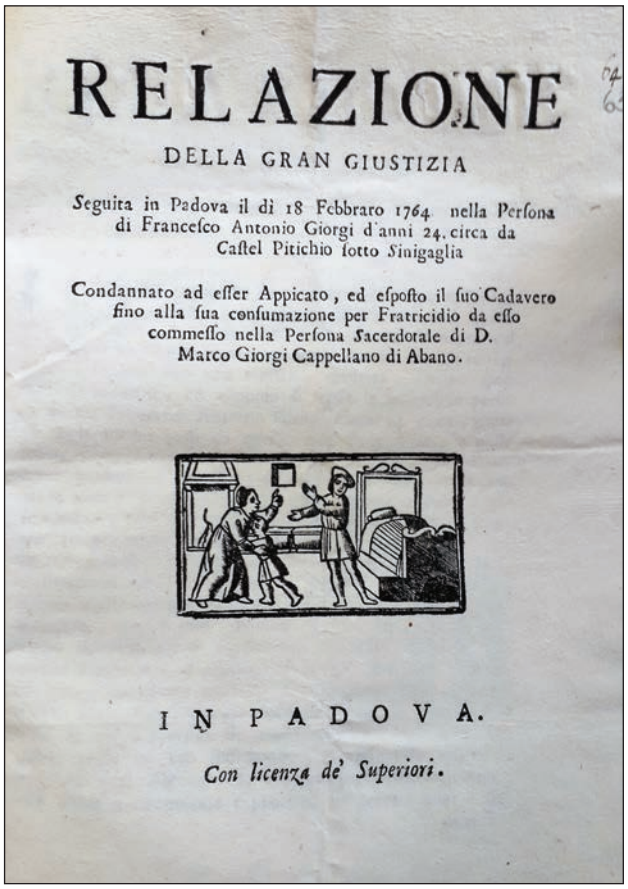

RELAZIONE
DELLA GRAN GIUSTIZIA
Seguita in Padova il dì 18 Febbraro 1764 nella Persona di Francesco Antonio Giorgi d'anni 24. circa da Castel Pitichio sotto Sinigaglia
Condannato ad esser Appicato, ed esposto il suo Cadavero fino alla sua consumazione per Fratricidio da esso commesso nella Persona Sacerdotale di D. Marco Giorgi Cappellano di Abano.
IN PADOVA.
Con licenza de' Superiori.

Immagine 7: Relazione di giustizia del 18 febbraio 1764 eseguita in Padova contro Francesco Antonio Giorgi (Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana).

> *While they share many of the stylistic features common in those of other languages – printed on cheap pamphlets, often containing woodcut images; using equivalent vocabulary, such as 'lamento' and 'caso compassionevole'; closing with moralising verses; and sold by itinerant street singers – Italian execution pamphlets provide no tune direction, even though contrafacta on other topics were common.* (McIlvenna, 2022, 81)

La struttura formale delle ballate italiane ricorreva infatti prevalentemente alla terza o all'ottava rima, cui veniva applicato un repertorio di melodie che variava da regione a regione:

> *This could result in a variety of tunes being sung for the same song-text, a result that would appear to preclude an argument for Italian songwriters' exploitation of the emotional associations of a recognisable melody that is so evident in other European languages. Instead, the emotional register of the song is inherently linked to the themes associated with its metrical structure.* (McIlvenna, 2022, 83)

Il non utilizzo della tecnica del *contrafactum* e l'adozione di specifiche forme metriche, che assegnavano un particolare significato alla canzone, contribuirono ad accentuare la visione negativa del criminale e la funzione positiva della punizione. Un aspetto che è altrettanto visibile nelle canzoni che hanno come protagonisti il bandito e il fuorilegge: "Italian song continued to treat executed bandits and outlaws with scorn, from the sixteenth through the twentieth centuries, with the metrical form appropriate to the negative perspective of the words" (McIlvenna, 2022, 373).

Una percezione che, nonostante la tecnica del *contrafactum* ritroviamo diffusa anche negli altri paesi europei, soprattutto quando era rivolta a descrivere l'evento nel momento della sua realizzazione[21]. In realtà, soprattutto

21 "These 'realistic' ballads are usually set to tunes that are used repeatedly for execution ballads and thus would have immediately stimulated a recognition of appropriate punishment in the contemporary listener-singer" (McIlvenna, 2022, 344).

in Inghilterra e in Francia, incontravano una certa fortuna pure quelle che Una McIlvenna ha definito *nostalgic ballads*, composte molto più tardi dell'evento. Ballate che ovviamente non si soffermavano che tangenzialmente sui crimini commessi dal fuorilegge e non offrivano alcuna lezione morale:

> *The nostalgic model thus contributed, I would argue, to the overall romanticisation of these outlaws. While the tunes of these nostalgic songs are now well established in popular culture, they were not recognised as 'hanging tunes' in their day, and the outlaw genre is therefore a good example of the need to be aware of the patterns of contrafactum in execution balladry.* (McIlvenna, 2022, 344)

Il confronto tra i diversi paesi europei pone evidentemente alcuni interrogativi sulla specificità del caso italiano. Relazioni di giustizia e ballate concernenti banditi e fuorilegge non sembrano dunque dare adito nel variegato contesto italiano all'emergere dell'*outsider*, considerato pure un eroe, che si oppone alle autorità e che sembra godere delle simpatie del mondo popolare. Una figura che avrebbe incontrato una notevole fortuna nel corso del XVIII secolo, grazie alla diffusione di fogli volanti e opuscoli pubblicati a buon mercato (Burke, 1978, 165–166).

Come si può spiegare questa assenza? È stato notato come nel corso del Settecento quella che è stata definita 'cronaca nera' tenda a soffermarsi essenzialmente sull'esecuzione e sui suoi aspetti più raccapriccianti, mentre i suoi protagonisti sono ormai confinati tra la popolazione più umile. (Sobrero, 1987, 24–25). Osservazione che sembra confermare quanto è stato rilevato per le ballate, prive di ogni afflato nostalgico e romantico. Ma è proprio in questo secolo che si registra la redazione a stampa di libretti e opuscoli che, tradotti dal francese, si soffermano a descrivere la figura di fuorilegge divenuti ormai famosi come Louis Dominique Bourguigon detto Cartouche e Louis Mandrin:

> *La fama e la popolarità di questi personaggi erano talmente estese, suscitando una diffusa fascinazione presso ogni strato sociale* […] *tanto da indurre editori e mercanti a proporre opere in una versione narrativa più impegnativa che si discostava dalle stereotipate modalità espressive di Relazioni e Storie, arricchita di particolari inediti* […] *a volte anche aggirando le strette maglie della cenzura, affidandosi alla traduzione di opuscoli e libretti da parte di scrittori e traduttori di professione.* (Bianco, 2022, 1045)

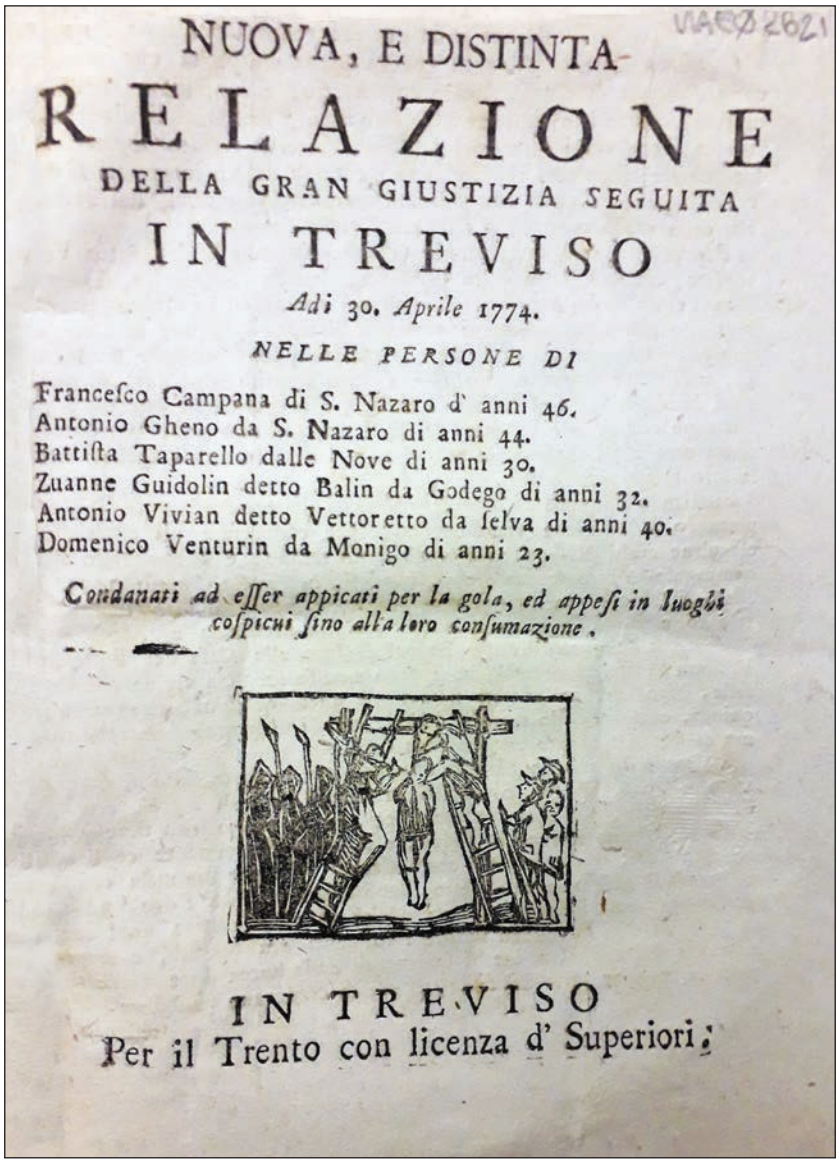
RELAZIONE
DELLA GRAN GIUSTIZIA
Seguita in VENEZIA il dì 27. Novembre 1770.
NELLA PERSONA
DI ANTONIO MALINORICH
qu. Gasparo, della Contrada di Gherchi nel Capitaniato di Raspo, d'Anni 30.
Bandito dall' Eccelso Conseglio di Dieci li 15. Novembre 1765. e condannato ad essergli recisa la mano dritta, decapitato, e diviso il suo Cadavere in quattro parti, ed esposti a' luochi soliti fino alla sua consumazione.

Immagine 8: Relazione di giustizia eseguita in Venezia il 27 novembre 1770 contro Antonio Malinorich (Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana).

In realtà nel corso del Settecento la pubblicistica che appare nei diversi contesti della penisola italiana non manifesta di certo quelle caratteristiche che si possono ritrovare nelle storie romanzate e leggendarie dei fuorilegge francesi e inglesi. Furio Bianco ha notato che se qualche volta gli autori degli opuscoli indugiano su fatti e personaggi fuori dal comune, ciò avviene soprattutto per rispondere in un certo qual modo alle aspettative del pubblico: ''ma sicuramente quasi sempre nel rispetto dei vincoli imposti dalla censura e dalle autorità giudiziarie che in qualsiasi momento avrebbero potuto bloccare la stampa e la diffusione degli opuscoli'' (Bianco, 2001, 59).

Gli interventi censori delle autorità e, si può aggiungere, il ruolo svolto dalle confraternite religiose impedirono di certo che l'immagine del fuorilegge e del bandito potesse apertamente assumere quell'aura mitica che li avrebbe trasformati in eroi che osavano sfidare il potere costituito[22].

22 Come ha notato Adriano Prosperi se il condannato rifiutava l'assistenza della confratermita: "allora l'esecrazione pubblica era assicurata: la sua anima perduta era maledetta da tutti e il suo corpo doveva essere condannato al ludibrio, restando senza sepoltura. Quello che si recitava sul patibolo era il trionfo del potere, tanto più efficace quanto più dietro alla sentenza del principe o del comune si poteva vedere la mano di Dio che puniva o salvava" (Prosperi, 2016, 152–153).



NUOVA, E DISTINTA
RELAZIONE
DELLA GRAN GIUSTIZIA SEGUITA
IN TREVISO
Adi 30. Aprile 1774.
NELLE PERSONE DI

Francesco Campana di S. Nazaro d' anni 46.
Antonio Gheno da S. Nazaro di anni 44.
Battista Taparello dalle Nove di anni 30.
Zuanne Guidolin detto Balin da Godego di anni 32.
Antonio Vivian detto Vettoretto da selva di anni 40.
Domenico Venturin da Monigo di anni 23.

Condanati ad esser appicati per la gola, ed appesi in luoghi cospicui sino alla loro consumazione.

IN TREVISO
Per il Trento con licenza d' Superiori.

Immagine 9: Relazione di giustizia eseguita in Treviso il 30 aprile 1774 contro alcuni imputati accusati di rapine (Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana).

La diversità italiana rispetto agli altri paesi europei va comunque rintracciata nella perdurante debolezza strutturale degli apparati di giustizia, che si rifacevano, sul piano giurisdizionale, al marcato e diffuso policentrismo politico. Nonostante, infatti, la repressione del banditismo assuma una severità meno pronunciata, nel corso del Settecento è ancora possibile ravvisare fenomeni di inquietudine sociale e di insicurezza delle vie di comunicazione, che inducono le autorità pubbliche ad assumere provvedimenti assai severi (Povolo, 2022, 169–171).

Ad esempio, nel luglio del 1742, una legge del Consiglio dei dieci, supremo organo politico-giudiziario veneziano, ricordava come, a fronte del considerevole numero di omicidi, fosse necessario assumere un'iniziativa straordinaria. E a tal fine ordinava che un boia fosse inviato nelle principali città della Terraferma per eseguire immediatamente le sentenze pronunciate dai rettori, "onde il pubblico castigo serva di orrido esempio e forte ritegno ai delinquenti di tale natura"[23]. E nel 1767 si esplicitava apertamente che se qualcuno fosse stato colto in

23 ASVe-CD-Com, filza 1007, 31 luglio 1742. Si trattava, per lo più, di sentenze concernenti persone bandite e nelle quali si prevedeva la condanna a morte qualora esse fossero state catturate nei territori da cui erano state estromesse.

flagrante crimine a commettere alcuni gravi delitti, poteva essere impunemente ucciso da chiunque, anche al di fuori dei confini dello stato[24].

Si trattava di provvedimenti assai severi, che suggeriscono come il controllo del territorio fosse ben lungi dall'essere considerato un dato definitivamente acquisito e richiedesse, di conseguenza, l'assunzione di provvedimenti assai severi sul piano giudiziario. Che di certo lasciavano ben poco spazio ad atteggiamenti permissivi nei confronti della pubblicistica che si rapportava alle esecuzioni capitali e alle ballate, impedendo qualsiasi forma di mitizzazione[25].

La prassi giudiziaria e la pubblicistica che la accompagnava influirono comunque notevolmente, nel secolo successivo, a trasmettere un'immagine della giustizia penale di antico regime contraddistinta dai rituali macabri e orripilanti descritti nelle *Relazioni di giustizia*. Così come gli sfortunati protagonisti veicolati dalle ballate assunsero i tratti di feroci criminali, dediti ai crimini più efferati.

In realtà, nel corso dell'Ottocento, sarebbe per lo più sfuggita a coloro che rivolgevano il loro sguardo alla complessità della situazione preesistente, l'immagine di una giustizia penale estremamente variegata e contraddistinta da protagonisti la cui personalità, di certo, non era semplicemente rappresentata dalle testimonianze artefatte trasmesse sia dalle sentenze che dalla pubblicistica volta a sancirne la fondatezza. E che, molto probabilmente, era soprattutto, ma non solo (cf. Palmieri, 2022, passim) confinata nell'ambito di una labile, ma vivace tradizione orale che si svolgeva in contesti giurisdizionali frammentati e caratterizzati dalle consuetudini[26].

Immagine 10: Frontespizio dell'edizione a stampa del Registro dei giustiziati pubblicato nel 1848 (Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana).

I REGISTRI DEI GIUSTIZIATI

Nel corso della prima metà dell'Ottocento il tema della giustizia penale dei secoli precedenti assunse un ruolo di rilievo straordinario. Lo sguardo rivolto al passato si alimentò di pregiudizi e di concetti erronei che traevano prevalentemente origine dalla convinzione di essere entrati in un'era decisamente nuova, non più contraddistinta da forme di giustizia dal timbro inutilmente severo e violento. Le narrazioni che si enuclearono sul piano storico e letterario

24 ASVe-CD-Com, reg. 217, 11 maggio 1767, cc. 71v–73r; 76 r e v.

25 La cronaca giudiziaria europea, come è stato osservato, offriva comunque una molteplicità di letture, che potevano, in taluni casi, produrre pure effetti sociali destabilizzanti. Gazzette, romanzi e memorie forensi svolsero un ruolo non indifferente nel rappresentare la complessità dell'immagine del criminale e delle ambiguità della struttura giudiziaria (cf. Palmieri, 2022, 61–67). Risvolti che si possono cogliere pure tramite la crisi del tradizionale processo inquisitorio, che negli ultimi decenni del Settecento, non è più in grado di nascondere la presenza dell'avvocato difensore e le sue critiche nei confronti di talune storture dell'apparato giudiziario (cf. Cozzi, 2000, 161–174). Come già si è sottolineato, ad incidere infine sulle diverse rappresentazioni del fuorilegge e sulle loro interrelazioni con il mito e la tradizione orale, interveniva sensibilmente l'azione censoria delle strutture giudiziarie nei confronti dei diversi contesti sociali.

26 Tradizione che è possibile cogliere ed esaminare nella vasta produzione di tavolette votive in cui sono rappresentati squarci e scene di vita giudiziaria o, ancora più frequentemente, di scontri armati contrassegnati dalla violenza e dalle inimicizie. Sugli ex-voto rinvio in particolare a Clemente (1987, 12–45). Molte testimonianze che rinviano esplicitamente al mondo giudiziario e alle esecuzioni capitali in Vaccari (1999). Sull'intenso valore emotivo suscitato dagli ex-voto (cf. Freedberg, 2000, 210–242). Per un esempio di ex voto, esaminato nel suo contesto consuetudinario cf. Povolo (2011, in particolare 25–38). Il grande affresco che descrive la morte del famoso fuorilegge ad opera della comunità, interloquì nel corso dei secoli con i pellegrini che visitavano il santuario di Montecastello (Tignale, Brescia), agendo attivamente sulla loro percezione, e assumendo significati che contrastavano visibilmente con quelli che erano stati gli intendimenti iniziali dei committenti; su questo ordine di problemi cf. Burke (2002, 208–209). Ad esempio un settore di studio di enorme interesse, investito dal tema affrontato in questo saggio, è l'intensa presenza delle inimicizie e del banditismo che traspare dalle tavolette votive. Un tema che, di certo, sembra essere caratteristica diffusa di quella *great tradition* cui fa esplicito riferimento Peter Burke.

risentivano ovviamente delle trasformazioni politiche e culturali intervenute tra Sette e Ottocento e pagavano uno scotto inevitabile alla scarsa conoscenza dei meccanismi che per secoli avevano contraddistinto la giustizia penale e il pluralismo giuridico che la animava. Tali narrazioni, spesso prive di ogni fondamento storico, alimentarono un immaginario collettivo i cui tratti fondamentali erano costituiti da pregiudizi e credenze che sfociarono inevitabilmente nel mito e nella leggenda. Temi importanti come il banditismo, le strette connessioni tra inimicizie e vendetta; e, soprattutto, il concetto di onore e di amicizia che aveva animato le società del passato vennero percepiti alla luce di un sistema penale insignito di diversi simboli e concetti di ordine (cf. Povolo, 2013).

Testimonianze indirette, ma significative del nuovo clima sociale, per molti versi definibile *borghese*, sono i cosiddetti *Registri dei giustiziati* che, ovunque nella penisola italiana, si diffusero tra la prima e la seconda metà dell'Ottocento, dapprima manoscritti e poi a stampa, incontrando una rapida fortuna. In realtà si trattava di una documentazione priva di veri e propri riscontri storici e che rifletteva la frammentazione giurisdizionale e il pluralismo giuridico medievali e della prima età moderna[27]. La loro rilevanza storica assunse comunque una certa importanza nel momento in cui si venne ad affermare una cultura distintiva rispetto a quella che si tendeva a definire con l'appellativo di *popolare*.

I *Registri dei giustiziati*, pur difformi talvolta nell'ambito dello stesso contesto geografico, si caratterizzavano come un vero e proprio elenco, per lo più cronologico, delle condanne a morte applicate a partire dal medioevo. Una sorta di rappresentazione delle pratiche crudeli e orrifiche esercitate tramite le esecuzioni capitali del passato nei confronti di chi aveva violato la legge. I *Registri* veicolavano una narrazione che indirettamente poneva in risalto la mitezza e le buone regole della nuova giustizia penale, contraddistinta soprattutto da una diversa concezione della pena, volta, ove possibile, a riabilitare colui che aveva infranto la legge. Nonostante gli errori e le inesattezze che pure ben presto si rilevarono, queste testimonianze furono comunque utilizzate per rappresentare una società del passato contraddistinta dalla violenza e dalle istanze insopprimibili della vendetta.

I *Registri dei giustiziati* hanno pure attirato l'interesse degli storici che negli ultimi decenni hanno rivolto la loro attenzione alla giustizia amministrata tra medioevo e età moderna nei diversi contesti politico-istituzionali. Se ne è rilevata l'origine nella documentazione delle antiche confraternite deputate a confortare i condannati destinati al patibolo. E, in particolare, ci si è soffermati sul tema delle pene applicate ai diversi delitti, per cogliere, in taluni casi, le caratteristiche della criminalità del passato (Di Renzo Villata, 2017; Terpstra, 2008; Prosperi, 2011; Passarella, 2017).[28]

I *Registri dei giustiziati* si prestano comunque a rilievi interpretativi che travalicano ovviamente i contenuti, per altro eterogenei, che essi veicolano[29]. L'interesse di tale documentazione è da un lato costituito dalla sua stessa apparizione e diffusione in forme manoscritte tra Sette e Ottocento, per poi essere successivamente proposta ad un pubblico più ampio attraverso la sua redazione a stampa. Dall'altro, comunque, va pure rilevato che trattasi di una documentazione che impone una riflessione sulle interrelazioni tra cultura orale e la sua successiva trasposizione in forma scritta e stampata. E, di conseguenza, richieda pure un'analisi di decodificazione dei suoi stessi contenuti, per individuare gli inserimenti privi di ogni riscontro storico.

A questo proposito il caso veneziano è estremamente interessante e istruttivo, anche perché le vicende (vere o presunte che fossero) incontravano un terreno fertile e, apparentemente contraddittorio, nel mito dell'antica Repubblica o, all'inverso, nella cosiddetta *leggend*a *nera* che sembra avvolgere la città lagunare sin dagli anni immediatamente successivi alla sua caduta (Preto, 2010, 597–598). Infine, nel 1819, a sugellare e a consolidare gli stereotipi negativi di una visione priva di chiaroscuri, apparve la voluminosa opera di Pierre Daru *l'Histoire de la République de Venise*, che ebbe vasta diffusione in tutta Europa, contribuendo a diffondere un'immagine anacronistica dell'antica Repubblica, dominata da un potere oligarchico indiscusso e avvolto nella segretezza. Una testimonianza per molti versi preconcetta, ma che inevitabilmente aveva facile presa sull'immaginario collettivo del nuovo secolo, considerando l'esplicita e scontata delegittimazione di un potere politico che per secoli era stato retto dal monopolio indiscusso dell'aristocrazia.

L'opera dello scrittore francese si era infatti avvalsa di alcune fonti apocrife, che avevano dipinto negativamente il potere politico e giudiziario veneziano e il ruolo esorbitante svolto da alcune magistrature come gli Inquisitori di stato e il Consiglio dei dieci. Tradotta in italiano negli anni

27 Un passaggio che è stato sottolineato in particolare dall'antropologia giuridica (cf. Rouland, 1992, 74–79).

28 Sia il lavoro di Terpstra, che quello di Prosperi rinviano ad una più ampia bibliografia sul tema.

29 Contenuti, comunque, che suggeriscono gli stereotipi culturali che animavano il controllo sociale esercitato dalle strutture di un potere politico essenzialmente policentrico, che nel corso dell'età moderna si caratterizzò per i profondi cambiamenti.

1837–38 i cultori di storia veneziana ebbero facile gioco nel rilevare talune ingenuità ed incongruenze dell'*Histoire*, ma la *leggenda nera* sembrava ormai aver trovato fertile terreno nel diverso clima economico e politico in cui da tempo era avvolta la città lagunare (Povolo, 2000, 493–494).

Nel 1848 apparve alle stampe un *Registro dei giustiziati in Venezia dal principio della Repubblica Veneta fino ai giorni nostri*. Ripubblicato con aggiunte l'anno seguente (Soranzo, 1885, 148), l'opuscolo in realtà raccoglieva una serie di elenchi che, soprattutto a partire dalla seconda metà del Settecento circolavano manoscritti, soffermandosi, in maniera non uniforme, sulle esecuzioni capitali avvenute nella città dominante (Puppi, 1988; Passarella, 2017, 2–5). Alcuni di questi registri traevano probabilmente origine dall'attività svolta dalle confraternite incaricate di assistere i condannati alla pena capitale (Traverso, 2000, 87–89).

I *Registri dei giustiziati*, compilati in un periodo in cui le esecuzioni capitali declinavano vistosamente ed erano sottoposte a critiche severe, riflettevano indirettamente i cambiamenti profondi intervenuti nell'ambito della giustizia penale e, di conseguenza, nella percezione di pratiche di giustizia del passato ritenute barbare e, persino, inconcludenti[30]. Un atteggiamento che sarebbe divenuto palese nel corso dell'Ottocento, in una fase di maggiore controllo degli apparati repressivi (Povolo, 2022). Le edizioni a stampa dei manoscritti sancivano una sorta di distacco culturale, prima ancora che politico, nei confronti di un passato ritenuto anacronistico e inutilmente crudele[31]. Ma esse erano pure fonte di ispirazione per l'elaborazione di opere di vario genere, spesso prive di ogni riscontro storico, ma tali da suscitare l'interesse *popolare*. Racconti, romanzi e persino versi poetici vennero pubblicati e diffusi, affidandosi a narrazioni intrise di elementi fiabeschi o caratterizzati dalla pura invenzione. Le tematiche affrontate tramite le vicende descritte e romanzate suggeriscono ovviamente le caratteristiche di un immaginario collettivo, che probabilmente riscontrava la sua lontana origine anche in una tradizione orale che, pur subendo diverse e inevitabili manipolazioni, era evidentemente ancora vivace.

LEGGENDE E FIABE

Quei *Registri dei giustiziati* sembravano riemergere nei primi decenni dell'Ottocento da un oscuro passato, in cui la diffusa violenza sociale appariva andare di pari passo con l'estrema crudeltà degli apparati giudiziari. Violenza e crudeltà pure avvalorati dalle numerose *Relazioni di giustizia* date alle stampe in occasione delle esecuzioni capitali. Gli archivi erano per lo più ancora inaccessibili, ma quanto era riportato nei *Registri dei giustiziati* appariva del tutto plausibile e sembrava essere testimoniato dall'apparato scenico in cui si svolgevano le condanne capitali: i luoghi occulti del potere politico e poliziesco, le antiche prigioni (i cosiddetti *pozzi*) e quelle di più recente costruzione cui si accedeva tramite il ponte dei sospiri. Ed infine le due colonne della piazzetta tra le quali venivano eseguite le esecuzioni, precedute spesso dalla rituale e macabra processione lungo il canal grande. Luoghi che sarebbero presto stati simbolicamente contrassegnati come testimonianze visibili della crudeltà del trascorso dispotismo aristocratico[32]. E che sulla scorta di una pubblicistica, che si era avvalsa di stereotipi e luoghi comuni, potevano essere indicati come emblema del tramontato potere aristocratico. Luigi Rocca nel 1840 non aveva esitazioni nel descrivere a tinte fosche il cosiddetto ponte dei sospiri:

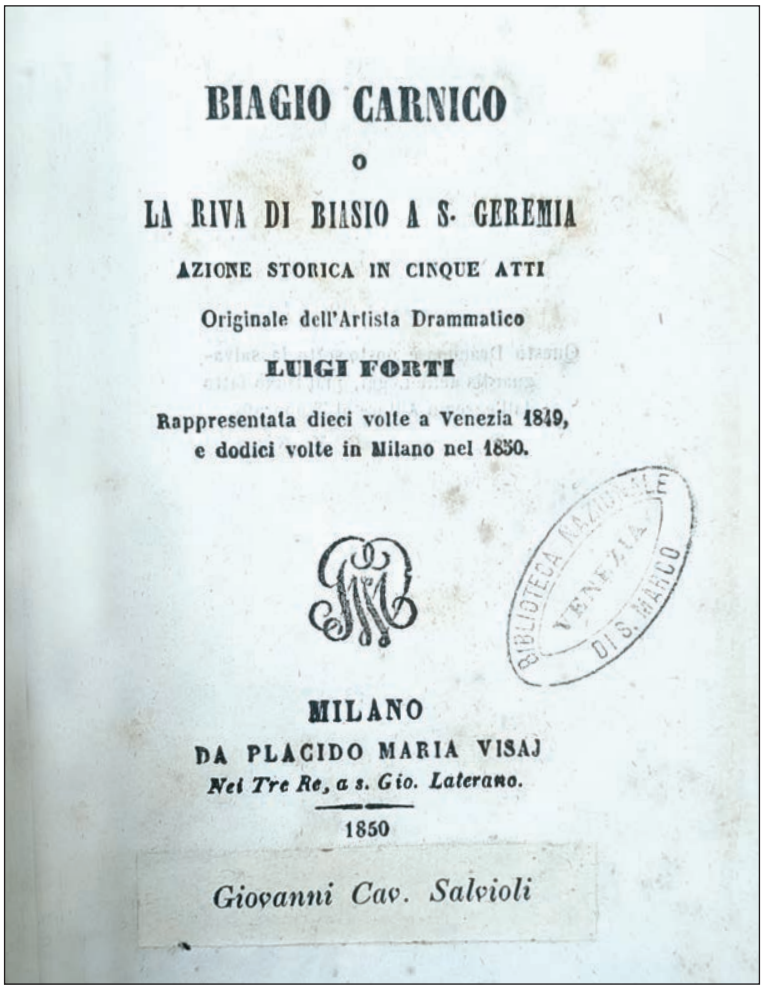
> *Tremando miravano dal basso gli atterriti veneziani quel ponte coperto, il quale all'altezza del primo piano congiunge il palazzo ducale colle vicine prigioni, e talvolta fremendo udivano i gemiti soffocati dei meschini i quali al passare di colà acquistavano la certezza di una morte imminente* [...]*; numerose spie d'ogni lato e tremendi esecutori di segrete condanne e sconosciute denunce e improvvisa disparizione di persone e repentine morti di cui niuno osava chieder ragione*. (Rocca, 1840, 434)

Ma di subito rassicurava i lettori, aggiungendo: ''Ora tutto ciò è svanito; e la nuova generazione che scorre le vie dell'antica regina dei mari vive una vita monotona e tranquilla'' (Rocca, 1840, 435).

30 Aspetti affrontati in particolar modo da Venturi (1990); e, per quanto attinente alla giustizia penale cf. Cozzi (2000, 311–356) e Basaglia (1986, 163–178). Per l'amministrazione della giustizia penale nel contesto italiano (cf. Bellabarba, 2008, 115–128).

31 Significativo, sotto questo punto di vista, il testo di Giuseppe Tassini, il quale si rifaceva esplicitamente ai *Registri dei giustiziati*, ma pure a manoscritti e alle fonti d'archivio, ormai divenuti di agevole utilizzo. Tassini osservava a tal proposito: "Siccome poi i suddetti registri dei giustiziati contengono molte volte nomi ed epoche soltanto, né mancano di gravi inesattezze, difetto questo comune anche alle cronache, mi fu giuoco forza esaminare gli storici moderni più riputati e gli autentici documenti che si conservano nell'I.R. Archivio generale dei Frari". Ovviamente anche Tassini pagava uno scotto insormontabile nei confronti della conoscenza delle forme di giustizia medievali e di antico regime, ma poteva osservare a ragion veduta: "Non volli poi farla da romanziere, mescolando il vero col falso; anzi ad ogni racconto aggiunsi parecchie annotazioni, le quali, se da un lato tendono ad illustrarlo, additano spesse volte dall'altro le fonti donde fu tratto" (Tassini, 1866, 3–4).

32 Rinvio ancora a Preto (2010, 597–599) in cui si ricorda l'operetta di Vittorio Barzoni sulle carceri veneziani, apparsa nel 1797, che ebbe vasta diffusione e contribuì non poco ad offrire un'immagine negativa dell'antica Repubblica. Sull'opera del Barzoni si veda inoltre Pasqualin (2019), sul ponte dei sospiri e i Piombi cf. inoltre il romanzo di Vismara (1872).


BIAGIO CARNICO
O
LA RIVA DI BIASIO A S. GEREMIA
AZIONE STORICA IN CINQUE ATTI
Originale dell'Artista Drammatico
LUIGI FORTI
Rappresentata dieci volte a Venezia 1849,
e dodici volte in Milano nel 1850.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VENEZIA DI S. MARCO

MILANO
DA PLACIDO MARIA VISAJ
Nei Tre Re, a s. Gio. Laterano.
1850

Giovanni Cav. Salvioli

Immagine 11: Frontespizio dell'operetta di Luigi Forti Biagio Carnico o la Riva di Biasio a San Geremia, pubblicata nel 1850 e dedicata all'immaginaria figura di Biagio luganegher (Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana).

I *Registri dei giustiziati* sembravano confermare la crudeltà di una giustizia che andava ben oltre la prevedibile severità. Ma testimoniavano pure la diffusione di crimini che destavano evidentemente stupore e inquietudine in un contesto culturale e politico che guardava con diffidenza ad un passato in cui si riteneva fossero del tutto assenti l'ordine e la razionalità che contraddistinguevano la nuova società. Alcuni esempi erano destinati ad incontrare una rapida fortuna, come quello riportato sotto la data del 18 novembre 1503:

> *Biasio Cargnico, luganegher a San Simion Grande, invitava nella sua bottega la gente a mangiar le tripe e il sguazetto; et essendo stato trovato nel piato da uno che mangiava il sguazetto un nodo d'un ditto della mano, questo fuggì e corse a darne parte alla giustizia. Fu per ordine della Quarantia Criminal preso, tirato a coda di cavallo, tagliate le mani nella sua bottega, tanagliato e decapitato e squartato. E spianata la casa sino da fondamenti, ove si trovarono molti da lui sasinati e traditi. In quel luogo non si può più fare né case né boteghe e viene chiamato la riva di Biaggio*[33].

Una simile storia non poteva sfuggire a taluni aspiranti cultori di storia veneziana. Nel 1850 Luigi Forti pubblicò *Biagio Carnico o la Riva di Biasio a San Geremia* (Forti, 1850). Con un sottotitolo significativo: ''Rappresentata dieci volte a Venezia nel 1849 e dodici volte in Milano nel 1850''.

La vicenda veniva collocata nel 1520. Ma, come ricorda Giuseppe Tassini, nessuna fonte storica ne attestava

33 ASVe-MCSV, 75, alla data.

Dr. 1670.12.

IL

FORNARETTO

DRAMMA STORICO

DI

FRANCESCO DALL'ONGARO.

BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE VENEZIA DI S. MARCO

TRIESTE
DALLA TIPOGRAFIA WEIS
1846.

Immagine 12: Frontespizio dell'operetta di Francesco Dell'Ongaro Il Fornaretto pubblicata nel 1846 e dedicata all'immaginaria figura di Pietro Tasca (Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana).

la fondatezza, anche se diversi *Registri dei giustiziati* la riportavano, collocandola nel 1521 ed arricchendola di particolari (Tassini, 1866, 119–121)[34]. Altri ritornarono sulla storia di Biagio, che evidentemente affascinava il grosso pubblico per i suoi espliciti aspetti orrifici[35]. Le successive verifiche archivistiche dimostrarono l'assoluta inconsistenza di quanto riportato nelle diverse versioni dei *Registri*, anche se nei decenni successivi ci si interrogò sull'origine di tale narrazione. Nel 1890 un commentatore della rivista *L'illustrazione italiana* osservava:

> *Come se avesse figura, la leggenda di Biagio seguita a girar le strade di Venezia, inducendo le povere mamme a trepidare per la salvezza delle loro creature. In ispecie nei pomeriggi estivi, quando il popolo si raccoglie nei campielli e nelle callette a famigliare conversazione, e la leggenda di Biagio s'annuncia sotto forma di foglietto volante dagli strilloni* […] *a Venezia essa vive e viaggia attivamente di casa in casa, di teatro in teatro, da quasi quattro secoli. Biagio ha cessato di essere il nome di un malfattore solo, per diventare il simbolo, la più completa espressione di ogni crudeltà, che equivale ad efferatezza senza esempio.* (Centelli, 1890, 226)

E, ricordando significativamente come il diarista Marin Sanudo, attento osservatore della vita cittadina, non avesse minimamente registrato la vicenda di Biagio, egli proseguiva:

34 Tassini riportava che "lo sciagurato, spinto da estro diabolico, soleva uccidere i teneri fanciulli per ammanire colle loro carni il suo *sguazeto*".
35 Ad esempio Cesare Francesco Balbi (cf. Sagredo, 1869, 40).

> *Il palco scenico concorre ancora alla periodica rifioritura della leggenda di Biagio; e quando degli attori non commuovono con essa le credule donnette, intervengono gli editori senza lavoro, gli stampatori alla macchia; e i foglietti grondanti sangue innocente girano di casa in casa, di campiello in campiello turbando le menti e gli animi.* (Centelli, 1890, 226)

Alla tradizione *popolare* si era dunque affiancata una pubblicistica che si ritrovava pienamente a proprio agio nel narrare una vicenda che enfatizzava al massimo grado la leggenda nera di Venezia. Ma qual era effettivamente l'origine di una narrazione che affrontava un tema come l'antropofagia nella Venezia del Cinquecento? Molto probabilmente la storia di Biagio luganegher venne costruita sulla falsariga di un grave episodio di violenza avvenuto a Milano nel 1519. Una giovane donna, Isabella Lampugnani, venne accusata di aver ucciso alcuni bambini e di essersi cibata della loro carne. L'episodio venne registrato da Marin Sanudo, che ne aveva avuto notizia da un dispaccio dell'ambasciatore veneziano in Milano. In realtà, come è stato opportunamente osservato, la giovane donna era stata accusata di aver ucciso e smembrato il corpo di un bambino, ma nessuna effettiva testimonianza diretta attestava l'avvenuta antropofagia. L'episodio, sicuramente registrato da numerose fonti dell'epoca, aveva ovviamente destato notevole impressione, sino al punto di ritenere come del tutto scontata l'aggravante del cannibalismo[36]. L'interpolazione della vicenda di Biagio luganegher nei *Registri dei giustiziati* avvenne probabilmente in un periodo successivo, riallacciandosi ad una tradizione orale che l'aveva accolta senza indugi. Forse la fiaba o leggenda di Biagio si ricollegò pure ad un grave fatto di sangue, ma la datazione del 1521, riportata in alcuni *Registri*, induce a credere che l'episodio avvenuto a Milano giocò un ruolo non indifferente nel favorire l'interpolazione[37].

Un'altra vicenda riportata nei *Registri*, quella del *Fornaretto di Venezia*, avrebbe avuto una fortuna ancora maggiore nel corso dell'Ottocento. L'umile personaggio accusato ingiustamente agli inizi del Cinquecento di un grave delitto di sangue emergeva a tutto tondo, in quanto la condanna a morte inflittagli da una magistratura veneziana era in realtà il frutto di un grave errore giudiziario, di cui si sarebbe perpetuata la memoria.

Anche nel caso del *Fornaretto* i *Registri dei giustiziati* offrivano varie versioni, sia nel contenuto, che nella datazione. Come avrebbe agevolmente dimostrato Giuseppe Tassini, nessuna fonte documentaria o cronaca dell'epoca attestava che la vicenda fosse realmente avvenuta[38]. Egli ricordò alcune delle trasposizioni letterarie e teatrali più famose: ''Gran rumore ed assai polemiche destò ai nostri tempi il dramma di Francesco dall'Ongaro col titolo: Il Fornaretto, impresso nel 1846 a Trieste dal Weis, a cui fece seguito quello dell'attore drammatico G. Giandolini col titolo medesimo, impresso, pure nel 1846, a Milano dal Visai'' (Tassini, 1866, 127).

Dall'Ongaro si era gettato sulla vicenda senza alcuna cautela critica, rifacendosi a uno dei tanti *Registri dei giustiziati*:

> *Pietro Tasca, detto Faciol, essendo di notte stato trovato dai birri con un fodero da coltello insanguinato, ed essendo la stessa notte successo un omicidio, scoperto l'interfetto, si trovò impresso nella ferita il coltello, e rimesso questo nel fodero ritrovato dal Faciol, si riconobbe che era a quello appartenente. Nel corso del processo ebbe una malattia mortale, che si dovette confessare, e suggeritogli che palesasse il suo delitto per salvar l'anima sua, egli acconsentì e palesò; ma poco dopo rimessosi in salute, fu per sentenza del Consiglio dei X, come reo d questo delitto, impiccato.* (Dall'Ongaro, 1853, 1)

Ed aveva aggiunto: ''La tradizione, altra fonte legittima non solo di poesia ma di storia, ricorda altre circostanze di questo fatto che mi giovarono a vestire di colori drammatici l'argomento. [...] Quello che egli si è ingegnato di conservare, sono le opinioni, il carattere, lo stile, per quanto poteva, del popolo veneziano'' (Dall'Ongaro, 1853, 2).

L'errore giudiziario, anche in tal caso, era finalizzato a sottolineare la bontà del nuovo clima

36 Silvio Leydi, che si è soffermato su una vicenda che venne poi ripresa più volte nei secoli successivi, ha osservato "It seems quite plausible to hypothesise that in Milan in 1519 an archetypal account of cannibalism was superimposed on a bloody deed (certainly true) […]; this archetype, inserted into the story, and thus accepted as credible, even true, at the time, contributed to its permanence in civic memory" (Leydi, 2017, 157).

37 L'archetipo del cannibalismo, collegato a gravi e crudeli fatti di sangue, traspare anche da una novella di Matteo Bandello, che viene ambientata nella Venezia del Cinquecento. Il protagonista principale, Pietro da Venezia, è accusato, di alcuni orrendi delitti: "avendo seco portato il tagliente coltello, in un tratto svenò la zia e, passato in un'altra camera dove la figliuola col piccolo fratello faceva suoi giuochi puerili, ivi medesimamente privò di ogni umanità e compassione, antropofago più tosto o cannibale che veneziano, quelle piccole creature senza pietà ancise come due agnellini" (Cremonte, 1966, 202).

38 Tassini (1866, 125–127) il quale osservava: "Questo avvenimento, come quello di Biagio Carnico vive bensì nella tradizione ed ha posto in tutti i Registri dei Giustiziati, nè trovasi ricordato nei *Diarii* del diligentissimo Sanuto". Sulla vicenda e i suoi successivi sviluppi letterari e filmici (cf. Radi, 2007, 731–736).

giudiziario e politico rispetto al passato[39]. Le incongruenze erano tali che fu comunque gioco facile rilevare sin da subito l'inconsistenza della vicenda (cf. Fontana, 1845). E nel 1912 Alessandro Luzio sottopose ad una critica serrata le diverse e "bislacche" versioni riportate dai *Registri dei giustiziati*, aggiungendo che, soprattutto a partire dalla fine del Settecento, esse si erano arricchite di particolari del tutto fantasiosi e privi di ogni riscontro storico: ''La leggenda del Fornaretto, s'io mal non m'appongo, rientra perciò nel ciclo di quelle tradizioni diffamatorie della Repubblica Veneta, sbocciate assai tarde, quando il leone in extremis o già morto doveva tollerare i calci d'asino di chi ignorava quanta sapienza d'ordinamenti avesse presieduto all'amministrazione della giustizia'' (Luzio, 1912, 106).

Luzio riteneva che l'interpolazione fosse avvenuta prendendo come riferimento una vicenda svoltasi tra Padova e Venezia sul finire del Cinquecento e che ebbe come protagonista un certo bravo di nome Francesco Tosello, ma costantemente nominato nei documenti dell'epoca come il *Fornaretto* che, a sua volta, fu vittima di una vera e propria persecuzione giudiziaria:

> *La leggenda non è niente affatto d'origine popolare: è pretta invenzione di eruditi, di compilatori di notizie storiche, attinte a casaccio, ripetute senza discernimento. Non impossibile dunque che tra il Tosello e il Fasiol sia avvenuto uno di quegli strani scambi, che deformavano spesso la realtà storica sino a renderla irriconoscibile*. (Luzio, 1912, 106)

In realtà l'origine era evidentemente *popolare*, nella misura in cui il termine si riferiva ad una tradizione orale condivisa da tutti i ceti sociali; una cultura, cioè, del popolo. Come del resto sembra essere avvalorato dai precisi richiami che lo stesso Luzio faceva alla vicenda cinquecentesca. Ma egli poteva ben aggiungere, a ragion veduta, che:

> *Nel secolo XVIII la memoria precisa de' fatti s'era illanguidita; bisognava pur dare una qualche spiegazione di quel confuso ricordo, e gli eruditi, i compilatori de' registri di giustiziati si afferrarono al primo fornaio decapitato che incontrarono, sostituirono il Fasiol panettiere al bravo, infiorarono la storiella di tutte quelle invenzioni calunniose e schiocche, che per tanto tempo imperversarono poi su Venezia*. (Luzio, 1912, 107)

Le due vicende di Biasio luganegher e del Fornaretto suggeriscono come una certa tradizione orale si fosse sviluppata per lungo tempo alimentandosi di un immaginario collettivo, in cui la dimensione della giustizia e della pena si rifacevano ad archetipi e concezioni culturali tradizionali. E venisse infine ripresa nei *Registri dei giustiziati* alla luce di pregiudizi e manipolazioni privi di ogni riscontro storico. Un processo che fu agevolato dall'affermarsi di una cultura di tipo distintivo, attratta da un passato nel quale la cosiddetta *cultura popolare* era contraddistinta da tratti e caratteristiche ritenute del tutto superate. Il tema della giustizia penale e del controllo sociale si prospettava come un fertile terreno in cui ricercare nuove certezze e prospettare un diverso concetto di ordine. In realtà il fraintendimento fu assai rilevante e impedì che si potessero cogliere anche solo gli aspetti più visibili delle strutture politiche e giudiziarie del passato[40]. In maniera analoga si riteneva pure che la dimensione della violenza fosse nei secoli precedenti estrema e incontenibile, senza avere la consapevolezza che in realtà essa si declinava intensamente con una sensibile inclinazione verso la pace (Carroll, 2017).

IL BANDITO E IL FUORILEGGE

Lo scollamento interpretativo nei confronti del passato fu assai più rilevante nei confronti della figura del fuorilegge, in quanto, come già si è notato, nel corso dell'età moderna non erano comparse a livello pubblicistico quelle testimonianze, le quali, pur a distanza di tempo dalle esecuzioni capitali e dalle relative *Relazioni di giustizia*, facessero emergere le immagini del bandito e del fuorilegge diffuse a livello orale e consuetudinario. Interventi di carattere censorio impedirono che si enucleasse una tradizione scritta del mito del bandito, così come poteva essere percepita nei diversi contesti sociali in cui si era diffusa.

La tradizionale pena del bando, concepita soprattutto come strumento per contenere ed attenuare il diffuso sistema delle inimicizie, tra Cinque e Seicento venne rapidamente messa in

39 "Un tale intendimento mentre lascia al Consiglio la minore colpabilità di una sentenza notoriamente ingiusta, è un omaggio indiretto alla mite prudenza dei recenti legislatori" (Dall'Ongaro, 1853, 3).

40 Come è stato osservato, la pena di morte: "was not the pervasive sentence meted out in medieval systems as many scholars have previously asserted. It was far more common of people convicted of crimes to escape the death penalty either because they were able to escape from their accusers, leave the area under jurisdiction, were pardoned or died of other causes. As our studies indicate, the imposition of fines, banishment, public humiliation or imprisonment in almost all areas of the West were more prevalent than public executions. […] Public shaming of criminals was also part of the arsenal of medieval and early modern punishments" (Classen & Scarborough, 2012, 5–7).

sordina da una serie di provvedimenti assai severi volti a configurare uno spazio politico territoriale non più essenzialmente vincolato al tradizionale policentrismo medievale (Povolo, 2017). Tale processo favorì indubbiamente l'accostamento tra il bandito e il criminale, ma contribuì pure, indirettamente, a diffondere a livello locale un'immagine diversa del fuorilegge, trasmessa oralmente o comunque tramite fogli volanti di cui non sono rimaste tracce.

La pubblicistica, che tra Sette e Ottocento volse il suo sguardo a quanto le fonti documentarie medievali e dell'età moderna avevano trasmesso, non fu in grado di cogliere la complessa immagine del bandito, considerato come un vero e proprio criminale, oppure un equivalente del brigante meridionale[41]. Pompeo Molmenti nell'introduzione al volume edito sui *Banditi della Repubblica Veneta* non nascondeva i suoi intenti narrativi:

> *Leggendo la narrazione di certe imprese sanguinose, risuonavamo nella mia mente le voci baldanzose di ribaldi e di feroci, che posero la privata lor volontà ben di sopra alle leggi, compiendo azioni di obbrobrioso coraggio. E non mi parve inutile particolare per la storia notare i nomi di quei micidiali, e ricordare alcune geste malvage che fanno risorgere quasi un'ombra del passato*. (Molmenti, 1896, X)

Era dunque impensabile che il mito del bandito e del fuorilegge potesse assumere un profilo leggendario dando luogo a narrazioni che, come nel romanzo storico, fossero sensibili a coglierne il coraggio o l'intraprendenza[42]. *Relazioni di giustizia* e *Registri dei giustiziati* offrivano una vasta gamma di stereotipi criminali, molti dei quali potevano in realtà essere ripresi per delineare vicende suggestive e spesso prive di ogni riscontro storico. Ovviamente rimaneva del tutto esclusa la ripresa dell'immagine del bandito/fuorilegge che ricordava pericolosamente il brigante dell'epoca.

IL BANDITO GIUSEPPE ROSSETTI[43]

La figura del bandito sociale evocato dalla cultura orale avrebbe potuto ovviamente riaffiorare in un'altra temperie, sensibile nel cogliere le complesse interrelazioni tra istituzioni e società[44].

È dunque compito dello storico ricostruire un'immagine che la tradizione orale percepiva soprattutto nella sua dimensione leggendaria e mitica. Compito arduo e complesso, che può essere raggiunto tramite un'operazione di decostruzione delle fonti documentarie che hanno negativamente connotato il bandito, senza alcuna sfumatura e soprattutto alla luce di azioni prive di ogni precisa contestualizzazione.

E d'altronde cronache e diari personali testimoniano talvolta come avvenisse il passaggio dal bandito tradizionale al vero e proprio fuorilegge, il quale, di seguito alla sua latitanza e alle sue azioni temerarie, finiva per assumere un profilo leggendario e mitico.

Emblematica, a questo proposito, è la vicenda di Giuseppe Rossetti, vissuto nella prima metà del Seicento, il cui profilo si prospetta nitidamente come quello di un uomo non disponibile a subire soprusi. Il Rossetti venne ripetutamente bandito con l'accusa di aver ucciso alcuni nobili della città di Vicenza. Il cronista Silvestro Castellini annotò con disprezzo nei suoi diari la sua umile origine, e la sua professione di *sicario* al servizio delle principali famiglie nobili della città, che si fronteggiavano in scontri cruenti, servendosi di sgherri prezzolati:

> *Fra costoro uno de' più famosi fu Iseppo Rossetto, uomo plebeo, figlio di un calzolajo* [...]*; spinto dai favori estraordinari che gli*

41 Anche laddove, come nel caso del conte Lucio Della Torre. La vicenda, pur romanzata, assumeva il taglio di un vero e proprio case study (Marcotti, 1888).

42 Si veda ad esempio il profilo del patrizio veneziano Leonardo Pesaro tracciato da Pompeo Molmenti. Il Pesaro era stato ripetutamente bandito per alcune sopraffazioni e violenze. I reati a lui imputati erano evidentemente contrassegnati dai vari bandi contro di lui pronunciati in latitanza da parte delle supreme magistrature veneziane. Bandi che contrassegnavano ciascuno un *prima* e un *dopo*, ricostruibili evidentemente solo con una attenta decostruzione delle imputazioni addebitategli. Molmenti non aveva però esitazioni nel delinearne il profilo *criminale*: "Più volte bandito, il Pesaro sfidava la giustizia, che non riusciva ad agguantarlo, continuava a menare vita facinorosa e tirannica, e con l'aiuto di alcuni bravi *et huomini di spada*, che teneva a' suoi stipendi non pure a Venezia, ma a Noal, a Mirano, a Mestre ed altri luoghi vicini alla Dominante, commetteva d'ogni sorta rapine, ammazzava, ricattava, aiutava assassini, estorceva mercanzie, bastonava donne e preti e pagava i creditori con *arcobusate*" (Molmenti, 1896, 112–113). In realtà molte delle imputazioni addossate inizialmente al Pesaro e ad altri patrizi si possono soprattutto configurare come intemperanze giovanili che si rivolsero contro l'onore di gentildonne, per sfociare poi in vere e proprie azioni violente di seguito all'intervento severo del Consiglio dei dieci (cf. ASVe-CD-Crim, reg. 16, cc. 70–71 (12 luglio 1591)).

43 Altrimenti indicato come Rossetto o Busa. A questo personaggio (1594–1654) e alla sua famiglia di origine sto dedicando una ricerca volta a approfondire il tema del banditismo nella prima metà del Seicento.

44 Come, ad esempio, nel lavoro di Antonio Pigliaru (1959), in cui il banditismo sardo si inseriva in un sistema consuetudinario locale, ed emergeva comunque di seguito al contrasto culturale e antropologico con le istituzioni *esterne*. Si trattava comunque di ben altra cosa rispetto al bandito creato dalla pena del bando e trasformatosi successivamente in fuorilegge di seguito a una nuova definizione dello spazio politico.

> *prestavano molti genitluomini veneziani, veronesi e bresicani, che della sua opera si servivano od aspettavano occasion di servirsi, prese tanto animo che, fatta scelta di buon numero d'uomini scellerati e banditi, camminava pubblicamente per la città, aspettando pure occasione di sfogare contro alcuni la sua crudeltà*. (Castellini, 1822, 196)

In realtà il padre di Giuseppe apparteneva ad una agiata famiglia di mercanti di cordovani[45], mentre la madre Laura era figlia di Ippolito Costantini, un noto imprenditore della città, che operava sui mercati tedeschi e fiamminghi[46]. È molto probabile che il ben noto passo del Castellini, in cui si soffermava sulle forti tensioni sociali diffuse in quegli anni in città, trovasse un riscontro diretto nella figura del Rossetti e nelle famiglie da cui proveniva (Castellini, 1822)[47]. Egli individuava infatti tre *stati* di persone: i gentiluomini, i cittadini e i mercanti con gli artigiani. I primi detenevano il monopolio del potere politico, ma la loro condizione si era notevolmente indebolita; e, a causa dei delitti da loro commessi e per le spese eccessive, si erano attirati l'odio del popolo. I secondi, dimentichi della loro umile origine, erano divenuti superbi e gareggiavano con i primi. Quanto all'ultimo, cui certamente apparteneva Giuseppe Rossetti, il Castellini aggiungeva:

> *ancor questo era ingolfato ne' vizi, perché sì nel vivere che nel vestire pretendevano, non dico concorrere, ma superare il primo stato e il secondo, e per questo effetto non tralasciavano modo alcuno di defraudare e d'ingannare chiunque con essi negoziava, in maniera che tirando a sé danari con ogni doppiezza non si trattenevano dall'usare tutte le insolenze possibili*. (Povolo, 1997, 268)

E tali tensioni e conflitti fecero certamente emergere la figura di Giuseppe Rossetti, soprattutto dopo che un membro della famiglia Thiene uccise Marcantonio Contin uno dei suoi amici più cari. I rettori della città il 3 marzo 1619 comunicavano a Venezia come il Rossetti "pieno di rabbioso furore", camminasse con alterigia e protervia per le vie della città, provocando coloro che in qualche modo erano collegati alla morte dell'amico.[48] Il 10 aprile 1621, Giuseppe Rossetti affrontò e uccise il conte Annibale Thiene, mandante della morte dell'amico. Castellini ricordò l'avvenimento, senza riportare le cause dell'omicidio:

> *Né andò molto tempo che nella contrada di Riale, dove aveva il Rossetto la sua abitazione, passando Annibale Thiene in compagnia di uno solo, uscito coi suoi satelliti lo stramazzò a terra e lo ferì di modo che portato a casa ebbe appena il tempo di confessarsi e poco dopo morì nel fiore di sua gioventù. Ciò avvenne in giorno di sabato santo, senza che siasi potuto rilevare mai la vera causa di tale tradimento, essendo stato per lo avanti il Rossetto amico del Thiene e complice con lui di non poche violenze e scelleratezze*. (Castellini, 1822, 196–197)

Una ricostruzione quasi di certo artefatta[49]; tanto più che, di lì ad alcuni giorni, i Capi del Consiglio dei dieci, pur avvalorando la tesi dell'agguato, scrissero ai rettori di Vicenza come: ''Iseppo, glorioso del fatto, non potendo che alcuno deplorasse questa operazione, ardì tanto che ritornato la notte de 25 del medesimo mese di aprile con numerosa compagnia de sicari, [...] affisse per diversi luoghi della città molti cartelli di propria mano sfidando con luogo e tempo quelli che avessero tal opinione.''[50]

Un atteggiamento di sfida, che impaurì diversi esponenti della nobiltà cittadina, tanto più che il Rossetti si era rifugiato nel vicino principato di Bozzolo, da dove faceva frequenti incursioni nei territori della Repubblica. A poco servì la caccia serrata che le autorità veneziane gli mossero contro. In realtà, come ricordava Castellini, poco dopo aver ucciso un altro membro della famiglia Thiene, il bandito:

> *uscito dalla casa dove era stato in quella notte insieme colli suoi satelliti, andò senza contrasto alcuno a ritrovare i suoi compagni che lo aspettavano nel Borgo di Pusterla e tutti insieme montati a cavallo partirono per Bozolo, dove si ridussero a salvamento, ad onta che per comandamento dei Magistrati*

45 Tipo di cuoio lavorato e stampato a motivi decorativi. Sul cuoio venivano applicate foglie d'argento ricoperte di vernice color oro. Tali manufatti, chiamati *cuoridoro*, venivano soprattutto impiegati nell'arredo e nella tappezzeria.

46 Come appare dalla registrazione di matrimonio tra Laura Costantini e Gaspare Rossetti, i genitori di Giuseppe (ACVi-Registri, 22 aprile 1586). L'altra figlia di Ippolito, Diana, sposò dapprima il mercante di Piuro (allora nei Grigioni) Bernardino Giulino e, in secondo voto, il mercante Baldassarre Menau, originario di Colonia in Germania.

47 Sull'opera del Castellini, pubblicata postuma, e sulla sua biografia cf. Benzoni (1978).

48 ASVe-CCD-Rett, filza 227, alla data.

49 Così come gli interventi di Zanazzo (1964–65, 97–138) in cui il personaggio è ricostruito in base alle fonti giudiziarie dell'epoca.

50 ASVe-CCD-Crim, filza 6, 28 maggio 1621.

> *dovessero i comuni al comparire dei banditi sollevarsi al suono di campana e inseguirli. Ma non vi fu alcuno che si muovesse e ciò non tanto per l'odio naturale che i plebei e i villani portavano ai nobili, quanto per l'amorevolezza e cortesia con la quale costui soleva trattarli.* (Castellini, 1822, 200)

Un riferimento assai significativo, in quanto proveniva da un cronista che al Rossetti dedicò una lunga e densa narrazione, ma senza risparmiare critiche assai severe nei suoi confronti.

Nonostante gli agguati e i numerosi bandi Giuseppe Rossetti non fece la fine che molti altri banditi incontrarono in questi decenni a cavallo tra Cinque e Seicento. Egli morì infatti a Mantova, dopo aver servito per anni i Gonzaga, che gli avevano affidato il comando di alcune truppe. Francesco Barbarano lo annoverò tra i *Vicentini più celebri per valor militare*[51]: ''Iseppo Rossetto hebbe il comando di 100 corazze dal Duca di Mantova Carlo, quale servì con ogni fedeltà; essendo molto accarezzato da quel Serenissimo, ivi si accasò, dove anco morì del 1644'' (Barbarano, 1760, 402).

La vicenda del bandito Giuseppe Rossetti si delinea certamente nell'alveo di una cultura condivisa da tutti i ceti sociali. Nonostante le forti tensioni esistenti tra ceti privilegiati e subordinati, si possono cogliere le molte interrelazioni culturali comuni, che si esprimevano pure tramite conflitti, talvolta aspri e cruenti, che si svolgevano nel controverso campo dell'onore e della reputazione.

L'immagine di Giuseppe Rossetti, definito ben presto *bandito famoso*, si dilatò a causa delle molte sentenze di bando che lo colpirono e che vennero pure date alle stampe. L'audacia e la fortuna che lo aiutarono a sfuggire ai molti agguati organizzati contro di lui dalle autorità politiche veneziane e, ancor più, dai suoi nemici contribuirono molto probabilmente a consolidarne la memoria. Quelle pagine manoscritte del Castellini sarebbero state date alle stampe solamente sul finire del secolo successivo, ma esse, nonostante l'immagine negativa tramite cui egli viene dipinto, attestano inconfutabilmente come Giuseppe Rossetti possedesse tutti i requisiti per entrare nella dimensione del mito e della leggenda.

Le vicende di questo fuorilegge suggeriscono comunque come lo storico possa ricostruire e delineare un'altra *verità*, decodificando le narrazioni proposte dalle fonti giudiziarie, inevitabilmente artefatte e prive di chiaroscuri.

51 Il Barbarano probabilmente conobbe personalmente il Rossetti, in quanto quest'ultimo fu in stretto contatto con Giulio Barbarano, uno degli esponenti più in vista di tale famiglia nei primi decenni del Seicento. Su di lui cf. Scarpa (1998).

PODOBA IZOBČENCA V MITIH, LEGENDAH IN PRAVLJICAH

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POVZETEK

Zdi se, da se v stereotipih, značilnih za lik izobčenca, močno prepletata folklora in legenda, pri čemer nastajajo zgodbe in pripovedi, ki zagotovo kažejo značilnosti pravljice. V resnici je podoba bandita, ki jo posredujeta družba in kultura 19. stoletja, odraz nove nacionalne politične stvarnosti in pojava meščanskega razreda, ki je od druge polovice 18. stoletja razvijal koncept ljudske kulture kot prepoznavne karakteristike podrejenih razredov. V ozadju je povsem razvidna kulturna in ideološka odtujenost, ki je izhajala iz sveta, za katerega sta bila značilna običaj in ustnost, ter težave pri dojemanju družbene in politične dimenzije pretekle stvarnosti z drugačnim razumevanjem reda in racionalnosti. Na pripovedi, ki so se oblikovale na zgodovinski in literarni ravni, so očitno vplivale politične in kulturne spremembe, ki so se zgodile med 18. in 19. stoletjem, in so bile neizbežna posledica nepoznavanja mehanizmov, značilnih za kazensko pravosodje in pravni pluralizem, ki ga je spremljal stoletja. Te pripovedi, ki pogosto niso imele zgodovinske podlage, so napajale kolektivno domišljijo, katere osnovne poteze so bile sestavljene iz predsodkov in prepričanj, ki so neizogibno prerasli v mite in legende. Obstajajo na primer nekateri simbolični dogodki, ki so v 19. stoletju spodbudili obsežno kampanjo, ki ni imela zgodovinske podlage, vendar kaže, kako se je v dolgem časovnem obdobju razvilo ustno izročilo, ki se je opiralo na kolektivno domišljijo, v kateri je razsežnost pravice in kazni temeljila na tradicionalnih kulturnih arhetipih in predstavah. Tema kazenskega pravosodja in družbenega nadzora se je pokazala kot plodna podlaga za iskanje novih gotovosti in zamišljanje drugačnega koncepta reda. V resnici je bil nesporazum precej velik in je onemogočal razumevanje celo najbolj vidnih aspektov političnih in pravosodnih struktur iz preteklosti.

Ključne besede: izobčenec, bandit, pravosodni odnosi, ljudska kultura, miti

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SOCIALIST »USES OF ENCHANTMENT«: FAIRY TALES, SEXUALITY, AND SLOVENE NATIONAL IDENTITY IN A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the relationship between fairy tales, sexuality, and national identity in socialist Slovenia. Theoretically, it builds on the canonical work by Bruno Bettelheim, The Uses of Enchantment. The main objective of the analysis is to interrogate the Freudian sexual script in relation to Slovene national identity formation. For this purpose, I study two fairy tales from the socialist period, France Bevk's Peter Klepec and Moj dežnik je lahko balon by Ela Peroci. The concepts of family romance and infantile citizenship are applied.

Keywords: sexuality, national identity, fairy tales, family romance, socialism, infantile citizenship

L'USO SOCIALISTA DELL'INCANTO: FIABE, SESSUALITÀ E IDENTITÀ NAZIONALE SLOVENA IN UNA PROSPETTIVA COMPARATIVA

SINTESI

Il contributo esplora la relazione tra fiabe, sessualità e identità nazionale nella Slovenia socialista. Dal punto di vista teorico, si basa sull'opera canonica di Bruno Bettelheim Il mondo incantato. L'obiettivo principale dell'analisi è interrogare i copioni sessuali freudiani in relazione alla formazione dell'identità nazionale slovena. A questo scopo, l'autrice studia due fiabe risalenti al periodo socialista: Peter Klepec di France Bevk e L'ombrello volante [Moj dežnik je lahko balon] *di Ela Peroci. Vengono utilizzati i concetti di romanzo familiare e cittadinanza infantile.*

Parole chiave: sessualità, identità nazionale, fiabe, romanzo familiare, socialismo, cittadinanza infantile

INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the relationship between fairy tales, sexuality, and Slovene national identity. Fairy tales are fictional narratives for children. Apart from offering an early literary form of entertainment and initiation into the reading culture, fairy tales provide the child with moral instructions and guidelines to apprehend the world of the adults. Moreover, according to the canonical work, *The Uses of Enchantment,* by Bruno Bettelheim (1976)[1], fairy tales contain imaginary tools for the child to solve the conflicts of growing up. The conflicts are numerous, spanning from separation anxieties (the motif of dead parents or wicked stepmothers) to the Oedipal complex and the predicaments of discovering sexuality more broadly. Their appeal lies in the fact that they "start where the child really is in his psychological and emotional being", Bettelheim describes their success with the young reader. "They speak about his severe inner pressures in a way that the child unconsciously understands, and – without belittling the most serious inner struggles which growing up entails – offer examples of both temporary and permanent solutions to pressing difficulties" (Bettelheim, 1976, 13–14).

Fairy tales, however, are written by the adults (Rose, 1992). Accordingly, they could be considered as regressive in their vision of the child and childhood. The vision, Rose argues, is a projection, and not necessarily an accurate study of the child's psycho-social needs. It is a fantasy which envelops the yearning for the "age of innocence" in which the child (in us) is still untainted by gender and sexual "impurity" of the adult phase. For Rose, the drive to ignore the bio-historiographic fact that the "innocence" is irreversibly lost calls for an inquiry on its own. The key question, in this regard, would be to which needs fairy tales indeed (co)respond; to whom they are written; and by which motives.

This question, indeed, has been raised by various feminist informed accounts (Burcar, 2007; Garber, 1991; Rose, 1992; Sugiyama, 2004; Zipes, 1983). However, the concern of this paper is how fairy tales can be read into the broader social, political, and cultural context and their place in collective life. Freud's theory of sexuality has already been used to study broader social and political processes which surpass socio-sexual biographies of the individuals. Most notably, Lynn Hunt (1992) used the Freudian model of the "family romance" to explain the political unconscious of pre-revolutionary France. The Freudian repressive mother figure has played prominently as concerns the formation of Slovene national character and its socio-sexual pathologies. The mother of key national literary icon Ivan Cankar has been deemed responsible for the writer's weak and indecisive psychic constitution. Appearing most notoriously in the short story *A cup of coffee* (1910), an obligatory reading in Slovene primary schools, this figure is also considered a literary reflection of the alleged ill-formed relationship of Slovene sons with their mothers in actual history of the nation. She is the target of Slavoj Žižek 's early work (1987), in which he reads her oppressive impact on the collective identity, in particular the drive to parochialism, fear of the Other, and resistance to cosmopolitanism. Lately, her imprint on Cankar, and the Slovene culture more broadly, has been reiterated in a highly popular comic show on national TVS "A si ti tud not padu" (2010). The hosts of the show perform "A cup of coffee" in a rock video version of Queen's *Bohemian Rhapsody*, with Jure Zrnec in the role of "Ivan" and Lado Bizovičar dressed as his mother.

As this brief review indicates, literary parental figures and their creators, be it that they are situated in fairy tales or in fiction for adults, have a place in reading the nation. They not only partake in the formation of national fantasies; they figure in the construction of the collective identity and its socio-sexual cartography. In my study, I bring the two strands of research together. I first refresh the selected theories of fairy tales, especially those that focus on the Oedipal complex; for the purpose of my analysis, I compare Slovene editions of *Little Red Riding Hood* (Rdeča kapica,1968) and Prokofiev's *Peter and Wolf* (1996). Next, I revisit Žižek's thesis on Cankar's Mother, and introduce Freud's concept of the *family romance* as an analytical corrective to the original narrative of (regressed) sexuality. Simultaneously, to test the relevance of the Freudian sexual script in relation to Slovene national identity formation, I turn to two fairy tales published in the socialist era, France Bevk's *Peter Klepec* (1988) and *Moj dežnik je lahko balon* by Ela Peroci (1998). Finally, I propose some revisions of "the enchantment" thesis which stem from the sociological study of the historically specific contexts of its use in socialism. For this last step, I borrow from Lauren Berlant's notion of *infantile citizenship*.

PSYCHOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS OF FAIRY TALES

Fairy tales play an important social, psychological, and cultural role in the life of the growing child. They are the child's first encounter with the reading culture. They are containers of early information

1 Bettelheim's work has been an object of critique, especially as regards his (mis)appropriation of Freud. In this paper, I treat *Uses of Enchantment* as a source of psychoanalytical reading that falls within patriarchal script of sexual formation of boys and girls.

about family relations and the social world. They provide imaginary tools for resolving the conflicts in the child's developing unconscious. Last but not least, as Bruno Bettelheim's title of the book reads, they tackle all the above tasks by providing the child the experience of the enchantment. Fairy tale "offers meaning on so many different levels and enriches the child's existence in so many ways," Bettelheim writes, "that no one book can do justice to the multitude and diversity of the contributions such tales make to the child's life" (Bettelheim, 1976, 20).

Bettelheim deciphers the fairy tales as silent communicators with the child's developing self. They address the child's inner world of wonder, fear, and confusion. They are also a source of reassurance that, as the heroes in the fictional stories, he (sic!) would be able to find solutions, overcome the barriers and, most importantly, reconcile with the negative perception which, due to (alleged or real) failure to meet parental expectations, he often holds of himself. Strictly realistic depictions of the world provide useful knowledge and may prove to become helpful instructions. But it is the dream-like world of the fairy tales, embroiled with the magical and the fantastic, which speaks to the chaos in the child's unconscious mind.

Fairy tales tackle the issues of illness, death, abandonment, neglect. Often, they start off with the death of the parent(s). Substitute step-parents are by default the negative opposite of the birth-parent. Stepmother in particular wishes the adopted children bad luck, tries to push them out of the domestic haven, plans their abduction, or even death. *Hansel and Gretel* is the case-book of the familial dissonance brought about by the death of the mother, and the father's remarrying to an evil woman. She sends them to the woods with a piece of bread, knowing that their attempt to mark the way back to home by the crumbs will be sabotaged by the hungry birds. After getting lost, embarking on the episode with the witch who tries to bury them alive but ends up being pushed by the two into the furnace herself, the kids return home. The stepmother is defeated.

Hansel and Gretel does not problematize the weak father figure who betrays his paternal function of protection of the offspring. The victorious coming home of the two children indicates that this is indeed a drama that concerns them. Despite the obviously dramatic turmoil which the two children have to endure, it is enveloped in the scenario of comfort. As Bettelheim interprets it, it tells the child that he will need to let go, and start a journey to independence; that this will be a challenging trip; but at the end, he will make it – and become an autonomous adult.

In Bettelheim's study, fairy tales are treated as being part of the cultural toolkit to assist in forming their sexual identities. They govern the child's desire and help resolve the Oedipal conflict, differently for the boys and differently for the girls. *Little Red Riding Hood* is a good example of the cultural kit, given to the girls. The little girl goes to visit her sick grandmother on the other side of the woods. Mother's strict instructions are not to talk to anyone on the road (Rdeča kapica, 1968, 1–2). On the road, she encounters the wolf and, naively, instantly reports all the information about her ill grandmother. Typical of the children's talkative phase, her sharing of delicate family secrets will be the cause of her trouble later on. The consequences are imprinted with moral lesson. Namely, by not obeying the parent, children will be punished. Girls particularly severely, by being eaten by the wolf.

The fairy tale opens a chapter in girls' sexual biographies of the early school age. At this stage, her unconscious still struggles with the Oedipal desire for the father. The male figure is split between two options: "It is as if Little Red Cap is trying to understand the contradictory nature of the male by experiencing all aspects of his personality: the selfish, asocial, violent, potentially destructive tendencies of the id (the wolf); the unselfish, social, thoughtful, and protective propensities of the ego (the hunter)" (Bettelheim, 1976, 220). The red colour connotes sexual lust, but the hood is too big for the girl, indicating that she is not ready for the sexual encounter. Henceforth, she regresses back to the pre-Oedipal impulses where she has no competence for rational action.

PETER AND THE WOLF

In Bettelheim's reading, by facing dangers *within* herself, Little Red Riding Hood leaves her naïve childishness. She evolves from the experience with the wisdom that belongs only to those who have been "twice born." She has been given another life, and another chance, to overcome her "own nature" and from then on, she will master the episodes of improper desire and seduction. "When she is cut out of the wolf's belly, she is reborn on a higher plane of existence; relating positively to both her parents, no longer a child, she returns to life a young maiden" (Bettelheim, 1976, 228). The passage to maidenhood occurs without her active involvement. In the final scene, the father hunter arrives at the two powerless females, the grandmother and her granddaughter, shoots the wolf and liberates them from the seductive beast. The two women are, by this act of transgenerational rescue, reunited in their being dispossessed of (sexual) agency and power.

"'Little Red Cap' in symbolic form projects the girl into the dangers of her oedipal conflicts during puberty, and then *saves her from them*, so that she will be able to mature conflict-free" (my emphasis). In *Peter and the Wolf*, the opposite scenario of rescue is in place. Peter is a young boy who, in the early morning, opens the door of the house and steps into the yard in front. He greets his bird friend, sitting on the nearby tree. The duck joins them and engages in an innocent quarrel with the bird. The scene is tranquil and harmonious, until Peter notices a cat. She may take advantage of the two birds quarrelling, Peter anticipates, and instantly warns the little bird to take off. At that moment, the grandfather appears at the doorstep, mildly angry with Peter, who left the garden gate wide open. This is a dangerous place, he instructs Peter, for there may be a wolf coming from the woods. Peter ignores the warning, reassuring himself with the words that young boys like him are not afraid of wolves.

Regardless, the grandfather grabs Peter's hand and takes him back into the garden, closing the door behind them. The wolf indeed appears, runs after the duck, swallows her, and then moves toward the tree where the cat and the bird find their safe place. Peter, who sees it all, runs to the house, fetches the rope, climbs onto the tree, and, with courage and wit and some help from the bird, catches the wolf by his tail. At that moment, the hunters come from the woods, with their riffles targeting the wolf. "No need to shoot," Peter calms them down; the wolf has already been caught. "Let us take him to the zoo." The scene that follows apparently amuses the narrator. "And, now, please, imagine this glorious procession," he narrates. Indeed, a transgenerational procession is moving through the woods: headed by Peter, the hunters (fathers) in the middle, and the grandfather at the end (Figure 1). The grandfather is still concerned, contemplating a less fortunate scenario. The story ends with the sound of the duck from the wolf's tummy, indicating a happy ending for her, too.

Sergei Prokofiev wrote this story as a musical play in 1936. Commissioned by Central Children's Theatre in Moscow, the play was to introduce to the children the sounds of the symphonic orchestra instruments. The political context was Bolshevik Russia: the ideological message depicted the triumphant new generation of sons (Peter the Pioneer) defeating the old (the grandfather) and the nature (the wolf) (Morrison, 2009). The musical piece became popular worldwide: in 1938, it was performed by the Boston Symphonic Orchestra, and since then, numerous recordings followed. Eleanor Roosevelt and celebrities like Alice Cooper, Antonio Banderas, David Bowie, Sting, etc. featured as narrators. In the 2003 version, Sophia Lauren, Bill Clinton, and Mikhail Gorbachev joined Russian National Orchestra to narrate the version of *Wolf Tracks and Peter and the Wolf*. Disney's animated version, following the theatrical play a year earlier, was released in 1946. In 2007, a coproduction of a British-Norwegian-Polish edition by director Suzie Templeton won an Oscar for the Best short animated film at the 80th Academy Awards. A Slovene translation was published as a hardcover book with illustrations by Matjaž Schmidt in 1996.

Featuring the wolf and the young boy and inserted in the transgenerational setting with the grandfather's house, the story and its socio-sexual script can easily be compared to *Little Red Riding Hood*. There is a similar opening of the story, with the adult warning the young not to give in to the allures of the pleasure principle. As Little Red Riding Hood, Peter does not obey. In contrast to the girl, he does so consciously (rationally), in a way awaiting the test of his male bravery to present itself (in fact, in Walt Disney's version, Peter and his friends already know that there is a wolf nearby and are determined to catch him). He, therefore, is already almost past the Oedipal phase, replacing both the grandfather and the father figures. Moreover, he makes both redundant. In the reverse parental role-playing, they are the ones who follow his instructions not to shoot the wolf. He is the one who leads the "victory parade" while marching ahead of the generations of fathers and grandfathers. He is not punished for his disobedience and in no need for the "second birth." To the contrary, his encounter with Nature (and the id) is awarded by social recognition and agency.

Strikingly, in this story, there is no female figure. We do not hear about Peter's parental figures and can only speculate that his father is among the hunters in the procession. The sexual composition of the drama pertains entirely to the conflicts among the males, detached from the immediate familial context. It suggests a struggle to assume the place of control in the patriarchal hierarchy of masculine power in the outside world. Headed towards the zoo, the group of males also enacts the domination of nature, indicating the arrival of the new era. The socio-sexual order is restored, and passed on to the next generation of sons, while the pleasure principle (the captivated wolf) is safely contained within modernity and its institutions.

THE HOUSE OF INNOCENCE

The socio-sexual composition of the resolution of the conflict in *Peter and the Wolf* calls for a closer inspection of the interplay between the fictional material and its ideological context (of the socialist era). I will return to this point later, but first, another dimension needs to be addressed. Namely,

Figure 1: The victorious promenade: Peter and the Wolf as illustrated by Matjaž Schmidt (Prokofijev, 1996).

the two harmonious sexual scenarios of conflict and resolution (of the drive of girls and boys towards the pre-Oedipal pleasure principle) are a product of adult fantasy. As Jacqueline Rose has stated, children's fiction does not exist. There is no child behind the category "children's fiction," she argues, other than "the one which the category itself sets in place, the one which it needs to believe is there for its own purposes" (Rose, 1992, 10). Children's fiction is about the relationship between adult and child, hiding within the text all that is uncertain and unsettling between the two of them. The clue to the enigma of this uncertainty is the aura of innocence, which, in Rose's reading, is not a property of childhood but a fantasy projection shot through with the adult desire.

The desire can be deciphered from the immediate biographic context of the authorship. Rose uses the case of Peter Pan as a testing ground. *Peter Pan* by J. M. Barrie was first written for an adult audience; it appeared in his novel *The Little White Bird* (1902) and was only later adapted to become a children's fiction. Peter is an eternal child. He is a literary figure who comes from the real Llewellyn Davies boys, whom Barrie adopted (Garber, 1991). The boys are drawn into the story of Peter Pan. Lewis Carrol had a similar attraction for young girls whom he, too, wished to stay in the place of child. Not long ago, the photograph of the young girl, the real-life template for Alice has, made it to the catalogue of the major scandals (Girardin & Pirker, 2008) in the history of photography (Figure 2). But *Alice in Wonderland* has been saved as a non-controversial classic. After all, as we have learned from Bettelheim, the fantasy of the father desiring the daughter has been legitimized as the young girl's stage in the Oedipal complex.

The desire of a man for a little boy is more delicate. Allegedly, Barrie had no sexual interest in the boys but was preoccupied with his own sexuality. "The sexual act which underpins Peter Pan is (...) an act in which the child is used (and abused) to represent the whole problem of what sexuality is, or can be, and to hold that problem at bay," Rose argues (1992, 4). In this sense, the fictional character only pretends to speak to children, whereas in reality, it functions as a terrain created by Barrie to repress (and temporarily resolve) *his own* sexual question.

This reading comes close to Marjorie Garber's account of the Peter Pan story. In *Vested Interests*, Garber is even sharper in her dissection of the fantasy played upon the image of the child. As Rose, she, too, reiterates the fact that, on stage, Peter Pan was traditionally played by a woman. This was due to the legal restriction that prohibited the use of minors under fourteen on stage after 9 p.m. (Garber, 1991, 166). Garber seems to find a deeper message in this collision of legal history and drama: "Why is Peter Pan played by a woman? Because a woman will never grow up to be a man" (Garber, 1991, 168). "[N]o one is going to catch me and make me a man," Peter repulses Mrs Darling's attempt to touch him. Peter is, theoretically and

culturally, a transvestite, Garber infers, a pan-erotic object of (Barrie's) desire (Garber, 1991, 170). Barrie, Garber recollects biographic accounts, "longed for a boyhood that never was – a boyhood that could only be staged in Neverland" (Garber, 1991, 169). Moreover, "Barrie, as many critics have pointed out, wrote at the same time as Freud and was as good an instinctive Freudian as was his classic candidate for Freudian analysis" (Garber, 1991, 167). Garber emphasizes the effeminacy of Peter Pan and points to the transvestism as indeed being the main (sexual) script of the play. She calls it "transgression without guilt, pain, penalty, conflict, or cost." Peter Pan is "the boy who is really a woman, the woman who is really a boy, the child who will never grow up; the colony that is only a country of the mind" (Garber, 1991, 184).

In a similar direction, Garber targets Red Riding Hood and the wolf. Is The Red Riding Hood a feminist fairy tale about a little girl's initiation into sexuality, the wolf a human being located at the border between civilization and wilderness, she asks. Garber refuses the simplicity of the above explanations and digs deeper into the wolf's cross-dressing. In the 18th century European public mind, "to don the garments of the opposite sex was to enter a world of sexual deviance" (Casle, in Garber, 1991, 381). It was associated with transvestism and homosexuality. In his therapy with the Wolf-man, Freud himself traced the wolf phobia of his patient to two fairy tales, *Little Red Riding Hood* and *The Wolf and the Seven Little Goats*. In both, Garber notes, the wolf presents itself as an impostor: dressed in the old woman's nightgown in the former and painting his pawn in white (to imitate mother goat) in the latter. Garber crosses the puzzle of the Wolf-Man with the puzzle of the wolf in the fairy tale. Wolf, the cross-dresser in Little Red Riding Hood, reiterates the primal scene as the scene of cross-dressing. It speaks not the truth of the sexual act (and its aggression) but rather the truth of gender and sexuality. It is a testimony of gender confusion, covered up as children's fiction.

THE FAMILY ROMANCE AND THE POLITICAL UNCONSCIOUS

Fictions of children (for the children) do not only convey the predicaments of the world of adult sexuality; they also trespass into the terrain of the broader political context. Childhood serves "as a term of universal social reference which conceals all the historical divisions and difficulties of which children, no less than ourselves, form a part" (Rose, 1992, 10). This includes broader social fantasies where sexuality and body politics meet to pave the way to the desire for a particular socio-sexual order. Both Rose and Garber point to the racial, gender, and class undertones of *Peter Pan*. As they see it, its story is dressed in the specific historical mantle of yearning for imperial greatness, as well as racial and moral purity. The first title of Peter Pan, offered by Barrie, was *The Great White Father*(!).

Freudian reading of the Oedipal scenarios of sexuality and gender identity and its relation to the socio-sexual order can be expanded to study real political events. In *The Family Romance of the French Revolution*, Lynn Hunt (1992) takes a step further, introducing to historical analysis of revolutionary France Freud's concept of the family romance. According to Freud, in puberty, the Oedipal complex returns to haunt young boys (in particular!) when they have to negotiate once more their relationship with the parents and, through the resolution of the conflict, finally enter a state of autonomy. The fantasy of the family, the real and the desired, becomes a terrain for imagining the social order. In contrast to the first episode of the Oedipal complex, which revolves entirely around sexuality, the second phase contains a social fabric. The adolescent wants to replace his parents, of whom now has a low opinion as concerns their social (and economic) status: he pictures the other children's families as more desirable and wants to change his familial affiliation.

Hunt takes off from this episode in the life of the adolescent to encompass the political unconscious, entering the terrain of the collective psyche. Unconscious images of the familial order came to underline the revolutionary politics whereby French people symbolically assumed the role of the children and the King and the Queen the role of the parents. In the 18th century, fashioning the rulers as fathers and the nation as family was a cultural standard. "This familial grid operated on both the conscious and the unconscious level of experience" (Hunt, 1992, xiv). In the pre-revolutionary period, however, cultural notions of what constitutes a good parent changed. In contrast to the ideology of absolutism, which allowed the father figure to exhort unrestrained power over the national family, the new social contract demanded the principles of equality, justice, and autonomy. Once they killed the father (and beheaded the mother), a political vacuum emerged, which demanded a new kind of collective imagination of the socio-sexual anatomy of the new political order. "The French, in a sense, did wish to get free from the political parents of whom they had developed a low opinion, but they did not imagine replacing them with others who were of a higher social standing. They imagined replacing them – the king and the queen – with a different kind of family, one in which the parents were effaced and the children, especially brothers, acted autonomously" (Hunt, 1992, xiv).

Hunt's reading of the political unconscious through the concept of family romance provides a useful ground to appropriate it to the political context of the socialist period in Slovenia. At first glance, this may seem a strange appropriation, given that the

Figure 2: Lewis Carrol, Alice as a Beggar Child, 1859 (Girardin & Pirker, 2008, 31).

Freudian patriarchal family scenario should not sit well with the socialist family model. In fact, socialist gender and family politics were formulated in direct opposition to the patriarchal family model of the bourgeois West. Gender equality between men and women was emphasized as the utmost ideal, serving as the evidence of a classless society free of exploitation and domination. The sexual contract ran contrary to the idea of a wife's submission to the patriarchal arrangements of household and family. Women were invited to assume their roles in public life where, as both producers and leaders, they would demonstrate women's liberation and emancipation in action (Vidmar Horvat, 2013; 2021).

To the socialist state, children were of special public concern. Especially in the immediate postwar period, still under the great impact of the Soviet model of socialism, the investment in the child as the revolutionary force prevailed. While American Freudians instructed the parents to monitor the differential gender upbringing of their offspring through obligatory Oedipal complex (Vidmar Horvat, 2013), the socialist paternal state arranged for the toddler's nursery homes, called "the houses of play and work". There, the children would learn the principles of socialist collectivism and the value of labour. For the mothers, the task of careful selection of reading literature for the children was openly promoted.

It is beyond the capacity of this analysis to dissect the relationship between children's fiction and the Freudian gender and sexual politics in socialism. With a much more modest ambition, in the remaining pages, I do want to focus on two fairy tales that were published at the height of the socialist era and its

zeal to reform family and gender relations. It turns out that they can be read through the lens of the Oedipal complex, whereas its second coming in the shape of the "family romance" episode provides an especially indicative entry into the "enchantment" of the socialist fairy tales.

PETER KLEPEC AND THE SLOVENE MOTHER

Peter Klepec is originally a folktale about the young and weak shepherd who, through a magic transformation, grows into a hero who defeats the Turks. His home is around the Kolpa river on both sides of the Slovene-Croatian border. In 1957, Slovene writer France Bevk published his version, one of many appropriations of the story (ranging from the Habsburg era to the 20th-century adaptations by comic book artist, animated film, and ballet directors)[2]. In Bevk's fairy tale, Peter lives in a single-parent household with his mother. His initial condition can be described as residing in the realm of the oral phase; burdened with hunger and poverty, his mother is forced to send him away to serve in a nearby village. His physical weakness makes him a perfect target for the village boys to demonstrate their own masculinity. As a desire for revenge grows in him, one day, while looking for the lost sheep, he encounters a beautiful young girl sleeping unprotected under the hot sun. He makes her a shade of leaves, for which the girl, when she wakes up, takes him to the waterfall and offers him a drink from her palms. Peter instantly begins to grow in height and strength. Realizing his new powers, he returns to the village; beats up the boys; quits the job; and returns to his mother. To her worrying inquiry, when she sees the son, now bigger (and hungrier), coming back home, by which means they would live and survive, he self-confidently reassures her that it will be him who will provide for both (Figure 3). Contrary to the original, in which Peter Klepec marries, in this story, Peter remains single. Geographically away from the outside social world, he is ready to take over the farm and become the chief breadwinner of the household of the two.

Bevk's version of the mother figure comes close to resembling the iconic mother figure of writer Ivan Cankar. In popular understanding, much of Cankar's personal drama (as a writer and as a biographic personae) has to do with his oppressive mother. Her pressure is depicted in terms of a silent suffering figure. She is not a wicked female who would demand her son's unconditional love and service. To the contrary, she withdraws soundless from his space when he rejects her, be it in public or in the privacy of their home. Short story *A cup of coffee* contains all the pain and guilt, experienced by the son who puts his writing above the obligation of catering to maternal love when, in the middle of the writing turmoil, he refuses her gesture of comfort.

Slavoj Žižek spells out the verdict as concerns the relationship between the two, and its future impact on the Slovene national socio-sexual character. In one of his earliest works, *Language, Ideology, Slovenes* (1987), Žižek discusses the psycho-sexual structure of the socialist society. In the "normal" resolution of the Oedipal complex, social integration occurs through the Ideal-Ego, or the Law of the Father. When the symbolic identification with the Ideal-Ego, represented by the father figure fails, the child turns back to the maternal, pre-oedipal mother ego. This ego is masochistic in the sense that it demands from the child masochistic sacrifice and tending to the suffocating mother figure. This is, according to Lasch's *Culture of Narcissism*, the dominant trait of the postwar US consumer society and its male subjects. Pathological narcissist follows the maternal imperative to fulfill her desire in multiple phantasmatic forms, ranging from complete servitude, excessive indulging in pleasure, or pursuing social success. The (absent) father, in this scenario, appears as an invisible competitor. This situation keeps the subject in permanent anxiety (Žižek, 1987, 156).

In the socialist libidinal economy, maternal super-ego and paternal super-ego coexist. The figure of the "Slovene mother" keeps the subject in a masochistic state of guilt. Her maternal super-ego issues a symbolic mandate that demands sacrifice: social success in the "foreign land" is considered a treason of both the homeland and the silent suffering Mother. Consequently, it is within the alien world that the son "realizes" the value of "roots", recognizes his debt to the homeland, and rejects foreign knowledge and culture. The world "out there" appears rotten, filthy, and decadent. The Father resides in the socialist (Stalinist) ideology in the form of a Super-Ego (rather than Ideal-Ego), preventing the son from acquiring full, independent subjectivity (Žižek, 1987, 157–158). The subject is in a state of hysteria.

THE SOCIALIST FAMILY ROMANCE

At first glance, *Peter Klepec* can be interpreted as a story of a son's failure to exit the family romance (with the mother) and begin the life of an economically and sexually independent adult male. Instead, he regresses into the first Oedipal phase, while maintaining the social fantasy of the good provider of the second phase. He substitutes for the (absent) father figure: he takes his

2 For the review of various adaptations, and corresponding meanings, of this hero (cf. Moric, 2015).

Figure 3: Bevk's Peter Klepec upon return to his mother (Bevk, 1988).

place as well as – by pulling himself and the mother from poverty – upgrades its social status. Not unlike Peter of the post-revolutionary Russia, he makes the fathers redundant.

It is worth noting, however, that the romance unfolds in the rural area. In the context of socialist modernity, favouring rapid urbanization and proletarianization of the peasantry, the folktale scenery denotes a disappearing world. Family farms were by no means in the centre of the socialist project, apart from the state orchestrated efforts to keep them on the verge of sustainability and transgenerational survival. The rural world belonged to the past. At the same time, since the "discovery" of the ethnographic fibre of the Slovenes during the late 19th century Habsburg era, nature, the rural world, and its people constituted a fabric of the genuine national identity. Adaptation of the story in the height of the socialist era henceforth speaks of the ambiguous fantasy of social initiation into manhood and national citizenship. While disseminating admiration for the young boy's strength and sense of justice (compatible with the socialist social agenda), the tale contains the subject in the idealized enclosure of tradition, family, and domesticity with no father (consistent with Žižek's thesis of masochistic guilt).

Moj dežnik je lahko balon is about little girl Jelka's initiation into adulthood. Written by Ela Peroci in the same year as Bevk's *Peter Klepec*, it was first published with illustrations by Marlenka Stupica in 1962. The plot begins when Jelka plays with a new (red!) ball in the garden in front of her urban bloc dwelling in Ljubljana. An extended family of father and mother, grandfather, grandmother, and aunt observe her from the window, evidently worried about her reckless play

with the ball. Not responding to the father's warning finger, she indeed loses the ball. To avoid angry faces from the window, Jelka closes her eyes and imagines that the nearby umbrella she has used as a shelter is indeed a balloon. As she daydreams, holding on to the umbrella, she takes off from the ground. After a scenic flight over Ljubljana, its castle, and the surrounding neighbourhoods, she lands in the "Land of the hats". In this magic courtyard, where hats grow like flowers, Jelka meets all the friends she is not allowed to play at home. The children tell her that the hats have a transformative power: they fulfil the desires of their owners and change them accordingly. One of the boys in the group wished for visionary powers and now can see faraway places. With his help, Jelka finds her lost ball. She then picks up the hats for her family members and flies back home. She first shows her lost ball and, before anyone can express any anger, begins delivering the hats. To her delight, the mother becomes a noble lady. The grandfather turns into an officer, a lifelong dream coming true. The grandmother takes off her headscarf and, with the splendid new cover, transforms into a handsome young woman. The father graduates to become a professor; the aunt rejoices as she turns into a movie star (Figure 4). When the happy choir asks Jelka where she has a hat for herself, she assures them she does not need one. She has her umbrella and with the umbrella, she can fly.

The fairy tale contains the elements of *Little Red Riding Hood*, the fantasy of flying Peter Pan, and the motif of the powerless child returning as a grown-up tending to her parents' needs in *Peter Klepec*. Yet, while like Little Red Riding Hood, Jelka undergoes all the trials of the narcissistic pleasure principle, she is the heroine of her own, as well as of her family's, rescue. Stronger than her family members, who one after another regress to imaginary figures of the narcissistic stage when given gifts, she is autonomous, free – and above the vanity of the mundane semi-bourgeois household. The last hat she has in her possession from the trip, is for her sister – "so small, so tinny that we have not noticed her so far", the narrator conveys.

INFANTILE CITIZENSHIP

The closure of the last fairy tale sits uncomfortably with the usual happy-end format of the conventional fairy tale narrative structure. It plays no role in the Oedipal complex, where siblings reconcile with each other hesitantly only to ensure their own love from the parents. Jelka endorses her little sister on the last page of the book, away from the sight of the family. Is this a gesture of generosity, tender sisterly love, or a pact of solidarity between the two sisters? An act of recognition of the weak and the invisible, "so tinny" that they appear on the margins of even the socialist enchantment for children?

Marjan Horvat has discussed the relationship between selected Slovene fairy tales, their cognitive matrices, and deliberation with respect to the common good in the socialist era. As he argued, the folktales were inserted into the strategic narrative of creating a new social order (Horvat, 2022a, 1202). The potentially religious contents of the folk traditions were removed, while depictions of difficult pre-revolutionary socio-economic conditions were highlighted. However, from the mid-1950s onwards, strictly ideological motives in the fictional formulation of socialist childhood gave way to anthropological and psychological concerns. In addition, after the break-up with Stalin, Western pop culture crossed the borders of the Yugoslav state. The new mixture of political, theoretical and cultural influences may account for the special socialist type of modernity, found in the two fairy tales discussed above. As Horvat underlines, a key condition which allowed for the political-ideologically motivated appropriation of folk tales was in finetuning the oral folk tradition temporality with ideological narratives. The "authenticity" of certain ways of life, enveloped in the tradition, for instance in the adaptation of *Peter Klepec* and its rural world, served as legitimation for the (socialist) social change in the urban sphere. In another paper, Horvat (2022b) also proposes to see fairy tales as proto-political sites where key principles of deliberative democracy – inclusion, moral respect, argumentation, and notions of common good find their modern ground (Horvat, 2022b, 605). Drawing on the work of cognitive historian Dunér (2019), Horvat reiterates how previous knowledge and experience of the communities are stored in stories (including folktales) and shape the meaning of the life of the contemporary generations. The plethora of these literary sources is "essential for understanding the separation of people into ethnic communities, classes, attitudes towards the Other, and so on, while the analysis of the literature can explain the level of intersubjectivity, for instance, the role of empathy within the community and towards members of other cultures" (Dunér, in Horvat, 2022b, 611).

However, as argued in this paper, when considering children's literature, we need to take into account the interplay between the text and its (adult) author. To tackle the issue of the fantasy construct, running between the child in the fiction and the (child in) author, Lauren Berlant (1997) has proposed the concept of "infantile citizenship". As she conveys it on the case of the United States, the infantile citizen has appeared in political writing about the nation at least since Tocqueville. In *Democracy in America*, he advocates that citizens should love the nation the way they do their families and fathers but warns at the same time that this form of love

Jelka se je spustila k njim na cesto. »Kaj me tako gledate?« jih je pozdravila. »Žoga je tu!« Spravila jo je babici v žep.

Mama je hotela prva nekaj reči, a Jelka jo je prehitela in ji dala najlepši klobuk. Ko si ga je dala mama na glavo, se je silno razveselila. »Jej! Najlepša mama v Ljubljani sem!«

Jelka je vse po vrsti obdarovala. Dedek se je s klobukom na glavi postavil v pozor in rekel: »Vendar sem dočakal, da sem postal general!«

Babica si je odvezala ruto in se pokrila s klobukom. »Malo sem se pomladila,« je rekla. »To dobro de.«

Oče se je premišljeno pokril s klobukom in premišljeno spregovoril: »Čisto nepričakovano sem že letos diplomiral in postal profesor.«

Težko je povedati, kakšno veselje je doživela teta, ko si je dala klobuk na glavo. Vzkliknila je: »Čisto zares! Postala sem filmska igralka in moja slika bo na prvi strani našega največjega časopisa.«

Figure 4: Transforming identities: Moj dežnik je lahko balon (Peroci, 1998).

could also take a negative turn towards infantilization and a passive stand against the power of the state (Berlant, 1997, 27). There is confusion in this formulation of political subjectivity, as Berlant extracts it, one which at once promotes servitude to the nation (based on the genuine belief in the state and its operation toward the common good); and fears the regression into political infancy. Moreover, "citizen adults have learned to 'forget' or to render as impractical, naïve, or childish their utopian political identifications to be politically happy and economical functional" (Berlant, 1997, 29). Confronting the tension between (childhood) utopia and history (of adult citizenship) provides the infantile citizen a tool to unsettle the contradictions within the national life. With their stubborn naivety, the children can disrupt and reframe the political and social norms of the nation, but, due to their political and ideological illiteracy, they also allow for the expression of nostalgia for the time when they were still unknowing.

This helps explain the puzzle of Jelka's family romance with her kin. Jelka is in her early adolescent stage, testing the limits of independence and autonomy. Contrary to Freud's scenario, she does not wish her parents to be of higher social standing but recognizes (rightfully) that this is indeed their own dream. Namely, the dream of the evolving socialist middle class, who does not possess the means to fully indulge in consumer culture; or possess the courage to fantasize about the glorious age of the (Habsburg) past. The illustrations are indicative: the elegant long, 19th-century woman's dress and the grandfather's uniform connotate the Franz Joseph era. The grandmother's head scarf at the opening scene bears a mark of rural culture but also a subtle trace of the early postwar socialist working class thrift. The transformation of the family in their social status and public presence should, read from the perspective of the socialist state, indeed call for a scandal. In a safe space of the "kids' stuff", the fairy tale and the author survived the test of loyalty. Peroci and Stupica climbed to fame already in the socialist era. This may be because Jelka, by revealing the triviality of her own bourgeois family, posits herself as a politically active socialist female, freed of her own sexual desire and the need to be initiated in the patriarchal family scenario. It may also be that through this act of "infantile citizenship", public fantasies for an alternative space of defying both the socialist maternal and the paternal superego, found their channel of expression.

CONCLUSION

Fairy tales are intended for children, but their perimeters of fantasy and enchantment are far from enclosing only this population of readers. In critical cultural reading, they are, in fact, storages of adult desires. Written by the adults, they reorchestrate the narratives of sexuality in a way that both articulates confusion and allows the escape from the potential scandal. Because they are considered "kids' stuff", they do not present a threat to the cultural anatomy of the hegemonic socio-sexual order.

In my analysis, I have combined cultural and political theory to further the understanding of the social function of fairy tales. Classical Freudian analysis posits the fairy tales in the domain of the "enchantment" which allows the maturing child to recognize and adopt culturally approved gender roles and sexual identities. The fantasy structure of the enchantment indeed pertains to the adult desire whereas, as critical reading suggests, the child serves as a pretext to entertain alternative scenarios of the subject's sexual formation. When the classical Oedipal complex theoretical narrative is observed from the perspective of the Freudian "family romance", the psychological function of the fairy tales makes room also to observe it in its political performance. Again, residing in the domain of children's fiction, fairy tales open up a safe space to fashion a political desire for another social order. In the ideological confinements of the socialist state, this fashioning is based on the appropriation of past legacies of social solidarity and the quest for justice. At the same time, operating within the terrain of infantile citizenship, they also allow nostalgia and a memory of a desire for a different public life. This, in fact, could be considered the ideological core of the "socialist enchantment": the coexistence of past values of common humility and resilience; and the glorious fantasies of the burgeoning self – a winning combination by which Yugoslav socialism managed to maintain its international fame of open society – and allow its citizens to endure in its project.

SOCIALISTIČNA »UPORABA ČAROBNOSTI«: PRAVLJICE, SPOLNOST IN SLOVENSKA NACIONALNA IDENTITETA V PRIMERJALNI PERSPEKTIVI

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POVZETEK

Članek obravnava razmerje med pravljicami, spolno in nacionalno identiteto v socializmu. Teoretično se opira na kanonično delo Bruna Bettelheima The Uses of Enchantment, v katerem avtor zagovarja stališče, da pravljice igrajo pomembno vlogo pri spolnem razvoju otrok. Bettelheimov argument je analiziran skozi feministično-psihoanalitično perspektivo, ki problematizira Freudovo predpostavko o gladkem prehodu k diferencialnemu spolnem oblikovanju fantov in deklet. Glavni cilj analize je preučiti Freudov spolni scenarij v povezavi z oblikovanjem slovenske nacionalne identitete. Slavoj Žižek je trdil, da je slovenski nacionalni značaj uokvirjen z zatiralno in posesivno fikcijsko materjo. V pričujočem članku obravnavam Žižkovo tezo skozi branje dveh pravljic iz socialističnega obdobja, Peter Klepec Franceta Bevka in Moj dežnik je lahko balon Ele Peroci. Pri tem ugotavljam, da lahko z dodajanjem Freudove ideje o family romance in političnega koncepta infantilnega državljanstva k analizi otroške fikcije pridobimo nove vpoglede v konkretne politične in socialne napetosti, ki podpirajo "uporabo čudežnega" pri otrocih v socializmu.

Ključne besede: spolna identiteta, nacionalna identiteta, pravljice, družinski roman, socializem, nedoraslo državljanstvo

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SUPERSTITION, NATIONALISM, AND THE SLOVENIAN RELIGIOUS LANDSCAPE OF THE 19TH-CENTURY

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ABSTRACT

The paper delves into the concept of superstition in the territory of Slovenia in the 19th century, exploring its formation, evolution, and challenges in historical research on vernacular religiosity. The discussion considers nation-building, editorial process, and the predominant Christian discourse in folklore analysis. The paper explores the coexistence and influence of Christianity and superstition, using examples from the newspaper Kmetijske in rokodelske novice to illustrate various types of superstition. It also discusses how intellectuals promoted education and modernisation through critiquing superstitions. The term "superstition" is pejorative in nature and may does not accurately describe the people actually experienced them.

Keywords: superstition, vernacular religion, 19th century, Slovenian nation-building, folklore

SUPERSTIZIONE, NAZIONALISMO E PAESAGGIO RELIGIOSO SLOVENO NEL XIX SECOLO

SINTESI

Il presente studio analizza il concetto di superstizione sul territorio della Slovenia nel XIX secolo, approfondendo la sua formazione, evoluzione e le sfide connesse alla ricerca storica sulla religiosità popolare. Nel saggio si esaminano la costruzione nazionale, il processo editoriale e il predominante discorso cristiano nell'esame del folklore. Il documento esplora la coesistenza e l'influenza del cristianesimo e della superstizione, utilizzando esempi tratti dal giornale "Kmetijske in rokodelske novice" per illustrare diverse forme di superstizione. Viene inoltre affrontata la questione di come gli intellettuali promuovevano l'istruzione e la modernizzazione attraverso la critica delle superstizioni. È importante sottolineare che il termine "superstizione" ha una connotazione negativa e potrebbe non rappresentare accuratamente l'esperienza delle persone effettivamente coinvolte.

Parole chiave: superstizione, religiosità popolare, XIX secolo, costruzione nazionale slovena, folklore

INTRODUCTION: VERNACULAR RELIGIOSITY IN THE TERRITORY OF SLOVENIA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

There is so much superstition among our Slovenes, oh dear! Much has been written about it in the newspapers Novice, Vedež, and Slovenska Čbela; let me add what I know. That there are indeed sorceresses, wizards, dwarfs, etc., is something that an uneducated Slovene can in no way erase from his memory, because they have heard it from their ancestors and other old people, and therefore it must be true, no matter what anyone says to the contrary! (Kociančič, 1856, 368)

The relationship between Christianity, vernacular religion, Slovenian nationalism, and enchantment in the 19th century was complex[1]. While in the 18th century the lower social classes were considered exotic, the 19th century brought the "discovery of the people." The intellectuals discovered that they themselves and the peasants (who before 1800 usually had a regional rather than a national consciousness) were actually one and the same people (Burke, 1978, 9, 12), based on the idea that the peasants were bearers of the most authentic, if disappearing, national culture. The urge to document the "remnants" of this disappearing culture in the form of folklore went hand in hand with the blunt valorisation of its elements with some of them being exhalted and others seen as intellectually inferior and encouraged to disappear (Mencej, 2017, 56). In line with this interest in folklore, the 19th century saw an increasing interest in the pre-Christian religions of Europe, fueled by nationalist ideologies and an escapist nostalgia for the pre-industrial past (Maier, 2017, 345). The diversity of practices and beliefs at home and around the world fascinated intellectuals (Burke, 1978, 14). Due to the lack of historical sources containing information about Germanic, Celtic, or Slavic pre-Christian religiosity, and because archeological science was still in its infancy, the pagan religions of Europe became an open field for imagination, wishful thinking, and source material for nationalist ideas about nations' idealised pasts. Scholars adapted the perspective of Christian historiography and incorporated the nationalist goals that constructed paganism as a precursor to the Christian present (Maier, 2017, 345).

The same processes took place in the territory of Slovenia. During the initial efforts to collect Slovenian folklore, Slovenian intellectuals[2], encouraged by the rise of nationalism in their search for the nation's roots and belief in "disappearing" folklore, were confronted with a confusing religious landscape among the Slovenian peasantry that did not correspond to a dichotomous assumption of Christianity (the "correct religiosity") and noble pagan remnants from pre-Christian times. Rather, as it will be demonstrated in the article, they encountered expressions of vernacular religiosity that included Catholic religious orthodoxy, some elements which were accepted as pre-Christian (e.g., legends referring to ancient Slavic deities), and a host of beliefs[3] and practices that they considered non-Christian and erroneous, most often referred to

1 The article was written within projects "Political Functions of Folktales" (ARIS N6-0268), "Facing foreigners in the cities of the Upper Adriatic at the transition from the Middle Ages to the Early Modern Period" (ARIS J6-4603) and program "The Practices of Conflict Resolution between Customary and Statutory Law in the Area of Today's Slovenia and Neighboring Countries" (ARIS P6-0435), supported by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency.

2 An extremely valuable source for researching Slovenian folklore in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, including folklore with religious content, would be Štrekelj's Legacy. Karel Štrekelj (1859–1912) encouraged collections and publications of Slovenian folklore according to academic standards of the time. Numerous folklore collectors (over 300 from all corners of the Slovenian ethnic territory) sent him their folkloric materials forming a rich collection of material, encompassing folk tales, anecdotes, fairy tales, proverbs, riddles, spells, as well as traditional customs, children's games, and superstitions. His legacy also includes 122 folktales from the following newspapers: *Kres, Slovenski glasnik, Slovenska bčela, Novice, Slovenija, Torbica jugoslavjanske mladosti, Slovenski gospodar* and *Mravljica* (Kropej Telban, 2021, 129–136). Publication and analysis of these materials would undoubtedly be a valuable contribution to Slovenian folklore studies as well as to the discourse analysis of Slovenian vernacular religion in the 19th century. This article offers an insight into the range of materials in need of scholarly attention.

3 As Valk (2022, 5) emphasises, "belief" is a concept that derives from Christianity and the individual relationship with the Christian God. It is not, therefore, universally applicable to religious traditions where practices and rituals are of central importance; such applications would provide misleading results. Despite these shortcomings, the concept of belief has remained a valid scholarly category in the study of religiosity. The concept of belief in itself, however, has been much debated in the field of folklore studies. As Mirjam Mencej (2017, 55–56) summarises, belief (similarly to superstition) went through a paradigmatic shift from being seen as a distinct folklore genre, to a mental and cognitive entity that can only be articulated in stories, acts, arts, and behaviours.

as "superstitions"[4] (from Latin *superstes*, meaning to survive, to witness; O'Neil, 2005, 8864). The collectors of folklore witnessed a clash of two (or more) discourses: the national/Christian discourse and the vernacular one among the peasants (how many religious discourses existed among them is difficult to say, since the written discourses mostly expressed the thoughts of the educated, elite classes as this article will also demonstrate).

Making sense of these differences was a challenge that was never fully resolved. Complicating matters further is the fact that the term superstition referred not only to magic, for example, but also to practices that were not seen as malicious but as arising from ignorance (not unlike in Finnish folklore; cf. Toivo, 2016, 9). In general, the plurality of religious beliefs and practices in 19th century Slovenian lands can be compared to religiosity in other countries of the time (cf. Devlin, 1987).

In this paper, I will elaborate on the terms "false faith" and "superstition," or rather, what superstition denoted in the 19th century. I will also explore why it was characterised as such, and what mentions of superstition actually indicate about the vernacular religiosity in the Slovenian lands in the 19th century. This paper is intended to be a preliminary examination of a broad area of vernacular religiosity in the 19th century. The Slovenian newspaper *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice* (= *Novice*) served as a source for the study of this topic. *Novice* was a newspaper with a high circulation and was an influential medium among Slovenes, who at that time were mostly peasants and craftsmen. Under the editorialship of Janez Bleiweis (1808–1881), *Novice* advocated for a higher level of education for the peasantry in order to improve agricultural production, the cultural level and also the morale of the Slovenes. Janez Bleiweis was convinced that the basis of the Slovenian and Austrian economy was and should remain agriculture and therefore actively promoted its modernisation, the education of peasants, and the introduction of new agricultural techniques, tools, and crops (Vodopivec, 2021, 31, 34). In the 19th century Slovenian lands, the Enlightenment, an intellectual and philosophical movement that characterised the 18th century, had the character of a national awakening. Part of this movement was an effort to educate the common people (Kropej Telban, 2021, 97).

This work represents a first systematic scholarly attempt to address the image of superstition in 19th century Slovenian folklore, thus opening a new field of historical research on 19th century Slovenian vernacular religiosity.

THE SHIFTING SANDS OF SUPERSTITION

Religion and superstition are among those terms that we all assume we understand, but as soon as we try to define them, they become much less clear. Similar difficulties, plurality, and fluidity of meaning occur with terms such as magic, witchcraft, or heresy[5] (cf. Kallestrup & Toivo, 2017; Toivo, 2016, 9–10). In different historical and cultural contexts, they had different meanings and are therefore difficult to define universally. Superstition does not form a separate (theological) sphere but is part of many levels of culture and society (Kallestrup & Toivo, 2017, 2). Consequently, as will be shown, even in the same historical and social context it is difficult to find a unified definition. In addition, terms such as superstition and paganism are interrelated in meaning and are inevitably used alongside the processes of scholarly interpretation.

I must first define what I mean by the term "superstition." Over time, the concept of superstition has evolved and been used to criticise other religious beliefs and practices. It has meant various things to different people over time. The term "superstition" has been used by dominant religions throughout history to describe religious beliefs and practices that were subject to disapproval. It has a pejorative connotation and is defined based on (or rather in opposition to) the culture's concept of "true religion" (O'Neil, 2005, 8864). Although the meaning of superstition has never been clearly defined, it has always meant the opposite of "true religion" (Cameron, 2010, 4). This is similar to the concept of "paganism," which has only ever

4 In this article, the term "superstition" is used, even though from a scholarly perspective it is an outdated term as it contains pejorative connotations. I have, non the less, decided to keep it in the article as a descriptive term for various non desirable elements of beliefs and practices as described and valorised by Slovenian intellectuals from the 19th century as it, in my opinion, best represents the sense of religious, moral, and political inferiority of some aspect of Slovenian folklore that were marked by this term. The term "superstition" (and related terms mentioned in the continuation) is also used by the authors from *Novice* themselves, therefore, I am inclined to use the emic terminology (from the point of view of the authors in *Novice*, not from the point of view of the peasants from whom they got their materials), although I do attempt to explain and interpret it. I am, however, fully aware of the complexity of a topic such as "superstition" and that more appropriate scholarly terminology exists for it (as I also discuss in this article). This complexity is exactly what I want to address with this contribution. By using this term, I do not, therefore, wish to pass any sort of judgement or valorisation of the folklore I am analysing here.

5 One of the delimitations between these terms could be: idolatry as the worship of a wrong god or not-a-God; heresy as the worship of a true God, but according to beliefs that contradicted authority; superstition as a means of worship of a true God by inappropriate means (Cameron, 2010, 4).

existed as an entity in the eyes of its opponents (Jones, 2014, 145). In Christianity, non-Christian, "pagan" religions were associated with terms such as "idolatry" or "magic." This was despite evidence suggesting that things were more complex (Maier, 2017, 343).

The term superstition has from a scholarly sense been closely interlinked with the term "belief" as Mirjam Mencej (2017) demonstrated in her review article about the scholarly field of international and Slovenian folklore studies throughout time. Similarly to the concept of superstition, the concept of belief has gone through various transformations in terms of meaning and definitions and still remains open for various interpretations and meanings (Mencej, 2017). What superstition is thus depends on the perspective of the adherents of that dominant religion who attach meaning to the religious expressions of the Others[6]. Having the authority to define (and thus control) what kind of religiosity is "correct," what is sacred (and consequently, what is "incorrect,"[7] superstitious, heretical) has been subject to control throughout history. The Church seeks to monopolise the sacred (and "true religion" in general), to universalise it, to give it a name, and to create distance between it and people. Individuals can be sanctioned if they do not follow this version of religiosity (Stark, 2002, 31).

Despite the multitude of meanings, there have been attempts in academia to find a unified definition.[8] The complexity of various ideas about and definitions of superstition was addressed by Alan Dundes (1978, 90) who provided a tentative definition of superstitions as "traditional expressions of one or more conditions and or more results with some of the conditions signs and other causes." He also determined three basic categories of superstition. The first are "Signs" that consists of portents and omens that one can read (for example, a ring around the moon predicts rain). The second category is "Magic." Such magic superstitions serve as a means of production and not just of prediction – in contrast to sign superstitions, human agency in this type of superstition is intentional rather than accidental. It also involves belief *and* practice. This category also includes divination. The third category, "Conversion" is hybrid as it consists of sign superstitions being converted into magic superstitions. It includes planting signs, wishes, and counteractants (i.e. forms of counter-magic) (Dundes, 1978, 91–93).

Cameron also (2010, 5) attempted to provide a general summary of superstition, describing it as "a fairly disorganized bundle of beliefs and practices rooted in tradition: attempts to discern the unknown through divination, and to control it, or at least protect against it, through simple use of "*charms*." Conceptually, as Valk (2022, 2) summarised, superstitions ranged from being strange "leftovers" from the past and expressions of a lack of education (or intelligence) to being considered an integral part of human life. And a similar conceptualisation happened with folklore itself, which was first seen as a "remnant" of the past, alive only among the peasants, and then began to represent a vital and important aspect of social and individual expression and creativity.

The complexity of studying superstition and religiosity is further complicated by the fact that there are many societies in which the modern separation of religion from other aspects of society has not occurred – in most societies throughout history and the world, religion and culture are one and the same, and religion does not represent a separate entity (Stringer, 2005, 9). This leads to difficulties in exploring religion and superstition with modern understandings of these concepts. Even within the framework of a particular religious orthodoxy, the term superstition took on various meanings at different points in time.

By analysing examples of superstition in *Novice*, I will try to provide an understanding of what the term meant in the context of Slovenian lands in the 19th century.

RELIGION, SUPERSTITION, AND CHANGING MEANINGS

However, before we embark upon an analysis of superstition in *Novice*, it is important to understand how the concept of superstition became the image we know from the newspaper. This image is the result of a long historical process.

In ancient times, certain behaviours were seen as expressing a false understanding of the world and the divine. Such behaviours were called "superstition." This ignorance of the laws of nature (as they were understood at the time) was usually associated with common people and rural life, that is, with the lower strata of Roman society. As the Roman Empire expanded, superstition became associated with exotic foreign religions, including Christianity (O'Neil, 2005, 8864).

Early Christians used the term when referring to pagan[9] beliefs and practices, including the Roman religion. In keeping with the militant nature of Christian monotheism, the negative meaning of superstition

6 The level of this arbitrariness was pointed out by Dundes (1978, 89) in the possibility of the practice of a Christian sect endorsing the practice of making the sign of the cross to ward off bad luck being considered superstition by another Christian denomination. Similar relativity is seen in defining the difference between mythology and religion: mythology that is believed in or endorsed by authority is called "religion," while religion without belief is considered mythology.

7 Superstition was also often associated with fear and irrationality (Dundes, 1978, 89).

8 Some scholars who have attempted to provide a definition include Puckett (1926), Frazer (1927), Taylor & Whiting (1958), Hand (1961), Yoder (1974), Dundes (1978), Motz (1998). Many scholars, however, have avoided providing a definition of superstition.

9 The Latin speaking Christians initially applied the term "pagani" (Latin for "villagers") to peasants who continued to engage in old non-Christian practices and beliefs and the term was eventually extended to all "pagans" (Jones, 2014, 5).

intensified – Roman statues, for example, were seen as idols, and Roman religious sacrifices were seen as offerings to the devil (O'Neil, 2005, 8864–8865).

By the beginning of the 4th century, Christianity slowly began to replace Paganism as the dominant discourse in Europe (Stringer, 2005, 18). During the Middle Ages, Christian efforts to Christianise intensified and pagan practices were condemned. Superstitious acts were seen as neither harmless nor ineffective. Even if they did not directly invoke the devil, they were based on forces outside those controlled by the church and were therefore considered diabolical. In the 15th century, inquisitorial jurisdiction was extended to the magical activities of the lower classes, resulting in the new crime of witchcraft (O'Neil, 2005, 8865; Kallestrup & Toivo, 2017, 5). Superstitious acts were thus no longer just an issue of pastoral disapproval but were criminalised and prosecuted by both the Church and secular courts in the 16th and 17th centuries (O'Neil, 2005, 8865).

The Catholic Church sought to define what superstition was and to eliminate it. This was also one of the issues at the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the Council of Malines (1607). While "popular magic" of the lower classes was condemned, ecclesiastical practices such as selling indulgences and exorcism were not. Access to the supernatural was monopolised by the Catholic Church (O'Neil, 2005, 8866).

Attempts to understand the difference between the concepts of magic and superstition and faith and prayer continued in the following centuries. While faith and prayer were considered humble requests to the divine, magic was something compulsive that had the power to cause action on the part of a supernatural force (Toivo, 2016, 9, 14).[10] Furthermore, while superstition was considered both a secular and a religious crime, there was also the possibility that actions associated with superstition were considered acts of fraud (at least when money was involved) (Toivo, 2016, 15). Furthermore, by the end of the Middle Ages, all magic, regardless of its purposes (evil or seemingly good, such as curing disease), was considered to be associated with the devil (Toivo, 2016, 9).

During the Protestant Reformation, superstition took on new meanings. Many Catholic practices and beliefs (e.g., popular veneration of relics or saints)[11] were viewed by Protestants as superstitious because they represented an "inappropriate way" of worshipping God (O'Neil, 2005, 8865–8866; Cameron, 2010, 5). In a sense, Christians viewed other Christians who practiced differently as impure and essentially pagan (Jones, 2014, 147). Despite the attitude that Protestantism eliminated superstitious elements in Christianity, the Reformation did not actually abolish the threat of witchcraft or belief in demonic or other spiritual entities (Cameron, 2010, 12). Only perceptions changed. And while Protestants accused Catholics of practicing a magical religion, Catholic reformers also sought to eradicate spells from the culture of their followers (Burke, 1978, 210).

Thus, in both Catholic and Protestant countries, there were systematic attempts by clerical and political elites to raise the religious and moral level of the general population. These attempts were not entirely successful, and superstitious elements continued to be documented in subsequent centuries (including in *Novice*) (O'Neil, 2005, 8866).

The significance of superstition also changed over subsequent centuries. As Burke (1978, 241) puts it, the changes in terminology may express a change in attitude. This can be seen in the word "superstition." In English and Romance languages before 1650, the predominant meaning of the word seemed to be "false religion," and the term was often used to refer to magic and witchcraft. From that context, it can be inferred that these acts were effective but evil. A change occurred in the late 17th century when dissenting beliefs, previously feared because they were based on demonic acts, were now treated with indifference or even ridicule (Cameron, 2010, 24). The meaning of superstition changed to "irrational fears" and the beliefs and practices associated with superstition were understood as foolish but harmless and ineffective (Burke, 1978, 241).

10 There were, however, quite a few scholarly attempts to define the difference between magic and religion. As summarised by Granholm (2014, 9–12) according to James Frazer's understanding magic is an attempt to control supernatural forces in the environment (therefore, magic is a form of a primitive, but erroneous science), while religion signifies submission to these forces. Emile Durkheim saw religion and magic as operating with the same general premises (belief systems, rites …), however, while religion unites its practitioners in churches, magic does not. Mircea Eliade defined the terms *kratophanies* (manifestations of power), *hierophanies* (manifestations of the sacred), and *theophanies* (manifestations of the divine). While there is no clear distinction between religion and magic, the latter is more closely related to kratophanies because of its relation to power. While the delimitation between religion and magic is hard to make and they are essentially artificial scholarly categories, the continuous attempts to define them are probably a result of Christian perception of "proper religion" being devoid of "magical" elements. Additionally, magic has often been viewed as a static and transhistorical and transcultural phenomenon even though that is not the case. Magic has not been the same in all cultures and all eras. There is also the problem of applying the European understanding of magic to non-European cultures which hinders a thorough understanding.

11 Even some official practices of the Catholics were described by Protestants as pre-Christian remnants, for example, comparing the cult of the Virgin Mary with the cult of Venus or seeing the saints as successors to the pagan gods and heroes (Burke, 1978, 209; Jones, 2014, 148).

The Enlightenment brought a new understanding of superstition as the scientific study of nature was proposed as a new cultural orthodoxy. In this sense, magical practices (and all "irrational" aspects of religious practices) and beliefs continued to be considered superstition, but their diabolical efficacy was replaced by the scientific understanding of their impossibility–magic again took on a different meaning (O'Neil, 2005, 8866; Cameron, 2010, 25; Kallestrup & Toivo, 2017, 8). Echoes of Enlightenment thinking can still be felt in *Novice* and their understanding of superstition.

However, after decades of propaganda for rationalism, 19th century European intellectuals rediscovered traditions, folk legends, and other folklore in the spirit of nationalism. They saw superstition not as demonic goings-on but as a valuable remnant of the nation's pre-modern noble past. In a sense, this was a time when the magical and demonic definitively lost their power to instill fear (Cameron, 2010, 26–27).

Even in the world after urbanisation and industrialisation, a culture of "superstition" persisted well into the 19th century and beyond (Cameron, 2010, 14). The term superstition continues to be used in today's society and still has a pejorative meaning used to describe any belief system that does not conform to one's concept of rationality or even to religion as a whole (Cameron, 2010, 4).

CHALLENGES IN STUDYING VERNACULAR RELIGIOSITY FROM HISTORICAL SOURCES

As mentioned above, the purpose of this paper is to address the very under-researched topic of the historical aspects of vernacular Slovenian religiosity. This is not an easy task as the sources are often very one-sided (i.e. written from the point of view of intellectuals and bearers of orthodox religious discourse) and lack the ethnographic data useful for a contemporary researcher (the process of gathering information, information about the interlocutors and the context in general, etc.) and there is also a different paradigmatic orientation in the research than there was at that time. In the historical sources, the (theologically literate) authors often knowingly or unknowingly described beliefs and practices that diverged from doctrinal religious beliefs in terms of the polarised cosmos of Christian philosophy (Cameron, 2010, 9). Thus, the texts used for this paper do not directly reflect cultural and religious categories. The voices of peasant interlocutors were decontextualised and filtered first by folklore collectors and later by *Novice*'s editorial policy. Moreover, a very distinct agenda in collecting this folklore (i.e., building an image of a "true Slovene") presents an additional challenge in trying to understand the reality of vernacular religion of the 19th century. The nature of such historical sources thus has a dual character: on the one hand, they provide information about the religious beliefs and practices of 19th century Slovenian peasants, and on the other hand, they reflect the prevailing cultural, political, and religious discourses of the time. This paper will deal with both of these aspects, but will focus on the latter, focusing on "false" and "erroneous" religious beliefs and practices, i.e., superstitions.

Moreover, it is important to realise that 19th century Slovenian folklore offers examples of 19th century Slovenian vernacular religion, rather than medieval folklore (cf. Young, 2022, 9). The reason for emphasising this is that in past (international) scholarship there was too little criticism when it came to comparing different religious elements: for example, ancient and medieval religiosity, rural and urban religious expression, peasant religiosity, and the religion of the nation as a whole were equated with one another (Burke, 1978, 20). As we know today, the context of religious ideas is crucial to their understanding.

Moreover, not all religions adhere to the Christian concept of "faith." According to Dowen (2000, 2), ancient paganism was not faith-based, but rather concerned with the observance of ritual systems. Perceiving other religious expressions with the concepts of one's own religion (for example, vernacular religion does not have a coherent and ordered structure like Christianity; cf. Toivo, 2016, 11) can lead to fundamental misunderstandings. And not only was paganism not a coherent set of religious beliefs and practices, but, as is characteristic of other religions, it was constantly changing and reinventing itself (cf. Young, 2022, 9). Thus, when *Novice* articles mention "beliefs," e.g., about witchcraft, we cannot assume that the bearers of these beliefs perceived them in the same way as they perceived their beliefs in, e.g., Christian saints.

EXAMPLES OF SUPERSTITION IN *NOVICE*

Having understood the complex nature of superstition, I will now try to analyse what superstition meant in Slovenian lands in the 19th century, based on publications in *Novice*.

In *Novice*, various expressions were used to describe false beliefs and practices: in Slovenian, these are "vražjeverje", "vraže", "babjeverje", "praznoverje", "prazna vera", "malikovanje", "krivoverstvo", "kriva vera". The term superstition was also very often mentioned in connection with the belief in witches. It is difficult to translate these terms directly into English, but roughly these expressions mean "superstition", "old wives' faith", "empty faith", "idolatry", "false religion", "witchcraft."

Beli Krajnci unikraj Kerke in Save od Kostanjevice do Jesenic.

(Konec.)

Vraže so tù popolnama domà. Ako jim toča nograde potolče, se precej zberejo in se zagovoré, de ta ali uni dan v nogradih delali ne bodo, in to natanjko spolnujejo; Bog obvari, de bi njih vnuki to obljubo prelomili. V Čatežki fari imajo že sredo in petek, de v nekterih nogradih nič ne delajo; v s. Križki vender samo petek. Kakó je pa to za kmeta škodljivo, se lahko vé, ker spomlad, kader delo v vinskih gorah nastane in gerdo vreme dolgo terpí, je na enim tednu veliko ležeče, in ko se željno dočakan lep teden približa, se gori rečena dva dneva brez ušterbe (odloge) praznovati morata.

Še več drugih vraž imajo: Kakor hitro kdo posébno zbolí, že menijo, de mu je narejeno. Vpričo mene je nekdo terdil, de bo neki ženi, ki ima že dolgo časa jetiko, in se bo kmalo vpokojila, oddelal; pravi namreč, de ji je narejeno, in de se on na to dobro razumí. Neka stara baba, ktera kot velika copernica po vsim kraju sloví, dobi od vsake mlade dvojice, ki v zakon stopi, groš za pleme na piru (svatovšini); Bog ne daj, se ji zameriti ali groša skratiti, taki zakon bi bil gotovo nesrečen. — Točo, menijo, dela hudič s copernicami v zraku; nar bolji pomoček zoper to so blagoslovljeni (žegnani) zvonóvi. Ti razpodé hudiča, preženejo oblake, in veržejo iz oblakov copernice. Vsaki duhovnik, kteri zvoniti brani, kadar se nevaren oblak približuje, jim po copernikih diší. In te vraže so po vsim Krajnskim več ali manj raztrošene. V naturi našiga ljudstva globoko tičijo in se težko izkoreniniti dajo. Nar bolji sredstvo zoper vraže bi bile naravoslovne bukve, ki bi naravoslovja (Naturlehre) kmeta poljudno učile. To bi nam pa Ljubljanski učitelji nar

Figure 1: Beli Krajnci unikraj Kerke in Save od Kostanjevice do Jesenic (Konec.) (Delimarič, 1845, 31).[12]

12 Translation: "Superstitions are completely at home here. If hail ruins their vineyards, they gather and promise not to work in the vineyards on this or that day and they are very strict in keeping that promise. God forbid their grandchildren would break that promise. In the Čatež county they already have Wednesdays and Fridays when work in the vineyards is forbidden. In Sveti Križ they only have Fridays. It is easy to see how harmful such beliefs are: in the spring when there is much work to be done in the vineyards and bad weather is frequent a week can be a long time without working there. When good weather finally arrives, they are forbidden from working on these two days. They also hold many other superstitions: as soon as someone gets seriously ill, they immediately assume that a spell has been cast on them. Someone claimed in front of me that a certain woman, who has had tuberculosis for a long time and is about to retire, has been cursed and that a spell has been cast on her and he claimed to understand these things well. An old woman, renowned throughout the region as a great witch, receives a coin from every young couple entering marriage during the wedding feast. God forbid anyone offend her or cut short her money; such a marriage would surely be unhappy. They also believe that the devil together with witches create hail and that the best countermeasure against hail are the blessed church bells. They drive the devil and the clouds away and hurl the witches down from the clouds. A priest who prevents the bells from being rung when a dangerous cloud approach is suspected of being a witch himself. Such superstitions are scattered throughout Carniola to a greater or lesser extent. They are deeply rooted in the nature of our people and are difficult to eradicate. The best remedy against superstitions would be simple science books for peasants. […]"

Za božjo voljo ali še ne bo konec vraž!

V 26. listu Novic smo oznanili žalostno prigodbo, de je en otrok blizo Krope na Gorenskim od gada pičen umerl. Danes pa vémo za gotovo povedati, de je oče te nesrečne deklice, ki jo je gad v desno nogo pičil, v Kropo šel — ne zdravnika na pomoč klicat ampak po nekiga fužinskiga delavca, kterimu neumni babjeverci moč pripisujejo, de zna kačji pík panati. Goljufni mazec (Quacksalber) res pride, opravi svoje čire čare, pravi de se ni treba zdaj nič več bati, in gré kakor mogočen izveličar od ondot. — Drugo jutro je deklica že na parah ležala, kteri bi se bilo, kakor so zdravnik rekli, précej v začetku lahko pomagalo. — — Ali ni to strašna in pregrešna neumnost, takim goljufnim mazcam, takim krivim prerokam, takim sleparskim rokonavžarjam le nar manjši reč verjeti in jih na pomoč klicati!

Pri ti priložnosti moram še eno žalostno prigodbo ravno take vražne baže povedati, ktera se je lani na Gorenskim zgodila, in ki je dva človeka ob življenje pripravila, eniga pa za zmirej nesrečniga storila. Nek žolčičen kmetiški fant je začel bolehovati. Namest zdravila pri zdravniku iskati, gré mazce in sleparske copernike za svèt prašat; ti ga zagotovijo, de mu je bolezin narejena, in mu ukažejo, de ga poprej ne morejo ozdraviti, dokler jim ne prinese kos srajce ali pa lás tistiga človeka, ki je njegov nar veči sovražnik. Kér se mu to vraštvo čudno zdí, se spravi čez Ljubelj in gré na Koroško drugo copernico za svèt prašat; tudi ta babéla mu ravno to svetje, mu še clo v ogledalu podobo tistiga pokaže, ki mu je bolezin naredil, in mu pravi, de se ne bo ozdravil, dokler njegov sovražnik živí. Neumni človek verjame, kar mu gerda baba pravi, gré domú, in ubíje na samotnim kraji stariga soseda, s kterim je nekoliko v prepiru živel. — Sodnja gosposka ubijavca vjame, v ječo zaprè — in de se mu bo huda péla, je gotovo; copernico so na Koroškim zaperli, se je pa v ječi sama obesila. —

Bravci! kaj pravite od te žalostne prigodbe? — — — Za božjo voljo, ali še ne bo konec vraž?!

Dr. B.

Figure 2 and Figure 3: Za božjo voljo ali še ne bo konec vraž! (Bleiweis, 1847, 120).[13]

13 Translation: "On this occasion, I must relate another sad story of just such a superstitious event that happened last year in the Upper Carniola region, which took the lives of two persons while causing perpetual misfortune to another. A certain little peasant boy began to fall ill. Instead of seeking remedies from the doctor, he went to charlatans and deceptive witches to ask for advice. They assured him that his illness had been caused by sorcery and instructed him that they couldn't cure him until he brought them a piece of a shirt or a strand of hair from the person who was his greatest enemy. Finding this superstition peculiar, he travelled to Carinthia over Ljubelj to consult another charlatan. This one even conjured up the image of the person who had inflicted the illness upon him in a mirror and informed him that he wouldn't be cured as long as his enemy is alive. The naïve man believed the words of the wicked woman, returned home, and in a secluded place killed an old neighbour with whom he had been in a minor dispute. The judicial gentry ordered the murderer to be captured and locked him up in prison – and that he will have a tough time is certain; the sorcerer too was locked up in Carinthia, but she hanged herself in prison. Readers! What do you say about this sad story? For God's sake, will there ever be an end to superstition?!"

These expressions were not used exclusively in the context of religiosity, but also to denote outdated or harmful agricultural, medical, alimentary, and other beliefs and practices that were out of step with more recent scientific developments. In this article, however, the focus will be on the context of religiosity. The religious beliefs and practices mentioned and described with the aforementioned words come from the Greco-Roman, Judeo-Christian tradition (Maier, 2017, 350) and we can assume that (apart from the pejorative connotations they contained) they did not accurately describe them from an emic perspective. Therefore, not only do the mentions of superstition not provide an opportunity for a comprehensive understanding of the religious practices of the lower classes, but the mention of superstition, which was seen as a remnant of paganism, does not provide an opportunity for a reliable reconstruction of the pre-Christian religion.

However, the number and variety of such non-Christian items published in *Novice* (which probably represent only a fraction of the whole) testify to the fact that religiosity in the Slovenian lands in the 19th century was diverse, but also to the fact that this diversity was not seen as problematic for the majority of the population.

The article in Figure 1 from *Novice* contains a brief summary of various superstitions that were common among Slovenes living in Bela Krajina. They are condemned by the author.

It is perhaps not surprising that most of the superstitions mentioned in *Novice* relate to folk medicine and agricultural beliefs and practices (example: Figure 2 and Figure 3).

The health of people and livestock and the ability to accurately judge the timing of agricultural activities were vital to farmers. Christianity obviously did not provide them with enough support in times of uncertainty. Therefore, peasants did not hesitate to resort to magic and divination, for example, to try to control their uncertain reality, which was accompanied by a lack of education and medical care. In everyday life, people needed divine helpers who could quickly influence and improve their situation, as opposed to the more abstract ways of contacting the deity that Christianity offered them (Stark, 2002, 31).

Another example of such "foolish superstition" is the belief that a person who dies from a viper bite cannot go to heaven (Cvotrev, 1845, 67–68).

The other superstition that was very often criticised in *Novice* was the belief in witchcraft, often related to the material loss suffered by the peasants. One of the other recurring beliefs mentioned in the paper was the belief that milk is tainted by the malignant powers of witches. "Believe me, if someone knew how to do witchcraft in this day and age, they would use their magic powers for something else – I mean, I think they would make money appear rather than spoil milk. That's just an empty superstition. Bad milk usually has obvious causes that you do not notice; I want to explain them to you one by one here, so listen to me." (Unknown author, 1844, 78) Then, in a simple, almost patronising tone, the author explains the real reasons for spoiled milk, which are due to factors such as the poor health of the cow, its inadequate nutrition and lack of hygiene during milking. Janez Bleiweis was very keen on translating scientific knowledge into the everyday life of the lower classes (cf. Kolar, 2021, 73–74), which would explain a considerable number of reports of such superstitions in *Novice*. Another type of superstition frequently mentioned in *Novice* is divination, especially in predicting the weather:

> *It is especially sad that there are many superstitions and misconceptions about bad weather among the people. Some believe that enemy sorcerers cause hail, while others believe that lightning, thunder, hail, and rain are always just divine punishments or retribution! (Šmidt, 1850, 126)*

These types of superstitions were received very negatively by the authors in *Novice*, and there was a strong tendency to eradicate such ideas about the weather.

Other examples of superstitions mentioned in *Novice* include superstitions about solar eclipses (a poison falls on the earth and poisons plants and waters (Unknown author, 1851b, 149–150)) or earthquakes during solar eclipses (Unknown author, 1851c, 158) or that drinking the blood of an unborn fetus can make one invisible (Plemelj, 1851, 222) or various mentions of false accounts of people falling into a trance (e.g., Unknown author, 1851d, 255).

There are also various mentions of fraudulent people with supposed supernatural abilities, such as the ability to see the future or have visions. *Novice* was very suspicious of such claims and portrayed such people as exploiting the gullibility of the superstitious. One such example is a young girl who had visions of Jesus and the Virgin Mary (Unknown author, 1851e, 196; Unknown author, 1851f, 203). The author of the article wondered why the people who visited her did not show such piety in the context of Orthodox Christianity. "One should pray to God and worship the miracles of His omnipotence. We do not need sick little girls to make such circus comedies." (Unknown author, 1851f, 203)

We see, then, that belief in superstitious miracles was not considered false and superstitious when they occurred in the context of doctrinal Christianity – in this form, these superstitious acts were considered "miracles". All other types of (seemingly) superstitious events were called "false," "shameful" superstitions. Supernatural realms existed both in the context of Christianity and

Starinske in povestniške stvari.

Pitanja

družtva za jugoslav. povjestnicu i starine

na sve prijatelje starinah i povjestnice naroda hrvatskoga, slovenskoga, srbskoga i bugarskoga.

(Dalje.)

11. Ima li u vas starih gradinah ili sačuvanih gradovah, samostanah, umjetno sagradjenih crkvah ili druzih znamenitih zgradah? Što se zna i pripovjeda o njih.

12. Ima li u vaših crkvah, gradovih ili gdje drugdje znamenitih starinah budi kakove vrsti, kao posudje, odeće, kipovi, slike, ikone, slikarije (živopisi) na liepu (zidu), krstovi, štapovi, svietionice, kadionice, čaše, krstionice, propovjedaonice, umno rezane klupi, ormari itd.? Ili zar ima slikah domaćih mijestah, predjelah, gradovah, samostanah, crkvah itd.? Ima li risanih ili iz kamena izdjelanih slikah, likovah, obrazah, kipovah, što prikazuju slavne ljude našega naroda? Ima li naslikanih narodnih nošnjah ili prizorah iz domaćih dogodjajah?

13. Koje godine zidana je vaša glavna ili područna crkva? Od kojega graditelja (najmara, zidara)? U kojem slogu (štilu)? Da li ima vrata i prozore uzke ili širje na oblo (na bizantinsko, istočno i romansko), ili šiljaste (na gotičko) ili četverokutne (po novom)? Da li je svod (čemer, volta) ravan s daskama, ili na krst (s rebri), na mreže ili na oblo? Ima li malen ili veliki zvonik? Da li taj stoji iz preda ili iz traga? da li je okrugao, osmokutan ili četverokutan? Ima li kubu ili više kubeta? Ima li crkva triem ili su izkićena vratišta na čelu (pročelju)? koliko ima brodovah (ladjah)? Da li svod počiva na stupovih ili pilovih? Ima li iz vana ili iz nutra kakovih spomenikah? Nalazi li se u bližini kakava starinska kapela sagradjena iz drva? u kojem slogu? da li oblom, šiljastom ili čestverokutnom.

14. Ima li u vašoj okolici tkogod starih rukopisah urešenih sa slikama? ili knjigah izkićenih sa bakromjedo ili drvorezi?

15. Ima li u vas kakovih arkivah ili pismenih pomanjih zbirkah, ili pojedinih starih poveljah (diplomah), rukopisah, znamenitih knjigah? Kada i od koga pisani su rukopisi? Kada i od koga izdane i pečatene su knjige? Mogu li se rukopisi dobiti na prepis, ili hoće li vlastnik prodati takove stvari?

16. Da li ima kod vas u narodu ustmenih uspomenah iz bajoslovnih (mitologičkih) vremenah? Što pripovijeda ili pjeva narod o Bjelbogu (Bjelunu, Belinu), Perunu (Perinu), Triglavu, Svetovitu (svetom Vidu), Svarogu, Ladu i Ladi, Turu i Turici, Lelju i Leljivi, Živi i Živani, Mori (Muri) i Morani, Jaseni, Ješi i Ježibabi, o Zlatoj i Jagodi babi, o črnom bogu i Črtu (čartu), o Biesu i Heli, Maliku (Malićcu), o Fuleti, Škrapcu, Škratelju, Hudiću, Kurentu. O Rodjenicah (Rojenicah), Sudicah (Sudenicah), Letnicah i Polednicah. O sreći i usudu (vusudu, udesu) o kugi (ćumi) i smrti. O avetu, utvari i sablasti. O Vilah, Dívih, Stuaćih (Sduhaćih), Orijaših, Patuljcih (pedanj-čovjek i lakat-brada), Palčeku, o srebrnom caru, o Dodi (Dundi), Didu i Dodoli, o vodenom (morskom) mužu i vodenih ženah, morskih djevojakah (pucah), dunavkah, povodkinjah, ajdovskih deklicah. O mraku, vukodlaku (vampiru, upirini), vidini, tencu, repaču, vučjem i divjem pastiru, o vilenjacih, čaratanih, madjionikah, vjedogonjah, krstnicih, vidovinah, viščacih, vračarih. O vješticah, bahornicah, coprnicah, viškah i vračaricah? itd. itd.

17. Ima li u vas koje osobito mjesto, brdo, polje, guvno, špilja, rudarska jama, jezero, voda, križopuće (razkršće), zakleti grad itd., o kom pripovijeda narod, da se tamo sastaju vile, vještice, zli dusi, sablasti, nemani, zmajevi (aždaje, pozoji) itd.? Ima li vodah, gorah i drvetah, koje drži narod za svete?

(Konec prihodnjič.)

Figure 4 and Figure 5: Starinske in povestniške stvari (Kukuljevič, 1871, 85).[14]

in "superstitious" realms (i.e., non-Christian religious expressions). The difference between the two is that the supernatural in Christianity is part of an ideology that controls religious ideas (cf. Koski, 2016, 27).

Less frequently, superstition is mentioned in connection with narrative folklore, e.g., in legends. Matevž Ravnikar-Poženčan (1846, 112) describes legends about a folk figure (a midwinter deity; Kropej, 2012, 50) called "Torka" as a superstition:

Torka was an apparition that frightened the people who spun on Tuesdays and Thursdays, or the spinners who left the distaff next to the wheel when it stopped spinning. A dog's paw appeared and began to spin the spinning wheel. There are more such curious and amusing superstitions that the Krains tell each other to this day for amusement.

14 Translation (of part of the text; some names of folk beings mentioned here are hard to translate into English as they don't have an adequate substitute in that language): "Are there oral memories among your people from legendary (mythological) times? What do the people confess or sing about Veles, Perun, Triglav, the White God, Bjelun, Belbog, Saint Vitus, Svarog, Lada and Lado, Tur and Turica, Lel and Lela, Živa and Živan, Mor and Mora, Jasen, Ješo and Ježibaba, the Black God, and Črt (Čart), about Bies and Hela, Malik (Maličko), about Fulet, Škrapec, Dworf, the Devil, Kurent. About Faits, Letnice, Polednice. About happiness and destiny (fate), the plague, and death. About the world, the creation, and power. About Vila, giants, spirits, Orjaši, dwarves (small people and elbow beard), Palček, about the silver king, about Dod, Dida, and Dodola, about the water (sea) man and water women, mermaids, water spirits (povodnice). About twilight (Mrak), werewolves (vampires, upirs), ghosts, tenco, repač, wolf shepherd, ovcoder (wolf charmer), forest women, witches, magicians, mad women, fortune tellers, witches, etc., etc."

The non-Christian figures in folklore, which may have served various social[15] or psychological needs (in the past or present), are downplayed as serving only for "amusement." It is also often claimed that superstitious ideas (e.g., about werewolves) are remnants of pre-Christian ideas and exist today primarily as folktales (Gomilšak, 1865, 34), ergo not in the form of active ideas.

As knowledge of folklore (its content and research methodology) matured over the years, *Novice* from time-to-time published instructions for folklore collectors on what folklore they should collect (because not all folklore was good folklore). This had a direct impact on what folklore was published in the newspaper.[16] Among the instructions for collectors were guidelines on how to collect superstitions. From these guidelines, we can surmise what was considered superstition (Figure 4 and 5).

In this case, witches (very often associated with superstitions) are mentioned along with faits, werewolves, ghosts, dwarfs, mermaids, and other folk figures that could not be part of the Christian worldview.

SUPERSTITION AND CHRISTIANITY IN THE 19TH CENTURY: A COMPLEX INTERPLAY

In 1847, *Novice* reported a cruel incident in which a mare's tongue was cut off, presumably by a:

> *follower of superstition, who foolishly believed that the tongue of such a mare, which is all black, without a single white spot on her whole body, and which has had one or even several foals, has in it a strange power which helps man to accomplish anything he desires.* […] *Since this superstition that the tongue of the black mare possesses a miraculous power is prevalent among some foolish people, it is believable that the unfortunate mare may have lost her tongue and her life due to this foolish superstition. We wonder if those who believe in such things – are not even more foolish than cattle? Is it proper for them to have a human form? Is it true that they have reason and intelligence? They lack not only a spark of intelligence, but also faith, otherwise they would not attribute divine power to the horseflesh (the tongue)! That the tongue of a wicked old woman has a poisonous power in it, and that through such tongues many bad things have happened in the world, is an old belief – but to assert that the tongue of a black mare possesses any power other than that of eating and drinking is a superstition so foolish that one should be ashamed even to mention it.* (J. U., 1847, 146–147)

Such a belief, then, is not only a sign of lack of education or even stupidity, but also violates Christian norms since supernatural powers can only be attributed to God. The question arises, however, as to how much the average uneducated person in the 19th century actually knew about Christian teachings. Research on French peasants from the same period shows that they did not know them very well (Devlin, 1987, 6).

In the article about the Slovenes in Istria, the author praises the people for their piety. However, there is also mention of an "empty faith" in relation to the rosary, the prayer beads used by Catholics:

> *I would also like to tell you about an empty faith they have. They believe that prayer is only for the one who has the rosary and not for the one who uses it to pray. Therefore, they will never use someone else's rosary. And if you find a rosary, you put it back because you believe it is of no use to you.* (Bleiweis, 1848, 11)

As Karelian folklore also shows, abstract Christian concepts inherent in objects, times, or places can be reinterpreted to provide a concrete benefit (Stark, 2002, 31).

Vernacular religion, therefore, is often a mixture of beliefs from different belief systems that coexist without conflict despite their apparent incompatibility. As Stringer (2005, 18, 23) notes, many of the discourses in societies consist of combinations of pagan and Christian elements, making it nearly impossible to identify "pure" Christian or pagan discourses. The gap between dogmatic, official religion and the way people practice it in everyday life (i.e., vernacular religion) can occur in many aspects of religiosity: in defining the "right" behaviour in a religious context, in understanding the role of church symbols and personalities such as saints, in the goal of religious activity itself, or even in understanding more basic religious concepts, such as the soul or life after death (Stark, 1994, 36).

15 One way of explaining the persistence of such a character in a predominantly Christian society could be the importance of exchange and reciprocity in social relations of traditional agrarian societies (Stark, 2002, 32). George Foster's (1965) concept of "limited good" encompasses the idea that in traditional societies, members of the community saw desirable things as existing in limited quantities. Consequently, one can improve their position only at the expense of others. Folk characters such as Torka might express the prohibition of trying to gain something by crossing society's prohibitions and thus unjustly get ahead of others in the community.

16 According to the writings of Johann Gottfried Herder and Hegel, culture should be understood in the context of the ethnic, existential, and traditional connections of a people. The collection of folktales and other folklore materials that gained momentum during this period can be seen as contributing to ethnic consolidation and nation-building. It also serves the dual role of homogenising culture within a specific territory and differentiating one culture, like German culture, from others. Collectors of national treasures also emerged in Slovenia during this time, with Karel Štrekelj (1859–1912) creating the most extensive collection (Tratnik, 2022, 1043). Folklore was used to express nationalistic (Slovenian) ideas (cf. Crowthert, 2022). Additionally, Slovenian writers used Slovenian folklore in their literary work (cf. Darovec, 2021).

It has also been noted (cf. Stark, 1994, also Devlin, 1987, 7) that vernacular religion focuses more on more "down-to-earth" issues, such as the delineation of important social categories and relationships within the community, and that numinous and awe-inspiring experiences (as described by scholars such as Rudolf Otto and Mircea Eliade) cannot adequately explain the cultural functions of vernacular religion (Stark, 2005, 30).

Young (2022, 16), on the other hand, compares the multitude of different beliefs and practices in vernacular religiosity to the layers of an onion, with the outermost layers representing the abstract assertions about the divine and the inner layers representing the supernatural beliefs associated with the everyday experiences of rural existence.

These beliefs and practices were often a mixture of Christian and non-Christian elements. Dular (1865, 19–20) was very critical of such superstitious beliefs and practices, believing that they contaminated the sanctity of Christian holidays. He also added that among younger and educated people these beliefs are being forgotten, and he wished they would be forgotten altogether.

There are also various customs, including deviations and magic that took place on certain days of the year, such as Christmas Eve. Ozvald Dular (1865, 19–20), for example, wrote about a pot called "žehtar" used for milking cows, which was placed under the table on Christmas Eve to ensure high milk production for the whole new year. On Midsummer's Eve, lovers washed themselves in the evening, but did not dry themselves and lay down to sleep like this, placing a freshly washed cloth under their pillow. During the night, the one who was meant for them would come and dry them. Women also carried a wreath of various flowers and threw it onto a tree. If it stayed on the tree, the woman would get married, if it fell off, she would not get married and so on. And if there was a funeral during the Christmas celebrations, it meant that many people will die the next year. He also added that there are many such "beliefs and superstitions"[17] in existence and that people did not even think about them as harmful (Dular, 1865, 19).

The rather profane, practical, and pragmatic character of vernacular beliefs and its (moral) evaluation is also evident in folk stories that contained non-Christian elements. If they had social and moral value in the eyes of 19th century Slovenians, they were not judged negatively. This is evident in an article by Matija Majer (1844a, 136), who presented a folk tale about breaking the social taboo of beating one's parents. In the story, a child beat his mother while she beat him. A short time later, the child died and the heartbroken mother, while visiting the grave, saw an arm sticking out of the grave. A priest explained to her that this is because the earth does not accept the hand that has struck a parent. After consulting with the priest, he advised her to beat the arm until it returned to the grave. After she did so, the child's arm slid back into the grave.

Although the story clearly violated Christian doctrine[18] which states that the deceased cannot influence the world of the living, the moral element of the story, namely the prohibition against hitting a parent, made it socially acceptable. The Christian element (the priest) probably also helped make this story acceptable. Although the search for the origins of such stories is not the focus of this paper, we might question the motivation for such a postmortem activity that violated Christian teaching. One such explanation, as mentioned earlier, would be that the moral aspect outweighs the contradiction in doctrine. The other might be that such stories echoed pre-Christian notions of the afterlife (transposed into a Christian context), in which the dead were not necessarily as separate from the world of the living as they are in the Christian world. Like centuries earlier, in the Middle Ages, stories about the dead entering the world of the living were still part of nineteenth-century folklore. An additional reason for this could also be that (private) religious beliefs about the ancestors are very resistant to change, as they are related to deep questions of identity, connection to the past, and place (Mandeville Caciola, 2017, 30). Vernacular Christian discourses are also flexible, allowing for the interpretation of various non-Christian elements within the framework of Christianity (cf. Koski, 2016, 27). And as a seemingly unproblematic use of Christian and non-Christian elements in the same narrative shows, the Christian binary opposition between good and evil was not so strict in the vernacular religion of the laity–people seem to have lived their religiosity more on a continuum[19] and it was not always clear to which of these categories their rituals, actions, or words were closer (Toivo, 2016, 24). This ambiguity also carried over into the realm of identity: a person could practice magic without doubting their identity as a devout Christian. This is confirmed by the fact that in the descriptions of superstition in *Novice*, the

17 In the original »ver in vraž« (Dular, 1865, 19).

18 Mirjam Mencej (2008, 189; 2017, 61) agreed with von Sydow's (1948) idea that a »fict« as a folklore genre cannot be used to research beliefs as it portrays a story that is not believed, as it primarily serves as a pedagogical means to protect children from danger or prevent them from damaging crops etc. The story described here could be catagorised as a fict. However, I chose not to exclude it from other examples of folklore in this article as even if there was no underlying belief in the credulity of such stories, it still borrowed its content from a non-Christian "depository" of images, even though the same effect could be obtained by using a story that did not transgress the Christian world view. If nothing more, such stories demonstrate that non-Christian imagery was alive and well in the 19th century. Additionally, Alan Dundes (1978, 89) also held the conviction that belief is not a reliable criterion for defining superstition.

19 Toivo (2016, 42) presented a case of a widow from Ulvila who in 1676 was accused of using magic and witchcraft while fishing. She tried to defend herself at her trial by explaining that during the very act which brought her to trial she also mentioned God. From her point of view, her act was a godly prayer, while the court interpreted it as a charm. Most of the population thought that using Christian formulas meant that they were in the realm of orthodoxy (Toivo, 2016, 44).

question of the Christian self-identity of those to whom the superstitious actions and beliefs were attributed was never questioned. Religion is not only belief in a deity or observance of religious rituals, but also belonging to a community, i.e., an identity. Moreover, as mentioned earlier, "being a Christian" did not necessarily mean the same thing to a clergyman or a peasant.

In any case, stories like the one described show the complexity of vernacular religion. Although in a different geographical and cultural context, in Finnish folklore, concern for the morality of community members and control of transgressions in the form of supernatural punishments was characteristic of Christian village culture (Koski, 2020, 178). It is also noteworthy that what was considered religious orthodoxy was not only institutionally defined, but also contested and determined by other social aspects, such as the popular, social, or performative (Kallestrup & Toivo, 2017, 3, 8). Therefore, although Christianity permeated every pore of Slovenian society, it could not (at least on a practical level) eradicate all segments of non/pre-Christian beliefs and practices. Psychological factors probably also played a role, as there were needs not adequately met by Christianity (Caldwell Ames, 2012, 337). Vernacular religion thus represents a functional system that adapts useful elements from different belief systems (cf. Stark, 2002, 30), and both orthodoxy and the vernacular draw from each other[20] (cf. Devlin, 1987).

There are also examples of superstitions that could be overcome by Christian intervention. For example, fire seen at night suggested buried treasure guarded by a dwarf. If one threw a rosary into this fire and said a prayer, this would drive away the dwarf and one could claim the treasure (Kociančič, 1856, 369). Even more, if a priest refused a request to ring the bells during thunderstorms, he himself could be accused of being a witch (Delimarič, 1845, 31). Associating the representative of the church with superstition may seem strange and contradictory, but it was not an uncommon belief (cf. Porter, 1999, 261; Devlin, 1987, 20–21).

BETWEEN PROGRESS AND TRADITION: EDUCATION, POLITICS AND POWER IN RELATION TO SUPERSTITION

The pedagogical component of the critique of superstition is an essential component of the articles in *Novice* (Figure 6):

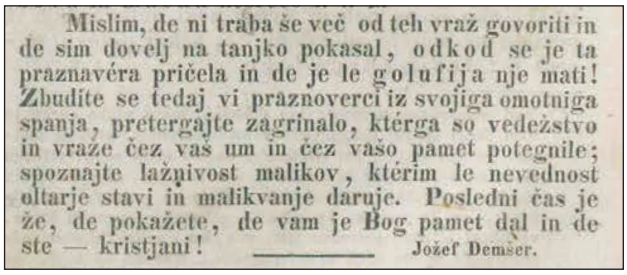
Mislim, de ni traba še več od teh vraž govoriti in de sim dovelj na tanjko pokasal, odkod se je ta praznavéra pričela in de je le golufija nje mati! Zbudíte se tedaj vi praznoverci iz svojiga omotniga spanja, pretergajte zagrinalo, ktérga so vedežstvo in vraže čez vaš um in čez vašo pamet potegnile; spoznajte lažnivost malikov, ktérim le nevednost oltarje stavi in malikvanje daruje. Posledni čas je že, de pokažete, de vam je Bog pamet dal in de ste — kristjani! Jožef Demšer.

Figure 6: Šembilja (Konec) (Demšer, 1844, 111).[21]

> *One must be proud of one's nationality and honour it. However, not all customs, whether Slovenian or of other nations, are praiseworthy; some of them are wrong or even sinful* [...] *There are some folk customs, superstitions, which must be eradicated if the people are to advance culturally. What is sinful is explained to us by Christianity and common sense.* (Unknown author, 1851a, 26)

In *Novice*, there was an active attempt to educate readers so that they would no longer hold superstitious beliefs not in harmony with scientific knowledge (cf. Iskrač-Frankolski, 1863, 313; Likar, 1863, 155). This was not only a question of intellectual progress, but also a question of religion and morality – those who held on to erroneous ideas from the pre-Christian past were not only ignorant, but also against Christianity. Even though, from a Romantic and nationalist perspective, folklore, especially traditional beliefs and mythology, reflected the collective consciousness of the nation, untouched by modernity and reason (Koski, 2020, 172), at the same time, the "wrong" kind of non/Pre-Christian folklore stood in opposition to the notion of a "true Slovene," who was proud of his noble pagan past and whose remnants (i.e., folklore referring to pre-Christian entities, such as Slavic gods, fairies, buried treasures ...), but did not actively believe in them. Both Christianity and scientific discoveries[22] represented progress that a "true Slovene" had to embrace wholeheartedly.

20 Some of the vernacular practices (for example, popular pilgrimages for health, animals, or wealth) were accommodated by the Church – although not always with great enthusiasm (Devlin, 1987, 11).

21 Translation: "I believe that there is no additional need to talk about these superstitions and that I have shown in detail how these empty beliefs came about, and that deceit is their mother! Wake up from your hazy sleep all who believe in these empty beliefs, break the curtain of superstition that covers your mind and intelligence; know the falseness of the idols to which you make altars and give offerings out of your ignorance. It is the final time to show that God gave you a mind and that you are, in fact, Christians!"

22 Although, as rightfully pointed out by Dundes (1978, 89) the criterion of validity in the sense of objective scientific truth as a postulate for defining superstition is also wrong as the stance of what is considered the right kind of knowledge is also relative in societies and prone to change. Perhaps the most common definition of superstition is that which employs the criterion of validity in the sense of objective scientific truth.

Nevertheless, which folklore was acceptable and good, and which was better forgotten was not perfectly clear. This uncertainty about pre-Christian/non-Christian beliefs reflected in Slovenian folklore was addressed by Matija Majer (1844b, 172):

> *Is it permissible to speak of the old times, of how it used to be? Could it perhaps be a sin if we talk about Slovenian sybils, about žalik žene? I think this is not so wrong. After all, educated people study stories (history), and I have never heard that this is wrong; they even praise them for being educated, because they can tell how things used to be in the world. What others find beautiful, you should not make a shame for Slovenians! Excuse me? Don't people learn whole books about the false gods (idols) of the Romans and Greeks? They don't do it to believe in them, but only to know what the faith of the ancient Romans and Greeks was. They themselves remain devout Christians. Isn't that so? I have traveled among the Slovenes in Carniola, Styria, Carinthia, and Gorizia – as far as I know them, I do not think there is anyone among us who is foolish enough to pray to Sybil or the White Lady as to a goddess, or to kneel as to a saint and sigh: 'Saint Sybil, pray to God for us.' A Slovene sometimes says, 'Sybil said this and that,' in the sense of 'Plant corn or tuber crops during the old moon or the new moon,' meaning, 'That's what people used to do.'*

The true value of such superstitious beliefs lies in the fact that they offer a window into the noble Slovenian past:

> *Those who do not see at first glance that these superstitions originate from pagan times and resemble the superstitions of other peoples need not be surprised that even today stories full of such absurdities are told. They are a living testimony to the mythology of the time and remain interesting to us because they reveal the history of development and civilisation of the Slovenians.* (Mulec, 1856, 225–226)

"Vernacular knowledge"[23] as Valk (2022, 12) put it, contains elements of institutional knowledge and at the same time contradicts and competes with it. The terms "vernacular" and "institutional" are closely related to social institutions that deal with power (Valk, 2022, 8). In the case of *Novice*, we can see that while the bearers of vernacular knowledge (as the educated collectors saw them) accepted parts of the authoritative discourse (Christian teachings, certain scientific knowledge), they also maintained certain beliefs and practices that were outside of these discourses. And from the outside perspective (i.e., from the bearers of the authoritative discourse), these were seen as inferior (unless they were seen as non-threatening "remnants" of past times). Non-doctrinal (i.e., non-Christian) traditions and beliefs were considered part of otherness, and cultural and scientific interest in them was legitimised solely by their perception as "remnants" from the past (Koski, 2020, 172). If not, they were not considered a valid research topic in themselves and an equally valid part of Slovenian culture, but "superstition" and "foolishness."

CONCLUDING REMARKS AND POSSIBILITIES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This paper has attempted to shed light on the complex religious landscape of the 19th century in the territory of Slovenia, in which doctrinaire Christianity and lived, vernacular religion coexisted and interacted in various ways. Through an analysis of historical sources in *Novice*, we have seen how the dominant religious discourse of the time often marginalised and stigmatised vernacular religious practices as "superstitious," while at the same time accepting some of them for political and social reasons. It was also mentioned how the rise of nationalist ideologies on Slovenian territory and in other European nations as a whole fueled interest in pre-Christian religions and folklore, which were seen as expressions of national identity.

While *Novice* provides us with information about the nature of the content of religious beliefs and practices in the 19th century, it is difficult to assess how those described as adherents of superstition (i.e., peasants) actually viewed it. As noted earlier, superstition is a concept imposed by the dominant religion and is as such part of a discourse that denies the validity and equality of religious expressions that do not conform to them. It, in fact, silences them.

It is questionable, however, whether the educated collectors and researchers of Slovenian folklore attached the same meaning of Christian "faith" to the stories and practices they encountered among the Slovenian peasants, which they called "superstition." Perhaps the vernacular religiosity they encountered could be better characterised by

23 »Vernacular knowledge is not a systematic and consistent doctrine but rather an expressive strategy and its never-finalized product, which appears in manifold forms, both verbal and non-verbal. It can be expressed in oral, written and printed genres but also acted out in visual art, symbols, music, rituals and behaviour. It can be finalized in writing or works of art but more often it occurs in private and public interaction« (Valk, 2022, 9).

attitudinal factors and ritual practices than by beliefs (cf. Despland, 2005, 8863; also, Valk, 2022). However, Maria Toivo (2016, 11) disagreed with the assumption that "lived religion" should be reduced to rituals and believes that it also includes experiences and emotional performances, an "acting out" of a person's conception of the world and their relations to the sacred and supernatural. Even magic, as she rightly pointed out, requires a belief in its efficacy and a conviction that there is a higher power that can be compelled to interact (Toivo, 2016, 11). Regardless of what kind of beliefs (or lack thereof) is mentioned, what we can witness instead through the descriptions of superstition in *Novice* is the existence of various ways of coping with life that do not necessarily require a firm commitment to faith in the Christian sense (cf. Despland, 2005, 8863), but do not necessarily exclude it either.

In analysing the representation of superstition in *Novice*, several things must be considered. These include the nationalistic motivations in collecting and interpreting folklore at the time. The other is the editorial process and the pedagogical goals that Bleiweis pursued as the editor. Additionally, one must consider the prevailing Christian discourse that was found in all sectors of society. The rather fragile balance between admiration of pagan remnants and abhorrence of non-Christian beliefs and practices was accompanied by the (unconscious) search for enchantment (contradicting Weber's notions of disenchantment), the construction of Slovenian identity, and attempts at the intellectual justification of the superiority of Christianity and the subsequent need to eradicate harmful and backward superstitions that hindered the quality of life and corrupted the religious and moral character of a "true Slovenian."

The criterion for distinguishing non-Christian elements in folklore as "harmless" or even "valuable" from "superstitious" and "stupid" seems to be active belief in their efficacy or credulity. But even this is not black and white. If the overall message of a particular folklore confirmed and reinforced current moral, political, or religious discourses, the non-Christian elements in the folklore were accepted.

The examples of superstition presented are undoubtedly only a fragment of what was considered superstition in Slovenian lands in the 19th century, and of vernacular religiosity in general. A more comprehensive study would be needed[24] in order to build on or correct the conclusions of this paper. However, this paper could be the starting point, and this study allows us to draw some reasonable conclusions. Attempting to understand or even reconstruct the folk religiosity of the past is difficult (cf. Valk, 1996), and as always with attempts to understand the mentality of the past, consideration of the context of the time is crucial.

24 Other newspapers where 19th century Slovenian folklore was published include Slovenski glasnik, Slovenska bčela, Zora, Vestnik, Vedež, Kras, Ljubljanski zvon, Dom in svet. The first collections of folklore in monographs also started to be published. Additionally, a great deal of folklore has never been published (Kropej Telban, 2021, 104).

VRAŽEVERJE, NACIONALIZEM IN SLOVENSKA RELIGIJSKA KRAJINA 19. STOLETJA

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POVZETEK

V prispevku je raziskan koncept vraževerja oz. odnos do vraževerja na območju Slovenije v 19. stoletju. Članek povzema različne pomene, ki jih je vraževerje imelo skozi čas ter obravnava težave pri raziskovanju vernakularne religioznosti na podlagi zgodovinskih virov. Članek se začne z razpravo o prepletanju krščanstva in vraževerja, poudarja načine, na katere sta se prepletala in vplivala drug na drugega. Nato se poglablja v različne vrste vraževerja, ki so bile razširjene v tem obdobju, pri čemer se opira na primere iz časopisa Kmetijske in rokodelske novice, v katerem se omenjajo različne vrste vraževerja, vključno s čarovništvom in prerokovanjem. V članku je prav tako govora o kritikah vraževerja v Novicah, katerih namen je bil dvigniti izobrazbeno raven nižjih slojev. Preučuje tudi načine, na katere so nacionalne ideologije spodbujale zanimanje za predkrščanske religije in odnos intelektualcev do vraževerja. Razprava obravnava tudi proces oblikovanja naroda, uredniški proces ter krščanski diskurz v analizi folklore. Elementi folklore so bili sprejeti, če so se ujemali s prevladujočimi moralnimi, političnimi ali verskimi stališči. Članek se zaključi z razpravo o najpomembnejših zaključkih raziskave, poudarjena je tudi nujnost celovitejšega raziskovanja vernakularne religoznosti v 19. stoletju ter pomembnost upoštevanja konteksta preučevanega obdobja pri poskusu razumevanja religijske preteklosti. Članek podaja podroben in niansiran vpogled v vlogo vraževerja v verskem in kulturnem okolju 19. stoletja na območju današnje Slovenije.

Ključne besede: vraževerje, vernakularna religija, 19. stoletje, slovenski nacionalizem, slovstvena folklora

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ODNOS MED SARO IN HAGARO V LUČI JUDOVSKO-ARABSKEGA KONFLIKTA: LITERARNA ANALIZA IN POLITIČNE INTERPRETACIJE PRIPOVEDI V 1 MZ 16 IN 21

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IZVLEČEK

Ta prispevek zasleduje vpliv svetopisemskih pripovedi na politično vrednotenje začetkov zgodovine Izraela v judovstvu in krščanstvu. S primerjavo med svetopisemskimi in po-svetopisemskimi pripovedmi o Abrahamu ter njegovih sinovih Izmaelu (ki ga je Abraham imel s Hagaro, služabnico svoje žene Sare) in Izaku (ki ga je Abraham imel s svojo ženo Saro v poznih letih življenja) ugotavlja, da se med svetopisemskimi pripovedmi in nekaterimi po-svetopisemskimi legendami kažejo velike razlike. V njih se zrcali zanimiva podoba političnih odnosov med Judi, muslimani in kristjani, kakor so jih doživljali pripadniki vsake posamezne religije v časih konfliktnih zgodovinskih dogajanj. S primeri novejših političnih aktualizacij pripovedi o Sari in Hagari v sodobni literaturi judovskih pesnic predstavi njihove poskuse preseganja judovsko-arabskega konflikta s poudarjanjem skupne izkušnje ženskosti in materinstva pri Sari in Hagari. Avtorica prispevka poudarja, da k preseganju razlogov za konflikte lahko pripomore tudi zavest o skupnih koreninah abrahamskih religij judovstva, krščanstva in islama, ki jo v vseh pripovedih ponazarja skupno očetovstvo očaka Abrahama. S prepoznavanjem politične funkcije v izbranih primerih skoraj nepregledne množine folklornega gradiva prispevek pomaga orati ledino na tem doslej skoraj spregledanem, a izredno aktualnem področju.

Ključne besede: Sveto pismo, po-svetopisemsko folklorno izročilo (hagade, legende), Abraham, Hagara in Izmael, Sara in Izak, politična alegorizacija

IL RAPPORTO TRA SARA E AGAR ALLA LUCE DEL CONFLITTO EBRAICO-ARABO: UN'ANALISI LETTERARIA E INTERPRETAZIONI POLITICHE DELLE NARRATIVE IN GENESI 16 E 21

SINTESI

Questo articolo ripercorre l'influenza delle narrazioni bibliche sulla valutazione politica degli inizi della storia di Israele nel giudaismo e nel cristianesimo. Confrontando le narrazioni bibliche e post-bibliche di Abram e dei suoi figli Ismaele (che Abram ebbe con Agar, la serva di sua moglie Sarai) e Isacco (che Abram ebbe con sua moglie Sara nei suoi ultimi anni), si scopre che ci sono differenze significative tra le narrazioni bibliche e alcune delle leggende post-bibliche. Esse riflettono un quadro interessante delle relazioni politiche tra ebrei, musulmani e cristiani, così come sono state vissute dai membri di ciascuna religione in tempi di conflitto storico. Utilizzando esempi di recenti aggiornamenti politici delle narrazioni di Sara e Agar nella letteratura contemporanea da parte di poetesse ebree, presenta i loro tentativi di trascendere il conflitto ebraico-arabo evidenziando l'esperienza condivisa di femminilità e maternità in Sara e Agar. L'autrice del saggio sottolinea che la consapevolezza delle radici comuni delle religioni abramitiche dell'ebraismo, del cristianesimo e dell'islam, esemplificate in tutte le narrazioni dalla comune paternità del padre Abram, può contribuire a superare le ragioni del conflitto. Identificando la funzione politica in alcuni esempi selezionati da un corpus folcloristico quasi sovrabbondante, il saggio contribuisce ad aprire nuove strade in questo settore finora quasi trascurato ma di grande attualità.

Parole chiave: Bibbia, tradizione folcloristica post-biblica (haggadot, leggende), Abramo, Agar e Ismaele, Sara e Isacco, allegorizzazione politica

UVOD

Za judovske folklorne pripovedi je značilno, da so večinoma nastajale v verskem okolju. Do danes ostaja zbirka *The Legends of the Jews*, ki jo je izdal Louis Ginzberg v sedmih zvezkih v letih 1937–1966, najcelovitejša zbirka zgodb, povezanih s hebrejskim Svetim pismom.[1] Ginzberg je že kot mlad raziskovalec leta 1898 objavil prvega v nizu člankov o hagadi pri cerkvenih očetih in v apokrifni literaturi. Beseda *hagada* (aramejsko: הָדָּגָא *ʾaggāḏāh*) ali hebrejsko: הַגָּדָה *haggāḏāh*), dobesedno »pripoved, pravljica, izročilo« ali »to, kar se prenaša s pripovedovanjem«, je strokovni izraz v klasični judovski literaturi za izročila rabinov, ki so živeli v rimski Palestini in Babiloniji v prvih šestih stoletjih po Kristusu, v obliki spisov, ki vključujejo folkloro, zgodovinske anekdote, moralne napotke in praktične nasvete na različnih področjih, od poslovanja do medicine.[2] Te tradicije so ohranjene tako v Talmudu kot tudi v različnih drugih zvrsteh rabinskih razlag Svetega pisma. Hagada je del judovske ustne Tore, ki zagotavlja razlago zapisane Tore, pri čemer rabini iščejo alegorično razlago tam, kjer je dobesedna razlaga v nasprotju z racionalnostjo.[3] Ginzberg sam se je zanimal predvsem za pripovedi o svetopisemskih likih, ki so znane v judovskem izročilu, vendar jih ni v hebrejskem Svetem pismu.

Med temi je na primer zgodba, da je bil Abraham prvi monoteist in je na misel o obstoju enega Boga prišel tako, da je uničil očetove malike. To ne-svetopisemsko izročilo se navezuje na skopo poročilo o Haranovi smrti v 1 Mz 11,28: »Haran je umrl pred očmi svojega očeta Teraha v deželi svojega rojstva, v Uru na Kaldejskem.« Midraš *Berešit Rabba*, ki obsega komentar k 1 Mz, ima k temu poročilu razširjeno razlago razlogov za Haranovo smrt »pred očmi« njegovega očeta. V tem midrašu beremo, da je bil Terah izdelovalec malikov. Nekega dne je »šel naokrog« skupaj s sinom Abramom (Abrahamom) in sinu dal malike, da bi jih prodajal namesto njega. Odzivi na Abramovo ponudbo so bili različni. Neki moški se mu je posmehoval, češ da je star petdeset let in časti en dan stare predmete. Abram je osramočen odšel. Ob neki drugi priložnosti mu je neka ženska ponudila rože in mu predlagala, naj jih daruje malikom. To je Abrama tako vznejevoljilo, da je vzel palico in malike razbil. Zgodba se konča tako, da je Abram dobil potrditev pravilnosti svoje monoteistične vere s tem, ko je bil rešen smrti v ognju, njegov brat Haran pa je v ognju »pred (hebr. עַל־פְּנֵי *ʿal pĕnê*) očetom« umrl. Rabini so besedno zvezo »pred (hebr. עַל־פְּנֵי *ʿal pĕnê*) očetom« razlagali vzročno: »zaradi«. Haran naj bi umrl zato, ker je njegov oče Terah izdeloval malike (Wünsche, 1967, 172–173; Freedman & Simon, 1977, 310–311).

Ginzberg je takšne zgodbe imenoval »legende« in v svojih člankih skušal najti ostanke najstarejših obstoječih pripovedi (hebr. הָגָה, »govoriti«, mn. *haggādôt*). Ugotovil je, da so se te, paradoksalno, ohranile le v knjigah apokrifov, v najzgodnejših po-svetopisemskih spisih in v spisih prvih cerkvenih očetov. Njegovi članki so močno pripomogli k preučevanju starodavnega rabinskega izročila. Sestavljali so tudi zametek njegove knjige *The Legends of the Jews*, verjetno najpomembnejšega prispevka k preučevanju rabinske hagade v sodobnem času. Ta zbirka je tako znotraj judovstva kot tudi znotraj krščanstva spodbudila večje zanimanje za različne vidike in posebnosti judovske slovstvene folklore, za razmerje med dobesednim pomenom svetopisemskih besedil in alegorijo ter za razmerje med zgodovino in fikcijo. Z obstojem Države Izrael pa so nastala nova politična razmerja na Bližnjem vzhodu, ki so spodbudila zanimanje akademske stroke tudi za politično aktualizacijo starejših pripovedi v novih razmerah širom po svetu.

O politični razsežnosti mnoštva judovskih folklornih pripovedi, ki niso del Svetega pisma, je znanstvene literature izredno malo. Njihovi politični vidiki so le redko in večinoma zgolj obrobno omenjeni v sklopu drugih tematik: o recepciji posameznih svetopisemskih pripovedi v poznejši literaturi (Ofer, 2022); o posebnostih judovske folklore in tradicij (Patai & Bar-Itzhak, 2013); o posameznih starozaveznih likih v judovski folklori (Segal, 1935) ter o recepciji Svetega pisma v judovskih, krščanskih in islamskih folklornih pripovedih po svetu (Ziolkowski, 2017). Aktualnost politične razsežnosti v Svetem pismu in v po-svetopisemski literaturi je spodbudila raziskovalce z Univerz v Tel Avivu v Izraelu in z Univerze Ruhr v Bochumu v Nemčiji k objavi zbornika s simpozija z naslovom *Politics and Theopolitics in the Bible and Postbiblical Literature* (Hoffman et al., 1994) z namenom spodbujanja dialoga med judovskimi in krščanskimi biblicisti. Prispevki obravnavajo načine, na katere se politična vprašanja in dogodki odražajo v Svetem pismu in po-svetopisemski literaturi ter kako so Judje in kristjani razmišljali o političnih in etičnih teorijah, da bi našli nove možnosti za boljše medsebojno razumevanje. Tovrstne spodbude najdemo

1 V tem članku uporabljam drugo izdajo zbirke iz leta 2003 v dveh zvezkih (Ginzberg, 2003a).

2 Namesto hebrejske besede *hagada* (הַגָּדָה *haggāḏāh*) strokovna literatura uporablja tudi aramejsko ustreznico agada (הָדָּגָא *ʾaggāḏāh*), da bi se izognili zamenjavi s pashalno *hagado*.

3 Ustni zakon sestavljata dve sestavini: pravna, ki obravnava micvot in halako, ter »skrivna«, ki obravnava globlje nauke. Hagada, skupaj s kabalo, se uvršča pod zadnjo.

v knjigi *Politics in the Hebrew Bible: God, Man, and Government*, v kateri avtorja Matthew B. Schwartz in Kalman J. Kaplan obravnavata politične teme v Stari zavezi. Avtorja v 42 svetopisemskih zgodbah, razvrščenih v kategorije Družbeni red, Vlada in vodstvo, Domači odnosi, Družbeni odnosi, Morala in poslanstvo ter Zunanja politika skušata razbrati kohezivno politično stališče, ki ga vsebujejo pripovedi (Schwartz & Kaplan, 2013).

Ta prispevek zasleduje vpliv svetopisemskih pripovedi na politično vrednotenje začetkov zgodovine Izraela v judovstvu in krščanstvu. S primerjavo med svetopisemskimi in po-svetopisemskimi pripovedmi o Abrahamu ter njegovih sinovih Izmaelu (ki ga je Abraham imel s služabnico svoje žene Hagaro) in Izaku (ki ga je Abraham imel s svojo ženo Saro v poznih letih življenja) ugotavlja, da se med svetopisemskimi pripovedmi in nekaterimi po-svetopisemskimi legendami kažejo velike razlike. V njih se zrcali zanimiva podoba političnih odnosov med Judi, muslimani in kristjani, kakor so jih doživljali pripadniki vsake posamezne religije v času konfliktnih zgodovinskih dogajanj. S prepoznavanjem politične funkcije v izbranih primerih skoraj nepregledne množine folklornega gradiva prispevek pomaga orati ledino na tem doslej skoraj spregledanem, a izredno aktualnem področju.

IZVIRNOST HEBREJSKEGA POGLEDA NA DRUŽBO IN POLITIKO V PRIMERJAVI Z STAROGRŠKIM IN RIMSKIM PRISTOPOM

V Uvodu v monografijo *Politics in the Hebrew Bible* avtor spremne besede Shlomo Giora Shoham z Buchmannove pravne fakultete Univerze v Tel Avivu poudarja, da se indeterministična judovska morala bistveno razlikuje od determinističnega razmišljanja zahodne filozofije, ter zapiše:

> *Ta zvezek, ki obravnava politično misel v Svetem pismu, je organiziran okoli treh osrednjih pojmov: individualizacija in diferenciacija proti uniformnosti in konformnosti; organska moralnost proti abstraktnemu ravnovesju; upanje proti strahu glede prihodnosti.* [...] *Ker je Sveto pismo vir indeterministične morale, je zanimivo videti, kako profesorja Schwartz in Kaplan primerjata judovsko miselnost z drugimi načini razmišljanja v religiji in političnih vedah. Psihologija Svetega pisma je disciplina, ki je študenti Svetega pisma niso dobro sprejeli. Večina jih je sholastičnih mislecev, ki niso dobro seznanjeni s psihologijo, za tiste, ki so, pa se zdi, da ne vedo, kako povezati psihologijo s svetopisemskimi vprašanji. Zato z velikim zanimanjem pozdravljam to knjigo in jo priporočam raziskovalcem Svetega pisma, psihologom, antropologom, sociologom, politologom in inteligentnim laikom.* (Shoham, 2013, xi–xii)[4]

Schwartz in Kaplan v sklepnem poglavju h knjigi poudarjata, da hebrejsko Sveto pismo odraža pogled na družbo in politiko, ki se močno razlikuje od pogledov sosedov, celo v tako naprednih družbah, kot sta bili Grčija in Rim. Izvirnost hebrejskega pristopa opišeta z besedami:

> *Svetopisemski pristop je vseboval smisel in pomen, ki sta se raztezala tudi na politično področje in sta bila sposobna poživiti človekov odnos do sveta okoli njega, tako takrat kot danes. To ne pomeni, da so bili svetopisemski kralji vedno pravični in da so bili ljudje nad njimi vedno navdušeni. To zagotovo ni bilo tako in Sveto pismo ne okleva pri navajanju primerov, ko so celo največji voditelji, kot je bil kralj Savel, veljali za krivične, včasih kralj David in za njim Salomon, da ne omenjamo številnih manjših kraljev.* (Schwartz & Kaplan, 2013, 181)

Da bi ustrezno opisala izvirnost svetopisemskega pogleda na družbo in na njene ljudi, ki sije skozi vse te stiske in oblikuje pozitiven pogled na politično življenje, judovski pogled postavita v nasprotje s pogledom starih Grkov:

> *Stari Grki so se osredotočili na ustvarjanje umetniške lepote – na oblikovanje popolnega kipa, popolnega telesa, popolne zgradbe (Partenon je bil blizu), popolne družbe, popolne vladavine. Pigmalion v mitu ni mogel najti popolne ženske, ki bi jo ljubil, zato je izdelal in objokoval njen kip. Platon, razočaran nad polisom, v katerem je živel, je sanjal o popolnem utopičnem mestu v svoji Republiki. Za Sveto pismo so umetnost, zdravje, lepota, kultura, bogastvo in politika vsekakor zaželeni, vendar ne zgolj zaradi njih samih. Njihova resnična vrednost je omogočiti ljudem, da bi bolje služili Bogu in tako čim bolj polno doživljali njegov svet.* (Schwartz & Kaplan, 2013, 181–182)

4 Omeniti velja tudi klasično delo izraelsko ameriškega filozofa Yorama Hazonyja (r. 1964), *God and Politics in Esther* (2016 [2015]). Knjiga v raziskovanju politike in vere ponuja novo branje Esterine knjige. Govori o generaciji, ki Boga ne vidi in ne čaka na čudeže. Pokaže, da se svetopisemski Bog pojavlja v zgodovini in naših življenjih prek tistih, ki se odločijo delovati in tako gradijo Božje kraljestvo na zemlji. V obdobju, v katerem judovska politika postane odvisna ne od ukazov od zgoraj, temveč od poguma in prepričanja vsake ženske in vsakega moškega, Estera radikalno ukrepa, da bi si pridobila prijatelje in zaveznike, spremenila grozljive odloke in vnesla božjo pravico v svet. Hazony v treh novih poglavjih druge izdaje knjige obravnava radikalno teologijo, ki se pojavlja sredi političnih intrig v pripovedi.

Duša svetopisemskega Izraela je bila njegovo poslanstvo, osredotočeno na Boga, in njegovo sodelovanje pri izpolnjevanju Božjega nauka. Medtem ko je bila v grški polis politika bistvo življenja, je bilo v Izraelu življenje Tora, politika pa zgolj dejavnost in sredstvo za doseganje drugih ciljev (Hooper, 1967). Tudi družina je bila pomembna pri zagotavljanju pogojev za zdrav osebnostni razvoj. Schwartz in Kaplan ob tem ugotavljata tesno prepletenost med literaturo in pravom, med pripovedjo (aram. *ʾaggāḏāh*) in življenjem:

> *Dejansko se zdi, da je bila grška filozofska skrb za dobro življenje v nekaterih pogledih popolnoma ločena od mitoloških zgodb, če ne celo v nasprotju z njimi. Drugače je bilo v Izraelu, kjer je vedno obstajala tesna povezava med pripovedjo* [ʾaggāḏāh] *in pravom* [hălāḵāh]. *V tem smislu se je zdelo, da judovsko pojmovanje prava in politike izhaja iz večne, dinamične Tore in dejanskih življenjskih izkušenj, ne pa iz abstraktnih izrekov.* (Schwartz & Kaplan, 2013, 182)

Boaz Cohen v prvem zvezku svoje dvodelne študije *Jewish and Roman Law: A Comparative Study* (2018a; 2018b) poudarja, da je klasično rabinsko pravo zraslo v senci rimskega imperija in ga je treba razumeti v povezavi z njegovo pravno zapuščino. Opozarja na razlike med judovskim in rimskim pravom: »Rimljani so bili edino ljudstvo antike, ki je v zgodovinskem času svoje civilno pravo povsem ločilo od vseh svojih verskih predstav« (Cohen, 2018a, 28).

Cohen domneva, da ta pristop izhaja iz rimske teorije o izvoru njihovega prava. Rimljani so verjeli, da je božji navdih omejen na obredne predpise, znane kot *Fas*, medtem ko so spremenljiva pravila, ki urejajo družbeno-ekonomske odnose med posamezniki, imenovana *lex*, veljala za človeške institucije: »*Fas lex divina ius lex humana est*« (Cohen, 2018a, 29). Judje, nasprotno, niso imeli takšnega razlikovanja. Tako obredne zakone kot tudi družbenopolitične zakone, ki so urejali medsebojne odnose med ljudmi, so obravnavali kot zakone, ki jih je Izraelcem na Sinaju dal Bog (Cohen, 2018a, 29–30).

Cohen opaža velike razlike tudi med pomenom izraza »etika«, ki izhaja iz grškega izraza *ethos*, in svetopisemskim pojmovanjem zakona:

> *Etika izhaja iz grške besede ethos* [gr. ἦθος êthos] *tako kot njena sopomenka morala izvira iz latinske besede mores, obe pa označujeta običaj in rabo, pa tudi navado, vedênje in nagnjenje. Ker tudi pravo izhaja iz običajev, imata pravo in morala skupni izvor, vendar se v razvoju razlikujeta.*
> *V Pentatevhu in Talmudu ni posebnega izraza za etiko, saj se* [...] *cilja etike in prava združujeta. Vendar so preroki, ki so bili kritični do življenja in ravnanja svojih sodobnikov, razlikovali različne faze etičnega ravnanja z različnimi izrazi, kot so tov, dobro ravnanje, mišpat, pravica, tsedakah, pravičnost, hesed, ljubeznivost, in emet, resnica. Ali ni Disraeli nekoč pripomnil, da je etika resnica v dejanju?* (Cohen, 2018a, 66–67)

Svetopisemski pomen postave ne izhaja iz običajev ali navad, ampak je odraz Božje ljubezni do ljudi, ki jih je Bog ustvaril. Postava tako služi oblikovanju človeka v nekaj boljšega in izboljšanju sveta, ne pa zgolj potrjevanju običajev na eni strani ali nadzorovanju človeka na drugi. Kot zgled prvega pristopa Schwartz in Kaplan navajata grško legendo o Prokrustu. Prokrust je imel hišo ob cesti, kjer je popotnikom ponujal prenočišče. Popotnika je namestil v posteljo, nato pa je majhnemu raztegnil njegove noge, da bi ga podaljšal, visokemu pa odrezal okončine, da bi ga skrajšal, tako da bi se popolnoma prilegal postelji (Graves, 2017, poglavje Tezejeva dela, 1, 96k). V nasprotju s tem pojmovanjem je svetopisemski pristop ponazorjen z izjavo, da je človek (tako moški kot ženska) enkratno ustvarjen po Božji podobi (1 Mz 1,27).[5] Avtorja zapišeta: »Morda je to luč, ki sije skozi svetopisemske pripovedi o političnem življenju: da je vsak človek nekaj vreden« (Schwartz & Kaplan, 2013, 183).

V Svetem pismu pravice človeku daje in zagotavlja Stvarnik, ki presega vse vlade. To predstavlja bistvo svetopisemskega pristopa k političnemu življenju. Vlade niso najvišji politični organ, ampak Bog sam, in vlade obstajajo po njegovi volji. Avtorja razlagata: »Tako človeku ni treba sprejeti pokvarjene vlade, prav tako mu ni treba od vlad pričakovati ali zahtevati tega, česar nobena vlada ni sposobna storiti« (Schwartz & Kaplan, 2013, 184).

Kot najpomembnejša spoznanja, ki zrcalijo edinstvenosti svetopisemskega pogleda v primerjavi s pogledom, ki izhaja iz starodavne Grčije in Rima, avtorja izpostavljata tri vidike:

> *Prvič, svetopisemski pogled spodbuja individualno rast in ne zahteva uniformnosti in skladnosti. Vera v Stvarnika namreč ustvarja vez, ki drži družbo skupaj in dopušča delitve*

5 Svetopisemski citati so iz zadnjega slovenskega prevoda Svetega pisma, Jeruzalemska izdaja, ki je izšlo v 5 zvezkih v letih 2010–2019 v Ljubljani (Založba Družina in Teološka fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani) v uredništvu Jožeta Krašovca.

med elementi. 1 Mz je dejansko lahko politični priročnik, ki dopušča razlikovanja: dan od noči; zemljo od vode od neba; sesalce od ptic od rib; moške od žensk; šest dni v tednu od sobote. Platonski pogled povzdiguje bit nad postajanje v smislu dajanja prednosti abstraktni Ideji nečesa pred dejansko, singularno stvarjo samo po sebi. Svetopisemski pogled smo primerjali z grško-rimskim pogledom v sedmih pripovedih, ki opisujejo družbeni red, in še sedmih, ki opisujejo vladanje in vodenje. Drugič, svetopisemski pogled na družbo in politiko temelji na organskem čutu za moralo in ne na zasidranosti v abstraktnem filozofskem ravnovesju. Pravičnost vključuje kaznovanje zločina in celo možnost odrešenja, ne pa le izravnavo računovodske knjige. Svetopisemski pogled na odpravljanje krivic je v nasprotju z grškim pogledom na odstranjevanje njihovega povzročitelja. Svetopisemski pogled je v nasprotju z grško-rimskim pogledom tudi v sedmih pripovedih, ki opisujejo odnose v družini, in še sedmih, ki opisujejo družbene odnose.
Tretjič, svetopisemski občutek vere v prihodnost je v nasprotju z občutkom strahu pred prihodnostjo. Poudarjamo svetopisemsko skrb za ohranjanje in spodbujanje kontinuitete družine in družbe. To velja tudi takrat, ko je takšno kontinuiteto povzročilo dejanje, ki ga običajno ne bi odobravali, na primer incest. To je v nasprotju s strahom, da bi nas prihodnja generacija presegla ali zapustila. To nasprotje se pojavlja v naših sedmih pripovedih, ki vključujejo moralo in poslanstvo, in še sedmih pripovedih, ki se nanašajo na zunanjo politiko. (Schwartz & Kaplan, 2013, 185)

V sklepu avtorja zapišeta, da v knjigi predstavljenih 42 zgodb lahko uporabijo tako politični praktiki kot tudi laiki, da bi bolje razumeli nezadovoljstvo ljudi s sodobno politiko. Njuna knjiga se opira na starodavno modrost in predlaga načine za oživitev sodobnega političnega življenja (Schwartz & Kaplan, 2013, 185).

POSEBNOSTI JUDOVSKE FOLKLORE IN TRADICIJ

O dolgi zgodovini judovske diaspore v Bližnjem vzhodu, še posebej na območju Sredozemlja, v Evropi in v Ameriki, obstaja nepregledno bogastvo zbirk folklornega in literarnega izročila v različnih jezikih. Tu se omejujemo na obravnavo politične funkcije, ki jo ima svetopisemska pripoved o Hagari in Sari v okviru velikega bogastva judovske folklore in njenih poznejših političnih aktualizacij v literaturi.[6] Zato se zdi pomembno upoštevati razumevanje koncepta »folklora« v judovski strokovni sferi.

Kljub pomembnemu preboju na področju folklorističnih raziskav v zadnjih desetletjih Haya Bar-Itzhak v uvodu v monumentalno delo *Enyclopedia of Jewish Folklore and Traditions* (Patai & Bar-Itzhak, 2013, xiii–xvi) ugotavlja, da so številne veje judovske folklore še vedno nezadostno raziskane. To velja za različne judovske skupnosti, katerih zgodovina je bila temeljito raziskana, vendar njihova folklora ni bila raziskana poglobljeno, prav tako so premalo raziskana tudi različna področja, teme in vidiki judovske folklore. V uvodu avtorica ugotavlja, da je za vrednotenje edinstvenih značilnosti judovske folklore treba upoštevati tri okoliščine: razkropljenost Judov; večjezični značaj judovske folklore; pisne vire.

Razkropljenost Judov po številnih različnih deželah je povzročila, da je na njihovo folkloro vplivala tudi lokalna folklora držav, v katerih so živeli. Zato »ne moremo govoriti o enotni judovski ljudski kulturi, ampak bolj o judovskih kulturah« (Bar-Ithzak, 2013, xiv). Zaradi razpršenosti Judov po vsem svetu se judovska folklora kaže kot »kvazi globalni pojav, ki ga sestavljajo številni skupni elementi, pa tudi ločeni lokalni razvoji – ti vključujejo značilnosti, ki izhajajo iz lokalne ne-judovske folklore ali so z njo povezani« (Bar-Ithzak, 2013, xiv).

Neposredna posledica razpršenosti Judov po različnih deželah sveta je večjezičnost judovske folklore. Skozi stoletja so Judje študirali hebrejščino, da bi lahko opravljali liturgijo in verske obrede, nekateri so znali tudi aramejščino, jezik Talmuda. Hkrati so tekoče govorili tudi vernakularni jezik svojih ne-judovskih sosedov, ga prevzeli in prilagodili judovskemu jeziku (zlasti jidiš, judovsko-španski in judovsko-arabski jezik). V moderni dobi so Judje začeli uporabljati jezik družbe gostiteljice v vsakdanjem življenju. Haya Bar-Ithzak ugotavlja, da je večina judovske folklore nastala v judovskem govorjenem narečju, vendar je vključevala besede in idiome iz drugih jezikov (Bar-Ithzak, 2013, xiv).

Še tretja posebnost judovske folklore je, da je že od antike naprej prisotna v pisnih besedilih. Haya Bar-Ithzak poudarja, da je pisana beseda za Jude pri ustvarjanju, prenosu in ohranjanju folklore imela pomembnejšo vlogo kot pri drugih skupnostih. Ker so bili Judje vedno ljudstvo knjige in je bila zanje značilna izjemno visoka stopnja literarnosti, se je med njimi že zgodaj razvila težnja, da v pisni obliki opišejo tudi ljudske običaje in verovanja, tovrstni zapisi pa so se uveljavili celo v pravnih besedilih ter zabrisali mejo med ljudskimi običaji in verskim pravom (Bar-Ithzak, 2013, xiv).

6 O nekaterih pomembnih vidikih aktualizacij judovske folklore v literaturi (prim. Avsenik Nabergoj, 2016; 2017; 2020; 2023).

Judovska folklora na področju *besedne folklore* zajema folklorne pripovedi Svetega pisma, talmudske literature in srednjeveških del. Med njenimi različnimi pripovednimi žanri so pripovedi o čudežih in legende, judovske folklorne pravljice, kratki žanri, kot so pregovori, uganke, prilike, šale in *qinah* (žalostinka).[7] Pomembna je ugotovitev:

> *Judovska folklora se je razvila okoli likov, kot so nadnaravne osebe, izmišljeni liki in zgodovinske osebnosti. Nadnaravna bitja vključujejo angele in demone kot kolektivno figuro, pa tudi posebne figure, kot so angel smrti, Asmodej, Lilit in druge. Med izmišljenimi liki je npr. zapis o modrih iz Helma. Med zgodovinskimi osebami (ali tistimi, ki po judovskem izročilu veljajo za zgodovinske) so liki iz Svetega pisma – očaki in očakinje, prerok Elija in različni kralji, pa tudi osebnosti iz poznejših obdobij.* (Patai & Bar-Itzhak, 2013, xiv)

Eric Ziolkowski v monografiji *The Bible in Folklore Worldwide*, ki jo je uredil ob sodelovanju večjega števila strokovnjakov, obravnava zanemarjeno temo, v kateri se stika več različnih akademskih področij: svetopisemske študije, recepcija zgodovine Svetega pisma in folkloristika ali folklorne študije (Ziolkowski, 2017). Judje in kristjani Sveto pismo sprejemajo kot Božjo besedo, podobno pa tudi muslimani Koran, ki vsebuje veliko svetopisemskih vsebin, sprejemajo kot Božjo besedo. Ob tem pa Ziolkowski pove, da se izraz »Biblija« v naslovu njegove monografije:

> *ne nanaša le na katero koli od neštetih kopiranih ali tiskanih različic in prevodov kanoničnih judovskih in krščanskih svetih spisov, pa tudi apokrifnih spisov, ampak tudi na vedno širši in neomejen nabor ustnih pripovedi, likov, tem, motivov, podob, izrazov, idiomov in drugih pripovednih in liričnih elementov, ki so iz vseh teh svetih spisov prešli v ustno izročilo in ljudske kulture ljudstev dobesedno po vsem svetu. V skoraj vseh družbah, ki so bile v neposrednem ali posrednem stiku z Biblijo in apokrifom, se je tem svetim spisom pridružil in jih dopolnjeval ljudski, vse bolj razširjajoči se ustni ustreznik.* (Ziolkowski, 2017, 7)

Avtor ugotavlja, da so zgodbe, nauki in drugi elementi svetih spisov tradicionalno vstopali v folklorni jezik bolj prek ustnih/slušnih in ikonografskih/vizualnih medijev kot prek pisnih/branih sredstev. Jonathan Sacks poudarja, da je bilo hebrejsko Sveto pismo namenjeno bolj poslušanju kot branju:

> *Nastalo je na kritičnem stičišču med ustnostjo in pismenostjo. Ko je bilo prvič napisano, je bila abeceda šele izumljena. Prve abecede na svetu so bile semitske.* [...] *Svetopisemski glagol liqroʾ, ki je pozneje začel pomeniti »brati«, pomeni predvsem »klicati«. Hebrejsko ime za Sveto pismo, Miqraʾ, pomeni poziv, razglasitev. Še danes se vsako soboto in v krajši obliki trikrat med tednom v sinagogi glasno prebere del Pentatevha iz ročno napisanega zvitka Tore. Za razumevanje Svetega pisma ga je včasih treba poslušati in ne brati.* (Sacks, 2015, 161)

Ziolkowski meni, da so se hebrejski spisi zaradi ustnega podajanja naravno vključili ali morda znova vključili v besedno folkloro, podobno kot vsebina krščanskega Svetega pisma. Od antike do srednjega veka je bila večina kristjanov, ki so bili nepismeni, s Svetim pismom seznanjena predvsem tako, da so ga poslušali, ko so ga glasno brali, ali pa so prebirali najpomembnejše dogodke Svetega pisma, ki so bile v *Bibliji pauperum* grafično prikazane, ali so si ogledovali ikonografske upodobitve Svetega pisma v cerkvah, svetiščih in drugih svetih krajih (Ziolkowski, 2017, 7–8). Tako kot Sveto pismo ima tudi Koran nedvomne sledi predhodnih ustnih izročil, ki so se vanj vključila.

Ob tem Ziolkowski opozarja, da Svetega pisma v folklori ne smemo zamenjevati s folkloro v Svetem pismu. Raziskovanje folklore v Svetem pismu je v prvih dveh desetletjih 20. stoletja v Nemčiji kot prvi začel preučevati sloviti ekseget Stare zaveze, hebrejski biblicist in uvajalec kritike oblik Svetega pisma Hermann Gunkel (1862–1932), v Veliki Britaniji pa proti koncu istega obdobja James George Frazer (Frazer, 1918–1919). Oba sta se strinjala, da zgodbe hebrejskega Svetega pisma oz. Stare zaveze vsebujejo sledove ustnega ljudskega izročila, ki odraža zgodnejšo družbo pred začetkom pismenstva.

V svojem komentarju Prve Mojzesove knjige (Geneze) Gunkel v uvodu poudari, da je »Geneza zbirka sag«, prvi oddelek njegove uvodne študije pa se glasi: »Geneza je zbirka sag« (Gunkel, 1969, vii). Njihov nastanek Gunkel povezuje z javnim interesom: »Saga govori o stvareh, ki so ljudem blizu, o osebnem in zasebnem, rada pa tudi politične okoliščine in osebnosti tako razume, da se z njimi

7 Poleg besedne folklore imamo še *avdio-oralno* judovsko folkloro, ki zajema judovsko in izraelsko ljudsko glasbo ter ljudske pesmi. Med *vizualno folkloro* judovski raziskovalci uvršajo ljudski ples, materialno kulturo in folklorno umetnost – oblačila, hrano in načine prehranjevanja, mezuzo, svetilko za hanuko, okras Tore in njene obredne predmete, nagrobnike ipd. *Spoznavna folklora* zajema ljudska verovanja in običaje, ki temeljijo na njih, vključno z magijo, posmrtnim življenjem, amuleti, rastlinami in živalmi ter ljudsko medicino (Patai & Bar-Itzhak, 2013, xiii–xvi).

lahko poveže ljudski interes« (Gunkel, 1969, ix). Gunkel svetopisemske sage tudi visoko vrednoti: »Te poetične pripovedi so navsezadnje najlepše stvari, ki jih ljudstvo nosi s seboj na svoji zgodovinski poti skozi življenje; in izraelske sage, zlasti sage iz Geneze, so morda najlepše in najgloblje, kar jih je kadarkoli obstajalo na zemlji« (Gunkel, 1969, xii).

Ziolkowski utemeljeno pravi, da lahko razpravljamo tako o *folklori v Svetem pismu* kot tudi o *Svetem pismu v folklori*. Njegov interes je vprašanje mesta Svetega pisma v folklori (Ziolkowski, 2017, 23). Ko primerjamo neko svetopisemsko besedilo v politični funkciji folklore poznejšega časa, pogosto ugotovimo, da imajo folklorna besedila svoje poudarke, izpuste in dodatke. Folklorna besedila tako v judovstvu kot tudi v krščanstvu in v islamu torej precej svobodno aktualizirajo svetopisemska besedila.

PIONIRSKO DELO LOUISA GINZBERGA V ODKRIVANJU BOGATEGA IZROČILA PO-SVETOPISEMSKE JUDOVSKE SLOVSTVENE FOLKLORE

Louis Ginzberg se je rodil leta 1873 v Kovnu (zdaj Kaunas) v Litvi kot neposredni potomec več uglednih rabinov. Že kot otrok je veljal za čudežnega dečka. Študiral je v velikih litovskih judovskih verskih šolah ješiva (hebr. הבישי *yěšibāh* »sedenje«) v litovskih mestih Telšaj in Slobodka. Ko se je družina zaradi poslovne dejavnosti njegovega očeta preselila v Amsterdam, so Ginzberga poslali v Nemčijo, da bi tam nadaljeval rabinske študije in pridobil posvetno izobrazbo. Pri enaindvajsetih letih se je vpisal na univerzo v Strassburgu, kjer je študiral semitske jezike in književnost pri vélikem nemškem orientalistu Theodorju Nöldekeju (1836–1930) in leta 1898 doktoriral na univerzi v Heidelbergu z disertacijo *Hagada v cerkvenih verstvih in apokrifni literaturi*.

Leta 1899 je Ginzberg, prepričan, da zaradi svojega judovskega rodu v Nemčiji ne bo nikoli dobil univerzitetnega položaja, emigriral v Združene države Amerike. Obljubili so mu, da bo poučeval na Hebrew Union College v Cincinnatiju, vendar je bila njegova zaposlitev odpovedana, še preden je prispel, domnevno zato, ker je na šolo prišla vest, »da je mladi evropski učenjak privrženec moderne svetopisemske kritike« (Stern, 2003, xvi).

Ginzberg se je v stiski za preživetje zaposlil s pisanjem za *Judovsko enciklopedijo* (*The Jewish Encyclopaedia*) in zanjo v nekaj letih napisal 405 gesel, ki še danes veljajo za izjemne študije o obravnavanih temah.[8] Dve leti pozneje pa se je *Enciklopedija* znašla v finančnih težavah in Ginzberg, ki je ostal brez dela, je razmišljal o vrnitvi v Evropo. V tem času pa se je seznanil z eno vodilnih osebnosti ameriškega judovstva, sodnikom Mayerjem Sulzbergerjem (1843–1923) iz Filadelfije, enem izmed ustanoviteljev založbe *The Jewish Publication Society* (JPS) v Ameriki. Sulzberger ni želel, da bi katerikoli mladi judovski učenjak zapustil državo, zato je Ginzbergu predlagal, da za tisoč dolarjev napiše majhno popularno knjigo o judovskih legendah za založbo JPS. Ginzberg se je strinjal in leta 1901 podpisal pogodbo za knjigo. Sčasoma se je projekt povečal na skoraj desetkratnik prvotno načrtovanega obsega – na štiri velike zvezke ter dva debela zvezka opomb in en zvezek kazala, ki je obsegal 612 strani. Stern natančno dokumentira nastajanje tega monumentalnega dela, ki je postalo temeljni kamen raziskovanja judovske folklore. V njem se je omejil na tradicije o svetopisemskih osebnostih in dogodkih, kot so predstavljeni v literaturi pozne antike in srednjega veka ter v literaturi hasidimov. Prizadeval si je razkriti tokove ustnega, subliterarnega, ljudskega izročila, ki so se širili po judovskih družbah. Dan Ben-Amos ugotavlja:

> *Fragmentarne pripovedi, dvoumne eksegeze, naključne fraze in plavajoče metafore so bile gradniki, ki jih je uporabil za rekonstrukcijo pripovedi in osebnosti Svetega pisma, kot so jih poznale naslednje generacije. S poglabljanjem v midraše mu je uspelo odkriti teme iz judovskega izročila, ki so le redko prišle na literarno površje. Apokrifi, psevdoepigrafija in spisi cerkvenih očetov, ki so oblikovali nauk krščanstva v prvih stoletjih njegovega obstoja, so mu omogočili, da je odkril ustna izročila o Svetem pismu in tista, ki so nastajala poleg svetopisemskega besedila.* (Ben-Amos, 2013, 207)

Ginzberg je judovsko folkloro imel za »hrbtenico judovskega izročila« (Ben-Amos, 2013, 208). Prvi zvezek zbirke *Legende o Judih*, ki je bila prvotno napisana v nemškem jeziku, je izšel leta 1909, naslednji trije pa v letih 1910, 1911 in 1913. Dva zvezka opomb sta bila objavljena v letih 1925 in 1928. Kazalo, ki ga je na več kot sedemdeset tisoč lističih napisal Boaz Cohen (1899–1968), Ginzbergov učenec in pozneje sam ugleden poznavalec starega judovskega prava, je bilo dokončano leta 1931, vendar je bilo zaradi pomanjkanja denarja

8 Judovska enciklopedija vsebuje več kot 15.000 člankov o zgodovini, kulturi in stanju judovstva do začetka 20. stoletja ter velja za najmonumentalnejše judovsko znanstveno delo. Prvotno je bila objavljena v 12 zvezkih med letoma 1901 in 1906 pri založbi Funk & Wagnalls iz New Yorka, v šestdesetih letih 20. stoletja pa jo je znova izdala založba KTAV. Zdaj je v javni lasti. Glavni urednik enciklopedije je bil Isidore Singer, uredniški odbor pa sta vodila Isaac Kaufmann Funk in Frank Horace Vizetelly.

objavljeno šele leta 1938 (Stern, 2003, xvi).[9]

Pri prevajanju *Legend o Judih* v angleščino sta sodelovala predvsem dva Ginzbergova tesna sodelavca. Prva dva zvezka je v angleščino prevedla visoko izobražena hči rabina Benjamina Szolda madžarskega rodu, Henrietta Szold (1860–1945), ki je bila kljub uradnemu nazivu tajnice društva dejansko tudi njegova glavna urednica, vodja in glavna prevajalka.[10] Po nesrečni romanci med petnajst let starejšo Henrietto in avtorjem, ki ga je Ginzberg dojemal le kot izjemno prijateljstvo in je leta 1908 oznanil zaroko z mlajšo žensko, kar je Henrietto zelo potrlo, je prevod zvezkov legend dokončal Paul Radin (1883–1959), ki je pozneje postal eden najpomembnejših ameriških antropologov.

Ginzberg je z veliko strastjo preiskoval obsežne korenine judovske legende in preučil njene judovske, krščanske, islamske in orientalske vire. Ustvaril je enotno in koherentno zbirko legend, ki sledijo svetopisemski pripovedi, spremljajo pa jih večplastni vplivi okolij, v katerih so nastale. Njegova knjiga je v istem odlomku navajala vire iz Talmuda in midraša, iz del helenističnega judovskega filozofa Filona Aleksandrijskega (ok. 15 pr. Kr.–ok. 50), iz Zoharja,[11] iz spisov cerkvenih očetov Origena (ok. 185–ok. 254) in Tertulijana (ok. 160–ok. 220) ter iz del kabalista Hayyima Vitala (1542–1620). Raznovrstnost virov, iz katerih je Ginzberg tkal koherentno zaporedno pripoved, mdr. lepo ponazarja njegov portret Abrahama v prvem zvezku *Legend* (Ginzberg, 2003a, 80–93), v katerem se avtor kaže kot izjemen poznavalec zahodne kulture od njenih začetkov v starem Egiptu in Mezopotamiji do zgodnje moderne evropske intelektualne zgodovine.[12]

Nastajanje tega dela je preraslo v prvi »poskus zbrati iz izvirnih virov vse judovske legende, kolikor se nanašajo na svetopisemske osebe in dogodke, ter jih reproducirati z največjo možno mero dosegljive popolnosti in natančnosti« (Ginzberg, Uvod k izvirni izdaji *Legend* iz leta 1909; objavljen tudi v: Ginzberg, 2003b, xxxi). Skupaj z dvema zvezkoma opomb je bil to hkrati tudi »prvi izčrpni in kritični poskus analizirati legende ter slediti njihovemu razvoju in mestu tako v judovskem izročilu kot tudi v svetovnem izročilu folklore« (Stern, 2003, xvii). V svojem potrpežljivem raziskovanju Ginzberg legend ni iskal le v očitnih virih judovske literature, temveč tudi v apokrifnih in psevdoepigrafskih besedilih, v zgodnjekrščanski literaturi ter v srednjeveški islamski in azijski literaturi. Stern označi naravo njegovih judovskih legend z besedami:

> *Rezultat je bil nekakšen križanec med pravljicami bratov Grimm in delom Charlesa Lamba* Stories from Shakespeare.[13] *Ginzbergova »znova pripovedovana Biblija« pravzaprav spominja na nekatere izmed virov, ki jih je »izkopaval« za hagade, npr. na takšna starodavna besedila, kot so Psevdo-Filonove* Biblical Antiquities*, in na srednjeveška dela, kot sta* Chronicle of Yerahmeel (Kronika Jerahmeela)[14] *in* Sefer Ha-yašar (Knjiga pravičnosti)[15] *– dela, ki so prav tako prosto »ponovno pripovedovala« Biblijo, z dodajanjem hagad in legend, kot da so del izvirnega besedila*. (Stern, 2003, xix)

Ginzbergu, ki je bolj kot svetopisemski pripovedi sledil samim legendam, je kljub temu uspelo v legendah zajeti celotno svetopisemsko zgodovino od stvarjenja do vrnitve Judov iz babilonskega ujetništva, kot da ni razlike med Svetim pismom in recepcijo Svetega pisma v judovski fantaziji (Ginzberg, 2003c, xxv).[16] Hagade je imel za besedila, ki vsebujejo Sveto pismo, kot se zrcali v judovski imaginaciji in domišljiji (Ginzberg, 2003a, xxv). Utelešale so živega duha judovskega ljudstva in dokazovale obstoj tega duha tudi takrat, ko so Judje

9 Kazalo nam poda tako legendo kot tudi opombo, v kateri je mogoče najti vir legende in vse njene različice.

10 Henrietta Szold je bila izjemno pomembna tudi kot politična aktivistka, saj je po razhodu z Ginzbergom, ki ji je čustva vračal le platonično, postala judovska sionistična voditeljica in ustanoviteljica ženske sionistične organizacije v Ameriki. O izjemnem prijateljstvu med Ginzbergom in Henrietto (cf. Szold et al., 1977).

11 Najpomembnejše kabalistično delo v srednjeveški aramejščini in srednjeveški hebrejščini, ki obsega okultno razlaganje Tore. Značilno je medsebojno vplivanje med fikcijskim diskurzom in mistično eksegezo (prim. Fishbane, 2018).

12 V portretu Abrahama je zamisel, da svet dolguje svoj obstoj zaslugam očaka, izpeljana iz palestinskega vira; da je Abraham zapustil Ur z veliko osebno žrtvijo, izhaja iz egipčanskega besedila; da je Abraham egipčanskim modrecem dokazal praznost njihove vere, izhaja iz rimskega vira, idr. Kljub temu, da je bilo število virov, ki jih je Ginzberg uporabil, osupljivo, pa mu je uspelo impresivno število fragmentarnih hagad mojstrsko preplesti in jih povezati v koherentno zaporedno pripoved; zgodbe in motive, ki jih ni mogel umestiti v glavno besedilo, pa je umestil v opombe (prim. Stern, 2003, xviii).

13 *Stories from Shakespeare* je klasično angleško delo otroške literature s prvinami Shakespearovega dramskega jezika, ki sta ga leta 1807 napisala brat in sestra Charles in Mary Lamb (prim. Bourgeois Richmond, 2008).

14 Kronike obsegajo zbirko razširjenih svetopisemskih dogodkov, pomešanih z rimsko zgodovino, seznami zemljepisnih imen in rodovniki patriarhov. Sestavljajo jih starodavni in srednjeveški hebrejski viri ter vsebujejo veliko presenetljivih folklornih prvin.

15 Gre za eno najbolj priljubljenih etičnih knjig v srednjem veku, katere avtorstvo ni gotovo. Slog in jezik ustrezata sodobnim filozofskim etičnim spisom in idejam; avtor je še posebej uporabljal aristotelske izraze in pojme. Vključil je tudi številna druga prepričanja, ki namigujejo na morebitne kabalistične težnje (prim. Sefer Ha-Yashar, 2023).

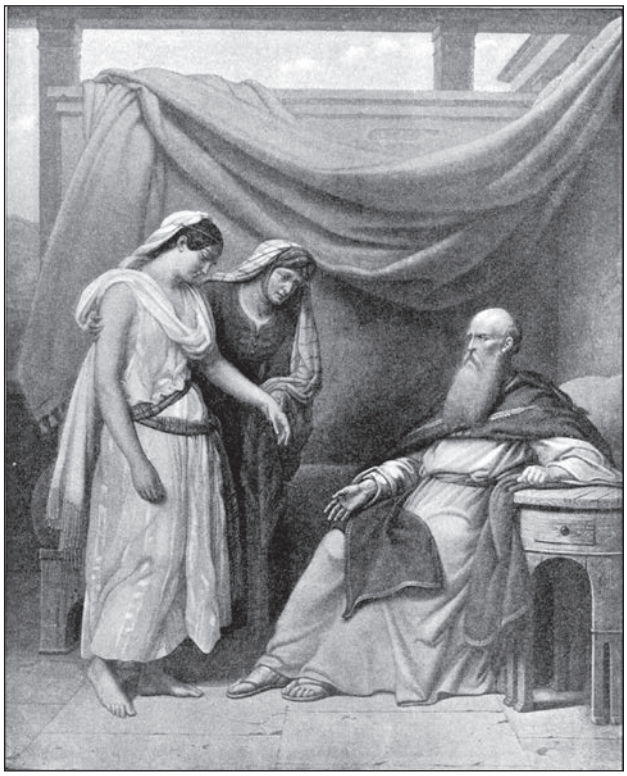
16 Zadnji del legend je v resnici posvečen zgodbi o Esteri, katere knjiga je bila po Ginzbergovih besedah zadnja med svetopisemskimi spisi, čeprav so se v njej opisani dogodki zgodili v Perziji približno dvajset let pred vrnitvijo iz babilonskega ujetništva.

živeli v izgnanstvu pod tujo oblastjo in so v begu pred žalostnimi bivanjskimi okoliščinami pustili svoji domišljiji, da se je prosto gibala v starodavni preteklosti Svetega pisma, Tore. Ginzberg je menil, da hagada Judom pomaga pri potrjevanju judovskega narodnega obstoja tako v sedanjosti kot tudi v preteklosti, in mdr. zapisal: »Tora je bila čarobno sredstvo, s katerim je bilo mogoče umazano resničnost umakniti pred veličastnim spominom.« (Ginzberg, 2003c, xxx). V Uvodu k opombam v svoje *Legende* je obenem poudaril, da so Judje »veliki razširjevalci folklore«:

> *Številne legende, ki so nastale v Egiptu ali Babiloniji, so prevzela evropska ljudstva, mnoge evropske zgodbe pa so se v Aziji znašle prek Judov, ki so v svojih dolgih selitvah z Vzhoda na Zahod in nazaj z Zahoda na Vzhod prinašali izdelke vzhodne domišljije k zahodnim narodom in stvaritve zahodne domišljije k vzhodnim ljudstvom*. (Ginzberg, 2003b, xxv)

Legende o Judih še danes ostajajo nepogrešljivo referenčno delo o hagadi, v katerem mitološke zgodbe o demonih in magiji sobivajo z moralističnimi zgodbami o pobožnosti očakov. S tem svojim delom je Ginzberg bralcu kot prvi ponudil priložnost, da prebere na stotine legend v povezani obliki, namesto da bi jih bil prisiljen iskati v obsežni judovski literaturi, ki se razteza čez dva tisoč let, in v krščanskih spisih številnih stoletij. Pri urejanju in razvrščanju gradiva si je prizadeval predvsem »za berljivo zgodovino in zanimivo pripoved, ki jo je treba povedati« (Ginzberg, 2003b, xxv). V legendah je prepoznaval tudi prvine ljudske pobožnosti: »Kdo bo zanikal, da se ljudska pobožnost (*Volksfrömmigkeit*) odraža v legendah nekega ljudstva? Če to velja za legende na splošno, koliko bolj za judovske legende, zlasti za tisti del, v katerem se judovska domišljija izraža glede na svetopisemske dogodke, osebe in nauke« (Ginzberg, 2003b, xxv–xxvi).

Medtem ko besedila legend političnega namena ne izpostavljajo izrecno, pa njihovo politično izrabo najzanesljiveje odkrivamo iz obsežnega izročila njihovih razlag ter poznejših interpretacij in aktualizacij. Tako npr. številne talmudske zgodbe o starozaveznemu kralju Davidu pripisujejo idealizirane lastnosti, ki Davida predstavljajo ne le kot vzor popolnega vodenja, ampak tudi kot božanski vzor. V skoraj vseh evropskih jezikih je bila izjemno priljubljena tudi folklorna legenda o potujočem Judu, ki je odsevala judovsko-krščanske odnose. V 20. stoletju je bila pogosto vključena v antisemitsko retoriko, ki je vrhunec doživela v nacističnem propagandnem filmu *Der ewige Jude* (1940) (Patai & Bar-Itzhak, 2013; Ziolkowski, 2017).



Slika 1: Abraham, Sara in Hagara, Svetopisemska ilustracija iz leta 1897 (Anonimni slikar, Wikimedia Commons).

ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA – OSTRE POLITIČNE RAZLAGE PRIPOVEDI O SARI IN HAGARI IZ 1 MZ 16 IN 21 TER TRANSFORMACIJA TE PRIPOVEDI V PO-SVETOPISEMSKIH FOLKLORNIH VIRIH IN LITERATURI

Dediščina judovske folklore širom po svetu je nepregledno velika. Večina je razpršena v rokopisih v velikih in manjših arhivih in knjižnicah. Na to dejstvo je med drugim opozoril Jefim Schirmann v uvodu v *Thesaurus of Mediaeval Hebrew Poetry*, ki ga je Israel Davidson v štirih knjigah izdal leta 1970 (Davidson & Schirman, 1970, ix–xxix).

Judovski folklorni in literarni viri iz dolgih tisočletij ustnega in pisnega izročila razkrivajo edinstveno zgodovino v prvi vrsti verske identitete Judov, nova dela pa aktualizirajo starejše vire v novem času in okoliščinah. Tega dejstva tudi sodobna sekularizacija, ki je zajela tako Jude kot tudi Nejude zlasti v Evropi in ZDA, ni spremenila. To poglavje predstavlja izbrane primere novejših aktualizacij najstarejše starozavezne tradicije o izvoru judovskega ljudstva, ki jo vsebuje družinska pripoved o očaku Abrahamu (s prvotnim imenom Abram) in njegovi ženi Sari (s prvotnim imenom Saraja) ter njeni egipčanski služabnici Hagari iz 1 Mz 16 in 21, v ne-svetopisemskih virih. Ta pripoved

Slika 2: Abraham pošlje Hagaro stran od svojega doma, Svetopisemska ilustracija iz leta 1897 (Anonimni slikar, Wikimedia Commons).

predstavlja skupni izvor treh svetovnih religij in civilizacij – judovstva, krščanstva in islama – in ima zato od vseh judovskih pripovedi še posebej izpostavljeno »politično funkcijo«. Tako Judje, kristjani kot tudi muslimani namreč opisujejo svoj izvor s tesnim sklicevanjem na pripoved o Abrahamu, vključno z zapleteno zgodbo o Abrahamovem odnosu s Hagaro. Kritična analiza vidikov, ki so jih dosedanji raziskovalci izpostavljali v vrednotenju razlogov za aktualnost tega besedila, omogoča presojo vprašanja, kateri dejavniki so najpomembnejši v procesu judovskega spreminjanja paradigem v politični aplikaciji še posebej aktualnih svetopisemskih besedil.

Zgodba o očaku Abrahamu v Prvi Mojzesovi knjigi vsebuje pripoved o rojstvu sina Izmaela v 1 Mz 16,1-16 in o rojstvu drugega sina Izaka v 1 Mz 21,1-21. Pripoved v 1 Mz 16,1-16 se začne s poročilom:

> *Žena Saraja Abramu ni rodila otrok. Imela pa je egiptovsko deklo, ki ji je bilo ime Hagara. Saraja je rekla Abramu: »Glej, Gospod mi je odrekel otroke. Pojdi k moji dekli, mogoče dobim po njej potomstvo.« Abram je poslušal Sarajo.*

Slika 3: Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri), Abraham izžene Hagaro in Izmaela, 1657 (Wikimedia Commons).

> *Potem ko je Abram deset let prebival v kanaanski deželi, je Abramova žena Saraja vzela svojo egiptovsko deklo in jo dala svojemu možu Abramu za ženo. Šel je torej k Hagari in je spočela. Ko pa je videla, da je spočela, je zviška gledala na svojo gospodarico. Saraja pa je rekla Abramu: »Krivica, ki mi je storjena, naj pride na tebe! Jaz sem ti dala svojo deklo v naročje, ko pa je videla, da je spočela, je začela zviška gledati name. Naj Gospod sodi med menoj in teboj!« Abram je rekel Saraji: »Glej, tvoja dekla je v tvoji oblasti. Stori ji, kar se ti zdi prav!« Nato je Saraja z njo trdo ravnala, tako da je pobegnila izpred njenega obličja.* (1 Mz 16,1-6)

V nadaljevanju zgodba govori o tem, kako se je Hagari na begu pred Sarajo v puščavi »pri studencu na poti v Šur« prikazal Gospodov angel in ji svetoval: »Vrni se k svoji gospodarici in se podvrzi njeni oblasti!« Svoj predlog pa je utemeljil z obljubo: »Silno bom pomnožil tvoj zarod, tako da se zaradi množine ne bo mogel prešteti« (1 Mz 16,9-10). Hagara je upoštevala angelov nasvet in se podvrgla oblasti Saraje. Zgodba se konča z dobro novico: »Potem je Hagara Abramu rodila sina. Abram je dal sinu, ki mu ga je rodila Hagara, ime Izmael. Abramu pa je bilo šestinosemdeset let, ko je Hagara Abramu rodila Izmaela« (Mz 16,15-16).

Ta zgodba o Abramovi družini se v 1 Mz 21,1-21 dopolni s poročilom o čudežnem Božjem posegu, ki pa konflikta med Hagaro in Sarajo ne razreši, ampak ga še bolj zaostri. V tej zgodbi ima Abram že daljšo obliko, »Abraham«, Saraja pa krajšo, »Sara«. Pripoved 1 Mz 18,1-15 poroča o tem,

Slika 4: Adriaen van der Werff, Izgon Hagare in Izmaela, 1699 (Wikimedia Commons).

kako se je Gospod prikazal Abrahamu in mu dal nepričakovano obljubo: »Gotovo se vrnem k tebi čez leto ob tem času, in glej, tvoja žena Sara bo imela sina.« (1 Mz 18,10) Ta obljuba je pomenila napoved čudeža, ker sta bila Abraham in Sara že v letih in Sara ni več mogla gojiti upanja na otroka. Zgodba v 1 Mz 21,1-21 se navezuje na to napoved čudeža in se glasi:

> *Gospod je obiskal Saro, kakor je rekel, in Gospod je storil Sari, kakor je govoril. Sara je spočela in Abrahamu rodila sina v njegovi starosti, ob času, o katerem mu je Bog govoril. Abraham je svojega novorojenca, ki mu ga je rodila Sara, imenoval Izak. Ko je bil sin Izak star osem dni, ga je Abraham obrezal, kakor mu je Bog zapovedal. Abraham je imel sto let, ko se mu je rodil sin Izak.* (1 Mz 21,1-5)

Iz navedb Abrahamove starosti ob rojstvu prvega sina Izmaela (86 let) in drugega sina Izaka (100 let) je razvidno, da je Izmael ob Izakovem rojstvu imel 14 let. Ko je Sara dobila svojega biološkega sina Izaka, takrat je po besedah Jožefa Flavija imela 90 let (prim. Flavius, 1978, zv. 4, 104–105), pa je v njej vzplamtelo negativno čustvo do Izmaela in povzročilo silen družinski konflikt:

Slika 5: Giambattista Tiepolo (Giovanni Battista Tiepolo), Hagara v divjini. Stropna freska v Palazzo Patriarcale, Udine, 1726–1729 (Wikimedia Commons).

> *Ko je Sara nekoč videla sina Egipčanke Hagare, ki ga je ta rodila Abrahamu, kako se igra z njenim sinom Izakom, je rekla Abrahamu: »Izženi to deklo in njenega sina, kajti sin te dekle ne sme biti dedič z mojim sinom, z Izakom.« Ta beseda je bila Abrahamu silno mučna zaradi sina. Bog pa je rekel Abrahamu: »Naj ti ne bo mučno ne za dečka ne za deklo. Karkoli ti poreče Sara, poslušaj njen glas, kajti po Izaku se bo imenoval tvoj zarod. Toda tudi iz deklinega sinu bom naredil velik narod, ker je tvoj potomec.« Abraham je zgodaj zjutraj vstal, vzel kruh in meh vode, dal to Hagari, na njene rame naložil dečka in jo odslovil.* (1 Mz 21,9-14)

Ko je Hagara z dečkom na ramah »blodila po beeršebski puščavi« in je voda iz meha pošla, je bridko jokala, ker se je zdelo, da bo morala biti priča smrti svojega sina Izmaela zaradi lakote in žeje. Tedaj Gospod spet nepričakovano poseže v brezizhodno človeško zgodbo:

> *Bog pa je slišal dečkov glas in Božji angel je iz nebes poklical Hagaro in ji rekel: »Kaj ti je, Hagara? Ne boj se, kajti Bog je slišal dečkov glas tam, kjer je. Vstani, vzemi dečka in ga drži za roko! Kajti iz njega bom naredil velik narod.« Bog ji je tedaj odprl oči, da je zagledala studenec. Šla je, napolnila meh z vodo in dečku dala piti.*
> *Bog je bil z dečkom. Rasel je, prebival v puščavi in postal lokostrelec. Prebival je v paranski puščavi in njegova mati mu je dobila ženo iz egiptovske dežele.* (1 Mz 21,17-21)

Ne moremo ugotoviti, kakšna je bila pot ustnega izročila do te svetopisemske različice dogodkov v družinski pripovedi očaka Abrahama, lahko pa prepoznamo skupne značilnosti v njenih aktualizacijah v novih okoliščinah. Poznejše razlage te pripovedi in razvoj njenega po-svetopisemskega folklornega izročila razkrivajo željo po razlagi tistih vidikov, ki jih svetopisemske pripovedi ne omenjajo izrecno, a logično sledijo iz njihove pripovedne strukture. Poznejši avtorji iščejo možnosti razlage za nerazložljivo: vprašanje Božje pravičnosti, razlogi za kazen ali nagrado osrednjih likov, razmerje med skritim Božjim načrtom in človeško samovoljo idr.

Že apostol Pavel je v Pismu Galačanom v polemiki z Judi starozavezno pripoved o Hagari in Sari izpostavil kot alegorijo dveh zavez. Po njegovi alegorični razlagi je Hagara mati Sinajske zaveze, ki se je oklepajo Judje, Sara pa je mati svobodnih kristjanov, ki sledijo Jezusovim učencem v Novi zavezi:

> *Povejte mi, vi, ki hočete biti pod postavo: ne slišite, kaj pravi postava! Pisano je namreč, da je Abraham dobil dva sinova, enega od dekle in enega od svobodne. Toda sin, rojen iz dekle, se je rodil po mesu, sin pa, rojen iz svobodne, po obljubi. To je povedano v prispodobi: gre namreč za dve zavezi. Ena izvira s Sinajske gore in rodi za sužnost: takšna je Hagara. Hagara je gora Sinaj, ki je v Arabiji: ta se sklada s sedanjim Jeruzalemom, ki je suženj s svojimi otroki vred. Oni Jeruzalem, ki je zgoraj, pa je svoboden in ta je naša mati.* (Gal 4,21-26)

Ta Pavlova alegorija je za dva tisoč let zakoličila večinsko krščansko razlago družinske zgodbe o očaku Abrahamu. Pavlovo alegorizacijo starozavezne pripovedi o Hagari in Sari le redko povezujejo s terminologijo politike. Sta pa to povezavo opazila George H. van Kooten in Jacques T.A.G.M. van Ruiten, urednika zbornika o judovskih, krščanskih in islamskih pogledih na sorodstvo z Abrahamom (cf. van Kooten & van Ruiten, 2010).[17] Bistvo Pavlove alegorizacije likov Hagare in Sare razložita v širšem kontekstu Pavlove teologije:

> *S tem, ko Hagaro poistoveti s sedanjim Jeruzalemom v nasprotju z nebeškim Jeruzalemom, Pavel pokaže, da pozna platonsko-statistično razpravo o dveh mestih, zemeljskem in nebeškem, ki vključujeta dve različni vrsti državljanstva. Čeprav je besedišče politično, je pojem nebeškega, nadetničnega, kozmičnega mesta depolitiziran in blago kritizira vse oblike zemeljske, etnične, politične navezanosti. V Pavlovi alegorizaciji Hagare in Sare delujeta obe strategiji, tako strategija kritiziranja in prevračanja genealoških zahtev kot tudi depolitizacije politike*. (van Kooten & van Ruiten, 2010, xxix–xxx)[18]

V prvem stoletju po Kristusu v delu judovskega zgodovinarja Jožefa Flavija *Judovske starožitnosti* (ang. prevod: *Jewish Antiquities*, 2.32-33) že zasledimo tudi izročilo, ki Izmaelove potomce opredeljuje kot arabska plemena:

Toda ko je Juda, eden od Jakobovih sinov, videl, da nekateri Arabci iz Izmaelovega potomstva po Rubenovem odhodu iz dežele Gilead Egipčanom nosijo začimbe in sirsko blago, je svojim bratom svetoval, naj Jožefa potegnejo iz jame in ga prodajo Arabcem; kajti če bi umrl med tujci daleč stran, bi se rešili tega barbarskega dejanja. Zato so se odločili za to; zato so Jožefa izvlekli iz jame in ga prodali trgovcem za dvajset funtov (Flavius, 1978, zv. 4, 180–183).

Jožef v svojem delu izraz »Arabec« zamenjuje z izrazom »Izmaelec« (Flavius, 1978, 1.207–2.231). V svojem delu *Judovske starožitnosti* o Sari pove, da je sprva ljubila Izmaela »z naklonjenostjo, ki ni bila nič manjša od naklonjenosti do njenega lastnega sina, saj je bil vzgojen, da bi uspel v vladanju« (1.215; prim. Flavius, 1978, zv. 4, 106–107). Toda ko je sama rodila Izaka, »ni želela, da bi bil Izmael vzgajan skupaj z njim, saj je bil zanj prestar in bi mu lahko škodoval, ko bi njun oče umrl« (1.215; prim. Flavius, 1978, zv. 4, 106–107). Abrahama je zato pregovorila, naj pošlje Izmaela in njegovo mater v neko oddaljeno deželo. Abraham se sprva ni strinjal s tem in menil, da je poslati proč tako majhnega otroka in njegovo mater »največje barbarstvo« (1.216; prim. Flavius, 1978, zv. 4, 106–107), končno pa je privolil, »ker je bil Bog zadovoljen s tem, kar

17 Zbornik govori o Abrahamu, narodih in Hagarovcih, pri čemer so z izrazom »Hagarovci« označeni Abrahamovi potomci prek Hagare in njunega sina Izmaela. Kot v svojih prispevkih v zborniku pokažeta Ed Noort (Noort, 2010a; 2010b) in Anthony Hilhorst (Hilhorst, 2010), se Izmaelci in Hagarovci sicer pojavljajo v Stari zavezi, vendar je povezava med Izmaelom in Izmaelci ter med Hagaro in Hagarovci izrecna šele pozneje.

18 S preučevanjem odnosa med Abrahamom, narodi in Hagarovci se avtorji zbornika osredotočajo na vprašanje, kako je bilo sorodstvo z Abrahamom dojeto v judovstvu, krščanstvu in islamu, treh tako imenovanih abrahamskih religijah. To vključuje tudi pojav etnocentrizma in sovražnosti do narodov. Kot je razvidno iz knjige, je pripoved o blagoslovu narodov v Abrahamu (1 Mz 12,1-3) v judovstvu komaj komentirana. Krščanstvo pa po Pavlu zavestno utemeljuje svoj obstoj s to pripovedjo in trdi, da pravim abrahamovcem ni treba biti genetsko povezani z Abrahamom. Islam po drugi strani spet poudarja genetsko podmeno Abrahamovih otrok v smislu, da so Arabci po Hagari in Izmaelu razumljeni kot Abrahamovi genetski potomci.

je določila Sara« (1.217; cf. Flavius, 1978, zv. 4, 106–107), in Hagari naročil, naj vzame s seboj steklenico vode in hlebec kruha.

Jožef Flavij poudari, da se je Hagara potem, ko je bila voda skoraj porabljena, znašla v strašni stiski. Svojega mladega otroka, ki je bil pripravljen umreti, je položila pod figovec in šla naprej, da bi umrl medtem, ko bi bila odsotna (1.218; cf. Flavius, 1978, zv. 4, 106–109). Toda k njej je prišel božji angel in ji naročil, naj poskrbi za otroka in ga vzgoji, saj bo srečna, če ga bo obdržala. Hagara se je opogumila ob obetu, ki ji je bil obljubljen. Srečala je pastirje in z njihovo pomočjo je bila rešena (1.219; cf. Flavius, 1978, zv. 4, 108–109).

Deeana Klepper v svojem članku *Historicizing Allegory: The Jew as Hagar in Medieval Christian Text and Image* (2015) razkriva razvoj religiozne identifikacije in moralnega vrednotenja lika Hagare in Sare na eni ter njunih sinov Izmaela in Izaka na drugi strani tako v judovstvu in krščanstvu kot tudi v islamu. Med drugim ugotavlja:

> *Medtem ko so rabinske upodobitve Izmaela kot simbola islama težile k negativnemu prikazu, so muslimanski razlagalci sprejeli identiteto Izmaelovih potomcev kot neproblematično, v obliki družinske pripovedi, ki se v bistvenih pogledih razlikuje od svetopisemske. V samem Koranu ni izrecne omembe arabskega rodu iz Izmaela, vendar se je ta povezava uveljavila precej zgodaj v obdobju oblikovanja islama.* (Klepper, 2015, 314)

Srednjeveški judovski in muslimanski eksegeti so razumeli arabski in s tem muslimanski izvor od Hagare prek njenega sina Izmaela ter judovski izvor od Sare prek njenega sina Izaka. Krščansko izročilo je bilo bolj zapleteno in dvoumno, saj je Pavlova alegorija iz Nove zaveze v pismu Galačanom kristjane spodbujala, naj se imajo za zakonite otroke Abrahama in Sare, judovske privržence starega zakona pa je zavračala kot otroke zavrnjene Hagare. Pavlova povezava suženjske Hagare in njenega sina Izmaela s sinagogo je bila v nasprotju s tradicijo, podedovano od Jožefa in od drugod, ki je Izmaela označevala za očeta arabskih plemen. Tako so vzhodni kristjani Pavlovo alegorijo pri branju Geneze navadno zanemarili. Janez Damaščan (u. 743) je npr. podal etimologijo imen za arabske zavojevalce na podlagi prejšnjih razlag: imenovali so se Hagarovci, ker so bili rojeni iz Hagare; Izmaelci, ker so izvirali iz Izmaela, in Saraceni, ker jih je Sara poslala stran brez dediščine (Tolan, 2002, 40–41, 51–52; Hilhorst, 2010, 421–434).

Starodavna povezava Arabcev s Hagaro in Izmaelom je bizantinskim kristjanom, ki so bili pregnani iz Jeruzalema in Svete dežele, omogočila, da so svoje trenutno krizno stanje zlahka ubesedili s svetopisemskimi izrazi. Tudi na Zahodu so obstajali razlagalci, ki so Hagaro in Izmaela povezovali z Arabci oziroma muslimani. Izidor Seviljski (ok. 560–636) je na primer v svojem delu *Chronicon* (615) Saracene označil za Abrahamove potomce prek Izmaela in zapisal: »Abraham je pri 100 letih rodil Izaka od ‚osvobojene' Sare. Pred tem pa je od svoje služabnice Hagare rodil Izmaela, iz katerega je nastalo ljudstvo Izmaelcev, ki so jih pozneje imenovali ‚Agareni' in nazadnje ‚Saraceni'« (prim. angleški prevod v Isidore of Seville, 2004). V svojem komentarju Geneze pa se je Izidor Seviljski tesno držal Pavlove alegorije in zapisal: »Hagara je s svojim sinom tavala po puščavi, kar pomeni, da sinagoga in njeno ljudstvo, izgnano iz svoje dežele, tavata po vsem svetu brez duhovnika in žrtve, povsem nevedna o poti, ki je Kristus.«[19] Klepperjeva ugotavlja:

> *Ko so napetosti med latinskimi kristjani in muslimani stopile v središče pozornosti (v prvih letih muslimanskega osvajanja ali v stoletjih medsebojnega delovanja na Iberskem polotoku, ali med križarskimi vojnami), je bila povezava Izmaela s »hordo nevernikov«* [...] *na voljo kot retorično orodje. Toda če so latinsko-krščanski svetopisemski eksegeti včasih opisovali arabske muslimane kot Hagarine potomce skladno z dobesedno-zgodovinskim pomenom, so Judje to vlogo opravljali v pomembnejšem duhovnem smislu, ki je bil pogosto edini obravnavani smisel. Krščanski eksegeti so že zelo zgodaj v patrističnem obdobju oblikovali primarno delitev med dobesedno (ali zgodovinsko) in duhovno razlago.* (Klepper, 2015, 321)

Kristjani na Zahodu so včasih razlikovali med dobesednim (zgodovinskim) in duhovnim pomenom svetopisemske zgodbe in uveljavljali razlago, da so muslimani Hagarini potomci v zgodovinskem pomenu, hkrati pa so Judje potomci Sare v duhovnem pomenu (Klepper, 2015, 321–323). Kljub temu da so patristični avtorji poznali Jožefa in judovska besedila, ki Izmaela povezujejo z Arabci, sta jih Pavlova genealoška alegorija in njihova razvijajoča se nagnjenost k duhovni razlagi Svetega pisma pritegnila k temu, da so Izaka in Izmaela izpostavili kot krščansko oziroma judovsko figuro (Klepper, 2015, 315).

19 Izvirno besedilo: »Quod vero errat Agar in solitudine cum filio suo, significat synagogam cum populo suo expulsam de terra sua, sine sacerdotio et sacrificio in toto orbe errare, et viam, quae est Christus, penitus igno« (Dulaey & Gorman, 2009, 55).

Slika 6 : François-Joseph Navez, Hagara in izmael v puščavi (izrez), 1820 (Wikimedia Commons).

Slika 7: Johann Heinrich Hasselhorst (1825–1904), Hagara in Izmael (Wikimedia Commons).

V 13. in 14. stoletju so krščanski misleci s sklicevanjem na Pavlovo alegorično razlago o Abrahamu, Sari in njeni služabnici Hagari v Pismu Galačanom skušali podpirati posebne politike, ki so omejevale judovske stike s kristjani. Hagaro, ki so jo dolga leta povezali s staro zavezo, sinagogo ali nejasnim judovskim »drugim«, so spremenili v lik, ki je predstavljal Jude, ki so živeli med njimi. Povezovanje resničnih Judov z naduto, nespoštljivo in nehvaležno služabnico Hagaro, ki jo je Abraham poslal od doma, je zagotavljalo učinkovito podporo za vse ostrejše ravnanje z Judi v krščanski družbi, vključno z izgoni Judov v smislu Abrahamovega izgona Hagare po sporu, ki je nastal med gospodarico in sužnjo (Klepper, 2015, 308–310). Uveljavljena krščanska interpretacija Svetega pisma je pomagala oblikovati krščansko razmišljanje o tem, kako naj bi Judje živeli v krščanski družbi.

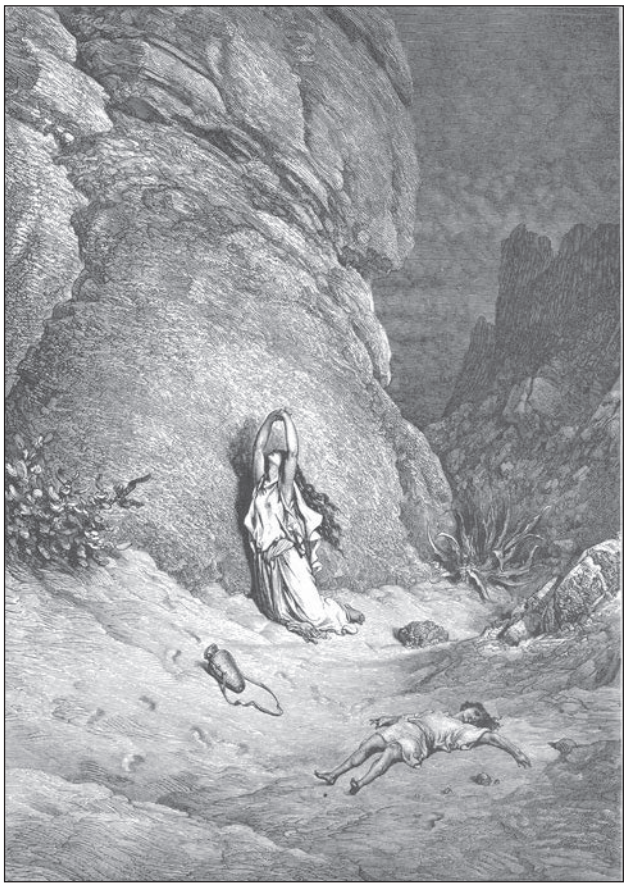
Louis Ginzberg v prvem zvezku svoje zbirke *The Legends of the Jews* alegorizaciji družinske zgodbe očaka Abrahama posveti največ pozornosti v petem oddelku z naslovom »Abraham« (Ginzberg, 2003a, 167–249). Za to zbirko judovskih legend je značilno, da ne kažejo težnje po iskanju alegorične aplikacije v novih zgodovinskih okoliščinah, ampak iščejo odgovore na temeljna teološka vprašanja: kako folklorne pripovedi utemeljujejo teološko zapoved »Božje pravičnosti« in kako prikažejo človeške like v njihovih situacijah preizkušnje, da lahko bralcu posredujejo vtis o harmonizaciji vseh teoloških zapovedi in človeških omejitev. V Ginzbergovi zbirki legend ne najdemo aplikacije likov Hagare, Sare, Izmaela in Izaka na etnične skupine Judov, kristjanov in muslimanov. Na dan pridejo prizori notranjega družinskega spora, ki jih v svetopisemski zgodbi ni. Za ponazoritev navajamo prvi del *Legende o izgnanem Izmaelu* (Ginzberg, 2003a, 219–220), ki zrcali človeško slabost:

> *Ko je Izak odraščal, je med njim in Izmaelom prišlo do spora glede pravic prvorojenca. Izmael je vztrajal, da mora po Abrahamovi smrti prejeti dvojni delež dediščine, Izak pa le del. Toda Sara je vztrajala, da Abraham na Izaka prenese vse, kar je imel, da po njegovi smrti ne bi bilo sporov, »kajti«, je rekla, »Izmael ni vreden biti dedič mojega sina, niti človeka, kot je Izak, in gotovo ne mojega sina Izaka.« Poleg tega je Sara vztrajala, da se Abraham razveže s Hagaro, Izmaelovo materjo, ter pošlje žensko in njenega sina stran, da ne bi smela imeti ničesar*

Slika 8: Luigi Alois Gillarduzzi, Hagara in Izmael v puščavi, 1851 (Wikimedia Commons).

opraviti z lastnim sinom, ne na tem ne na prihodnjem svetu.
Od vseh preizkušenj, ki jih je moral Abraham prestati, nobena ni bila tako težka kot ta, saj ga je zelo bolelo, da se je moral ločiti od svojega sina. Naslednjo noč se mu je prikazal Bog in mu rekel: »Abraham, ali ne veš, da je bila Sara že od maternice namenjena, da postane tvoja žena? Ona je tvoja spremljevalka in žena tvoje mladosti, jaz pa nimam niti Hagare za ženo niti Sare kot svoje sužnje. Kar ti je govorila Sara, ni bilo nič drugega kot resnica, in ne bo ti težko zaradi fanta in zaradi tvoje služkinje.«
Naslednje jutro je Abraham zgodaj vstal, dal Hagari ločitveno listino in jo s sinom poslal proč, pred tem pa ji je okoli ledij zavezal vrv, da so vsi videli, da je sužnja. (Ginzberg, 2003a, 219–220)

V drugem delu legende izvemo, da je Sara čudežno povzročila bolezen pastorka Izmaela, tako da ga je morala Hagara nositi pri njegovih 14 letih. Voda, ki jima jo ne na pot dal Abraham, se je v vročini hitro porabila, in Hagara je Izmaela umirajočega od žeje pustila pod vejevjem vrbe, ki je rasla na istem mestu, kjer so ji nekoč angeli napovedali, da bo rodila sina. Ni namreč hotela biti priča smrti svojega sina. Legenda v nadaljevanju govori o Hagarini veliki stiski:



Slika 9: Gustave Doré, Hagara in Izmael v divjini, 1866 (Wikimedia Commons).

V grenkobi srca je govorila z Bogom in rekla: »Včeraj si mi rekel: ‚Tako bom pomnožil tvoje seme, da ga ne bo mogoče prešteti', danes pa moj sin umira od žeje.« Izmael je sam klical k Bogu in njegova molitev ter Abrahamove zasluge so jima prinesle pomoč v stiski, čeprav so angeli pred Bogom nastopili proti Izmaelu.
Rekli so: »Ali boš naredil vodnjak vode, ki bo iztekel za tistega, katerega potomci bodo pustili Tvoje sinove Izraela, da poginejo od žeje?« Toda Bog je odgovoril in rekel: »Kaj je Izmael v tem trenutku – pravični ali hudobni?« In ko so ga angeli opredelili kot pravičnega, je Bog nadaljeval: »V vsakem trenutku ravnam s človekom tako, kot si zasluži.«
V tistem trenutku je bil Izmael res pobožen, saj je Boga prosil z naslednjimi besedami: »O Gospod sveta! Če je Tvoja volja, da umrem, naj umrem na drug način, ne od žeje, kajti muka žeje je večja od vseh drugih.« Namesto da bi molila k Bogu, je Hagara svoje prošnje naslovila na malike svoje mladosti. Bog je odgovoril na Izmaelovo molitev in povzročil, da je iz Miriaminega vodnjaka, ki

> *je bil ustvarjen ob zori šestega dne stvarjenja, pritekla voda. Tudi po tem čudežu Hagarina vera ni bila nič močnejša kot prej. Steklenico je napolnila z vodo, ker se je bala, da se bo spet porabila in nobena druga ne bo blizu. Nato je s sinom odpotovala v Egipt, kajti »Vrzi palico v zrak, kakor hočeš, vedno bo pristala na svoji konici.« Hagara je prišla iz Egipta in v Egipt se je vrnila, da bi izbrala ženo za svojega sina.* (Ginzberg, 2003a, 220)

Ne moremo spregledati monoteističnega verskega okvira, ki se kaže v poudarku Božjega poseganja v človeško zgodbo, da bi zaščitil človeka v smrtni stiski. Vidimo lahko, da se Bog ne ozira na človeške namene, ampak rešuje tudi tiste, ki postanejo žrtve človeške samovolje in sovraštva.

Medbesedilna presoja tradicije o povezovanju antagonizma med Saro in Hagaro z antagonizmom med Judi in Arabci kaže, da antagonizem med Judi in Arabci nima osnove v Svetem pismu, ampak v posvetopisemski alegorični razlagi 1 Mz 16 in 21. Susan Nikado v svojem članku »*Hagar and Ishmael as Literary Figures: An Intertextual Study*« (2001) ugotavlja, da v pogostih starozaveznih pripovedih o posebnem otroku, rojenem posebnim staršem, zlahka spregledamo, da je osrednji lik teh pripovedi pravzaprav junakov starš in ne sam junak, in da je izid zgodbe odvisen od starša in ne od otroka (Nikaido, 2001, 219). Po medbesedilni analizi literarnih elementov pripovedi o Hagari ugotavlja:

> *V nasprotju z njeno negativno vlogo Sarine antagonistke je Hagara upodobljena na način, ki nas sili, da jo vidimo kot materinski lik, enakovreden likom, kot sta Abraham in Hana. Tako kot Abraham prejme Božjo obljubo o sinu, vendar mora prestati strašno preizkušnjo, ko otroka skoraj izgubi; podobno kot Hana je preganjana, vendar s pomočjo Božjega glasnika najde upanje in premaga nasprotnika.* (Nikaido, 2001, 220)[20]

Avtorica poudarja, kako pomembno je Hagaro in Izmaela obravnavati kot neodvisni osebi, brez nenehnega povezovanja njune stiske s Saro in njenim rojstvom Izaka:

> *S preučevanjem literarnih sredstev in motivov v teh pripovedih s pomočjo medbesedilne analize spoznamo pomen Hagare in Izmaela kot samostojnih likov in njune pripovedi kot ločene zgodbe o rojstvu. Pojmovanje njune stiske zgolj kot »ozadja« Izakovega rojstva ne upravči literarnih razsežnostih njunih likov, niti ne pojasni potrebe po podrobnem opisu njunih okoliščin. Poleg tega medbesedilnost njune zgodbe ustvarja nekakšno napetost pri bralcu, ki ju mora po eni strani obravnavati kot antagonista zaradi Izaka in Sare, po drugi strani pa kot osrednja, celo junaška lika zaradi njunih pozitivnih literarnih asociacij.* (Nikaido, 2001, 241)

Z ustanovitvijo Države Izrael se je politična funkcija te svetopisemske zgodbe samo še zaostrila. Podobno kot Judje imajo tudi Arabci močne razloge za iskanje dialoga med Judi in Arabci na podlagi sprejemanja tradicije o biološkem izvoru iz Abrahamove družine prek Izmaela.

Mohsen Goudarzi v svojem članku *The Ascent of Ishmael* (2019) pomenljivo predstavi versko in humanistično premoč nad politizacijo. Čeprav so Judje in kristjani Izmaela marginalizirali in očrnili v luči svoje navezanosti na Izaka, poskuša Koran obnoviti Abrahamovega prvorojenca in ga vključi v različne sezname pravičnih posameznikov. Podoba Abrahama kot (biološkega) očaka je osrednjega pomena za razumevanje preroške zgodovine v Koranu na splošno in še posebej za njegovo pojmovanje Mohamedovega poslanstva.[21]

Goudarzi meni, da Koran nakazuje univerzalen pomen prerokovih razodetij, ter zapiše: »Ne trdim, da je Koran nagnjen k izključevanju ne-abrahamskih ljudstev iz svoje pristojnosti. Celo Prva Mojzesova knjiga, ki je trdno zavezana pojmovanju Izraelcev kot izbranega ljudstva, poudarja širše posledice Božje obljube Abrahamu z navedbo, da »bodo v njem blagoslovljeni vsi rodovi zemlje« (1 Mz 12,3). Goudarzi poudarja:

> *Izmaelsko poreklo prvih muslimanov je bilo pomembno predvsem v njihovih odnosih z Izraelci, in prav tu je implicitna in eksplicitna preobrazba Izmaela v Koranu še posebej pomembna. Vendar genealogija v Koranu nima enake funkcije kot v Svetem pismu. Po eni strani mora Sveto pismo dokazati izjemnost Izraelcev in njihovih očakov, v Koranu pa je izvolitev Abrahama in Izraela samoumevna. Drugič, Koran ima veliko manj nacionalistično pojmovanje zgodovine. Izmaelcev ne skuša prikazati kot glavnih junakov zgodovine, kot Gospodovo posebno posest med vsemi ljudstvi ali kot večne partnerje Božje zaveze.*

20 V pripovedi v 1 Sam 1,2–2,21 je Hana ena od dveh Elkanajevih žena. Druga, Penina, je rodila Elkanajeve otroke, Ana pa je ostala brez otrok. Kljub temu je Elkana dal prednost Hani.

21 Kot etnična kategorija se Arabec ne pojavlja v Koranu, na podlagi Korana lahko ugotavljamo le, da so se prerok in njegovi privrženci imeli za Abrahamove potomce prek Izmaela. Ne vemo, ali je bila zamisel o izmaelskem izvoru razširjena ali utrjena v predislamski Meki ali Ḥiǧāzu. Goudarzi meni, da je glede na redne stike številnih Arabcev z judovskimi in krščanskimi skupnostmi na severu in jugu polotoka ter prodiranje judovstva in krščanstva po Arabiji mogoče, da so se nekatera plemena ali posamezniki videli kot Izmaelci ali vsaj vedeli, da jih drugi uvrščajo mednje (Goudarzi, 2019, 481).

Raje si Koran prizadeva za skromnejši cilj, razširiti področje Božje izvolitve na vse Abrahamove otroke – Izmaelove potomce, pa tudi Izakove in Jakobove. (Goudarzi, 2019, 483)

Koran Abrahama ne prikazuje le kot verskega predhodnika preroka in njegovih sledilcev, temveč tudi kot njihovega genealoškega prednika, pri čemer sta ta duhovni in fizični vidik neločljivo povezana.

V judovstvu je pripoved o Hagari spodbudila ne le nastanek širokega spektra zgodnje rabinske eksegeze hebrejskega Svetega pisma v obliki midrašev, temveč tudi nastanek številnih sodobnih literarnih del, ki preoblikujejo ali preobražajo epizode iz Svetega pisma kot obliko sodobnega midraša. Za svetopisemsko pripoved je značilna kratkost. Njen slog je lakoničen in veliko je neizrečenega, kar dopušča številne možnosti za razlago. Wilda Gafney poudarja vrednost rabinskih in sodobnih »midraških« branj z besedami:

Rabinska branja kot versko branje prepoznavajo vrednost v besedilih, besedah in črkah kot potencialnih prostorih razodetja. Preoblikujejo prevladujoča pripovedna branja in hkrati oblikujejo nova, ki se postavljajo ob bok prejšnjim branjem, ne da bi jih nadomeščala. Midraši postavljajo tudi vprašanja o besedilu; včasih ponujajo odgovore, včasih prepuščajo bralcu, da odgovori na vprašanja. (Gafney, 2017, 3)

Podobno kot midraš si tudi sodobna poezija na svetopisemske teme prizadeva zapolniti vrzeli v pripovedih, pri čemer uporablja svetopisemske like za izražanje lastnih občutkov, misli in prepričanj avtorjev ter pripoveduje zgodbe za ponazoritev sodobnih dilem.

Današnji konflikt med Državo Izrael, ki predstavlja Izakovo linijo Abrahamovega potomstva, in Palestinci v okviru velikega arabskega sveta, ki se povezuje z Izmaelovo linijo Abrahamovih potomcev, je očiten razlog različnih aktualizacij teh svetopisemskih pripovedi. Ni torej presenetljivo, da je izraelska literarna zgodovinarka Rachel Ofer lani v študiji *Political Readings of the Hagar Narratives in Poems by Jewish Women* (Ofer, 2022), ki je izšla v reviji za judovske ženske študije in vprašanja spola *Nashim*, objavila svojo oceno aktualizacije zgodbe o Abrahamovi družini v pesmih sodobnih judovskih pesnic, ki zgodbo o Hagari uporabljajo za komentiranje konflikta med Judi, potomci Sare, in Arabci, potomci Hagare. V ospredju pesmi Dahlie Ravikovitch, Zerubavele Sasonkin, Nave Semel, Brahe Serri, Shirley Kaufman, Lynn Gottlieb, Lally Alexander, Have Pinhas-Cohen in Rivke Miriam sta dve temi: konflikt med Saro in Hagaro ter njuno skupno materinstvo. S tema temama, ki se obe pojavljata v svetopisemski zgodbi, pesnice izražajo svoj pogled na etnične napetosti med Judi in Arabci.

Rachel Ofer ugotavlja, da je v prvi skupini pesmi Hagarina pripoved simbolno predstavljena kot korenina neskončnega konflikta med Arabci in Judi. Te pesmi so napisane z namenom poprave zgodovinske krivice, ki naj bi se začela, ko je Sara s svojim sinom Izmaelom izgnala egipčansko služabnico Hagaro v puščavo. V drugi skupini pesmi pesnice do Hagare izražajo empatijo, skušajo jo razumeti in sočustvovati z njo na podlagi skupne ženskosti oz. materinstva ter na ta način preseči politične posledice pripovedi. Te teme so v nasprotju z midraško tradicijo, ki Izmaela vidi kot simbol sovražnika, Hagaro pa kot simbolno mater sovražnika. Tretja skupina pesmi uporablja zgodbo o Hagari za razmislek o dinamiki med Arabci in Judi, ki se giblje med nasiljem in erotiko.

Pesnice, ki pišejo o Hagari, izražajo tako njen utišani glas kot tudi svoj lastni glas. Nekatere pripoved o Hagari osredotočajo predvsem na feministična, druge pa na etnična ali nacionalna vprašanja, to je na arabsko-judovski spor. Čeprav sta v vseh pesmih največkrat prisotni obe temi, pa ima ena ali druga prevladujočo vlogo. Večina pesmi je napisana v hebrejščini, posamezne pa v angleščini. Nekatere hebrejske pesmi vključujejo tudi besedne zveze v arabščini, angleške pa v hebrejščini in arabščini, kar vsebuje tematski in politični pomen.

Rachel Ofer ugotavlja:

Hagara, ki služi kot arhetip Drugega ne le v odnosu do patriarhalnega Abrahamovega lika, temveč tudi v odnosu do Sare, »uradne« žene, je priložnost za inovativen in fascinanten literarno-kulturni diskurz, tako o ženski identiteti v kontekstu feminističnega boja kot tudi o judovsko-izraelski identiteti v kontekstu nacionalističnega konflikta. Njena izgnanost v puščavo vzbuja naše sočutje, čeprav lahko na njeno nespoštovanje do gospodarice gledamo kritično, in prav ta ambivalentnost je navdihnila številna literarna dela. V sodobni poeziji so v ospredju nekateri vidiki njenega značaja, na primer njen pogum in neodvisnost, ki se razkrijeta v njenem begu v puščavo. Lik Hagare nenehno spreminja obliko v pestrem tkanju pesmi v različnih slogih. (Ofer, 2022, 93)

Pregled pesmi sodobnih judovskih pesnic o Hagari kaže, da so le-te v izrazitem nasprotju z osrednjo midraško tradicijo, ki opravičuje Abrahama in Saro ter kritizira Hagaro. Navedene judovske pesnice kritizirajo Saro in izražajo sočutje do Hagare, ki zanje predstavlja šibko, zatirano žensko ter obenem simbolizira Arabce, njene potomce. Rachel Ofer ugotavlja:

Pesmi se na različne načine dotikajo etničnih napetosti med Judi in Arabci v Izraelu. Nanašajo se na vojno, ki že več generacij

> *traja med obema etničnima skupinama, na to, kako bi empatija do Hagare lahko spremenila sodobno politično dinamiko, ali na zapleteno erotično-nasilno dinamiko, ki se je pojavila med potomci obeh žensk*. (Ofer, 2022, 119)

Nekatere pesmi skušajo »popraviti« svetopisemsko pripoved in opisujejo spravo med Saro in Hagare ali njunimi potomci, njihov predlog »srečnega konca« svetopisemske zgodbe pa izraža željo po srečnem koncu v sedanjosti. Domišljena sprava pogosto vključuje preoblikovanje Hagare iz tujke v Sarino »sestro« (v pesmi *Uchti* Lynn Gottlieb; za besedilo pesmi prim. Ofer, 2022, 110–111) ipd. Za pesnice je ključ do korenin konflikta motiv materinstva.

Vse te pesmi so nastale iz zaskrbljenosti zaradi napetosti med obema narodoma, da bi spremenile resničnost na bolje in spodbudile prizadevanja za spravo. Politične aktualizacije v obliki pesmi so zelo dragocene, ker pesnice dileme v Abrahamovi družini lahko presojajo predvsem kot ženske in matere, ki vidijo realne možnosti sprave med judovskim in arabskim svetom na temelju materinskega čuta, sočutja in empatije.

V iskanju poti za preseganje današnjega konflikta med Državo Izrael, ki simbolno predstavlja Izakovo linijo Abrahamovega potomstva, in Palestinci v okviru velikega arabskega sveta, ki se povezujejo z Izmaelovo linijo Abrahamovih potomcev, pa velja poudariti tudi pomembno vlogo Abrahama kot skupnega očeta Izaka in Izmaela. Bistvo svetopisemskega pristopa k političnemu življenju je omogočiti ljudem, da bi bolje služili Bogu, kar vključuje zavest, da najvišji politični organ niso vlade, ampak Bog sam, ki presega vse vlade, zato presoja vlad za ljudi ni vedno merodajna. Zavest o skupnih koreninah abrahamskih religij judovstva, krščanstva in islama, ki jo v pripovedih ponazarja skupno očetovstvo Abrahama ter skupna izkušnja materinstva Sare in njene egipčanske dekle Hagare, lahko pomaga pri preseganju razlogov za konflikte. Kljub čustveno napetim družinskim odnosom, ki se v pripovedih stopnjujejo do konflikta, lahko upoštevanje svetopisemskih pričevanj, ki jih priznava tudi Koran – o Bogu kot očetu, ki daje blagoslov vsem ljudem na zemlji (1 Mz 12,3), pomaga pri premagovanju celo najbolj zapletenih političnih stanj.[22]

SKLEP

Že v antiki se je judovstvo ločilo od politeističnih mitov starega Egipta, Mezopotamije, Grčije in Rima in si s tem nakopalo sovraštvo velikih in malih narodov. Odločenost, da vztrajajo pri izročilu »očetov«, je iz nekaterih Judov naredila upornike, druge pa je spodbudila k večji potrpežljivosti. Zaradi svojega upora zavojevalcem so Judje postali klasičen primer ljudstva, ki je bilo kaznovano z izgoni in je po vsem svetu živelo v diaspori. V diasporah so se nekateri asimilirali, jedro judovstva pa je še bolj utrdilo svojo identiteto na monoteistični osnovi judovske religije in kulture.

Ogromno bogastvo judovskih pripovedi v hebrejščini, aramejščini, arabščini in v številnih evropskih jezikih kaže, kako so se Judje politično udejstvovali, da bi preživeli med narodi. Klasične folklorne pripovedi so največkrat komentarji k svetopisemskim pripovedim in poeziji, ki v predstavitvah likov njihove najtežje dileme le nakažejo in pri tem v pripovedih pustijo ogromno vrzeli. Poznejše pripovedi pojasnjujejo vrzeli in smiselno razširjajo pomenske vidike svetopisemskega besedila. Pri tem pa postavljajo dodatna vprašanja in možnosti aplikacije na nove življenjske okoliščine, na nova mejna območja življenja, ki poslušalcu in bralcu omogočajo širšo perspektivo.

Tematsko središče bogatega judovskega folklornega izročila je odnos med Bogom in Izraelom, ki je predstavljen linearno s tremi časovnimi koordinatami: stvarjenje, razodetje in odrešenje. Pripovedim o stvarjenju sledi niz pripovedi o naslednjem pomembnem teološkem dogodku na svetopisemski časovnici, razodetju. To je temeljno srečanje med Bogom in Izraelom na gori Sinaj, na kateri je Mojzes prejel Božje zapovedi. Očaki in drugi liki iz izraelske zgodovine so prikazani v luči preizkušnje njihove vere pred nenehno nevarnostjo, da se potopijo v morju poganskih mitov in političnih interesov. Judovske pripovedi prikazujejo izvor in razvoj odnosa med Bogom in Izraelom, ki se začne z božansko obljubo o potomstvu, dano očaku Abrahamu, ki je tako zelo v središču judovske zavesti, da ji nove politične in humanistične aplikacije samo še širijo obzorje za prihodnje interpretacije.

Poskus presoje politične funkcije judovskih folklornih pripovedi je zahtevna naloga z omejeno

22 Kako pomembno vlogo igra splošno družbeno in politično razpoloženje v urejanju odnosov med predstavniki treh abrahamskih religij, v našem slovenskem prostoru kaže na primer odnos krščanskih pisateljev in prevajalcev njihovih del o gospodarskem, kulturnem, verskem in političnem stanju vladavin na Bližnjem vzhodu. Janko Trupej v svojem članku *Prikaz Bližnjega vzhoda v slovenskih prevodih serije Orientzyklus Karla* Maya (2023) ugotavlja, da so prevodih, ki so izšli med letoma 1928 in 1931, negativni prikazi stanja na Bližnjem vzhodu celo bolj negativni kot v izvirniku. »To velja predvsem za podobo osmanskih Turkov ki so bili med slovenskim prebivalstvom več stoletij tradicionalno dojemani kot »Drugi« (Trupej, 2023, 344). V prevodih tega orientalskega cikla v letih 1970 in 1971 pa je bila prevajalska strategija ravno obratna, zaradi velike politične spremembe v slovenskem prostoru v okviru Jugoslavije, ki si je na področju politike neuvrščenih prizadevala za odlične odnose do držav islamskega sveta.

možnostjo splošno zadovoljive opredelitve rezultatov. Prva ovira je neprimerljivo veliko bogastvo judovskega folklornega izročila, ki se je skozi tisočletja zbiralo najprej v ustnem, pozneje v pisnem izročilu, pisno izročilo pa je postala dodatna podlaga za razmah ustnega izročila. Druga ovira je ogromno bogastvo tem in likov, ki jih vsebujejo primarni judovski viri: Sveto pismo, apokrifi, Talmud, midraši, hagadske pripovedi v obliki legend itn. Glede na to stanje je prvi rezultat prispevka že sama izbira sugestivne družinske zgodbe očaka Abrahama, ki velja kot oče judovskega ljudstva in številnih drugih narodov in je zato skozi tisočletja in stoletja veljal kot najpomembnejši lik etničnega, teološkega in političnega pomena.

Prispevek ugotavlja, da svetopisemska družinska zgodba o očaku Abrahamu že v izhodišču vsebuje kompleksno interakcijo antropološkega in teološkega vidika konflikta. Povod konflikta je frustracija Abrahamove žene Sare zaradi naravne neplodnosti. V tej situaciji Sara s človeško preračunljivostjo od Abrahama zahteva otroka, ki bi ga prejela s pomočjo njune »egiptovske sužnje Hagare« kot nadomestne matere. To človeško zgodbo pa dopolni skriti Božji načrt, ki priča o izvoru judovskega ljudstva od sina, ki ga bo Sara kljub svojim poznim letom sama rodila po čudežnem Božjem posegu. Čudežno Božjo dobrotljivost po eni strani moti Hagarin vzvišeni in prezirljivi odnos do Sare, ko rodi Abahamovega sina Izmaela, in po drugi strani Sarino gospodovalno ravnanje s služabnico Hagaro, ko tudi sama po dolgih letih upanja rodi svojega biološkega sina Izaka. V konfliktu med Saro in Hagaro se razkrivajo univerzalna človeška občutja ljubosumja, zmagoslavja, gospodovalnosti idr.

Pavel v Pismu Galačanom (4,21-26) poskrbi za izredno odmevno alegorično povezovanje Hagare z Judi, ki niso sprejeli krščanstva in so torej ostali otroci »stare zaveze«, in Sare s kristjani, ki so s sprejemom Kristusa postali dediči »nove zaveze«. Že Jožef Flavij pa povezuje Hagarinega sina Izmaela z arabskimi plemeni. To različico brez težave sprejmejo Arabci in jo v okviru Korana razširijo v univerzalno paradigmo za vse, ki sprejemajo islam.

Sodobne politične aktualizacije družinske pripovedi o Abrahamu kažejo, da je z ustanovitvijo Države Izrael v zvezi s tragedijo holokavsta politizacija alegorične povezave Judov s potomstvom Izaka ter islamskih narodov s potomstvom Izmaela pridobila na ostrini konflikta.

Ker svetopisemska družinska zgodba o očaku Abrahamu ni enoznačna, ampak večpomenska, iskalci poti do miru in sprave med sprtima blokoma v izvirni zgodbi iščejo predvsem globlje človeške osnove za dialog in spravo in so posebej pozorni na povezovalno moč materinstva. Prispevek z raziskavo razvoja interpretacij Abrahamove pripovedi v ne-svetopisemski tradiciji od najstarejših časov pa vse do danes poudarja velik pomen Svetega pisma in po-svetopisemskega folklornega izročila ne le pri zrcaljenju zgodovine, temveč tudi za sodobno politično življenje. Omejen okvir obravnave družinske zgodbe o Abrahamu, Sari in Hagari v tem prispevku kaže torej tako na odprte možnosti kot tudi na tveganja v alegorični aplikaciji družinskih zgodb na etnična razmerja s političnimi motivacijami. Na možnosti in meje aplikacije svetopisemskih zgodb v sodobni politični konstelaciji med drugim opozarja Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza v knjigi *Women, Scripture, and Politics* (2021). V svoji analizi razkriva nevarnosti patriarhalnih študij Svetega pisma in osvetljuje, kaj morajo storiti feministične, teološko-politično ozaveščene verske tradicije, da bi se izognile poenostavljenim modelom aplikacije svetopisemskih besedil.[23]

23 V sedanjem času imamo tudi v slovenskem prostoru v zvezi z družbenim in medverskim dialogom pomembne prispevke (prim. Klun, 2017; Strahovnik, 2017; Žalec, 2017).

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SARAH AND HAGAR IN THE LIGHT OF THE JEWISH-ARAB CONFLICT: LITERARY ANALYSIS AND POLITICAL INTERPRETATIONS OF THE NARRATIVES IN GENESIS 16 AND 21

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SUMMARY

The aim of this article is to contribute to the study of the political allegorization of particularly topical Jewish folktales. The author has chosen for a detailed comparative study a post-biblical actualization of the biblical family story of the patriarch Abraham, which reveals the conflict between Abraham's wife Sarah and her servant Hagar and the related fate of the exile of Hagar's son Ishmael (Genesis 16 and 21). This paper uses the method of close reading to present the biblical narrative in Genesis 16 and 21 in order to trace the interpretations in later Jewish, Christian and Islamic traditions. Her comparison shows that folklore texts, in Judaism as well as in Christianity and Islam, have their own emphases, omissions and additions in relation to the original biblical text. Folklore texts therefore update the biblical texts quite freely. The author pays particular attention to the political actualisations of this narrative, which have been provoked by the numerous conflicts between the Jewish people and the Arab tribes, and the politicisation of the allegorical link between the Jews and the descendants of Isaac, and the Islamic peoples and the descendants of Ishmael, has been further heightened by the establishment of the State of Israel in the wake of the tragedy of the Holocaust. In this paper, the author presents different religio-political interpretations of the Abrahamic narrative, from the Christian one, in which Paul allegorically associates Hagar with the Jews, who did not accept Christianity and therefore remained children of the »old covenant,« and Sarah with the Christians, who, by accepting Christ, became heirs of the »new covenant« (Gal 4:21-26); through the Qur'an, which seeks to restore Abraham's firstborn and include him in various lists of righteous individuals; and on to the poetry of contemporary Jewish women poets, whose poems express their views on ethnic tensions between Jews and Arabs. In contrast to the Midrashic tradition, which sees Ishmael as a symbol of the enemy and Hagar as a symbolic mother of the enemy, their poems express sympathy for Hagar, who for them represents a weak, oppressed woman and mother, with a desire to put an end to the war that has been going on between the two ethnic groups for generations. By revealing the development of political actualisations of the Abrahamic narrative in the non-Biblical tradition from the earliest times to the present day, the paper underlines the great importance of the Bible and the post-Biblical folklore tradition not only in mirroring history but also for contemporary political life.

Keywords: Bible, post-biblical folk tradition (haggadot, legends), Abraham, Hagar and Ishmael, Sarah and Isaac, political allegorisation

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THE SOCIALLY COHESIVE FUNCTION OF THE STORY OF THREE BROTHERS/THREE FRIENDS IN NATKO NODILO'S RE/CONSTRUCTION OF THE "OLD FAITH" OF SERBS AND CROATS

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ABSTRACT

In his study Stara vjera Srba i Hrvata [Old Faith of Serbs and Croats] *(originally titled* Religija Srbâ i Hrvatâ, na glavnoj osnovi pjesama, priča i govora narodnog *[Religion of Serbs and Croats, Based on Songs, Stories and Folk Speech] (1885–1890), considering the Yugoslav ideosphere of his time, Natko Nodilo explored the synonymous matrix of the Serbo-Croatian "old faith", although, as a historian, he advocated a model involving a separate and later migration of Croats, but did not agree with the ideologem of isolated Croatism. This paper examines how Nodilo reconstructs the "old faith" (mythology, religion) of the Serbs and Croats by using the myth of the three brothers/three friends in accordance with what Friedrich Max Müller defined as "mythology of nature", which involves the triadic Sun – the nocturnal trilogy of the daytime Sun (setting, nocturnal, and rising Sun). In the context of Indo-European comparative mythology, Nodilo originates the mythem about three brothers from the* Ṛgvedic *image of the Sun.*

Keywords: Natko Nodilo, the mythology of nature, myth of the three brothers/three friends

LA FUNZIONE DI COESIONE SOCIALE DEL RACCONTO DEI TRE FRATELLI/ TRE AMICI NELLA RI/COSTRUZIONE DELLA «VECCHIA FEDE» DEI SERBI E CROATI DA PARTE DI NATKO NODILO

SINTESI

Nel suo studio Stara vjera Srba i Hrvata *[La vecchia fede dei serbi e croati], originariamente intitolato* Religija Srbâ i Hrvatâ, na glavnoj osnovi pjesama, priča i govora narodnog*, ovvero* La religione dei serbi e croati, prevalentemente in base ai canti, racconti e lingua popolare, (1885–1890)*, prendendo in considerazione la «ideosfera» jugoslava del periodo, Natko Nodilo investigava la matrice sinonimica della «vecchia fede» serbo-croata, sebbene, come storico, sostenesse un modello che presupponeva una migrazione separata e posteriore dei croati, ma d'altra parte non concordava con l'ideologema del croatismo isolato. Questo saggio esamina come Nodilo ha ricostruito «la vecchia fede» (mitologia, religione) dei serbi e dei croati utilizzando il mito dei tre fratelli/tre amici in accordo con quello che Friedrich Max Müller definisce come «mitologia della natura», che prevede il sole triadico – la trilogia notturna del sole diurno (tramontante, notturno e sorgente). Nel contesto della mitologia comparata indoeuropea, Nodilo deriva il mitema dei tre fratelli dall'immagine rgvedica del sole.*

Parole chiave: Natko Nodilo, mitologia della natura, mito dei tre fratelli/tre amici

In his study[1] *Stara vjera Srba i Hrvata* [Old Faith of Serbs and Croats] (originally titled *Religija Srbâ i Hrvatâ, na glavnoj osnovi pjesama, priča i govora narodnog* [Religion of Serbs and Croats, Based on Songs, Stories and Folk Speech] (1885–1890)) a Croatian historian, Natko Nodilo, author of the first re/construction of the South Slavic mythology as well as the author of the first general history of the Middle Ages in the South Slavic area, bases his re/construction of South Slavic mythology ("old faith", religion)[2] on folklore/oral literature, combined with the chronicles of Christian missionaries, with Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* (c. 1170) serving as a focal point. Nodilo claims that the first religious heritage of people consists of epic poems, more specifically pure epic poems, and mythical stories/fairy tales in which he recognizes a mythical/pagan matrix (Nodilo, 1981, 43).[3] Considering the Yugoslav ideosphere of Nodilo's time, he explored the synonymous matrix of the Serbo-Croatian "old faith", although, as a historian, he advocated a model involving a separate and later migration of Croats, but did not agree with the ideologem of isolated Croatism (cf. Marjanić, 2018; 2022).

The following study will show how Nodilo reconstructs the "old faith" (mythology, religion) of the Serbs and Croats by using the myth of the three brothers/three friends in accordance with what Friedrich Max Müller defined as "mythology of nature", which involves the triadic Sun – the nocturnal trilogy of the daytime Sun (setting, nocturnal, and rising Sun) (Müller, 1997). Within this interpretative niche of the "mythology of nature" Nodilo as well as attains a cohesive social-political function of folklore in the frame of the Yugoslav ideosphere of his time, which in that time meant one (for him and the only) realistic *optimal projection* (to use Aleksandar Flaker's term) (Flaker, 1976, 205) of the Dalmatian area.

THE SOCIALLY COHESIVE ROLE OF THE MYTH OF THE THREE BROTHERS (TRIADIC SUN)

Folklorist William Bascom established that folklore is an important mechanism for maintaining cultural stability. It is used to instill customs and ethical standards into young people, and to reward adults by praising them when they adhere to norms, to punish them through mockery or reprimand when they deviate from them, to provide rationalizations when they question social institutions and conventions, to encourage them to be content with things as they are, and to offer compensatory escape from "the hardships, inequalities, injustices" of everyday life (cf. Bascom, 1954, 349). This is the fundamental paradox of folklore – it plays a crucial role in propagating and upholding cultural institutions, compelling individuals to adhere to them, while simultaneously providing a socially acceptable outlet for the coercion imposed by these same institutions. However, Bascom first raises the question of whether there are any folklore examples that can instruct individuals to destroy or at least disregard the institutions and conventions of their society (Bascom, 1954, 333–349).

By choosing Svantevid as the supreme Slavic deity worshiped in Arkona on Rügen, and Živa as the supreme Slavic goddess worshiped by Polabians, Nodilo unites two "different" *pantheons* of Baltic Slavs within a duotheistic framework – the pantheon of Rügens and the Polabian pantheon. Depending on the primary source (*Kievan Chronicle*, Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*) used in the reconstruction of the *South Slavic* pantheon, Nodilo, as mentioned, uses Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* as his starting point, realizing a *prosthesis* of the archonic Svantevid as the South Slavic supreme deity, and the Polabian goddess Siwa as a South Slavic goddess (Živa/Vida), and uses the record of Crnobog to establish a kind of moderate dualism in the Slavic religious system. By defining Svantevid as the supreme Slavic deity (*deus deorum*), Nodilo also induced his own *hybrid* mythological theory – *Vid (Svantevid) / sight* mythologism.[4]

Nodilo's definition of Vid/Svantevid as the supreme Slavic deity, and thus the supreme deity of the South Slavs, can be inscribed in ideology/political folklore, given the Battle of Kosovo (June 15, 1389 according to the Julian calendar, i.e. June 28), as well as Kosovo field serving as the topos of the

1 This contribution is a part of the project *Cultural Animal Studies: Interdisciplinary Starting-Points and Traditional Practice – ANIMAL (IP-2019-04-5621)* financed by the *Croatian Science Foundation*. Translated by Juraj Šutej.

2 The title syntagm "old faith" manifests itself as a compromise solution between *mythology* (as a kind of mode of fiction) and religion.

3 In the 10th book, volume X, *Ispravci i dopune* – Rad JAZU CI [*Corrections and Additions* – Work of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts] CI, 1890, pages 68–126, Nodilo changes the original title of the study from *Religija Srbâ i Hrvatâ, na glavnoj osnovi pjesama, priča i govora narodnog* [Religion of Serbs and Croats, Based on Songs, Stories and Folk Speech] to *Stara vjera Srbâ i Hrvatâ, na glavnoj osnovi pjesama, priča i govora narodnog*, published between 1885 and 1890 in in ten books "Rad JAZU" [The journal *Rad* of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts] (1885–1890).

4 Polona Tratnik highlights that mythical discourse is constructed to meet the needs of society. "It is real in the sense of its embeddedness in society and its threefold temporal embeddedness: the connection with the past, the tradition from which it draws and the contents to which it relates, the present in which it functions constitutively, and the future, where it has actual effects on the life of the community" (Tratnik, 2022, 1218).

Serbian ethno-national myth (Čolović, 1997, 15), and in Nodilo's time as the topos of the imaginary *Yugomyth*, the fall of the Serbian empire. The Orthodox Church does not mention *Vid*, *Vidoje*, *Vitus*, on this date "nor is there any service dedicated to that saint, nor does the saint have his troparion". The Serbian Orthodox Church celebrates the prophet Amos and St. Prince Lazar on this day (Grubačića & Tomić, 1988, 146).[5]

THE THREE HYPOSTASES OF THE SUN (TRIADIC SUN)

In the context of Indo-European comparative mythology Nodilo interprets the three brothers/three friends myth through several stories: "Aždaja i carev sin" (*The Aždaja and the Emperor's Son*, Karadžić, 1870, story no. 8),[6] "Kome bog pomaže, niko mu nauditi ne može" (*He Whom God Helps Cannot Be Harmed*, Karadžić, 1870, story no. 11), "Liepa i preliepa djevojka" (*The Pretty and the Beautiful Girl*, Tordinac, 1883, story no. 4), "Tri prstena" (*Three Rings*, Karadžić, 1870, appendix story no. 9), and "Crveni Vetar" (*The Red Wind*; Crveni Vetar, 1868, 447–450; Nodilo, 1981, 170–174). The masculine constellation of three brothers (the two older brothers are portrayed as *cowards*, *schemers*, and *weaklings*, and, of course, endowed with the aforementioned ethical attributes, they *despise* and *loathe* the youngest brother who is imbued with positive ethical attributes), is complemented, by David Bogdanović, with a feminine constellation of three sisters following the same ethical pattern (Bogdanović, 1914, 29).

Here, in this part of the article, we are going to present Nodilo's interpretation on the three hypostases of the Sun (triple Sun) which/who shaped the myth of the *three brothers in a single figure*, two of whom are unfortunate, while the youngest, who tends to his elderly parents (*dešo* and *baba*), is marked by his good luck (Nodilo, 1981, 169, 174). In the context of Indo-European comparative mythology, Nodilo originates the mythem about three brothers from the *Ṛgvedic* image of the Sun.

In the *Ṛgveda*, the Sun is portrayed as *Bhaga – the generous giver*, Sûryas, "the fairest of all lights" (Nodilo, 1981, 168; RV X, 170, 3), Savitar, the "gold-handed" *vivifier*. However, it is still *subject* to divine beings; as "the eye of Varuna and Mitra, who lift it into the heavens" (Nodilo, 1981, 168).[7] The Sun must pass (journey of the Sun) through *three dark chambers* in *three* heavens, just as the Ashvins (divine twins) (Nodilo, 1981, 169). In its various hypostases, the Sun acquires *triadic* names *Ekata* (First), *Dvita* (Second), and *Trita* (Third) as it traverses through nyctomorphic realms. For instance, the myth of the three s/Suns is also present in South Slavic wedding songs, using the metaphor that *three suns shine behind the city* (cf. Karadžić, 1849, 80).[8]

The three nocturnal brothers were named Ribhus in the *Ṛgveda*.[9] They achieve their immortality in the *chamber* of the god Savitar, and offerings to them are presented in the evening. Arthur Anthony Macdonell (1974, 131) states that the Ribhus form a triad and they are only once described as the *elder*, *younger*, and *youngest* in the *Ṛgveda*, while their *luminous* appearance is akin to that of the Sun. The word *Ribhus* is derived from the root *rabh*, meaning *to (covetously) seize, grab,* or *take hold*, with a figurative connotation of *skillful*, *agile*, and *dexterous*. Some mythologists believe they are the *spirits* of the three times – for twelve *embolic* days at the time of winter solstice (Macdonell, 1974, 133).

5 Nevertheless, in his *Historija srednjega vijeka za narod hrvatski i srpski. Knjiga III. Varvarstvo otima mah nad Bizantijom, do smrti cara Heraklija (566–641)* [History of the Middle Ages for the Croatian and Serbian people. Book III. Barbarism Ravages Byzantium, Until the Death of Emperor Heraclius (566–641)] (Nodilo, 1905), Nodilo notes that pagan Croats and Serbs worshiped the bright warlike Vid and the thunderous Perun.

6 The title of this paper includes the first sentence of the fairy tale. In Nodilo's reconstruction there is a differentiation between *aždaja* and *dragon* (zmaj).

7 In *Rksamhita*, the Sun, Surya, is often celebrated with the epithet Savitr (Bodrica), which means the Initiator, Vivifier, Impeller, Rouser; however, this attribute also appears as an independent name for the god, the Lord (*asura*) (cf. Ježić, 1987, 35).

8 Nodilo notes myths from the worlds of the *Bosnian* tale "Mijo's Marriage" (*Bosanske narodne pripovijetke* [Bosnian Folk Tales] No. 25) about the miracle worker, whitener who came to a *dark land* and used pig fat to whiten *black people*. Using the example of this tale, he also refers to the myth of descent/transgression into the underworld and the myth of the three dark chambers from the *Ṛgveda* (cf. Nodilo, 1981, 96). The myth of the three Suns, as well as Nodilo's interpretation of the zoosymbolism of the wolf in the context of the mythology of nature (F. M. Müller) as a nyctomorphic dimension of nature, can be examined in the context of contemporary interpretations of the phenomenon of the false Sun, parhelion, or sundogs in the Earth's atmosphere, which is an optical phenomenon where two bright spots appear at 22 on either side of the Sun, at the same height, above the horizon.

9 In connection with the Vedic hymn about Trita in the well (RV I, 105), Tatyana Yakovlevna Elizarenkova and Vladimir N. Toporov suggest that a form of this syuzhet is found in other texts (Elizarenkova & Toporov, 1982, 117–118), which concerns three brothers, born from the ashes of the sacrifice which Agni threw into the water (fire-water), and are called Ekata, Dvita and Trita (first, second and third). Together, they are called by the family name Āptyās (Aquatic). The story involves an insidious plan carried out by the two older brothers, as they throw the youngest (Trita) in a well, who is later saved with someone's help. They connect this syuzhet with Russian fairy tales type Aa Th 301, about three brothers, with the youngest, named Ivan the Third, Trećak (Trita) or Ivan Vidovič (Āptya), is thrown/left by his brothers in a pit, well, hole, in the other world when they went to search for the disappeared Empire.

Nodilo notes that the Indo-European myth of the three brothers has *undergone changes* the least, wherein a girl, Zora (Dawn), appears alongside the three brothers, marrying the youngest (incestuous divine hierogamy), as illustrated in stories like *The Aždaja and the Emperor's Son* (Karadžić, 1870, story no. 8). He discerns that Dawn, when associated with the three brothers of Slavic genealogy, can be *single, doubled*, and *tripled* (Nodilo, 1981, 176). He recognizes the myth of the triadic Sun in the stories of *three brothers, friends, the journey of the three Sun brothers*, with the youngest brother – considered crazy, which means young in the original sense (cf. Nodilo, 1981, 170) – marrying Dawn. The third Sun, when it *kisses* Dawn in the morning, *slays the night Aždaja* (Nodilo, 1981, 171), and Nodilo finds the matrix of this myth in the mythical narrative of Apollo's action when he kills Python (and Typhon (cf. Nodilo, 1981, 328)) and in the theonymic biography of Perseus, who frees Andromeda from an aquatic serpent (Nodilo, 1981, 171). He emphasizes that *nine young nocturnal Suns* (nine months in the year of god, which Nodilo interprets as solar dodecagogy and heptalogy in his study) (cf. Marjanić, 2022) act during the reign of the Sun *Gods*, while the *Wraths* dominate during the *three winter months* (Nodilo, 1981, 172, 191).

Nodilo also recognizes the three Sun figures in a story from the Kajkavian legend about Čeh, Leh, and Meh (Rus)[10] as the progenitors of the Slavic people (Czech, Poland, Russia), concluding that the eponymous heroes can be found in the beginnings of all Indo-European mythologies (Tenšek, 2005, 91). In a public lecture titled "De origine successibusque Slavorum" (Lecture on the Origins and Success of the Slavs, held in Hvar in 1525 and published in Venice in 1532), Vinko Pribojević, the first Croatian historian, presents the legend/tale of Čeh, Leh, and Rus, which he takes from Piccolomini's *History of the Czechs* (Šanjek, 1999, 33).

Regarding Ljudevit Gaj's text on the historical narrative of the "Slavic forefathers" Čeh, Leh, and Meh, originating from Krapina, Šime Jurić notes that it has been proven that "this story is no folk memory transmitted orally from ancient times, but rather, it has literary origins". It was created by medieval Polish and Czech chroniclers and historians, and it reached Croatia only in the 16th century (cf. Bošković-Stulli & Lastrić, 1963, 142). Nonetheless, Maja Bošković-Stulli adds that even though it is a learned tradition, "it does not mean that it could not have been orally recounted and enriched with folkloric additions during Gaj's time" (Bošković-Stulli, 1997, 88).

Building upon Nodilo's observation of the trinary structure, I bring up Dumézil's (1968) tripartite ideology found among all Indo-Europeans. Hellen's three children – Dorus, Xuthus, and Aeolus – shaped the Hellenic tribes – Dorians, Iono-Achaeans, and Aeolians. Mannus' three sons lead to the *Germanic* tribes of Ingvaeones, Herminones, and Istvaeones (Tacit, 1993, 3; cf. Strutynski, 1984, 50), and from Boer's three children came the Scandinavians (Nodilo, 1981, 176).[11] The legend of the origin of the Latins does not include a myth about three brothers, but they are still represented in the beginnings of Roman history. Nodilo recognizes the myth of the three brothers *born together* (*trigemini*) in the story of the three young Horatii, where two perished (similar to how two older brothers perish in the stories discussed), as cited in Livy's (Titus Livius) writings (*Ab Urbe Condita*). The victory over the three Curiatii made the youngest son famous, but he paid for it with his own head being covered ("prevješeno"), just as the head of the god Triglav is *covered* (Nodilo, 1981, 176, cf. Dynda, 2014). With this, Nodilo introduces Kokles – Horacije Koklo, Koklit (lat. Horatius Cocles – *Cocles*, meaning ''one-eyed''; he lost an eye in the Battle of the Sublician Bridge) into Slavic-Latin comparative mythology, alongside his blindness, which he placed in the theonymic parallelism (divine sight) with Odin's and Svantevid's blindness (figurative representation of the old and blind from *our stories*).[12] Mircea Eliade also points out that the myth of the solar hero's battle against a three-headed monster is preserved in Horatius' battle against the three *Curiatii* [Nodilo writes *Kuriacija*] (Eliade, 1991, 165).

In his three-volume monograph *Mythe et épopée* (1968–1973), Georges Dumézil demonstrated how the Indo-European trichotomic system of mythical functions (magical and legal authority, warrior strength, and fertility) and the corresponding hierarchical or conflicting relationships among gods are reproduced at the heroic level, for instance, in the *Mahābhārata*: "In the *Mahābhārata*, the Pandavas are not actually the sons of infertile Pandu, but of gods (Dharma, Vayu, Indra, and the twins Ashvins)" (Meletinski, 1985, 280). In Dumézil's interpretation, the *Mahābhārata* presents "characters of a theological structure" (Dumézil, 1979, 117).

Interestingly, Nodilo doesn't mention the alternate Croatian origin myth of five brothers and two sisters, even though myths about seven divine

10 Another name for Meh in this legend is "Rus".

11 *The General Encyclopedia* (*Šentija, 1977,* 147) mentions an etiological legend about Germans: "[…] they originate from the deity Tuisto, who had three grandchildren which give the origin of main three Germanic tribes: Ingvaeones, Istvaeones, and Herminones". According to Tacitus's *Germania* (Tacit, 1993, AD 98), Tuisto (or Tuisco) is the legendary divine ancestor of the Germanic peoples.

12 Mircea Eliade notes that if there are similarities between the *Ṛgveda*, the legends recorded by Livy, Irish traditions, and the *Edda*, then there is no doubt about their Indo-European origin (Eliade, 1991, 165).

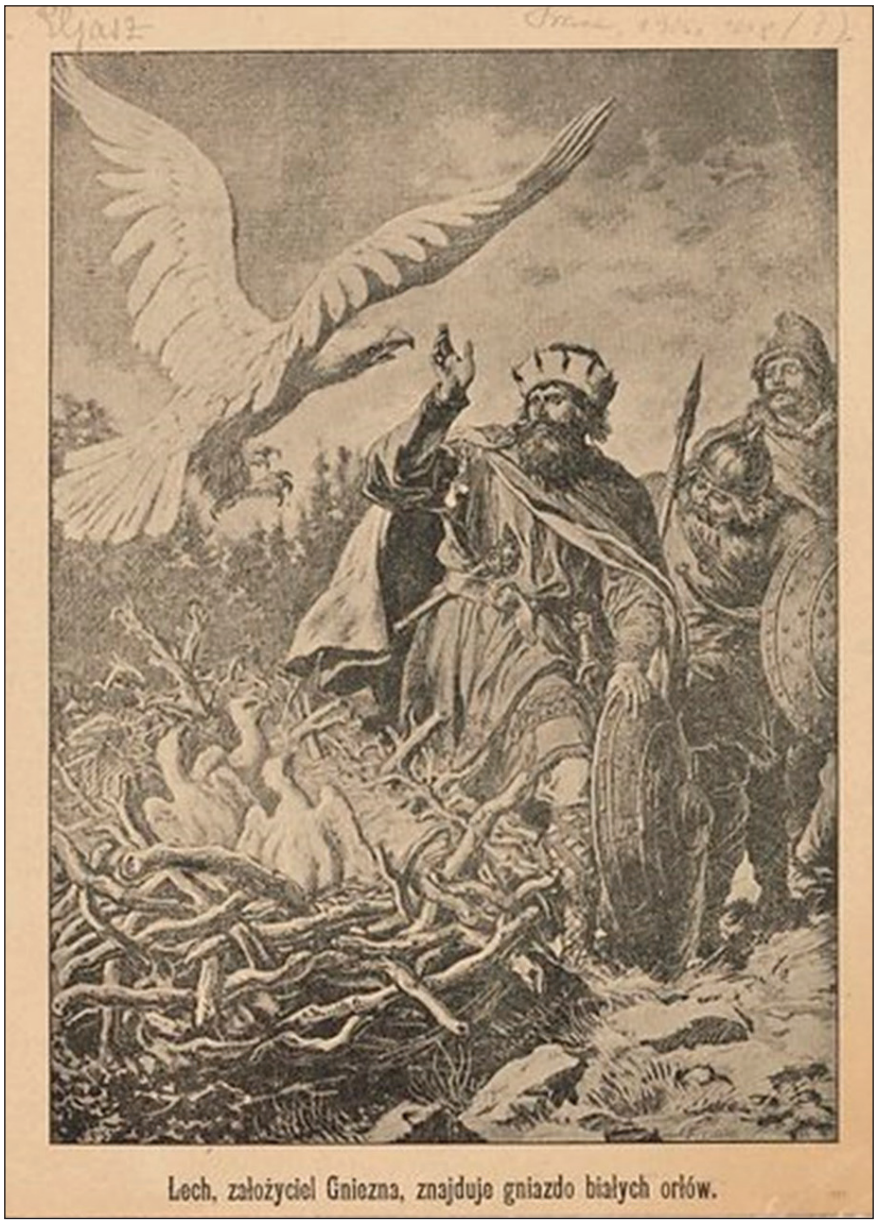

Figure 1: Polish painter Walery Eljasz-Radzikowski (1841–1905): Lech, founder of Gniezno, finds a nest of white eagles. Tygodnik polityczny i literacki ilustrowany (Poznań; czasopismo; 1896–1924). Date: 1905. As for the zoo-symbol of the White Eagle, the White Eagle, once an emblem the of the absolute power of Kings, over the centuries, changed into a powerful patriotic symbol uniting the citizens of all social classes.

siblings are widespread across Eastern Europe and Asia, much like the Hungarian legend of their arrival in Pannonia (cf. Belaj, 1998a; 1998b, 337). I'm particularly interested in how Nodilo would incorporate the second version of the text about the arrival of Croats in Dalmatia in his myth of three brothers (three nyctomorphic Suns). This second version was noted by Constantine Porphyrogenitus in chapter 30 of his work *De Administrando Imperio* (Porfirogenet, 1994), which bears traces of oral tradition and belongs to the literary genre known as *origo gentis* (narration of the origin of a people) (cf. Katičić, 1993, 256). Constantine Porphyrogenitus notes that "the Croats at that time were dwelling beyond Bagibareia, where the Belocroats are now. From them split off a family, namely of five brothers,

Kloukas and Lobelos and Kosentzis and Mouchlo and Chrobatos, and two sisters, Touga and Bouga, who came with their folk to Dalmatia and found this land under the rule of the Avars" (Porfirogenet, 1994, 79–80).[13] Ivo Goldstein writes that the names of the brothers and sisters are certainly not of Slavic origin (Goldstein, 1995, 25). I reiterate that in his *Historija srednjega vijeka za narod hrvatski i srpski. Knjiga III. Varvarstvo otima mah nad Bizantijom, do smrti cara Heraklija (566–641)* [History of the Middle Ages for the Croatian and Serbian people. Book III. Barbarism Ravages Byzantium, Until the Death of Emperor Heraclius (566–641)], Nodilo introduces the possibility of interpreting *Tuga* and *Buga* as two Dawns (in the interpretative context of the mythology of nature), one unfortunate and subjected to the malevolent dark power of dusk and year-end, while the other is joyful in the renewal of daily and yearly light.

Nodilo's mythic interpretations are not interested in the *social functions* of deities; or, more accurately, he translates social functions into *cosmic* ones (in contrast to Dumézil's methodology). For instance, based on the triadic divinity in Uppsala, Dumézil finds a trifunctional religious ideology: Odin as the supreme ruler (function of magical and legal supreme authority), Thor as the victor (function of gods and warrior strength), and Freyr as the protector of fertility (function of fertility deity and economic progress) (Dumézil, 1987, 160).

TROJAN AND TRIGLAV AS A REPRESENTATION OF THE NYCTOMORPHIC SUN TRILOGY IN NODILO'S RE/CONSTRUCTION

After the interpretation of the triple Sun in the *Ṛgveda*, in the context of Indo-European comparative mythology, Nodilo applied the mentioned material to the "old faith" of the Serbs and Croats, using the example of the Trojan and Triglav (Three-headed one). Nodilo sees Trojan (Trajan) and Triglav as the representation of the nyctomorphic Sun, where Triglav, who was a deity among the Western Slavs, would (according to Nodilo's re/constructions) represent Trajan (Trojan) – a *fictional* character from oral *tales*. Roman emperors (Trajan, Diocletian = Dukljan) (cf. Figure 2) enter South Slavic epic as mythical creatures "in the role of demonic forces and representatives of evil who dwell in the ruins of old buildings and hide from sunlight or steal the sun" (Džaka, 1976, 13–14).

Nodilo interprets Trojan and Triglav as a representation of a triadic nyctomorphic Sun in the context of the South Slavic "old faith", which passes through three dark chambers, because the nocturnal Sun (nocturnal Sun trilogy – setting, nocturnal, and rising Sun (cf. Nodilo, 1981, 234)) as well as the nocturnal Dawn are triadic in appearance: ''It is easy to reason that the name Trojan might have been brought to our region by Emperor Trajan, who, through his Roman grandeur and well-known conquest of Dacia, overshadowed and frightened our forefathers; but it also seems possible that Trojan is our very own name for the triadic nocturnal Sun'' (Nodilo, 1981, 159).

Nodilo interprets the myth of the triadic Sun in the context of its nyctomorphic hypostasis. After that, Dawn and Sun, with the help of an Baš-Čelik (The Head of Steel[14], Oganj – Fire), replace the *initial* Vid (Karadžić, 1870, appendix story 3, *Gozden/ Gvozden čovjek*). Nodilo interprets the myth of the Baš-Čelik as a *fiery* (ognjen) hero imprisoned in a barrel or in the ninth (nyctomorphic) chamber, drawing parallels with Agni (Nodilo, 1981, 452), as he also finds the myth of the barrel in *Vedic* stories (Sanskrit *kavandha* – barrel, cloud, and demon in a cloud)[15] which could indicate rain clouds (cf. Macdonell, 1974, 60)) and in Greece. Indra slays the demon Kavandha, and Greek mythology features Kaant, with Nodilo noting how *our barrel* hero imitates (mythic *imitatio*) Indian Kavandha and Greek Kaant.

Nodilo writes that the solar myth with a *nocturnal aspect* "envelops 'king Trojan' and 'Trojan's city', in the stories of our people" (Nodilo, 1981, 174–175). Thus he not only highlights its historical significance (King, Emperor *Trajan*), but also its mythical meaning (King *Trojan*, belief narrative about Trojan City/ Trojanov Grad), which was also pursued by, for instance, Marcel Kušar (1907, 157; cf. Bošković-Stulli, 1967, 112). Similarly to de Gubernatis' interpretation, Kušar finds a myth about the Sun Brothers in the mentioned tradition: the Emperor Trojan and the Greek Midas are seen as a nyctomoprhic Sun, while the barber's servant and Midas' servant represent the morning Sun (Bošković-Stulli, 1967, 98; Kekez, 1987, 176–177).[16] Maja Bošković-Stulli in her monograph

13 The Kajkavian legend, belief narrative about Czech, Leh and Meh speaks about Croatia as the ancestral homeland from which the Slavs spread to the north and east, while the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenet mentions that Croats came from the north, from White (Great) Croatia (Tenšek, 2005, 17, 27).

14 Baš-Čelik, from Turkish *baş* for "head" and *çelik* for "steel". The name of the tale was translated as *Bash Tchelik, or Real Steel*.

15 Kavandha (in Sanskrit कवन्ध) – [masculine] [neuter] barrel, cask (metaph. of a cloud or the belly); a headless trunk. [masculine] [Epithet] of the demon Danu (Wisdomlib, 2023).

16 "Emperor Trojan (and the Greek Midas) would be the nocturnal Sun, while the barber's squire (and Midas' servant) the morning Sun. The gold and flute from the tale indeed point us to the Sun, and perhaps even the name Trojan, which might have originated from 'troj,' signifying the triadic Sun being (the god Triglav of the Baltic Slavs)" (Kušar, 1907, 157). Interestingly, Nodilo does not mention the legends about King Norun.

Table 1: Nodilo's re/construction of the dyadic Sun in diurnal and nyctomorphic hypostasis can be presented more clearly in a table.

diurnal Sun	nyctomorphic Sun (Three nocturnal hypostases)
Slavic "old faith": Dabog/Dažbog/Svarožić	South-Slavic "old faith": Triglav, Trojan (Nodilo, 1981, 234)
Ṛgveda: The Sun is portrayed as Bhaga – the generous giver, Sûryas/Surya, "the fairest of all lights" (Nodilo, 1981, 168; RV X, 170, 3),[17] Savitar, the "gold-handed" vivifier.	Ṛgveda: Ribhus (the three brothers Ekata, Dvita, Trita)
Iranian mythology: Mithra (Nodilo, 1981, 220, 655 – Mithra as a personification of the morning Sun's youth)	-
Greek mythology: Apollo/Feb (Nodilo, 1981, 150), Heracles (Nodilo, 1981, 243), Bellerophon – Perseus (Nodilo, 1981, 171–172), Hippolytus (Nodilo, 1981, 197; the one with unharnessed horses; Nodilo, 1981, 200)[18]	Greek mythology: Triton (Nodilo, 1981, 317), Orpheus (Nodilo, 1981, 195)

Narodna predaja o vladarevoj tajni (Oral Legend about the Ruler's Secret) shows how the oral story *In the Trojan Emperor Goat's Ears*, from the collection of Vuk Karadžić, has a similar sujet in the legend, belief narrative about Midas' ears in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, then as a legend, belief narrative about Pasoglav (Doghead; mythic cynocephaly), about King Norun and about the ban of Brubanj. Within this framework, M. Bošković-Stulli establishes the merging of the historical legend with the mythicized image of Emperor Trojan (Bošković-Stulli, 1967, 7, 112).

Nodilo's examination starts with several stories (cf. variants recorded by Maja Bošković-Stulli in the monograph *Narodna predaja o vladarevoj tajni* [Folk Tradition on the Ruler's Secret], 1967, where the author presents 291 variants of rulers hiding their reprehensible attributes; of which 147 stories/traditions come from Croatian and Serbian variants) – from the story cited by Karadžić in his *Dictionary* (Trojan), which refers to Trojan, who was not allowed to go out into the sun and from the Slavic-Phrygian story of a goat-like Trojan or donkey-like Midas, and his secret is revealed by a *strange* instrument, which he connects with the third brother who plays music. This corroborates the hypothesis that Trojan is associated with the third brother, who plays a musical instrument. The *gold*, which adorns the goat-like Trojan and the donkey-like Midas, Nodilo interprets as a light-fiery metaphor for the Sun (Nodilo, 1981, 175). For the Phrygian-Greek *tale*, he notes that the Sun and fertility god is symbolized by a donkey, and in the Serbian tale, by a goat. The flute that reveals the secret is made from reed in the Phrygian-Greek story, and from elderberry in *ours*, both of which he attributes to fertility.[19] Trojan with goat-like and Midas with donkey-like ears symbolize early and fertile solar deities. Nodilo also cites the story of Attila with a dog's head and goat ears, as well as the tradition of "Pasoglavac" (Doghead; mythic cynocephaly) related to Radetić's book *Pregled hrvatske tradicionalne književnosti* (*Overview of Croatian Traditional Literature* (Radetić, 1879, 68–70)). He also mentions that he encountered the story *The Emperor Diocletian Has Goat Ears* in Kaštela near Split, which he takes as evidence that the mentioned myth is widespread among Serbs and Croats (Nodilo, 1981, 175).

Robert Lehmann-Nitsche (1936) saw the story of donkey's ears as a contribution to the study of costumes:

> *The skin from a donkey's or horse's head was a very common head covering; Herodotus (VII, 70, 76) mentions it when describing the clothing and weapons of the Persian army, the Greek tragic playwright Heril (Heril cited by Flavius Josephus in a speech against Apion I, 173) speaks of caps made from horse skins, and we find donkey ears as ornaments on helmets even in the Middle Ages.* (Schreiber, 1962, 91)

However, brothers Hermann and Georg Schreiber offer a different interpretation: ''In our opinion, these ears or horns are the final echoes of the cult

17 Sūrya (Sun as a celestial body) and Sūryā (Sunčica) (cf. Ježić, 1987). In his "Additions and amendments", Nodilo introduces the theonym *Suria* – Sunčica as a correction (Nodilo, 1981, 651).

18 Nodilo does not compare him to Helios, who is named as such in certain translations of the *Chronicles of John Malalas*.

19 "Our people attribute a miraculous power to the elderberry. They believe that it can reveal secrets and protect success against hostile forces" (Sofrić Niševljanin, 1912, 103). Pavle Sofrić Niševljanin also mentions the *story* of the Phrygian King Midas, where "instead of elderberry, a reed grows, and its rustling reveals the secret". Moreover, he assumes the possibility that the latter story might be "the origin of our saying: 'The earth swore to paradise that all secrets would be known'" (Sofrić Niševljanin, 1912, 104).

of gods in animal form; demons with animal heads (specifically horse heads!) are often found in sculptures from the ancient Orient, which is particularly significant in relation to King Midas'' (Schreiber, 1962, 91–92).

Ovid mentions that King Midas was initiated into the mysteries of Dionysus, and his ears seem to allude to his connection with nature's spirits.

> *This is not our discovery; it was recorded over 1700 years ago by Flavius Philostratus in the sixth book (chapter 27) of his biography of the miracle-worker Apollonius of Tyana. This similarity is also the reason behind Midas's choice in the contest between Pan and Apollo: Perhaps Midas chose the Anatolian instrument, the flute, not out of some national motives, but because it was integral to the Dionysian mysteries*. (Schreiber, 1962, 92)

In comparison to Svantevid, who was portrayed as the supreme deity (*summus deus*) among the Baltic Slavs in Arkona, Triglav was the supreme deity among the Slavs in Pomerania (Pomorje) (Western Slavs), where three-headed statues of him existed in cities like Szczecin, Wolin, and Brandenburg (Branibor) (Kulišić, 1979, 190),[20] and the symbolism of the *tricephalic* appearance is interpreted with the governance of the triadic (triune) world (heavenly, earthly, and underworldly).[21] However, Łowmiański notes that the assumption about Triglav's cult in Wolin is a "simple misunderstanding" (Łowmiański, 1996, 130). Nodilo believes that Triglav was worshipped in the Pomeranian region of the Northwestern Slavs immediately after Svantevid (Nodilo, 1981, 175), from which it is evident that Nodilo blended the Pomeranian Slavs with the Slavs in Arkona. He interprets Triglav's *tricephality* (Three-headed one) in connection with the myth of three chambers in the *Ṛgveda* through which the triadic Sun *wanders* during the night, attempting to include Trojan as a remnant of the Pomeranian Triglav (Nodilo, 1981, 175–176), in whose description Nodilo notes three heads or three faces, thereby establishing a parallel between polycephaly and polyfaciality.[22] By "*covered* eyes/heads" (his eyes were "covered" (cf. Nodilo, 1981, 175)), Nodilo likely refers to the golden tiara that covered Triglav's silver face(s), which "could" support his interpretation that this entails a representation of the triadic nyctomorphic Sun. Unlike the polycephalic Svantevid as a representation of the heavenly realm, Triglav remains connected to the nyctomorphic topos as he acts as a *triadic nyctomorphic Sun*. Thus, he is still associated with the underworld, which is not a Christianized demonic world, but implies the creative forces of vegetation. Čajkanović emphasizes that, initially, Trojan functioned as a theriomorphic deity with visible signs of theriomorphic attributes *on his head*, indicating that the head, "limbs, and certain organs are often multiplied *three* times, *triplicated*, in religion and mythology". He concludes that triple-headedness is found in deities of the underworld, "those deities *that correspond to the old Serbian Dispater*," and he finds that Trojan corresponds to the "old Serbian god of the dead" (Čajkanović, 1941, 58–60). Čajkanović equates the Pomeranian Triglav, who was a nyctomorphic equestrian figure (on a black horse), with Svantevid, who similarly appeared as a nyctomorphic equestrian figure, citing Ebbo's (Archbishop of Rheims) *Vita Ottonis* which describes Triglav with the phrase *summus paganorum deus* (Čajkanović, 1941, 61).

TOWARDS THE CONCLUSION ON THE SYNONYM MATRIX OF *SERBIAN-CROATIAN* "OLD FAITH" IN NODILO'S RE/CONSTRUCTION

Nodilo's mythic interpretations in the framework of the *mythology of nature* are not interested in the *social functions* of deities; or, more accurately, he translates social functions into *cosmic* ones (in contrast to Dumézil's methodology). For instance, based on the triadic divinity in Uppsala, Dumézil finds a trifunctional religious ideology: Odin as the supreme ruler (function of magical and legal supreme authority), Thor as the victor (function of gods and warrior strength), and Freyr as the protector of fertility (function of fertility deity and economic progress) (Dumézil, 1987, 160). However, Nodilo writes the mythology of nature, its application to South Slavic folklore material, into the cohesive role of the "old faith" of Serbs and Croats. Concerning the *Yugoslav ideosphere* of the time which he belonged to, he also explores the synonym matrix of *Serbian-Croatian* "old faith", although as historian he advocated the model of independent and later moving in of Croats but refusing to accept the

20 Kulišić notes that Triglav's face and eyes were covered with a golden tiara, and that this particular detail contradicts mythological solar theories. Similarly, he mentions that Triglav's heads in Szczecin were silver, and according to iconographic-coloristic symbolism, the color silver did not carry a solar meaning. Nodilo did not delve into detailed descriptions of Triglav's worship, as he did with the detailed description of Svantevid's statue and the worship practiced in Arkona (Kulišić, 1979, 190–192).

21 Regarding polycephaly and polyfaciality (cf. Marjanić, 2022, chapters 2 and 7). Monachus Priefligensis (Meyer, 1931, 41) describes Triglav's black horse in detail, as well as the related manticism (Nikolić, 1959, 277).

22 Polycephalic gods were unknown to the Slavs in Polabia; this likely represents religious borrowing "through trade routes with the East, even though they were controlled by the Arabs, who were monotheists" (Łowmiański, 1996, 143).

Figure 2: Tabula Traiana/Trajan's Tabula (Wikimedia Commons). On the Serbian side of Danube river and not far away from the sculpture of the ancient Dacian king Decebalus there is Tabula Traiana, a Roman (Latin) inscription celebrating the opening of the Roman road leading here in 100 CE. (Carlà-Uhink, 2019, 94). Emperor Trajan entered the oral traditions of the peoples of the Balkans in the belief narrative In the Trojan Emperor Goat's Ears (U cara Trojana kozje uši). As well as it was said that Emperor Trajan (Trojan) had a lot of gold and that he hid it in a place surrounded by seven rivers: Drežanka, Radobolja, Lištica, Neretva, Rakitnica, Doljanka and Ljuta. That place could be Goranci (Karačić, 2013). Many people were looking for that gold, some went crazy because of it and sold all their possessions to look for that gold, which has not been found to this day. Nodilo believed, in the context of mythology of nature, that "it also seems possible that Trojan is our very own name for the triadic nocturnal Sun" (Nodilo, 1981, 159).

ideologeme of isolated Croatism. In this context, Nodilo also took the Kajkavian legend about Čeh, Leh and Meh, which has been preserved in many versions.

Pointing out that both conscious and unconscious mythmaking is also the subject of folkloristic research, Ivan Lozica cites an interesting fact that the (nineteenth-century) Academy (JAZU, Zagreb) offered a prize to a scientist who would systematically describe the pre-Christian religion of *our* ancestors: ''Nodilo tried, but failed. Maybe that money would could pay a more thorough critic of all the misconceptions that accumulated (and are still accumulating) in the mythological field in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'' (Lozica, 1997, 33).

DRUŽBENO KOHEZIVNA FUNKCIJA ZGODBE O TREH BRATIH/TREH PRIJATELJIH V NATKU NODILU PRI REKONSTRUKCIJI »STAROVERSTVA« SRBOV IN HRVATOV

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POVZETEK

V svoji študiji Stara vera Srbov in Hrvatov *(izvirno naslovljena* Religija Srbâ in Hrvatâ, glavnoj osnovi pjesama, priča i govora narodnog*) iz obdobja 1885–1890, hrvaški zgodovinar Natko Nodilo, avtor prve rekonstrukcije južnoslovanske mitologije in prve splošne zgodovine srednjega veka na južnoslovanskem območju, na podlagi ljudskega ustnega izročila osnuje svojo rekonstrukcijo južnoslovanske mitologije (»staroverstva«, religije), ki ga združi s kronikami krščanskih misijonarjev. Osrednja točka je Helmoldova Kronika Slovanov (okoli 1170). Ob upoštevanju jugoslovanske ideosfere Nodilovega časa je raziskoval sinonimno matriko srbsko-hrvaškega »staroverstva«. Kot zgodovinar je zagovarjal model, ki zajema ločeno in kasnejšo migracijo Hrvatov, vendar se ni strinjal z ideologemom izoliranega hrvaštva. Članek preučuje, kako Nodilo ponovno gradi »staroverstvo« (mitologijo, religijo) Srbov in Hrvatov, preko mita o treh bratih/treh prijateljih, kar je v skladu s tem, kar je Friedrich Max Müller opredelil kot »mitologija narave«. Ta vključuje triadično sonce – nočno trilogijo dnevnega sonca (zahajajoče, nočno in vzhajajoče sonce). Po interpretaciji trojnega sonca v* Ṛgvedi*, v kontekstu indoevropske primerjalne mitologije, je Nodilo omenjeno gradivo uporabil za »staroverstvo« Srbov in Hrvatov, na primeru Trojana (Trajanu) in Triglava (Troglovega). Nodilo vidi v Trojanu in Triglavu upodobitev niktomorfnega sonca. Triglav, ki je bil božanstvo med zahodnimi Slovani, naj bi po Nodilovi rekonstrukciji predstavljal Trajana – izmišljen lik iz ustnih pripovedi.*

Ključe besede: Natko Nodilo, mitologija narave, mit o treh bratih/treh prijateljih

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WAR-TIME MEMORIES AND FAIRY TALES: THE CASE STUDY OF ANGELO, AN ITALIAN WORLD WAR TWO PRISONER OF WAR IN YUGOSLAVIA

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ABSTRACT

This contribution explores the story of Angelo, an Italian Second World War veteran who, after experiencing war and escaping captivity in Yugoslavia, finally reached Trieste in 1946, where he met his future wife. It took him nearly 15 years to heal from his harrowing wartime trauma. Between 2021 and 2023, while collecting oral testimonies, I interviewed his son Sergio and grandson Ruben. The central subject of those interviews was the war-time period and the fairy tales that Angelo used to tell his son (and later his grandson) in the evenings, inspired by his war experiences. By recounting his war experiences in a metaphorical and child-friendly manner, these tales were not only imaginative and captivating for the child, but also served a profound purpose: they were (1) a way to communicate his memories and experience to the following generations; (2) a means to cope with his experiences and past; (3) a tool to socialise and educate his son, transmitting moral norms, social memories and preparing him for life in society.

Keywords: Second World War, Yugoslavia, Prisoners of War, fairy tales, trauma, transgenerational transmission of memory, socialisation

MEMORIE DI GUERRA E FIABE: IL CASO DI ANGELO, UN PRIGIONIERO DI GUERRA ITALIANO IN JUGOSLAVIA NELLA SECONDA GUERRA MONDIALE

SINTESI

Il presente contributo esplora la storia di Angelo, un veterano italiano della Seconda guerra mondiale che, dopo aver vissuto la guerra ed essere sfuggito alla prigionia in Jugoslavia, raggiunse finalmente Trieste nel 1946, dove incontrò la sua futura moglie. Per guarire dal trauma della guerra gli ci vollero quasi 15 anni. Tra il 2021 e il 2023, durante una raccolta di testimonianze orali, ho intervistato il figlio Sergio e il nipote Ruben. L'argomento centrale di queste interviste è stato il periodo della guerra e, in relazione a quello, le fiabe che Angelo raccontava al figlio (e poi al nipote) la sera, ispirate dalle sue esperienze belliche. Narrando le sue vicende in modo metaforico e a misura di bambino, creava delle fiabe fantasiose e accattivanti per i più piccoli. Tuttavia, queste avevano anche uno scopo profondo: erano (1) un modo per comunicare le proprie memorie ed esperienze alle generazioni successive; (2) un mezzo per il proprio passato; (3) uno strumento per socializzare ed educare il figlio, trasmettendogli norme morali, memorie sociali e preparandolo alla vita.

Parole chiave: Seconda guerra mondiale, Jugoslavia, prigionieri di guerra, fiabe, trauma, trasmissione transgenerazionale della memoria, socializzazione

The issue of Italian prisoners of war in Yugoslavia during and after the Second World War has not thus far received much attention (cf. Troha, 2000; Di Sante, 2007), especially due to a lack of primary archival sources originating from Yugoslavia. The author of the article has published various works related to the topic, mostly as a result of collecting existing archival sources, as well as oral and (auto)biographical sources (cf. Lampe, 2022). Current research has thus shown that in addition to archival sources, primary family sources and memories can be an important resource for understanding the prisoner of war experience in Yugoslavia and how it affected their lives after the war, as well as the lives of their families.[1]

Among the memories I have collected, the family story of Angelo[2] is quite singular. Although each story is unique, this one stands out for the particular way in which Angelo transmitted his memories to his son and grandson – in the form of fairy tales – and were, thus, passed on and remain an important family legacy. The purpose of this article is to highlight the life story of Angelo, focusing on the period of the Second World War, his captivity and the period that followed. The aim is to understand how the experience of war and captivity affected him and his family and examine the functions and meaning of the fairy tales he invented.

ANGELO DURING THE WAR

Angelo (called Pino) was born in 1922 in Trieste (Figure 1). His father Cosimo was from a Jewish family from Puglia (Italy) and born in Rijeka (now Croatia), while Angelo was born in Trieste (Italy). His mother Irma came from the region of Friuli and they moved to Trieste. His father, a First World War veteran, returned from the war traumatised by his experiences. On top of that, the family also suffered from the racial laws that came into force in Italy in 1938 (cf. Collotti, 2006). This left the otherwise well-standing family without any assets and in poverty until the Second World War (Ruben, 2021).

As described by his grandson Ruben, Angelo was a musician, a sportsman and a very strong man with a strong temperament. For some period before the Second World War, he was also a professional boxer (Ruben, 2021). He was a young man when the war broke out and after the capitulation of Italy in 1943, as explained by his son Sergio, decided to join the partisans in order to get back to Trieste and return to his family.

> [...] *from Sicily my father almost got to central Italy. Almost. I assume by makeshift means, on foot, that sort of thing. Because there was no coordination, the troops were shamefully left behind.* [...] *He knew well that two of my grandfather's brothers lived in Barletta.* [...] *My father arrives there, this uncle takes care of his nephew like a son. He feeds him, helps him, whatever he wants and in addition he tries to find a solution to get his nephew back to Trieste. And he finds this solution. I don't know how he finds out, but I do know that the Allies, the Americans, organised transport of Italian soldiers who accepted the idea of becoming partisans to the other side of the Adriatic to fight alongside the Yugoslav partisans.* (Sergio, 2021)

As his grandson Ruben recalls, his grandfather Angelo joined the Italian Partisans from the Garibaldi Brigade and left for Yugoslavia to reach Trieste. Although the way in which Angelo joined the partisans is not entirely clear, it is well-known that in 1944, the Allied Military Forces were regularly sent to Yugoslavia in order to support the Yugoslav Partisans. The most common way was from Bari to the island of Vis, at that time one of the rare Yugoslav islands that was occupied by partisans and not Germans or their collaborators. From 1944 onwards, there were organised partisan headquarters at Vis (Pirjevec, 2020, 514–517). Since Barletta is very close to Bari, this is most likely the way that Angelo travelled to Yugoslavia.

Angelo's time in Yugoslavia

He was thus sent to Yugoslavia as an Italian Partisan to join the Yugoslav Partisans in trying to reach Trieste. As Ruben recalls, Angelo was known for being very impulsive. Along with his strong physical condition, this had already caused him many troubles and also periods of being put in isolation when he was fighting as an Italian soldier (Figure 2; Ruben, 2021).

Probably due to his regular episodes of violence (Ruben, 2021), after months of fighting along Yugoslav Partisans, he was taken captive in 1944[3] and

1 This work was supported by the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement [grant number 839474], research project »Political Functions of Folktales« (ARIS N6-0268) and research programme »The Practices of Conflict Resolution between Customary and Statutory Law in the Area of Today's Slovenia and Neighboring Countries« (ARIS P6-0435), funded by the Slovenian Research and Innovation Agency (ARIS).

2 The family name has been withheld in order to protect their privacy.

3 The reason he was taken as a prisoner of war is not fully known by the family.

Figure 1: Angelo (1922–1994) (family archive).[4]

Figure 2: Angelo during the war, 19. 3. 1943 (family archive).

held as a prisoner of war on the island of Biševo – which is now Croatia.[5] During captivity, he witnessed some very traumatic scenes that affected him for life. His son Sergio recalls one of the episodes that greatly affected his father:

> *Across the islands of Dalmatia, boys, children, people of 11, 12 years old, … They were very good at sailing because Dalmatians have always been very good at sailing. And they did a little trade. Some islands were in the hands of the Germans, some islands were in the hands of the partisans, on some islands there were the British, the allies. And they would cruise around these islands; one would give them a packet of cigarettes, they would take the cigarettes to another island, where they would sell them, get a little money. Things like that. And he told me, it was a really tough scene, because he cried every time he told the story. He told me that one of these kids was caught and he was practically stripped naked … he dug his own grave … and he always recalled this kid crying and digging the grave with a shovel and no one from the execution squad would shoot him. And then this angry, angry woman,* [name removed], *went there and said: 'I'll show you how to kill'. And she shot the boy and my father was there. It was a terrible thing for him.* (Sergio, 2022)

Angelo recounted this scene to his son on several occasions. As Sergio recalls, it must have been one of the memories that haunted his father the most.

At some point Angelo and some fellow prisoners, decided to escape from Biševo. The precise details of how they managed to escape are not entirely clear in the family's memory – either by swimming, by using boats or both. Nevertheless, Sergio recalls that they reached the island of Korčula and then crossed over to the mainland. Although the nearest island to Biševo is Vis, during that period, as we have seen, this was the heart of the partisan headquarters. The second closest island is, in fact, Korčula (although being rather far from Biševo). Consequently, this is the most likely route they took to reach land (Figure 3).

After reaching the mainland, it took them about a year to reach Trieste,[6] hiding around in the forests and trying to get food. Although during his life Angelo did talk about the wartime period, he rarely spoke about this one year and his journey to Trieste. There are only a few things his family knows about this time, along with the fact that he

4 The images are published with the permission of the family, for which I would like to express my sincere gratitude.

5 Although there is little information about the camp at the island of Biševo, mostly due to the limited available research, it is known that between 1944 and 1945 the island was mainly used as a prisoner of war camp for German prisoners (cf. Anić, 2004).

6 The narrators are not sure how many of the prisoners made it to Trieste. Sergio is sure about another one who often visited his father after the war.

Figure 3: Map of Croatian islands Biševo, Vis and Korčula, showing the route likely taken by Angelo and his companions to escape from the island of Biševo (adapted from Google Maps).

was shot by Yugoslav Partisans when passing the border with Italy in 1946. He was then saved, as his family accounts, by British soldiers.

> *It is known for certain that in* [19]*46* [...] *he arrived at the Lazaretto frontier – Muggia now.* [...] *And when he can practically see the finish line, he gets intercepted by the* [Yugoslav] *border militia. This is a story from an action film again, but he always told it to me this way. I remember this one because he used to tell it to me when I was a kid. He starts running towards the little station house of the allied militia and basically, they [the Yugoslav border militia] shoot at him and miss several times, until they throw a grenade at him.* [...] *This grenade explodes, and the fragments hit him in the legs. A few meters from the border he basically drags himself with his arms towards the border line, but he can't make it. They [the Yugoslav border militia] are coming after him. And then he has the luck that the Allied border militia in that moment, witnessing the scene, do something they shouldn't do. That is, they cross the border line, take him by the arms and drag him into, let's say, Allied territory.* [...] *This epopee* [his escape from Biševo], *to some extent, ends there. Then these grenade fragments, as a witness, remained with him for the rest of his life because they were never removed. In that period, they didn't do surgery and arthroscopy as they do now.* [...] *Because he really had it stuck in his knees. So that would have been a huge and invasive surgery. So, his whole life, let's say, he lived with the scars, with these fragments in his legs, which obviously caused him a thousand problems. Either in walking, I mean, pain.* [...] *To some extent it conditioned him a lot.* (Ruben, 2021)

TRANSGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION OF MEMORY THROUGH FAIRY TALES

In 1946, Angelo finally reached Trieste and settled in the city. Some months later he met his future wife Ida, and they got married in 1947 (Figures 4 and 5). Sergio explains that his father suffered from trauma and post-traumatic stress disorder because of his experiences in Yugoslavia, both during his captivity and during his time fighting alongside the Yugoslav Partisans. He recalls that his father could not understand all the violence he witnessed in Yugoslavia during that period. As Sergio explains, after years of fighting in an organized warfare as a soldier of the Italian army, Angelo had a hard time understanding the guerrilla warfare. He found it difficult to witness and engage in partisans actions, knowing that the civilian population would suffer the consequences.

Figure 4: Ida and Angelo, wedding day 2. 6. 1947 (family archive).

Figure 5: Ida and Angelo, august 1947 (family archive).

> *What he used to talk to me about was this great violence, a bestial violence. He couldn't understand, because he said: 'In three years I have seen terrible bombings, but there were two armies, you know.' For him to go, attack, let's say, kill the Germans … and knowing that afterwards the Germans will kill the civilian, … burn the village … He* [couldn't understand this]. [silence] (Sergio, 2021)

Sergio was born 15 years into the marriage, in 1962, when his father had finally begun to heal from trauma. Sergio recalls his mother recounting stories of his father waking up drenched in sweat and screaming in the middle of the night:

> *I was born 15 years after marriage, because my father for many years at night would start sweating, sweating, sweating … but a lot. He would jump out of bed: 'Shoot, shoot, shoot, shoot!' But then my mother would wake him up and calm him down. This went on for a long time.* (Sergio, 2021)

Sergio also notes that his mother played a vital role in his father's recovery and overcoming the trauma.

> *They got married within a few months. I think there was a desire to start again, to restart. I know a lot of people got married immediately. As soon as they came back, yes.* […] *And it began there. Life began and my mother was very patient.* […] *My mother would say only this: 'I realised that behind a wreck', because my father came back a wreck, 'there was a good person. And I waited.' In fact, they made 47 years of happy marriage.* (Sergio, 2021)

As explained by Sergio and Ruben, Angelo never had any difficulty in talking about the war. In fact, they recount that Angelo talked about the period of the war all the time. He began to transmit his memories to his son from an early age. However, since this was a very sensitive period of childhood and adolescence, he adapted his memories to the child's imagination. In the evenings, he used to tell his son fairy tales based on his memories of the period of the war and captivity.

> *I was born 15 years after* [the wedding], *in* [19]*62, and I grew up with these stories that my dad used to tell me as if they were fairy tales.* (Sergio, 2021)

As a child, Sergio perceived these tales told by his father as fairy tales – imaginary stories, told by the father in the evenings when he was getting his son ready for sleep. The main character – the hero – was his father. Angelo narrated the fairy tales in a way that would not scare the child, but rather prepare him for sleep.

> [...] *my dad used to recount to me that when he was a partisan, he had a beautiful white horse called Fulmine* [Lightning]. [...] *There was never any talk of blood. Never. He would ride on this horse, go riding, and throw bombs into the forts. The Germans had low forts, little holes for shooting. And he would ride this horse called Lightning* [laugh]. *And as a child I used to dream of my dad riding a horse. Because those were the years we watched westerns. American. So, for me to connect my dad to John Wayne was easy, you know.* (Sergio, 2023)

Other stories were related to his escape from the Island of Biševo. His grandson Ruben recalls how his grandfather used to tell him the tale of his escape:

> *But at some point my grandfather wants to go back to Trieste at all costs and decides to do it by swimming. To swim all the way to land. He does it with these comrades. Now, I don't know to what extent he made it more heroic than it was, I don't know if they then had some little boats, a raft, I don't know. His account, which is also what I remember, because I was very small, is that he faced this stretch of sea by swimming. A rather long distance. He always had* [...] *this great physical strength, this strong lung capacity.* [...] *And so, let's say, it can also be believable that he made it by swimming.* (Ruben, 2021)

Sergio recalls another account related to the escape from Biševo, when Angelo finally reached land and took refuge in the forest:

> *And my father in running away ended up in a place that he never understood where it was, but I got an idea. He told me that basically, while running through the forests, at one point he found a series of small lakes and waterfalls, little waterfalls. And he stayed there for a period of time, he doesn't know exactly how long. But he spoke to me about this place in a very bucolic way. In a very flowery way. That there were many bridges connecting these little lakes and waterfalls. And there he had found a lot of fish and fruits of the forest and he stayed there for so long that he had regained weight, he was feeling so good he didn't even want to leave. The climate was good.* [...] *I can remember it like now, that there were many little wooden and rope bridges, he said. And, of course, when I was a child, he would tell me that he would climb and sleep on the trees because the elves could pass by. The ogres could also pass by, he would tell me these things.* [...] *The creatures of the forest.* [...] *Then [I found out] he would actually climb and sleep up in the trees because he was afraid that the Germans would pass by, that anyone would pass by. Because he didn't know – anyone passing by could be an enemy. One day he made me a list of all the different fractions* [armies] *passing by, it was terrible.* (Sergio, 2023)

In fact, as he grew up, his father gradually began to reveal to his son Sergio that the fairy tales he had shared with him in the evenings held deeper meaning than mere fictional stories.

> *And slowly then, as he got older, he said, 'No, wait, I mean, fairy tale. Enough with the fairy tales.'* [laugh]. *And then he started to explain to me the reality.* (Sergio, 2021)

»*The horse was actually a donkey*«: the real events behind the fairy tales

When Sergio grew up, Angelo gradually unfolded the truth behind these tales, explaining to Sergio that they were, in fact, reflections of his own wartime experiences; his own memories, adapted in a child friendly manner:

> [...] *He reinvented them with typical Italian imagination* [laugh], *he reinvented everything.* [...] *But then, as an adult, I learnt that the horse was actually a donkey.* [laugh] (Sergio, 2021)

Recalling the story of a horse called Lightning, Sergio laughs and explains:

> *It was a little old and bald donkey, he used to fetch water with that donkey.* [laugh] *But I learned about it when I got older. And he would transform these events into very fairy tale-like stories, very ... For example, he*

> *would tell me that he volunteered* [while fighting along with the partisans] *and that, basically, if you volunteered, they would give you more food. And he had to go and throw these bombs into German forts. But he told me the forts were uninhabited, because the Germans had already left. But you had to throw in to destroy everything so that they would not return.* [silence] *That was not true.* [silence] *It was a donkey for water. And he would go* [with the donkey] *and throw bombs in. But the Germans were inside. Basically, he would throw bombs in for a bowl of soup.* (Sergio, 2023)

Fictional and fantastic treatment of traumatic events, especially related to the Second World War, are not rare. At the beginning of the 1990s, for instance, there was a considerable discussion among the scientific and writers' community, involving the general community as well, over fantastical and fictional treatment of the Holocaust. The discussion was triggered by the 1988 young-adult award-winning novel *The Devil's Arithmetic*, written by Jane Yolen. The main concern of the critics of the novel was the trivialisation of the Holocaust, especially since the novel was not written by a Holocaust survivor (cf. Wolfe, 1993). The major risk, as explained by Ellen R. Weil, was "telling a story which does not violate the historical experience of that event, as preserved in the memories of survivors and their descendants" (Weil, 1993, 91). This was not a recent phenomenon. As Wolfe explains, "[i]t wasn't really until the 1960s, following the TV and film productions of Judgment at Nuremburg, the Broadway and film productions of The Diary of Anne Frank, and – perhaps most important – the widely publicised capture and trial of Adolf Eichmann in 1960, that the Holocaust began to take on an historical identity distinct from that of World War II" (Wolfe, 1993, 6). The 1960s were, in fact, the period when increasing numbers of survivors began to speak openly about their experience – often triggered by published memoirs of survivors. After more than a decade of silence and waiting for someone to listen, the survivors of the Holocaust have finally begun to speak out. The 1960s brought an end to the so-called "conspiracy of silence" (Danieli, 2006, 34–35).

What is particularly interesting in our case, is the figure of the storyteller – Angelo. In the "era of the witness" (cf. Wieviorka, 2006), Angelo was, of course, talking about his own experience, but when transmitting his memories to his son, he used a narrative in the form of a fairy tale. Since this is obviously a first-person memoir, any discussion about it being a trivialisation of his experience is out of the question, since he chose it himself. It is worth pointing out, however, that this decision was clearly effective; fairy tales appear to be a central motif and method of transmission of memories among both narrators, i.e. his son, Sergio, and his grandson, Ruben. However, unlike the literary works mentioned above, his stories, narratives and memoirs were never written down. Those fairy tales, thus, remain preserved only in the memories of his descendants. In an era that, as observed by Walter Benjamin, "the art of storytelling is coming to an end" (Benjamin, 2007, 83), Angelo seems to have stood out as a figure whose storytelling skills were exceptional. It is not easy to survive a traumatic experience and trauma, and then turn it into a fairy tale with the desire to preserve the memory across generations. Yet, that is exactly what he did.[7]

Fairy tales and myths born out of war are not an exception (cf. Fossaluzza, 2022). As Sergio recalls, he saw his father as the hero of those fairy tales, dreaming about him riding a white horse. It was fairy tales that figuratively "created a bridge between two worlds" (cf. McAfee Brown, 1994). Angelo recreated a devastating world in a child-friendly manner, introducing white horses, elves, and other forest creatures, in order to reveal only in the future, when his son had grown up, the real truth about that world. To introduce his son to a world he never knew (in the hope he never would), but at the same time he could and should learn a lot from it.

THE STORYTELLER: THE THERAPEUTIC FUNCTION OF STORYTELLING

After understanding the transgenerational transmission of memory, which was certainly in the centre of Angelo's intentions, we can discuss and analyse deeper what the meaning and functions, even if not fully intentional, of those fairy tales were. As already observed, Angelo never had an issue talking about the period of the war and his experience. To some extent this is not surprising, since we all tell and retell stories all the time – we are made up of personal stories and family experiences. Storytelling is virtually an ordinary activity for all of us. We need stories to tell and learn from. In addition, people exposed to traumatic experiences need an end to their stories in order to be able

7 Which, of course, was not easy. Probably still one of the most comprehensive studies on the intergenerational transmission of memory and trauma among the children of Holocaust survivors is the one conducted by Dina Wardi (1992), she herself the child of holocaust survivors. She was one of the first psychotherapists in Israel to use group therapy in the treatment of the second generation of Holocaust survivors.

to heal from potential trauma (cf. Marinella, 2017; Eftekhari et al., 2006). In fact, it is well known that the most successful therapeutic effects for Holocaust survivors were achieved when the first therapy groups were set up in the 1970s. During the sessions, survivors spoke openly about their memories and experiences, in order to comprehend the long-term consequences of trauma and the conspiracy of silence that followed the end of the war (cf. Danieli, 2006, 36–37). Scientists and therapists now agree that talking about a traumatic event is one of the best therapies for people who have been exposed to trauma.

As a consequence, storytelling and narrating fairy tales probably helped Angelo come to terms with his past experience and overcome the negative impact of the war. Which means that narrating the events and creating fairy tales must have helped Angelo overcome the traumatic effects that these events had on him. The fairy tales, to some extent, served as therapy. Related to this, Sergio believes that through storytelling, his father tried to generate some positive outcomes from his experience.

> *I think that this way of creating fairy tales was a way of rendering … not cheerful, how would you say … positive.* [...] *So, he transmitted his memories in a fairy tale way.* (Sergio, 2023)

When asked what he thinks the intention of the fairy tales was, Sergio explains:

> *No, there was no intent. It was that there was not a day that my father did not talk about these things.* [...] *One day, like all teenagers, I couldn't understand someone who lived through dictatorships. And he lived through two of them! And he told me: 'You can't understand'. Because I said: 'But how can you smile with what you have been through?' He said: 'No, you don't understand anything at all. Because when you go through these things … I came home with my legs in one piece', apart from the shrapnel he had here, which I remember him massaging because there were bits left in them. 'I came home. In one piece. I wasn't tortured. I met your mother. We moved on, we started a family, I created my own quality of life. And you want me not to smile? Of my generation there is nobody left.' And then he would start giving me names.* [of the people who had died] *And he would say: 'I must be cheerful, I must live life with joy. Because it was gifted to me. Because everyone from my generation is dead.' He would say.* (Sergio, 2023)

The idea thus was also to pass on an experience that was devastating for many, but from which the father drew a positive spin. He tried to explain to his son that even the most devastating situation can be overcome and that even the most tragic experience can lead to something beautiful.

SOCIALISATION THROUGH FAIRY TALES

Through storytelling, Angelo also created a precious bond with his son (and later on with his grandson), which has given Sergio precious memories of his childhood. These memories hold deep emotional resonance, and they are powerful enough to bring tears to his eyes. He recalls, for instance, how his father regularly took him to the cinema.

> *He would take me to the boulevard, where the big cinemas were, we would go to watch Walt Disney films. Then when we left, he would say to me: 'Look what a good smell of sausages.' There were buffets. Then, we'd go and have a sandwich with sausages and mustard. He would get me Coca Cola. And then, when we went home, of course we weren't hungry anymore. My mother would stand like this* [he demonstrates how she would stand]*: 'What did you eat?' My father: 'No, no, we haven't eaten anything!'* [laugh] *I had a wonderful childhood in this respect. He would take advantage of Walt Disney's films to explain things to me. I got a little emotional. One of those that Ruben knows very well, because that's the one I always recount to him.* [...] *I always say that there comes a point where a parent must step aside. Because the next generation comes along. And my father explained this to me with the film Bambi from Walt Disney. Walt Disney made a beautiful film, it's the story of this little deer. At a certain point he grows up. And the big deer, king of the forest, says to him: 'Now you go ahead.' and you see the deer retreating and Bambi stays. Because he is now a strong young man.* (Sergio, 2021)

His childhood memories are therefore rooted in the golden age of Walt Disney, when children and adolescents grew up with the values that these films conveyed (cf. Brode, 2004). This narrative is important in order to understand that Angelo generally liked to use fairy tales – even if adapted by Walt Disney animations – to socialise his son and teach him the values he considered important for life.

This is not surprising since, as Jack Zipes observes, fairy tales have always had an important function in socialisation processes.[8] Referring to the fairy tales written by the brothers Grimm, he ascertains that reading has been the "passport into certain brackets of society." And although it is impossible to determine "what direct affect a fairy tale will have on an individual reader", Zipes shows that "[a]s children read or are read to, [they] follow a social path, learn role orientation, and acquire norms and values" (Zipes, 2006, 70). Socialisation has therefore always been at the heart of fairy tales, as they have always served to prepare children and people for life in a certain community. As observed by Chudnovskaya and Lipatova, fairy tales are important carriers of cultural memory, since a "fairy tale is one of the first symbolic places that introduces a new little person to a world that he did not create himself, and values that correspond to this and previous stages of development of a certain society" (Chudnovskaya & Lipatova, 2020, 181). And although the figure of the storyteller was indeed in decline at that time, storytelling, which served to socialise children and accustom them to the (ethical) norms of a community, had not completely disappeared.[9]

The fairy tales narrated by Angelo served a similar function. In fact, Angelo used them to educate and socialise his son. Through storytelling (as opposite to story reading), as Bruno Bettelheim[10] points out, Angelo instilled in his son's mind norms and guidelines important not only for their family legacy, but for the community and society in general.

> *Listening to a fairy tale and taking in the images it presents may be compared to a scattering of seeds, only some of which will be implanted in the mind of the child. Some of these will be working in his conscious mind right away; others will stimulate processes in his unconscious. Still others will need to rest for a long time until the child's mind has reached a state suitable for their germination, and many will never take root at all. But those seeds which have fallen on the right soil will grow into beautiful flowers and sturdy trees – that is, give validity to important feelings, promote insights, nourish hopes, reduce anxieties – and in doing so enrich the child's life at the moment and forever after.* (Bettelheim, 1976, 154)

In addition, while sharing his memories and life wisdom, he also passed on a method. In fact, Sergio reveals in conversation that sometimes he himself educates his two sons in a similar way – for instance, through the tale of Bambi (Sergio, 2021). This is not surprising, since, as explained by Walter Benjamin, the process of assimilation is usually particularly successful if the consumption of information is executed in a relaxed mode:

> *There is nothing that commends a story to memory more effectively than that chaste compactness which precludes psychological analysis. And the more natural the process by which the storyteller forgoes psychological shading, the greater becomes the story's claim to a place in the memory of the listener, the more completely is it integrated into his own experience, the greater will be his inclination to repeat it to someone else someday, sooner or later. This process of assimilation, which takes place in depth, requires a state of relaxation which is becoming rarer and rarer.* (Benjamin, 2007, 91)

The use of fairy tales narrated by the father in the evenings, just before going to bed, served its purpose. In the same way that families used to spend long winter evenings telling stories around a fireplace and, therefore, preparing young people for life in the community (cf. Toplak, 2022).

CONCLUSION

As explained at the beginning of the article, during my research and collecting oral testimonies, I have not yet come across such a particular case. Although oral history is itself a method of storytelling – and of story-listening,[11] this is probably one of the very rare cases of passing on personal war-time memories to younger generations by narrating fairy tales. As the analysis here

8 The question of the functions of fairy tales, especially socialisation, has been addressed on various occasions in the past (cf. Zipes, 2006; Darovec, 2021; Tratnik, 2020; 2022; Crowther, 2022; Zima, 2022).

9 See, for instance, the interesting analysis by Cirila Toplak (2022, 632), which refers to the ethnographic records created by Pavel Medveščček, who conducted interviews with residents of remote hilly areas of Western Slovenia in the period from 1950 to 1978. The ''Nature Worshippers'', in fact, used tales to introduce the small children to the spiritual life of the community.

10 Although the child psychologist and scholar Bruno Bettelheim was often criticised by scholars and prominent individuals in the field of fairy tales (cf. Dundes, 1991; Zipes, 2002, 179–205), he was not criticised for the claim that fairy tales should be told rather than read and their enriching function for a child (cf. Fenwick, 2000, 501–502).

11 As the Italian oral historian Alessandro Portelli accurately notes: ''[…] to tell – as many extermination camp survivors were dramatically to discover – requires the presence of someone who will listen'' (Portelli, 2003, 15).

shows, through storytelling in a metaphorical and child-friendly manner, Angelo fulfilled several different functions.

Certainly, one of the primary purposes of Angelo's storytelling, was the transgenerational transmission of memory. Doubtless, he creatively passed on the memory of his past experiences through embellished fairy tales, gradually revealing the true events only over time. This unique approach allowed him to connect with his son and grandson, fostering a deeper understanding of his experience and family history.

Furthermore, storytelling certainly helped Angelo overcome his traumatic past, thus assuming, to some extent, a therapeutic function. As a storyteller, Angelo may have found a way to cope with his own trauma. The act of openly discussing his experiences and finding higher meaning in them potentially contributed to his healing process.

Finally, the fairy tales served as a tool for Angelo to socialise and educate his son Sergio, instilling important values and life lessons. This aspect aligns with one of the fundamental functions of fairy tales in transmitting moral norms, social memories and preparing and adapting individuals to life in society. Additionally, it provided an avenue with which to raise Sergio as a conscious and compassionate individual.

It is evident that Angelo's use of storytelling through fairy tales served multiple purposes, encompassing transgenerational memory transmission, therapy, and socialisation. This approach highlights the depth of his engagement with his family history and the conscious efforts he made to convey his experiences in a meaningful and impactful way.

VOJNI SPOMINI IN PRAVLJICE: ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA ANGELA, ITALIJANSKEGA VOJNEGA UJETNIKA IZ DRUGE SVETOVNE VOJNE V JUGOSLAVIJI

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POVZETEK

Prispevek obravnava življenjsko zgodbo Angela, italijanskega veterana druge svetovne vojne, ki se je po vojni in pobegu iz ujetništva v Jugoslaviji leta 1946 končno vrnil v Trst, kjer je spoznal svojo bodočo ženo. Zaradi vsega, kar je tekom vojne in ujetništva doživel, je potreboval skoraj 15 let, da je okreval od pretresljive vojne travme. Med letoma 2021 in 2023 sem med zbiranjem ustnih pričevanj opravila intervjuje z njegovim sinom Sergiom in vnukom Rubenom. Osrednja tema teh intervjujev je bilo vojno obdobje, predvsem čas, ki ga je Angelo preživel v Jugoslaviji – najprej kot partizanski prostovoljec, nato kot ujetnik v taborišču Biševo. Po vrnitvi v Trst leta 1946 je Angelo spoznal svojo bodočo ženo, Ido, s katero sta se malo kasneje poročila. 15 let po poroki, leta 1962, se jima je rodil edinec Sergio. Angelo je s sinom stkal posebno vez, katere pomemben element so bile tudi pravljice, ki jih je sinu (in kasneje tudi vnuku Rubenu) pripovedoval ob večerih. Inspiracijo za pripovedovane pravljic je Angelo iskal prav v svojih spominih in dogodkih iz časa vojne. Večerne pripovedi so metaforično in otroku prijazno opisovale njegove vojne izkušnje, šele leta kasneje je sinu razkril pravo resnico, ki se je skrivala za pravljicami. Posledično to niso bile le domišljijske pripovedi, privlačne za otroka, temveč so imele tudi globlji namen: bile so (1) način za posredovanje njegovih spominov in izkušenj naslednjim generacijam; (2) sredstvo za soočanje z njegovimi izkušnjami in preteklostjo; (3) orodje za socializacijo in vzgojo sina, posredovanje moralnih norm, socialnih spominov in pripravo na življenje v družbi.

Ključne besede: druga svetovna vojna, Jugoslavija, vojni ujetniki, pravljice, travma, medgeneracijski prenos spomina, socializacija

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SLOVENSKA LJUDSKA PESEM KOT ELEMENT NARODNE IDENTIFIKACIJE SLOVENCEV V OBDOBJU PRVE SVETOVNE VOJNE

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IZVLEČEK

Pričujoč prispevek predstavlja narodno identifikacijo Slovencev v obdobju prve svetovne vojne preko péte slovenske ljudske pesmi. Pri tem so izpostavljene izbrane ljudske pesmi, ki so ji Slovenci prepevali na bojiščih Velike vojne in so ohranjene v tematskih pesmaricah tedanjega obdobja (izdane med leti 1914 in 1918). Na podlagi analize izbranih besedil pesmi so predstavljeni elementi narodne identifikacije, v katerih je prepoznan tudi njihov širši pomen. Obenem prispevek orisuje živost pesmi na frontah in v zaledju ter s tem razkriva pomen prepevanja pesmi za krepitev kolektivnega spomina in narodne zavesti.

Ključne besede: Velika vojna, narodna zavest, ljudska pesem, narodna identifikacija

CANTO POPOLARE SLOVENO COME ELEMENTO DI IDENTIFICAZIONE DEGLI SLOVENI NEL PERIODO DELLA PRIMA GUERRA MONDIALE

SINTESI

L'articolo presenta l'identificazione nazionale degli Sloveni durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale attraverso la canzone popolare slovena. In tal modo vengono evidenziate alcune canzoni popolari cantate dagli Sloveni sui campi di battaglia della Grande Guerra e conservate nei canzonieri tematici di quel periodo (pubblicati tra il 1914 e il 1918). Sulla base dell'analisi di testi di canzoni selezionati, vengono presentati gli elementi di identificazione nazionale, in cui si riconosce anche il loro significato più ampio. Allo stesso tempo, il contributo delinea la vivacità delle canzoni sui fronti e nelle retrovie, rivelando così l'importanza delle canzoni cantate per rafforzare la memoria collettiva e la coscienza nazionale.

Parole chiave: Grande Guerra, coscienza nazionale, canzone nazionale, identificazione nazionale

UVOD

V naravi človeka je potreba po subjektivnem občutku pripadnosti neki skupnosti, bodisi državni, verski, socialni ali kulturni. Pri vseh omenjenih pripadnostih je potrebno izpostaviti pomen kulturnih značilnosti, in sicer »kako pripadniki določene skupine opredeljujejo kulturne značilnosti lastne skupnosti v nasprotju s kulturnimi karakteristikami drugih« (Jezernik, 2008, 65). T. i. *narodna kultura*, kot zaobjetje materinega jezika, običajev, mitov, simbolov, umetniške ustvarjalnosti in kolektivnega spomina, je eden izmed pomembnih dejavnikov pri oblikovanju narodne identitete, na podlagi katere se skupnosti med seboj diferencirajo (Tratnik, 2022; 2021, 162–163; Sedmak & Zadel, 2015; Jezernik, 2008; 2013; Dziemidok, 2002; Nećak, 1997).

V procesu nastajanja naroda, ki je po Ericu Hobsbawmu (cf. Hobsbawm, 1997) dvosmeren in nastaja od zgoraj, torej politično, upravno, prek medijev in agitatorjev, pa tudi od spodaj kot posledica pričakovanj, upanj, potreb in interesov navadnih ljudi, ki niso neogibno nacionalni in še manj nacionalistični (Rogelj Škafar, 2011), je bilo izdajanje zbirk ljudskih pesmi podvrženo dokazovanju kulturnega bogastva slovensko govoreče skupnosti, v katerem so utemeljevali narodno zavest, ki se je začela krepiti z razvojem meščanstva in njegovih institucij, predvsem različnih društev (Slavec Gradišnik, 2010, 129).

Prva svetovna vojna je bila pomemben mejnik v zgodovini Slovencev, ki je odločilno vplivala na slovensko narodno zavest, na začetku predvsem na težnje po združitvi z južnimi Slovani znotraj Avstro-Ogrske monarhije in na koncu na združitev v novem državnem telesu jugoslovanskih narodov izven okvirjev monarhije. Eden izmed tedaj izrazito poudarjenih elementov narodne reprezentacije je bila slovenska ljudska pesem, ki je bila prisotna tudi v vsakdanjem življenju slovenskih vojakov na frontah. Ljudska pesem je bila bolj kot drugi emblemi nacionalnega, ki jih slovenski vojaki, pripadniki avstrijske cesarske vojske, niso mogli nositi, primerna in uporabna za samoreprezentacijo na različnih lokacijah, kjer so se vojaki nahajali. Pesem je bila tako izraz osebnega doživljanja in čustvovanja posameznega vojaka kot tudi element kolektivnega doživljanja vojakov, obenem pa je bila tudi sredstvo identifikacije.

PETJE LJUDSKIH PESMI KOT IZRAŽANJE NARODNE IDENTIFIKACIJE

Pri utrjevanju slovenske narodne identitete je bil že od začetkov emancipacijskega gibanja v sredini 19. stoletja poseben pomen pripisan ljudski kulturi (cf. Rogelj Škafar, 2011). »Znotraj [romantičnih, op. a.] okvirjev je posameznik nosilec kulturnih pojavov, priča in posrednik nacionalnega zaklada« (Fikfak, 2006, 150), kar pomeni, da se je v posamezniku izražal način mišljenja širšega kroga skupnosti – *naroda*, ki pa so ga sooblikovali procesi homogenizacije in stereotipizacije (Mlakar, 2022; cf. tudi Pisk, 2013). Ljudska kultura je tako slovenskemu narodu omogočala oblikovanje lastne identitete na razločku od drugih, predvsem sosednjih narodov, ki so sooblikovali Habsburško monarhijo (Pisk, 2018; Fikfak, 2006). Identiteta je namreč bolj rezultat označevanja razlikovalnosti kot pa znak identičnosti, naravno konstituirane enote z vseobsegajočimi podobnostmi (cf. Hall & du Guy, 2002), zato je bila ljudska pesem, ki je izvajana v določenem jeziku, zelo uporabna za tovrstne manifestacije. Tako »postane tudi pesem […] splošna dobrina vsega ljudskega, saj je zapeta iz ljudskega duha, duše« (Fikfak, 2006, 149).

Ljudsko pesem opredeljujemo kot tisti del vokalne glasbene kulture, ki sicer nastaja kot stvaritev posameznika, živi pa v skupnosti in za katero je značilna pretežno nešolana, improvizatorična dejavnost (Kumer, 1996). Poleg besedila v določenem jeziku ima glasba sama po sebi moč prodorneje prenašati ideološka, socialna in politična sporočila. Indoktrinacijo preko glasbe, še posebej zaradi njene afektivne (cf. Cochrane et al., 2013) in kohezivne komponente, so uporabljali z namenom učinkovitega, obenem pa prikritega vplivanja na množice. Glasba namreč povzroči močnejše emocije tako pri posameznikih kot pri udeleženih družbenih skupinah. Ker je glasbena kultura v srednjeevropskem prostoru v številnih elementih zelo sorodna (Vodušek, 1973, 126–130), so bila v narodnomanifestativne namene uporabna predvsem besedila pesmi. Ljudske pesmi, ki so jih imeli za stare,[1] so razumevali kot nosilke kolektivnega spomina in dokaz za dolgo zgodovino naroda, ki ni imel svoje institucionalizirane zgodovine, novo tvorjene pesmi pa so nosile narodnoprebudna sporočila, ki naj bi v ljudeh okrepila pozitivna čustva in identifikacijo s slovenskim narodom. Ljudski pesmi je bila poleg tega pripisana »neomadeževanost«, ne le moralna, pač pa tudi estetska, predvsem v nasprotju s popularno in pa tujejezično pesmijo (Pisk, 2020; 2022; Schutte & Visagie, 2012; Cigoj Krstulović, 2007). Nekaj let preden je vojna vihra zajela Slovence, je tako zbiralec ljudskih pesmi Anton Kosi zapisal: »Zakaj glasba sploh, zlasti pa petje je imenitno vzgojno sredstvo: požlahtuje človeško srce, kroti v njem divje strasti, vzbuja in krepi estetične, verske in patriotske čute« (Kosi, 1906, 3). To »vzgojno sredstvo« so zato uporabljali tudi v procesih oblikovanja in utrjevanja narodne zavesti in mobilizacijo ljudi v boju za dosego političnih pravic naroda.

Državni aparat habsburške monarhije pa je ljudsko pesem skušal uporabiti kot emblem raznolikosti narodov, ki složno sobivajo v večnacionalni monarhiji, zato je od leta 1904 dalje v avstrijskem delu monarhije

1 Percepcija pesmi kot starih med nosilci tradicije bi zahtevala posebno obravnavo.

potekala akcija *Narodna pesem v Avstriji*.[2] Tudi v slovenskih deželah so v okviru te akcije potekala zbiranja slovenskih ljudskih pesmi pod skupnim vodstvom Odbora za nabiranje slovenskih ljudskih pesmi, kateremu je predsedoval Karel Štrekelj, ki je v tistem času tudi izdajal monumentalno zbirko *Slovenske narodne pesmi*, in v katerem so delovali odborniki za posamezne dežele. Izbruh vojne je akcijo zaustavil in ni nikoli dosegla predvidenega obsega in rezultatov.

SLOVENSKA NARODNA ZAVEST NA PRAGU VELIKE VOJNE IN TEKOM NJE

Slovenci so si na začetku 20. stoletja še vedno prizadevali za dosego enakih političnih in jezikovnih pravic, kot so jih imeli drugi konstitutivni narodi Habsburške monarhije. Te težnje so že pred izbruhom prve svetovne vojne odsevale v ideji o združitvi Južnih Slovanov pod žezlom Habsburške dinastije – v t. i. *ideji trializma* (Štuhec, 2020, 207; Griesser-Pečar, 2020, 337; Svoljšak & Antoličič, 2018; Rahten, 2002; 2014; Pleterski, 1968). Po usodnih sarajevskih strelih na prestolonaslednika nadvojvodo Franca Ferdinanda in njegovo ženo Zofijo Chotek (28. junija 1914) in diplomatsko nerešljivi junijski krizi v letu 1914 se je sprožil »niz domin«, ki so vodile v t. i. *Véliko vojno*. Vojna, ki je bila v začetnem obdobju še velika neznanka, je sprva med narodi vzbudila občutke navdušenja, patriotizma in vznemirjenosti. Pri tem Slovenci niso bili izjema. Duh tedanjega časa je moč prepoznati v pisanju časnikov, kjer so bila pogosta gesla: »Živela Avstrija, živel naš vladar, živela naša armada, živeli slovenski junaki« (Slovenec, 29. 7. 1914, 1); »[V]si [smo op. a.] navdani enega duha; vse za Avstrijo!« (Slovenski narod, 27. 7. 1914, 1); »Bog daj sijajne zmage avstrijskemu orožju!« (Slovenski gospodar, 30. 7. 1914, 1) ipd. Hkrati je izbruh Velike vojne ponovno privedel na plano napete mednacionalne odnose znotraj Avstro-Ogrske monarhije, ki so kaj kmalu začeli rušiti ravnovesje (Štih et al., 2016; Rahten, 2014; Nećak & Repe, 2005). Na slednje so večkrat opozarjali tudi Slovenci, med drugim je bilo julija 1914 v *Slovenskem narodu* zapisano: »Sovražniki slovanskih narodov izrabljajo smrt prestolonaslednika na najbrezobraznejši način za svoje gospodarstvo in svojo pravico, da smejo eksploatirati vso državo in vse njene narode, persekucije vseh Slovanov, zlasti nas Slovencev terjajo na ves glas in besno odklanjajo priznanje vsake ravnopravnosti« (Slovenski narod, 3. 7. 1914, 1).

Vojno napoved julija 1914 so po slovenskih mestih spremljale razne domoljubne manifestacije. Ob tej priložnosti je bila Ljubljana razsvetljena in okrašena z narodnimi in cesarskimi zastavami. Po mestu je bilo moč slišati domoljubne pesmi in koračnice (Straža, 31. 7. 1914, 3). Nabor v Ljubljani je v svojem dnevniku leto pozneje podobno opisal Karel Mozetič: »Kako krasen je bil pogled na trg pred vojašnico, kjer so stali naši patriotni, junaški Kranjski fantje. Vojaki so imeli slovenske trobojnice in jako lepo so bili okrašeni z cvetlicami in slovenskimi trakovi na lepih sivih oblekah. Vojaki so peli, vriskali in bili veseli, saj so šli na boj za cesarja in domovino« (Mozetič, 1915).

Slika 1: Odhod vojakov iz Ptuja na bojišča prve svetovne vojne (PMPO, NS 607, hrani: Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj – Ormož).

Podobna manifestacija s spremljavo vojaške godbe se je julija 1914 odvijala tudi v Trstu. Po poročanju *Slovenskega gospodarja* v Mariboru ob začetku vojne sicer ni bilo organiziranega sprevoda vojaštva, ampak je bilo ob tej priložnosti mesto preplavljeno z naborniki. »Mariborski kolodvor je podoben velikemu vojaškemu taborišču. Vsake pol ure pripeljejo dolgi vlaki nove stotine bojevnikov za domovino« (Slovenski gospodar, 30. 7. 1914, 2). Tudi tukaj je bilo prisotno navdušenje, podkrepljeno z ukanjem in prepevanjem domoljubnih pesmi, ki jih je bilo moč slišati ob odhodih vlakov na bojišče (Edinost, 29. 7. 1914, 2; Slovenski gospodar, 30. 7. 1914, 2).

Še pred uradno vojno napovedjo, ki je bila objavljena 28. julija 1914, so se mobilizaciji odzvali mnogi možje. Gregor Jenuš izpostavlja, da je bilo navdušenje in odziv na mobilizacijo znak poguma in vdanosti cesarju ter monarhiji. K temu lahko dodamo, da je bila Velika vojna v začetkih še velika neznanka in nihče ni predvidel, da bo dobila takšne razsežnosti, kot jih je v naslednjih štirih letih. Slovenske vojake so uradna poročila monarhije označila za vdane cesarju, saj so se kljub jugoslovanskim težnjam posameznih slovenskih vodilnih politikov odzvali pozivu mobilizacije z željo doseči politično samostojnost kot dar za lojalnost cesarju (Jenuš, 2015; Svoljšak, 2009).

2 Akcija *Narodna pesem v Avstriji* (org. *Das Volkslied in* Österreich) – akcija nabiranja ljudskih pesmi v avstrijskem delu monarhije. Namen akcije je bil zbrati in svetu predstaviti ljudske pesmi narodov v avstrijskem delu monarhije v izvirnem in nemškem jeziku (cf. Murko, 1929, 7–10, 23).

Velika vojna se je dotaknila vseh slojev prebivalstva, tako vojaštva na frontah, kot tudi civilnega prebivalstva v zaledju. Po izbruhu vojne je bilo v Avstro-Ogrski zasebno in javno življenje podrejeno t. i. *vojnemu absolutizmu*, posebnemu vojnemu režimu, ki je bil razglašen po izbruhu vojne na podlagi zakonodaje iz leta 1912 (Šorn, 2020, 715). Vojni absolutizem je bil v osnovi enak za vse državljane monarhije, *de facto* pa je bil močno naperjen zoper nenemške narode v državi, kar se je izraziteje kazalo v dvonarodnih deželah, kot so bile Spodnja Štajerska, Južna Koroška, Goriško-Gradiška in severozahodna Istra. Notranjepolitični ukrepi na Slovenskem niso bili omejeni zgolj na preganjanje političnih nasprotnikov monarhije, pač pa so bili med drugim oblikovani tudi za zatiranje slovenske politike in izražanja narodne identitete, kar so pridoma izkoristile nemške stranke. Jenuš na tem mestu izpostavlja, da je samovoljno uveljavljanje ukrepov v monarhiji še dodatno zaostril vojni absolutizem. Po izbruhu vojne in okrepitvi nemškega nacionalizma so se sočasno začela množična preganjanja po slovenskih deželah. Največ je bilo denunciranih slovenskih duhovnikov, političnih voditeljev in učiteljev, velikokrat na podlagi predvojnih seznamov potencialno sumljivih oseb. Aretirani so bili Slovenci z javno izraženo narodno identifikacijo in jugoslovanskimi usmeritvami, kot so bili npr. ljubljanski župan Ivan Tavčar, profesor Fran Ilešič, pisatelj Ivan Cankar in drugi. Preganjanja Slovencev v okviru nemške ideje boja med germanstvom in slovanstvom so povzročila resno ogroženost narodne identitete Slovencev na začetku 20. stoletja. (Rahten, 2017; Jenuš, 2015; Svoljšak, 2009; Pleterski, 1971).

V vsakdanje življenje v monarhiji sta močno posegli tudi cenzura in propaganda oblasti. Namen cenzure je bil učinkovit nadzor prebivalstva in predvsem posameznih narodov v okviru dualistične monarhije. S pomočjo cenzure je oblast lažje sooblikovala javno mnenje, kar je bilo v vojnih časih izjemnega pomena. K oblikovanju javnega mnenja pa je pripomogla tudi propaganda, ki je v obdobju Velike vojne začela pridobivati na pomenu. Propaganda je bila pomembna tako v procesih nacionalne identifikacije kot za spodbujanje prebivalstva k obrambi in bojevanju za domovino. V tem obdobju je propaganda počasi postajala glavno sredstvo za nadzorovanje javnega mnenja. Ker je kmalu po izbruhu vojne postalo jasno, da ta ne bo kratka, je to privedlo do miselnosti, da je v bojih postavljeno na tehtnico *vse ali nič*. Vojni propagandisti so zato razvili prefinjene prijeme z namenom vplivanja na miselnost družbe, kar je moč prepoznati tudi v Avstro-Ogrski. Kljub temu da je monarhija namenila veliko pozornost propagandi, jo je še vedno pestil problem pomanjkanja enotne avstrijske identitete. Propaganda je bila prvenstveno namenjena izraziti podpori vladarski hiši Habsburžanov, hkrati pa ni bila skladna z zahtevami posameznih narodov večnacionalne monarhije. Prefinjeno potezo vojnih propagandistov prepoznamo v razglasu cesarja Franca Jožefa *Mojim narodom!* ob izbruhu vojne leta 1914, in sicer je razbrano igranje na noto sočutja in vdanosti cesarski hiši, s čimer se je cesar pretanjeno obračal na narode monarhije (Welch, 2015; Svoljšak, 2009; Luthar, 2000; Vreg, 2000):[3]

> *Jaz zaupam Svojim narodom, ki so se v vseh viharjih vedno v složnosti in zvestobi družili okoli Mojega prestola in ki so bili za čast, velikost in moč domovine vedno pripravljeni za najhujše žrtve. Jaz zaupam hrabri avstrijsko–ogrski vojni moči, polni požrtvovalnega navdušenja. In Jaz zaupam Vsemogočnemu, da podeli zmago Mojemu orožju* […].[4]

Tekom vojne se je v slovenskih političnih taborih utrdilo prepričanje, da je za obstoj slovenskega naroda bistvena državnopravna osamosvojitev v skupnosti z Jugoslovani v okviru Habsburške monarhije. Za Slovence je postajalo ključno vprašanje o zmagovalcu vojne, saj je na eni strani narod ogrožal nemški imperializem v primeru zmage centralnih sil (slednje se je intenzivno kazalo že po izbruhu vojne s preganjanji narodnozavednih Slovencev), na drugi strani pa so se zavedali groženj, ki bi jo za narodni obstoj pomenila zmaga antante, predvsem po vstopu Kraljevine Italije v vojno leta 1915 (Pleterski, 1970).

Po nastopu novega cesarja Karla I. novembra 1916 in kasnejši obnovi parlamentarnega življenja v letu 1917 so naraščajoči pritiski nemških nacionalistov povzročili koncentriranje političnih strank Južnih Slovanov in pripravo skupnega notranjepolitičnega programa. *Majniška deklaracija*, ki jo je 30. maja 1917 v dunajskem državnem zboru prebral Anton Korošec[5] v imenu Jugoslovanskega kluba, je zahtevala združitev Južnih Slovanov v samostojno državno telo pod žezlom habsburško-lotarinške dinastije in s tem predstavljala pomemben korak pri emancipaciji slovenskega naroda. Oblast za slednje ni imela posluha, čeprav je v podporo deklaraciji potekalo množično deklaracijsko gibanje na Slovenskem in naposled je vztrajanje pri *Majniški deklaraciji* pripeljalo do zavedanja, da rešitev t. i. *jugoslovanskega vprašanja* ni mogoča v okviru Habsburške monarhije, ampak zgolj zunaj nje. Dogodki, ki so sledili v letih 1917 in 1918,

3 PAM, SI PAM 1807, Avstro-ogrske objave med 1. svetovno vojno: plakati (1914–1915), plakat: Manifest cesarja Franca Jožefa I. »Mojim narodom« o začetku vojnega stanja, 28. 7. 1914.

4 PAM, SI PAM 1807, Avstro-ogrske objave med 1. svetovno vojno: plakati (1914–1915), plakat: Manifest cesarja Franca Jožefa I. »Mojim narodom« o začetku vojnega stanja, 28. 7. 1914.

5 Odnos dr. Antona Korošca do habsburške monarhije se je med prvo svetovno vojno spremenil, kar je posledično sovpadalo z notranjepolitičnim stanjem v monarhiji. Kot izpostavlja Gregor Antoličič, je bil za Korošca kot duhovnika habsburški vladar »pomembni temelj religioznosti«, za politika pa najvišja avtoriteta, kar pa se je kasneje spremenilo v drugo skrajnost (cf. Antoličič, 2022).

so rezultat medsebojnega dopolnjevanja slovenske politike in želja množic, ki so naposled dosegli uresničitev lastnih teženj (Perovšek, 2021; Perovšek, 2005a; 2005b; Pleterski, 1968).

Preobrat, ki se je zgodil v miselnosti Slovencev, enemu bolj lojalnih narodov v monarhiji, je dodobra povzel Igor Grdina, ki meni, da je Velika vojna in še posebej nespametno ravnanje oblasti v Avstro-Ogrski monarhiji pripeljalo do velikega preobrata. V vojnem obdobju so privrele na plano vse težave in slabosti, ki so pestile dualistično monarhijo. Stiska ljudi je naposled povzročila, da je oblast izgubila svojo avtoriteto. Obenem pa je uresničevanje jugoslovanskih teženj dalo Veliki vojni nov, drugačen pomen. Dogodki konec oktobra 1918 so rezultirali politične težnje habsburških Jugoslovanov – ustanovitev lastne samostojne države 29. oktobra – Države Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov (Čeh Steger, 2020, 234). »Zaželena dežela Slovencev, Hrvatov in Srbov […] še nikoli ni obstajala – zato si jo je vsakdo lahko predstavljal po svoje« (Grdina, 2005, 47).

SLOVENSKE PESMI MED VOJAKI NA FRONTI: PROPAGANDA ALI IDENTIFIKACIJA?

Med vojno se je leta 1916 ponovno sestal slovenski odbor za nabiranje pesmi. Matija Murko je na sestanku opozoril, da bi bilo zanimivo opazovati živost ljudskih pesmi med vojaki na frontah prve svetovne vojne. »Hitro na početku mobilizacije so mi pripovedovali učitelji iz Savinjske doline, ki so se pripeljali z moštvom svojih krajev na vozovih v Celje, da so naenkrat oživele narodne pesmi, katerih prej nikoli niso slišali« (Murko, 1929, 43). Trenutek krize je sprožil nostalgično navezavo (o nostalgiji cf. Becker, 2022), namreč v preteklost so projicirali varnost in utemeljevali motivacijo za boj za »očetnjavo«. Murko je bil mnenja, da bi bilo potrebno fonografirati ljudske pesmi med vojaštvom, za kar se je kmalu zavzelo tudi cesarsko vojno ministrstvo. V okviru snemanj *Phonogramm Archiv*-a dunajske *Akademije znanosti in umetnosti* so leta 1916 nastali najstarejši zvočni posnetki prepevanja slovenskih mož iz 17. pešpolka v Judenburgu in 97. pešpolka v Radgoni. V okviru snemanja so bile posnete pesmi *Moj fantič je na Trolsko vandral*, *Ko psi zalajajo*, *Kaj si je zmislu naš cesar, naš kralj*, *Nekoč v starih časih*, *Regiment po cesti gre*, *Moj fantič je za frajtarja*, *Oj ta vojaški boben*, *Gozdič je že zelen*, *Dobro jutro, ljubca moja* in *Fantje se zbirajo*. Večina od teh ima vojaško vsebino, kar med drugim potrjuje domneve o razmahu petja vojaških ljudskih pesmi (Golež Kaučič, 2013; Klobčar, 2012; GNI, 2010; Murko, 1929).

Vojne razmere so preprečevale zapisovalcem, da bi sledili živosti ljudskih pesmi med slovenskim vojaštvom. Da je bilo petje prisotno ob naborih in na frontah, pričajo zapisi v časnikih, kot na primer:

> *Nocoj ponoči je odhajalo nad tisoč slovenskih črnovojnikov* […] *v vojaško službo.* […] [N]*a sredi* [so, op. a.] *imeli pritrjeno slovensko zastavo, množica pa je neumorno prepevala patriotične, vojaške narodne pesmi in himne* (Slovenec, 21. 5. 1915, 3).

Prav tako je zgovorna zapuščina fotografij slovenskih vojakov z bojišč prve svetovne vojne, na katerih je mogoče prepoznati razna glasbila (harmonika, kitara, klarinet, violina, ipd.). Glasbila so pogosta na fotografijah vojaškega vsakdana, ko se je bojno ozračje umirilo in so si vojaki krajšali čas s prepevanjem in igranjem. Prav tako glasbila prepoznamo na nekaterih skupinskih fotografijah, kjer se pojavljata predvsem vojaška trobenta in boben. Posebnost Velike vojne, ki hkrati pričajo o prisotnosti slovenske ljudske pesmi, so priložnostni dokumenti *Vojska v slikah*. To so vojne razglednice, ki so izhajale v enajstih serijah pod imenom *Vojska v podobah* (oz. po letu 1915 *Vojska v slikah*). Poleg naslikanih podob je moč zaslediti dele slovenskih ljudskih pesmi, predvsem na razglednicah Maksima Gasparija in Antona Koželja. Pojavljajo se pesmi *Regiment po cesti gre* (l. 1914, l. 1916), *Po gorah je ivje* (l. 1914), *Ena ptička priletela* (l. 1915), *Lepa si pomlad zelena*, idr. (UKM, inv. 3h–9; MNSZS MO 23137, R 419; Krmelj et al., 2020; Gaspari, 1915a; 1915b).

Katere pesmi so prepevali slovenski vojaki, lahko predpostavljamo tudi na podlagi vsebine pesmaric tistega obdobja. Tedaj so na Slovenskem izšle štiri zbirke slovenskih ljudskih in avtorskih pesmi z vojaško vsebino. Aprila leta 1915 je izšla pesmarica z naslovom *Narodne vojaške*, ki jih je zbral in uredil duhovnik Fran Ferjančič[6] ter zajema venček 9 ljudskih pesmi. V istem letu je bila izdana pesmarica Antona Kosija[7] *Vojaške narodne – za šolo in dom*, ki zaobjema 26 pesmi, od tega je 23 ljudskih in 3 avtorske pesmi. Prav tako je bila leta 1915 izdana pesmarica Frana Marolta[8] *Slovenske vojaške narodne pesmi*, kjer je zbranih 35 ljudskih in 7 avtorskih pesmi. Leto kasneje je bila izdana zbirka Rudolfa von Andrejka[9] v nemškem jeziku *Slovenische Kriegs – und Soldatenlieder*, ki vsebuje nemške prevode 14 avtorskih in 12 ljudskih pesmi. V zbirkah so prevladovale predvsem slovenske ljudske pesmi z vojaško vsebino, kar na podlagi tematske urejenosti potrjuje njihov namen izdaj v obdobju vojne. V predgovoru pesmarice *Slovenske vojaške narodne pesmi* je Fran

6 Fran Ferjančič (*1. december 1867, Goče, †10. junij 1943, Ljubljana); bil je slovenski glasbenik, skladatelj in duhovnik (Lisac, 2013).

7 Anton Kosi (*16. januar 1864, Godemarci, † 20. april 1945, Badličan, Hrvaška); bil je slovenski mladinski in narodno–gospodarski pisatelj in glasbenik (Šlebinger, 2013a).

8 Fran Marolt (*19. avgust 1865, Ljubljana, †19. januar 1945, Ljubljana); bil je slovenski glasbenik in šolnik (Šlebinger, 2013b).

9 Rudolf von Andrejka pl. Livnogradski (*22. julij 1880, Ljubljana, †19. oktober 1948, Ljubljana); bil je pravnik, pisatelj in kulturni delavec (Grum, 2013).

Slika 2: 27. pehotni polk na Marmoladi (hrani: Muzej novejše in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije).

Marolt navedel: »Slovenec prepeva ob vsaki priliki. Naravno je, da sklada in poje tudi slovenski fant–vojak. […] [P]esem ga dela neutrudnega. Ona mu podžiga pogum, dviguje moč in preganja domotožje in dolgčas« (Marolt, 1915, 1). Avtorske pesmi v zbirkah so bolj propagandno usmerjene, kar prepoznamo po uporabi aluzije na vladarsko hišo in monarhično terminologijo, kot npr.: »s habsburškim bo tronom vedno sreča trdna Avstrije!«; »Živi cesar domovina, večna bode Avstrija!« (Kosi, 1915, 29–30), ter apelirajo k spoštovanju in obrambi države, kot npr. »Slava naj deželi klije, blagor bod' pri nas doma« (Kosi, 1915, 29–30); »Mi čvrsti Slovenci smo, gremo na boj za pravdo, za dom, za cesarja.«; »za blagor očetnjave naj puška govori!« (Marolt, 1915, 55, 67). Med avtorskimi pesmimi izstopa *Cesarska pesem* (I. Haydn), znana kot himna Avstro-Ogrske monarhije, ki je tudi na repertoarju Kosijeve in Maroltove zbirke (Kosi, 1915; Marolt 1915).

Izražanje pripadnosti monarhiji in cesarju Francu Jožefu lahko vidimo tudi v koračnici *Pesem slovenskih* vojakov, kjer je že na začetku izpostavljeno: »Bratje Slovenci smo, Avstrijo ljubimo« (Kosi, 1915, 3). Ta koračnica je prirejena pesem iz obdobja čitalnic, in sicer gre za *Pesem narodnih stražnikov*, avtorja Franca Malavšiča. Začetni verz »Bratje! Slovenci smo, svobodo ljubimo (Bagarič, 2017, 27) je Anton Kosi priredil v prej zapisan verz. Med drugim lahko v pesmi prepoznamo parafrazirano geslo slovenskih narodnih buditeljev: »za dom, cesarja vse« (Kosi, 1915, 3), kar lahko tudi v tedaj novih vojnih okoliščinah razumemo kot simbol zvestobe cesarju in sočasno domovini. Že omenjeno zvestobo Slovencev, ki je bila nekakšen del tradicije in identifikacije, ni prepoznavna le v avtorski pesmi, pač pa jo razberemo tudi v slovenski ljudski pesmi. Največkrat je moč zaslediti poimenovanje cesarja kot *očeta monarhije*, kot je to na primer v pesmi *Mal postojmo!* – »k'mamo očeta dobrega: Franca Jožefa!« (Marolt, 1915, 2). Kot izpostavlja Antoličič so Slovenci dojemali cesarja Franca Jožefa kot »dobrega starega vladarja, ki je kot očetovski duh bdel nad svojimi narodi« (Antoličič, 2021, 93), in katerega spoštovan osebnostni kult je ostal do razpada monarhije.[10] V nadaljevanju pa je izpostavljenih nekaj primerov slovenskih ljudskih pesmi iz prej naštetih pesmaric, v katerih smo razbrali

10 Preko ustnega izročila se je prav tako ohranila kitica z omembo cesarice Elizabete, ki pa v pesmarici tega obdobja ni zapisana – »*Malo si postojmo, / pa eno si zapojmo. / Smo meli dobro mamico, / Liza, Lizabetiko.*« Ta kitica potrjuje dejstvo, da so Slovenci pripisovali tudi cesarici vlogo matere naroda, podobno kot cesarju vlogo očeta. Za več o tem Vidmar Horvat (2021).

elemente narodne identifikacije, kot so ubeseditev narodnih emblemov (npr. slovenska trobojnica) in zgodovinskega spomina na tedanje aktualne dogodke Velike vojne, kjer so bili udeleženi Slovenci.

V besedilu pesmi *Regiment po cesti gre* je mogoče razbrati sopomenke slovenske trobojnice, vendar je potrebno pri tem opozoriti na zamenjavo rdeče in modre barve v zaporedju. Predpostavljamo, da je razlog za zamenjavo sličnost s trobojnico nasprotnika v vojni, in sicer s trobojnico ruskega carstva in je bila zamenjava v zapisu namenska. »Dala mu je belega, […] Dala mu je rdečega […] Dala mu je plavega [modrega, op. a.][…]« (Marolt, 1915, 7). Prva kitica te pesmi se pojavlja tudi na propagandni razglednici iz cikla *Vojska v slikah* (Marolt, 1915; MNSZS MO 23137, R 419).

Besedila objavljenih ljudskih pesmi so največkrat prilagojena trenutnim dogodkom. Ljudski pesmi je namreč inherentno, da se v okviru obstoječe metrične sheme besedilo lahko prilagaja in aktualizira, zato predstavlja arzenal oblik, ki so pripravljene za rabo v novih kontekstih. Predpostavljamo, da so začetni meseci vojne pri ljudeh obudili spomin na ljudske pesmi z vojaško tematiko, ki so jih v nadaljevanju vojne aktualizirali z nanašalnicami na dogajanje na vzhodni fronti, kamor so bili poslani slovenski vojaki v sklopu avstro-ogrske vojske (Antoličič, 2017, 906–909; Hazemali, 2017, 175–179). Slednje je moč zaslediti v pesmi *N'coj je prav lep večer*, kjer je zabeležena zamenjava »marširajo gor na Francozovsko« z »marširajo tja gor na Rusovsko« (Kosi, 1915, 18). Izpostavljeno pa ni samo bojevanje proti Ruskemu imperiju na vzhodnem bojišču, ampak tudi proti Kraljevini Italiji, ki je stopila v vojno s tajnim Londonskim memorandumom maja 1915. Na podlagi tega se je odprlo na zahodnem delu slovenskega etničnega ozemlja novo bojišče, kamor je bila napotena večina slovenskih mož (Svoljšak & Antoličič, 2018). Sklepamo, da so takšne spremembe besedil nastale po maju leta 1915, torej po tem, ko je Italija stopila v vojno. V besedilih pesmi pogostokrat zasledimo poimenovanje Italijanov kot *Lahov*,[11] na primer v pesmi *Tam za laškim gričem* in *Solnce mi rajža*. V obravnavanih pesmih, ki so bile natisnjene v vojaških pesmaricah, lahko izpostavimo tematizacije boja, obrambe lastne domovine in zato lahko pesmi označimo za patriotične (Marolt, 1915). Vendar pa iz samih pesmi, objavljenih v pesmaricah iz prve polovice Velike vojne, ni razviden premik v vzponu slovenske narodne zavesti ali politični emancipaciji naroda.

RAZLIKE MED SLOVENSKIM PETJEM NA FRONTI IN V ZALEDJU

Na veliko soboto že pozno zvečer je prišlo povelje, da moramo nastopiti in sicer: Ogri skupaj, Nemci skupaj in Slovenci zopet skupaj, nakar smo začeli peti velikonočne in nekatere narodne pesmi. Ker je bil poveljnik Oger, so imeli Ogri prednost in začeli prvi peti, potem Nemci in najzadnje Slovenci. Ko smo nehali, je rekel častniški namestnik: […] *»Nihče ne zna tako lepo peti, kakor Slovenci«.* (Tedenske slike, 14. 6. 1916, 361–362)

Slika 3: Anton Koželj, Regiment po cesti gre, razglednica (MNSZS, MO 23137, R 419, hrani: Muzej novejše in sodobne zgodovine Slovenije).

Péta pesem je bila med vojaštvom, predvsem narodnostno mešanim avstro-ogrskim, v obdobju Velike vojne tisti element, ki je pripomogel tudi k izražanju narodne identifikacije. Ker je vojna zaostrila odnose med narodi, je bila javna identifikacija še toliko bolj izpostavljeno dejanje. Obenem pa je bilo petje ljudskih pesmi v domačem jeziku na bojiščih Velike vojne tudi intimno dejanje vsakega posameznika. Bilo je moralna opora, hkrati pa tudi povezovalni člen med vojaštvom iste narodnosti. »Vse poje, ista pesem za vsakega, vsak čuti isto! Starec poje z mladcem,

11 Lah: slabšalni izraz za pripadnika italijanske narodne skupnosti (Fran, 2023).

Dolenjec z Gorenjcem, bogati z revnim, […] Vojna vse pobrati, kar rodil je beli dan. […] Blagoslovljena bodi domača pesem, ki daješ poguma« (Slovenec, 11. 11. 1915, 2). Petje v istem jeziku je pripomoglo k premagovanju socialnih razlik ter je presegalo lokalno in deželno pripadnost ter privedlo k povezovanju v nacionalnem okviru. Kakšno potrebo po petju v slovenskem jeziku so čutili vojaki, priča odlomek iz časnika *Slovenski narod*:

> *Mirna, jasna noč se je razgledovala po brezkončni ravnini z milijoni bleščečih oči. Prepeli smo domala vse znane narodne pesmi.* […] *V tem razpoloženju bi skoro pozabili, da stojimo v neposredni bližini sovražnika, da ni priletel* […] *nekdo z novico, da so* […] *pripravljeni na napad.* […] *Komaj stopim iz njegovega zavetja, že me preseneti petje,* […] *To vendar ne morejo biti naši? Ali pojo Rusi? – Poslušam. Ne, to je naša pesem.* […] *Da, to so naši. Celo glasove poznam: moja večerna družba. K njim!* […] *Ali sem mislil takrat na največjo nevarnost*[…]*? Niti najmanj ne! Tako brezskrbno sem hodil* […] [lahko op. a.] *bi se izprožil proti meni smrtonosni strel* […] *Nobenih takih razmišljanj ni bilo takrat v meni. Samo da pridem do svoje trojice.* […] *Dosegel sem jih.* […] *Zdaj smo zapeli v kvartetu* […]. (Slovenski narod, 31. 7. 1915, 3)

Po analizi repertoarja pesmaric in seznamu fonografiranih pesmi je razvidno, da so najpogosteje peli pesmi z vojaško tematiko. Zaželene so bile pesmi s primernimi besedili, ki niso smela biti vsebinsko sporna, saj jih je oblast nadzorovala. Številne pesmi so se nanašale na življenja vojakov in jih pogosto hrabrila. V pesmih je mnogokrat prisotno hrepenenje – po domovini, po starših in po ljubljenih osebah. S pomočjo pesmi so lahko izrazili svoje občutke, ki jih sicer niso mogli, niso smeli ali pa niso želeli javno izraziti. Dr. Leo Hajek, ki je fonografiral pesmi med narodi avstrijskega dela monarhije, je opazil razliko med petjem južnih Slovanov in avstrijskih vojakov (Bruckmüller-Schindler, 2015).

> *Medtem ko naši* [avstrijski, op. M. K.] *vojaki pojejo večinoma med marširanjem, nekatera ljudstva, kot na primer Južni Slovani, raje pojejo po opravljenem delu, med počitkom,* […] *zato tam velikokrat naletimo na otožne pesmi, pogosto baladnega značaja* (Klobčar, 2012, 38; cf. Murko, 1929, 45).

Prav ta ugotovitev dr. Hajeka o načinu petja slovenskih vojakov na bojiščih prve svetovne vojne je zelo pomembna, vendar velikokrat spregledana. Slovenci so ohranili navade od doma in so tudi na frontah velikokrat zapeli ob koncu dneva, ko so se razmere na bojiščih umirile. Na Slovenskem je ohranjenih le malo delovnih pesmi, pa tudi petje ob delu je povezano predvsem s fizično manj napornimi deli. Zato predpostavljamo, da je tudi na bojiščih ob večerih zazvenela otožna slovenska pesem, s katero so se lahko vojaki v spominu vrnili k svojim domačim, ljubljenim (Klobčar, 2012). Ob razmeroma mirnem vzdušju so lahko zapeli večglasno, kar je bilo prav tako značilno za njihovo petje doma. Na podlagi tega so bili Slovenci pozneje stereotipno označeni za bojazljive in premalo junaške, kar naj bi odražalo prepevanje otožnih pesmi. Vendar pa so bili slovenski vojaki zvesti monarhiji in so se častno borili, po letu 1915 pa so se borili tudi neposredno za slovensko ozemlje. Slovenski narod je v monarhiji še zmeraj videl najboljšo možnost za narodni obstoj, čeprav se je ta miselnost ob koncu vojne spremenila (Griesser-Pečar, 2019; Klobčar, 2012).

Pesmi so kasneje živele tudi po vrnitvi z bojišč, najpogosteje v gostilniškem ozračju in ob vasovanju, kjer so se zbirali in družili možje in fantje. Pri tem so se tipi pesmi razlikovali, saj so pri druženju mož v gostilnah prevladovale pesmi z junaško in patriotsko vsebino. Slednje so običajno izražale kolektivni spomin na služenje vojaškega roka in udeležbe v vojni. Ob vasovanjih pa so prevladovale pesmi, ki so imele sporočilnost slovesa. Ta tip pesmi se je ohranil tudi po tem, ko je sama sporočilnost odhoda na vojsko, slovesa in s tem dvoma vrnitve, izginila in je bilo stanje nastanka tega tipa pesmi le še bled spomin (Klobčar, 2012).

SKLEP

Velika vojna med letoma 1914 in 1918 je bila pomembna prelomnica, ki je zaznamovala zgodovino dvajsetega stoletja, pri čemer seveda Slovenci v okviru Avstro-Ogrske monarhije niso bili izvzeti. Emancipacijske težnje, ki so jih Slovenci oblikovali že pred izbruhom vojne in so tekom nje eskalirale, so povzročile zavedanje o pomembnosti krepitve in izražanju lastne, narodne identitete. Slednje je bilo med množico na nek način pogojeno tudi s prepevanje ljudskih pesmi, ki so izražale narodno kulturo, v tem primeru narodno kulturo Slovencev. V obdobju Velike vojne so pevci ponovno začeli prepevati že skoraj pozabljene ljudske pesmi z vojaško tematiko, ki so jih kontestualizirali v skladu z novimi okoliščinami in z dogodki. Da je slovenska ljudska vojaška pesem dejansko bila izvajana med Slovenci na bojiščih, pričajo zapuščine fotografij, priložnostnih dokumentov (razglednice in pesmarice) in predvsem zvočni posnetki slovenskih ljudskih pesmi iz tega obdobja. O obdobju prve svetovne vojne na Slovenskem pričajo številni zgodovinski viri. Kot poseben vir lahko do neke mere razumemo tudi slovensko ljudsko pesem, ki je tedaj živela med narodom, predvsem med tistimi, ki so bili aktivno vključeni v vojno dogajanje na bojiščih. Iz teh pesmi lahko razberemo tako intimno doživljanje posameznikov kot tudi izražanje kolektivne zavesti.

SLOVENIAN FOLK SONG AS AN ELEMENT OF NATIONAL IDENTIFICATION OF SLOVENES DURING THE FIRST WORLD WAR

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SUMMARY

Based on collections of Slovenian folk songs published during the First World War, this paper presents Slovenian folk songs as an element of national identification during the Great War. The war period between 1914 and 1918 marked the beginning of the intense emancipation in Slovenian history, which was also reflected in the cultural sphere. At the beginning of the war, old military folk songs were revived in Slovenia, which easily identified with the events of the time and provided emotional and, above all, moral support for the mobilised Slovenian men. On the basis of an analysis of the lyrics of selected songs, are presented the elements of national identification, in which are also recognised their broader socio–cultural meaning. The liveliness of the songs among Slovenian soldiers at that time is sketched on the basis of analyses of photographs, records, occasional documents and unique sound recordings. The paper highlights the importance of Slovenian folk songs as a historical source in which intimate emotions of individuals can be recognised, as well as the collective memory and identifications of the larger community – the nation.

Keywords: Great War, National consciousness, Folk song, National identification

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Andrew Teversen (ed.):
THE FAIRY TALE WORLD.
London, Routledge, 2019
484 pp.

Andrew Teverson's volume *The Fairy Tale World* is a comprehensive work in the field of fairy tale studies and addresses various perspectives on fairy tales from around the world. The fairy tales are examined within their cultural, historical, and socio-political frameworks. In this way, it goes beyond the analysis of individual fairy tales and delves into the broader context of the genre.

> *First, this collection revisits the European canon, but with a view to making that canon strange: showing how that canon is forged from international influences, and exposing the hidden assumptions that have resulted in a local European form of an international genre becoming seen as the universal and transcendent embodiment of the form*. (p. 10–11)

The very definition of the term and the debate that Teversen linked to Andrew Lang quickly led to the first of many conflicts in this area. Fairy tales are permeated with Eurocentric and Western connections, which threaten to obscure the specificity, diversity, and function of the genres of oral storytelling. Teversen attempts to overcome this by emphasizing the international influence of fairy tales, exploring how "Märchen" have evolved around the world, expanding the canon of fairy tales, and researching and incorporating marginalized parts to create a new basis for understanding. Thus, the aim of the book is to challenge the concept of a "Fairy Tale" that standardizes global wonder tales according to a Euro-American framework. However, it offers a possibility to redefine and de-centralize the term "mainstream", which is widely used among English-speaking communities (p. 12).

The book is divided into five sections, each part containing seven or eight chapters. The sections – *The Formation of the Canon*, *Africa and the Caribbean*, *The Americas*, *Asia and Australasia*, and *Europe* – provide an overview of both specific themes as well as the current state of research in these areas. However, intertwining threads, especially those related to colonialism, imperialism, and the origins of fairy tales, stretch throughout the entire anthology.

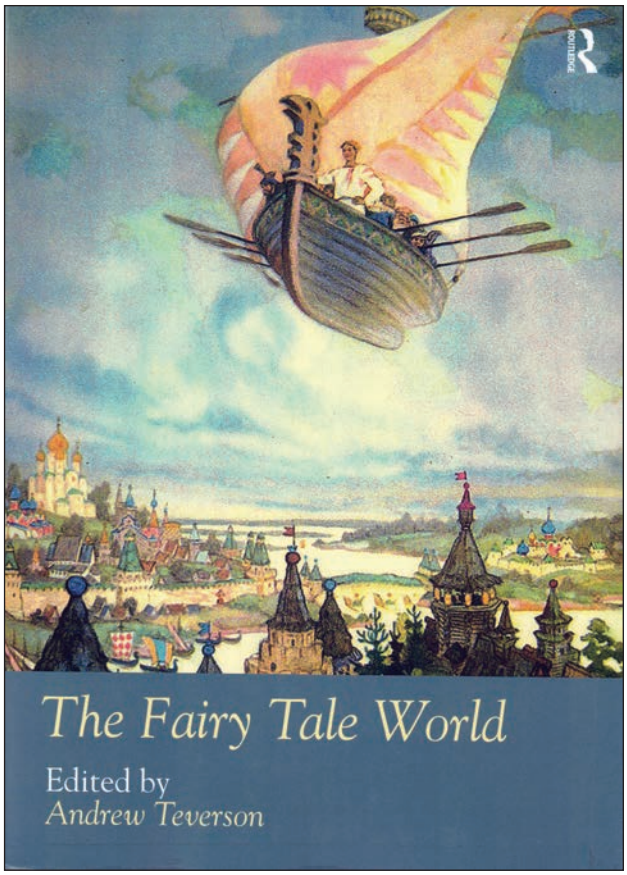
The introductory section of the book, titled *The Formation of the Canon*, sets a reflective tone with Donald Haase's chapter *Global or Local? Where Do Fairy Tales Belong?*, wherein he delves into the global and local dimensions of fairy tales, which encourages the reader to think and reflect beyond the confines of traditional assumptions. This idea is further expanded by Cristina Bacchilega in her chapter *Decolonizing the Canon: Critical challenges to Eurocentrism* with a discursive field advocating for inclusivity in the fairy tale canon beyond Eurocentric borders. The diverse array of perspectives, complicated histories, transformations of fairy tales, and analyses offer a multifaceted understanding of the fairy tale genre across different cultures and time periods. In the chapter *The Middle Eastern World's Contribution to Fairy-Tale History* Ulrich Marzolph challenges the conventional understanding of fairy tales as predominantly a Western genre while highlighting the influence of Middle Eastern traditions, especially Muslim culture, on their origin and dissemination around the world. At the same time, he points out that this part of the narrative heritage of the Middle East represents only a small fragment of its rich culture that still awaits in-depth research in all its thematic and motif diversity and as a potential source of inspiration for European fairy tales (p. 51). The section continues with questions of interpretation, issues of transcription, and the origins of fairy tales in Italy, Germany, and France. Nancy L. Canepa continues the theme and delves into the beginning of the literary fairy tale in early modern Italy, which marks the transition of fairy tales from oral folklore and other narrative forms into the written collections of authors such as G. F. Straparola and G. Basile (p. 58). Similar to Italian Fairy Tales, the French Fairy Tales captured the atmosphere of the court in their themes and terminology (p. 68), which Christine A. Jones uses well as selected texts in her chapter *Social Change and the Development of the Fairy Tale in France*.

The first part of the section lays the foundation for the development of the theme in the continuation. The rest of the volume is divided into geographical areas and in doing so it highlights how ideologies are essentially equivalent to understanding the response to colonial and neo-colonial cultural practices (p. 12). It broadens the knowledge of the global circulation of folktales across all countries and regions despite being bounded by strict national borders. But Teversen also points out that even in such a large volume of fairy tales it would be impossible to consider the diversity of cultural contexts globally (p. 13). Ruth Finnegan in her chapter *Fairy Tale in Africa: A Contrast of Centuries* points out the issue with the question "*Are there fairy tales in Africa?*" (p. 105). Problems and difficulties in classifying folk narratives are discussed in Emily Zobel Marshall's contribution *This is not a Fairy Tale: Anansi and*

the Web of Narrative Power. John Bierhorst addresses related issues in *Myths and Folktales in Latin America*, where he presents a sample of Spanish folk narratives and focuses mainly on myths, fables, and folk tales and their derivatives, which do not follow the traditional model of fairy tales (p. 199).

Throughout the volume *The Fairy Tale World*, it can be discerned that the effects of colonialism and imperialism are closely intertwined with the difficulties in recording and translating stories into different languages, while also highlighting Western and Eurocentric bias. As Pamela Lothspeich emphasized in her chapter *Lovely Fairies and Crafty Ghosts in Indian Tales*, there are many ways to categorize literary works in India, but it is noticeable that English categories for stories – fairy tales, myths, legends, fables, romances – are inadequate to describe them. India has its own system of categorizing stories, its own lexicon of symbols, motifs, and themes, in various languages and regions, among different ethnic communities (p. 309). On the other hand, with her methodological approach in the chapter *The Politics and Poetics of Märchen in Hawaiian-Language Newspapers*, Marie Alohalani Brown contributes to the removal of bias in the representation of indigenous stories. Her solution/methodology was the search for genre markers, including those used in the Märchen narratives she encountered over the last decade. Taking a step further in recognizing embedded bias and the precedence of European dominance with their contributions are Rebecca-Anne Do Rozario in the chapter *Fairies in a Strange Land: Colonization, migration, and the Invention of the Australian Fairy Tale* and Danielle Wood in the chapter *Renegotiating Once upon a time: Fairy tales in contemporary Australian writing*. Do Rozario explores how an Australian fairy tale tradition is developed with little dependence on European tales and instead by emphasizing nationalistic tales with the exclusion of native storytelling (p. 375). In further reading into the section *Asia and Australasia*, we can see that each author discusses the influence of the Western fairy tale tradition on their own culture and their acceptance or rejection of the indigenous narration modes. In this context, Mayako Murai in *The Fairy Tale in Contemporary Japanese Literature and Art* discusses fairy tale adaptations in Japanese society penetrating different media while considering those that deal with social and environmental problems. On the other hand, Sung Ae Lee in *Memory, Trauma, and History: Fairy-tale Film in Korea* considers Korean fairy tale films as well as dramas that have historical, memory, and trauma components that adapt folklore legends in order to respond to social problems (p. 356).

The Americas section depicts the big-picture approach taken by contributing authors while analyzing fairy tales of modern societies and how fairy tales reflect and construct understandings of gender, sexuality, and identity. Pauline Greenhill in the chapter *Sexes, sexualities, and Gender in Cinematic North and South American Fairy Tales: Transforming Cinderellas* expands her premise about the heteronormative reputation of fairy tales that exclusively portray heterosexual romantic relationships. They emerge in fairy tales both in every version and variant on TV shows, films, pop songs, computer games, and so forth regardless of a particular nation, culture, or language. Fairy tale movies are just representations of many retellings that can have a subtle or blunt influence on typical notions of what makes up an identity as well as relations between people (p. 248). Moreover, the texts show that fairy tales and adaptations commonly question or undermine conventional gender constructs and heterosexuality. Representation of sex, gender, and sexuality in fairy tales varies across cultures and types of media. Jeana Jorgensen in the chapter *Gender, sexuality, and the Fairy Tale in Contemporary American Literature* and Greenhill examine, among other issues, how modern writers and directors are reinventing fairy



tales by redefining gender and sexuality. Likewise, Brittany Warman in *Fairy Tales and Digital Culture* points out that fairy tales thrive in digital culture alluding to emerging modes of involvement and narration. Because of the broad scope of the subject, it is impossible to include every retelling of a fairy tale in contemporary American literature, let alone all possible theoretical approaches (p. 270). Fairy tales are no longer the same as the typical or "Disneyfied" stories but rather incorporate varying and more complex characters and themes and as Warman pointed out, a complete understanding of fairy tales and digital culture would require far more research or even a work devoted entirely to fairy tales on the Internet and it would necessitate assessments of everything from digital humanities initiatives to web archives (p. 274).

The last section *Europe* holds an interesting chapter *Eco-Critical Perspectives: Nature and the Supernatural in the Cinderella Cycle* written by Nicole A. Thesz. With an ecocritical approach, she depicts that in fairy tales flora and fauna assist humankind. As she suggests, some adaptations introduce the concept of Cinderella's curfew, which serves as a warning that nature and the supernatural may desert humanity if they are exploited. This serves as an unequivocal alert about the intrinsic benevolence of the natural world (p. 436). Sarah Bonner's chapter *Tales Retold: Fairy Tales in Contemporary European Visual Art* shifts the focus to a controversial reassessment of gender portrayal in fairy tales. She explores how female artists have reinvented their images and narrated alternative stories through the lens of non-traditional fairy tale visuals. In the chapter *New Materialism and Contemporary Fairy Tale Fiction*, Amy Greenhough looks at the active agency of nature and matter in a revision of fairy tales. This marks a movement away from static or deterministic viewpoints toward recognizing a lively interdependent world (p. 460). Kimberly J. Lau's *Of Genres and Geopolitics: The European Fairy Tale and the Global Novel* explores temporal tangles of genres, drawing a link between the fairy tale and the world novel and uncovering their geopolitics. As she claims in her chapter, the global novel alienates the European fairy tale and exposes the illusion of its seeming universality and instead, highlights the geopolitical circumstances surrounding its creation and dissemination (p. 471). When taken together, these chapters are not simply concerned with retellings, but with repositioning fairy tales within current issues such as ecologism, feminist politics, post-materialist agency, and global narrative.

All chapters in Andrew Teversen's edited book give an impactful insight into diverse perceptions of fairy tales and encourage readers to experience them through different lenses. A similar approach to giving a comprehensive overview of fairy tales can be found in Jack Zipes's *The Oxford Companion to Fairy Tales* but Teversen takes it a step further. The methodology throughout the book *The Fairy Tale World* is both historical and comparative and delves into the cultural and political context. As such it gives a scholarly yet accessible viewpoint to fairy tales and is a praiseworthy effort to explain the complexities behind fairy tales and their lasting impression on cultural heritage.

Jasmina Rejec

Cristina Bacchilega & Jennifer Orme (eds.):
INVITING INTERRUPTIONS: WONDER TALES IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY. Series in Fairy-Tale Studies.
Detroit, Wayne State University Press, 2021,
254 pp.

Inviting Interruptions: Wonder Tales in the Twenty-First Century is an anthology of 21st-century fairy tales that reminds readers that fairy tales are not just for children. Besides conventional modern adaptations, it features numerous magical and enchanting narratives that defy traditional storytelling conventions and challenge social norms. The collected authors, whose stories have been curated by editors Cristina Bacchilega and Jennifer Orme, reimagine well-known fairy tales to create a new imaginative world. In this world, marginalized groups have a voice, and readers experience the events from their perspectives. These tales use the fairy tale format as a tool to provide an alternative view of the world, countering dominant media representation and highlighting the challenging experiences of women, homosexuals, disabled individuals, Jews, children displaced from war zones, and more. The collection comprises stories that for the most part aim to create a new, more understanding, and fair world. They allow the marginalized not only to speak but also to create their own magical worlds to claim the space they deserve.

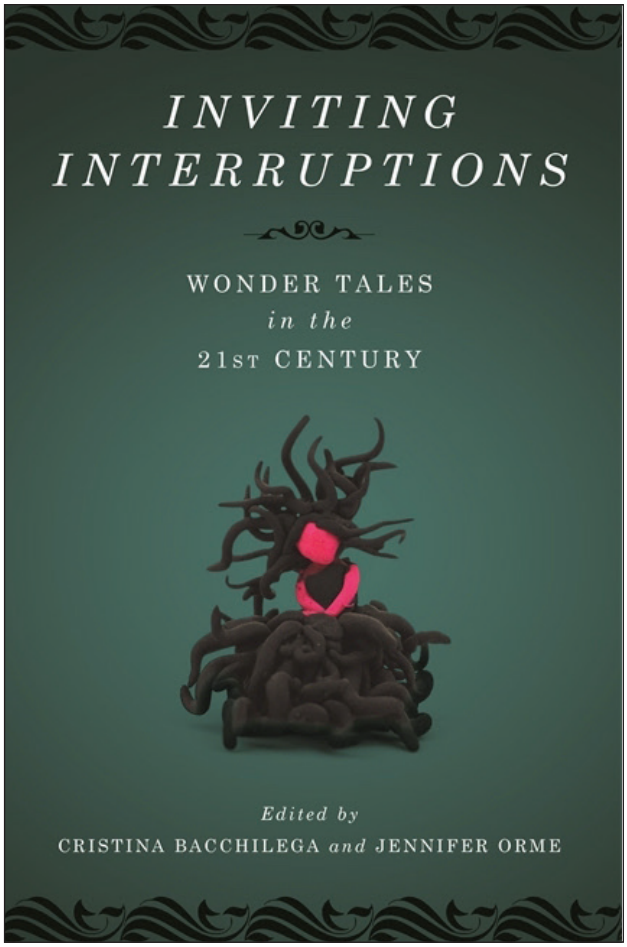
The anthology encompasses a selection of fairy tales and visual masterpieces, such as photographs of sculptures and paintings related to the realm of fairy tales. These are not typically found in the mainstream commercial market, as they transform the genre according to their needs and goals, with the intention of conveying their subversive message. These fairy tales have a common thread of ''inviting interruptions'', challenging the known patterns of fairy tales as a genre and the perspectives of storytelling. Traditionally, fairy tales are often seen as intended for children or as light entertainment for the whole family, but rarely as something to be taken seriously. This anthology

aims to prove the opposite: the social power of fairy tale messages, the impact of their narratives, and their relevance to adults, if not primarily so. Fairy tales are taken as a form in which selected ideologies are clearly reflected, and they have the ability to spread ideologies that oppose the prevailing ones. What unites these works is their disruption of the normative ideologies typically found in popular fairy tales and their replacement with new perspectives, inviting the reader to exchange familiar tracks for new, more challenging paths that shake up our perception of reality. They subvert traditional narratives by drawing the reader into empathizing with unexpected protagonists, thereby compelling them to contemplate alternative perspectives, a topic that has gained more attention in the 21st century. Some of the tales take more well-known older fairy tales as a starting point, transforming them into contemporary narratives with a modern message: they embed their own desires, needs, concerns, and understanding of the world into the heart of the story.

The collection is divided into two parts: the title itself consists of the words ''invitation'' and ''interruption''. The word ''invitation'' acts as a friendly inclusion into an activity, and the first half of the anthology, titled *Inviting Interruptions*, truly guides the reader through fairy tales that broaden horizons, introduces unique magical characters, and showcases new perspectives. For example, it presents a tale where a girl with a developmental disorder narrates a story reminiscent of Hansel and Gretel (*The Tale of the Cottage* by Emma Donoghue); introduces a short story in the form of a graphic novel about a lesbian mermaid (*How to be a Mermaid* by Maya Kern); confronts us with a narrative about an animal kingdom addressing the greed of consumerism and ecological catastrophe (*A Tale of a King* by Shaun Tan); and even includes a link to a special version of the film adaptation of Little Red Riding Hood (*Little Red Riding Hood* by David Kaplan). The collected fairy tales cordially invite us to enter into a presentation of a different worldview and take the time to listen to voices we might not want to hear.

The second half of the book is titled *Interrupting Invitations*, where ''interruptions in invitations'' means that these stories are more forceful, rougher, and deliver a stronger message. They don't ask for our sympathy or attention but demand it. They use their strong character development and well-crafted narrative arcs to draw readers in, and their darkness leaves a lasting impression. Sometimes more disruptive interruptions are necessary to implement real change and make us consider alternative paths. These stories create interruptions to make us pause and think about new solutions because friendly invitations may no longer work. For instance, we encounter a story about a boy who left his homeland due to war, facing a challenging new reality (*Fairytales for Lost Children* by Diriye Osman), a story of a young Jewish girl who seeks revenge for her father's death (*Among the Thorns* by Veronica Schanoes), and the inner struggles of a woman who doesn't fit the promoted image of the supermom (*The Good Mother* by Danielle Wood), among other stories that break down the walls of the known.

The last part of the book's title suggests that it consists of stories and visuals that originated in the United Kingdom in the 21st century, positioned in a modern world dealing with contemporary issues. However, the editors acknowledge that the 21st century didn't start exactly when the clock struck midnight on January 1, 2000. Therefore, they included three works that originated in the late 20th century, seeing them as ''seeds'' that were planted in the 20th century and sprouted in the 21st century, containing concepts, language, and cultural contexts relevant to this century. One such example is the story *El cuento evenenado* by Rosario Ferr, originally published in 1985, and its English translation *A Poisoned Tale* in 1991, which highlights the power and danger of



slander and spreading false information, especially during times of political upheaval. A similar example is *The Tale of the Cottage*, published by the author Emma Donoghue in the collection *Kissing the Witch* in 1997. However, more notable is the short film by David Kaplan from 1997, which transformed the fairy tale *Little Red Riding Hood* into his own interpretation featuring a seductive girl playing with a transbiological wolf – a ballet dancer.

The disruptions present in these fairy tales are both substantive and structural in nature. Substantively, the reader confronts various environmental and social issues addressing race, gender, sexuality, social class, and disability. Additionally, political issues such as educational opportunities, religious conflicts, abuse of power, and internalized self-hatred due to learned external influences are explored. These disruptions compel us to see the everyday world in a different light, employing magical elements and Disney characters, among other things. Structurally, the tales astonish with unique narrative techniques that surpass conventional methods, eluding traditional genre characteristics, thereby enhancing the magic and tragedy of each individual story. ''*But I was allowed to dream. And in my dreams Ivar became my prince, hacking at the thorns that hemmed me in. He slew dragons, fought fire with a shield and sword, all to a Tchaikovsky score. The boy was Michael Jackson bad. And he would kiss me to break the spell. He would kiss me but all that'd break would be my heart. He could never be mine*'' (p. 86). This heart-wrenching story tells of a young boy, Xirisi, in *Fairytales for Lost Children*, who loses himself in his imagination, living out his dreams. On the other hand, the tale demonstrates how we can internally regulate external events and promote change within ourselves and others. Xirisi leans on Disney fairy tales, but what do these tales actually teach children? The story acts as a disruption in familiar Disney fairy tales, where silenced voices speak out and the familiar meets the unknown: the story of a child facing discrimination, abuse, and war.

Each fairy tale is followed by notes from the authors which are provided as additional information necessary to understand and interpret the story, along with questions that invite further reflection. However, the editors and authors never offer their interpretations to explain the meaning; on the contrary, they strongly encourage the reader to create their own interpretation and understanding of what they have read. Instead of guiding towards a specific interpretation, the creators of the anthology have chosen to try to teach the reader how to rely on their own perceptions, where to find additional sources, and how to approach the content critically. The notes, therefore, contain hints and guidelines on how to take a fictional narrative and gain insight into a world that would otherwise remain foreign and unknown, attempting to comprehend it.

> *This approach led us to another practice as editors who want to encourage thinking with tales of wonder. Our characters, tales, images, tellers, and artists offer no apologies for their difference. The invitations and interruptions they have produced come from, to one degree or another, the outside. Often outsiders are expected to explain themselves to the in-group; they are made to offer translations into the dominant language and culture. As compilers and editors, we too offer no explanations or translations to help readers along*. (p. xviii)
> *Some people who consider themselves to be good book readers feel they don't know how to look at art; they are unsure of what they are supposed to see or do. They wonder in anxious tones, "But what does it mean?!?"—as though an image should have a single, unambiguous meaning that you should be able to understand all in one gulp. As with a story or a film, reading visual art takes time. Allow yourself to savor the experience of looking. Then again, you don't want to just sit there staring at a page feeling ¯_(ツ)_/¯. So allow us to suggest some aspects of visual art to take into consideration when pondering these wondrous images*. (p. xxi)

Editors clearly but gently invite the reader not to be intimidated by the texts and art in front of them. In the introduction, they offer guidance, a starting point from which to approach reading and viewing the collection of fairy tales and visual art, so that the reader can be prepared to dive into the depths of the selective fairy tales, without preaching about the correct interpretation or treating the texts as material for learning.

In addition to the fairy tales themselves, as mentioned earlier, the book also includes visual material consisting of photographs of sculptures, paintings, and mixed-media products that illustrate something magical. These excerpts also invite us to contemplate what we see and create a story that transcends our familiar perceptions of the world. These visual materials are not related to specific fairy tales, nor do they attempt to interpret, expand, or in any way influence them; instead, they are placed there as unique artworks contributing to the world of wonders. The authors also provide notes for them, but this time, the notes are not placed beneath the displayed photograph; instead, we read them before even seeing the artwork. The notes offer some information about the background of the artwork and again invite us with questions to contemplate its placement in space and time. Each photograph represents a unique contribution to the magical world, whether it be due to its form, distinctive style, or

content. Among the featured artists, we find eleven-year-old artist Rosalind Hyatt Orme, who enjoys creating three-dimensional sculptures, fashion design, and knitting. Her work is strongly influenced by her enthusiasm for animation. ''*I don't think about it. I just do it*'' she said about her art (p. 219).

The collection allows for the expansion and bridging of boundaries, breaking its own rules, while the editors are also aware of the limitations inherent in such work that cannot be avoided. The self-imposed limitation chosen by the editors is the selection of texts; specifically, the collected works are limited to prose and comic strips and the anthology does not include, for example, poetry or dramatic texts. The limitations imposed by the format itself involve adjustments for written text and print. Visual artworks can only be included in the collection in the form of photographs, which, due to the chosen format, are resized versions of the original and transformed into a fixed 2D form. A video is included as a link that leads the reader to a freely accessible short film online, but various performances and cultural products that cannot fit within the pages of a book are entirely excluded. Lastly, limitations are also evident in the number of pages, as an excessive amount of collected stories, artworks, video links, and other fairy-tale delights would mean an extensive work requiring rights for publication, some needing translation, all of which also create a financial burden, considering the budget constraints the editors had for the book release.

The collection of complex, multidimensional, and layered fairy tales, where different narrative styles, innovative structures, and metanarrative comments blend, represents an important anthology of fairy tales that encourage understanding of different worlds and a departure from capitalism. It invites the creation of a world where values such as justice, connectedness, and solidarity take center stage.

Patricija Fašalek

POROČILA
RELAZIONI
REPORTS

Mednarodna konferenca
POLITICAL FUNCTIONS OF FOLKTALES AND FAIRY TALES. Dutovlje & online, Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja, 15. junij 2023

Programski odbor: Polona Tratnik (predsedujoča), Tatiana Bužeková, Claudio Povolo, Darko Darovec.

Kako ljudske pripovedke in pravljice odražajo družbo določenega časa in okolja; kako nagovarjajo posameznika in ga s tem usmerjajo v določeno vedenje; kako prispevajo k oblikovanju družbenih vlog in reda ter kakšna je njihova vloga pri gradnji skupnosti, so bila zgolj nekatera izmed vprašanj, s katerimi so se ukvarjale udeleženke in udeleženci mednarodne konference *Political Functions of Folktales and Fairy Tales* (slov. *Politične funkcije ljudskih pripovedk in pravljic*).

Enodnevna konferenca, ki jo je organiziral Inštitut IRRIS za raziskave, razvoj in strategije družbe, kulture in okolja, je potekala 15. junija 2023 na Bunčevi domačiji (Dutovlje). Natančneje se je dogodek odvijal na t. i. hibridni način, s čimer je bilo s pomočjo sodobne tehnologije omogočeno sodelovanje posameznicam in posameznikom iz programske skupine, ki se dogodka žal niso mogli udeležiti osebno.

V uvodnem nagovoru je prisotne pozdravila dr. Polona Tratnik, vodja raziskovalnega projekta N6-0268 *Politične funkcije ljudskih pravljic*, (so) financiranega s strani Javne agencije za znanstvenoraziskovalno in inovacijsko dejavnost Republike Slovenije (ARIS), v sklopu katerega je bila konferenca organizirana. V nadaljevanju so se zvrstili 4-je sklopi predavanj (*panels*), na katerih je bilo s strani 12 predavateljic in/ali predavateljev predstavljenih 11 referatov.

Prvo predavanje je imela nosilka raziskovalnega projekta, že omenjena dr. Polona Tratnik (Inštitut IRRIS in Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani). V svojem referatu z naslovom *The Role of Folktales and Fairy Tales in Culture Building* (*Vloga ljudskih pripovedk in pravljic pri gradnji kulture*) je referentka izpostavila pomembno vlogo ljudskih pripovedk in pravljic pri socializaciji posameznika ter obravnavala problematiko in izzive pri njihovem preučevanju. Poudarila je pomen družbenih interesov pri oblikovanju pravljic.

Naslednje predavanje je imela dr. Tatiana Bužeková (Filozofska fakulteta Univerze Komenskega v Bratislavi), ki je v svojem prispevku *Magic in Traditional Folk Tales and Alternative Spirituality* (*Magija v tradicionalnih ljudskih pripovedkah in alternativni duhovnosti*) problematizirala interpretacije čarovništva in magije v slovaških tradicionalnih pravljicah in njihovo transformacijo v kontekstu alternativnih duhovnih tokov. Pri tem je podala tezo, da se je magija povezovala z vrednotami sodobne demokracije, okoljevarstvom, svobodo izbire, enakostjo spolov in strpnostjo.

Sledilo je predavanje dr. Anje Mlakar (Fakulteta za turizem Univerze v Mariboru in Inštitut IRRIS) z naslovom *Paganism and Related Concepts in the Nineteenth Century Slovenian Press* (*Poganstvo in sorodni pojmi v slovenskem tisku 19. stoletja*). Opozorila je, da je folklora predstavljala pomemben gradnik pri vzpostavljanju nove slovenske identitete v 19. stol., pri čemer so na postopek zbiranja in interpretacijo ljudskega izročila močno vplivale ideološke predpostavke tistega časa. Zlasti navezujoč se na zaznane ostanke poganskih in predkrščanskih prepričanj. V prispevku je na podlagi člankov, objavljenih v časopisu *Kmetijske in rokodelske novice*, preučila, kakšne pomene so zbiratelji ljudskega slovstva pripisali zaznanim poganskim elementom.

Drugi del dopoldanskega sklopa predavanj je otvorila Suzana Miceva. V svojem referatu z naslovom *The "Other" in Macedonian Folklore and the Attempt to Change the Narrative in the Contemporary Context* (*»Drugi« v makedonski folklori in poskus spremembe pripovedi v sodobnem kontekstu*) je problematizirala odnos prebivalcev Balkana do »drugega«. Mdr. zaznavnem tudi v makedonskem ljudskem slovstvu, ki liku tujca pripisuje stereotipne značilnosti. V prispevku je izpostavila pesmi in zgodbe v katerih je izražena stigmatizacija do tujcev, natančneje Romov, in kako bi s pomočjo drugačne naracije te stereotipe lahko (uspešno) prešli.

V naslednjem predavanju z naslovom *Transgenerational Transmission of Memory Through Fairy Tales: A Case Study of an Italian World War II Prisoner of War in Yugoslavia* (*Transgeneracijski prenos spomina skozi pravljice: študija primera italijanskega vojnega ujetnika iz druge svetovne vojne v Jugoslaviji*) se je dr. Urška Lampe (Univerza Ca' Foscari v Benetkah in Inštitut IRRIS) s pomočjo študije primera poglobila v proces pripovedovanja kot (1) sredstva za soočanje s preteklostjo; (2) načina posredovanja svojih spominov in travmatične izkušnje naslednjim generacijam in (3) orodja za izobraževanje otrok.

Drugi, popoldanski del konference je odprl dr. Darko Darovec (Inštitut IRRIS in Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Mariboru). V svojem referatu z naslovom *Social Functions of Tales About King Matjaž* (*Družbena funkcija pripovedi o kralju Matjažu*) je obravnaval izvor, nastanek in vlogo lika kralja Matjaža na območju današnje Slovenije, navezujoč se na Hobsbawnov opis t. i. fenomena domišljijskega oz. idealnega vladarja.

Sledilo je predavanje dr. Ksenije Vidmar Horvat (Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Ljubljani), ki je v svojem referatu z naslovom *Fairy Tales, Sexuality and Slovene National Identity: A Comparative Case Study of Peter Klepec and Moj dežnik je lahko balon* (*Pravljice, spolnost in slovenska nacionalna identiteta: primerjalna študija Petra Klepca in Moj dežnik je lahko balon*), preučila odnos med pravljicami, spolnostjo in nacionalno identiteto, izhajajoč iz teze, da pravljice igrajo vlogo pri spolnem oblikovanju otroka. Pri tem je na primeru dveh pravljic ponovno obravnavala tezo Slavoja Žižka – da je slovenski nacionalni značaj uokvirjen z zatirano in posesivno izmišljeno materjo.

Naslednje predavanje je imela dr. Ana Vitanova-Ringačeva (Univerza Goce Delčev v Štipu), ki je v svojem referatu z naslovom *The Rebellion of the Individual Against the Collective – a Universal Paradigm of Existence in a Macedonian Fairy Tale* (*Upor posameznika proti kolektivu – univerzalna paradigma eksistence v makedonski pravljici*), s pomočjo makedonske pravljice Siljan Štrk obravnavala sodobne teme o iskanju posameznikove identitete izven njegove skupnosti, podobo tujine kot popolnega ideala in podobo človeka kot samotarja.

Dr. Jan Babnik (Membrana) je v svojem referatu z naslovom *The Miners, Mythologization and Visual Representation. Slovenian Photoreportage of Miners in the 20th Century* (*Rudarji, mitologizacija in likovna upodobitev. Slovenska fotoreportaža rudarjev v 20. stol.*) trdil, da so bile glavne značilnosti vizualizacije rudarjev v 20. stol. interpretirane na podlagi družbenih in političnih naracij ter na globoko zakoreninjeni predindustrijski podobi dela v rudnikih. Mdr. vidno v presenetljivi enotnosti novinarskih podob, ki izvirajo iz klasične figure rudarja.

Sledilo je predavanje dr. Marijana Premovića in dr. Diane Vuković (Filozofska fakulteta Univerze v Črni gori), z naslovom *Deconstructing the Meaning of Traditional Folk Fairy Tales – Teaching for Critical Thinking* (*Dekonstrukcija pomena tradicionalnih ljudskih pravljic – poučevanje za kritično razmišljanje*). Predavatelja sta opozorila na pomen kritičnega branja tradicionalnih pravljic in predstavila model tega, razvit s pomočjo študije primera srbske pravljice Baš Čelik.

Zadnje predavanje dneva je imel dr. Marjan Horvat (Inštitut IRRIS). V svojem referatu z naslovom *From Proto-Political to Political/Ideological Functions of Folktales* (*Od protopolitičnih do politično-ideoloških funkcij ljudskih pravljic*) se je ukvarjal s političnimi funkcijami ljudskih pravljic v nezgodovinski perspektivi. V ta namen je povezal sociološko teorijo pravljic (J. Zipes) s teorijo protipolitičnega (E. Hobsbawm, F. Jameson in E. Bloch), zlasti navezujočo se na razumevanje vloge ljudskih pripovedk pri prenosu kolektivnih izkušenj (W. Benjamin). Teoretski model je postavil v kontekst socioloških teorij družbenih sprememb, in ga predstavil z analizo nekaterih tipičnih primerov ideološkega prisvajanja ljudskih pravljic v 20. stol.

Ob zaključku konference je predsednica programskega odbora dr. Tratnik opozorila na kompleksno problematiko funkcije ljudskih pripovedk in pravljic, mdr. vidno skozi vsebino referatov predstavljenih v sklopu konference. Sklicujoč se na večplastnost tematike, je podala trditev, da si ta v prihodnosti vsekakor zasluži dodatne poglobitve. Na koncu je sledila zahvala referentkam in referentom kot tudi ostalim udeleženkam in udeležencem konference. Do povzetka in programa konference ter zbornika konferenčnih povzetkov je moč dostopati na spletnem naslovu: https://www.irris.eu/wp-content/uploads/Political-Functions-of-Folktales-Fairytales-conference-PROGRAM-BOOK-OF-ABSTRACTS-15-6-2023-3.pdf. Programski odbor in organizator pa si zaslužita pohvalo za izbor zanimivih predavanj kot tudi za dobro organizacijo.

Veronika Kos

International workshop
SOCIAL MEDIA AND DEMOCRACY IN CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE. SoMe4Dem and Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence, University of Leipzig, Geisteswissenschaftliches Zentrum Leipzig, 5–6 October 2023

Workshop programme committee: Prof Pawel Karolewski

The workshop encompassed three main thematic themes: firstly, the role of social media as tools of political influence; secondly, the issues of disinformation, polarisation, and politicisation; and thirdly, the impact of social media on the fundamental tenets of liberal democracy. Against this theoretical background the workshop participants aimed to address, in particular, the predicaments European nations confront in countering democratic backsliding due to increasing right-wing extremism, predominantly within the sphere of social and online news media. The workshop is a part of the Horizon Europe project *Social media for democracy – understanding the causal mechanisms of digital citizenship* (*SoMe4Dem*) and organised in collaboration with the Jean Monnet Centre of Excellence *The European Union and its Rural Periphery in East Central Europe* at the University of Leipzig, which also hosted the event.

For the first thematic field, which scrutinised the role of social media as a tool for political influence, Polona Tratnik of the IRRIS Institute in Slo-

venia provided an insightful analysis informed by critical and cultural theories, that centred on the role of social media and AI-driven algorithms in shaping our online experiences. Referencing Althusser, she defines social media as normative tools and apparatuses that both convey and propagate ideology. She emphasised that in actuality these apparatuses are using us and not the other way around, prompting the pressing question of how to empower individuals to shape their own subjectivities in this algorithm-driven landscape. Marc Tuters and Boris Noordenbos of the University of Amsterdam examined in their presentation how the emergence of online social media has facilitated individual participation in propaganda production by dismantling the traditional top-down models of indoctrination. They argue that propaganda isn't a specific, well-structured narrative but rather a performative response, an "atonement" to the ideological environment shaped by personalised algorithms. In her presentation, Elena Pilipets of the University of Siegen, through an analysis of various memes on "Wartok", advances this idea by arguing that propaganda spreads through the virality of bodily mimesis, transforming the human body into a medium for communication. This mode of dissemination does not rely on explicit messages but instead strategically employs various memetic elements to covertly integrate propagandistic content into the masses.

A concrete example of how social media is being misused as a tool for political manipulation was delivered by Gábor Polyák, of Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, which illuminated the emergence of a dual media system within Hungary. On one side is a state-sponsored media apparatus firmly under the control of Orbán's regime, while on the other is an independent, grassroots-sponsored online alternative. As the speaker explained, this transformation has brought about a significant reconfiguration of the media landscape, resulting in a shift towards alternative online information sources. The Hungarian populist government, in response to these evolving challenges, has adapted by shifting its propaganda machinery to the online sphere. Olha Snopok and Anastasiia Romaniuk of the Civil Network OPORA, Kyiv, presented a similar story, in which social media initially represented a tool for advancing democracy, but was soon exploited by Ukrainian political parties for discrediting their opposition and promoting misinformation – a pattern that swiftly prevailed. As the invasion of Ukraine commenced, Russian forces in the occupied territories initiated efforts to disrupt and control Ukrainian information fields and co-opted Ukrainian information channels on Telegram.

A more optimistic view of social media was given by Vasil Naumov of the Institute of Social Movements at Ruhr University-Bochum and Olga Matveieva of the Dnipro University of Technology in their presentation, *Telegram Revolution*, and by the presentation of Delia Dumitrica of Erasmus University in Rotterdam, entitled *Digital and Analogue Entanglements in Social Movements*. Both presentations discussed how social media play a pivotal role in the upspring of an online civil society, which over time transcends its virtual existence and expands into the real world, facilitating the creation of public spaces for deliberation and the emergence of various watchdog committees. Both case studies underscored the potential of social media as a positive force, illustrating its capacity to mobilise civil society by bridging the virtual realm with the everyday practices of the real world.

The next set of presentations dealt with disinformation, various populist discourses and polarisation within the realm of social media. Michaela Ružičková of the ADAPT Institute in Košice examined the impact of disinformation during Slovakia's recent election cycle, in which fake news and the misuse of emerging AI technologies played a significant role. The presentation highlighted various anti-liberal and fictitious narratives of election interference that emerged during the election cycle. In his presentation, Stijn Peeters of the University of Amsterdam, through content analysis, uncovered four similar and overlapping narratives between Dutch and Flemish far-right groups on Telegram: a racist narrative, an anti-mainstream narrative, an anti-progressive narrative, and an anti-government narrative. Similar trends can also be found in Poland. Damian Guzek of the Silesian University of Katowice, talked about the growing mistrust of everything perceived as mainstream and the growing use of ''dog whistles'' and ''mock language'' within online news articles, which, as he argued, leads to diminishing news quality. In her presentation, Lenka Vochocová of Charles University, Prague took a theoretical approach drawing from media and communication studies within the framework of critical theory to study various right-wing discourses. In her quest to understand why certain individuals subscribe to these anti-discourses, the author presented her theory of social media performativity. She contends that these anti-discourses function as a social 'glue', constituting a highly emotional metalanguage that amalgamates all the various fears and anxieties of modern societies into a collective identity.

Jonáš Syrovátka of Masaryk University, Brno, described in his presentation two state-sponsored

initiatives designed to combat these kinds of online false narratives, and how they ultimately failed to achieve their goal, thus forcing the Czech government to pivot toward alternative, less censorious strategies to combat disinformation such as promoting media literacy and strategic communication.

The third series of presentations, featuring various scholars from the *SoMe4Dem* project, focused on the ramifications of social media on the core tenets of liberal democracy. Eckehard Olbrich of the Max Planck Institute for Mathematics and Sciences in Leipzig offered an introductory overview of the project. Its primary objective is to understand the impact of social media on the public sphere and to upgrade theory with empirical validation, especially with the help of computational models, all with the intent of promoting digital citizenship and digital literacy. One of the important questions driving the project asks what the differences are between central, eastern and western European countries regarding value structures fuelling polarisation, different patterns of social media use and the challenges presented by their struggles towards a more democratic system. Stephan Lewandowsky of the University of Bristol presented a co-authored article in which the authors attempt to reverse-engineer various microtargeting strategies. The objective was to pave the way for a forthcoming plug-in designed to alert users when they become targets of such microtargeting. In the ongoing battle against online misinformation, he advocated for the development of algorithms designed to foster democracy with the leveraging of collaborative filtering for the evaluation of the quality of news sites based on contextual factors. Marjan Horvat of the IRRIS Institute in Slovenia gave a theoretical account of how deliberative democracy can be used to reshape the public sphere, with the aim of harnessing collective cultural memories as a progressive force by integrating them with a liberal vision of the future. More precisely, he introduced his idea of deliberative democracy as a methodological framework to measure deliberative quality and deliberative practices, both online and offline, with the help of computational models, to better understand how to integrate new deliberative practices with existing, culturally and socio-historically conditioned ones.

The conference shed light on the burgeoning challenges encountered by nations in the contemporary online landscape, offering specific case studies from different European contexts and connecting them with insights derived from diverse theoretical paradigms. It proved to be a productive endeavour, enhancing our comprehension of strategies for addressing these challenges and illustrating instances in which social media emerged as a constructive force.

Jure Koražija

KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

SLIKA NA NASLOVNICI: *Gvidon Birolla. Naslovnica knjige* Irske pravljice (Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 1961).

Slika 1: *Maksim Gaspari. Razglednica »Obmejnim bratom v pomoč« s plebiscitarno motiviko, kjer zmaj nastopa kot celovški »lintvern«, ki je uspel odrezati slovensko ozemlje od matične domovine, ki ga predstavlja upodobitev slovenske vasice. Zmaja zabada slovenska boginja z mečem* (Marjan Krušič (ur.) (2000): Maksim Gaspari: bogastvo razglednic. Ljubljana, Mladinka knjiga, 59).
Slika 2: *Marlenka Stupica. Ilustracija k pravljici Ele Peroci »Moj dežnik je lahko balon«, ki je prvič izšla leta 1955* (Ela Peroci, *Med pravljice*, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2022, 14).
Slika 3: *Marlenka Stupica. Ilustracija k pravljici »Sneguljčica« Jakoba in Wilhelma Grimma iz leta 1956* (Irena Matko Lukan (ur.), *Najlepše pravljice*, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2011, 17).
Slika 4: *Ančka Gošnik Godec. Ilustracija slovenski ljudski pravljici »Zlata ptica«, prvič objavljeni leta 1968* (Irena Matko Lukan (ur.), *Slovenske ljudske pravljice*, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2017, 55).
Slika 5: *Ančka Gošnik Godec. Ilustracija k slovenski ljudski pravljici »O treh grahih«, prvič objavljeni let 1964* (Slovenske ljudske pravljice, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2017, 15).
Slika 6: *Marlenka Stupica. Ilustracija k pravljici Ele Peroci »Moj dežnik je lahko balon«, ki je prvič izšla leta 1955* (Ela Peroci, *Med pravljice*, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2022, 11).
Slika 7: *Marlenka Stupica. Ilustracija k pravljici »Trnuljčica« Jakoba in Wilhelma Grimma iz leta 1956* (Irena Matko Lukan (ur.), *Najlepše pravljice*, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2011, 76).
Slika 8: *Marjan Manček. Ilustracija iz knjige* Peter Klepec *Franceta Bevka, ki je prvič izšla leta 1978* (Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2008).

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FRONT COVER: *Gvidon Birolla. Cover of the book* Irske pravljice (Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 1961).

Figure 1: *Maksim Gaspari. A postcard titled »Helping Our Borderland Brothers« with plebiscitary motifs. It depicts a dragon as the Klagenfurt »lintvern«, symbolizing the severance of Slovenian territory from the motherland, which is represented by a Slovenian village. A Slovenian goddess is shown stabbing the dragon with a sword* (Marjan Krušič (ed.) (2000): Maksim Gaspari: bogastvo razglednic. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 59).
Figure 2: *Marlenka Stupica. An illustration for the fairy tale »My Umbrella is a Baloon Too« by Ela Peroci, first published in 1955* (Ela Peroci, Med pravljice, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2022, 14).
Figure 3: *Marlenka Stupica. An illustration for the fairy tale »Snow White« by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm from 1956* (Irena Matko Lukan (ed.), *Najlepše pravljice*, Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga, 2011, 17).
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