DISENCHANTMENT, RE-ENCHANTMENT AND FOLKLORE GENRES

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DISENCHANTMENT, RE-ENCHANTMENT AND FOLKLORE GENRES: INTRODUCTION

In the middle of World War I, in the year in which the USA joined the combat on the other continent and Russia was shaken by two revolutions, Max Weber held a lecture *Science as a Vocation* on November 7, 1917. This commensurably short text has affected the humanities and social sciences as much as Weber's other famous, substantial volumes. The theses presented in the lecture are more encompassing than the title suggests: it is an attempt at explaining the modern world. The core of this undertaking is the concept of *the disenchantment of the world*. Since Weber's postulates with regard to disenchantment were subject to various interpretations, as will be shown in the text to follow, the encyclopedic definition shall be provided in the beginning:

> **Disenchantment of the world (Entzauberung der Welt).** This expression refers to a process through which people no longer explain the world and their cosmos with the help of magical forces, but instead rely on science and rational forms of thinking. Intellectuals have played a key role in the process of disenchantment. According to "Science as a Vocation," where the disenchantment of the world is discussed, "there are [today] no mysterious incalculable forces that come into play, but rather … one can, in principle, master all things by calculation. This means that the world is disenchanted" … In an enchanted world, explanations are given in the form of actions of gods and demons, and causality in the modern sense of the word does not exist. In a disenchanted world, on the other hand, the whole world has been "transformed into a causal mechanism." (Swedberg and Agevall 2005: 62–63)

Although appearing relatively late in Max Weber's scientific vocabulary (probably as late as 1913), the term *disenchantment* had turned into one

of his key terms since 1917. Apart from the mentioned lecture, he would incorporate it into his particularly significant segments of the re-worked text *The Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Capitalism* on which he worked during the winter of 1919–1920. Let us take a look at this concept in the context of Weber's work, much wider than the one offered by the text *Science as a Vocation*.[1] Thus, modern man is deprived of the mysteriousness of the world which stemmed from unknown forces, such as magic. What comes to the fore is rationality presented by Max Weber in the form of a striking, dense image of an *iron cage*. Consequently, the world has become potentially completely knowable, transparent. In Weber's example, we may be riding a tramway without knowing physics (the set of examples is easily extendable—we can drink antibiotics without knowing medicine, biology, and chemistry)—but, should we want that, we can learn about the mechanisms on which these phenomena rest.

The change which the disenchantment brought about is not only historical, in the sense of the external processes that may be located and that may form a genealogy, but also both subjective and epistemological. The aforementioned epistemological optimism is accompanied by axiological pessimism, since certain inherent values have been lost due to the disenchantment process (for the more in-depth analysis, see Asprem 2014: 2; Josephson-Storm 2017: 284–287), and modern science is an example of such losing of values (see Schroeder 1995).

Weber positioned disenchanting as one of the segments of the Western history: since the Antiquity, with Greek philosophy and Hebrew monotheism (which were antagonistic towards magical cosmos from their respective standpoints), to the Renaissance (which introduced the experimental method), to the Reformation (which opposed everything "pagan" and "idolatrous"). The final, and crucial point as it turns out, is the modern age, where bureaucratization, alongside science, is one of the most conspicuous consequences of rationalization. (India and China are the epitomes of an alternative possibility, taking another turn: the enchanted worldview has petrified them, thus making them inept for the kind of transformation similar to the Western modernity.)

The short overview of Weber's basic ideas offered so far already shows how complex the disenchantment concept is. Furthermore, the complexity is accentuated by a wide variety of literature and discussions about almost

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[1] Synthetic overviews are offered in the references of this text which are, quite understandably, just a selection of the voluminous literature on this issue.

all of the disenchantment-related terms—i.e., the various interpretations of what Weber truly intended to say. Since he did not develop a consistent disenchantment theory and did not use the term so frequently (according to certain analyses, it appears only a few times in the entirety of his opus, Lehmann 2008: 73–74), Weber's views of the process are interpreted diversely, especially having in mind the complexity of defining the key accompanying terms such as rationalization and magic, for example. A number of discussions revolves around the term itself—i.e., where Weber took it from or what he was inspired by in the conception of this notion (Schiller is most commonly mentioned as a possible source, but also the theologist and philosopher Balthasar Bekker (see Lehmann 2008: 75); however, it is more interesting to notice that Weber was inspired by Tolstoy's culture criticism in his deliberation of the value system). The adequacy of translation to other languages (e.g., English) is related to that. What exactly does rationalization mean to Weber (since the term seems to have a number of meanings, cf. Asprem 2014: Schroeder 1995)?[2] Weber himself highlights, as it has been aforementioned, that religion—monotheism in the Antiquity, and in the Reformation after that—have contributed to disenchantment (thus setting the stage for its own implosion in the modern era). On the other hand, it should not be forgotten that Catholic and Orthodox folk Christianity have preserved a great number of enchanted elements. According to Charles Taylor, secularization and disenchantment are not the same:

> Disenchantment is the dissolution of the "enchanted" world, the world of spirits and meaningful causal forces, of wood sprites and relics. Enchantment is essential to some forms of religion; but other forms – especially those of modern Reformed Christianity, both Catholic and Protestant – have been built on its partial or total denial. We cannot just equate the two. (2007: 553)

Disenchantment is also described as losing magic, or, more widely, losing the mysterious in the world; this definition is opposed to certain readings of the theses from Weber's texts according to which magical behavior is seemingly interpreted as rational, and mystery stands for the insufficient control over the powers acting in the world rather than something secretive (Josephson-Storm 2017: 278–283).

The disenchantment concept was influential in a number of disciplines within the humanities: from Weber's core field—sociology (Ernest Gellner,

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[2] Nicole Belmont (1973: 75) mentions that even the Romans distinguished *religio* and *superstitio*.

to single out just one), where it was connected to different aspects of the modernization process (rationalization, the rise of science and education, bureaucratization, secularization, and the like), to religion studies, anthropology, even philosophy (the Frankfurt School). Religion studies in the 20th century, particularly in the late 20th century, were under the great influence of the idea of the loss of religion (e.g., Peter Berger), or the emancipation from it (Marcel Gauchet). The thesis of *the decline of magic* by Keith Thomas (1991) was propelled by the disenchantment concept too. The rise of alternative, new religious and magical movements, which should seemingly refute the disenchantment thesis, has brought about the Weber-inspired analyses. Wouter J. Hanegraaff (1996) explains New Age as esotericism adapted to the disenchanted world image (that is the source of psychologization, evolutionism, and progressivism). New Age is not a mere survival in modern times, but its constituent part, just as modern times are not just disenchanted.

The term *disenchantment* is used both very widely and very loosely. For example, in the introduction of the book entitled *Le désenchantement du monde*, Marcel Gauchet (1985: i–ii) says that, unlike Weber who used *disenchantment* in the sense of "removing magic as a salvation technique," the term should be used to signify "the fatigue of the rule of the invisible." In the book of the opposite title *Re-enchantment of the West* (2004), Christopher Partridge also uses the concept freely comparing to the Weberian current in science.

Surely, Weber's concept has inevitably been subject to criticism. It has been noted that Weber oversaw that Protestantism believed in magic, and banished witches accordingly (Barbalet 2018); he underestimated the capacity of religion to survive and adapt in the modern age, since one of its characteristics is innovative creativity too (Séguy 1986: 136). Taking the secularized world as the norm and not taking into account human potential to behave subversively with regard to the norms have been interpreted as shortcomings (according to Jenkins 2000: 12–14). Richard Jenkins notices that, "even within the most efficiently rationalized of bureaucracies, 'irrational' dimensions of social life—symbolism and myth, notions of fate or luck, sexuality, religious or other ideologies, ethnic sentiment, etc.— necessarily influence organizational behaviour" (ibid.: 14),[3] and he goes on to speak about secular enchantment. Critical analyses open up a number of questions: was the enchanted world as homogenous and innocently devoid of doubt, or is it a projection of various modern topoi and culture criticism (ibid.: 15)?; can disenchantment be interpreted as the process which is still

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[3] Eliade (1972: 24) recognized the millenarianism of ancient myths in Communism too.

ongoing (Josephson-Storm 2017: 298–301)—i.e., has the world ever been disenchanted (Jenkins 2000: 29)?

As it is known, even nowadays people go not only to the doctor but also to the healer and witch doctor—witches are being persecuted even today (cf. La Fontaine 2016). There exists a whole array of different and diverse tendencies: from individualization and the privatization of religion and, contrary to that, fundamentalism expansion, to turning towards the "alternatives," to the apparent quasi-religious potential of ideologies in general. Confidence in science and optimistic belief in progress have as their opposite the undermining of scientific authority (medicine, economics, etc.) both at the individual and private level, but also at the level of various popular culture phenomena (through conspiracy theories, newslore forms, and the like, but also through ecologic movements agenda, for example). The most interesting paradox is that Weber himself was aware of that: he was familiar with the counter-cultural occult milieu of his time, very active at the time when *Science as a Vocation* lecture took place (Josephson-Storm 2017: 275–278; 287–289).

If the world Weber speaks of is the European world, western, or even narrower—Protestant, the disenchantment phenomenon is thus the product of modernization as much as westernization in other parts of the world. Can we speak of the "split" between the elites and "folk" in that sense in the examples from Asia, Africa, or South America? However, it is not necessarily only about the "folk" that followed its traditional practices unaware of modernization or partially touched by it. The research of the Indian followers of Sai Baba, stating they predominantly belong to the members of the middle and higher middle class, use *re-enchantment of the world* and *enchanted world* as the describing terms (Palmer 2005: 108). Certainly, the stand of the Western European elite towards the enchanted has not been univocal. Lorraine Daston and Katherine Park (1998) show that the relations of certain elite fractions with miracles had been nonlinear and cyclical, at least until the Enlightenment. It is precisely in the elite of the later periods too that existed and still exist the ones with an agenda who call for enchantment. Since the Romanticism, art has been estheticized and sacralized, it has received soteriological values, but not in the way in which it was characteristic of the Middle Ages—they come precisely from the autonomy which art won in the modern time. *Festspielhaus* in Bayreuth is the most impressive monument of such a program.

At another level, enchantment is not an exotic phenomenon—whether the exotic is positioned in the far ends of the world or in the layers of society which are regarded as being beyond the elite—they are part of everyday life. Let us recall the examples suffused with New Age: ways of eating, curing,

wellness, calls for positive thinking. These are all pieces of the world image which is built into the culture of the modern everyday life.

The conscience of these dichotomous tendencies has brought, on the one hand, to the revisionist reading of Weber, and on the other, to the emergence of the counter-term *re-enchantment*. This term is used both as a tool and as an open call with an agenda. Christopher Partridge (2004) shows that the occult re-enchantment is no survival, margin, obscure group, sociological deviation. On the contrary, pop culture and everyday life themselves, what is in the immediate surroundings, from TV series to health products, are permeated with the semi-conscious enchantment project—which this author terms *occulture*. What is shown in some of the previously mentioned studies (Jenkins 2000; Lehmann 2008; Asprem 2014; Josephson-Storm 2017) is that the modern era is far from a one-way process of disenchantment; there is a lot of data related to a number of central points of the Western modern times, both in science and the humanities which complicate the image. Modernity is, thus, evaluated as the era characterized by opposing, dichotomous currents.

Profiling itself as an extensive research field, re-enchantment studies make the terminological apparatus even more complex. The term *re-enchantment* is used for art, politics, philosophy (see Landy and Saler (eds.) 2009). It designates various alternative lifestyles, popular and consumerist culture elements, virtual reality aspects. Thus, Simon During (2002) analyzes the functioning of modern enchantment forms—*secular magic*, compatible with rationalism and commercial culture, the ones stemming from imagination, from the willing suspension of disbelief, characterized by ironical distance (illusionist performances, literary works and movies, photography, and the like; see also Saler 2004). George Ritzer (1999) formulates the term *disenchanted enchantment* as the theoretical conceptualization of the cathedrals of consumption (from churches and museums, to shopping malls, casinos, to electronic shopping malls) and consumer religion. It is not only the New Age disciples that refer to this term, but also, speaking of postmodernism, Zygmunt Bauman, for example. Therefore, it becomes apparent that the term re-enchantment is even more intricate and flexible than the one from which it stemmed.

All the mentioned discussions, including the calls with the enchantment agenda, undoubtedly indicate that, regardless of the level of "measurability" of enchantment and disenchantment, there exist the actors who see the world as disenchanted or enchanted. The real field in which these processes take place is not somewhere in the outside world, but in people's ideas, in particular the ideas of the ones who are publicly active, acting in the intellectually influential fields—in science as a vocation.

Folkloristics has not been much affected by the aforementioned issues unlike sociology, history of religion and culture, anthropology, in which the discussions regarding disenchantment and re-enchantment, as it has been previously shown, are profiled into important research areas swarming with the dynamism of voices. It could be said to be somewhat unusual since the field of this scholarship is formed precisely around those topics that could be seen as Weberian too, given the fact that, by the nature of things, folkloristics has faced the issue of enchantment, disenchantment, and re-enchantment whether it wanted it or not.[4] In the conceptualization of the collection of articles before the readers, we have been guided by the wish to investigate if the discussions regarding Weber's concept (and on the account of it) can contribute to the better understanding of folkloristic issues, but also the self-understanding of our own research tools. In other words, our idea is to test whether and to what extent the current folkloristic research can be articulated through the notions of disenchantment and re-enchantment. The undertaking we are about to start is guided by the expectation that by doing so, an innovative aspect, a different (perhaps more stimulative) angle of the problem viewing, a new tool, concept is added to the research. The awareness of the term polyvalency is no obstacle—on the contrary, we see it as a challenge.

Such a positioning of folkloristics in the field of social sciences and humanities is certainly not unusual. It is a field which has been, if not truly interdisciplinary (to avoid the voguish term), then at least placed in the field of multiple disciplines intersection from the very beginning. As a matter of fact, folkloristics permanently exists under the auspices of two disciplines, stepping out of them to a greater or lesser degree, depending on the predominant theoretical and methodological paradigms in certain historical eras, and/or the concrete concepts of researchers. From Herder and brothers Grimm, folkloristics can be said to be born out of the spirit of philology, to paraphrase Nietzsche's famous title. That was one of its poles. The other one is ethnological. Regardless of whether it is seen as a separate discipline or a part of some other (history of literature, ethnology), folkloristics has seesawed from one side to the other in the course of its two-century history. Needless to remind of the influence which linguistics, communication theory, anthropology, to name just a few, exerted on the forming of folkloristic theories in the 20th century. Thus, the focus

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[4] For the history of contact between folkloristics and sociology in the earlier times, see Thompson 1980.

of this collection is the issue on which, on the one hand, ethnology and anthropology, religion studies, sociology intensively work, and, on the other, folkloristics in the narrower sense—through studying genres in which, we believe, the aspects of disenchantment and re-enchantment are crystalized in a formulative, poetically fixed form.

The folkloristic angle opens up a few very wide problem areas. Firstly, the nature and transformations of folklore, and the dynamics of the genre system. Secondly, the specificities of the poetics of concrete genres and their pragmatic aspects. Finally, the influence of social and cognitive phenomena which disenchantment and re-enchantment bring about on the redefining of the matter and scope of research, and theoretical and methodological paradigms of folkloristics as an academic discipline.

It is impossible to oversee that the most important points of Weber's genealogy of disenchantment are also equally important for the history of European folklore. The great disruption in the nature of folklore is the consequence, primarily, of Christianization, when old beliefs either disappear or become Christianized (in the environments and societies that were encompassed by the Protestant reformation that disruption was repeated, albeit on a smaller scale). The second big change is connected to the modern age that is marked by the disappearance of folklore which is regarded as "traditional," but also the projects of "preserving" and canonization (national, among others).

Modern times have also introduced the disintegration and transformation of traditional cultures, which consequently reflected on folklore functioning in those cultures too. The genre system reduction is reflected in the loss of the so-called "classical" genres, such as fairy tale or traditional oral epic, in the disappearance of genres most closely related to traditional rituals, or at least their dislocation to the mere rims of the genre system in correlation with the marginalization of the position of traditional rituals and customs. The reduction is followed by the fragmentation processes (survival in very small groups), the change of carriers (the ritual text transformation into children's folklore), or the crossing over from the domain of active usage to the passive knowledge sphere. How does this view of traditional folklore look through the prism of the disenchantment concept and its position in the culture history?

From the very beginning, folkloristics dealt with world which can be described as enchanted. Certainly, it is known today that, to a great extent, such a perspective was permeated with the exoticization of traditional

cultures, rural areas. There was such exoticization which was only temporal. Legends, for example, are traditionally defined by being believed in. If they are defined in such a way, what are they if not an enchanted world? Some other genres, such as verbal charms and ritual songs, can be said to *create* that enchanted world on their own. Let us recall a few verbal charms definitions stating that it is precisely through these texts that the other, desired reality is constituted (Todorova-Pirgova 2003: 12); furthermore, they are characterized by the possibility to function, in a way, as the bridge between the two worlds, since verbal charms are also "traditional verbal forms intended by their effect on supernature to bring about change in the world in which we live" (Roper 2003: 8). However, is there disenchantment in ancient times, in the golden age of folklore considered to be traditional? What to do with the difference between *Märchen* and *Sage*, which is the foundation of the genre division, if *Märchen* are more "poetical" (Grimm) and they are not believed in? What is the supernatural fairy-tale world like in that case? According to Jan de Vries (1967: 171), it is devoid of God or gods (*entgötterten Welt*—the name itself sounds Weberian!), but not senseless—human existence is not reflected against the background of a numinous world but equally in itself. Therefore, fairy tale is described genre-wise as a secularized myth (ibid: 173), marked by the passivity of the mythical (Ranke 1958: 655), the latent presence of myth (Belmont 1999: 212). The differences in the interpretation of this genre become great when the question of symbols and sense is touched upon: Bengt Holbek goes so far as to transfer fairy tales into the real world, and, while debating with him, Francisco Vaz da Silva (2002: 27–28) warns that it is the symbolics that offers "glimpses" into the cyclical worldview. On the other hand, Max Lüthi (1943: 112–113) in his very first work from the 40s warned that fairy tale was not a degenerated or undeveloped myth, but that fairy tale, legend, and myth were separate genres with their respective rules—i.e., the disenchantment (certainly, Lüthi himself did not use this term) should not be regarded as a historical process (religious, anthropological, sociological), but rather as a founding poetical genre characteristic, which also implies the synchronic comparison of genre traits instead of diachronic genealogical trees. The poetics of legend propels discussions too (i.e., the relation with the world it rests on). Carl von Sydow (1969: 69) says that believing in the legend is often merely semi-believing, it cannot serve as the demarcation line for the differentiation of *Märchen* and *Sage*; Lauri Honko (1969: 297) notices that the memorate turns into *Sage*, which may be the fabulate, but also an entertaining legend (*Unterhaltungssage*). Thus, since believing as a distinctive feature has been problematized on a number of occasions, Linda Dégh (2001) suggests

speaking of the "veracity negotiation" rather than believing. The proposed formulation is illustrative of the dispersion of attitudes of the narrators and audience in connection with what is perceived as beyond rational. Can the formulae of expressing doubt and distance in legend be seen as an analogon of disenchantment, a proto-disenchantment of sorts, a shadow in the golden age? Similarly—is parody the destruction of genre or should it be understood in the light of Bakhtinian utopian conception also as the process resting on life-bearing principle, as reformation?

In some critical reviews of disenchantment discourse development (culturological, as a matter of fact, not folkloristic), it has been noticed that the enchanted world has long been perceived as something residual, subordinated to rational, progressive, and principally secular modernity postulates. The enchanted realm does not disappear, but it becomes marginalized, and it is quite often connected to the social groups that are seen as inferior from the Western elite culture perspective: "primitive nations," children, women, lower social strata (Saler 2006: 695–698). Should we start thinking again about the position of this branch of folklore studies that have traditional genres in their focus (from the 19th century until today), it is impossible not to wonder whether folkloristics is seen as a scholarship dealing with survivals (it is the thesis that has shaped this discipline for a long time, regardless of how survivals are evaluated). Do we not fall into the same trap, inevitably nostalgically intoned, of the story about loss, analogous to the similar tones that can be recognized in the disenchantment discourse (which is prompted to a certain extent by the connotations of the English translation of this term, as Jason Crawford (2000) deems)? Does the indication of the traditional folklore vitality destroy the disenchantment thesis or that folklore should be observed as the integral part of the bimodal modernity concept in which enchantment and disenchantment function combined?

A number of traditional genres "has survived" in recognizable forms despite the changes, with the ability to incorporate new, current content. Those are primarily the genres that do not originally rely on supernatural elements (e.g., proverbs and related paremiological forms, anecdote, and the like), but also the ones that suffer certain structural and semantical changes in the context of the disenchanted world precisely because they rest on such elements. If re-enchantment is regarded as an existing process—which folkloristics has confirmed to exist unrelated to these terms—the question of not only its relation towards folklore genres but also the relation between disenchantment and enchantment emerges. It is seen in folklore in the

relation of old and new, the function and function carrier. Should the changes which genres undergo be seen as chipping or as a poetical transformation—a creative response in the light of the disenchantment thesis? Transformations may be deep and include the world image itself, which André Jolles (1930) called spiritual preoccupation. Surface changes would refer to the changes in the naming of actors who retain certain functions and scopes (e.g., Jolles saw sports reports as a continuation of legends).

Demonological legend offers, for example, an illustration of some of the changes. Namely, apart from the reduction of the demonological system and quite frequent merging of the functions of demons (Levkievskaja 1999), a more prominent presence of debates regarding veracity (dialogical, or introduced by the dialogizing of monological statements) is noticed in modern framework. We have singled out a few sentences from a fieldwork conversation. The words of our interlocutor offer a dense, picturesque illustration of one of the possibilities of experiencing the relation of the enchanted and disenchanted, modern, technologized world: *It was earlier. That magic, devils, vampires, I don't know what. My grandmother told me that, and some of that, I am telling you, I have experienced myself, although you know that I haven't, I don't want to lie to you now … It is very rare now. Modern technologies, power mains, mobile networks obstruct those forces …*

"The new life" of classical genres is marked with new types of direct interactions established in the process of intertwining with the new folklore forms. For example, New Age elements are registered in the narratives about miraculous healings and encounters with the supernatural (Dégh 1996: 44; Valk 2010: 865). Similar interferences are noticed in some modern forms of healing practices outside the conventional biomedicine. Although traditional folk medicine and various alternative approaches to healing are the offspring of different traditions and vary according to the ways they conceptualize illness, it is possible to encounter both traditional folk practices and those from post— New Age and esoteric framework in the healing repertoire of the same person. Such, hybrid, repertoires can include individual ways of incorporating different teachings in the system of personal tradition-grounded representations (Kis-Halas 2012). Traditional demonology and magic are definitely living phenomena, the vitality quality incorporates the potential for the intertwining and fusion with a number of relatively recent phenomena, and functioning in the altered, new, modern contexts (Pócs (ed.) 2019a; 2019b; Roper, Jonathan (ed.) 2004; 2008). Not only do the traditional legends continue to live in the modern world too (Dégh 1994: 29) but also the "legends conceived in our technological age can be the vehicles of new ideas" (Dégh 1979: 60).

The redefining of the folklore genre system has brought about the theoretical conception of genres that are not new, but that had existed outside the folkloristic interest until the last thirty years. The research of NDE narratives (rus. *obmiranie*), for example, started its life in Russian folkloristics in the 1980s only to grow into a separate extensive research field in the present moment. Some of the analyses of such narrations are especially illustrative for the understanding of the processes to be dealt with here. It has been noticed, for example, that the modern Moscow NDE narratives differ from the traditional ones featuring the same topic precisely because of the influence of the 20th-century conceptions, such as the popular book by Raymond Moody (Levkievskaja 1997: 810), and it has also been shown that such narrations can be incorporated in the New Age content (Mencej 2019). Dream narratives have relatively recently appeared on the folkloristic horizon (Kaviola-Bregenhøj 1993), and they were the tool Murray Wax (2004) used to present the world of a closed traditional community opposing it to the modern, rational, routinized ones, explicitly referring to Weber's disenchantment concept.

Genre interactions are sometimes seen as two-way transformations. Urban legends are a good example. What could be referred to as world disenchantment was described as rationalization in urban legends studying—the Weberian tone can be recognized quite easily, although there are no references to Weber (Simpson 1981). The famous legend about a vanishing hitchhiker seemed like a significant exception. It is not only the supernatural beings and plots that are lost, which could be described as anthropomorphizing, but also the motivation regarding religion and religious context. Legends of the ritual murder from the pre-modern times become the narratives of kidnapping and mutilation in a shopping mall, clothes shops, bodily organs theft, and the like. Still, the so-called "Satanic panic" of the 1980s and 1990s (in the USA and afterwards elsewhere), which included the topic of ritual murder, is an example of the real ritual context return. As if by the re-enchantment formula, the world has become permeated with the dark, unknown force of the Satanist web. Should the gaze be turned to the other end of the timeline, disenchantment can be encountered as early as the Antiquity, in the example of the murder ascribed to the participants of the Catilinarian conspiracy, as reported by Sallust and Dio Cassius: although it looks like a ritual murder from the previous examples, the culprits are political offenders, not cult members (Elliss 1983).

Regardless of whether those are the changes, transformations, or the parallel existence of different folkloric paradigms and genre systems, their

correlations are numerous, irrespective of whether the noticed similarities are interpreted on the genetical or typological level genre-wise.

Narrative types such as autobiographical, life history, family story, and the like seem to be brought to the folkloristic horizon by the disenchanted reality orientation in particular (or the layer that is perceived as disenchanted). Recognizable matrices, culturally defined codes and patterns are registered quite often in such narrations. An illustrative example is provided by the view of oral personal narratives offered by Sandra Dolby Stahl (1989: 15), who highlights that the connection with the traditional is emphasized through beliefs, ideas, and the concepts of the narrator. As Gillian Bennett says, "through an examination of personal experience story we can discover what aspects of tradition have remained constant and still shape people's daily expectations and perceptions" (1985: 92).

The mentioned Richard Jenkins's (2000) reminder that re-enchantment is connected to the symbolical potential of political mythologies, and the quasi-religious potential of ideologies of which Hartmut Lehmann (2008) speaks, could shed more light on the deliberation of the role of folkloric elements in the processes of such forms of re-enchantment. Political re-enchantment is known to rely on various forms of folkloric narratives (about leaders, important political events, social phenomena, and the like) (see, for example, Krikmann 2009); however, those narratives could have been subversive, participating, in the Weberian language, in the process of disenchantment of the re-enchanted or in the rejection of the acceptance of such a re-enchanted world. Having a remarkable transformation potential in the conditions of a political regime change, they have become one of the re-traditionalization elements. Ülo Valk's (2012: 181) observation about the return of legend in the post-Communist period that are, however, permeated with the New Age elements in the new circumstances is interesting in this context.

Although disenchantment should not be equated with secularization, as it has been previously explained, it is very difficult to disentangle them completely in modern circumstances, especially having in mind that, for example, the trend of returning to religiousness is connected to re-traditionalization too (in particular in the post-Communist societies; cf. for example Borowik et al. (eds.) 2004; Benovska-Săbkova 2013) within the framework of processes that can be interpreted also as re-enchantment. Turning to religiousness can be noticed as a global tendency, and various modern experiences have contributed to its development: from the (re)

establishment and (re)defining of political boundaries to the positive globalization and multiculturalism tendencies on the one hand, and nationalism and turning to the local on the other. The question of the secularized world foundation basis in general is asked in the similar vein (Berger 1999). The secularization processes include, apart from the return to major religions, those other forms that could be described as the forms of vernacular religiousness (Primiano 1995). Folkloristic research inspired by this concept has once again indicated that the intertwining of disenchantment and enchantment tendencies are the characteristics of modern culture at the vernacular level (Bowman and Valk (eds.) 2012).

The problems of disenchantment and re-enchantment refer also to the phenomena from the folklorism domain. For example, different projects using folklore narratives (belief narratives, oral history elements, and the like), recognizable characters and symbols (vampires, witches, local demons, heroes, and the like) as part of tourist appeal can be regarded from this perspective. They are the crossroads of commercial aspects, identity politics, but the potential of nostalgia and imagination is also counted on, which is close to the mentioned Ritzer's (1999) *disenchanted enchantment* concept.

Finally, the folkloristic conceptualizations themselves can be understood in the context of world disenchantment. What is the Romantic search for pure folk poetry if not the search for what has not been altered by the Enlightenment and modernization? In the story entitled *Little Zaches called Cinnabar* by E. T. A. Hoffmann, the duke of a small dukedom decides to introduce the Enlightenment. One of his first measures is the banishment of fairies. In a parodic, fantastic way, Hoffmann shows the essence of the Romantic perception of disruption. The search for pure and pristine is not only reaching out for the spirit of people but also for the vital, organic principle, as well as the original discovery—an anti-Enlightenment analogon of disenchantment opposition, re-enchantment *avant la lettre*. What they formed theoretically like Herder and brothers Grimm, the others conduct in mystifications (Herder was not only propelled by Homer but also by the Ossianic forgery). Mystifications have followed the history of folkloristics from its very beginning, and some of them have emerged with the wish to fight disenchantment or, even more peculiarly, they have received such a role subsequently in the reception. That makes these texts valuable as the examples of the enchantment agenda.

Devolutionary theory that marked folkloristics, as Alan Dundes (2007) shows, can be better understood if it is noticed that the idea of disenchantment implicitly existed in a number of concepts. The theses of the evolution of epic and fairy tale from myth or ritual by demythologization and

deritualization (the 19th-century mythological school, Vladimir Propp, Lord Raglan, Jan de Vries, Mircea Eliade, Georges Dumézil, Yeleazar Meletinsky, Vyacheslav Ivanov, and Vladimir Toporov) represent in a way an analogon of the disenchantment thesis. Certainly, it is not the direct influence of Weber, but the movements and exchanges of ideas within the humanities and social sciences, the concepts that become the commonplace of a culture. Fascination with everything ancient, archaic, mythical, what is perceived (or created) as ridden with the primordial strength is present in strivings for the reconstruction of the lost myth (from Jacob Grimm to modern neo-mythologists). Jungians' search for the symbol strength in fairy tales, the contact with the life source re-discovers the faith in the symbol power that can be interpreted also as a re-enchantment variant.

If the beginnings of the development of folkloristics as a scholarship can be also seen as the search for the past, enchanted, lost world, or as an attempt at its re-constitution through the search for authentic, collective, common in the light of disenchantment concept, can the subsequent folklore conceptualizations (like the element of the culture of small groups, communication, etc.) be seen as a statement of the folkloristics of the disenchanted world or the folkloristics that came to terms with the disenchanted? Or is it the change of perspective that is sufficient to include the diverse cultural expressions of the world seen as bimodal in the folkloristic horizon? The problem of relations between disenchantment and re-enchantment and the reconstitution of folkloristics itself as a scientific discipline is connected to the questions of terminological distinctions resting on the parameters related to the new communication channels and folklore dissemination (via writing, audio-technical means, electronic media, the Internet)—traditional folklore, urban folklore, Internet folklore, and the like.

Therefore, the disenchantment and re-enchantment processes put before the folkloristic scholarship a number of challenges, being one of the factors that have profiled the permanent questioning of its own boundaries into an important feature of this field. The redefining of the research field and the folklore concepts themselves, as well as theoretical and terminological paradigms, apart from the mentioned "discovery of the new genres" (which can be seen as a fortunate necessity), has enabled the possibility to shed some new and different light on traditional genres through these concepts. On the other hand, they are significant for the opposing tendencies that are recognized as the neo-Romantically intoned concepts in which the folkloric tradition is idealized to a certain extent, and to which could belong the voices that warn of the "death of folklore." Disenchantment, re-enchantment,

and the cultural phenomena related to them obviously have multiple and multidirectional implications both for folklore and its study. The modern culture folklore itself has necessarily led folkloristics to the redefinition of its own theoretical and methodological premises and terminological apparatus equally as folkloristics has shaped that folklore (or at least its perception) through the conceptualizations it has offered.

The first segment of this collection gathers the studies dealing with traditional folklore, or the key terms that we are dealing with here, describing the enchanted world, the one which has not been marred by the corrosion of the disenchantment process. Francisco Vaz da Silva observes the fairy tale, the genre that folkloristics used for a long time to forge itself, and his starting point is precisely that magic is the core of this genre. Through further allomotif analysis, he proffers the key for the reading of symbols through the female lifecycle corresponding with the cosmic one, thus hinging on a long line of symbolic fairy-tale interpretations. Marianthi Kaplanoglou scrutinizes the processes from two angles, external and internal: she depicts the Greek Enlightenment members' reaction to folk fairy tales, and how modern narrators tackle the opposing tendencies, trying to strike the balance between the realistic and preserving the utopian, magical world. Romina Werth discovers the deeper layers stemming from the enchanted fairy-tale world, which undergo the process of realistic stylization and a certain form of disenchantment accordingly in the genre of ancient Islandic saga, under the seemingly historical motifs. Through the history of shaping the ethnographic collection of the SASA Archive, Marina Mladenović Mitrović shows how a scientific elite created the idea of folklore and traditional culture through the concepts similar to disenchantment.

The next thematic segment is directed at the modern life of the genres narrating about the enchanted world. Suzana Marjanić investigates the different possible approaches (totemistic, psychoanalytic, eco-feminist) in the Croatian variants of animal groom and bride, and simultaneously shows how the mythical merging of human and animalistic code returns in the cyborg narratives. Lidija Delić and Danijela Mitrović follow the miracle and miraculous healing concept in the metamorphoses of modern commercial, the Internet, media, discovering the loss of the otherworldly and the commercialization as the principal characteristic setting the new and the traditional narratives apart. Maria Palleiro deliberates several traditional motifs of the Argentinian oral prose in modern storytelling, regarding parody as a form of disenchantment. On the other hand, the same motifs in advertisements pinpoint the processes of re-enchantment. Smiljana Đorđević

Belić singles out multiple possibilities of the dream understanding from the modern scholarship angle—as a neurophysiological process or psychological manifestation; however, she also shows the liveliness of mystical and religious dream world experience on the fieldwork material.

The final segment of the collection is devoted to the examination of how folklore genres have faced the disenchantment processes, and the counter-process of re-enchantment comes to the fore. Eymeric Manzinali shows a destructive worldview formed in the urban legends connected to the community of video-game players, and simultaneously a group of motifs related to the supernatural which enchants that peculiar world. Meret Fehlmann singles out Phil Rickman's book series about the exorcist Merrily Watkins from the popular culture as an example of folk horror in which appears the return of the enchanted world, against the background of modern England and changes in the Anglican Church. The study by Elene Gogiashvili is also turned towards the popular culture in the analysis of soap operas under whose plot twists she notices the schemes of the enchanted fairy-tale world. Nemanja Radulović takes the 20th-century mystification *The Book of Veles*—which has turned into the sacred book of Slavic Neo-Paganism in the subsequent reception—as a re-enchantment example.

The studies collected in this book cover, of course, only a segment of the variety of problem areas connected to the disenchantment and re-enchantment processes in folklore. Simultaneously, the diversity of the encompassed topics shows yet again the polyvalent nature of the terms, while the interpretations indicate the potential of including the disenchantment and re-enchantment concepts within the scope of folkloristics. We believe that the folklore material, folkloristic analyses and conclusions could, in the perspective, be relevant also outside the framework of this discipline and contribute to finding the answers to a number of questions: is there a difference between the Western Protestant world about which, it seems, Weber speaks, and the Catholic world of the European South and South America, as well as the world of the Orthodox East and the Balkans?; what is happening with the societies that walked from the "long 19th century" into the sudden modernization processes dictated by the elites in which Communism conducted planned and sped-up disenchantment from the top in the late 20th century?; what is happening with the spaces outside Europe? Are there also the variations of disenchantment or is the disenchantment process itself inevitably Eurocentric? By answering these questions, folkloristics would respond to other disciplines for their incentives and concepts which it has acquired from them.

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DISENCHANTMENT, RE-ENCHANTMENT AND FOLKLORE GENRES

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FAIRY-TALE ENCHANTMENTS

For Isabel Cardigos, an inspiring colleague and good friend

Abstract: More than two decades ago the folklorist Isabel Cardigos remarked that the hinge of fairy tales is the cyclical movement in and out of enchantment. I feel that this insight is important, and I propose to briefly explain my understanding of it. First, I mention the importance of using allomotifs to bring out the folk metaphors in fairy tales. Then, I discuss a basic symbolic pattern of enchantments at the core of fairy tales. Overall, I add to Vladimir Propp's statement that the most complete fairy tale is a heroic quest the proposition that the irreducible core of fairy tales hinges on feminine maturation. Along the way, I discuss some metaphors suggestive of the lunar template at the core of fairy tales.

Keywords: fairy tales, allomotifs, enchantment, folk metaphors

The realm of enchantment, the folklorist Isabel Cardigos once noted, is "the core of fairy tales." Hence, she proposed, explaining "the movement of non-enchantment to enchantment and back to non-enchantment, as expressed in a wealth of different symbols," should account for "the logical illogicality of fairytales" (Cardigos 1996: 14). In the following pages the author's understanding of Cardigos's insight is briefly explained, and how it squares with his own research. First, the importance of using allomotifs to bring out the folk metaphors in fairy tales is brought up. Then, a basic symbolic pattern of enchantments at the core of fairy tales is discussed. Overall, the proposition that the irreducible core of fairy tales hinges on feminine cycles is added to Vladimir Propp's statement that the most complete fairy tale is a hero quest. Finally, some recurrent fairy-tale metaphors (flower, snake, and mirror tropes) that convey the cyclic pattern of lunar lore (i.e., the "logical illogicality" of this genre) are elaborated.

ALLOMOTIF MATTERS

It used to be a tenet of folklore studies that at the root of a given tradition you can find an original text, which taletellers replicate by word of mouth as best they can. But, given the limitations of human memory, rote replication inevitably corrupts the original. As Kaarle Krohn put it, "in the manifold modifications of the original form of a tradition, we encounter first the influence of faulty memory" (1971: 64). In this view, oral tradition is a corrupting process. Which, alas, fails to account for the actual stability of folktales. Stith Thompson, who subscribed to the notion that forgetfulness "is perhaps the most frequent cause of modifications in stories," nevertheless noted the "remarkable" stability of stories "in the midst of continually shifting details" (1977: 436–437). Similarly, Krohn acknowledged "the incredible stability of folk narrative" (1971: 122). The adjectives used are interesting. If one thinks of tradition as a succession of memory errors that cannot but corrupt Ur-texts, then the stability of folktales looks "incredible" indeed. And this question arises: how can ever-shifting oral traditions, driven by memory lapses, achieve a "remarkable" stability?

Walter Anderson ingeniously devised a "law of self-correction" to explain away this problem. He noted that taletellers in oral traditions usually listen to a story several times, which allows them to correct any "gaps" and "errors" that may arise from memory weaknesses. Moreover, they listen to various sources, which allows them to patch the "errors" and "variations" of each one. Last but not least, when a narrator tells a story with "deviations" on different occasions, the audience will recall how on a previous occasion the story was told "correctly" (Anderson 1923: 399–406). Notice that Anderson's acknowledgment that taletellers draw on various sources to compose their tales entails admitting that tale transmission hinges on creative retelling, rather than on repeating a text by rote. Moreover, the idea of self-correction rests on the chimeric assumption that there are Ur-texts one can use as benchmarks for correctness. Overall, an explanation relying on how audiences manage to keep correcting the "gaps" and "errors," so as to revert to the "correct" tale, is wrong because—quite simply—there are no benchmarks in oral traditions, no original texts, to revert to.

A better model of tradition was proposed by Roman Jakobson and Petr Bogatyrev in *Folklore as a Specific Form of Creativity* (1929). Jakobson and Bogatyrev argued that because in oral settings stories and motifs will die out if they are not retold over and over, the creations of individual taletellers will endure only insofar as they are accepted and retold—insofar as they survive

the "preventive censorship of the community," which tends to prune away anything not in line with the community-shared values and norms (1982: 38).[1] By dint of this cumulative mechanism of selective appropriations, materials in the traditional chain will comply with the norms and values in a community. This model explains, as the so-called law of self-correction does not, why oral tales are stable despite their superficial variability. It is not that variants mysteriously revert to an original text; rather, traditional themes persist insofar as they express the background values of taletelling communities.[2]

This being said, it is clear that a tale can only come in many variants, and yet remain stable, on condition that the variants somehow comprise equivalent motifs. Which amounts to saying that the background values of taletelling communities are expressed in a host of equivalent motifs. Alan Dundes famously proposed the term "allomotifs" to designate the equivalent motifs in variants of a tale. Shrewdly, he pointed out that if a number of motifs can fill the same slot in a tale—if the story works with any of them—then a comparison of the available allomotifs should clarify why those motifs are permutable. As Dundes put it, by examining allomotifs "we may gain access to implicit native formulations of symbolic equivalences" (1987: 168). His basic idea is: if A and B both fulfill the same narrative slot, then we can assume taletellers are equating A and B. Using this method, Dundes proposes, one could "unlock the secrets of symbolism in folklore" (2007: 319). Unfortunately, Dundes introduced a Freudian bias in his method for finding symbolism. He specified: "We can tell that A and B are functional or symbolic equivalents, but not necessarily that A is a symbol of B or that B is a symbol of A." For example, if you find tale variants equating a phallus and a nose, "it is just as likely that a phallus is a symbolic nose as it is that a nose is a symbolic phallus." His proposed solution is: if we find evidence "that either A or B is a tabooed subject, then we might well expect that the non-tabooed subject might be substituted for the tabooed subject rather than vice-versa," that is, the nose would symbolize the phallus, rather than vice-versa (1987: 170). This reasoning uses Freud's (1989: 185) idea that symbols often screen something repressed—the "'genuine' thing behind" them, as Freud put it. For Dundes, the allomotif that conveys the genuine thing is typically to be found in Freud's standard list of symbols.

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[1] This model is applied in light of contemporary scholarship in Vaz da Silva 2012.

[2] The notion that oral traditions derive from original literary texts recently enjoyed a revival, which the author discusses in Vaz da Silva 2010. And the idea that traditional tales express the values of taletelling communities is illustrated with a specific case study in Vaz da Silva 2016a.

But, of course, not all symbols are reducible to Freud's standard list. It is best to consider allomotifs as expressions of underlying ideas yet to be discovered and to face symbolic variability without the crutch of any predefined exegetic keys. Basically, it will be argued that allomotifs express folk metaphors steeped in the worldview of taletelling communities. However, before focusing on any particular metaphor, the point will be made that fairy tales as a genre, *as a narrative form*, are inherently metaphorical.

FAIRY TALE AS METAPHOR

This point is taken from the author's understanding of some interesting results of Vladimir Propp's work on the morphology of the fairy tale. On the one hand, Propp pointed out that the "structure of the tale demands that the hero leave home at any cost," hence the narrative develops along the "route of the hero" (1996: 37, 39). On the other, he remarked that the themes of initiation into puberty and of journeys to the realm of death account for nearly all the contents of fairy tales. This makes sense, he notes, because initiatory processes are usually conceptualized "as abiding in the realm of death" (1983: 470).

If Propp's remarks are brought together, two quite important points emerge. First, the morphology of fairy tales amounts to the structure of rites of passage—separation from a given status, then into a liminal status tantamount to temporary death, and finally incorporation into a new status amounting to a rebirth.[3] Second, there is a correlation between Propp's points that fairy tales describe spatial journeys on the one hand, and that they address coming-of-age processes on the other. The point here is that fairy tales use spatial journeys *in order to* talk about coming-of-age processes. In other words, fairy tales use the concreteness of spatial journeys to reason about maturation processes. This is a basic metaphorical process.

Recall George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's research on conceptual metaphor. These authors emphasize that "[m]ost of our understanding of time is a metaphorical version of our understanding of motion in space." For instance, the so-called time-orientation metaphor "has an observer at the present who is facing toward the future, with the past behind the observer" (linguistic expressions of this metaphorical mapping include "that's all *behind* us now," and "we're looking *ahead* to the future"). Moreover, in the so-called time's landscape metaphor "each location in the observer's path is a time,"

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3 This point was made long ago by Mircea Eliade (1998). It is developed in Vaz da Silva 2018.

so that "time is a path on the ground the observer moves over" (linguistic expressions of this mapping include "there's going to be trouble *down the road*," and "we're *getting close* to Christmas") (1999: 139, 140, 146). Fairy tales, this paper suggests, map space to time as they depict characters leaving home to walk (or fly, or be carried over in) the journey of their own maturation. In other words: fairy tales, taken as a narrative form, are inherently metaphorical in that they use spatial journeys as images for coming-of-age processes.

THE FULL FAIRY TALE AND ITS CORE

There is more to be said on Propp's morphological model. Let us recall some basics. First, it suggests that all fairy tales develop along a single narrative axis encompassing thirty-one functions. This axis spans a development proceeding from a lack (or a villainy), through intermediary functions, "to Marriage … or to other functions" involving a reward, a gain, or "in general the liquidation of misfortune" (Propp 1996: 92).

Within this framework, Propp set apart two sorts of heroes—the seeker, whom he mostly thinks about as a male, and the "victim hero," whom he mostly identifies as a girl:

> If a young girl is abducted and a seeker goes in pursuit of her, then two characters have left home. But the route followed by the story and on which the action is developed is actually the route of the seeker. If, for example, a girl is driven out and there is no seeker, then the narrative is developed along the route of the victim hero. (Propp 1996: 39)

Regarding the path of heroes, Propp noted that after leaving home, "the hero (both the seeker hero and the victim hero)" obtains a magical agent from a donor, by means of a test or a contest, "which permits the eventual liquidation of misfortune" (ibid.: 39). If the donor's reward provides whatever was lacking, the tale ends. Propp notes that this is usually the case with "tales of stepmothers and stepdaughters" and "tales of the Amor/Cupid and Psyche types," that is, with feminine tales (2012: 172, 189). However, in the case of male heroes, the donor's reward usually allows him to travel to a distant realm and either fight an opponent or solve a difficult task in order to obtain his prize. Therefore, the full fairy tale is typically a male quest. In Propp's words, the "most complete and perfect form of the tale"—the dragon-slayer plot—is the "archetype of the fairy tale," the "one tale with respect to which all fairy tales will appear as variants" (1996: 89, 95).

In short: Propp's ideal 31-function model befits a hero quest, the dragon-slaying scheme (Bremond and Verrier 1982: 76–77).

Yet, as Marie-Louise Tenèze (1970: 22) astutely noticed, Propp never asked what the "irreducible core" of the fairy tale might be.[4] Propp did note that the tales of the persecuted stepdaughter "have neither battle with an opponent nor difficult tasks linked with courtship and marriage." The basic element of these tales, he proposes, is the test. "We could say that these tales go no further than the test, reward, and return," he notes (2012: 209–210). In Propp's androcentric perspective, feminine tales are but incipient plots. The fairy-tale archetype is about male quests: "… a dragon kidnaps a princess, … Iván meets a witch, obtains a steed, flies away, vanquishes the dragons with the help of the steed, returns, is subjected to pursuit by she-dragons, meets his brothers, etc." (Propp 1996: 89).

But take away the androcentric gaze and a different picture emerges. Notice that, *because* a dragon kidnapped the princess, the seeker departs to save her. The feminine abduction pre-exists the hero's quest and gives it a purpose—it is the prime mover of the plot. Now compare the twin propositions that (i) most feminine tales do not go beyond the donor's test, and (ii) even the most complete male tale hinges on feminine enchantments. One inescapable implication is that a feminine enchantment—or a girl passing the donor's test, or something equivalent—is the irreducible core of the fairy tale.

Which brings to mind Roger Sale's proposition, uttered from an unrelated perspective, that the gamut of fairy-tale transformations might unfold from a simple nucleus—a girl enters the woods:

> A girl is in a wood. Give her a brother and one has *Hansel and Gretel*, give her many brothers and sisters and one has *Hop o' my Thumb*, send the girl to dwarves and one has *Snow White*, to bears and one has *Goldilocks*, to grandmother and one has *Little Red Riding Hood*. Make the girl a boy and one might have Jack, either the one who climbs beanstalks or the one who kills giants; make her a man and one has *The Wonderful Musician*; give her three drops of blood and a servant and one has *The Goose Girl*. (Sale 1979: 29)

At first sight, Sale's generative girl-focused model and Propp's archetypical hero-focused model cannot both be right. Yet, each of these approaches is illuminating in its own way. Notice that Cardigos's question—

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[4] Max Lüthi (1982: 132) made a similar point.

can we explain the movement of non-enchantment to enchantment and back to non-enchantment?—is actually about the core of fairy tales, which eluded Propp's attention. That is the next point of interest.

CRONES, DONORS, AND ENCHANTMENT

The foregoing discussion suggests that a girl passing the donor's test amounts to her undergoing enchantment. Propp, on a different tack, insisted on the triviality of feminine tests. He felt that there is not much really to say about feminine tales—the story simply "ends with a reward. The stepdaughter returns home," he says. The test itself concerns "housekeeping abilities"—and the gifts received are trivial, "do not bear a magical character but represent material wealth" (2012: 158, 161). Bengt Holbek, who followed Propp's emphasis on the male quest pattern, clarifies his predecessor's line of thought: the gifts granted to girls are but "pretty clothes, good looks, spinning and weaving implements and the like," whereas the gifts granted to boys "serve to enhance the protagonist's powers" and include ontological "properties (ability to change shape, great strength)." In short, the gifts granted to girls are trivia rather than (as in masculine tales) ontological properties (1998: 420; 1989: 50).

Arguably, this is the wrong conclusion. Fairy-tale girls do receive "properties"—in fact, enhanced feminine powers—that magically transform them. Such properties are encoded in a symbolic pattern that is remarkably stable, for it is actually the code of enchantment in fairy tales.

Let us take a look at some allomotifs that are typical of the donor's test. We start with the clear-cut case of *The Kind and the Unkind Girls* (ATU 480). Perrault's famous variant of this tale, *The Fairies*, features a mistreated stepdaughter and her wicked half sister. The two girls sequentially go fetch water at a spring. The stepdaughter is kind toward a fairy she meets there. As a reward, she is fated to exhale roses, pearls, and diamonds when she speaks. In contrast, the other girl is cursed to expel snakes and toads. In Grimms' *Frau Holle* (KHM 24) the diligent girl walks from the donor's test covered with gold, and her counterpart goes home covered with pitch. In another variant quoted by the Grimms, one girl is rewarded with golden flax to spin whilst the other is led across a gate of pitch into a realm of snakes and toads. The Brothers Grimm also paraphrase a French variant by Madame de Villeneuve that depicts one girl fated to produce bright flowers whenever she combs her hair, whilst the other girl is cursed to endure stinking weeds and rushes growing out of her head (Grimm J. and W. 1884/1: 104–107, 370–372). According to a Portuguese variant, three fairies fate one girl to be beautiful,

to expel gold from her mouth, and to enjoy a long happy marriage whereas the other girl is cursed to have a misshapen face, to defecate through her mouth when speaking, and to a short horrid lifespan (Oliveira 1905/2: 65–66). In the same vein, Basile's *The Three Fairies* establishes that the good girl acquires a magnificent gown embroidered with gold and a golden star on her forehead, and is fated to find herself "well married." Her counterpart gets "a donkey's testicle … onto her forehead "and dies scalded, shedding her skin like a serpent leaving its slough" (Basile 2007: 283–284; 287).

In these examples, the recurrent references to marriage leave no doubt as to what this test is about. The end results suggest that newly-acquired puberty comprises two opposite aspects. One girl becomes radiant and beautiful, expels flowers, and proceeds to marriage; the other becomes dark and ugly, is associated with snakes and toads, and lapses into abjection. The symbolic code is quite stable: radiance and flowers are on the side of beauty and marriage; darkness, snakes, and toads are on the side of ugliness and abjection.

The theme of *The Kind and the Unkind Girls*, being very simple in its binary outcome, is often used by narrators to glorify "good" girls and stigmatize "bad" girls. But there is more to be said about this symbolic pattern. Cardigos points out that sometimes the golden "girl and the snake actually merge into one, whose nature changes in the course of time" (1996: 128). Cardigos's point is that the golden and the dark traits are the inherent aspects of each menarcheal girl. Otherwise put, feminine maturation includes a dark spell associated with snakes as well as a bright phase associated with courtship—the two phases represent the complementary aspects of the feminine fertile cycle.

Take *Burdilluni*, a Sicilian story. The parents of a four-year-old girl ask four fairies to fate their daughter. The spells by three fairies go according to plan: "Whenever you comb your hair, pearls and precious stones will fall from it. … [Y]ou will become the most beautiful girl there ever was. … [W]hen you see fruit out of season and desire it, the fruit will immediately be there for you." But the fourth fairy, having found herself momentarily blinded by cinders, curses the girl: "Whenever you see the sun, you'll turn into a black snake."[5] In the same vein, a story from Tuscany, *The Serpent Girl*, recounts how a girl finds toads underground that fate her to become the loveliest girl in the world and to shine like the sun; but then, one toad curses her to turn

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[5] *Burdilluni* is tale no. 77 in Giuseppe Pitrè's *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* (1875). This is quoted from Zipes and Russo (eds.) 2009: 281–282. (Bizarrely, this translation names the Sicilian tale after the Italian name form *Baldellone*.)

into a serpent the minute she sees the sun. In both stories the girl is on her way to marriage when she turns into a snake, and she must resume her shining persona before the marriage can be celebrated (Nerucci 1880: 275).[6] Another Italian story, *The Three Sisters*, conveys the dark phase as a time of blindness. A snake bestows upon the youngest sister the gift of shedding tears of silver and pearls, and of producing golden flowers when laughing. When the girl is about to get married, the elder sisters gouge out her eyes and cut off her hands. After pitiful trials and tribulations, the girl recovers her eyesight and hands, and—shining like the sun—she reveals herself to the prince. Marriage ensues (Comparetti 1875: 103–106; Calvino 1982: 37–40 conflated this text with a Tuscan variant to produce his own variant, *The Snake*).

Considering the three Italian stories together makes it clear that the girl's lapse into blindness is tantamount to her transformation into a snake. Also note that a *blinded* fairy curses the girl to be a *black* snake. And, conversely, regaining the eyesight amounts to shedding the dark snake's skin. Whatever the motifs may be, one constant idea is that girls must lapse into darkness before they become brilliant brides and marriage can ensue.

Again, this constant symbolic pattern grants perspective on Holbek's statement that the donor sequence "is absent in many feminine tales where heroines assume the adult role without any initiation." Holbek adds, "If they are at all subjected to a test, it is … often service with a witch. The gift is related to their sexual role in most cases" (1998: 420). This remark goes to the heart of the matter. Even when girls do not face a qualifying test, they tend to get magical powers from older women—witches, fairies, grannies, stepmothers, etc. So, it is not the case that girls can do "without any initiation"; rather, their interactions with older women are all about initiation.

The point is that all fairy-tale maidens eventually come to a crisis and they acquire the cyclic gift of fertility. Lapsing into darkness and emerging back into light is one simple code for that crisis, which amounts to a symbolic death and rebirth. There are, of course, myriad ways of expressing that enchantment condition. An enchanted maiden might be buried deep in a well, in a cave, or in the crystal mountain. Or she might fall into catatonic slumber. She may as well become blind, mute, unable to laugh, or forgetful, which is yet another mode of suspended life. Or else, the enchanted character may appear inside a tower, a well, or a tree—all equivalent modes of being hidden, buried, confined. She might also appear as a serpent or a bird, or dressed in

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6 See a translated adaptation in Calvino 1982: 227–228.

a pelt, which amounts to taking an animal shape. The point is: coming of age requires the dual movement into a death-like liminal state—enchantment— and back into a (new) social status.

METAPHORS: FLOWERS AND SNAKES

In order to grasp what is at stake in this dual movement, focus on the link between menarcheal girls, flowers, and snakes. The sheer frequency of flowers in coming-of-age scenes is staggering. And, given the widespread assumption that menarcheal girls are in bloom, it is not surprising. This metaphorical notion can be found in one French expression for menarcheal girls, *jeunes filles en fleurs*, as well as in Shakespeare's description of a virgin as "a fresh uncropped flower" (*All's Well That Ends Well* 5.3.319). The same metaphor tacitly underlies the ongoing habit of calling the first sexual experience a "defloration." A 16th-century French medical doctor, Laurent Joubert, helpfully explains that the "menstrual purgations of women are commonly called 'flowers' because they ordinarily precede and prepare for the fruit, which is the child" (1989: 99). The point is that this metaphor draws on the visible causal connection between the flower and the fruit to conceptualize the link between menarcheal blood and motherhood. Assiduously, fairy tales cultivate the flower metaphor regarding girls who receive the wonder of fertility, plus the oomph of Eros, as they come of age.

As for snakes, these reptiles are often associated with the underground and with watery settings. Also, because they slough their old skin and seem to become rejuvenated, snakes share with the moon the reputation of being able to cyclically rejuvenate.[7] Lunar cycles have the same duration as women's cycles, and reputedly influence them. The net result is that, as the comparatist Robert Briffault put it, snakes play worldwide "the same part in regard to the functions of women as the moon" (1977: 312–315). It is the case that fairy-tale dragons, a glorified form of snakes, typically abduct girls who have come under the sway of moon cycles. Overall, the snake connection suggests that the supernatural endowments granted to fairy-tale girls are lunar powers.

In short, the flower metaphor uses the causal link between the flower and the fruit to conceptualize the link between menarcheal blood and

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[7] For a short listing of the traits of snakes in folklore, see Vaz da Silva 2016b; for a much longer and fascinating account, see Hazel 2019.

children. Moreover, the snake image uses the empirical notion that in snake sloughing (and in moon cycles) the old form is discarded so that a new form emerges in order to explain why women cyclically shed blood before pregnancy occurs. While the thrust of each metaphor is different, they are complementary. Together, they convey the notion that women become fertile as they start cycling along with the moon, and each monthly period renovates their fertility. In fairy tales, girls acquire flowers and meet the dragon/snake as they enter the lunar sphere of influence.

MIRROR SPLITS

Eleazar Meletinsky and his collaborators have pointed out that in fairy tales "[a]lmost every personage can perform temporarily some opposite functions. To consider such cases as mechanically superimposed is incorrect. … [F]unctional fields are continuous, and … they form a cyclical structure" (1974: 117). This insight applies to the split of fairy-tale girls between a dark/enchanted and a golden/bridal aspect. The general point of this paper has been that opposite rivals, such as the ones that can be found in ATU 480, are the split aspects of a cyclical girl. Presently, let us take this point one step further. As the tales in which the black character acts as a bridal usurper are considered, the dark usurper will be seen to actually represent the bride's lapse into dark enchantment. The point, again, is that the two rival girls are one.

Let us start with the Grimm Brothers' *The Three Little Men in the Woods* (KHM 13). After a beautiful young queen bears a son, the wicked stepmother and her ugly daughter throw her into a stream. The ugly stepsister replaces the queen in the nuptial bed, but whereas pieces of gold used to drop from the queen's mouth, toads leap out of the usurper's mouth when she speaks. Similarly, in *Little Brother and Little Sister* (KHM 11), after the queen bears a son the stepmother and her ugly daughter put her into a fiendishly hot bath where she suffocates. The stepsister, who is ugly as night and has only one eye, gets into the queen's bed. She takes on the shape and the look of the queen, but she cannot disguise her blind eye. Another German variant has a young woman, after being turned into a duck, say she lies "in the lowest depths, the earth is the bed I sleep on, the water … is my coverlid" (Grimm J. and W. 1884/1: 352). And in *The White Bride and the Black Bride* (KHM 135), the stepdaughter is forced to dress a grey gown and gets thrown into deep water. As she sinks, a snow-white duck arises out of the "mirror-smooth water" (Grimm J. and W. 1884/2: 191). Although

the usurper wears the queen's golden dress, she cannot disguise the fact that she is black. On the third night, the king beheads the duck and thus disenchants the true bride.

Notice that in KHM 13, after the young queen cast in the water turns into a duck, the usurper produces toads in the nuptial bed, as if she represented the queen's enchantment in the netherworld. The usurper is associated with blackness and blindness, the typical traits of enchantment spells, which suggests she embodies the background predicament of the queen under the limelight.

Also notice that in KHM 135, the image of mirror-smooth water represents the boundary between opposite worlds, which suggests that mirroring is a fit metaphor for the correlated aspects of girls. Consider in this connection Basile's *Pentamerone* tale 5.9, *The Three Citrons*. After a prince let some blood fall on ricotta cheese while beholding crows, he wished to find a woman as white and red as that ricotta stained with blood. After he finds her, the prince leaves the young woman on a tree by a fountain. A black slave who comes to the source sees the maiden's face mirrored in the water, which she deems her own face. The slave attacks the young woman, who turns into a white dove, and takes her position. In order to understand this scene, consider that the black woman's name is Lucia, which means "light." Her mistress had pointedly warned her not to indulge in gazing at Lucia in the water. Regardless, the slave does look in the mirroring surface and there beholds "Lucia" in the guise of a white face. As the black slave sees Lucia in the mirror, it is the white maiden she sees.

Not only does the white maiden appear as the white reflection of the black woman; the black slave represents the white maiden's dark condition. Consider this: although the setting of the prince's original infatuation for an ideal woman involves three colors—red, white, and black—the prince then searches for a red-and-white woman. Has the black dimension vanished, then? Not quite, for—as the prince's father points out—his son set out "in search of a white dove only to bring home a black crow." Here the black crow and the white dove signify the polar dimensions of the bride otherwise associated with mesmerizing redness. And Lucia looks like lucidity incarnated as she maintains to the prince that she is the bewitched black aspect of the white bride—allegedly, the slave is "enchanted, one year white face, one year black ass" (Basile 2007: 439). There is structural truth to this deception in that Basile puts the dark-Lucia character in charge of expressing the alternating dark and luminous phases of fairy-tale enchantments.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing discussion suggests that the "movement of non-enchantment to enchantment and back to non-enchantment, as expressed in a wealth of different symbols," indeed explains the "logical illogicality" of fairy tales (Cardigos 1996: 14). That logical illogicality, in short, expresses the warp of cyclic time. It is the cyclic logic "of 'ordeals,' 'deaths' and 'resurrections'" that, as Eliade (1998: 202) pointed out, fairy tales share with initiation rites. Fairy tales, like coming-of-age ceremonies, hinge on cyclic processes in which dissolution portends renewal. The lunar template of enchantment explains why it involves darkness, shapeshifting, and bloodshed. The clockwork of fairy tales relies on metaphor, abides by cyclic time, and befits feminine processes.

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ENCHANTMENT IN PIECES: FROM FOLKTALE UTOPIA TO GENERIC HYBRIDITY IN MODERN GREEK FOLK NARRATIVES

Abstract: Greece is no exception to historic and folkloric data that find the illiterate peasantry to be the cradle of the European folktale. In Greek peasant communities, folktales—although delineated, in emic terms, as a distinctive narrative genre—formed part of an extremely varied narrative system where the uses of enchantment met differentiated ends: aesthetic, symbolic, moral, or metaphysical. Drawing on folkloristic theories of the genre, mainly (a) the scientific discussion between Dan Ben-Amos and Lauri Honko and (b) the ERGON Group series of conferences on folk narrative genres, this paper aims at studying the transformations of the Greek folktale in the light of the debate about the disenchanted world based on archival material, as well as empirical microdata drawn from fieldwork. It argues that folktale collection which began during the era of the Modern Greek Enlightenment and the Greek Revolution of 1821 corresponds to the historical procedure of economic and social transformation of the Greek peasantry. From an outsider's perspective (the one of an enlightened collector) the enchantment realms of the folktale were used to comment on the social habits of an urban society under construction. From an insider's perspective (the one of the peasant community itself, the narrators, and their audiences), folktale fantasy addressed tensions regarding the maintenance of community relations and social cohesion. In these contextual frameworks, folktales proliferated not because peasant communities were archaic, but because they no longer were. This new synthesis between the folktale's poetic enchantment and the world conceived on disenchanted grounds left room for many individual narrators' voices to be heard, but it also brought the genre in contrast with its own conventions.

Finally, this paper deals with narration currently present in Greek villages: it concludes that, although researchers pay attention to realistic narratives (autobiographies, personal experience stories, narratives of trauma), folktales too are part of everyday communicative processes. These new folktale

variations, far from representing nostalgic ideas or heritage objects, like the idealized texts of folk poetry mostly today conceptualize, constantly tend to meet the most active or problematic aspects of contemporary daily life (e.g., family relations). This reveals the long transitional process of the folktale—from utopia to generic hybridity which, nevertheless, does not exclude enchantment from daily communication. From this point of view, culture is not conceived as a linear modernization process, but as a field where continuities, and not only ruptures, can be discerned.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nurtured by a rich background of folk customs and beliefs, the peasantry of Modern Greece continuously adjusted this world of enchantment to extremely differentiated, even opposed, ends: practical, symbolic, moral, or metaphysical. As a highly appreciated expressive art, folktales are characterized by poetic enchantment: in other words, their magic is based on aesthetic grounds rather than on belief. Rationality and humanization are, otherwise, considered to be the basic traits of the Greek folktale, by experts of religion, mythology, and folklore (Nilsson 1955: 35; Meraklis 1992: 45–50).

In his classical study about the historical roots of the magic tale, Vladimir Propp (1983) traced the origin of these narratives back to the times of the formation of the *tribal system* due to the relation of the tales with initiation rituals and concepts of death, as well as in their reflection of exogamous forms of kinship. The procedure of this transformation from mimetic practice to artistic representation has added to folktale's motifs their symbolic dimension. An artistic or playful element can nevertheless penetrate even ritual, since ritual, as any mimesis of an objectified reality (according the ancient Greek word *hypokrisis*), may contain a theatrical element. In this sense, human theatrical gesture precedes any demystifying, profane, or scientific move (Meraklis 2004: 113–114; see also Puchner 2009: 253–298). In Aristotelian terms, a folktale contains both the narrative and the dramatic element. It is in this respect differentiated from other genres, as the legend: the narrator of a legend would never impersonate a fairy or a ghost, while it is common to act on the voices and gestures of the folktale's villains (ogres, witches, etc.). In

folktales, the terrifying connotations of ritual remain hidden, and what prevails is the poetic dynamism of motifs in the tale's exotic topography and characterization.

On the basis of the famous definition of folklore by Dan Ben-Amos as "artistic communication in small groups" (1971; 2014), folktales are seen as diachronic but not timeless, since they account for the interaction between a narrator and an audience in a specific narrative and social context. As underlined by British historian David Hopkin, "Bengt Holbek and Timothy Tangherlini have shown that, for the narrators who supplied the Danish folklorist Evald Tang Kristensen, there is a demonstrable correlation between their lives and their narratives" (Holbek 1987; Tangherlini 2015; Hopkin 2012: 79). Since the language of the folktale is symbolic, this thesis is based on the premise that the symbolic elements of folktales refer to the features of the real world as experienced by the storytellers and their audiences (Holbek 1987: 435). According to the scheme by Carl Lindahl, in his analysis of the folktales of Louisiana, every folktale includes the layers of meaning which are not only culture-specific (consisting of a culture bound framework of references and values) and genre-specific (ruled by a set of combination rules) but also individually specific (the storyteller's personal choices) (Lindahl 1997: 3–26). As Michèle Simonsen (1998: 211) accentuates, to see all the variants of a tale as either cumulative (they add precision to one another) or as completive (they fill up the holes presented by other versions), obscures the fact that different versions of a tale can also be mutually exclusive.

In the framework of the longstanding interplay between literary texts and oral materials in literate societies (Vaz da Silva 2010: 419), the time when folktales of the Greek peasantry began to be documented coincides with an era of disenchantment: the first intellectuals of the Modern Greek Enlightenment were interested in the language and culture of the "common people," appreciated the value of myth, and adapted folk narratives for literary, philosophical, and pedagogical purposes. From an insider's perspective too, folktales did not remain still. Audiences are not supposed to believe in a folktale; as the typical closing formula of Greek stories ("neither was there, nor should you believe it"), folktales are declared as acknowledged fabrications. Nevertheless, both the narrators and listeners shared the belief that folktales, although apparently connected with entertainment and wish-fulfillment magic, were mostly appreciated as a veiled but powerful system of conduct. Stories accumulated in folklore archives since the second half of the 19th century were collected at a

time when villages experienced deep economic and social changes. These narratives cannot be abstracted from the cultural mechanisms of the integration of the peasantry into urban and international society.

It may be assumed that the disenchantment process led to the decline of storytelling: folktales' utopianism would be surpassed by real-life dilemmas and conflicts in a changing environment. However, this is not supported by archival and ethnographic evidence: folktales, especially the tales of magic, remained a dominant narrative genre during the long period of assimilation of Greek peasantry into modernity. Surpassing the boundaries of age, class, and gender, they are traced in such varied narrative situations, as among agricultural workers during the harvesting period, political prisoners after World War II and the Greek Civil War, craftsmen working in their shops, in groups of shepherds or fishermen, or in women's weaving night gatherings.

The present paper draws on the enchantment—disenchantment—re-enchantment continuum, to investigate how the folktale was defined, delineated, approved, and transformed both from the outside and inside Greek peasant communities. With the focus on specific microdata, the main points of analysis, in the framework of folk narrative theory, are concerned with the twofold appropriation of folktale enchantment: (a) as a utopian world which continuously fascinates with its deep-rooted symbols, (b) as part of a contextualization process, where folk narrators' more subjective collective or personalized elements penetrate the folktale's mythic sub-stratum. Taking into account the social formation of the village collectivity, mainly the concept of moral economy, it will be investigated how narrators adjusted archaic poetic patterns to face social tensions which had dislocated their former family and kinship relations.

The search for a new balance between folktale enchantment and the disenchanted world brings the genre in contrast with its own conventions. In this regard, the analysis follows the theoretical discussion on folk narrative genres' fluctuation and limits as developed in a series of conferences organized during the last decade by the ERGON Group (European Research Group on Oral Narrative) (Bru 2019; Simonsen 2019).

From this point of view, the present status of folktale narration in oral communication is not only compared with the narrative traditions of the past, but, in synchronic terms, with the manifestations of popular culture, in a wider context, and the question of the re-enchantment of the contemporary world.

2. ENCHANTMENT AND DISENCHANTMENT FROM AN OUTSIDER'S PERSPECTIVE: FOLKTALES IN THE VIEW OF THE MODERN GREEK ENLIGHTENMENT

Situated within the family of European folk narratives (especially of Southeastern Europe) and of the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean (Puchner 2009), Greek folktales, even if they had not been consciously recorded until the modern era, were exploited early on as a source of poetic inspiration, as it is shown in the plot and structure of the ancient Greek drama (Hansen 2002; Meraklis 2017; Konstantakos 2011; Konstantakos 2019). In Modern Times, it was during the Modern Greek Enlightenment that the educated middle class fostered a new ideological framework for the reception of folklore (Meraklis 2007). The distinction between an unofficial, "low" culture, emanating from the dominated classes and an official or "upper" culture, coming from the ruling classes, is to a certain extent revised by European historiography: for the period before the 18th century preindustrial Europe, many common elements across the population's different social strata are discerned, evident in the celebrations, rituals, narratives, and songs (Burke 2009: 49–56). This cultural osmosis can be further prolonged, in regard with Greek history, in which the educated classes and the simple folk, under the Ottoman rule, even if distanced in economic matters and worldview, were, in many respects, culturally related.

The interest of the Modern Greek Enlightenment for folklore was not restricted to a certain expression, like folk songs, proverbs, or customs but embraced wider cultural concepts, among which the debate about Greek peasantry's attachment to a world of superstitions. Echoing the ideas of the European Enlightenment and the philosophy of reason, superstition, which was considered as the basic trait of the way of life of the illiterate people, was condemned, but what superstition exactly was, was not defined by all in the same way (Meraklis 2007: 42). In addition, the relationship of the Modern Greek Enlightenment with Orthodox Christianity had led to a decisive distinction between superstition (which was rejected) and the Christian doctrine (which was approved) (ibid.: 44–45). Modern Greek intellectuals kept also in mind the ancient Greek meaning of the term, already existing in the *Characters* of Theophrastus (superstition/deisidaeimonia as "the fear of god"). In this respect, Constantinos Koumas, in a book of Physics, quotes a passage from Plutarch's *Life of Pericles* on superstition: "that feeling which is produced by amazement at what happens in regions above us. It affects those who are ignorant of the causes of such things,

and are crazed about divine intervention, and confounded through their inexperience in this domain; whereas the doctrines of natural philosophy remove such ignorance and inexperience, and substitute for timorous and inflamed superstition that unshaken reverence which is attended by a good hope" (1812).

Modern Greek intellectuals were possibly accustomed to another work of Plutarch, *Peri Deisidaimonias* (*On Superstition*, from the Latin translation *De superstitione* of the original Greek *Peri Deisidaimonias*, "On fear of daimons"), where "deisidaimonia is an emotion engendered from false reason" (Superstition 165C). Plutarch stated that "of all kinds of fear the most impotent and helpless is superstitious fear" (1928: 165D); adding that "he who fears the gods fears all things, earth and sea, air and sky, darkness and light, sound and silence, and a dream" (165D-E); Plutarch concludes that both superstition and atheism are the result of ignorance and blindness in regard to the gods.

The interest of the Greek Enlightenment for the culture of common people was mainly related to the conflicts about language (Kyriakidou-Nestoros 1986: 62; Meraklis 2007). Among contradictory views, Adamantios Korais, the most prominent intellectual of the time, as well as his circle, through their main medium of expression, the journal *Logios Hermes*, wished for Modern Greek culture to be a product of synthesis: this synthesis would be based on both literate and non-literate / "folk" elements (Meraklis 2007: 14–15), an idea justified from a historical point of view, for centuries already (ibid.: 50). Accordingly, Korais and his circle recognized that the people's spoken language (conceived in its relevance with the ancient Greek language) would be the basis of the appropriate language to be given to the nation in the future, under the condition that other elements would be included too (ibid.: 37).

In this framework, there are many references to the value of myth, and the experience and poetic fantasy of the "common people." In the wider European history of ideas, myth was at the center of an early modern discussion which began with the *The New Science* (1725) by Giambattista Vico, extending to Johann Gottfried von Herder and the 19th-century philologists: poetics defined as the sphere of knowledge that brings together myth and science, in an exploration of the foundations of humanity, "was already a social poetics, interested not only in questions of form but also of how forms provided resources for negotiating social meanings" (Shuman and Hasan-Rokem 2012: 57). In the writings of the Modern Greek Enlightenment, myth was regarded from many different angles: it was considered either as a pre-

condition of science, or as a hermeneutical philosophical tool; it was used in education and as a medium of studying ancient Greek history and religion, as well as a means of studying other nations and peoples since it constituted a common human attribute (this attribute was called *philomython*, "the fondness of myths"). Thus, in the Greek literature of the 18th century, the term myth designated a wide variety of texts, connecting the narrative genres which in the corresponding French (and more generally European) literature were already separated into myths, fables, and contes (Sermain 2010; Gaillard 1996; Pizer 2005). This triple categorization was not automatically transferred to Greek where the term *παραμύθι* (*conte*) had been identified with an exaggeration, in a pejorative sense, until the 18th century, as it had been the case with its use in earlier literary texts (e.g., *Erotokritos*), rather than with a specific narrative genre.

Stories first coined as *paramythia* are documented in the chronicle *Lettres sur la Grèce* by the French traveler Guys, first edited in 1771. This reference captured the attention of Johann Gottfried von Herder who cited it in the title (*Paramythien*) of his series of stories composed in 1784 (Stellmacher 2002: 118). Herder, based on Guys' chronicle, gives also a definition of the narrative genre designed under this special term: "Paramythion is called a pastime; and as Guys narrates, modern Greek women still call the narratives and poems, with which they shorten time, Paramythia. I can give this name for mine, for a third reason, because they are built upon the ancient Greek Fabel, which is called Mythos and of course a new meaning is given to it" (1888 (vol. 15): 196).

It is worth noticing that what both Guys and Herder coin as Greek *paramythia* are not the narratives of the illiterate peasants; instead, they are moral or sentimental stories, either fictional or semi-realistic, exchanged among young women of the urban milieu of Constantinople. Even though the penetration of oral culture into the middle and upper social classes has not yet been fully appraised, it was in the same milieu that the first collection of Greek folktales (written in French translation) saw the light of day due to Sevastista Soutzo, a young female member of the Phanariote aristocracy of Constantinople; on an uncertain date, certainly before 1824–1825, Sevastista Soutzo gathered and re-wrote three long folktales from one of her female servants originating from the island of Chios in the Aegean sea; unlike the texts by Guys, these are the tales of magic, *stricto sensu*: they are entitled *Rodia* (a combination of ATU/Megas 709 with 403B), *Le dracophage* (a combination of ATU/Megas 304 with type 552 and ATU 310) and *Le petit rouget sorcier* (a combination of ATU/Megas 300 with ATU/Megas 555 and ATU/Megas 303).

This small collection is certainly linked with the "folkloric" interests of the Modern Greek Enlightenment and the European Philhellenes, dealing at the time with the collection of Greek folk songs (Politis 1984). Moreover, it depicts the folktale's route from the groups of female domestic servants of Constantinople, originating mostly from the peasant communities of the Aegean islands, to the feminine urban aristocracy of the city, which found a new expression of its literary and aesthetic preoccupations. This movement bears certain analogies with earlier phenomena, like the emergence of the literary fairy tale in Italy from the 14th to the 17th century where the role of female readers in the transition of tales from orality to literacy might have been important (Ben-Amos 2010: 440–441).

The three tales by Sevastitsa Soutzo vary comparing to those narrated by the peasantry: even though it is difficult to discern whether these changes are due to the young aristocrat or her Chioti servant, they, nevertheless, mark a course from enchantment to disenchantment, by accentuating the realistic over the magical element. They are stories appropriated in order to be narrated or to be read by middle- or upper-class women in their social gatherings, as part of their moral education, but mostly as expressions of a fresh, even if standardized, public expression of their emotions and ideas. As a communication practice, it is situated among their other activities: the formal ones such as the translations of romances, theatrical plays, and philosophical works and their original poetic production (Kitromilides 1983; Tabaki 2002; Xourias 2015), and the informal ones (such as daily gossip). These stories which draw on a varied material, oral and written, older and new, reflect collective and personal tastes about women's imagination and code of conduct. They also present a vivid palimpsest of the society of Constantinople: in particular, the introductory episode of the third tale (*Le petit rouget sorcier*), provides a dramatic criticism of the consequences of a sudden rise from rags to riches and presents women's world as a place full of secrets and lies, where greed, envy, jealousy, superstition, and naivety rule. An excerpt of this introduction is the following passage:

> Full of joy due to this unexpected fortune, he (the fisherman) sat at the table with his wife and, after having eaten fish in abundance, he sold the rest and won a considerable amount of money. Enchanted by his good fortune, he thanked in good heart the little fish for all the good it had done to him. This one told him to come every day at the same hour, and that it would promise to guide him to places where he would make his fortune in a very short time; and, effectively, following the same method for some days, he

succeeded to buy a house, to furnish it conveniently and to be received into the high society. His happiness lasted only for some time, until the envy which is attached by preference to the fortune which comes quickly, came to trouble cruelly their resting. Among women who frequented their society, existed many who, jealous of the fortune of this family, asked their new friend one day by what chance, having been the unluckiest woman of the whole city before, she had succeeded to obtain so much wealth in such a short time. She assured them that her fortune was coming from the extremely lucrative fishing which her husband had been doing for quite some time. These mean creatures objected, saying that it was impossible, taking into account the nature of places and things, and that they were certain that her husband was a magician, and that he owed his sudden acquisitions to his mischief; they advised her, as an honest woman she was, to reject these treasures acquired by sortilege and impiety. The good woman, believing their sayings, began to incessantly annoy her husband and beg him to confide to her the way in which he had made his fortune, telling him that without that she would be quite unhappy.

There are many analogies between this passage and the pop literature of the time where the feminine milieu of Constantinople is portrayed in the most negative way, like in the chapter "Phanariots and Phanariotes: ethographia in 1800" included in the book *From Phanari* (1929) by Nikolaos Vasileiadis (1867–1945), or the poem "I Keratsa" [The Lady] (1839) by Hlias Tantalidis (1818–1876).

From this point of view, the stories by Sevastitsa Soutzo constitute the starting point, as far as it is known, in the long process of modern Greek folktales' documentation, but also in the long process of secularization of folktale's enchantment in modern Greek literature. This applies not only to the feminine literary tales of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century but to the Generation of 1880 as well, which, under the decisive influence of Nikolaos Politis and the foundation of folklore studies in 1908/1909, draws on the stories and on folk culture of the peasantry, in general, in order to depict local attitudes and practices in a critical or parodic manner (Meraklis et al. 2017). Social criticism is reflected not only in the appropriations of the Greek material but also of foreign collections, reflecting the relevant movements in the wider European literature: this is the case of the fairy tales by Petros Pikros who re-wrote the *Märchen* from the Brothers Grimm collection and published them during 1921–22 in the children's magazine *Paidiki Chara* [Children's Joy]. These stories entitled *Fairy Tales of Phrosoula*, which were later included in his book *Stories of Phrosoula* (1922), are

subverting the known stories in order to defend women's emancipation and independence. Pikros, who had sojourned in Germany during 1920–1921, had possibly come in contact with socialist movements in the framework of the literary tale during the period of the Weimar Republic (Zipes 1986: 171–213).

3. ENCHANTMENT IN A DISENCHANTED WORLD: THE INSIDER'S PERSPECTIVE

3.1. Folktales in Reality and the Concept of Moral Economy

As it was stressed earlier in this text, it is difficult to find out to whom the first known Modern Greek collection of folktales really belongs: to the young aristocrat from Phanari or her Chioti servant? Despite the evocation of authenticity (it is argued that the texts were presented exactly as they were narrated), this matter is further complicated by the mediation of the two male French Philhellenes in the process of these tales' editing: Jean Alexandre Buchon and Népomucene Lemercier.

We should, nevertheless, not rush to attribute these folktales only to the Phanariote princess (or the French editors of her texts). As it is shown in the study of folktale narration by female domestic servants to collectors originating from the rural notability during the second half of the 19th-century France, the servants' voices can be heard, even in a disguised form, in these cultural transactions between masters and servants (Hopkin 2018). In this respect, the basic traits of disenchantment characterizing the tales documented in Constantinople at the beginning of the 19th century can be a landmark of the process affecting not only urban but also peasant narrative traditions.

In peasant communities, the relation of an individual with the folk group is defined not only on individual terms but also by a collective way of life, where everyone's actions are of common concern and were handled on a communal base (Meraklis 2001: 18–30). Norms of justice, active from the pre-capitalist era, were probably questioned in a period of social transition. This was something much more than a problem of the surviving "traditional" attitudes which should inevitably have been changed. It was a widely shared set of moral values across different traditional peasant societies due to the common existential circumstances of traditional family-based agriculture.

British historian E. P. Thompson (1971; 1993), in his analysis of bread riots in the eighteenth-century England, opposed common views that food

riots were spasmodic events of common people deprived by historical agency. Instead, he argues that the riots defended what were considered to be the traditional rights or customs relevant to the concept of moral economy: that is a deep-rooted pattern of behavior according to which peasant communities share a set of attitudes and norms of justice concerning the social relations and social behaviors that surround the local economy. Thus, the appropriate economic functions of different social groups inside a community are in accordance with the traditional view of social rules and obligations.

The concept of the "subsistence ethic" (developed by James C. Scott in 1977) is of much relevance, according to which rural communities strategically prioritized stability over the maximization of profit, through "patterns of social control and reciprocity that structure daily contact" (1977: 5). According to Migdal, since peasants are so close to the line, "there developed community mechanisms to maximize security for the household" (2015: 72). Studies of moral economists stress that individuals will go under if, and only if, their communities go under (Popkin 1979: 10).

In the case of Greek peasantry, the precarity of peasant life, poor economic conditions, and pressures of the central and local authorities could only be resisted by forms of cooperation and assistance on a communal scale. Labor and, more generally, social roles and obligations were organized on the basis of reciprocity: different forms of collective work were organized on an exchange-base principle. The organization of collective life along these ethical rules was a prerequisite for the subsistence of the peasant household.

The evolution of traditional agricultural economy from self-subsistence to commercial capitalism exercised new pressure on the underprivileged as well as on the pre-existing forms of cooperation and assistance on a communal scale which ensured their survival.

The economies of the Aegean islands provide a characteristic case, since they were commoditized and monetized faster than in other areas (Papataxiarchis and Petmezas 1998: 224). From the late 18th century, during the whole 19th, and at the beginning of the 20th century, the rural population of the Aegean communities were trying to find new sources of complementary revenues through maritime trade and crafting activities. Groups of men from neighboring islands of the Aegean were working together as fishermen, sailors and sponge-divers; men also departed from their islands for several months to work as seasonal workers, itinerant professionals (builders) or craftsmen in the dynamic and market-oriented communities of the Greek—orthodox populations in the surrounding littoral mainland of the Asia Minor's west coast. Landless peasants were driven by poverty to search

for work outside their community. Accordingly, the women of the Aegean islands used to work during their youth as maids or servants in rich Greek households of Constantinople and Smyrna. During their movements, these groups might have come in contact with the working classes of the cities and of the semi-urban territories of the Asia Minor's coast (Anagnostopoulou 1997: 104–107), thus getting accustomed to different mechanisms of social inclusion and value codes. Despite these contacts, the majority of these workers would return to their native lands, thus they were not absorbed in an urban society. It would be possible that these persons were experiencing more intensively their transitional status: since their communities were also transforming fast, under the growing economic and social inequalities, the need to defend the pre-existing system of reciprocity relations appeared as a burning issue to be negotiated.

The dysfunctions of the traditional system in the new era appear in historical and folklore sources. We know that the village women of Rhodes tried to raise some capital in order to marry their daughters, and also reserve a hoard for their old age in order not to become a burden for them. We may assume that, apart from setting prudently some money aside, these women also narrated to their children a series of folktales reminding the younger ones of their obligation to take care of their elderly. These attitudes, both practical and poetic, presupposed a double way of thinking, realistic and unrealistic, without one excluding the other. In many tales of magic, the figure of Christ appearing as an old beggar in need is the symbolic equivalent of a disabled relative. In fact, the young have always been instructed to take care of their old parents at all costs.

Thus, the system of communitarian principles, roles, and obligations which ensured the survival of peasant communities was debated not only in the field of economic and social relations but in collective imagination too. In these cases, the artistic exploitation of archaic motifs was not fully appraised unless some connection could be established with their own lives. From this point of view, the apogee of folktale narration is reached in local communities at the time of their economic and social transformation.

Realistic references may differ across communities and narrators of the magic tale. As Michèle Simonsen wrote, "you need at least some reference to the real world if the audience is to visualize the words they hear." The "first function of references to reality in a tale is to help the storyteller to build up the mental picture of a universe which resembles our own world, in order to ensure the illusion of 'realism', and maintain the 'voluntary suspension of disbelief'" (Simonsen 1993: 125). Licia Masoni (2007: 34), in her analysis

of the narratives in a north Italian village, underlines that such references further function beyond the performance, that is, in memory, in order for the narrators to recall a story and create a sense of ownership, helping in defining their tradition as local and unique.

Modern Greek narrators and their audiences did not easily settle on a specific equilibrium between reality and fantasy to be maintained: narrators and audiences further invested the folktale's wonder motifs with subjective or personal views, and commented on their immediate reality and social or moral conduct. The question is how this hidden dialectical play could be prolonged in accordance with the poetic principles of the genre: that is through symbolic abstraction, since the folktale's perception of reality is not rationalist or empirical. In certain cases, folk narrators lured the attention of the audience from the terrifying rigidity of the folktale's archaic motifs to the subtle play of appearances, between literal and metaphorical meanings, between what is revealed and what remains veiled.

This balance between the competing forces of enchantment and disenchantment was difficult to maintain, thus offering a new challenge for the narrators and their listeners. Not by chance, Greek folktales are full of play on words, riddle contests, and novelistic elements: folktale utopias are surpassed and the magic element is dissolved into generic hybridity.

3.2. From the Distant Magic to the Magic Next Door: Oicotypical Versions of *The Girl as Goat* (ATU/Megas 409A)

An interesting example of this twofold handling of folktale symbols, is a tale of the animal-bride circle, *The Girl as Goat* (ATU 409A). This is a well-known story among female narrators on the island of Rhodes, in the Dodecanese: a childless woman asks God for a child, even if it be a dog. God sends her a female dog. The girl goes out of home to wash the clothes in the river or at the royal palace's fountain. She removes her skin, leaving her beauty to shine; she washes the clothes and bathes herself for some time. The prince sees her changing her skin and asks her to marry him. She consents under the condition to keep her animal skin. Thus, during sunlight she appears as a dog, and only during the night she becomes a beautiful girl. At the palace, her mother-in-law maltreats her (she hits her with a cane reed, and she gives her the leftovers to eat). On Sunday, when everyone has gone to a wedding, the dog removes her skin and appears at the wedding dressed in a magnificent dress: she sits beside her mother-in-law, who is sorry that her son did not marry the beautiful maiden, instead of marrying

a dog. When the mother-in-law asks the usual question: "Who are you?", the maiden replies: "I am the daughter-in-law of the one who hits with the cane reed" (in the much more condensed Greek phrase it is "tis Dernokalamousas I nifi"). The episode is repeated three times. At last, in the first version, the mother-in-law understands who the maiden really is, returns first home and burns the animal-skin. Then the animal bride retreats to the other world, and the prince starts the search. In the more frequent version of the tale, the enigmatic name is never understood by the mother-in-law, and the heroine reveals the truth to the prince who punishes his mother.

In *Dernokalamousa*, women narrators linger a lot at the washing/bathing scene. In narrative terms, it is done for the reasons of the culmination of suspense, since this episode anticipates the first appearance of the prince. Narrators are also in accordance with the mythical background of the story: the shape-shifting and the magical transformation of the heroine are here related to water (the removal of the animal skin takes place by a river or a fountain). From this point of view, the story offers a point of comparison with folktale heroines connected with the aquatic realm (Cardigos 1989; Vaz da Silva 2002).

Village women describe in detail all the stages of the washing process executed by the young heroine: the transfer of the clothes in a basket, the washing with soap by the river, hitting the clothes with the *κόπανο*, putting the clothes on the bushes' branches to dry up in the sun, the use of aromatic plants for the clothes to smell nice, the picking of clothes, and transporting them home again. Or these could be the real activities performed by village women during their youth, when their homes were deprived of water, and the washing jobs had to be done by hand by the river or in the village fountain. These jobs formed part of a woman's occupations and signified the prerequisites of marriage and setting up one's own household. As a feminine occupation, it was also a form of knowledge transmitted from mother to daughter or from older women to the younger ones, by practice, or during social gatherings where stories referring to feminine obligations and rules of conduct were also exchanged. Thus, women took real pride in remembering their hard work, as they took pride in showing to the visitor their tidy houses, their hand-made weaving products, or their delicious cooking. The heroine of the tale succeeds by fulfilling the role which is judged by the female collectivity as their proper role.

In contrast to other stories of the animal-bride type, in *Dernokalamousa*, the long quest of the magic wife is abandoned or minimized. Narrators keep their protagonists next door, instead of having them wandering in the distant

magic realm. On the detriment of the epic element, dominant in the tales of magic, the title as well as the plot of *Dernokalamousa* accentuate the conflict between an older woman (the mother-in-law) and a younger one (the bride), a pair often ridiculed in jokes and anecdotes. The ending of the story is typical: he who digs a pit for others falls in it himself. The lesson is given though, not only through the punishment of the villain but mostly through her being ridiculed: the fictional mother-in-law is far from being a role model, which is quite different from the real-life situation; in peasant communities, older women were considered the guardians of the rules of proper conduct and transferred, through their actions, the values, canons, and examples of behavior to younger generations. This applied especially to the women of the Dodecanese: due to the systems of social organization and to matrimonial strategies which privileged daughters over sons in terms of the transmission of property, women held a more independent status in gender roles and kinship relations. This led to the recognition, in symbolic terms, of women's wise conduct as decisive not only inside the family but also in the social construction of community relations. The mother-in-law of the folktale is thus punished for not fulfilling this role.

These functions of culturally specific symbols make evident that the narration, following the process of contextualization, addressed not only the family space but a wider collective community space. Numerous other narratives accentuated the importance of women in the maintenance of the family household but also of peaceful relations inside the community. In this framework, the fictional character who adjusted to the audience's expectations and values was viewed positively, while the one who transgressed them was ridiculed. These narrative evaluations corresponded to real judgments, in the community context, through social contacts and gossip.

In addition, in the versions from Rhodes, the heroine's fabricated name, as stated at the wedding, exposes the mother-in-law's behavior in public. Such fabricated names are widely known, they are found even in the first published versions of the story, mainly in the 19th century collection of tales from Epirus by the Austrian diplomat Johann Georg von Hahn (1864, I, 127), and later by the Danish philologist Jean Pio (1879: 70): in these versions, the heroine, in her reply, gives the names of the utensils used by her mother-in-law (or some other person) to hit her, like "from the rolling pin," "from the shovel," or "from the ladle-village." Nevertheless, the versions from Rhodes take the symbolic connotations of the name a step further, by relating the violent behavior with a specific kinship relation. Thus, the mother-in-law is punished in a double sense: as a villain, in the way typical of magic tales,

and as a foolish person, in the way typical of jokes and anecdotes, since she fails to play the game imposed by the underprivileged heroine—a play of wits. This play between literal and metaphorical interpretations of words and phrases has been known from various narratives since the time of Aesop, reaffirming that the only weapon of the weak against the violence exercised by the powerful is wit. Therefore, instead of subverting the established kinship hierarchies and social roles, the folktale of *Dernokalamousa* seems to bypass them through their critical exposure and mockery, thus aligning itself with jokes and anecdotes.

Instead of reproducing an archaic utopian world of wishful or terrifying fantasy, folk narrators seem to strive, within the strict aesthetic boundaries of the folktale genre, to find a new balance between reality and fantasy. In their changing environment, while social discrimination procedures dislocated the existing family, kinship, and community relations, folk narrators' allusions to the established social norms, roles, and obligations conceived on a collective and reciprocal base evoke the practical foundations of folktale symbolism. In their narrative performances, folktale's magic was appropriated for an interpretive framework alluding to the reality of their local collectivity.

However, this new balance between the real and the unreal was difficult to be maintained: while peasant communities were distancing from their former traditional symbolic codes of communication and narration, the folktale reached the limits of its own conventions. It was thus re-orientated either to a totally enchanted world, that of the nursery and of infantile fantasy, or, following the process of disenchantment, it was transformed into a semi-realistic narration of exemplary, moral, or humorous stories destined for the grown-ups.

4. FOLKTALES RE-ENCHANTED?

In media advertisements or tourism industry, contemporary villages are viewed as enchanted realms where the anxious *homo urbanus* can find what he mostly lacks: an ideal world of values, companionship and tranquility (a process alluding to the requisite freezing of folk forms described by the term *Requisiterstarrung* coined by Leopold Schmidt (Bausinger 2009: 147; see also Ben-Amos 1998: 274)). Nevertheless, folktale narration, currently documented, is not made part of this traditionalizing movement of invention or reinvention of folklore as heritage objects upon which many local communities make their living today.

In addition, folktales are equally differentiated from fairy tales of popular culture. Modern mythic thought seems to derive from a feeling of fragmentation, contrary to the concept of *biophilia* (the term is used by Erich Fromm in his book *The Heart of Man* (1964)) which stems from an old cosmological idea of similarity and analogy among all beings, a characteristic of folk thought in general. By projecting all their motifs taken either from the realistic or the magical onto the same dimension (Lüthi 1981; 1986), folktales present truths as lies, requiring the audience's absolute suspension of disbelief. Inversely, recent fairy-tale movies seem to thrive precisely on raising questions about the realism, if not the reality, of fairy tales (Bacchilega and Rieder 2010). Even Guillermo del Toro through his political tales or Christopher Nolan through his cinematic dreams of alternative realities, behave as the loyal children of disenchantment, insisting on the threatening plausibility of their magic or dream-like worlds. From games of virtual reality (of the *Pokemon go* type), where technology uses magic in simulations of real life, to the fashion tales by Camilla Morton, where modern designers are identified with fairy-tale figures, postmodern fairy tales seem to create multiplied parallel worlds.

Today, folk narration, mostly unfolds in order to meet the active or problematic aspects of daily life. It is the case of life histories or personal experience stories concentrating on the painful areas of the past or traumatic personal events. Nonetheless, the contemporary *homo narrans* is not portrayed only in realistic and individualized terms (Avdikos 2017). In many cases, while facing problematic issues in the community or family context, folk narrators prefer folktales to life or experience stories. Not by chance, they alternatively characterize their narratives either as a folktale (*paramythi*) or as an example (*paradeigma*).

These generally brief stories usually occupy the peripheral numbers of the ATU international classification (or, accordingly, of Megas classification): we may observe a shift of narration from the tales of magic to religious tales and realistic tales; in conformity with the folktale's rules, these stories narrativize ideas and preoccupations of the socially underprivileged by projecting them to a more restricted social space, the family. To give some characteristic examples, many stories comment on:

- the sufferings of old age, such as the Greek versions of ATU 982 *The Pretended Inheritance*, where a cruel son who puts his old father in the hencoop and gives him his food in a wooden plate, is punished by his own son, a small boy, fixing a wooden plate to give to his father his food when he becomes old;

- the abandonment or cruelty towards women, like the story of the poor girl who is raped by a prince, but is promised that he would marry her and no one else (AaTh 842B* / ATU 672C* *Testimony of the Serpent*). A serpent is the witness of this promise. When the prince is about to marry a beautiful princess, the serpent (as personification of God's will) appears in the church and twists itself around his neck in order to remind him of his promise and unwinds itself only when he marries the poor girl;

- the acts of charity and, inversely, on tight-fisted people, like the case of the woman who, instead of giving alms to the old beggar, gives him poisoned bread, but receives her own punishment: her son dies, from the accidental consumption of the same bread (ATU 837 *The Beggar's Bread*). Numerous other stories popularize the Orthodox Christian doctrine "The one showing mercy on the poor, lends to God"—people find the actual alms they gave in this world in the next world when they get there, like the story told either as a folktale or as a legend of St. Phanourios and his mother (ATU 804, see Kaplanoglou 2006).

- the idea that wealth does not ensure a happy life, and that labor is the greatest wealth, like the versions of ATU 754 *Lucky Poverty*.

Is this endurance or reactivation of folktale narration in the contemporary peasant communities a sign of re-enchantment? If it is, it is again founded on poetry. The common aspect of these stories lies not so much in religiosity as in practical philosophy: drawing on the rules of wise conduct based on human experience, they mostly recall the well-known moral that if you act right, you will be rewarded, and if you do wrong, you will be punished.

In peasant communities, the relationship between an individual and the folk group is still defined on collective terms, where everyone's actions are of common concern. In this context, people are facing each other's problems on a daily basis. Following the rules of proper conduct, it is considered wise to get involved, but not too closely or too directly. Unlike the stories characterized as social comments or gossip, folktales express emotional concern, but in an impersonal, indirect way, by activating their symbolic status, which is collectively accepted.

Changes in narrative and community contexts have not only affected the folktale's form and content but also the perceptions of narrators and their audiences about what a folktale is. A shepherdess[1] of the mountainous

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[1] I met her in October 2013. She was a woman in her seventies, living with her husband in a hut outside the town and watching over her small flock of goats.

town of Kalavrita, in north Peloponnese, whom I asked to narrate a version of *Stachtopouta* (the name of the Greek Cinderella), told me another story instead: a newly married woman settled in her husband's house is forced by her mother-in-law to spin long after midnight, thus she is not allowed to sleep enough. She is delivered from this nocturnal work thanks to the intervention of her brother who visits her and obliges with threats her mother-in-law to change her attitude (cf. AaTh 902C*). By substituting the persecuted heroine of a magic tale (which is simultaneously a tale about spinning) with the persecuted and spinning heroine of a novella, the narrator was not mistaken in her choice. She reveals instead a long transitional process of the folktale—from utopia to generic hybridity which, nevertheless, does not exclude enchantment from daily communication.

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"WHAT'S IN A NAME?" METAPHORICAL ENCHANTMENTS OF NOBLE CHILDREN IN OLD ICELANDIC LITERATURE

Abstract: In the last decade, there has been a return to folkloristic methods in saga scholarship, leading to the focus on fantastic and supernatural elements in medieval Icelandic literature. Beyond such overtly supernatural elements, medieval Icelandic saga texts also feature various seemingly realistic episodes that work according to the cyclic logic of enchantment and disenchantment—the core principle of fairy tales. It is often the case in Icelandic sagas that noble children are bereft of their highborn status by being abducted, exposed or exchanged, and raised by ugly and poor peasants. They have to undergo a period of ill-treatment and/or a change in their physical appearance, like the shaving of the head, wearing dark and ugly clothing, or a change of name which emphasizes their worthlessness and low status. After having endured this period of hardship in their childhood, these heroes and heroines finally ascend to their heroic purpose.

The main argument of this article is that such a temporary loss of status of noble children in Icelandic literature is a realistic-style rendering of the enchantment and disenchantment common in fairy tales. The main principles of such renderings of fairy-tale-like enchantments in the realistic settings of medieval Icelandic sagas are then explored.

Keywords: Icelandic sagas, fairy tales, enchantment, childhood

INTRODUCTION

In the last decade or so, there has been a return to folkloristic methods in saga scholarship, leading to the focus on fantastic and supernatural elements in medieval Icelandic literature. One element is the evil spell-casting stepmother, a narrative motif, common amongst the literary genre of the legendary sagas (*fornaldarsögur*), mostly composed in the 13th and 14th

centuries and known for their fantastical content. The evil stepmother usually turns her stepchildren into animals or ogres, or they are sent off on a long and dangerous journey. The purpose of those enchantments is that the hero finds his rightful mate whom he is destined to marry. The enchantment by wicked stepmothers is also widely attested in later Icelandic fairy tales (Guðmundsdóttir[1] (forthcoming); Werth 2019: 52–54).

This article, however, suggests that beyond such overtly supernatural elements and enchantments, medieval Icelandic sagas also feature various seemingly realistic episodes that work according to the same cyclic logic of fairy tales, which leads the hero from non-enchantment to enchantment and back to non-enchantment, representing the core principle of fairy tales (Cardigos 1996: 14).

It is often the case in Icelandic sagas that noble children are bereft of their highborn status and raised by ugly and poor peasants. They have to undergo a period of ill-treatment and/or a change in their physical appearance, as well as a change of name which emphasizes their marginalized status. After having endured this period of childhood hardship, these male and female saga protagonists finally ascend to their heroic purpose after their true identity is revealed. This particular motif concerning the childhood of saga characters is not limited to the legendary sagas and later Icelandic romances, as are the enchantments by wicked stepmothers, but is also found in other saga genres, such as the Sagas of Icelanders (*Íslendingasögur*) and shorter tales of Icelanders (*Íslendingaþættir*); the motif seems to have appealed to a broad audience.

This article will provide three main examples of saga heroes who lose their highborn status in their childhood: the abducted princess Áslaug in the 13th century legendary saga *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* [The Saga of Ragnar Lodbrok], the exposed Finnbogi in *Finnboga saga ramma* [The Saga of Finnbogi the Strong], a 14th century Saga of Icelanders, and the exchanged twin brothers Geirmundr and Hámundr heljarskinn in the 13th century *Sturlunga saga* [The Saga of the Family of the Sturlungs].[2] Additionally, minor examples from a wide range of sagas of different genres will be given. The

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[1] Icelandic names are usually cited in full length, starting with the first name, since Icelanders don't have family names, but rather patronymics (*son/dóttir*, "son"/"daughter").

[2] *Sturlunga saga* is similar to *Íslendingasögur* with the difference that the stories narrate events that happen at the time of writing, whereas the *Íslendingasögur* tell of events that happened some centuries before writing. Therefore, *Sturlunga saga* is sometimes referred to as *samtíðarsaga* or "contemporary saga."

material will show that the temporary loss of the status of noble children in Icelandic saga literature is a realistic-style rendering of the enchantment and disenchantment characteristic of fairy tales. Before discussing the chosen cases, the nature of enchantments in fairy tales will be addressed.

FAIRY-TALE ENCHANTMENTS

While it lies beyond the scope of this article to discuss the scholarly discourse on the origin and interconnections between myths, heroic epics, and the fairy tale in detail, it should be noted that the boundaries between the different genres are fluid. Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966: 45), for example, declared that he used all kinds of traditional narratives like tales and legends, as well as customs and ceremonies for his analysis, instead of being too strict on what is (and what is not) mythical. Enchantments in fairy tales, however, differ from the curses and metamorphoses found in legends and myths, since fairy-tale enchantments last only temporarily and will be resolved by the end of the narrative. In fairy tales, the enchantment is usually part of the hero's childhood or adolescence and, in the majority of tales, is intended to lead the hero to his/her rightful mate. Therefore, the state of enchantment can be interpreted as a phase of the hero's and heroine's coming of age and maturing until they are fit for marriage. According to Max Lüthi's (1986: 11–23) concept of *depthlessness* (*Flächenhaftigkeit*) as a stylistic characteristic of fairy tales, the process of aging or maturing, as well as the heroes' internal and psychological state are not addressed directly, but instead externalized, where they become the intrinsic parts of the narrative plot itself. The cyclic movement of enchantment and disenchantment, along with the development of the hero, can therefore be represented through actual movement, where usually (but not exclusively) the male hero undertakes an adventurous journey. This journey can then be seen as a metaphor for coming-of-age processes (cf. Vaz da Silva (this vol.)). However, in many fairy tales, enchantment is accompanied by the hero being caught in a state of fixation or passivity, where the prince is, for example, turned into stone or swallowed by a fish, whereas the heroine is locked up in a chest or tower, eventually caught in a death-like sleep. According to Vladimir Propp, those instances of passivity represent a temporary and metaphorical state of death (Propp 1987: 309).[3]

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[3] For further discussion on royal children who are hidden and locked away in fairy tales, see Propp 1987: 39–51.

It may, therefore, seem peculiar that this metaphorical or symbolical death should signify the hero's internal development and growth. However, the death metaphor connects the maturing process of the protagonist with Arnold van Gennep's (1960: 11, 65–115) concept of the rites of passage and Victor Turner's (1977: 93–111) theory on *liminality*, where a person is betwixt and between two life stages, already separated from the initial stage, but not yet incorporated into a new one, which is often exemplified through the metaphor of death and re-birth (cf. Vaz da Silva (this vol.)). It seems as if both the active journey as well as the fixed state denote the potentiality of the hero and heroine, by undergoing the transition from the stage of childhood to the stage of adulthood. As soon as this period has passed, the hero ascends to his true purpose by finding the rightful mate and ruling a kingdom.

Enchantment in fairy tales often includes a temporary transformation of the hero into an animal. Similar to the death-like state of fixation, the animal shape deprives the hero of his or her human state, forcing him to persist in nature and the wilderness for a certain amount of time. Only when the hero has been disenchanted, and the furry animal hide or second skin is cast off, is he able to get married. The enchantment of humans into animals is especially common amongst the Icelandic fairy tales (Sveinsson 2003: 246). One of the earliest examples of shape-shifting through enchantment can be found in an episode belonging to the legendary saga *Hrólfs saga kraka* [The Saga of King Hrolf Kraki] from around 1400, namely *Böðvars þáttr* [The Tale of Bödvar]. In *Böðvars þáttr*, an evil queen puts a spell on her stepson, who turns into a bear by day but returns to his human state by nightfall (Byock 1998: 36–37). Similar enchantments occur in later Icelandic fairy tales, where royal children are turned into dogs or black cats and even nonhuman creatures like ogres. Those enchantments by active spell-casters like the evil stepmother, result in the loss of the hero's status and identity by undergoing a period of hardship, whereas disenchantment, usually initiated by the rightful mate or a sibling, restores the former status and physical appearance of the hero.

Despite these clear examples of enchantments in Icelandic sagas and fairy tales, there is another pattern in the sagas that is not as easily recognized as enchantment, due to the lack of actual shape-shifting or magic. Instead of a proper enchantment, realistic processes seem to mimic and metaphorically represent fairy-tale enchantments. Those instances usually involve children of royal or noble birth, who lose their status. At this point, it is worth mentioning that patterns concerning the biography of the

mythical or legendary hero have been described by various scholars.[4] The "hero patterns" usually focus on the first half of the hero's life, his conception, birth, and early childhood, which often includes the hero's exposure and a humble upbringing before he accomplishes heroic deeds. While the hero pattern proposed by the German scholar Otto Rank (2004: 72) shows probably the closest resemblance to the pattern examined in this article, it, however, diverges in Rank's Freudian inspired aspect of the hero striving to revenge his father. As will be shown, the heroes in the discussed Icelandic sagas, on the other hand, seek reconciliation and re-integration into the rightful family. The hero's individual concern of reuniting with his family must then be regarded as characteristic of the fairy tale rather than myths (Meletinsky 1969: 18).

The following examples are divided into three groups: (1) abducted children, (2) exposed children, and (3) exchanged children. Despite the varying narratives of how the children get detached from their family, those instances can be considered equivalent, since they lead to the unvarying circumstance that the children are taken captives or fostered by strangers. This period can include a change of the children's physical appearance, like the shaving of the head or wearing dark or furry clothing, which emphasizes their low status. A peculiarity concerning the name and parentage of the youngster is mentioned in the majority of cases, where the name is either kept secret and/or replaced by another one. This period of hardship comes to an end as soon as the true identity is revealed and the hero regains his noble status.

ABDUCTED AND PERSECUTED CHILDREN

The theme of persecuted royal children has long been a part of Old Icelandic literature. Already in the Kings' sagas (*konungasögur*) from the 12th century, royal children are persecuted and forced to run from their enemies. Usually, those children are accompanied by their birth mother, and live temporarily under humble circumstances in remote places, commonly on islands, before claiming the throne. According to Ármann Jakobsson, those incidents in the Kings' sagas show great resemblances to fairy tales, in which the royal hero or heroine is confronted with persecution and adversity in their childhood, and have to prove his/her worth, until he/she is able to seize

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[4] For an overview of the different patterns and approaches, see, for example, Dundes 1980: 229–240; Holbek 1998: 328–331.

the throne (Jakobsson 2004: 7, 19). In the following examples, the theme of abducted children, who are raised by strangers in an unfamiliar place, where they are kept in solitude and keep silent will be examined.

In *Ragnars saga loðbrókar*, princess Áslaug travels with her foster father King Heimir from Sweden to Norway inside a specially constructed harp with a special leek as the only source of food. At a remote farm in Norway, Heimir is killed by an ugly peasant couple, Áki and his wife Gríma, who find Áslaug inside the harp. Áslaug does not speak and, therefore, does not answer Gríma's question about her parentage "hverar ættar hun veri" (Olsen 1906–8: 115; cf. Waggoner 2009: 4). As it turns out later, Áslaug is entirely capable of speaking and even understands the language of birds. Gríma raises the girl as if she were her own. In order to prevent suspicions, Gríma makes Áslaug as ugly as she is herself and dresses her in dark rags, shaves her head, and smears it with tar. Additionally, Áslaug receives the name Kráka [Crow], the same name that Gríma's mother bore. From then on, Kráka serves the couple in the kitchen and herds the goats. Áslaug is later discovered by the Viking ruler Ragnarr, who takes her as his second wife. It is, however, not before Ragnarr is about to leave Áslaug for a Swedish princess in order to secure his royal status that she reveals her real name and highborn origin as the daughter of the famous dragon slayer Sigurðr Fáfnisbani. Áslaug's claim is later verified by her fifth son, bearing the mark of the snake in his eye, which connects him to his grandfather.

This episode in *Ragnars saga* has been identified by various scholars as an early instance of *Cinderella* (Cox 1893: xl; Hartland 1982: 67–68; Rooth 1951: 126–134) and has recently sparked renewed interest by the scholars of Old Norse literature and folklore (Hui 2018; Werth (forthcoming)). The Swedish folklorist Anna Birgitta Rooth was the first one to recognize that Áslaug, travelling inside the harp, is a variant of the hiding-box-type, now classified as ATU 510B* *The Princess in the Chest*, a subtype of the *Cinderella* tale type ATU 510 (Uther 2004, 1: 296). According to Rooth, the dark rags Áslaug is wearing, as well as the name of the crow she receives, refers to the B-type of the *Cinderella* cycle (ATU 510B *Peau d'Âne*), where the fairy-tale heroine usually disguises herself in animal skins and furs. Interestingly, the crow disguise as well as the Crow-name are common in many later Scandinavian *Cinderella* variants (Rooth 1951: 132–134). The names *Kráka* and *Gríma* are both listed amongst the names of ogresses in the 13th century *Snorra Edda*, where they are traditionally connected to witchcraft (Faulkes 1987: 156).

Áslaug's refusal to speak and to reveal her parentage mirrors the incident when her father, Sigurðr Fáfnisbani, does not reveal his parentage

to the dragon Fáfnir in *Völsunga saga* [The Saga of the Volsungs] (Byock 1990: 63).[5] In the heroic Eddic poem *Fáfnismál* [The Lay of Fafnir], which also concerns the killing of Fáfnir by Sigurðr, it is stated that the revelation of one's name to a dying creature is dangerous, because the words of the dying one are powerful and can cause harm if he curses one by name (Larrington 2014: 153). Therefore, Áslaug's refusal to reveal her name could be regarded a strategic decision, which keeps her from further harm. The motif of the hiding of the name is probably best-known from later folklore, namely the tale type of ATU 500 *The Name of the Supernatural Helper* or *Rumpelstilskin*, where a supernatural creature requests that the hero discovers its peculiar name. Behind the naming riddle lies the ancient idea that a person's name can provide access to their soul and should, therefore, not be revealed to strangers (Clodd 1898; von Sydow 1907; Sveinsson 2003: 58).[6]

Áslaug receives a name which connects her to ogresses in Old Icelandic literature as well as to a black bird. The change of name and outer appearance signifies a metaphorical enchantment in *Ragnars saga*, where the heroine embodies an animal while becoming attached to the lineage of ogresses (recall that Gríma's mother bore the same name that Áslaug receives). Those instances symbolize the loss of the human state, further highlighted by Áslaug being a goat-herd, traversing the rocky shore all day long with the goats being her only companions.

Another saga character that shows significant similarities to Áslaug is the abducted Irish princess Melkorka in *Laxdæla saga*, a 13th-century Saga of Icelanders. In the saga, Melkorka is abducted by sea pirates as a child and brought first to Russia and later to Norway, where she is traded as a slave. The Icelandic chieftain Höskuldr Dala-Kollsson acquires Melkorka at a fair on one of his visits to Norway. Despite Höskuldr being warned by the trader that the slave-woman does not speak, he buys her anyway and exchanges her dirty rags with a splendid dress. Höskuldr brings Melkorka to Iceland as his concubine and has a son with her, named Óláfr, who Höskuldr's wife Þórunn

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[5] *Ragnars saga* is closely related to *Völsunga saga*, which forms part of the Nordic branch of the *Niebelungen cycle*. Both sagas are combined in a vellum manuscript from approximately 1400, with *Ragnars saga* conceptualized as a sequel to *Völsunga saga*. The manuscript, known as Y-version, is preserved in *Den Arnamagnæanske Samling* in Copenhagen, NKS 1824b 4to.

[6] There exist at least five variants of this tale type amongst Icelandic fairy tales. One variant concerns the giantess Gilitrutt, who assists a lazy housewife with her spinning tasks and demands that she discovers her name after guessing three times (Guðmundsdóttir 2003).

dislikes greatly. She mistreats Melkorka. One morning, when Höskuldr goes outside the house, he overhears a conversation between Melkorka and their son Óláfr, who talk together in a strange language, most likely Irish. When Höskuldr confronts Melkorka, she reveals to him that she is of royal origin and the daughter of the Irish king Mýrkjartan. However, it is not before Melkorka's son is a grown man and travels to Ireland with a golden ring, a knife, and a belt—fairy-tale-style recognition tokens he receives from his mother—that Melkorka's claim is verified. In Ireland, Melkorka's father, King Mýrkjartan, recognizes the golden ring as his own, while Melkorka's old nurse remembers the knife and belt (Hreinsson (ed.) 1997a).

Melkorka in *Laxdæla saga* and Áslaug in *Ragnars saga loðbrókar* share certain similarities.[7] They are both abducted and persecuted princesses, who have to endure a period of hardship and mistreatment while being in a serving position. Despite the fact that Höskuldr and his wife are not acting as Melkorka's foster parents, the motif of a man and a woman of lower origin having supervision over, and mistreating, a well-born young woman is present. Equally important, however, is the fact that both princesses use the same ruse—they keep silent in order to hide their name and royal parentage. In both sagas, muteness is used consciously in order to hide the true identity, which works according to the narrative logic of the sagas. In fairy tales, however, the heroine's muteness is not so much a ruse as it is a necessary condition to be endured, and symbolically hints at the heroine's becoming sexually mature (Cardigos 1991: 55; cf. Vaz da Silva 2002: 204–205). The theme of muteness in *Ragnars saga* and *Laxdæla* saga, however, seems to work according to both narrative criteria.

Another similarity is the circumstance that Áslaug's and Melkorka's sons are finally able to verify their mother's claims by possessing either a special birthmark or a golden ring, which work similarly to the so-called recognition tokens found in fairy tales. The final recognition of the two princesses' highborn origin is, however, not first and foremost intended to

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7 According to Einar Ól. Sveinsson (1934: xlv–xlvii), the author, *Laxdæla saga* was influenced by heroic epics and poems concerning Sigurðr Fáfnisbani, the Valkyrie Brynhildr, and the family of the Gjúkungs. Therefore, it seems possible that the author also knew the story of Áslaug, the daughter of Sigurðr and Brynhildr according to *Ragnars saga* and *Völsunga saga*, and used her as a model for Melkorka in *Laxdæla saga*. The oldest complete manuscript of *Ragnars saga*, which includes the story of Áslaug (c. 1400), is more recent than the earliest manuscript of *Laxdæla saga* (1330–1370), it is, however, evident that the narrative about Ragnarr loðbrók has circulated in Iceland at least since the early 13th century (Ashman Rowe 2012: 207).

secure a wedding with the rightful mate as is common in fairy tales, although this is also the case in *Ragnars saga*, but rather for providing noble and respectable lineal ties for the future generations. It seems here, that the motif of the lineal-identity, important in the Icelandic sagas, coexists with the boy-meets-girl motif crucial to fairy tales, at least with regard to *Ragnars saga*.

A similar fate to that of Áslaug and Melkorka is endured by the boy Tristram in the indigenous Icelandic chivalric saga *Saga af Tristram ok Ísodd* [The Saga of Tristram and Isodd], which is derived from the Tristan legend. The French chivalric romance of Tristan by Thomas of Britain was translated into Old Norse as *Tristrams saga ok Ísöndar* [The Saga of Tristram and Isönd] in the 13th century, which inspired the indigenous creation. *Saga af Tristram ok Ísodd*, however, shows drastic modifications and additions from the Norse translation and features Icelandic narrative themes instead (Jorgensen (ed.) 1999: 243). One of these differences concerns the abduction of the royal orphan Tristram, who, like Áslaug in *Ragnars saga*, is raised by a foster-father before he is abducted by King Túrnes. The king then sells Tristram to the worst Viking he manages to find. Tristram is taken captive by the Vikings, who take the boy on their ship. Despite the Vikings' asking repeatedly for Tristram's name and lineage, "fréttu þeir hann at nafni eða hverrar ættar hann væri" ["they asked him his name and what family he was born from"] (Jorgensen (ed.) 1999: 258), he never speaks to them a single word. In order to humiliate and punish the boy for his silence, the Vikings beat him, cut off his golden hair, and smear the head with tar. After refusing to cooperate with the sea pirates, they finally expose him on a group of skerries and leave him there to die. Tristram, however, manages to swim to the shore and survives his ordeals.

While Rank included the Tristan legend into his work on the mythical hero (by referring to the poem by Gottfried of Strassburg from the 13th century), he interestingly notices that a "clearer version of the Tristan legend, with respect to the characteristic features of the myth of the birth of the hero, is found in the folktale 'The True Bride'" (2004: 42). Here, Rank refers to an Icelandic folktale published in the tale collection of German scholar Adeline Rittershaus (1902). In the Icelandic tale, the boy Tristram is washed ashore in a chest, where he is found by a king and queen, which resonates with Rank's point that the mythical hero is often set adrift in a box or basket. However, in other Icelandic variants of the same tale type (ATU 870 *The Princess Confined in the Mound*), this motif is used interchangeably, where sometimes Tristram and sometimes the girl Ísól is found in a chest on the shore (Rittershaus 1902: 113–118). As mentioned above, the hiding-box is also common in feminine fairy tales, as for example in the *Cinderella* tale type

ATU 510B* *The Princes in the Chest*, where the heroine is set adrift in a chest in order to fly from her incestuous father. One must also ask, if Rank notices a stronger manifestation of his hero pattern in an Icelandic folktale, would it not be more logical to assume that the romance about Tristan derived from a folktale in the first place, rather than a myth?

Tristram's abduction and his being traded to the Vikings resembles, in many respects, the abduction and enslavement of the Irish princess Melkorka in *Laxdæla saga*. It may also be noted that Áslaug as well is taken by the Viking Ragnarr in *Ragnars saga*, although she becomes his wife. Furthermore, Tristram endures the same treatment as Áslaug in *Ragnars saga*, where their hair is shaved off, and their heads tarred. This motif shows great resemblance to the Grimm's fairy tale *Der Eisenhans* [Iron Hans] (KHM 136, ATU 502 *The Wild Man* + ATU 314 *Goldener*),[8] in which a noble boy is abducted and fostered by the wild man, who is reminiscent of the Vikings in the abovementioned Old Norse sagas. Because of the boy's breaking an interdiction, his hair turns golden. Later, he works as a lowly servant at the king's court, where he hides his highborn identity. Furthermore, he hides his golden hair under a cap by claiming that he has a bad scurf on his head, which can be said to be reminiscent of a tarred head. Therefore, the German fairy tale shows the same enchantment motifs, apparent in the stories of Tristram and Áslaug in the Icelandic sagas. The Grimms state in their annotations to the tale, that the boy resembles a male Cinderella, of the *Allerleirauh*-type (ATU 510B *Peau d'Âne*), which is interesting because Áslaug has also been identified as a Cinderella-figure in Old Norse literature. The tale type of ATU 314 also has a 13th-century French literary variant, known as *Robert le Diable* [Robert the Devil] (Vaz da Silva 2010: 412–413).

All three cases discussed above concern children or young adults of royal origin who lose their royal status due to their being abducted. The abduction is followed by the recurrent motif of the children appearing to be mute or denying answering questions about their name and parentage.[9] However, only Áslaug receives a new name by her abductress, which refers to both

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[8] The tale was added by the brothers Grimm in the revised edition of *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* from 1850. It replaces the very similar tale of *Der Wilde Mann* [The Wild Man].

[9] The motif of silent or taciturn children is also characteristic of the *kolbítr* ["coal-biter" or "ash lad"] in Old Icelandic sagas. The *kolbítr* is an unpromising youth who sits or lies by the fire site, nibbles charcoal, and refuses to work. Later, however, the *kolbítr* turns out to be a hero, who is very able to talk and fight. Therefore, he has been described as a male version of Cinderella (Driscoll 1992: lxx–lxxi).

a black bird and an ogress. This means that Áslaug is not only temporarily detached from her own lineage but at the same time incorporated into Gríma's lineal line. The "loss" of speech symbolizes the children's lack of agency, which is further emphasized by their death-like passivity, by being locked up in a box or shipped over water and held captives by their abductors, who mistreat them in various ways, which in the cases of Áslaug and Melkorka includes hard labour. As it later turns out, the children are not only able to speak but also have acquired extraordinary language skills, like the language of birds, the Irish language.

After having discussed the cases where the royal children are abducted and held captive by their abductors, the focus shifts to the exposed highborn children who are taken in by caring foster parents.

EXPOSED CHILDREN[10]

In *Finnboga saga ramma* [The Saga of Finnbogi the Strong], the hero Finnbogi is not of royal blood, but the son of Ásbjörn, an influential Icelandic chieftain and, therefore, belongs to the highest ranks of Icelandic society. Because of a dispute Ásbjörn had with his wife Þorgerðr, he demands the exposure of their newborn child in the wilderness. The baby boy is exposed by slaves, who put the child between two rocks with a stone slab on top. Additionally, the child receives a piece of bacon (*flesk*) to suckle on. Not long after, the poor man Gestr and his wife Syrpa find the baby and decide to raise the boy as their own child. As Gríma in *Ragnars saga*, Gestr is concerned that the beautiful and strong child would raise suspicions in other people, which is why the couple decides to stage a birth, with Syrpa lying on the floor and acting as if she gave birth to the child. The boy is named Urðarköttr [Scree-cat], derived from the rocky and remote landscape he was found in, and gets dressed in some skin cloak and tattered homespun trousers. He always walks barefoot and carries a club.

Urðarköttr is a precocious child and troublemaker from a young age, like many saga heroes in the Sagas of Icelanders (Jakobsson 2003; Hansen 2003). He is described as behaving wildly and aggressively, and barely talks. Sometimes the boy visits the nearby farm of his parents Ásbjörn and Þorgerðr, who do not know yet that the boy is their child. At the farm,

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[10] On the practice of infant abandonment in Old Norse society, see Lawing 2013. Cf. further on the subject of the dead-child tradition in Nordic folklore in Pentikäinen 1968. On the literary motif of the exposed child, see Redford 1967.

Urðarköttr treats the servant girls badly and often beats them with his club, which is why he becomes rather unpopular in the neighbourhood. However, the precocious boy and his enormous strength do not go unnoticed, and one day, when he is eight years old, the boy's wise uncle reveals his identity and parentage. The revelation concludes in an almost Cinderella-like vein, where it is said that "[w]hat he had been wearing before was torn off him, and he was provided with the best of clothes. No one believed that they had seen a man as handsome and as well-proportioned in every respect" (Hreinsson (ed.) 1997b: 226). While Þorgerðr is pleased to have her son back, her husband is more reluctant. At this point in time, Urðaköttr has still not received an honourable name. Like Kráka in *Ragnars saga*, he is often outside and one day, when roaming by the seaside, he observes a sinking ship close to the shore. Because of his strength, Urðarköttr is able to rescue the man called Finnbogi from drowning, and becomes his close companion. Later, before dying in a battle, Finnbogi allows Urðarköttr, who is by then seventeen years old and travels abroad shortly thereafter, to bear his name.

The boy's strange name needs to be further addressed. Urðarköttur is also the name of a fantastical creature, known from later Icelandic folklore. This hybrid animal is said to dwell underground, beneath the churchyard, for three years, where it feeds on corpses until it moves above the ground. Its gaze causes people's sudden death (Árnason 1954–61, I: 610–611). Nothing, however, indicates that the name of the boy in *Finnboga saga* is derived from the folkloric creature, which is only mentioned in fairly late sources. The Icelandic term *urðr* (modern lang. *urður*) means "scree," but refers also to death as well as fate (Ásgeir Blöndal Magnússon 1989: 1090, nr. 2–3). In Norse mythology, *Urðr* is the name of one of the three Norns or Fates (Greek: *Moirai*), who represents the past. This at least suggests that the name Urðarköttr is connected to death and decay, and emphasizes the boy's marginal or liminal position as an outcast, who was left in the wilderness to die. The second part of the boy's name Köttr, which means "cat," is, however, apparent in the same listing of troll names, where also the names Gríma and Kráka from *Ragnars saga* appear (Faulkes 1987: 156). The name of the boy's foster mother, Syrpa, is also connected to female trolls or giantesses and is listed amongst troll names in an Icelandic poem called *Allra flagða þula* [Recital of all Giantesses], which first appeared in the late medieval chivalric saga *Vilhjálms saga sjóðs* [The Saga of William the Purse] from the 14th century (Loth 1964: 67). The poem is connected to an episode of the saga, in which the hero Vilhjálmr is cursed by a giant to recite the names of ninety trolls, who will be in a cave at a given time. Another reference to the name Syrpa is made in the legendary

saga *Bósa saga ok Herrauðs* [The Saga of Bosi and Herraud] from the 14th century. The saga refers to a strong magic spell, called *Syrpuvers* [Syrpa's Verse], which demands the recital of six names (Pálsson and Edwards (eds. and trans.) 1985: 207–208). Those examples again refer to the naming riddle in folklore as discussed above, which appears to be strongly connected to trolls and ogres within the Icelandic context of the sagas and later fairy tales. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the traditional Icelandic proverb *Fjórðungi bregður til fósturs en fjórðungi til nafns* [One fourth of a person's character is influenced by their upbringing and one fourth by the one they are named after].[11] This means that both the fostering of the child by a foster mother and the name the child receives—which often refers to trolls—seem to be influential on the child's further development and behaviour. Furthermore, the names Kráka [crow] and Köttr [cat] also refer to animals, and it is stated that both characters do not speak or are at least not very talkative. Later it turns out, that both of them seem to understand or speak the language of animals. Kráka understands the language of birds in *Ragnars saga*, whereas Urðarköttr talks to a bear in *Finnboga saga*, which seems to understand him (Hreinsson (ed.) 1997b: 233). The reference to animals, which is reflected in their names as well as in their outer appearance, by wearing dark and furry clothing, strengthens the liminal state they are in. Urðaköttr is also said to behave wildly and aggressively, and often wanders by the beach. Kráka, on the other hand, is mainly engrossed in outside tasks by herding the goats. In both cases, the name clearly reflects on their behaviour and social position.

There are other Icelandic sagas that portray a very similar pattern as in the story of Urðarköttr. One of them is the chivalric saga *Samsons saga fagra* [The Saga of Samson the Fair] from the 14th-century, in particular an episode which concerns the youth of Sigurðr Goðmundarson, the son of King Goðmundr á Glæsivöllum [Godmund of the Glittering Plains]. King Goðmundr gives the order to expose the illegitimate newborn in the remote wilderness. The exposure is described in the exact same manner as in *Finnboga saga*. The highborn child is borne out by slaves, who place the boy between two rocks, put a stone slab on top of it, and give the baby something to suckle on. Later, the trollish man Krókr finds the boy and raises him with his wife Krekla as

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11   The belief in receiving the "right" name is deeply rooted in Icelandic society and culture. Still today, people believe in the phenomenon called *nafnavitjun* [name visiting], where the future mother dreams about a deceased relative, who the child should be named after. In a national Icelandic survey into Icelandic folk beliefs and belief attitudes, carried out in 2006–7, 37–38% of the participants believed this phenomenon at least to be possible (Gunnell 2007: 810).

if he were their own child. The boy is dressed poorly—in a similar vein as Urðarköttr—in a cassock made of camel hair and shoes of shaggy fox skin, and he carries a club. He receives the name Sigurðr *af sugunni*, which refers to the object the boy suckled on when he was found. Sigurðr is later able to prove his royal parentage with a golden ring, similar to Melkorka's son in *Laxdœla saga* (Waggoner 2018).

A golden ring as a recognition token, which is intended to verify the identity of the noble child is also apparent in two other sagas, *Jómsvíkinga saga* [The Saga of the Jomsvikings], a 13th century Saga of Icelanders, and *Þorsteins þáttr uxafóts* [The Tale of Thorsteinn Ox-Foot], a 14th century tale of Icelanders. In *Jómsvíkinga saga* a baby boy of noble origin is exposed in the woods, because he was conceived in incest. He is found by the king's men under a tree root, wrapped in a fine cloth and with a silk knot bound to his forehead, containing a golden ring. Therefore, King Gormr names the boy Knútr [knot] and gives him in foster care (Finlay and Jóhannesdóttir (eds.) 2018: 67–68). The ring later proves the noble parentage of the boy, who becomes king. In *Þorsteins þáttr uxafóts*, an illegitimate child is exposed by a slave under a tree root, wrapped in a cloth and with a piece of bacon to suckle on. The boy is found by an old man, who raises him together with his wife as if he were their own child. Later the boy proves his parentage with a golden ring (Hreinsson (ed.) 1997c).

The last example within this group is the story of the boy Áli flekkr in *Ála flekks saga* [The Saga of Áli Fleck], an indigenous chivalric saga from approximately 1400. Here, King Ríkharðr of England demands that if the queen gives birth to a boy, the child be killed, because he predicts a difficult life for the child. The queen gives birth to a baby boy, who is exposed by two slaves in the woods, who tell the queen that they have killed the child as requested. The old man Gunni finds the boy under a tree and brings him home to his wife Hildr. The couple decides to raise the boy, and as in *Finnboga saga*, they stage the birth, by Hildr lying on the floor and acting as if she were giving birth to the child. There is a peculiarity as well concerning the boy's name, which he receives every evening from his foster parents, but by the next morning, the name is forgotten. The boy grows up in poor conditions until one morning, his foster father, Gunni, calls him Áli flekkr, because of a birthmark on his right cheek, and from then on, the name sticks. Shortly after, the king is holding a festivity, where Áli and his foster parents are invited. The queen recognizes her son, and consequently, the king acknowledges Áli as his son and heir. By this time, Áli is eight years old, the same age as Urðarköttr when his parentage is revealed (Hui et al. (eds. and trans.) 2018).

The examples of exposed children discussed in this group, share the fact that it is usually the father (or in the case of *Þorsteins þáttr* the uncle) of the newborn who demands the exposure. The sagas explain that the child was conceived illegitimately, in incest, or is of the wrong sex. In *Finnboga saga* a dispute leads to the exposure of the child. In all the discussed cases, the children are boys who are either exposed between two rocks or under a tree or tree root. In some cases, the baby suckles on a piece of bacon or another object. The consistency of such details suggests that the motif of the exposure is rather stable and was well-known at the time of saga writing.

Usually, the circumstances in which the child is found determine their name. Finnbogi receives his first name Urðarköttr from the rocky surroundings of his foster parents' dwelling. Sigurðr in *Samsons saga* receives the byname *af sugunni* in reference to the object he suckles on, and the name Knútr is derived from the knot that was bound to the baby's forehead. Áli flekkr receives his name in reference to the birthmark. Despite the fact that the foster parents are never directly said to be otherworldly, they are often possessing a giant- or troll-like appearance. They are described as old and ugly, sometimes quite strong and tall, and they live in remote places like the mountains, as in the case of Krókr and Krekla in *Samsons saga*.[12] The appearance of the children is usually described in detail, where the emphasis is laid on poor clothing, shaggy rags, and pelt tunics, which, like the names, denote their low and marginal status. In the majority of cases, the children can later verify their highborn parentage by presenting a golden ring. But also, a birthmark or extraordinary strength can identify the royal offspring.

The last group of metaphorical enchantments in Icelandic sagas differs from the cases discussed above in that the children are not abducted or exposed, but exchanged by their birth mother.

EXCHANGED CHILDREN

A very interesting rendering of the theme of fostered children in the sagas can be found in *Geirmundar þáttr heljarskinns* [The Tale of Geirmund Hel-skinned], a short tale in *Sturlunga saga*. In *Geirmundar þáttr*, the queen gives birth to twin brothers while the king is absent. The two boys are, however, so ugly and dark-skinned that the queen exchanges them with the beautiful son of a nurse and a thrall, who was born around the same time.

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[12] It may be noted here that in some Icelandic legendary sagas, the saga hero is sometimes fostered by troll women or ogress (Gallo 2006 (spring)).

When the king returns, the queen shows him the beautiful child, who she claims to be the king's son. One day, it occurs that only the three children, a poet with a hood, and the queen hiding under her bed covers, remain in the hall. The by then three-year-old twin brothers, believing that no one else is inside the hall except the slave's child, take away the golden ring the boy is playing with and push him out of his seat. Because of their strength and daringness, the poet discovers the truth about their royal origin and lets the queen know that he now knows about her secret. When the king returns, the queen presents the two dark-skinned boys as his real children, whom the king happily accepts by giving them the byname *heljarskinn* [dark-skinned, literally *hel*-skinned] (Jóhannesson et al. (eds.) 1946, 1: 5–11).

Rory McTurk has argued that *Geirmundar þáttr* was influenced by the medieval Breton *lai* of *Le Fresne*, composed by Marie de France in the 12th century, in which highborn twin sisters grow up independently. One of the girls is exposed as a newborn and placed under an ash tree together with a fine cloth and a golden ring. The fine cloth, as well as the ring are later identified by the birth mother, who secures the girl a wedding with a noble man, who was going to marry her twin sister instead (McTurk 1997). *Le Fresne* also seems to be connected to the fairy tale tradition and was identified by Graham Anderson as a medieval variant of *Cinderella* (Anderson 2000: 41–42). *Le Fresne* might have influenced other medieval Icelandic sagas as well, for it had been translated into Old Norse as *Eskja ljóð* by the 13th century. According to Aðalheiður Guðmundsdóttir, Áslaug in *Ragnars saga* resembles the girl Eskja in the *lai*— they are both of low status when they get engaged or married to wellborn men. In both cases, the husbands are going to leave them for a woman of higher social status, until they find out about their wives' true parentage (Guðmundsdóttir 2014: 125). In this regard, it is interesting that Áslaug herself is a claimed Cinderella. However, with the above discussed examples in mind, it seems that *Le Fresne* and *Eskja*, or more likely an underlying migrating oral tradition of the story, had a more significant influence on the Icelandic sagas than previously assumed, especially with regard to the exposed children, who are often placed under trees or tree roots and receive a golden ring, which later proves their highborn origin. Even costly cloths are mentioned in the cases of King Knútr in *Jómsvíkinga saga* and in *Þorsteins þáttr*.

Beside a possible influence of *Le Fresne*, some other motifs appear in *Geirmundar þáttr*, which are common in later fairy tales, but seem rather twisted in the medieval saga. The motif of a queen and a nurse giving birth around the same time to children that look alike so that they could be twin brothers is apparent in the tale of *The Enchanted Doe* in the tale collection

of Giambattista Basile (2007: 83–90). In an Icelandic variant of the tale type ATU 711 *The Beautiful and the Ugly Twin Sisters*, a queen gives birth to twin sisters, one beautiful girl and a black cat, who gets expelled from the castle (Árnason 1954–61, IV: 514–517). Also common is the exchange of a white bride by a dark one, as in the tale type of ATU 403 *The Black and the White Bride*, where the white and goodhearted bride becomes substituted for the black and malevolent bride, often because they look alike.[13] In this respect, it seems interesting that in *Geirmundar þáttr* it is the royal twins who are the ugly ones, getting exchanged for the more beautiful, yet much weaker child of two slaves. Like Urðarköttr in *Finnboga saga*, Geirmundr and Hámundr are precocious children, who behave aggressively and violently, but it is exactly this strength, rather than beauty, which identifies them as the royal offspring. The golden ring, which the two boys take from the slave's child, does not have the function of a recognition token as observed in the examples above, but by seizing an object representing royalty in the sagas, the mentioning of the ring clearly hints at that common motif.

Another similarity between *Geirmundar þáttr* and some of the abovementioned examples is the common reference to darkness, blackness, and death, as in the cases of Kráka, Tristram, and Urðarköttr. The twin brothers Geirmundr and Hámundr are given the byname *heljarskinn*, because of their dark skin tone, which refers to the fact that their mother originated from the Eastern hemisphere (probably Mongolia). However, the name literally refers to *hel*, the Norse mythological concept of the realm of death, with the goddess Hel as protector, and, therefore, the name clearly denotes death (Magnússon 1989: 317). However, the overt references to darkness and death are often the symbolic representations of enchantment in fairy tales. According to Francisco Vaz da Silva, "… blackness connotes enchantment as well as death. In fairy tales, the two notions are intertwined. Enchantment is something like reversible death, and death itself appears in tones of enchantment" (2007: 245). In this regard, the color black also carries a positive connotation, where according to Victor Turner black stands for "potentiality, as opposed to actuality" (1977: 81). Blackness, therefore, signifies the utmost potential of the hero in fairy tales as well as in the Icelandic sagas, foreshadowing the greatness to which the hero will finally ascend, as soon as his/her identity is revealed. This holds true for most of the above-discussed examples; in *Geirmundar þáttr*, however, this concept seems to be inverted,

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[13] The author could show in a previous article that the elements of this particular tale type have influenced *Ragnars saga* (Werth (forthcoming)).

where a byname connected to death and darkness constitutes the proper name. The treatment of this theme in *Geirmundar þáttr* must, therefore, be regarded as a literary adaptation of a common fairy tale theme.

THE PATTERN OF METAPHORICAL ENCHANTMENTS

Based on the examples examined above, the metaphorical enchantments of noble children in Icelandic sagas can be divided into three stages: (1) *fosterage*, (2) *dehumanization*, and (3) *revelation of identity*, which correspond to enchantments in fairy tales, but also seem to work according to van Gennep's scheme of the rites of passage (separation—liminal status—incorporation).

1. *Fosterage* is the initial stage, where the hero becomes detached from his or her origin and lineage and is temporarily living with strangers, which correlates with the hero leaving home in fairy tales, as well as with the stage of separation in rites of passage. Thereby, it does not matter whether the child is abducted, exposed, or exchanged, because the outcome is always the same—the child is raised under the supervision of foster parents or abductors, who are in all of the above discussed cases of lower status than the child. In the cases of the abducted children, usually sea pirates or the Vikings are involved in the abduction. However, Áslaug and Tristram are both in the care of foster fathers before their abduction takes place, and also Melkorka's old nurse has an important part to play, when she later recognizes Melkorka's knife and belt. Tristram is abducted as well as exposed by the Vikings, which further implies the equivalence of the three groups, established above. In the cases of exposed children, commonly the child's own father demands the exposure, while the foster parents are goodhearted and caring, but live under precarious conditions and in poverty. They also seem to be connected to ogres, either through their names, like Gríma and Syrpa and/or by their ugly appearance. The children are usually exposed by slaves on the periphery of society as, for example, in the mountains, woodlands, or on an island, nearby the homestead of the foster parents. They are placed under tree roots or tomb-like stone slabs, which emphasizes their marginalized position and closeness to death, reminiscent of Áslaug's coffin-like hiding box. Despite the hiding places referring to graves or coffins and, therefore, death, they also seem to mimic external wombs which protect the children until they are found by the foster parents. The image of the children being nourished inside a surrogate womb is stressed by the recurrent motif of the single source of food, where commonly a piece of bacon is mentioned on which the baby

suckles.[14] The bacon can be said to be equivalent to the leek, keeping Áslaug from starving inside the harp. As soon as the children are found, they become metaphorically re-born. This notion is especially strengthened in *Finnboga saga* and *Ála flekks saga*, where the birth of the children is re-enacted by the foster mother, whereas in the majority of examples it is emphasized that the hero is raised as if he/she were the foster-parents' own child. Therefore, the child becomes temporarily incorporated into the lineage of the trollish foster parents, especially emphasized in *Ragnars saga*, where Áslaug receives the name Kráka, because Gríma's mother was called the same. During the time the child spends in foster care, it is deprived of its identity and beauty and has to endure a period of hardship, which leads to the second stage.

2. *Dehumanization* resembles the enchanted or liminal state itself. As in fairy tales, where the hero or heroine turns into an animal or ogre, the children in the Icelandic sagas often undergo a change of their physical appearance, however, not by means of magic. In the cases of Áslaug in *Ragnars saga* and Urðarköttr in *Finnboga saga*, the children's disguise is explained by the foster parents' wanting to prevent suspicions, by making them as ugly as they are themselves. The children are usually dressed poorly in dirty and shaggy rags. Áslaug's and Tristram's heads are shaved and tarred. In the cases of abduction, the child usually does not speak to the abductors and is cautious not to reveal his/her name or parentage. Áslaug, therefore, receives a new name—Kráka— referring to a black bird and an ogress. In the cases of exposed children, the foster parents decide on a name, which correlates with the circumstances the child was found in. In all discussed instances, the new name emphasizes the child's marginalized and low status, often referring to death, animals and/ or ogres, as well as the colour black. At this point, the child is isolated and confronted with ill-treatment and/or hard work. The loss of identity and speech, the change in outer appearance, the new and "unfit" name, and the period of hardship are the core aspects of metaphorical enchantments of noble children in Icelandic saga literature. These core-aspects all suspend the human state of the child temporarily by overtly referring to death, animals and non-human creatures like ogres. This is further emphasized by the children behaving wildly and aggressively like Urðarköttr and the brothers *heljarskinn*, as well as Kráka's and Urðarköttr's acquisition of animal languages. In this respect, it

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[14] The motif of infanticide in some Sagas of Icelanders, especially *Finnboga saga* and *Þorsteins þáttr uxafóts*, has been discussed by Robin Waugh in connection to a maternal space. Waugh (2017: 236) regards the piece of bacon as a surrogate for the female breast.

might be noted that some of the discussed incidents in the sagas are similar to the period of ill-treatment endured by Cinderella in the fairy tale tradition, with Áslaug being probably the most obvious example. The enchantment-like state of the children can only be overcome as soon as their true identity is revealed, which occurs in the third stage.

3. *Revelation of identity* equals disenchantment in fairy tales and corresponds to the process of incorporation into a new status in rites of passage. Here, the child or by then adolescent is finally inclined to reveal his/her true identity and parentage or is identified and acknowledged by the birth parents, for which reason the child is able to gain a new status. Recognition tokens like a golden ring or other recognizable features like birth marks, or even enormous strength, play an important role for revealing and verifying lineal ties in Icelandic sagas. In fairy tales, recognition tokens are used in a similar vein, with the difference that the tokens usually identify the rightful mate, whereas in the sagas, the emphasis is placed on revealing the noble lineage and, therefore, the rightful heir.

CONCLUSION

"What's in a name?" Juliet asks Romeo in Shakespeare's famous drama by implying that Romeo would still be the same person, even if he rejected his last name of Montague for them to marry. In the Icelandic sagas, however, the emphasis on the wider concept of the name, including one's parentage and lineage, seems to correlate with the belief that the name contains the essence of a person's identity and fate; therefore, it must be kept secret from their enemies, for the revelation of the true name holds risks. By hiding or being deprived of their identity, the saga hero or heroine is cast into an enchantment-like state, by almost losing their humanity. The metaphorical enchantments in the Icelandic sagas differ from fairy-tale enchantments in that they are usually not intended to identify the right romantic match, but rather to provide a noble and respectable lineage. The revelation of the rightful parentage, as well as the true name, seems therefore to be the crucial process from which the protagonist evolves and is finally recognized as the rightful heir. While sagas and fairy tales abide by different narrative rules, fairy-tale patterns in sagas, like the metaphorical enchantments of noble children, seem to apply the logic of fairy tales in accordance with the narrative conventions of the Icelandic sagas. This further suggests and emphasizes the Icelandic saga's close relation to oral tradition and its genres.

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THE FORMATION OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTION OF SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS ARCHIVES BETWEEN ENCHANTMENT AND DISENCHANTMENT

Abstract: In this paper, the disenchantment of the world (*Entzauberung der Welt*) is taken as a metaphor for the fear of the vanishing of folklore (perceived as the oral lore of rural communities) due to modernization and technological progress—the model of thinking that was predominant during the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century and affected the history of folkloristics. First, the similarities between the disenchantment and conceptualization of folklore as a vanishing object are discussed, based on the possibility of expanding Weber's theory to the other domains in the humanities, direct influences that came from the Romantic era and the 20th-century orality/literacy theories that deal with how technological progress affects oral culture. Weber's ideas are applied to a point in the history of Serbian folkloristics, analyzing the case of formation of the Ethnographic collection of SASA[1] Archives. Stojan Novaković, who initiated the idea of the Ethnographic collection and was one of the most prominent figures of his time, warned about folklore being endangered and the necessity of it being collected. In contrast, folklore collectors responded by offering large amounts of material. The discrepancy between their stands is reviewed in the context of social and historical circumstances in Serbia and the Western world, as well as literary, cultural, and scientific influences that shaped Novaković, his role in Serbian culture, folklore collectors' will, interests, competency, resourcefulness, and even personal agenda. Some of the indications of this research are that the insiders' perspective of the collectors coincides with the stance that at the time, no significant changes in mentality took place; that sometimes the very means of overcoming disenchantment turned out to be the symptoms of this process; and that collecting practice was used for both national goals and personal gain.

Keywords: Max Weber, enchantment/disenchantment, *Verzauberung/ Entzauberung der Welt*, Romanticism, the vanishing of folklore, folklore collectors, Serbian folklore, Stojan Novaković, the Ethnographic Collection of SASA Archives

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[1] The name Serbian Royal Academy (SRA) is used in the paper instead of today's Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SASA), in diachronic context.

1. THE DISENCHANTMENT OF THE WORLD AS VANISHING "ORALITY"

1.1. Max Weber's Concept of Disenchantment and Its Intellectual Roots

In this paper, the term *disenchantment* is taken as the idea of the vanishing of folklore with the advent of a more rational and modernized world. Although the term is not used in this context in Weberian sociology, this argument is based first of all on the ambiguity of Weber's concept of disenchantment, which he used as a metaphor in different fields of study. The idea was presented for the first time in his 1917 speech *Science as a Vocation (Wissenschaft als Beruf)*, which was published in 1919: " … the world is disenchanted. One need no longer have recourse to magical means in order to master or implore the spirits, as did the savage, for whom such mysterious powers existed. Technical means and calculations perform the service. This above all is what intellectualization means" (Weber 1946: 139). He also noted: "The fate of our times is characterized by rationalization and intellectualization and, above all, by the 'disenchantment of the world'" (ibid.: 155).

In the revised version of *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1919), he used the term in a somewhat changed context that considered religion only—to show how "[t]hat great historical process in the development of religions, the elimination of magic from the world which had begun with the old Hebrew prophets and, in conjunction with Hellenistic scientific thought, had repudiated all magical means to salvation as superstition and sin, came here to its logical conclusion" (Weber 2005: 61). The bibliography of works on Max Weber is at the very least extensive and contains about 4,600 items in English only (Sica 2003). This fact can be taken as an indicator of the comprehensiveness of Weber's thought. It would be difficult to produce this amount of work related to Weber's sociology if his concepts and ideas were not adapted or even upgraded. This also confirms the vitality of Weber's postulates. Thanks to this, disenchantment/re-enchantment is studied today as a broader concept—within the comprehensive theories of modernity—that applies not only to magic as the means of salvation in a religious context but also to different forms of media discourse, political speech, or everyday life, in the altered, post-secular world. The disenchantment of the world is no longer associated with sacral only, but also with different types of fantastic, irrational, supernatural, and occult; being charmed or captivated by something, in the context of the sociology of religion, philosophy, media, and

culture as well, especially when it comes to re-enchantment theories.[2] Weber's idea was the product of its time (at the turn of the 20th century the process of establishing sociology as an academic discipline was followed by the growing scholarly interest in the questions of rationalization and modernization) and as such it was often challenged or even dismissed. Without assessing the accuracy of Weber's postulates, the diachronic approach is used to apply Weber's metaphor to a point in the history of Serbian folkloristics that was taking place almost simultaneously and shared some similar assumptions with Weber's ideas.

Secondly, the fear of vanishing "oral culture" is interpreted as a form of disenchantment based on similarities between the ideas that originated from the Romantic era and Weber's ideas that were partly rooted in Romanticism. Weber thought of disenchantment as a consequence of rationalization, which led to a new, more rational way of thinking, resulting in the negative effects which the Romanticists feared. Weber is seen as an "advocate" of Romanticism, in contrast to the French literary critic and historian Hippolyte Taine, as a proponent of sociological positivism too (Ghia 2012). Disenchantment and the fear of vanishing "oral culture" are both tied to the Romantic era as one of many possible influences on Weber's theoretical work and as the birthplace of folklore collecting practice. There are several common points between Romanticism and Weber's theory that can be found in (1) the origin of the term, (2) viewing the traditional values of lower strata in opposition to modernity, (3) self-understanding of the 19th-century socio-economic dynamics as driven towards the modernization and rationalization, (4) the new dimension to the meaning of the term when translated into English. The most common claim is that the term "disenchantment" was borrowed from the German poet and writer Friedrich Schiller (Jenkins 2000: 11). Karl Jaspers (psychiatrist and philosopher, but also Weber's friend) was the first to suggest this (González García 2011: 268; Coeckelbergh 2017: 72), although "Weber did not literally quote Schiller. Schiller wrote about a nature without gods, a de-divinized nature (*Entgötterung*)" (Coeckelbergh 2017: 72). H. Lehmann went a step further in problematizing this claim discovering that it came from Maurice Berman (1981: 69), who "transforms

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[2] Jenkins recognizes two linked tendencies in modern (re)enchantment: " … the first encompasses everyday explanatory frameworks of luck and fate; long-established or 'traditional' spiritual beliefs; 'alternative' or 'new age' beliefs; and 'weird science'. The second, more diverse, includes collective attachments such as ethnicity; sexualities; intoxications and ecstasies; the escapism of television, computer games, and the internet; and consumerist cultural hedonism" (2000: 12–13).

the adjective 'entgöttert' into a noun 'Entgötterung', thus bringing Schiller's text closer to Weber's term 'Entzauberung'" (2009: 13). By doing so Berman did indeed bring two ideas closer, even defining them as "equal telling expression(s)" (ibid.), but he never said Weber quoted or paraphrased Schiller as it was implied in Coeckelbergh 2017. However, J. G. Herder wrote "a poem entitled precisely *The Disenchantment. Doctrine of the Brahmins* (*Die Entzauberung. Lehre der Brahmins*)" (González García 2011: 268). It was also noticed that "the understanding that mystery and sacredness was (sic!) disappearing from a world increasingly dominated by industry, science, and technology had its intellectual roots in German Romanticism, where it had found expression in the works of Novalis and Friedrich Hölderlin" (Asprem 2018: 17). The early Romanticists were the first to be connected with the process of disenchantment as they attempted to "redress a seemingly disenchanted world through the imagination" (Saler 2004: 140). Weber did not use the same typically Romantic (Rousseauvian) concepts to describe the enchanted world as uncorrupted, traditional, pure, authentic, often rural and illiterate (or barely literate). However, he did consider that traditionalism was "magically motivated" (1993: 77) and shared the Romantic era views of the peasants as "strongly tied to nature," "dependent on organic processes and natural events," and "economically so little oriented to rational systematization" (ibid.: 79). In the above-cited excerpt from the paper *Science as a Vocation*, Weber attributed "magical means" to "the savage," which was a standard term for describing archaic societies in the humanities at the time, but also one of the cornerstones of the Romantic primitivism as the idea of a man uncorrupted by civilization. Referring to Leo Tolstoy, he also opposes the civilized man to "some peasant of the past," whose life is satiated and therefore, his death has a meaning. The aspect of literacy was not one of his concerns, but it was important for the interpretation of his ideas and will be discussed below.

Many possible sources that influenced Weber remain unclarified due to his tendency to intentionally "blur" them (Kippenberg 1995: 129). He relied on scholars of religion such as Cornelis Tiele and Max Müller, whose evolutionist views he shared (Kippenberg 1995). Müller's work in comparative mythology, imbued with Enlightenment and Romanticism (Kokjara 1984b: 11) made him an important figure in the history of European folkloristics. He supported the theory that folktales were the remains of Indo-European myths in the manner of the Brothers Grimm (ibid.: 19–21). German Romanticism was recognized as one of the influences on Weber's philosophy by some researchers as the abovementioned Jenkins 2000, Saler 2004, Asprem 2018.

It is well known that Romanticism largely influenced the formation of folklore studies through calls for collecting folklore made by prominent figures like J. H. Herder and practices carried out by the Brothers Grimm in Germany or Vuk Karadžić in Serbia (see also Kokjara 1984a; Kokjara 1984b; Bendix 1997; Berlin 2001). The humanities witnessed the rapidly changing environment at the turn of the 20th century, which they tried to understand while at the same time it affected and enabled their formation. "Placing value on things traditional operates essentially in counterpoint to the industrialization and modernization" (Abrahams 1993: 10). "Both folklore and anthropology emerged in the late 19th century in some part out of this desire to counter the excesses of modernity" (ibid.: 21). "The folkloristic activity of collecting and salvaging vanishing lore" has been discussed as a form of overcoming modernization: "Inscribed into one of the most commonly held theories of modernization, such a feeling of deprivation and alienation has called for a variety of strategies to deal with the alleged loss of culture and value in modernity" (Anttonen 2005: 81–82).

As far as the meaning of the word goes, the discordance between the original term and its English translation has been noticed, concluding that *disenchantment* and *Entzauberung* are not synonyms. As Lehmann (2009: 12) claimed,

> Central for the term "Entzauberung" is that someone has cast a spell with the help of magic. By contrast, "disenchantment" implies that someone has been bewitched, or beguiled, with the help of music – song, to be precise. Also, "disenchantment" is closer to disillusionment and disappointment than "Entzauberung", which is related to "Entmythologisierung" and "Entsakralisierung".

The conclusion is that "[t]he term 'disenchantment'," more precisely its translation, "does not fully express Weber's ideas" (ibid.).[3] However, taken in the form that is rooted in todays' understanding, as disillusionment and disappointment, the term is closer to the Romantic era pessimistic worldview, or the so-called world pain (*Weltschmerz*). Weber, too, "lamented a dark side of rationality that would lead to secularized disenchantment" (Borgotta, Montgomery 2000: 2483). While the Romanticists rejected the disenchanted world, Weber appreciated the advantages of modernization but warned about

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[3] On the difficulty of translating Weber and reception of his work in different world countries, see Kaiser, Rosenbach 2014.

the possible consequences (culminating in his metaphor of the "iron cage").[4] Since the term goes so well with the Romanticism worldview, it is sometimes retroactively used to describe the feeling of disappointment (e.g., in Saler 2004: 140). The term enchantment is used to describe the ways Romanticists used to escape the disenchanted world.[5]

1.2. The Disenchantment in Folkloristics

Modern folkloristics recognizes written forms of folklore, literate informants, and written transmission of folklore, but this was not the case until the late 20th century. Back in the late 18th and early 19th centuries folklorists collected artefacts of oral origin in rural peasant communities. By the end of the century folklore became an artefact disappearing in the growing urban, industrial environment and the trend continued in the early 20th century. The conception of folklore was still based on the ideas of folklore told exclusively by illiterate, uneducated peasants, and as such it basically remained a romantic construct. The imperative for folklore—still seen as lore from the distant past—to be preserved before vanishing was increased by the growing need for national consolidation. In this paper, folklore, constructed as a vanishing oral lore of rural societies, is taken as a whole, including different, mostly prose, genres of "classical" verbal folklore that were a part of the Ethnographic collection of SASA Archives in its formative stage. Supernatural, magic, or fantastic elements are not taken as a criterion; folklore is rather considered in the same manner as the participants in this process perceived it—as the work of creative genius, pure, authentic, and pre-modern. In Weber's terms, rationalization is a process that leads to bureaucratization. In colloquial context it is often understood as a means against superstitions, which in the 19th-century terminology corresponded to the belief narrative genres. In Weber's two interpretative models of the world, folklore, as an idealized and glorified image of people's past and remains

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[4] Weberian sociologist Andreas Buss emphasizes that Weber considered Western civilization to be severely ill and heading towards a dead end. The more accurate translation of the word would not be "the iron cage" but "shell," which implies the loss of individual freedom and personal responsibilities, leaving an empty vessel (Bus 1994: 128). Weber's view is not that far from the Romanticists', apart from their pathos (ibid.: 8, 108).

[5] "Religion – both in its traditional forms and in its mystical or heretical manifestations – is an important means of 're-enchantment' chosen by the Romanticist. But they also turned to magic, the esoteric arts, sorcery, alchemy, and astrology; they rediscovered Christian and pagan myths, legends, fairy tales" (Sayre, Löwy 2005: 436).

of national myths would suit magic, and the other, that rejected beliefs as ways of explaining events and experiences, seeking intellectual explanations instead, would suit science. At the crossroads of the 19th and 20th centuries scientific model seemingly prevailed, leaving folklorists in the fear of folklore vanishing due to increasing literacy and urbanization.

The question of the impact that literacy had on orality was scientifically shaped during the 20th century by theorists like Marshal McLuhan, Eric Havelock, Albert Lord, and Kirill Chistov. Walter Ong thinks of writing as a kind of technology,[6] while Jack Goody claims that intellectual process cannot exist without writing.[7] All of their analyses lead to a similar conclusion: Literacy has consequences both on cognitive processes and society. Weber (2005: 13–38) too, implies that changes can affect the human spirit since he opposes "the spirit of capitalism" to the "traditional" state of mind, which has its ethos. Goody and Watt (1963: 343) also mention Weber in a similar context, arguing that literacy was the main factor for the major achievements in old civilizations as well as in modern societies: "Weber's differentiation in some respects parallels the differentiation made above between oral and alphabetic culture and in various places he anticipates part of the argument advanced in this paper". The supposed decline of belief in magic resulted from education, among other factors, which was a precondition for the development of bureaucracy as the most efficient way of functioning in the modern world. Weber's concept does not presume the increase in general knowledge, but another type of understanding, a different mindset characterized by formal reasoning. New readings have brought up different views on the relationship between Protestant religion and capitalism, which could also be important for this subject. New research shows that economic development was the result of a higher literacy rate (and therefore education) among the Protestants (Becker, Woessmann 2009; Korotayev et al. 2006).[8] This coincides with

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[6] "By contrast with natural, oral speech, writing is completely artificial. There is no way to write 'naturally' … Technologies are not mere exterior aids but also interior transformations of consciousness, and never more than when they affect the word. Such transformations can be uplifting. Writing heightens consciousness" (2005: 81).

[7] " … the very nature of formal reasoning as we usually understand it (that is, in terms of Aristotelian 'logical' procedures) is not a general ability but a highly specific skill, critically dependent upon the existence of writing and of a written tradition which helps to formalize intellectual procedures … Thinking alone is not enough to make an intellectual. But writing makes a difference not only to the expression of thought but to how that thinking is done in the first place" (1987: 256–257).

[8] Even newer research shows that it was nationalism, not literacy, that contributed to higher economic prosperity (Kersting et all 2020). This hypothesis once again brings

the previously mentioned conclusions that the literate mind works on a different level. Although literate or semi-literate societies do continue to produce folklore, some similar aspects of Weber's ideas and orality and literacy theories are pointed out in the context of understanding folklore as a vanishing phenomenon in a technologically advanced world.

Another connection between disenchantment and folklore as a vanishing object is the speculation "that the disenchantment thesis had its origins not in sociology but in folklore" (Josephson-Storm 2017: 151). James Frazer is recognized as one of the first scholars to define disenchantment: "While many sociologists understand the term disenchantment to refer to the classical theory that cultures evolve through the successive stages from magic to religion to science, this claim is not formulated as such in Max Weber's writings but does appear in those terms in Frazer's works" (ibid.: 126–127). Evolutionist views on religion that might have influenced Weber can be found in Cornelis Tiele's conception of development in the history of religion rather than sociology (Kippenberg 1995: 140–141). The motif of the departure of fairies is seen as a symbol of disenchantment at the end of the 19th century in Britain. The key impact on disenchantment is seen not in the consequences of the Great War, but in folklore and anthropology, which deal with the decline of magic and spirits due to the overwhelming urbanization and modernization, whether by the means of preservation or proving that magic persists in the modern world (see Josephson-Storm 2017: 125–152).

2. THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL SETTING IN SERBIA AT THE TURN OF THE 20TH CENTURY: THE INDUSTRIAL "DELAY" AND TERRITORIAL "DISUNITY"

Weber referred to the rise of capitalism along with disenchantment and secularization as the processes that took place in Western Europe. Other parts of the world that were not influenced by Protestant ethics were perceived as the societies that put tradition before rationality. The countries of Eastern and Southeastern Europe did not reach the industrial development of Western countries, which was sometimes ascribed to Orthodox Christianity as the dominant religion and its otherworldly orientation (see Makrides 2019). The implications of Weber's theory in Orthodox Christianity are yet to be analyzed profoundly, bearing in mind that Weber showed a particular

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up the similarities between Weber's theory and the Romantic era, bearing in mind that the formation of modern nations took place during this period.

interest in Russian Orthodox Christianity and Tolstoy's idea of brotherly love. According to Buss (1994: 122–125), Weber used this idea frequently to emphasize the meaninglessness of the technologically advanced and scientifically developed civilization, but also as an alternative to the ideal types of the Western culture.

Industrialization and modernization in Serbia are usually denoted as delayed, due to a dismal starting point in industrial development and numerous internal and external factors that are described in Čalić 2004— the most comprehensive study on Serbian social history. At the crossroads of the 19th and 20th centuries, Serbia was still economically underdeveloped comparing to the Western countries, since the industry and infrastructure had only started to develop. At the time, the narratives about saving folklore were still as relevant as they were at the beginning of the 19th century (Đorđević 1899; Đorđević 1900). Apart from folklore disappearing being inscribed into the very essence of the discipline,[9] the vitality of this salvation narrative at the end of the 19th century in Serbia was encouraged both by the history of collecting Serbian folklore and by the evident changes in world's history. On the one hand, they were an echo of the romanticized fear of folklore vanishing in modern times, and on the other hand, they maintained their relevance thanks to the currents coming from the West. The technological progress in Europe was evident, the discontent over the dehumanized reality accumulated and "a stereotyped, negative, polemical image of 'the West'" was formed, "based largely on romantic ideas, which spread in Germany but also outside of Europe during the first decades of the twentieth century" (Asprem 2018: 133). European intellectuals started noticing the prevalence of the rational and intellectual way of thinking and began articulating their ideas in terms of Neo-Romanticism, irrationalism, anti-modernism, and antagonism towards science. Although the theories of "occidental rationalism" reached the full range only after WW1, the thoughts of industrialization, science, and technology having negative consequences were present in the last decades of the 19th and first decade of the 20th centuries (Kippenberg 1995: 132). Among Serbian intellectuals and politicians, there were also the echoes of European ideas and reactions to them. More importantly, the influence that Austria-Hungary had had on Serbia until Customs War (1906–1908) had been direct, since the economic dependence

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[9] William Thoms, the very creator of the term "folklore," thought of it as a dying practice, thus "the notion of folklore as a vanishing substance was inscribed in the original formulation of the concept" (Anttonen 2005: 51).

of Serbia had been evident in branches such as agriculture, transportation, or infrastructure, but at the same time it had contributed to industrialization (for example by obligating the government to build the railroad in 1878 (Čalić 2004: 110)). The change was most obvious in civic elites, who encouraged the development of a consumer society, intending to distance themselves from the Ottoman cultural elements and bring Serbia closer to the Western European economic standard and culture. An increase in construction work was also a stimulus to industrial development; the textile and food industry moved from home production to factories thanks to the law that encouraged industrial development (Čalić 2004: 136–138, 147–157). On the other hand, the trend of reviving Romanticists' ideas was partly fortified by the unfading influence of Vuk Karadžić, still a paragon of folklore collecting,[10] who in the Preface to his 1821 edition of *Serbian Folktales* warned that folktales had to be collected "before they were suffocated and eradicated by new and more enlightened trends."

In the last decades of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, Serbian government actively conducted political and cultural propaganda in the neighboring countries where Serbian population also lived with the aim of pointing out their difficult position. Macedonia[11] and Old Serbia[12] were under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire and Bosnia under Austria-Hungary. Macedonian territory was also claimed by Bulgaria and Greece, while Old Serbia was claimed by Albanian politicians. Serbian borders were constantly changing, and eventually, Kosovo, south-east territories, and Vardar Macedonia were merged; however, cultural and educational propaganda was still important for maintaining the connection with Serbian people in different regions. The largest number of manuscripts in the Ethnographic collection originates from Bosnia, Vardar Macedonia, Old Serbia, and eastern Serbia, where folklore collecting, among other things, was a form of contribution to defending national integrity. In 1868 the Board for Schools and Teachers in Old Serbia was formed, in 1880, it was renewed; in 1871, the Prizren Seminary was opened; in 1877, the Board of Emigrants

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[10] Many collectors recommended their work by pointing out they looked up to Karadžić and his instructions on collecting folklore.

[11] Often called Vardar Macedonia, the term usually denotes the large part of today's North Macedonia.

[12] Different authors have interpreted the borders of Old Serbia differently, usually corresponding with the territories of Raška, Kosovo and Metohija, sometimes even Vardar Macedonia. Both Macedonia and Old Serbia were considered parts of southern Serbia and were eventually merged, after the Balkan Wars.

of Old Serbia and Macedonia was established; in 1885, the government issued *The Instruction for Maintaining Serbia's Influence in Macedonia and Old Serbia*; in 1889, a Confidential Propaganda Department was formed under the official name of the Educational Board at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, employing a board of experts on the "Macedonian question." Serbian books were printed, bookstores were opened; consulates, schools, societies were formed (the most important was the *Society of Saint Sava*), gatherings were organized, magazines were founded (*Vardar*, *The Brotherhood*), and the position of priests and teachers was improving. Stojan Novaković, who initiated the idea of the Ethnographic Collection, was in charge of opening the diplomatic missions of Serbia in the Ottoman Empire (Vučetić 2012: 27), which enabled the propaganda activities to be institutionalized and, more importantly, legalized.

3. THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC COLLECTION: FOLKLORE COLLECTING BETWEEN ENCHANTMENT AND DISENCHANTMENT

Stojan Novaković (1842–1915), who proposed that collecting folklore should be taking place under the wing of a national institution, was one of the most prominent politicians and historians of his time. He was a successful diplomat, a prime minister, minister of education, minister of interior affairs, leader of the Progressive Party; he was the president of the Serbian Royal Academy, head of the National Library, the first president and a founding member of Serbian Literary Association; he was also a writer, translator, bibliographer, literary historian, and literary critic. Before the formation of the Ethnographic collection, the idea that folklore genres ought to be collected immediately so that a complete edition of Serbian "oral lore" could be published was expressed in his early work, in the journal he started and edited—*The Fairy* (*Vila*, Maticki 2003: 7). The continuity between his work in the journal and the later collaboration with the SRA is evident in his interest in collecting and publishing folklore systematically. His approach did, however, change in the coming decades. *The Fairy* was a literary journal intended for the youth, but folklore was given great significance, and it took up much space. The readers of *The Fairy* (1865–1868) had an open call for collecting "oral treasures" (Milović 2010: 15). Even Novaković himself collected and published folklore. He also helped other folklorists like Vuk Vrčević, Jovan Vojinović, or Bogoljub Petranović to edit and publish their material. *The Fairy* marks the beginning of a new phase in collecting folklore,

since this journal started the process of filling out the void in collected folklore material[13] along with directing the collectors' attention to different forms of folklore that should be collected before they vanished, as Novaković warned (Maticki 1985: 6–7; Mladenović 2005: 417). Along with his associates, Novaković promoted the activities of the ethnological and anthropological societies, collectors, and the keepers of "folk treasures," many of which had already perished because of the misjudgment and neglect of those whose duty was to protect it. The signatories (professors and artists) defined that duty as "our own," imposing this obligation on cultural elites but allowing any interested parties to participate. The disunity among the people who lived between the Black, White, and Adriatic Seas, and the rivers Danube and Drava was the consequence of a lack of knowledge about the self. Together they signed a "Scientific and patriotic call," where they pointed out the "sacredness" of national antiquities, called for their collecting, studying, and publishing with the aim of getting to know the national past and present, and introducing it to the educated world. Equal attention should be given to tangible as well as intangible cultural heritage (Novaković et al. 1867: 818–819, 834–836). Novaković claimed good storytellers were getting harder to find (1871: 16), based on his personal fieldwork experience (Samardžija 2009: 12). These ideas were shaped on a higher level as a part of national cultural policy twenty years later through his work with the Serbian Royal Academy. In the early phase, Novaković also acted as a folklore collector. However, twenty years later, he was a noted scholar and government official, and his involvement was less direct since he coordinated and supervised folklore collecting.

As it is known, teachers and priests were predominantly among the collectors of folklore, followed by merchants and consuls. These professions also played a major role in propaganda activities. Stojan Novaković recognizes priests and teachers as those who can and should, for it is their duty, embrace the work on collecting folklore. He describes them as "somewhat educated" (by which he means literate) and "constantly in touch with the folk" (Maticki 1985: 7), appointing them as the mediators between informants and written folklore collections. According to the Serbian Prime Minister at the time—Ilija Garašanin—consuls and trade agents should be the ones implementing national policy in the first place (Jagodić 2011: 455). "Garašanin believed that teachers and priests, who had to be aware of the political significance

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[13] S. Samardžija notices that the neglected forms of folklore, like riddles, jigs (*poskočice*), toasts, and etiological narratives, were given special attention (2009: 9, 20).

of their actions and for whose election he set high standards, had to be chosen especially carefully" (Samardžić 2004: 123). The engagement of elites had an official incentive from the state. Stojan Novaković was behind all these activities as "the most competent person in Serbia to take on the key role in implementing national and political tasks." He was "the first to start weaving a network of different activities" that would contribute to the organization of Serbian people in the regions under the Ottoman jurisdiction and strengthening their ties with Serbia. He planned to carry out propaganda through legal means, educational, and cultural activities, which is why school and the church were predominantly engaged in this activity, and he also participated in the formulation of certain tasks from *The Instruction* of Garašanin's government (Vojvodić 2012: 18, 117).

In 1888 Novaković emphasized the importance of continuing Vuk Karadžić's work in lexicography and grammar (*Godišnjak SKA II*: 178–197). The Ethnographic Collection[14] was created thanks to the idea that Karadžić's work on collecting and publishing folklore should be continued under the patronage of a scientific institution, especially in those regions that he had passed by. At the meeting of the Serbian Royal Academy that took place on March 9, 1892, Stojan Novaković pointed out, "that it would be the duty of the Serbian Royal Academy to establish a collection or an archive" for collecting folklore (*Godišnjak SKA VI*: 76).[15] The work of Vuk

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[14] Today it consists of 521 collections of epic and lyric Serbian folk songs, folktales, anecdotes, proverbs, riddles, sayings, divinations, charms, beliefs; dishes, costumes, customs, games, medicine, law, descriptions of villages, crafts, ornaments, embroidery, patterns, dialectological, lexicographic, and ethnocoreological material; letters, studies, and notes made by collectors, concluding with the year 1966, according to Ilija Nikolić's record (2019). Only a small part has been published so far and many collections are missing.

[15] A decade later the famous Serbian folklorist Tihomir Đorđević initiated the journal *Karadžić* instigated by the work of the SRA on collecting folklore. He pled for establishing a folklore society, rightfully claiming that the SRA was not fulfilling its role as the centre that would gather all of folklore and guide the collectors. He thought they were wrong about not accepting raw material. Individuals were left to collect and publish by themselves, however they could, in periodical publications mostly. He meant for his journal to complement the work of the SRA (Đorđević 1899: 3–4), which is why the author of this text points out his attitudes about Serbian folklore expressed in the article of the same name. He too warned that we were standing at the crossroads of two cultures—traditional and foreign—the latter being the one that brings innovation and industrialization. The religious tale was no longer a living genre, and proverbs and riddles were very rare (Đorđević 1900: 27). Material culture was being suppressed by imported products, all due to progress and development (ibid.: 28). At the same time, folklore was collected and studied all over the world, even in the remotest regions

Karadžić was unsurpassed, since his successors did not possess the same qualities and the material he collected was no longer available: "And over time it has become more and more difficult to collect the whole book of these things, it has become even more difficult to edit it properly, and it is not easy to publish it, especially since it is known that what Vuk found can no longer be found" (ibid.: 75). By doing systematic work in recording, selecting, editing, and publishing, the SRA would become the center that gathered the material that would otherwise have been lost in other minor publications, thus enabling to fully study folk wisdom. Furthermore, special attention should be devoted to local history and material recorded in dialect, because of the current trends in the study of language and history (ibid.: 76). Novaković only mentions scholarly interests, while national goals are left aside in the plea submitted to the SRA. Novaković's idea was for the Collection to contain different sections: folk songs, stories, proverbs, riddles, historical traditions, dialects, etc. The advantage should be given to the previously unrecorded material (ibid.: 78).

Novaković gave impetus and guidelines for the study of folktales in his *Serbian Literary History* (Novaković 1867) and a text published in *The Fairy* (Novaković 1868) as a review of the history of literature by Vatroslav Jagić, which had a huge impact on the study of folk prose. His view that the "comparative method is the only … useful" and universal for each literary and historical period goes hand in hand with collecting practice, because of the necessity to provide as large a fund as possible to be compared (Novaković 1868: 533). "Comparative research of the material, led by Stojan Novaković and Jagić, is beginning to shape the notion of the tale type as a classification category" (Milošević-Đorđević 2000: 16). His research combined a historical-comparative approach with migration and mythological theory,[16] keeping pace with European trends (ibid.: 14). He considered that folklore originated from the common Indo-European core, Christian tradition, written literature, but might also have had an autochthonous origin (Novaković 1868: 534). Similar ideas on mythology and philology can be found in Müller, whose views Weber shared (Kippenberg 1995). The studies in comparative linguistics and folklore/mythology contributed to the development of nationalist ideas.

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(ibid.: 29). It sounded like a paradox that folklore was flourishing all over the world, except in Serbia. Đorđević concluded that there was a lot of folklore to be collected and even more to be studied (ibid.: 30).

[16] Under the influence of the Brothers Grimm and Herder folklore creations are seen as the survivals of forgotten myths.

Stojan Novaković's approach in studying folklore was developed under two different influences. The never-fading Romantic nationalism and fear of folklore vanishing are complemented by his positivist attitudes that folklore should be collected in order to be studied and classified. In the spirit of Romantic nationalism, Novaković even changed his "foreign" name Kosta to Serbian name with the same meaning—Stojan. It should be stressed out that Romantic influence was more evident in Novaković's early work, and so was the need to collect folklore before it perished, while he later called out for collecting folklore as a government official and noted scholar in a more moderate manner, but still defining it as a national task. Both Romantic and positivist influence persisted and suited the urge for folklore collecting. The development of Serbian folkloristics was shaped by different agendas: Collecting folklore was seen as a cultural contribution by intellectuals, but it was also a scientific project. As a literary critic Novaković is described as a Romanticist and "populist-utilitarian" who thought that poetry was meant not only to express national spirit but also to fulfil national and political goals; as a literary historian, he was a positivist, an advocate of Western values and ideas (Popović 1975: 241–51). The same could be applied to his study of folklore, especially since the journal *The Fairy* was defined as Romanticist by Jovan Skerlić and early Realist (positivist) by Dušan Ivanić, both eminent literary historians (Samardžija 2009: 9). During the 19th century, folklore collecting depended on individual efforts. However, with the SRA's project, collectors' attention was focused on the national goal, and their problems with publishing the material seemed to be solved. Saving the world from disenchantment (taken here as vanishing verbal folklore) through collecting and preserving folklore is somewhat paradoxical. The upcoming institutionalization trends, classifying and studying folklore were also the result of the early beginnings of bureaucratization, scientific and technical progress. Studying folklore in a scientific way is the consequence of the rising positivistic approach, which is also a result of scientific progress and the disenchantment of the world. It is well known that Max Weber based his sociological thought on understanding ("Verstehen") which opposes positivist and empirical means. The question of the positivist approach vs. understanding in collecting folktales is complex since the collecting practice is motivated and justified by understanding the cultural history which should consequently help better understand the present. The task is given to those close to what is considered traditional/oral culture.

The urgency of collecting practice supported the vitality of the salvation narrative. "When conceptualized as a vanishing object, folklore calls for

immediate documentation … When conceptualized as collections of items brought back from modernity's otherness, folklore may speak for the politically correct way of constructing local or national heritage" (Anttonen 2005: 52). The call for action and warnings about endangerment were meant to accelerate the whole process. The collecting practice was supported by both political situation and scientific trends in Serbia.

Judging by the amount of the collected material, some collectors had no problems in finding various forms of folklore. Krsta Božović, a teacher who sent 24 collections to the Serbian Royal Academy from 1911 to 1930, was among the most diligent collectors. Among the recordings, there are folk songs, folktales, sayings, proverbs, riddles, ethnographic descriptions of villages, etc. Almost all the material was collected in the Kruševac parish and its surroundings. Veselin Čajkanović, who published some of Božović's material in *Serbian Folktales*, did not particularly value his collections of short stories and anecdotes, assessing them as incomplete, unclear, with much repetition of examples and retelling (Čajkanović 1999: 47). Stanoje Mijatović and Todor Bušetić were also teachers, both from Levač. Both published anthropogeographical studies in collaboration with the SRA. The SRA received 30 collections from Bušetić in the first decade of the 20th century, which contained various folk songs, folktales, folk games, sayings, riddles, dream narratives, charms, legends, dialectological material, and ethnographic descriptions of villages. Mijatović sent 21 collections consisting of folk songs, folktales, sayings, folk costumes, traditional games, ethnographic descriptions of villages, etc. (the list of all collections is published in Nikolić 2019) between 1901 and 1936. Others (such as Jovan Mutić, Milan Obradović, Manojlo Bubalo-Kordunaš) contributed with plenty of material too, but these three are singled out for they were perceived as the collectors who gave preference to quantity over quality and for similar methodology and affinities. The uniformity of the material can be noticed in all three collectors: the texts are very short and concise, without recording the data about the informants and context, except occasional information on where the material was recorded, preferring standard language to the vernacular. Only Stanoje Mijatović explains this approach, emphasizing that one should collect as many different motifs characteristic of a certain region as possible and that the informants' tendency to enhance the storytelling makes it impossible to determine "the original story." Since he was only interested in "the original story," he rarely wrote down variants of the same folktale. He would write down the one that was most complete by his criteria and made a mark that it was told in multiple places. He thought that

characteristics of a dialect should be left for language scholars to write them down. In other words, he gave preference to a variety of motifs that were told in certain regions, preferably in chronological order when it comes to folklore on national history or heroes. Mijatović wrote down folktales as if they had been parts of ethnographic descriptions, without the intent or ability to "translate" a storytelling event into written text. Narrative content is minimal, often underdeveloped, reduced to the basic storyline. Veselin Čajkanović makes a similar remark in *Serbian Folktales* (1927) from the Ethnographic collection he published, assessing that Bušetić's examples are not folktales but "weak retellings of familiar motifs" (Čajkanović 1999: 476); Mijatović's material is referred to as "unreliable" (ibid.); he evaluates folktales obtained by Krsta Božović as "incomplete and incomprehensible" (ibid.: 474). Although the material is pervasive and genre-diverse, only a few fairy tales and demonological belief narratives have been recorded by these three collectors. They also recorded several narratives about fate (analyzed in Radulović 2010; Radulović 2015) which still raise genre issues, since they are set between a religious tale and *Märchen*/*Sage* categories (Radulović 2012). The absence of these genres cannot be explained by the characteristics of the terrain, keeping in mind that they exist in the collection of Jovan Srećković (ASANU–EZ–1) from the same period, also from Levač, as well as the collection of Miloš Ivković (ASANU–EZ–134) from the nearby terrain. This phenomenon may be the consequence of the collectors' or informants' affinities, and these collections are not completely reliable for perceiving the prevalence of tale types. Etiological narratives and narratives about cultural history are numerous, often hard to tell apart from the legend and religious tale. Krsta Božović was one of the most diligent collectors whose manuscripts contain up to 900 folktales and anecdotes. His work received mixed reviews.[17] The famous folklorist Tihomir Đorđević gave a negative review of his collections No. 251 and 253, explaining that the collector wrote down everything that was told "among the folk," without applying any quality criteria, to enlarge the manuscripts he had sent. Another review, written on February 10, 1927, whose author is unknown, says that Božović should be rewarded for his efforts because his work is good and shows a high understanding and familiarity with folklife. This example shows that the mere need to preserve folklore does not always give the best results or sufficiently reflect the terrain on the one hand, but on the other—some found this kind of approach "authentic" in representing folklife. Božović's need to

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17   ASANU–EZ–375–6

write down "anything" (this mostly refers to obscene pointless jokes—e.g., a man swears at goatherdess because the goats escaped to the other man's crop,[18] a reaper cuts off a part of his behind to save himself from snakebite,[19] or local anecdotes—e.g., how a family got themselves killed on Christmas because an ox stepped into a house wrong leg first[20]) was interpreted as both a lack of knowledge of folk genres and the ability to recognize "true" folklore.

The lack of belief tales other than etiological or local history narratives was never explained by Mijatović and Bušetić. In the 19th-century Serbian folklore supernatural belief narratives were generally written down as minor local beliefs, accompanying the ethnographic descriptions of villages or customs[21] or in the collections of folktales when informants gave them special attention and told them as long, developed narratives. In both cases we mostly deal with mentions/reports or fabulates, rarely personal experience narratives. The reasons for the absence of memorates may be etic, concerning collectors: they were unable to recognize them as important parts of folklife (they often pointed out in their letters to the SRA they were unsure what exactly was supposed to be collected as folklore and asked for clear instructions); they rejected them as superstitions (S. Samardžija notices the absence of supernatural belief tales in Novaković's *The Fairy* and suggests that collectors were still under the influence of the effort of Enlightenment to repress superstitions (2009: 21)); they may have "instructed" their informants in order to collect what they needed (Stanoje Mijatović set himself a goal to collect every song and tale on Marko Kraljević and Saint Sava). The other reason, which seems less likely to the author of this text, is defined as emic (the informants were not willing to share them).

> For a long time, memorates were not even recorded because they did not fit into any recognized folklore category. In exceptional cases, some memorates were added to chapters of miscellany in "tale", "joke" or "tradition" collections because they were not properly identified. As a rule, however, they were published as "superstitions", "beliefs", or "customs", extracted by the collector, who, because folklorists were not interested in the "garrulity" of the tellers, stripped the narrative part, reducing the often lengthy stories to their "essential" cores. (Dégh, Vàszonyi 1974: 233–234)

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[18] ASANU–EZ–221–59

[19] ASANU–EZ–221–263

[20] ASANU–EZ–234–138

[21] Ilija Nikolić made an overview of the collections by genres and put beliefs along with customs (2019: 168–169).

Collectors' stands of folklore being omnipresent speak in favor of the world still enchanted by songs and tales. The fact that some genres of belief narratives, that best correspond to the term enchantment, were rarely recorded speaks in favor of the disenchantment thesis. The case of Krsta Božović's collections of folktales is of special interest here. Unlike Mijatović and Bušetić, he did record narratives on encounters with supernatural beings. Narration is usually very simple,[22] always told impersonally (i.e., in the third person). Božović's collections have two distinctive qualities: despite having no references to local people, they have a local character, that reflects in recording events from everyday life and specific humor, which is linked to another distinction—affinity to jokes and anecdotes. This seems to have affected demonological belief narratives in his collection No. 221. Božović wrote down narratives on encounters with a mythical being called *karakondžula* [the kallikantzaros]. Apart from riding on people's backs and/or killing them (No. 297, 298, 302, 315, 317, 461 in the collection ASANU–EZ–221), this creature also makes bets with devils and vampires (294) as in jokes and anecdotes, acts clumsily, and gets killed as in numskull stories (313), appears in animal tales that usually have an entertaining character (300). She (the creature is a female) rides on the back of a drunken man, who accidentally falls down and gets killed (298), linking supernatural experiences with the states of mind altered by opiates. Among belief narratives, Božović wrote down an anecdote about a girl who was tricked to get naked by an illusionist (293), associating extraordinary with illusion.

Collectors also recorded divinations and charms, which they perceived as superstitions as well. The collector Luka Grđić Bjelokosić recorded charms (along with folk medicine) calling them *praznovjerice* [superstitions]—the literal translation is "empty beliefs" and it has a derogatory meaning. The same term was used by Miloš Škarić (ASANU–EZ–211) and Stevan Dučić (ASANU–EZ–208, ASANU–EZ–214). Belief narratives about local history and heroes were common and more desirable, since they contained national traditions, myths, and values suitable for national consolidation. Stojan Novaković emphasized their special value (*Godišnjak SKA VI*: 76) and ethnography/anthropogeography also showed interest in them (Mijatović and Bušetić were the associates of Jovan Cvijić, and published important studies in this field of research). Etiological narratives were also quite common, for similar reasons. Oral history on local places often includes the origin of a name, thus combining these two types of narratives. Unlike tales about supernatural (personal) experiences, narratives about the origins of

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[22] As in all of his recording, which he points out by defining them as "small folktales".

objects, animals, or cosmological phenomena and stories of local/national history or heroes feature a certain distance (Samardžija 2011: 301). Narration is often triggered by items made of present or visible substances. Etiological legends rely on archaic basis due to which they convey an impression of something exotic and mythical, but rarely contain the existential component of a memorate. These features provide them with the supposed objectivity that folklorists back in the day may have found easier to grasp and more appropriate to document. These types of belief narratives fitted the scholarly trends of documenting and classifying folklore as items better. On the other hand, demonological legends "exist and persist exclusively in the sphere of subjective consciousness, mental representations/images, narration, and interpretation" (Đorđević Belić 2013: 247) and often rely on "authenticity formulae" (Rudan 2006) or "authenticity discourse" (Popović 2015).

This indicates that material is incomplete and does not provide a completely objective picture of the terrain, looking from today's perspective, even though interest in new genres has emerged. Folklorists did recognize until then neglected short forms of folklore, erotic folklore, or etiological narratives, but specific types of belief tales were "deprived of their identity" (Dégh, Vàszonyi 1974: 234). They saw themselves as people who lived among "the folk" as equals, they showed a certain distance by writing down "superstitions" using the initial formula "people believe" or "people say" (for example in the collections by Mihajlo Riznić ASANU–EZ–83a or Lazar Duma ASANU–EZ–225). Riznić wrote down a belief narrative about a mythical creature called *ala*, and then another one, that most resembles a memorate, in the comment.[23] The other one talks about a man who presented himself as an *ala* to villagers, who feared him and gave him gifts. The collector comments that no one could convince them otherwise, distancing himself from the community. Those who pointed out that the man was lying to them were not welcome. The reasons for the man's unusual behavior can be found in the fact that he actually suffered from somnambulism and epilepsy. This was not the case with other genres: Svetislav Marić commented on his recording of folk epics[24] and a religious tale about Saint Sava[25] (ATU 839A*)[26] that every Serb, including himself, could perform/tell them.

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[23] ASANU–EZ–83a–3

[24] ASANU–EZ–16–8

[25] ASANU–EZ–16–5

[26] The ending includes a belief that devils reside in the church during the morning pray, in which the collector also uses the formula "people believe" (ASANU–EZ–16–7).

What collectors complained most about was not the lack of material in the field but the unclear instructions on how to write it down properly. They were also unsure if the material they had obtained suited the needs of the Serbian Royal Academy. Some of them sent a smaller amount of material, presumably as samples, asking for feedback if they should send more, implying that folk tradition was available and blooming. A priest from the Military Frontier, Jovan Vorkapić, asked for feedback on his material which he marked as "frivolous."[27] Krsta Božović also asked if the Academy would receive folktales of erotic and scatological content. He thought of them as "funny" and "witty" and was afraid his hard work would fail just because of the controversial content. He was uncertain if the folktales were appropriate and if he should send more.[28] Todor Bušetić asked for the instructions on multiple occasions.[29] The teacher Jovan Srećković wrote that the area he lived in was vibrant in different forms of oral lore.[30] Another teacher, Svetislav Marić, sent his material to Stojan Novaković, who forwarded it to Pera Đorđević, the head of the Ethnographic Board, with the remark that the collector could "easily provide even more because he is willing to work."[31] A teacher from Bosnia, Petar Mirković, also offered to provide more material: "If you happen to need any more material, I will try to collect more during the holidays."[32] Mihajlo Riznić, also a teacher, sent only three folktales but offered to send more if the Academy was interested.[33] Dušan Zorić, a theater manager from Bosnia, wrote that he collected folklore to pass the time and asked for the instructions, but also the information if the SRA even needed folktales. He stressed out both that he lived in poverty and his role in keeping folklore from oblivion.[34] These collectors' statements that folklore was abundant and their willingness to come up with more were considered the equivalent of the warnings that folklore would fade into oblivion. Judging by the letters and complaints made by contributors, the feedback of the Academy was rare.

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[27] ASANU–EZ–375–13

[28] ASANU–EZ–375–6

[29] ASANU–EZ–375–10; ASANU–EZ–375–23

[30] ASANU–EZ–1–1

[31] ASANU–EZ–16–13

[32] ASANU–EZ–53–6

[33] ASANU–EZ–375–75

[34] ASANU–EZ–375–26–1

The initiative for collecting folklore almost always came from the collectors, not from the Academy, which had a passive role, buying what was offered, but not taking any special measures to increase and accelerate fieldwork, certainly out of the lack of the necessary funds (Jovanović 2001: 355). Pera Đorđević, the head of the Ethnographic Board, noticed that even though Academy made no official calls, the collectors' response was sufficient (*Godišnjak SKA XIII*: 195). Although the claims on the passivity of the Academy were rightful to some extent, it should be pointed out that collecting folklore was sometimes conducted through personal contacts and connections (the linguist and academic Aleksandar Belić instructed Miloš Ivković (ASANU–EZ–134) on collecting and sending his material; Lazar Duma (ASANU–EZ–225) sent his material through the politician and diplomat Jovan Jovanović Pižon; Milojko Veselinović (ASANU–EZ–209), who operated in Macedonia and Old Serbia and was very appreciated by Novaković, and the previously mentioned teacher Svetislav Marić sent their collections to Novaković directly). Cultural propaganda was openly conducted on the territory of Macedonia and Old Serbia, which Turkey and Bulgaria claimed, while in Bosnia, which was under the Austro-Hungarian occupation, the struggle for the national interests of Serbian people through educational activities was conducted in other ways. Serbia undertook in the agreement not to carry out any anti-Austrian agitation, and Austria-Hungary promised Serbia support in territorial expansion to the south (Novakov 2017: 15). Stojan Novaković initially directed his educational and political activity towards Bosnia, and at the beginning of the 1880s, he changed his orientation towards Old Serbia and Macedonia (Vojvodić 2012: 19). This is how the geopolitical situation could have affected collecting folklore for a national institution's needs.

Large amounts of material and frequent offers to provide as much as needed imply that many folklore collectors that collaborated with the SRA did not share the same fear of folklore vanishing due to modernization and technological advancement. From their perspective, there was no mention of folklore being endangered by urbanization and technological progress. While Novaković, who represented the official, elite culture, as both a political figure and scientific authority, warned about the necessity to collect folklore immediately, the associates of the SRA, priests, teachers, and others working in the field made no mention of this urgency. The discrepancy between their views on the Serbian folklore status can be attributed to the fact that disenchantment (here taken as what was seen

as vanishing oral lore) was a process[35] yet to happen and could have been prevented. It is possible that from his position, Novaković saw "threatening" industrialization coming from the West, especially since he was one of the spokesmen of modernization. The changing contributed to the feeling that the world was disenchanting, and at the same time, folklore ought to have been preserved through empirical means. However, although the emergence of the factory industry accelerated the collapse of the crafts and cities began to grow, which encouraged the fear of foreign (Western) influence, the structure and mindset of the population did not essentially change (Čalić 2004: 144, 177–190). This calls into question if the changes in social structure and mentality would justify the fear of folklore vanishing.

The materialistic dimension of folkloristic work should also be taken into account when considering the volume of work carried out at the time. The associates of the Serbian Royal Academy often asked for something in return for their work. Jovan Zorić[36] and Petar Mirković,[37] both collectors from Bosnia, warned the SRA that Matica Hrvatska was more than interested in buying out their material and representing Serbian epics from Bosnia as Croatian, which was, in a way, a form of intimidation. On the other hand, Zorić also writes that the SRA awarded him a book for his work. Collecting folklore was a patriotic contribution, but apparently, patriotism was not enough to keep them from making money from their work. The collectors Milan Obradović and Dušan S. Popović from Bosnia were known for selling the same material to the SRA and Matica Hrvatska (Jovanović 2001: 356). Others asked for a money prize (Sima Mileusnić,[38] Jovan Srećković,[39] Dušan Zorić[40]), some demanding their material to be returned in case payment for their work remained unsettled (Stanoje Mijatović,[41] Milan Obradović[42]). Krsta Božović, who had sent a tremendous amount of material, asked for the money repeatedly, complaining about his personal expenses (his children's

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[35] "All he's [Weber] doing is identifying that this program is in place, not that it is completed. For there to be an active, ongoing disenchanting of the world, magic has to be intact – somewhere, among some groups" (Josephson-Storm 2017: 300).

[36] ASANU–EZ––42–5

[37] ASANU–EZ––375–53

[38] ASANU–EZ––375–48

[39] ASANU–EZ––375–82

[40] ASANU–EZ––375–26

[41] ASANU–EZ––375–44

[42] ASANU–EZ––375–60

education), as well as the sum he had received earlier because he thought the rate was higher.[43] Lazar Duma plagiarized the work of the Bulgarian collector Kuzman Šapkarev (Radulović 2014: 252); Sima Mileusnić copied all the folktales in his collection (ASANU–EZ–74) from other sources, representing them as his work. He sent the same material to Matica Hrvatska, making a double sell (Jovanović 2001: 355). Folksongs were grouped by the number of verses because the SRA paid according to the number of lines and he used his children as transcribers (Garonja Radovanac 2008: 123, 143). It should be taken into account that, in some cases, collectors provided a great deal of (sometimes unreliable) material for their gain. Folktale collectors often lacked the means and abilities to publish their materials as collections, and some never intended to. Collaboration with notable magazines, journals, and the Serbian Royal Academy made it easier for them in a way. It was also sometimes profitable without the risk of investing in the print. For some, folklore was a form of cultural and intellectual occupation; others saw it as educational work, while few used it for their profit, disenchanting the idea that folklore was more than an item to be collected and sold. Also, implying that folklore was vanishing would mean no work for collectors, which did not suit them because it would diminish their role in education and culture (and in some cases, leave them without an additional source of income). Personal gain from collecting folklore was not only money-oriented,[44] but it also secured a certain status in culture. This calls into consideration another aspect of the work on collecting folklore. The very fact that several collectors were so diligent and productive shows that they took collecting folklore as a vocation. Professionalization and specialization were the results of the disenchantment of institutional, scientific, and religious spheres. Several individuals profiled themselves as professional collectors,[45] who engaged in collecting different forms of verbal folklore (having entered the domain of dialectology, ethnography, anthropogeography, and ethnomusicology), which they saw as representing different aspects of folklife, asked for instructions and evaluation of their collections so they could advance and upgrade their work, and finally—published their material as monographs or collections.

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[43] ASANU–EZ––375–6

[44] The need to work and to be paid appropriately can also be considered in the terms of Western capitalism, but in this case, it is hard to tell it apart from pure opportunism.

[45] Opposed to them were those who collected folklore as students, probably instructed and motivated by their teachers (such as Jovan Vorkapić (ASANU–EZ–103), Nikola Kukić (ASANU–EZ–31), Đorđe Ojdrović (ASANU–EZ–169); the entire collection of folktales received from Nikola Jakševac (ASANU–EZ–4) was obtained by his students.

4. CONCLUSION

In the last decades of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century, different stands on Serbian folklore could be heard. Some claimed folklore was soon to be a thing of the past, while others showed no such concern and even offered to provide as much as it was needed. The difference in the viewpoint concerning the lack of material in the field depended on collectors' knowledge and understanding of folklore, their interests, possible personal benefits, or cultural environment they belonged in, but also on the national cultural policy, scientific goals, and influences that shaped them. Stojan Novaković, as a representative of the elite culture, was in a position to foresee the upcoming progress. However, he also openly supported national interests through cultural, educational, and diplomatic activities. His national and cultural policy was shaped by both the remains of Romanticism and scientific naturalism (positivism). Studies in social history show that the process of modernization and technological advancement in Serbia did not fundamentally affect the population's mentality, which remained "rural" despite relocating to cities, changing slowly and gradually (Čalić 2004: 177–190). This brings the validity of elites' fear of folklore vanishing into question; however, making the problem urgent in order to be taken more seriously could explain it. Collecting folklore was seen as an attempt to save the world from the process of disenchantment, but it also contributed to institutionalization and the rise of positivism in the humanities, which were paradoxically the very signs of forcing rationalization. From the romanticized view that folklore was a survival of the mythic past, it became an artefact to be obtained, studied, classified, and preserved. Folklore collectors that collaborated with the SRA often mentioned there was plenty of folkloric material to be written down. The author of the text takes the quantity of the material they collected as an implicit argument for their stands on the status of verbal folklore. Still, specific genres, like belief narratives about supernatural experiences, were bypassed by most collectors. Many collectors demanded money award for their work, putting their personal interest first and taking advantage of folklore being a widespread cultural obsession and folkloristics being a developing discipline. Along with it, the professionalization of collecting practice can be understood as an indication of the disenchantment of the world. There is a possibility that collectors emphasized that "oral culture" was blooming to increase the value and importance of one's work. In other words—to present themselves as useful collaborators who should be paid appropriately and recognized as national and cultural contributors.

Another consequence through which the disenchantment concept can be related to the suppression of oral culture in the modernized world is the rise of modern individualism. The Romanticists celebrated the creative genius (they simultaneously attributed folklore to a collective/people/folk/nation as the creator). At the same time, Weber stressed the importance of individual effort in overcoming the negative effects of modernization. In folklore as a form of expression, the community comes before the individual. In that context, modern individualism can be understood as a threat to folklore as a collective expression. Although Romanticism did give an important role to an individual, societies were still defined in a premodern manner and thought to be functioning as an impersonal collective. The key difference between Weber's and Rousseau's/Romanticists' concepts lies in their understanding of society. From Weber's point of view, modernity consists of autonomous individuals, which is the consequence of comprehensive progress (Bus 1994: 116). The paradox of Novaković's attempts to modernize Serbian society lies in the fact that he tried to achieve it through promoting collectivism for the sake of the consolidation of the nation, which was, among other things, reflected in his call for collecting folklore (intended for the individual representatives of Serbian elite or middle class. The formation of the Ethnographic Collection of SASA Archives was caught up between enchantment and disenchantment, vanishing and flourishing of "oral culture," rationalization and idealization, passivity and propaganda activity, opportunism and hard work, scientific and national goals, Romanticism and positivism, modern and traditional, the need for progress and keeping national identity, official, institutionalized practice and personal connections, thus revealing all the complexity of social, political, cultural, and scientific processes that were taking place in Serbia at the crossroads of the centuries.

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DISENCHANTMENT, RE-ENCHANTMENT AND FOLKLORE GENRES

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GENRE (AND) INTERPRETATIONS: FABLES, TALES OF ANIMAL BRIDEGROOMS (*THE BEAUTY AND THE BEAST* ARCHETYPE) AND ANIMAL WIVES, AND THE INTERPRETATIONS THEREOF

Abstract: Along the lines of the fable *Baba's Bilka* (*Babina Bilka*, recorded by Maja Bošković-Stulli in Gorjani near Đakovo in 1957, as narrated by Stipan Lović, b. 1894), its possible interpretations will be considered—the totemic (e.g., Boria Sax), psychoanalytic (e.g., Bruno Bettelheim), feminist (e.g., Heide Göttner-Abendroth), and ecofeminist interpretations, as well as the context of mythic zoophilia (e.g., Midas Dekkers). Based on the aforementioned interpretative niches, the indications of the return of the human-animal unification in the form of mythic cyborgs in science fantasy (using selected examples) and in the Anthropocene within the framework of global ecocide will be sought.

Keywords: *Baba's Bilka*, Gorjani, tales of animal wives, zoomorphism, mythic cyborg

In folklore tales,[1] people often turn into animals and vice versa, hence anthropomorphism and zoomorphism are quite frequent, which proves similarity to mythical worlds. In his structural myth analysis, Claude Lévi-Strauss (1966) determined that, in the world of myths, the difference between human and animal is not clearly defined, as is ultimately also the case with the shamanic structure of the world. The same goes for the fable *Baba's Bilka* (recorded by Maja Bošković-Stulli in Gorjani near Đakovo in 1957, as narrated by Stipan Lović, b. 1894; the aforementioned folklorist classified

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the aforementioned tale/fable under AaTh 409A)[2] (cf. Bošković-Stulli (ed.) 1983: 212). In the tale, the difference between the supernatural fairy being and the pig itself is not clearly defined—we do not know whether Bilka is a pig or a supernatural woman (a young girl with golden hair and comb), since she appears to be a kind of mythic cyborg. Or, as noted by the feminist theoretician Donna J. Haraway in *A Cyborg Manifesto*, "The cyborg appears in myth precisely where the boundary between human and animal is transgressed" (Haraway 1991: 149). Bilka the fairy sow figures both as a fairy and a pig, and can change forms, which makes her a shape-shifter in terms of the science fantasy genre. Thereby the open question for Bilka in the fable genre remains whether she becomes human, i.e. a woman once married, since everybody admired her as if she was the Virgin Mary. Here we could mention a fairy-porcine proverb—"Comes a fairy among swine, the fairy is as good as swine; comes a fairy among folk, the fairy is as good as folk" (Skarpa 1909: 66; *proverb*). Despite being traditionally marked as a so-called impure animal "with her own pigsty," she is "as clean as if using soap" (Bošković-Stulli (ed.) 1983: 59).

The context of tales/fables of animal husbands and wives[3] also includes, e.g. our fables of the snake bridegroom, the fairy boar,[4] and the hedgehog bridegroom. As regards the fairy boar, a kind of counterpart to *Baba's Bilka*, there exists a tale from Konavle, known as *The Fairy Gift* (*Dar vilinski*, MS IEF 189, no. 1, 45–47), recorded by Katina Casilari in Bogišić's *Manuscript Collection of Oral Narratives from Cavtat*. A brief summary is as follows: The fairy gift consisted of a fairy fulfilling a wish of a barren woman to have a son, even if he was a piglet. However, unlike Bilka (a nonspeaking animal, a

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[2] It is interesting to note that Maja Bošković-Stulli interviewed Stipan Lović (cf. the photograph provided at the end of this text) while he himself was watching over pigs, which corresponds to the mythical worlds of the tale *Baba's Bilka*.

[3] For the aforementioned type of tales, one of which is also *Baba's Bilka*, the folklorist Fumihiko Kobayashi (2007) uses the term animal wife rather than animal bride, since the marriage takes place in animal form, thereby interpreting the aforementioned tales/fables in the context of a "forbidden love in nature," which he addressed in more detail in the book *Japanese Animal-Wife Tales: Narrating Gender Reality in Japanese Folktale Tradition* (2014).

[4] The oldest variant of the fairy boar was recorded by Giovanni Francesco Straparola in the collection *The Pleasant Nights* in the 16th century (*Le piacevoli notti*; 1550–1555), under the title *The Pig-King* (*Il re porco*) and grouped as AaTh 441 "Hans My Hedgehog". It is exactly along these lines that the tale *The Golden-Haired Hero in Pig's Skin*, included in Čajkanović's collection of tales (Čajkanović (ed.) 1929), was written (cf. Radulović 2009: 209).

pig), this fairy boar possessed the ability to speak. As he grew up, he wished to marry. Then, he slaughtered two of the king's daughters for chasing him away from the *dining table*, since he was "dirty out of the mud," while to the youngest girl, who accepted him as a "handsome beast" and was not afraid of him, but rather laughed at him—which means this laughter had a benevolent role—who fed him by hand and let him get her dirty ("fully soiled by that boar"), a handsome young man revealed himself. It is only the third girl—as the youngest and, according to the logic of the fable structure, also the most deserving—who let the fairy boar, the future bridegroom, *get her muddy*, as the narrator herself put it. When the youngest girl sat at the table with him, she saw in him—to quote the narrator—a *handsome beast*. The fable produced a countereffect in the culmination point of the *sujet*: if the young man-boar is a victim of his mother's sin, the transmutation will occur in love. Hence, it was only to the human virtue—which accepts him as the *other*, as the mythic cyborg—that the boar revealed himself as a handsome young man, as is always the case in this type of tales/fables (cf. Marjanić 1998). Thereby the burning of the pig's skin—as in the case of the mytheme of snakeskin burning in the fable of *Cupid and Psyche* (AaTh 425)[5] from Apuleius' *The Golden Ass* (*Metamorphoseon libri XI*) (cf. Milošević-Đorđević 1971: 425)—does not occur, since the girl immediately demonstrated a kind of biophilia towards this borderline character; she did not let the fairy boar be chased away from the table and, at the same time, she let him eat out of her hand.[6] It is evident that in these variants, as highlighted by Nada Milošević-Đorđević (1971: 80–81), similarly to the story type of *Beauty and the Beast*, there exists a certain sensibility in the relationship between the animal and the bride, as well as in the tale of *Baba's Bilka* since Jozo, a young man, fell in love with Bilka, the fairy sow, at first sight.[7] "When sleeping, the swineherd's face would usually be turned towards Bilka. One day, when he woke up, he opened his eyes and, lo and behold, a girl was sitting in that bush, combing her golden hair with a golden comb" (Bošković-Stulli (ed.) 1983: 57–58).

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[5] On the aforementioned fable type in more detail, cf. Swahn's comprehensive book *The Tale of Cupid and Psyche (Aarne-Thompson 425 and 428)* (1955).

[6] In the fable *The Golden-Haired Hero in Pig's Skin* from Čajkanović's collection, there occurs the burning of the pig's skin, since the aforementioned fable does not feature a humanitarian strategy towards the boar bridegroom.

[7] "However, according to the set of its motifs and the overall content, they cannot be isolated from the series of other fables of marrying a magical creature (AaTh 425 and AaTh 441), which do not end with this burning, but indeed exhibit it in the plot's zenith" (Milošević-Đorđević 1971: 82).

Let us examine for a moment the determinant-type AaTh 409A that was used by Maja Bošković-Stulli to classify the tale/fable from Gorjani. This is the fable/tale type of *Girl as Snake* (initially *Snake Princess is Disenchanted*), in which a snake that is pulled out of a fire turns into a woman and marries her rescuer. The husband promises never to call his wife a snake. When he breaks this promise, the woman turns back into a snake and disappears, and is once again rescued by her son-in-law (the Aarne-Thompson-Uther folklore classification) (Uther 2004, 1st volume: 244). However, compared to the aforementioned type of tale, Baba's Bilka does not disappear; after the burning of pigskin, she stays with her lover—Jozo, the young man, the swineherd who, after all, is not ashamed of her porcine nature.

TOTEMISM: THE PIG BRIDE

Along the lines of the tales of animal wives and husbands—within the framework of which should be brought to mind, e.g. South Slavic fables of the fairy boar, the hedgehog, and lizard bridegrooms, as well as the poems and narratives of the snake bridegroom—Bruno Bettelheim (1979: 310) detects that these mythical matrices not only have properties of fables but also of totemism (cf. Radulović 2009: 132, 141). Bettelheim indicates the close connection between the fable of the animal bridegroom and sexual intercourse, highlighting that the actualization of a happy unification requires the woman to overcome her own concept of sexuality as something repulsive and allegedly bestial, and, along the lines of psychoanalytic interpretations of this mytheme, he determines that the man is perceived as the more bestial partner due to his more aggressive role in sexual intercourse. Or, as Krleža ironically put it—*all swains are swine*.[8] The folklorist and culturologist Boria Sax determines that the narratives of the animal bride and animal bridegroom are the same, albeit told from different gender perspectives; the tales of the

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[8] Hence, the animal partner can also appear as a bull. The remnants of the Dawn's zoo-personifications as a (celestial) cow (the fair cow of celestial ambrosia), as iconographically portrayed by *Rigveda*, and the Sun (*at times*, as Nodilo points out) as a *bull*, are found by Nodilo in a Kajkavian tale (Krauss 1884 II: 89) with the *animal bridegroom* mytheme and, in the aforementioned case, the zoo-figuration of the *bull* who is anthropomorphized into a young man, "as fair as the sun," when he catches the sight of his beloved (the *third* one, naturally) (Nodilo 1981: 184). Nodilo elaborates that the aforementioned Kajkavian tale partially preserved the Rigvedic myth of the Dawn that is often portrayed iconographically as a cow—*the fair cow of celestial ambrosia*, while the young Sun "is at times depicted as a bull" (ibid.: 184), and relates this Kajkavian fable to the Greek myth of Zeus and Europa, with rape featured in the background.

animal bridegroom were told by women and the tales of the animal bride by men. The aforementioned presupposes that, in these tales, animals indicate gender. Thereby it is interesting to note that the fable *Baba's Bilka* was narrated to Maja Bošković-Stulli by a male storyteller/narrator Stipan Lović, while Bilka's clothes, worn in the marginal state—pigskin as "relevant context" (Leach 1983: 82)—is shed, the mother-in-law burns the skin and the neophyte enters the everyday social status. All of these tales of the animal bridegroom and animal wife thematize an encounter with someone who is entirely different. Jozo from *Baba's Bilka* therefore uncovered the other gender in a double aspect, in the supernatural forms of woman and pig, with the latter—the supernatural and bestial—being entirely different from the former (cf. Sax 2001: 22). Jozo watched over Bilka "for a couple of years" and "the pig grew up into a large hog." The young man notices that "this hog never went to wallow in the mud puddle with his other pigs," and discovers it to be a girl with golden hair and comb, which is a characteristic of a supernatural woman, a fairy (Bošković-Stulli (ed.)1983: 57–58). In the documentary drama movie *Baba's Bilka* by Petar Orešković (folklore television programme, 2012), featuring the members of the Cultural Artistic Ensemble "Gorjanac," one of the storytellers also notes variants featuring the narrational woman bride together with a fish and a frog bride, and points out that this combination is more appropriate, since the aforementioned animals are bound to water, while a pig cannot hide—it belongs to rural everyday life. Another storyteller (both women remain uncredited during the broadcast) explains why the tale from Gorjani features a pig rather than, e.g. a cat, and stresses that the pig, as a domestic animal, was also a house animal at the time (and, considering their worth, they also had first names), unlike the cats, which remained nameless regardless of their worth for the rural household (hunting mice, rats, equally as in Egypt considering the economic matrix of religion, as Marvin Harris would put it).[9] This serves as evidence that the so-called livestock lived

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[9] Elizabeta Molnar from Gorjani also notes a variant in which a fish girl revealed herself to a poor herder as a girl—"[…] The fish came out of the water, shed herself into a girl, and sat beside him. And they wooed one another. It went on for a few days, then he […] the music and went home, and told his mother and father that he wanted to marry, that he wanted to marry a fish. She told him that she could not go like that, you know, she had to go as a fish. And when she bathed, she took off her skin and turned into a girl, and would be as such, said the girl. Then she turned into a fish and got in the water, and he went home, you know. And he said that he would like to marry her now, and they did not let him. What to do … The last time they came here and bathed, the wind started blowing, there was a storm, rain, and her dress was blown away. What to do … And he said to her, 'Come now, come home with me

together with humans in the past, while cats and dogs were kept outside, unlike the present situation that is reversed in relation to domestic animals and pets (cf. Malamud 2010).

The zoo-metaphors of the so-called cute little animals—e.g., pigeon, dove, squirrel, cat—dominate the intimacy, while the symbolism of sexuality (i.e., corporeal love) uses the so-called stout animals; the pig, for example, in this case usually symbolically *denotes* female sexuality, (i.e., fertility), while the stud, naturally, denotes male eroticism. Thereby a piece of nutritional data states that an abundance of pork protein enkindles sexual desire (Visković 1996: 91).

Furthermore, some theoreticians point out that the tales of animal husbands and wives belong to the totemism cycle (Sax 2001: 29). Specifically, totemism in its broader sense denotes a continuity between the human and animal worlds; same as a wedding, totemism denotes the fusion of different beings that become One and, in this case, the unification of the human and bestial or, perhaps, of the supernatural or fairy-like, nonetheless: of Jozo and his swine-fairy, Bilka the fairy pig, who is ultimately still anthropomorphic in this unification between Nature and Culture. Moreover, it is well-known that, in the concept of totemism, the weddings between humans and animals often led to the founding of tribes. In totemist tales, a certain animal is always present as the mythic ancestor of a certain group. Perhaps it can even been claimed that totemism, in the form of zoolatry—which is applied in the *free play of meaning* according Middas Dekkers implying zoolatry to Christianity (cf. Dekkers 2000: 8-9)—is also present in the world's major religions, e.g. Buddhism. The interpretation of Queen Maya's puerperal case is that she conceived Buddha with a white elephant (i.e., a somewhat milder version of the zoophilic birth) tells us that, at the moment of Gautama Buddha's conception, she dreamed of a small white elephant with a white lotus in its trunk entering her right side; after *certain* time, Maya gave birth to Buddha from her right side while holding onto a tree (Storm 2002: 166). Or, as determined by Midas Dekkers—who, *inter alia*, studied zoophilia in all cultures—Christianity is also established upon supposed zoophilia, whereby he notes that Christ was also born from the *unification* of the Virgin and a dove, i.e. the Holy Spirit (cf. Dekkers 2000: 115–130).

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now'. So, he decided to bring her home. And they waited for the nightfall, when the night came, he brought her home. And the mother, the grandmother made her a lovely dress, and they dressed her nicely, and the two of them got married, and they lived happily ever after." Cf. Suzana Marjanić: "*Baba's Bilka*: Interview with Elizabeta Molnar". Digital Repository of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, shelf mark 2359 (2020).

ANIMAL BRIDE AND ANIMAL BRIDEGROOM

Alongside the oral, folklore totemist narratives—i.e., mythic lore, fables of various peoples on the conception of a certain tribe by a certain animal—it is usually noted that the oldest recorded version of the fairy-tale animal woman is the fable of the cat bride that was probably recorded by Aesop in the 6th century BC. The fable entitled *The Cat Maiden* depicts

> a triumph of feminine wiles over masculine power. The gods and goddesses were arguing about whether it was possible for a thing to change its nature. "For me, nothing is impossible," said Zeus, the god of thunder. "Watch, and I will prove it." With that, he picked up a mangy alley cat, changed it into a lovely young girl, had her dressed in fine clothes, instructed her in manners, and arranged for her to be married the next day. The gods and goddesses looked on invisibly at the wedding feast. "See how beautiful she is, how appropriately she behaves," said Zeus proudly. 'Who could ever guess that only yesterday she was a cat!" "Just a moment," said Aphrodite, the goddess of love. With that, she let loose a mouse. The maiden immediately pounced on the mouse and began tearing it apart with her teeth. This fable has been written down in many versions, some of which date back to the fifth century B.C. in Greece. Perhaps in some still earlier version, the cat was Aphrodite herself. (Sax 1998: 59)

This may be one of the oldest recorded versions of the motif/mytheme of the animal bride, the mythical matrix of which is also found in the tale of *Baba's Bilka*.

On the other hand, the tale of the animal bridegroom, known under the popular name *Beauty and the Beast*, was evidently first recorded in the collection of cautionary tales and fables of classic Indian literature *Panchatantra or Five Treatises* (written between the 4th and 6th centuries),[10] in the tale entitled *The Enchanted Brahman's Son*. In brief, it tells the story of a Brahman and his wife in a childless marriage, who get a snake son. When he reaches young adulthood, he is given the hand of a beautiful girl in marriage. However, the snake takes off its skin at night and becomes a handsome young man. And finally, his father—who found him the bride in the first place—burns the snakeskin, and the snake bridegroom continues to

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[10] Reference should be made to the English translation of the aforementioned tale, *The Girl Who Married a Snake* (Tatar 2017: 17–20). The philologist and sanskritologist Theodor Benfey noticed that the mytheme of the snake bridegroom is found in *Panchatantra* (Radulović 2009: 209).

live in the anthropomorphic form. The mytheme of the childless marriage of an aging couple (in gerontologic terms, today they would not be classified as senior citizens) is also found at the beginning of the tale *Baba's Bilka*: "There once lived an old man and woman, folk of around fifty years of age," followed by a prayer to God for a child, even a bestial one: "God, let me deliver a child, even if it is a piglet, so that we could raise a family" (Bošković-Stulli (ed.): 65).[11]

As the source of the motif of the animal bridegroom, some note Apuleius' novel *Metamorphoses or The Golden Ass* from the 2nd century (i.e., the story of Cupid and Psyche) which is inserted in chapters 4–6 of the novel. Specifically, due to Venus' curse, Psyche was condemned to live with Cupid only at night, when he would come to her bed. According to Venus' curse, Psyche was not allowed to see him and was not allowed to violate this prohibition. Psyche believed a prophecy which foretold that he was a dragon—a winged serpent. This is an allegoric story of Amor— Cupid—hence, of love and Psyche, whereby the Greek word *psyche* denotes the soul, but also a butterfly; it is an allegory of the unification of *love and soul*.[12] In a nutshell, at the end of the fable, Psyche, the human soul, is merged with Cupid himself, the divine love; Psyche herself thereby becomes immortal and enters the order of goddesses (Sax 1998: 78).[13]

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[11] The mytheme of the childless marriage and the desire to have a child, "even if it is an animal," is found in all the tales on this subject; hence, Čajkanović's collection features the tale of the pig bridegroom entitled *The Golden-Haired Hero in Pig's Skin*, interpreted by Nemanja Radulović (2009: 189–190), who highlights that the fable corresponds to the traditional folk perception of a childless marriage as grave misfortune. The author points out that, on the animal-human axis, the transformations are commonly applied to an animal bridegroom/bride—snake as bridegroom and bride, pig bridegroom, hedgehog bridegroom, turtle bride, mouse bridegroom, and fox turning into a human, bird turning into a girl (Ibid.: 204–205), and in the case of *Baba's Bilka*, the fairy sow bride.

[12] Marina Warner (1995: 278) states that the ancient fable of Cupid and Psyche has become secular and could be used when explaining the idea of choice, or of Eros, modern love and romance. Therefore, the first Beast of the West was Eros, god of love (ibid.: 273).

[13] In the context of Jungian psychology, Erich Neumann (2015: 215) interprets the myth of Cupid and Psyche with the development of female personality through phases characterized by particular archetypal phaenomena. In the context of depth psychology, Neumann therefore interprets, e.g. the fourth and final task—descending into the Netherworld and returning to this world—as the task of bringing out that which is hidden underground, as the self-awareness of the content that is found in the unconscious material. This is the most important stage of the individuation process, of the maturation of female psyche in romantic encounter with Eros and through Eros,

This type of fable, which thematizes the animal bridegroom mytheme as it can be observed in the example of the fable *Hedgehog Bridegroom* from Strohal's collection (AaTh 441), which also features the category of sensibility towards the borderline character, up to the burning of the hedgehog's hide (Milošević-Đorđević 1971: 78), and is in accordance with the paradigm from Apuleius' fable of Cupid and Psyche. At her mother's urging, the girl burns the hedgehog's *repulsive* hide; due to this violent act, the hedgehog bridegroom rebukes her with the following constative: "[…] had you only endured a bit longer, happiness would have been all mine!" (qtd. in Strohal 1886: 127). Here the fable abruptly ends, implying the death of the star-crossed hedgehog bridegroom. A detailed study on the aforementioned mytheme was written by the fable theoretician Ernst Tegethoff (*Studien zum Märchentypus von Amor und Psyche*, 1922), who thinks that, apart from Italy, Apuleius' or anyone else's literary adaptation did not influence oral creation, and therefore we can consider the latter to be original and independent from the literary source (Antonijević 1991: 122). Bruno Bettelheim nevertheless believes that the myth of Cupid and Psyche influenced all other subsequent tales of the animal bridegroom type in the Western world: he points out that Apuleius relied on older sources (Bettelheim 1979: 317–319). Hence, this classic version does not represent the initial form out of which the many variants have emerged, but certainly contributes to the understanding of the elementary *sujet* (Antonijević 1991: 122). Thereby it is important to note that some scholars who studied this fable (e.g., Propp and Meletinsky) glossed over the mytheme and concluded that these are the relics of totemist mythology. In his *Historical Roots of the Wonder Tale*, Propp admitted that he could not adequately explain the snake bridegroom mytheme (ibid.: 124).

When studying this mytheme, in lieu of the totemist interpretation, Nodilo applies the allegoric interpretation, with which he finds the source of the animal bridegroom mytheme—in this specific case, of the snake bridegroom—in the Rigvedic mytheme of Agni; thereby he apostrophizes that the birth, wedding, and death (the trimorphic stations of mythical heroes, or *monomyth*, as defined by Campbell) of the serpentine young man are most appropriately thematized by the song *The Snake Bridegroom* from the second collection of folk songs by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (*Zmija mladoženja*, Karadžić 1988, no. 12). This is a birth induced by a gynomorphic

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through the love she has for him. Psyche develops not only in relation to him but also in relation to herself.

fish; this is the mytheme *the right wing of the golden-winged fish*, fished out of the depths of the Danube with a golden mesh, intended to be eaten by a barren queen with the aim of gynomorphic induction. Within the framework of allegoric interpretation, in the context of the mythology of nature and along the lines of Friedrich Max Müller's solarism, Nodilo interprets this snake bridegroom as "the young Flame who gets married" (1981: 440).[14] Nodilo compares the aforementioned myth to the Rigvedic myth of Agni, who is also born out of water, thereby emphasizing that the fish possesses phallic symbolism in Indo-European religion. The previously mentioned song is mythologically interpreted by Nodilo with celestial hierogamy; in the heights above, the wedding between Flame (in Nodilo's interpretation, in the context of Indo-European mythology, *Flame* figures as the Rigvedic *Agni*) and Dawn takes place, whereby at the moment of the wedding (Dawn—Ushas as the goddess of dawn in Rigvedic hymns), the nightly Flame disappears in the same manner as the snake bridegroom, after his bride burns the snakeskin, which evidently functions as placenta or *casing*, since its burning simultaneously induces the death of the snake bridegroom.[15] Hence, interestingly, Nodilo does not relate the mytheme of the snake bridegroom to Apuleius's fable of Cupid and Psyche (*The Golden Ass*) (which was subsequently also determined by the folklorist Maja Bošković-Stulli), but rather places it in parallel with the Rigvedic concepts of Agni (1981: 440).[16] Unlike the songs, in the tales of the *snake bridegroom*

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[14] This is a person with *borderline attributes*, between animal and man, he only possesses the ability to speak, as regards human attributes. "A mediator, be it a 'real' human being (e.g., a shaman) or a mythological god-man, who then assumes borderline attributes – he is *both* mortal *and* immortal, *both* human *and* bestial, *both* tame *and* feral" (Leach 1983: 110). In the context of the animal bridegroom and animal bride, a new hierarchy is established, which "sets *zoe* over *bios*, instinct over intellect, social life over brute animal existence, rational consciousness over intuitive know-how" (Tatar 2017: X).

[15] Here, the mother threw the snake's skin into the fire and thus annulled his life—the snakeskin has the role of the placenta. Since a snake periodically changes its skin (the process of moulting)—the *material* body represents life and resurrection. "The fiery serpent is solar, purification, the transmuting and transcending of the earthly state" (Cooper 1986: 194). According to Nodilo's (1981: 441) interpretation, in the aforementioned mytheme, the king and queen in Buda figure as Vid and Vida, who marry *the young Flame*, i.e. as god Svantevit and the dyadic goddess Živa/Vida both in the context of Slavic comparative mythology and in Nodilo's interpretation.

[16] It is interesting to note Nodilo's interpretation of one part of the *tale* that indicates events with the young snake man after his snakeskin was burned, and after he left his wife due to the act of burning (of his skin, which may also be interpreted as his *placenta*): "It seems that, in the tale, the myth is conceived as follows: pursuant

(Karadžić 1969, no. 10), the bride in search of the *snake bridegroom* reaches the Moon and the Moon's mother, who gives her a *golden hen* with chickens. Thus, Maja Bošković-Stulli (1975: 109) believes that the burning of the snake bridegroom's snakeskin in epic songs is not related to fables of the Cupid and Psyche type (AaTh 425), since the songs never proceed in the manner of the aforementioned fable: with the husband's disappearance/departure and the wife's search for him (cf. Milošević-Đorđević 1971: 78). Specifically, type AaTh 433 ends with the burning of the skin, same as the epic song. The aforementioned folklorist noticed the contamination with this fable, albeit a quite *curtailed* one, in only one of the song's texts.[17] As is the case with the snake bridegroom and the burning of his skin, in the case of Bilka, her pigskin is burned by the bridegroom's (Jozo's) mother out of ignorance. "The mother entered the bridegroom's quarters to see if it was warm enough. She noticed pigskin on a bench by the bed, picked it up, took it outside and threw it into the furnace that was stoked from the kitchen" (Bošković-Stulli (ed.) 1983: 60).

Let us briefly return to Bettelheim's interpretation of the mytheme. Specifically, Bruno Bettelheim (1979: 319) points out that the fable/myth of Cupid and Psyche has influenced all other subsequent tales of the *animal bridegroom* type, and that Apuleius relied on older sources. Thereby it is interesting to note that, according to *the law of genre*, the dragon hero in epic songs dies (after his *skin is destroyed*) and enters (an)*other* world in narratives (this is the other code of separation by departing to another, the other, the sepulchral world).[18] Since this logic of genre is different, it is obvious that the influences of individual fable types indeed cannot be separated so *strictly* (Milošević-Đorđević 1971: 78).[19]

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to the nocturnal light and intensity, Flame weakens at daytime; besotted, he then resides with another woman in another kingdom" (1981: 447). This corresponds to a recent reconstruction by Vitomir Belaj and Radoslav Katičić, who determine that Mokoš, Perun's celestial wife, resides with her lover Veles for half a year (Belaj V. and J. Belaj 2014).

[17] Neither in this case does the wife embark on a distant journey to find her lost husband, as in the AaTh 425 type fable.

[18] Contemporary scholars study in particular the aforementioned fables of the animal bridegroom (the *Beauty and the Beast* type) in relation to myths: while Psyche's search for Cupid from Apuleius' story is reminiscent of the degrees of initiation, the ending of fables is marked by the disappearance of magic (cf. Stephens 2000: 330–334).

[19] South Slavic fables in verse are profoundly austere and end tragically, which can be ascribed to the influence of heroic epicism (Latković 1991: 243).

In the context of the aforementioned, the interpretation of the zoo-symbol of the pig in the tale/fable *Baba's Bilka* will be noted. The pig had a significant role in certain fertility rituals. Therefore, in the cult of Demeter, piglets were thought to bring fertility. Specifically, piglets were offered as a zoo-sacrifice to Demeter and her daughter Persephone, as well as to other European deities of the Earth's fertility. At the three-day festival of Thesmophoria, held during the autumnal sowing in October, in the honour of Demeter, the participants of the ritual ceremony would throw piglets into an underground cave and leave them to rot for three months prior to the ceremony itself. Then, they placed the decomposed body parts on the altar and combined them with pinecones and wheat bread, forming a phallic shape out of the mixture, after which everything was mixed with seeds and used for sowing. Apart from the pig's significant role in Demeter's cult as a fertility bringer—specifically, it was believed that the piglets' remains can improve seed growth (Gimbutas 1991: 147)[20]—in Ancient Greece, the pig was brought into relation with marital life (Propp 1990: 149).[21]

As regards the genre of fable, in the context of the category of time, we can add that Jozo bears witness to the transformation (anthropomorphism) of Bilka the pig at noon, during his capacity as the herder/swineherd on a pasture, while the final and ultimate transformation takes place after the wedding (as the final re-compensation) as a ritualized matrix, when the mother-in-law burns Bilka's pigskin. Thereby the ritualization of the wedding at the church itself is described in detail in this case, which is not typical of the genre of fable (the wedding is usually merely mentioned as a rite of passage); however, due to the specificity of the wedding ceremony with Bilka the pig, segments of the wedding are singled out in a humoristic, albeit not parodic manner, e.g. "The young man knelt, and the sow sat on her behind" (Bošković-Stulli (ed.) 1983: 59).

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[20] Thereby the word *porca* also had a sexual connotation, since it also introduced the connection of the pig with Bauba's gesture, which made Demeter laugh (Propp 1990: 140–150).

[21] Cf. the zoomorphic mask of the pig (c. 4500–4000 BC, Macedonia), presumed by Marija Gimbutas (1991: 146) to have been used in the rituals of the cult of the *pregnant Goddess* and of her sacral animal—the *pig/sow* that symbolizes fertility with her *voluminous* body.

TOWARDS A CONCLUSION: THE ECO/FEMINIST AND PSYCHOANALYTIC INTERPRETATION OF THE *FAIRY SOW*

It is notable that feminist critique was more engaged in the tales of the animal bridegroom type than in the animal wife one, thereby highlighting that the tales of the animal bridegroom ensue from matriarchy. Theoretician Heide Göttner-Abendroth (1991), who is particularly engaged in matriarchal societies, points out that the man is manifested as a wild beast in the aforementioned tales. From the aspect of matriarchy, the woman must tame and domesticate him.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that both the early feminist critique and psychoanalysis were initially, in terms of fable interpretation, interested in the animal bridegroom. The fable from Konavle, *The Fairy Gift*—a kind of counterpart to *Baba's Bilka*, since it thematizes a boar bridegroom, as is the case with the version from Čajkanović's collection—can thus be psychoanalytically interpreted in the context of the sequence in which the youngest girl lets the boar *get her muddy*, i.e. in her experiencing sexuality. Specifically, the boar's metamorphosis into a handsome young man takes place when he enters the girl's bed. Hence, the transmutation ensues from love, while the burning of pigskin does not occur since the young girl disenchanted him with her love. Briefly put, Bettelheim states that the bestial attributes of animal brides are lovable, as is the case, for example, with sea women, while in the case of men, they are feral animals that are meant to be tamed. Indeed, this difference in the intensity of bestiality is evident in the case of the Fairy Hog, who is dirty with mud and slime, while Baba's Bilka is exceptionally clean in the context of the structuralist opposition of clean vs. dirty, since she never went *to wallow in the mud puddle* (Bošković-Stulli (ed.) 1983: 57). *Baba's Bilka* thereby differs from the tales of the animal bride type, since the motifs in these narratives are bound to the animal wife/bride as the victim of kidnapping/forced marriage until she herself finds a way to free herself (e.g., sealskin, feathers) (Silver 2016: 40); in that sense, Kobayashi's (2007) term animal wife can be applied to the tale/fable from Gorjani in lieu of the term animal bride.

It is the author's personal opinion that this type of fable can also be interpreted ecofeministically; specifically, unlike the mainstream feminism, ecofeminism equally observes Nature as a degraded phaenomenon—in patriarchy and in the neoliberal paradigm of today—alongside women. An ecofeminist interpretation of the aforementioned fables may be followed as the quest for the unification of animal and human nature into One, i.e. in the

sense that we as human beings must remain connected to our animal nature, since the last trace of naturalness in us will disappear if we accept merely the unsparing aestheticism that is imposed on us by the society of corporeal aestheticism, the society of plastic aestheticism, in which plastic beauty gains increasing traction; the more we transmute into plastic beings, as well as into mechanical cyborgs bound to digital technology, the more we surely distance ourselves from nature, from naturalness, which also includes sensibility. It is exactly what Freud called the discomfort in culture back in the year of 1930.[22] However, the aforementioned fables of animal bridegrooms and animal wives are also anthropocentric—i.e., classic fables possess a human mindset—"an animal must become a complete, proper human" (Radulović 2009: 206, 141). In that sense, the folklorist Nemanja Radulović notes that animal bridegrooms/animal brides possess the attributes of impure animals; e.g., frogs and snakes are crawlers, while the pig from Čajkanović's collection (no. 35, *The Golden-Haired Hero in Pig's Skin*) is considered an impure, demonic, dangerous animal (208).[23] Maria Tatar argues that the stunning variety of animals, ranging from snakes to warthogs to cranes and pigs, can prove Claude Lévi-Strauss's remark that "animals are good to think with," and concludes that the *Beauty and the Beast* tales "are, then, not just about marriage, but also about our relationship and connection to the social world we share with other living beings" (2017: X–XI).

And while Midas Dekkers states in the final chapter of his book, as one of the conclusions, that love towards animals "must not obscure love of human beings, otherwise our human society will disintegrate, creaking

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[22] In the documentary drama movie *Baba's Bilka* by Petar Orešković (folklore television programme, 2012), featuring the members of the Cultural Artistic Ensemble "Gorjanac" the church wedding scene was filmed in a church in Gorjani. The movie featured theoreticians Prof. Dr. Ljiljana Marks and Prof. Dr. Marijana Hameršak from the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research. Ljiljana Marks highlights, *inter alia*, that the tale *Baba's Bilka* has achieved great popularity and is found in all of the most relevant anthologies of oral tales and lore edited by Maja Bošković-Stulli; it has also been translated into German (cf. Marks 1981) and Japanese languages for the purpose of featuring in the respective anthologies. Furthermore, she points out that *Baba's Bilka* does not correspond to the standard and refined Grimms' fairy tales; that it is completely immerged in the space from which it ensues, while its episodes are lined up one after another as in a documentary, in which this theoretician of oral narrative detects its merit. In this paper, the author's brief lecture is used for the documentary drama movie, on the subject of the mythical matrix of the aforementioned tale.

[23] Nemanja Radulović (2009: 209) stresses that the historical-geographical studies by Stith Thompson or Waldemar Liungman confirm that the most common forms of the bridegroom/bride are frog, mouse, and snake.

in its joints" (2000: 190–191), it is the author's belief that interspeciesist love and friendship, as well as trans-speciesism (just as the negations of racism and sexism, as well as of other monstrous *-isms*, resulted solely from the categories of good) could annul the numerous monstrous acts done by humans against all the living creatures. Not all acts, of course, since it is evident than monstrosity is part of humanity, as is also proven by history. As noted by Elaine Graham, the cyborg (a cybernetically enhanced organism) is a well-known figure in contemporary science fiction and has also gained considerable reputation in feminist theory. "As a hybrid of the biological and the technological, the cyborg has also become a metaphor for western posthuman identity, but it also articulates important political, ecological and ethical issues" (cf. Graham 2002: 216). In that sense, "life in a posthuman era has intensified our anxieties about machines while reducing our fears about beasts"; hence, in the new genre of science fantasy, the aforementioned animal bridegrooms and animal brides may appear more in the context of mechanical cyborgs, androids, robots (cf. Tatar 2017: XVI–XVII), which equally correspond to both laws of the genre and the posthuman reality.[24] Finally, reference will be made to the interspeciesist love between Hellboy, a "demonic" cyborg who acts for the benefit of humanity, and Liz Sherman, Hellboy's sweetheart, pyrokineticist (a person who possesses the mental ability to control fire) and later his wife, whereby Hellboy, the romantic hero, is marked by his passionate love of cats. Him being surrounded by cats seems to subversively undermine the superhero's "macho" dimension, in which the English term *puss* or *puss gentleman*, as noted by Rogers, refers to a feminized man or, in this case, to a supernatural cyborg.

Translated by Mirta Jurilj

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[24] The two characteristics of mythic cyborgs—animal attributes on a human body, close to South Slavic fairies with theriomorphic legs, or instances of zoo-psychonavigation (typical, e.g. of nightmares and witches), i.e. navigations of the soul in animal form, are equally present in the fantasy genre. This can serve as proof that the fantasy genre of today may be considered a kind of contemporary mythology by a portion of readers, with which the latter escape the ruling repression and depression, but also as modification of the science fiction genre, since the fantasy genre opens up space to mythic cyborgs who are oriented towards the category of nature rather than the category of machine. It is exactly with this distrust in the mechanical cyborg—even though certain predictions foretell profound domination of robots by the year 2040—that the fantasy genre may also manifest itself as the subversion of all programmes of the Great Trinity of neoliberal capitalism, consisting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the World Trade Organization (WTO) (cf. Marjanić 2011).

Photo 1: The documentary drama movie *Baba's Bilka* by Petar Orešković (folklore television programme, 2012), featuring members of the Cultural Artistic Ensemble "Gorjanac"; available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=szTJNBBI5N4

Photo 2: Stipan Lović, the storyteller who narrated to Maja Bošković-Stulli the story *Baba's Bilka* in 1957 in Gorjani near Đakovo. Photo credit: Maja Bošković-Stulli, Documentation of the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, shelf marks 2026, 2027, 2028, 2034.

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MIRACLE ON SALE
THE MIRACLE PHENOMENON IN NEW MEDIA

Abstract: The status/nature of a miracle in new media and contemporary Western civilization will be problematized in this paper through the examples of advertisements on the Internet. Quick and effective cures for the most difficult and persistent diseases (cancer, psoriasis, nail fungus, and the like) have already been examined as a form of the transformation of miraculous healing folklore narratives in the relevant literature. Contemporary narratives, however, differ significantly from oral templates in the elimination of the transcendent and the transformation of a miracle into market value. It is not only health that is on offer in the present Internet culture, but basically everything: beauty, potency, longevity, eternal youth, various skills (learning a language in a couple of weeks, mnemonic techniques), earning a salary without working, etc. The range of the offered "instant miracles" in advertisements and the formulative "recipes for happiness" provide the material for the reconstruction of the contemporary Western society value system and dislocate the miracle phenomenon from the emic to the etic perspective.

Keywords: miracle, new media, the Internet, healers, beauty, youth, capitalism

Current reflections on the disenchanted world metaphor—funded on the rationalization and secularization categories and on trust in the modernist concept of science which demystifies the otherworldly, magic and frauds[1]—are

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[1] A case in point is the "worm in ears" cure vitality example—it is a nonexistent disease whose diagnosis is based on largely general (and typical) symptoms and minor ailments (a child does not sleep, cries, tosses and turns, rubs face, ears, nose, and the like), and is cured by a fraud, as Biljana Sikimić (2019) showed on the basis of the corpus spanning over a century. A far more modern version would be a cure for parasites in the form of the concoction entitled Puridon (in the Czech and Romanian version—Bactefort): "[I] f you manifest any one of the symptoms—fatigue, anxiety, sleeplessness or blocked-up

generally critically directed at Max Weber's postulates. The arguments are based on the detection of numerous forms of belief in magical, occult, supernatural, scientifically unverifiable, as well as the alternative practices of healing which are considered superior to the official medical practice in certain social strata. Even a passing glance at the contemporary recordings testifies to the vitality of magical rites in the domain of traditional medicine, archaic concepts in the domain of "diagnostics" (iron smelting to prevent fear, incantations against charms, night walkers, chthonic beings called *babice* (midwives), anthrax, stepping on dug-up earth, *bartovci*, and the like) (Đorđević 2008; Đorđević 2011; Đorđević Belić 2019; Ilić 2005), as well as the active interaction of religious canons, phytomedicine, and the magic of words (inscriptions) (e.g., in the Sufi healing practice of the famous healer from Kaćun, Sheikh Mesud Hadžimejlić) (Ratkovčić and Marjanić 2019). On the other hand, a greater usage of amulets and talismans has been noted in the Western civilization urban environment in the last thirty-odd years, which could probably be correlated with the general worsening of the socioeconomic status and social crises (Lecouteux 2009).[2] Eclectic healing practices which combine the New Age heritage and traditional medicine—"folk New Age"—are also formed in the environment in which there is a more intensive contact (and the intertwining of the two) between a traditional and citizens' (elite, educated, written, printed) culture (Radulović 2019: 187).[3] The powerlessness of the official medicine has also led to the alternative treatment practices revitalization (Ajdačić 2004: 274):

> The interest in traditional medicine which withered in the 20th century, revives at the moment when an individual fails to justify their trust in diagnostics and modern medicine treatment methods. The patient and their immediate surroundings, usually the family, resort to traditional means in the absence of diagnostics, due to the symptoms which wear them out or the official diagnosis rejection. (Sikimić 2019: 83)

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nose—there is a 99% chance that parasites exist in your body, and you have to get rid of them as soon as possible" (cf. https://fakenews.rs/2019/09/10/izmisljeni-doktor-u--izmisljenom-intervjuu-siri-paniku-i-nudi-sumnjive-pilule/; March 3, 2020).

[2] The downfall of the communist and socialist ideologies in the countries where they were dominant at the end of the 80s and beginning of the 90s created space for the revitalization of the religious and occult practices which had been repressed up to that point (although they had been present on the margins and in smaller groups) (Tomka 2011; Radulović 2019: 179).

[3] "Fragments of knowledge about esoteric teachings, magic, Chinese acupuncture, yoga, witchcraft, and traditional medicine are implemented in the religious syncretism of various cultures, but without the ideological foundation and consequences of their respective religious systems" (Ajdačić 2004: 274).

This paper, however, will not stay within the boundaries of well-trodden debates regarding the destiny and forms of survival of the irrational and otherworldly in the modern world, but quite the contrary—it will be focused on certain phenomena which were regarded or could in that context be regarded as a miracle, but have an utterly different status in new media.

A miracle is a basic mode of God's annunciation in the world in oral epic tradition, a form of his emanation and it appears in two primary situations:

1. to punish a sin[4] or indicate a potential sin,[5] and

2. when the innocent and hapless in trouble invoke God, which is the case that has a very frequent formula in Serbian oral epic tradition—"what she prays to God, that he grants to her." The formula occurs in poems with widely different plots, but it infallibly follows the great miracle theme:

   2.1. the transformation of a woman into a bird (*The Death of the Jugović Mother*; Vuk II, 48)

   The mother of Jugović prays to God,
   The keen eyes of a falcon to give her
   Alongside the snow-white wings of a swan,
   To fly over the plain of Kosovo,
   And to see the nine Jugović brothers,
   And the tenth, old Jug Bogdan, the father.
   What she prays to God, that he grants to her:

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4   Examples are numerous: the unfaithful godfather, Grčić Manojlo, who replaces children of the two mothers (because one is male and the other one female) on account of the bribery in gold he receives from one of them, receives the punishment not short of the brutality exhibited in ancient myths—his child turns into a lamb and he slaughters, roasts, and eats him unknowingly (Vuk II, 5); Saint Sava mutes, blinds, cripples, or makes the Turks who have tried to desecrate his relics descend into madness (SANU III, 26; Vuk III, 14); haiduks who pillage a church and attack the relics of Saint Petka/Saint Sunday/ Saint Paraskeva and the like, suffer from a severe and long-lasting illness (SM 41), etc.

5   The most frequent circle of variants of this kind is the uncovering of a potential incest—the marriage of a brother and sister due to unawareness:

When Marko comes to the foot of the hill,   Once they set foot in the house of our Lord,
The richly adorned girl undresses he,   To their candles holy fathers set flames,
And there casts her he onto the grass green,   Yet, of their own will the flames ceased to burn,
In kisses her little face to cover.   And all of their wine into water turned,
Clear was the sky, and now is overcast,   Into dead silence all clergymen fell. (SANU II, 17)
From the cloud a single drop of blood falls,
Right on Marko's little face it descends. (MH II, 34)

The keen eyes of a falcon God gives her
Alongside the snow-white wings of a swan,
Over the plain of Kosovo flies she,
Dead she finds the nine Jugović brothers,
And the tenth, old Jug Bogdan, the father.

2.2. the revival of the dead (*Brothers and a Sister*; MH I, 29)

Prayers sends she to the God almighty,
To the God almighty and his mother,
To grant prayers to her as a mother,
To bring to life the darling son of hers,
By the name of Trator from the black earth.
When her prayers reach the ears of the God.
Compassion shows Holy Lady to her,
Thus, the two of her angels she sends her,
To bring back to life Trator, her young child.

2.3. the birth of a snake-like child (*The Marriage of the Variegated Viper*; MH I, 34)

Prayers sends the wife of Ivan to God,
Prayers sends she for all the nine years round,
To let her the fruit of her own womb bear,
If it were the variegated viper.
Prayers sends the wife—God grants them to her,
God let her the fruit of her own womb bear,
'tis but the variegated viper.

2.4. a visit to hell (*The Fiery Mary in Hell*; Vuk II, 4), and the like.

Thus prays the Fiery Mary to God:
"Give me, oh God, the keys to Heaven's doors,
So that together we may open them,
So that Hell through Heaven's land I may reach,
So that my agèd mother I may see,
And to liberate, oh her darling soul!"
Prayers sends she, and God grants them to her,
With the keys to Heaven he entrusts her,
Peter the Apostle sends he with her,
Thus, the doors of Heaven they two open,
So traversed have they through Heaven to Hell.

Epic poetry, and, partially, legends of saints talk about more radical forms of miracle (metamorphosis, revival, visits to heaven and hell, manipulating waters and weather conditions,[6] etc.) and codify the system of religious[7] and ethical norms (respecting God and saints, abiding by the church canon, showing deference to blood relations and godfathers, honor, hospitality, etc.). Belief legends,[8] however, are aimed at the presence of miracle in everyday life and they are predominantly preoccupied with people's existential problems, among which the fundamental ones are illness and poverty. Both thematic knots have generated the mainstream of oral narrative: poverty—belief legends about hidden treasure; illness—stories about miraculous healings, which are probably the most numerous in the entire folklore fund.

God, Holy Mother, and saints possess the power. They are the ones to whom miracles are ascribed in belief narratives about healing, but their power in this type of narrative is, as a rule, manifested indirectly (through the miraculous icons, relics, pieces of saint's clothes, cult objects, etc.).[9] On the other

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[6] A typical oral formula which covers this miracle domain is "clear was the sky and now is overcast" (Vuk III, 8, 15), usually in interaction with lightnings, thunders, winds, blood, or stone rain, etc.: "Lo, behold the marvels of God our Lord, / And the marvels of the serf of our Lord, / Pasha's both arms have completely withered, / At the back of his head his mouth they've placed. / Yet no satisfaction found Lord in that. / Clear was the sky and now is overcast, / Thunder and lightning with blasting commenced, / And from the sky started blood stones falling" (Vuk VI, 48). The formula and cataclysmic events may also be transposed into the form of an ominous prophetic dream: "A dream dreamt a young girl upon a steed: / Clear was the sky and now is overcast, / From the cloud the silent dew has emerged, / Upon the wedding guests the dew descends, / Into the blood of a hero it turns" (SANU III, 17).

[7] "Supernatural, magical in legends is not horrifying as in belief legends, but sacred; it should not only confirm the existence of God, but also elevate a saint and it is often ascribed to him for patriotic reasons (e.g., Saint Sava)" (Milošević-Đorđević 2000: 179).

[8] The difference between legends of saints and belief legends is not easy to strictly delineate, but it is maybe best highlighted in the fact that a legend "more closely denoting a record of a saint's life and deeds … has its source in the *Bible*, Old Testament and New Testament texts, but also in Biblical apocrypha and medieval hagiographies," while belief legends "are much more widely based on Christianized and older layers of tradition, on their mutual intertwining, but also in the national and local history understanding" (Samardžija 2011: 274–275). The topics of belief legends are also various kinds of encounters with demonic beings, episodes about sinners, the origin of some landforms, plants, animals, the theft of the Sun, the culture and disappearance of the giants, etc.

[9] The stories about healing which healers themselves narrate as a form of justification of their own healing powers are a special narrative type. They can also contain the elements of etiology: "Narratives which have successful healings theme and are primarily

hand, the outcomes of the healing power are often perceived in the archaic coordinates in this type of narrative, thus, the healing power is assigned to holy stones (cf. Popovska 2009; Popovska 2012), or trees (sacred trees, certain types of herbs[10]). However, what predominates in urban legends (and new media which circulate them) are the healers who have "some sort of a supernatural power or, according to some interpretations, a supernatural degree of a natural ability available to everyone." The origin of this power "is usually not explained … especially not by the power of faith or its supernatural character" (Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2007: 236). If the etiology is established, the endowment is explained by birth, some sort of knowledge transmission (usually within a family), "revelation" or individual initiation (healers gain the healing gift in a personal confrontation with a difficult, deadly disease) (Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2007: 236–237; Ajdačić 2004: 275). This belief narrative type has retained the fundamental trait of the genre—the credibility rhetoric:[11]

> What is mutual for all the examined cases [thirty-eight texts from the tabloid newspapers] is that the credibility of a statement is proven by the fact that it is a real person who said it, someone with a name and surname, place of residence, of certain age, profession, and the photos are occasionally displayed. Even in the cases in which only the initials or the name of the cured patient are mentioned instead of the full profile, this "presentation" leaves an impression of verifiability, since it is supplemented by a list of facts. … This insistence on the veracity, factuality is a very important feature of these texts' poetics (Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2007: 243).

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    narrated by the 'healers', make the elements of a thematic complex, i.e. a text with a special social role. As the fieldwork showcases, together with the concrete examples of successful healings, the emphasizing of the connection with a metaphysical entity occurs as a leitmotif almost without fail in incantation narratives" (Đorđević 2011: 175).

[10] Veselin Čajkanović enlists a number of examples of "the incubation under the ash trees" (*dictamnus albus*)—the healing of a patient under the sacred tree which is prescribed by ritual (Čajkanović 1994: 408–415).

[11] Although even the tellers who do not believe in what is narrated can transmit belief legends, a fact proven by numerous comments of informers and the whole system of (mostly closing) oral formula (cf. e.g. Bošković-Stulli 1975: 128; Marks 1996: 26–27; Rudan 2006; Mencej 2008: 325–329; Popović 2013: 210–211; Popović Nikolić 2014) and although it is impossible to have a direct insight into the relationship between the teller and the narrated (Marković 2012: 167), "stylistic realism" is one of the fundamental traits of the genre in the discursive level, about which has been written many a time. A "systemic" reference to belief legends is given in Samardžija 2011, while a "classical" choice from the relevant literature (Maja Bošković-Stulli, Nada Milošević-Đorđević, Vlajko Palavestra, Linda Dégh, Ülo Valk, Kirill Čistov, Willem de Blecourt, etc.) is given in Ljuštanović and Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2015: 137–138.

The Internet culture has inaugurated a new "healing" practice: advertisements which, for a certain amount of money, offer "instant miracles" in the domain of treatment—or simply recipes which most promptly relieve you of all sorts of discomforts. There are numerous "cures" for cancer on the Internet and newspaper websites. Psoriasis and nail fungus can be cured in a few days, cartilage and tendons can regenerate sooner than nails, with a formulative formulation:

> In only 7 days COMPLETE REGENERATION of bones, tendons, joints, and total pain elimination[12]

> In 7 days, it regenerates bones, joints, and tendons: Get rid of pain forever with one ingredient you have at home[13]

> In 7 days, it regenerates bones, joints, and tendons: One ingredient which will relieve you of pain forever! (RECIPE)[14]

> In only 7 days COMPLETE regeneration of bones, tendons, joints, and absolute PAIN ELIMINATION![15]

> This product is stated to be a miracle—it completely regenerates joints. An exclusive interview with a legendary man to whom this miracle happened![16]

> When joints prevent us from living normally, we can only hope for a miracle!—An exclusive interview with the legendary man to whom this miracle happened![17]

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[12] https://www.srbijadanas.com/clanak/idealan-recept-za-samo-7-dana-kompletno-obnavljanje-kostiju-tetiva-zglobova-i-totalno (February 28, 2020).

[13] https://net.hr/zena/zdravlje-ljepota/za-7-dana-obnavlja-kosti-zglobove-i-tetive-zauvijek-se-rijesite-bolova-uz-jedan-sastojak-kojeg-imate-kod-kuce/ (February 28, 2020).

[14] https://stil.kurir.rs/lepi-zdravi/54013/za-7-dana-obnavlja-kosti-zglobove-i-tetive-jedan-sastojak-zauvek-ce-vas-resiti-bolova-recept (February 28, 2020).

[15] http://zdravoiljekovito.com/za-samo-7-dana-kompletno-obnavljanje-kostiju-tetiva-zglobova-totalno-otklanjanje-bola/ (February 28, 2020).

[16] https://www.kurir.rs/zabava/zena/3186441/ova-zena-ima-80-godina-a-izgleda-30-godna--mladje-ishrana-joj-je-70-20-10-a-svako-jutro-nikad-ne-zaboravi-da-uradi-ovu-stvar-foto (February 28, 2020). The advertisement in question is Flekosteel, for which is offered a 50% discount only that day in a pop-up ad of the following content: „Jeste li iz Belgrade? Pričekajte! Najveći broj žalbi dobijamo iz Belgrade i Vaše regije zbog ozbiljnih bolesti leđa i zglobova. Samo jedan dan—29.02.2020 prilikom naručivanja Fleksosteel sredstva, svako iz ovih mesta dobiće 50% popusta" ["Are you from Belgrade? Wait! We get the largest number of complaints from Belgrade and Your region because of serious back and joints illnesses. Only today—February 29, 2020 by ordering Flekosteel, everyone from these places gets a 50% discount."] This text has been translated (Google) and generated (date) by a computer.

[17] http://pushh.mypartnerbank.ru/FleekoTodayRs/ (March 3, 2020).

The same kind of media also cherishes other ways of traditional belief narratives "mental disposition." Belief narratives about hidden treasure have been modified in urban legends into the narratives of unexpected inheritance or an invitation for a child to go abroad, which, by some quirk of fate, brings prosperity to both the child and the family. It is precisely these belief narratives that have been transformed into the Internet offers which vulgarly sublimate the proto-narrative logics: "How to earn money effortlessly."[18] Recipes for easy and quick money[19] have a wide variety of modes, from the guidelines for "simple" global stock market trade which even laymen master in a few minutes:

> THIS JOB REQUIRES ONLY TEN MINUTES: You get 50 euros as soon as you start working and the sum total can be huge. … How? Easily—by trading in the global stock market. You don't have to be a finance expert to trade and earn money in the global stock market. Millions of people like you trade there and also thousands of our countrymen[20]

to the instructions with the elements of (accidental?) irony and grotesque:

> My first experience with salary on the Internet was on neobux The page is very simple, you should just click on pages and stay on them for 30 (until you see a green tick) seconds and that's that you will be paid for that:) under the referral name put Robijash[21] and you'll get a welcoming $0.2!!! not to forget the page does give you money it is not some kind of scam, you just need to make an account on alertpay to get your payments!!! you can find the links for signing up here to the right!! first alertplay then neobux.[22]

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[18] "I was checking some newsgroups a few weeks ago, and I came across an article similar to this one in which it said that you could earn thousands of dinars in only A FEW WEEKS with a very small stake of 250 dinars! … Then I invested those miserable 250 dinars AND GUESS WHAT!? within 7 days, I started receiving money by post! I was flabbergasted! I thought that it would all end soon, but the money kept rolling in. … Read carefully this whole message! Follow these simple rules, and watch as the money keeps coming! It's easy. It's legal. PLEASE, TRUST ME, I WISH YOU ONLY GOOD!!! … I GUARANTEE THIS IS LEGAL! You make a legal request, and you pay it! Like most of us, I was a bit sceptical and worried about how legal that all was. Then I checked it with the U.S. Post Office (1-800-725-2161), and they confirmed that it was really legal" (https://opusteno.rs/razno-f1/kako-doci-do-novca-bez-trunke-znoja-t4123.html; February 28, 2020).

[19] Oral tradition used to connect big and easy money: "Those who make a lot of money quickly are said to have found hidden treasure somewhere" (SEZ 15, 1911, 701; according to Karanović 1989: 90).

[20] https://www.srbijadanas.com/biz/srbija/za-ovaj-posao-treba-samo-deset-minuta-dobijate-50-evra-cim-krenete-ukupna-zarada-moze-biti-ogromna-2016-11-03 (February 28, 2020).

[21] Prisoner.

[22] http://kakodonovca.weebly.com/ (February 28, 2020).

We are not familiar with the destinies of the people who have followed the paths of these ads and pieces of advice, but we are aware of the traditional culture response to the hidden treasure hunt: "In the texts collected in the territory of the Serbo-Croatian language speaking area, the treasure is usually not found, although the explanations themselves for this failure may vary" (Karanović 1989: 85).[23]

Maintaining beauty and the "eternal" youth imperative are equally— or even more so—valued as quick money and "instant healing" in the contemporary media. They are also common topics of belief legends: from those about Cleopatra, who, as the legend goes, bathed in donkey's milk to preserve youth and beauty, to those about the notorious Hungarian noblewoman Elizabeth Bathory, who, according to the story, sought youth in bathing in the blood of innocent girls (or in drinking their blood). Contemporary Western culture establishes youth almost aggressively not only as a biological but also socially desirable state ("ageism"),[24] while the limit for the old age is set already at the age of forty (Zeman and Geiger Zeman 2018: 29). Enormous wealth which is utilized (and earned) for preserving the youth of bodies shows why youth has become one of the capitalist culture's priorities:

> In the culture which, on the one hand highlights the importance of a woman's (and not man's)[25] physical appearance and, on the other hand, perceives only youth and youthfulness as physically attractive (Hurd Clarke and Korotchenko 2011; Wolf 2008; Calasanti 2005), women resort even to cosmetic interventions in their struggle with losing physical attractiveness. (Zeman and Geiger Zeman 2018: 30)

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[23] The treasure can be already taken (someone has previously found it) and if the hunters do find the treasure, the stake is very high (their children die) or the narrative takes form of an apology of the righteous, which is the poetics of an entirely different genre (Karanović 1989: 89–92).

[24] "Once regarded as a natural process, ageing is now viewed as a social problem: a perspective that embraces stereotypes of physical and cognitive decline (Fiske 1998). Seniors are no longer venerated in Western culture; instead, they are typically seen as 'feeble yet loveable, doddering but dear' (Cuddy and Fiske 2002: 4)" (Ellis and Morrison 2005: 58).

[25] Man's attractiveness and changes related to the ageing process are mainly evaluated in the categories of functionality, including the sensitive zone of potency (Marshal and Katz 2012: 229). Therefore, the Internet market, press, and other means of advertising (ads on walls, lampposts, etc.) are inundated with the concoctions which promise potency or enhance male "performances."

The function and features of magic—with the miracle rhetoric ("MAKEUP AS MAGIC") and the miracle effect ("it has rejuvenated this old lady in 45 minutes")—is, therefore, overtaken by makeup too, in a perverted Dorian-Greyan endeavor which stipulates that the painting does not age:[26]
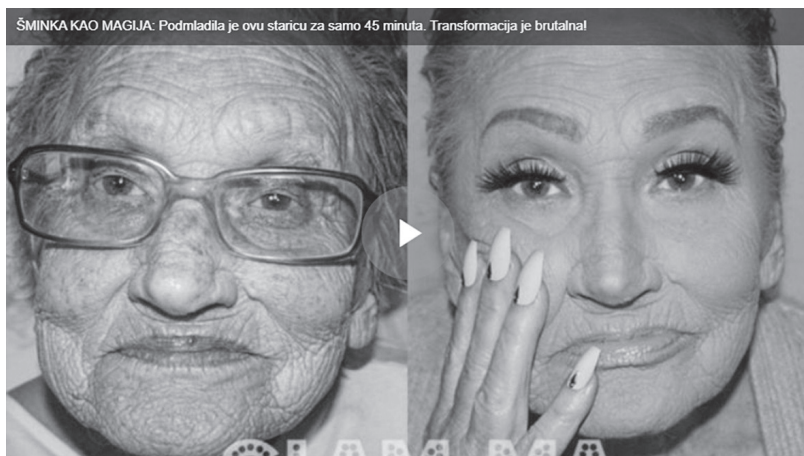
Such a status of youth, vitality, and beauty (no matter how the canon is defined, even though it has changed significantly throughout the course of history)[27] has set up not only a wide consumer map, but also a whole array of narratives about the ways how to become beautiful and young "miraculously" in a very short time or to "suspend" time and ageing:

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[26] Taken from: https://stil.kurir.rs/lepi-zdravi/nutricija/57275/sa-svakom-kasikom-skidate-po-1-cm-sa-struka-cudesna-smesa-koju-treba-odmah-da-probate-recept (February 28, 2020).

[27] Beauty is a cultural construct, which is testified by just a passing glance at the beauty perception cross-section offered by Umberto Ecco (2004: 16–33)—from the sculptures of Egyptian pharaohs and Greek athletes and gods, through medieval and Romantic portraits of saints and rulers, film and rock stars (Rudolph Valentino, Johnny Weissmuller, Humphrey Bogart, Marlon Brando, James Dean, Jim Morrison, Arnold Schwarzenegger) to Dennis Rodman. Speaking of the female ideal type—from the Venus of Willendorf, to ample Baroque figures, Expressionist fascination with dark-skinned bodies, Sarah Bernard, Greta Garbo, Audrey Hepburn, Brigitte Bardot, Marylin Monroe, Twiggy … to Madonna and Monica Bellucci. The "aesthetics of implants," among other things, is present today, which, in its most radical forms, intentionally gravitates towards eccentric and freakish: "The extreme manifestation of superficial transformations culture is the one in which the aforementioned objects are built directly into the body—if possible, bloodlessly. … Modern—extremely modified—method of this practice is showcased in the documentary 'Flesh and Blood', available on the Internet, in which is depicted the way the flesh culture members consciously and willingly become their own modifiers or, like the protagonists of Banville's trilogy, 'the sculptors of the self', thus, wanting to

How to look 10 years younger in only 10 minutes[28]

SHE IS 50, BUT SHE LOOKS AT LEAST 10 YEARS YOUNGER! These are 5 SECRETS of women who have stopped AGEING![29]

Eternal youth is finally available to you, and it is revealed by the women from the Land of the Rising Sun[30]

How to look 20 years younger: a famous scientist reveals a magical recipe for rejuvenating … How to stop the ageing process: expert advice[31]

She is 55, but she looks 30 years younger! Famous model reveals the secret of her good looks and admits what she has excluded from her diet[32]

SHOCK! Natalie is 72 years old: This is why she looks 30 years younger and everyone envies her![33]

The novelty of New Age and media in the context of the ideas and narratives of the ideal beauty when compared to the traditional corpus (beside methods which are based on new technological possibilities) is the obsession with weight, generated by the twiggy ideal, imposed in the culture in which is easier to be overweight than thin on a global scale.

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change their role on the stage (and in life). 'Flesh and Blood' depicts this process through the works of Steve Haworth, one of the pioneers in the three-dimensional implantation sphere. His surgical innovations are stated to attract people from all over the world, those who find tattooing and piercing insufficient. Haworth embeds all sorts of three-dimensional objects under their skin—crosses, stars, ribs (as subdermal)—and he also does transdermal procedures by which a plate is built under the skin onto which various decorative elements can later be screwed in and removed, imported and exported from the body as one wishes" (Mašović 2015: 370–371).

[28] https://www.lepaisrecna.rs/lepota-i-stil/beauty/12433-kako-da-izgledate-10-godina-mladje-za-samo-10-minuta.html (February 29, 2020). It is indicative that the name of the website identifies beauty and happiness.

[29] https://www.kurir.rs/zabava/zena/3404095/ona-ima-50-a-izgleda-barem-10-godina-mladje-ovo-je-5-tajni-zena-koje-su-zaustavile-starenje-sve-su-prirodne (February 29, 2020).

[30] https://www.telegraf.rs/zivot-i-stil/2293819-tajne-japanskih-zena-evo-kako-izgledaju-i-po-30-godina-mladje (February 29, 2020).

[31] https://www.lovesensa.rs/clanci/pro-age/kako-da-izgledate-20-godine-mlade-poznata-naucnica-otkrila-cudesan-recept-za-podmladivanje (February 29, 2020).

[32] https://www.prva.rs/zivot/zdravlje/316507/ima-55-a-izgleda-30-godina-mladje-slavna-manekenka-otkrila-tajnu-svog-izgleda-i-priznala-sta-je-izbacila-iz-ishrane (February 29, 2020).

[33] https://www.srbijadanas.com/zena/lepota/sok-natalija-ima-72-godine-zbog-ovoga-izgleda-30-godina-mlade-i-svi-joj-zavide-foto-2019-12-20 (February 29, 2020).

That is partly due to the lack of physical activity, partly due to bad, genetically modified, and hormone-saturated food, but also because of abundance, which was unknown in traditional cultures.[34] Numerous diets which are on the menu of tabloid newspapers and the Internet promise such results of dieting that they can be easily positioned in the sphere of the supernatural:

> DANISH DIET: Up to 20kg less in 13 days!,[35]
>
> It improves memory by 80%, burns fat: The strongest natural cure ever! (RECIPE),[36]
>
> Juice which will literally melt you down: Thighs and stomach from a magazine! (RECIPE),[37]
>
> YOU WILL LOSE WEIGHT OVERNIGHT, BUT REALLY! This beverage literally melts down everything you have eaten![38]

If taking care of fitness (which is an imperative of the public sphere, media, and current aesthetics) could be categorized as a beauty longing which is recognized in folkloric narratives, offers for studying foreign languages are an absolute novelty on the Internet market. The ad which offers a possibility to learn English in two weeks or several languages in a few months, which is verified by a nameless waitress from Niš[39] who has learnt thirteen languages thanks to it, has caught our attention:

Samostalno Naučila 13 Jezika

hitechno-blog.com

Banalan način učenja jezika

Konobarica iz Niša otkriva kako savladati strani jezik. Otkrij metodu!

OPEN

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[34] The obesity problem basically did not exist in one and the same Western culture during the Middle Ages, when one in ten years was a year of hunger, and food resources were limited and very moderate (cf. Petrović 2014). Therefore, gluttony was included in the noncanonical "seven deadly sins."

[35] http://malakuharica.com/danska-dijeta-za-13-dana-i-do-20-kg-manje/ (February 28, 2020).

[36] https://stil.kurir.rs/lepi-zdravi/nutricija/57275/sa-svakom-kasikom-skidate-po-1-cm-sa-struka-cudesna-smesa-koju-treba-odmah-da-probate-recept (February 28, 2020).

[37] https://stil.kurir.rs/lepi-zdravi/nutricija/66191/sok-koji-ce-vas-bukvalno-istopiti-butine--i-stomak-kao-iz-casopisa-recept (February 28, 2020).

[38] https://www.kurir.rs/zabava/zena/2612143/smrsacete-preko-noci-ali-stvarno (February 28, 2020).

[39] A city in Serbia.

The method in question is "Pingulingo" which has been developed, according to the website https://kvalitetno-ijeftino.com/pingulingo/3814/index.php, by the American university professor Aaron Stone. Another website (https://www.kurir.rs/zabava/3023689/bez-muke-ovom-cudesnom-metodom-savladaj-strani-jezik-za-2-nedelje; February 22, 2020), however, claims that the inventor of this "revolutionary" method of studying languages is "the polyglot Davor Vorgić, who speaks 23 languages fluently," with the appropriate miracle rhetoric: "Master a foreign language in 2 weeks—effortlessly—with this miraculous method!" The testimonies of "regular people" which are cited are also in the domain of the unreal: "I am at lesson 11 today, and I understand most of English programs," "Honestly, people who have learnt 500 words in the first 48 hours contacted me. Most of them started speaking freely in the new language after 1 week," and the like.

The search for the university at which the stated author works and his professional biography ends at step one, because the name Aaron Stone is simultaneously the name of a popular Canadian and American TV series, which "covers" a huge percentage of hits in the search. Fake news researchers have detected the usage of the same photographs for Aaron Stone and the authors of similar studying programs which were popular in the past ("Learnlingo"—Franz Reinmann; "Ling Fluent"/"Easy Phrases"—Leo Anders):[40]

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[40] https://fakenews.rs/2019/12/11/lazne-poliglote-godinama-reklamiraju-carobnu-metodu--za-ucenje-jezika/ (March 2, 2020).

Le multi-polyglotte de 62 ans, Leo Andres, couramment 23 langues, a présenté aux fra fameuse formule d'apprentissage des lang semaines. Elle permet en peu de temps de commencer à communiquer aisément dan étrangère. La méthode du polyglotte suédo défi lancé aux écoles de langues tradition

Déjà 75 000 français ont laissé tomber les mét traditionnelles d'apprentissage des langues in ont rejoint Leo. Vous aussi, indépendamment c de l'éducation et de la capacité, déjà 2 s verrez les visages étonnés des membres de la amis et des collègues. Quand ils entendront c parlez bien anglais, allemand ou espagnol, ils pas vous croire, que vous apprenez la langue

Poligloti 62 vjeçar që flet rrjedhshëm 23 gjuhë të huaja ka prezantuar metodën e tij të mësuarit një gjuhë të huaj në 2 javë.

Ο 62χρονος Leo Anders μιλά 23 γλώσσες και φανερώνει το μυστικό του (βίντεο)

Η νέα δεκαπενθήμερη φόρμουλα αυτόματης εκμάθησης ξένων γλωσσών του Leo Anders

Leo Anders

gjuhë të huaj në 2 javë.

Leo Anders

Multipolígota, Leo Anders el Danés de 64 años habla con soltur 20 idiomas y ha presentado a los españoles su nueva fórmula para aprende uno en tan solo un mes. Su método ya re a las academias lingüísticas.

Hello,

My name is Gregory Hughes and it's a pleasure for me to introduce Leo Anders his 2-week formula of automatic language learning to the UK. I'm really excited about it as Leo's method is groundbreaking in the field of linguistics.

For 15 years I've been running my own language school in London, where I managed to help more than 4,700 people to learn their chosen foreign language: English, French, German, Japanese, Swedish.

Pozdrav,

moje ime je Stefan Mlinarić, i imam čast da sa Aaron Stone-om Srbiji predstavim 2-nedeljnu formulu automatskog učenja stranih jezika. Jako sam uzbuđen jer je Aaron-ova metoda revolucija u lingvistici.

Već 17 godina vodim svoju školu stranih jezika, gde sam pomogao više od 2000 ljudi da nauče jezike, uključujući engleski, francuski, nemački, japanski i švedski.

The names of inventors of the miraculous methods are consequently adjusted to the market for which the ads are made: "What is common for Aaron, Franz, and Leo is that they have mastered 23 languages. That is exactly the number of languages that speaks the 'polyglot' Davor Vorgić who 'presented to the Serbs his famous 2-week formula for studying languages' last year via *Kurir* and *Pravda*.[41] Davorin Vrdoljak presented 'his famous formula' to the Croats, and Damjan Vehovarja to the Slovenians. Amazingly, all of them speak 23 languages."[42]

Ads of this type come with the generically produced information that the visitor of the website is lucky, and despite enormous demand—if they hurry and order "now"—they can get the desired product:[43]

[44]

[45]

[46]

[47]

. . . .

[41] Serbian tabloid newspapers.

[42] https://fakenews.rs/2019/12/11/lazne-poliglote-godinama-reklamiraju-carobnu-metodu--za-ucenje-jezika/ (March 2, 2020).

[43] The example is from the website: https://kvalitetno-ijeftino.com/pingulingo/3814/?utm_source=media&utm_campaign=kurir.rs_361-911-RS-20180403&utm_placement=kurir.rs&utm_creative=m0001-001&utm_keyword=zabava&utm_adposition=4%20. The time of the visit can be seen in the date of the "warning," apart from March 1 (today, Saturday, March 1, 2020), which was visited on Saturday, February 29, 2020. Leap year was apparently not taken into consideration.

[44] "WARNING! Because of an increased volume of sale daily offers are limited. Today, Thursday, February 6, 2020, we currently have the product IN STOCK, and we will send it to you within 24 hours. Hurry up and order NOW!"

[45] "WARNING! Because of an increased volume of sale daily offers are limited. Today, Saturday, February 8, 2020, we currently have the product IN STOCK, and we will send it to you within 24 hours. Hurry up and order NOW!"

[46] "WARNING! Because of an increased volume of sale daily offers are limited. Today, Saturday, February 22, 2020, we currently have the product IN STOCK, and we will send it to you within 24 hours. Hurry up and order NOW!"

[47] "WARNING! Because of an increased volume of sale daily offers are limited. Today, Saturday, March 1, 2020, we currently have the product IN STOCK, and we wil send it to you within 24 hours. Hurry up and order NOW!"

Regardless of the obvious Internet scam,[48] this example is invaluable for at least two reasons. The first is that the Internet ad platforms developed in this way indicate the modification of the old "assuring of the veracity" models, and the introduction of new strategies with the same purpose. Veracity in this particular case—and it is representative of the Internet ads of the kind—is simulated by the hypertrophy of (unverifiable) pieces of information. Instead of citing the source or witnesses known to the narrator and their audience ("And my mother told me," "My grandmother said to me," "My father told me," and the like; cf. Popović 2013: 232–233), an endless list of testimonies is given, which (over)saturates attention. The cited link provides us with eight photographs of the users with comments, four "legally" blurred e-mails of the customers, and a selection of one hundred and fifty-six typical comments on the posts, with the option to see the other 572:

[49]

Aleksandra Grdović
Interesantno i korisno!
Reply · 👍 2 · Like · Pre 1 sat

Mikulić Dejan
Naručio i ubo kad je popust ;)
Reply · 👍 2 · Like · Pre 1 sat

View 572 more

Facebook plugin

Pingulingo knjiga je zanimljiv i jednostavan način učenja engleskog jezika. Garantuje uspeh svim starosnim grupama, i savladavanje jednogodišnjeg gradiva kursa u samo 2 nedelje.* Lako se koristi i brzo daje rezultate.

Despite numerous attempts, the authors of this text did not succeed in activating either the option "View 572 more" or "Add a comment." Moreover, the last hit was "1 hour ago" by Mikulić Dejan, with the accompanying "girl next door" photograph, which basically opens up a whole set of questions

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48 FakeNews researcher Danka Mihajlović highlights that "it is exactly the same mechanism which is present … in the advertising of Puridon and Fleckosteel pills, Nutrivix weight loss pills, as well as Binatex, the platform for the trading of the binary options" (https://fakenews.rs/2019/12/11/lazne-poliglote-godinama-reklamiraju--carobnu-metodu-za-ucenje-jezika/ (March 2, 2020).

49 Aleksandra Grdović: "Interesting and useful!"
Mikulić Dejan: "Ordered and got it when it was in the sale;)"
"Pingulingo book is an interesting and simple way of learning the English language. It guarantees success to people of all ages and tackling one-year volume of course studying material in only two weeks.* It is easy to use, and you can see the results quickly."

regarding the elements of the Internet identification (by a purposely selected photograph, of someone close or unknown, transvestism, etc.). This is the case of intentionally constructed identities. "Dozens of satisfied customers have shared their experience. However, all of them have their lookalikes on webpages in different languages. Although the experience is thoroughly identical, the names are adjusted to the language areas from which they supposedly come":[50]
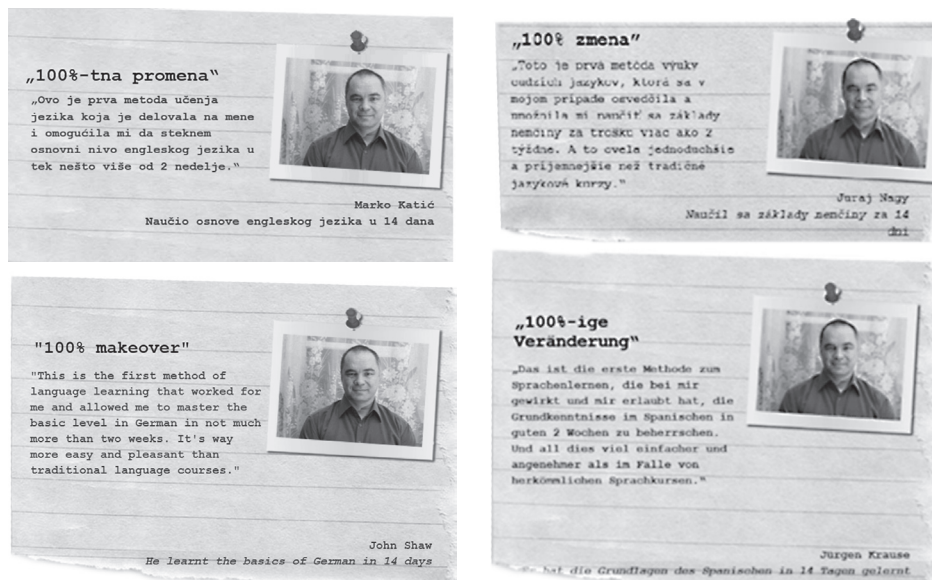
Calling upon a certain witness profile is a new narration veracity strategy. Cogency is not achieved by naming the people or toponyms familiar to the listeners in new medium and age, but by a selection of the anonymous from those social groups in which climbing the social ladder is more radical through learning languages—which speaks for the quality of the method. Simultaneously, the utopian projection of an individual excluded from social elites is activated by it, because the cited experiences "testify" to the possibility to join the elite (waitresses, divorced women,[51] students who want to go abroad, and the like, study languages—not Mensa members, university professors, banks, corporations CEOs, or reputable athletes).

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50   https://fakenews.rs/2019/12/11/lazne-poliglote-godinama-reklamiraju-carobnu-metodu-
      -za-ucenje-jezika/ (March 2, 2020).
51   "A divorced woman 'has decided to work on her accomplishments' in both Serbian and
      Polish version, but unlike 'other lovelorn abandoned women—gym, hairdo, nails', she has
      learnt three foreign languages which she speaks perfectly" (https://fakenews.rs/2019/12/11/
      lazne-poliglote-godinama-reklamiraju-carobnu-metodu-za-ucenje-jezika/; March 3, 2020).

The fact that the veracity guarantors are unfamiliar in the media and are not public figures collides directly with the traditional verification of a story. This contradictory fact that the information guarantors are unknown people actually speaks of something else. On the one hand, it speaks of the unreliability of the information, intentional scams, and identities blurring (according to Pingulingo method, Roger Federer, Brad Pitt, or Rihanna could have learnt thirteen languages, and it would be highly unlikely that a typical Serbian Internet user could check that or virtually impossible to prosecute the false information). On the other hand, a more fundamental implication is that the guarantors of information are no longer people, but the medium that shares it, regardless of who they cite as their source, which is confirmed by the comments of the people who impart healing stories: "Even when they talked about some kind of immediate experience, it was very important for the narrators to highlight how and what was stated about the cure/healer in the newspaper" (Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2007: 235).

Maps which provide a semblance of information based on a fundamental incommensurability of small and big dimensions are a new veracity technique.[52] They apparently—by actually not doing that in any way —"locate" the successful method users:

Više od 4.000 zadovoljnih kupaca u Srbiji u prošloj godini! [53]

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[52] This is one of the basic laws of logic and physics: seen from a great distance, a three--dimensional column loses its two dimensions, and it becomes a line. By the same logic, if the perspective is "high" enough, the outlines of a locality and people which the map ostensibly marks are lost. None of the red markers indicate anything or anyone.

[53] "More than 4,000 satisfied customers in Serbia last year!"

In spite of numerous strategies to convince the readership of the story's veracity, among other things—by naming the inventor, healer, and the cured—contemporary age and Internet culture are marked by a complete impersonality of the ones who proffer knowledge, health, wealth, beauty, or youth. Miracle in the new media environment has become an everyday life fact—it is available on the market, "translatable" into different languages and cultural models; the miracle merchants have taken form of unnamed internet pages and ads creators.[54]

The other reason for "the Pingulingo case" being invaluable is that the energy invested in the ad (a developed platform for a very wide European market) points at the status of knowing (English primarily, but not exclusively)[55] a language in the contemporary Western culture. Having become essentially important for the positioning on the social map and the capitalist imperative for a good salary,[56] that knowledge has become significant enough to activate the "miracle" rhetoric. The language knowledge has positioned itself at the very top of the axiological ladder and the modern society pragma. Together with youth, beauty, and fitness, it forms the canon of "the desirablility" and the foundation of a tremendous industry and franchise.

Health is positioned in the narrative focus by a different logic—as an essentially important category at all times and in all societies, most directly connected to life and death, which is testified by the traditional stand sublimed in the proverb: "A healthy man has a thousand worries, an ill man—only one." When confronted with pain, helplessness, and potential death, people resort to hope which is usually grounded in some form of a miracle.

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[54] The practice was previously inaugurated by tabloids and magazines, partly by TV production, but still at a much smaller scale than the latter Internet: "After the 1990 all the abovementioned phenomena became even more widespread, and, what is more important, they started to become commercialized. The free market opened the doors for healing businesses too. Private healers and agencies specialized in this emerged" (Radulović 2019: 180).

[55] "Knowing no foreign language = no job opportunities. I learnt French and everything has changed. I got a huge promotion at work and now I am cooperating closely with our branch in Paris. My salary is twice as high and finally I can afford a more comfortable life"—Damian Abramowski, London (https://eduspaceonline.com/44/lf-edu/) (compare the footnote below).

[56] "Not knowing a language = lack of career advancement prospects. I have learnt English and everything has changed. I have progressed considerably at work, and I am closely cooperating with our London office now. My salary has almost doubled, and I can finally afford a comfortable living"—Vladimir Cindrić, Niš (https://kvalitetno-ijeftino.com/pingulingo/3814/index.php; March 3, 2020).

Despite the modern man's trust in science and institutional medicine, people turn to alternative forms of treatment and practices which deal with the otherworldly in borderline situations:

> The miraculous, supernatural, power, and knowledge which transcend the borders of the real (no matter whether they come from the supernatural features of the healer, from tradition, or from an intensive relationship with nature, which "contains everything") particularly stand out in contrast with the knowledge of our age, mainly designated as scientific, regardless of the domain of science. It is, by and large, the power and powerlessness opposition; empathy and understanding versus cold-heartedness and lack of understanding; unacknowledged, but healing and the scientifically accepted, but powerless in that case. (Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2007: 239)

Authentic and fictional experiences are of vital importance in decision-making:

> Trust in the personally seen and experienced, the feeling of relief, the closeness of the miracle experience and healing, versus the confidence in sense, meet, confront, and finally come to terms finding a new place on the Internet pages. … Just like the personal statements which can be found on the Internet these days, people react better to the experienced in literature than to the anonymous scientific facts. (Sikimić 2019: 84)

That ultimately explains the audience's trust and confidence in the powers of healers to manipulate life and death, which is accompanied by the formulae of "birth" and "resurrection" (patients are "re-born," "alive and kicking once again," "as good as new," the teaching of a healer "brings life back," a child cured from tumor refers to the healer as "the savior," a cured patient claims, "Stevo has brought me back to life," etc.; Pešikan-Ljuštanović 2007: 238). Notwithstanding that rhetoric, bringing back to life and metamorphosis are the only traditional miracles that are not offered on the Internet market, although transforming a woman into a bird is not less likely than completely regenerated cartilage in seven days. This is the place at which—humorously said and referring to the derived and shifted meaning of the lexeme *miracle*[57]—the miraculous experience moves from the emic to the etic perspective.

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[57] Lexemes "miracle" and "wonder" are derived from the same lexical root in Serbian.

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THE FOX, THE DONKEY, AND THE MAGIC POT: ENCHANTMENTS AND DISENCHANTMENTS IN ARGENTINIAN FOLKTALES

Abstract: The tension between disenchantment and re-enchantment is a distinctive feature of contemporary culture. It represents the return to the supernatural as the counterpart of the secularization of the (post)modern world. This article will deal with a parodic use of enchantment in the repertoire of traditional folktales of an Argentinian vernacular narrator, in comparison to re-enchantment in contemporary advertising discourse structured around the same folk narrative patterns.

Keywords: Argentinian folktales, supernatural, secularization, enchantment

1. INTRODUCTION

When revisiting Plato's works, Havelock (1963) stresses the relevance of orality in contemporary media culture which is connected with the creation of social identity. The study of enchantments dealing with oral culture and their re-semantization in messages transmitted by the media in virtual advertising are the focus of this paper, whose aim is to discuss how disenchantment and re-enchantment can not only shape the repertoire of folk narrators but also reframe new genres, as a parallel process of the transformation of traditional ones.

To achieve this goal, the repertoire of the Argentinean folk narrator Amalia Vargas is used: her repertoire includes two versions orally transmitted by her mother: *The Fox and the Magic Pot* and *Pedro Urdimal* [Peter the Trickster] *and the Donkey that Poops Silver*—both of them, thematically connected with the type of the Aarne-Thompson-Uther International Tale Type Index of Folktales (ATU) number 1539, *Cleverness*

and Gullibility. Moreover, an intertextual comparison with a cosmogonic tale of the vernacular narrator Horacio Castro who belongs to the Omawaca culture of the same Andean zone where Vargas was born, and with the Salamanca local rite as referred to by another vernacular narrator, Marino Córdoba, is proposed. Such comparison is oriented at examining the blend of different folklore genres, interspersed with belief narratives. The aim is to point out the relevance of belief narratives in reframing folklore genres and to highlight their flexible boundaries, as well as the gap between ritual and parodic discourse. The author's intention is to identify the same folk narrative patterns of Vargas's repertoire in contemporary discursive genres, such as advertisements, in which the "matrix" of *The Magic Pot*, mixed with a pseudoscientific discourse, is used as a rhetoric argumentative strategy aimed to convince the potential customers to buy a "bewitched pot." This comparison tends to show to what extent traditional and contemporary discourses are closely intertwined, in a dynamic between dis-enchantments and re-enchantments.

1.1. Disenchantment and Parodic Discourse in Amalia Vargas's Repertoire

Amalia Vargas is a vernacular narrator, born in Ciudad Perico, in the Argentinian province of Jujuy, located in the Andean zone of northwestern Argentina, next to the Omawaca creek. Having finished university studies of folklore and visual arts, she presents herself as a member of the Quechua-Aymara community. Her repertoire comprises of the aforesaid two versions, narrated in the city of Buenos Aires, in March 2020, in a performative display in which she used corporal resources to illustrate the narrative discourse.

These versions show two alternative itineraries of the same narrative matrix, whose texture highlights the hallmark of her personal style, expressing the social beliefs of her own community as well. In the conversation in which she inserted both narratives, Vargas emphasized the relevance of the gender perspective. She thus constructed the versions as warning discourses transmitted by her mother in order to prevent women from the possibility of falling for the deceptions of male tricksters.

1.2. The Narrative Texts

The Fox and the Magic Pot

Maria: Hi, Amalia, could you please tell me the tale of the fox? But first introduce yourself …

Amalia: I am Amalia Vargas, I am Quechua from the Chibcha nation, from the border with Bolivia, from the mountains. I am a scholar, I teach Folk Dance and Vernacular Cultures at the university level.

Well, I'm going to tell you a story my mom told me. The protagonist is John the fox and … and he is one of the most mischievous animals, right? He is a trickster; he is the one who always makes fun of people.

Hey, my mom says that, in the past, the fox was always dressed in brown, and that he was always wearing a brown scarf, and a little brown hat.

So … uh … Because, once upon a time, in past times, some people were men during the day, but in the evening and at night, they became animals.

So, uh … This fox was a man, whose job was to be a salesman, he sold all kinds of stuff, right?

For instance, he sold pots.

And it is said that one day, he was going to sell pots, so he dug a hole in the ground, in order to put the embers there.

So, he said: "Now, I'm going to put the embers into a hole, into the soil, in order to hide the embers, and then I'm going to pour water into the pot. Firstly, I'm going to heat the water, and then I'll put the pot I want to sell right over the embers, but the embers will remain hidden in the soil! And so, people won't realize that, right?

[It's] like putting this here, but it's hot down below, like this. [Amalia Vargas has kept a kettle containing hot water on the table, and now she puts the dish down.]

And then the water will boil, thanks to the hidden embers, but people will think that the pot is a magic one.

So, when people come, I'm going to do like this … eeh … I'm going to speak out loud, even to shout, so that they will all come, and I'm going to sell them the pot as the magic one."

He did so, and he also put a set of clay pots stacked one on top of the other, and then he went to the fair.

Once he arrived there, he started saying to the people, in the fair: "Come on, come, and see this, come on! Here, I have a pot that doesn't need firewood, you don't have to fetch water from the river any more, you won't have to walk around the mountains, and you won't have to light the fire! This pot is magical; you just have to pour the water into the pot and then start walking around, in small circles!"

So … uh … the fox kept on saying: "Well, let the people touch the pot, so that they can see that the water is hot, and that it is boiling, and in that way, they will believe that the pot is a magic one, and that it does not need firewood!"

And, so, he started saying: "Hirve, ollita; kirpe, ollita! Hirve, ollita; kirpe, ollita!"

That was like a sort of charm.

And then he did a few laps and, in a little while, smoke and bubbles began to come out, right?

And then the water heated up. [The narrator moves in circles around an imaginary object.]

So, all the people wanted to buy the pot, and one person bought it, because they were all saying: "Oops, we won't have to buy any more wood, we will not have to go to fetch firewood in the forests, in the mountains!"

So, what did this person, the customer, do?

When he arrived home, he put the pot on the floor, and he began saying: "Boil, pot; kirpe, ollita!"—just going around; like a fool.

But nothing! The pot remained cold, just as it was.

And the water remained also cold, and that was all.

And that was the trick. That was the mockery the fox did, right? Since he was a person during the day, a person who made fun of people, selling those things, right? Mocking people.

And that the people could realize that it was the fox, because he was always wearing his brown scarf.

Maria: Wow, it's beautiful!

The Donkey that Poops Silver

That was one of the stories my mother told.

The other is a similar one, and the title is: "The donkey that poops silver."

The protagonist of this story is the trickster Pedro Urdimal, and the full title is "Pedro Urdimal and the donkey that poops money, the donkey that poops silver."

It is well-known that Pedro Urdimal is a famous trickster, like the fox.

And that, well, he is also a merchant, a merchant who takes advantage of people, going from one village to another, in a quest of adventures.

And it is also said that he had a donkey, a single donkey.

So, once, he said: "What am I going to do with this donkey, which is useless?"

So, he decided: "Oh, well! I am going to sell it, and I am going to tell people that it is a magic donkey that poops money!"

Here, in the Quechua communities, one of our divinities is the Ekeko, the divinity of wealth …

So, Pedro Urdimal put some silver in the ass of the donkey, he put various bills, as well as silver coins.

And then, he went to the fair, to sell the donkey.

Here, in my town, in northwestern Argentina, in the zone of the Andes, there are many fairs where people go to buy and sell goods.

So, he went to the fair, and he said: "Well, here I have a donkey, a donkey for sale! This donkey is for the people who really need it! I have to travel abroad, so I will not need this donkey anymore! I ought to sell it! But this donkey is going to make you a millionaire!" he said to each one of the customers. "You just have to turn around, in circles, and you just have to tell the donkey to poop money, and he will do so!"

In our culture, the circular movement is very important … There are always circles.

"So, you just have to say: 'Little donkey, please, give me money! Little donkey, please, poop money!', and the donkey will do so. You must just turn around in circles, and then you must touch the donkey's tail, and, in this way, the donkey will poop silver."

Then, Pedro Urdimal turned around, walking in circles around the donkey, and he asked the donkey to poop money. [The narrator waves her hands from one side to another, and she starts moving in small circles, to imitate the movement of the donkey's owner.]

While he was saying these words, Pedro Urdimal began spinning and spinning, and he also began moving the donkey's tail. And he also gave the donkey some grass to eat.

And then, after a while, the donkey began dropping money, along with silver coins; he began dropping silver mixed up with dung.

So, after having seen that, one man bought the donkey, and he took it home. As soon as he arrived home, this man who bought the donkey began giving some grass to the animal, and then he said: "Well, I'm going to turn around, so that the donkey can give me money!"

And he fed the animal; he gave the donkey a lot of grass to eat.

And then, he began saying: "Little donkey, please, poop money! Little donkey, please poop money! Nice donkey, poop silver [coins]!"

"But the donkey, what was it going to poop? Only dung, just that!" my mother said.

And my mom was always laughing, because … because she was surprised: "How? How can donkey poop money? Dung, just that! No, it won't poop any money!"

My mom was laughing because … because she was quite surprised.

She actually remained surprised, just thinking that it's impossible for a donkey to poop money, to poop silver.

2. ONE MATRIX, TWO NARRATIVE ITINERARIES

2.1. Tale Types and Narrative Matrices

As aforesaid, these two versions can be considered different itineraries of the same "matrix." Both of them are structured according to the same pattern, standardized diachronically in an oral tradition process which also includes scriptural registrations. Each narrative pattern or "matrix," comprising of thematic, compositional, and stylistic features stabilized along the diachronic course of oral tradition, is updated at each new narrative situation (Palleiro 2004: 2018). The concept of "folk narrative matrix," rooted in Bakhtin's (1982) characterization of discursive genres, adds to the thematic features of the ATU typology, structural and stylistic ones. Thus, the transformation of each matrix in different contexts is the basic constructive process or "genesis" of the folktale. Such transformation of the matrix makes room for different itineraries in diverse cultural environments, by means of changing details. It is worth pointing out that Mukarovsky (1977) deems "details" as basic semantic units in folk art, and he describes the structure of folk message as a juxtaposed addition of heterogeneous semic nuclei. These alternative itineraries are analogous to the disseminative structure of a virtual hypertext, defined by Nelson (1992) as a flexible combination of textual blocks, freely set by the user of a virtual system (Palleiro 2004). In this way, folk narrative matrices act as pre-textual models stored in the living memory of each narrator, serving as nodes of dissemination of alternative itineraries in diverse contexts, which mirror the flexible connections of oral memory (Palleiro 2004; 2018).

As mentioned, the semantic content of this matrix shares, in both itineraries, some thematic features with the ATU and AaTh tale types No. 1539, *Cleverness and Gullibility*, whose description is the following:

> ATU 1539: Three students (butchers, rascals) convince a farmer (fool, trickster) that his cow (donkey, mule, ox) is a goat (hen, donkey) so he sells the animal cheaply. … In variants … the farmer puts coins in the anus of his donkey (horse, cow) or mixes them with its dung. He sells the animal as a gold-producer. … In some versions, the farmer sells his adversaries supposedly wonderful objects, e.g. … a pot that cooks by itself. … When they try to use it, they discover the trick.

> AaTh 1539: The youth sells pseudomagic objects and animals. … The self-cooking pot. The gold-dropping horse. [my underlining]

These thematic topics do not refer to the narratives classified in the universal indices as "animal tales" (types 1–299), but to the ATU category of "Anecdotes and Jokes/Tales About a Man" (types 1525–1724). Since the matrix includes a parody of magic objects, it also presents thematic elements in common with the ATU and Aarne-Thompson (AaTh)'s types classified as "Tales of Magic" (types 300–749): ATU and AaTh 563 (ATU—*The Table, the Donkey, and the Stick*, AaTh—*The Table, the Ass, and the Stick*), ATU and AaTh 564 (ATU—*The Magic Providing Purse*, AaTh—*The Magic Providing Purse and Out, Boy, Out of the Sack!*); ATU and AaTh 565—*The Magic Mill*; as well as ATU and AaTh 715 A (ATU—*The Wonderful Rooster*, AaTh—*The Wonderful Cock*).[1]

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[1] The thematic description of these tale types is the following:
1. ATU 563: "A (poor) man receives from a supernatural being (God, devil, wind) a table that covers itself with food (tablecloth, etc.). On his way home he stays in an inn. … The innkeeper cheats him by exchanging the magic table (cloth) with an ordinary one. After the poor man arrives home the table does not have any magic power, so he goes back to the giver and complains. The giver gives him a gold-dropping animal (donkey), hen, etc. The same thing happens again" (my underlining).
AaTh 563: "The stick compels the treacherous host of the inn to give back the table and the ass."
2. ATU 564: "A supernatural being (devil, spirits, fortune, frost, wind) gives a poor man an object (knapsack, sack, purse, pot, box) that supplies him with unlimited food. The man takes it home to his family. A rich man (brother, neighbor) buys (borrows, steals) the magic object, and soon the poor man is hungry again."
AaTh 564: "The rich neighbor steals the magic objects. By means of the sack the hero compels the return of the purse."
3. ATU 565—*The Magic Mill*: "A poor man receives a ham from his rich brother (the devil) who tells him to 'go to the devil' with it. An old man directs him to the devil, where he exchanges his ham for a mill that grinds anything its owner wishes (meal, salt, other food, a pot that fills itself with porridge). … The variants of the types 563, 564 and 565 are often mixed with each other or they are not clearly differentiated" (ATU I: 334) (my underlining).
AaTh 565: "Grinds an enormous amount of meal or salt when the man who has stolen it cannot stop it. I. The magic mill (pot): The hero or heroine receives a) a magic pot that fills itself with porridge" (my underlining).
4. ATU 715A: "An old couple (old man, old woman) have a rooster and a hen. The rooster lays no eggs and is driven away. He mocks the king and is sentenced to be drowned, but instead drinks all the water. He is supposed to be roasted but extinguishes the fire with the water he has drunk. He is locked in the treasury and swallows all the money. Back home he defecates the money /B 103.1) onto a sheet (for the old man). The old woman sends her hen to do the same, but the animal only produces dung instead of money" (my underlining).
AaTh 715A: "An old couple have a cock and a hen; the cock flies to the rich man's manor and cries: "Cock-a-doodle-doo, I will eat you!" the man orders it to be thrown into the stable. It pecks open the horse's heads (eyes); when thrown into the well, it cries: "Buttocks, swallow the water!"; finally thrown into the strong-box, bids couple

In the first version, the thematic features correspond to the motif K 112.1 from Thompson's index, *A pot that cooks by itself*. The combination of different types, motifs, topics, and categories shows the relativity of all the typological classifications, as well as the flexible itineraries of folk narrative matrices. Vargas herself recognized similar elements dealing with enchantments in both narrative itineraries of her repertoire in terms of thematic development, and provided a metapragmatic classification of the formulae tales as "charms" as well. Similar versions can also be found in the Hispanic, Galician, and Catalonian indexes of Boggs, Noia Campos, and Oriol-Pujol, revealing the presence of the same tale types in the Iberian peninsula.[2] The presence of this matrix in European indexes reveals the blend of Hispanic cultural elements with the vernacular ones in Vargas's repertoire. In fact, this narrative pattern is bound to European cultural heritage, mixed with the elements of indigenous Latin American traditions such as the Quechua one, which re-semanticizes it according to the vernacular cultural values. One of these cultural values deals with warning against deception in a context in which, on the one hand, trickery is an important ability to survive in difficult contexts, and, on the other hand, the deception is linked with a tension between essence and appearance, which is part of the local worldview according to which men and animals, and good and evil are not antagonistic but complementary aspects of daily life.

Along with these thematic features associated with ATU and AaTh 1539—as well as with ATU and AaTh 563, 564, 565, and 715A—the matrix presents a structural organization based on a unique macrosequence divided in two episodes (the one of the planning the deception and the one of consummating it), as well as a rhetorical construction based on the

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spread a sheet <u>and casts out the money</u>; the hen tries to do likewise <u>but gets dung in place of money"</u> (my underlining).

[2] Such thematic classification is included in Hispanic, Catalonian, Galician, and Portuguese indexes as well, such as Boggs (No. 1539—*Joke and Anecdote. Man. Clever*); Oriol y Pujol (Catalonian type 1539—*Cleverness and Gullibility*: "<u>A poor boy takes advantage of a rich neighbour's greed. He makes him believe that he has animals and things which are magic: a donkey that excretes ounces of gold … a stick that makes a pot boil. …</u>The rich man buys them from him, but when he tries to imitate the poor man's actions, he is unsuccessful" (my underlining)); Noia Campos (Galician type No. 1539—*Cleverness and Gullibility*: *Habelencia e simpleza*); Cardigos y Correia (Portuguese type No. 1539—*A esperteza e a credulidade*: *Um rapaz vende objectos e animais pseudo-mágicos*). A textual fixation of this matrix can be found in the collection of folk tales of the brothers Grimm with number 103, which includes the story *The Magic Porridge Pot* of the Germanic tradition.

parodic use of a charm. The axis of this thematic, structural, and rhetorical pattern is connected with trickery used to sell pseudomagic objects and with the antithetical tension between appearance and essence. These thematic, structural, and stylistic elements that constitute the narrative matrix are bifurcated in this repertoire into two different itineraries, with different but analogous protagonists—the fox in the first one; the trickster Pedro Urdimal in the second—and with a similar setting whose location is a vernacular fair of the Argentinian northwest. There is a substitution of the object from one version to another one as well: an animal (donkey) in the first narrative, a magic pot in the second one. As aforesaid, these changing details provoke a branching of the same narrative matrix into different itineraries in the repertoire. The folk repertoire is deemed as the set of tales stored in the collective memory of a certain community and in the individual memory of the folk narrator, aesthetically reframed with a personal style which is the hallmark of his/her authorship of discourse (Bauman 2004; Palleiro 2006). This reframing procedure, which consists of an individual poetic work of selection and combination of traditional themes, as well as structural and rhetoric forms that constitute the narrative knowledge of a social group, can be identified in Vargas's repertoire which shows her personal hallmark of reframing collective patterns transmitted by her mother.

2.2. "The Fox and the Magic Pot"

The semantic content of this narrative includes the topic of the metamorphoses of animals, linked to deception, accomplished in this case by the fox which is said to be transformed into a man during the day. The main discursive strategy is the personification of the fox who is presented, in his diurnal transformation, as a salesman through a descriptive rhetorical strategy. Such description, anchored in the clothing—with a predominance of the chromatic rhetoric that establishes an analogy between the brown color of the fox's head, the brown hat, the brown tail, and the brown scarf— gives rise to the incorporation of the simultaneous dimension of space in the sequential development of the narrative actions. Hence, the narrator presents the topic of deception as closely linked to the tension between the essence and appearance, which is the axis of the matrix.

In this version, the deception consists in a sale of a pot that is said to have the magical power of boiling by itself without any fire, with the sole invocation of this object, accompanied by the order to boil. In this way, the protagonist manages to sell the pot, having previously lit the fire and hidden

the embers under the ground. The focus of the thematic content of the matrix is the trick and the disguise. In a structural level, the narrative is articulated as an independent episode of a series of deceptions, each one organized around a single macrosequence, divided, like in the following version, into two sequences: the one of the preparation of the trick, and the one of the accomplishment of the deception. The most relevant stylistic resource is the antithesis between the true properties of such a pot and those enunciated by its owner, along with the invocation of the pot.

2.2.1. Charms, Parody, and Incantation

The invocation enhances, in a parodic way, the performative force of language, which is the basis of charms and magic formulae. The formula used in this case is: "Boil, pot; kirpe, ollita!" ("¡Hirve, ollita; kirpe, ollita!"), emphasized by the duplication of the same thematic content in two different linguistic codes, Spanish and vernacular Quechua language. The same structure is included in the following version, in which the formula "Little donkey, please poop money! Little donkey, please poop silver!" ("¡Burrito, cagá platita!, Burrito, cagá platita!") comprises of the replication of similar words as well. Both formulae contain, as aforesaid, an invocation of a magic object (the pot or the donkey) personified as receivers, that is to say, as second persons that act as addressees of the formulaic message, typical of the magic function of language as described by Jakobson (1964). The syntactic and lexical construction is, thus, based on a sequential repetition of words and structures, fixed in a formulaic configuration.

Sequential repetition of words and actions with a performative effect is a distinctive feature of ritual discourse as well (Rappaport 1992). The power of words in incantations, underlined by Vargas herself in a metapragmatic clause ("That was like a sort of charm"), consists of an ensemble of ritual procedures including gestures such as going round in circles or holding the tail of an animal, which the narrator achieves in a verbal and corporal performance, in order to provoke the action of the donkey to drop or the pot to boil. Such corporal movements are, along with the intonation of the repetitive formulae, essential for the performative efficacy of the message. Words intensify the request to the object contained in the charm as linguistic tools, consisting both of syntactic and semantic strategies, displayed with rhetorical procedures such as repetitions and invocations, with the mediation of supernatural forces (Pócs 1999) attributed to personified objects, such as the pot, or animals, such as the donkey. All these strategies can be identified in both versions of this repertoire, directed at the discursive construction

of a parodic charm. The development of narrative action generated by this formula is indeed parodic since, instead of accomplishing the requested act and demonstrating the efficiency of the formulaic words to bring wealth to the owner, the possessor of the pseudomagic object is cheated every time. In this way, the formula has not only a stylistic but also a structural function in the narrative plot. Actually, in both versions, formulae act as leitmotifs with the power of causing the main actions of the narrative sequence. The axis is the false power of magic objects to transform the hard daily reality of vernacular people who go to the fair to buy goods.

Among the elements of incantation, Bozóky (2003) lists the naming of the object of the charm (the pot or the donkey), the conjuration (the command of boiling or pooping money), the nomination of the helping powers (such as the donkey), and the dramatization connected in this example with the acting out of the scene performed by the possessor of these false magic objects. Like Pócs, Bozóky also calls attention to the vocal effects of incantations—rhythmical forms, rhymes, alliteration, repetition, anaphora, "stream of words"—such as the ones used here, even in Quechua languages. Connected with the ironic use of formulae, other discursive strategies are comic resources such as irony, bordering on mockery, and the description of the protagonist's appearance, which acquires special importance, since it is associated with the topic of metamorphosis. Descriptions and allusions to the geographic landscape of "the mountains" and to the cultural landscape of local beliefs contextualize the folk matrix in the Argentinian northwest, creating an effect of reality. Other relevant discursive strategy is the dialogical counterpoint, enhanced by gestures, which gives a theatrical nuance to the narrative action.

Both versions, whose climax is deception, are presented as argumentative examples of a series of scams accomplished through trickery. The narrative matrix acts as a pre-text for different itineraries, enriched by intertextual connections.

2.2.2. The Fox as a Mythical Animal: An Intertextual Connection

In northwestern Argentinian vernacular cultures, the fox is an emblematic animal, linked with the indigenous beliefs in the Quechua earthly divinity Pachamama. As anticipated, in animal tales, the main rhetorical strategy is the personification of different animals of the local fauna, according to which they can think and speak. This personification is connected with local worldviews, such as the one of the Quechua culture in which the fox is considered a demiurge, that is to say, an intermediary

between the world of man and the realm of the supernatural that it embodies and represents. This worldview is based on a strong connection between the human and supernatural semantic domains.

The demiurgic role of the fox is also mentioned in mythical narratives such as the one entitled *The Fox, the First of All the Animals* narrated in 2002 by Horacio Castro, who belongs to the indigenous culture of the Omawacas. The action takes place "long ago," in the days of yore, which is a distinctive feature of mythical discourse. In this narrative, recorded from this vernacular narrator, aged over 40, native to the same zone of Jujuy where Amalia Vargas was born, the fox has been presented as a demiurgic animal. The narrative plot has been located in the very moment of the creation of the world by the Pachamama, a goddess identified with Mother Earth, who gave rise to all the living beings. According to this cosmogonic tale, in the beginning, the Pachamama, who created the sun, the moon, and all the living creatures, also created the fox, which was "the main, the cutest, the largest, the dominant animal" as well as "the smartest of all," since the Pachamama had given him all the qualities. Therefore, the other animals complained to her, and she gradually removed different attributes from the fox, to distribute them among other animals:

> I'll tell you what happened long ago … in times of the creator of everything, the goddess Pachamama. … It is said that a long, long time ago, the Pachamama created everything. … She created the sun, with the fire she took from inside her. … She created the stars and the moon and the snow on the hills. … She created the water, she created everything. … And she created all the animals, in the beginning. And the cutest, the dominant animal was the fox … and all the other animals were smaller than it. … Well, so the Pachamama decided to give to the other animals some of the attributes that the fox had more than enough, because, of course, the fox was the only to fly, the only to swim, the only to run …

In this way, birds began to fly, fish began to swim, and so on. The fox was still the first of all the animals because it preserved its intelligence, but, at last, the Pachamama restricted this privilege of the fox, and gave a part of it to "the last one," "an ugly monkey" which turned out to be "man":

> Well, the fox was not worried much, because it had still its intelligence, while the others did not. After all, the fox was still cute. It was thin, yes it was, but it was still so cute, and besides, it was the smartest of all as well. … But at last, an ugly monkey, which was the last of all, came to ask the

Pachamama to give something to it. … And this monkey was the last one, the ugliest one … this ugly monkey, the last one, this was man, the ugliest of all the animals. But the Pachamama had compassion, she was full of mercy towards this ugly monkey, but she had no more gifts, so … What did she take away from the fox? She took away its intelligence, and she gave it to man …

Since then, the cunning fox has been compelled to defend itself against the danger provoked by man, who began to damage Nature:

But man who was the last of all, the one who was the unhappiest of all, in this way became the one who dominated everything, the one who gradually subdued all.

And the poor fox was left with less intelligence, and it got into trouble with man who began destroying Nature. So, in this way, the fox was forced to trickery and to deceit in order to survive, it was compelled to take advantage of some actions achieved by man, who began destroying Nature.

So the fox remained still cunning, still cute, but it was forced to survive in a world commanded by man.

The point of this tale, connected with the worldview of Omawaca vernacular culture, is the cosmogonic reference to the act of creating the world undertaken by the Pachamama. From the moment in which this earthly divinity gave the main part of intelligence to man, as the narrative explains, the fox "was forced to trickery and deceit in order to survive." In Castro's narrative, framed within the collective memory of the Omawaca culture, the fox has been thus presented as a metaphorical expression of the cultural identity of this community, whose members, as the fox, struggle to survive in a space threatened by men who do not care about Nature.

To summarize, *The Fox, the First of All the Animals* is an etiological narrative that explains the origin of intelligence and the penchant for trickery of the fox, linked with the original distribution of the "gifts" by the Pachamama. In the same way as Vargas did in her narrative, Castro presented a cultural landscape of the Argentinian northwest in his discourse, textualized in an animal folktale as well. In this textual space, he combined legendary and mythical speech, in an intertwining with the fictional discourse that shows the textual blend of different folklore genres, which can be found in Vargas's repertoire as well.

This intertextual comparison shows the connection of animal tales regarding the fox with the narratives of Vargas's repertoire, which includes

allusions to man as an anthropomorphic transformation of the fox. Both Castro and Vargas underline the close relationship between animal and human semantic domains, which is one of the distinctive features of the northwestern Argentinian vernacular cultures.

As anticipated, the ability to survive by trickery is also the main topic of the following version, "The Donkey that Poops Silver," in which the narrator also enhances the performative force of discourse in a parodic use of the magic function of language (Jakobson 1964).

2.3. "The Donkey that Poops Silver"

As anticipated, the protagonist of this version is the vernacular trickster Pedro Urdimal, who is compared by the narrator herself with the fox insofar as his distinctive feature is the cunning ability to deceive. The thematic axis is the deception carried out by Pedro Urdimal (Urdemal or Ordimán, in its different vernacular variants) who, in order to get rid of a donkey and take advantage of its sale, places money in its anus, so that the animal would defecate it together with dung. In this way, he would be able to sell it in the market as a magic donkey "that poops money." This thematic topic gives rise, in the rhetorical level, to the antithesis between "dung" and "silver," linked to the aforesaid parodic formulaic phrase: "¡Burrito, cagá platita!" ["Little donkey, poop silver!"], enhanced by the ironic diminutive, which is the axis of the parody. The protagonist manages to consummate his deception, and the person who buys the donkey, once at home, realizes that the animal does not defecate money but only dung. Regarding the structural organization, there is also a bipartition in two episodes here. The first one has as its axis the preparatory action of placing the bills in the donkey's anus and the second, the one of selling it and consummating the deception. In a rhetorical level, there is an antithetical tension between valuable issues such as money and disposable items such as donkey droppings. Such antithesis is linked to the contrast between the essence and appearance, which is the axis of both versions of Vargas's repertoire. There is a parodic use of formulaic enchantments too. Like in the previous section, in which there was an invocation of a personified object, "the magic pot," this expression is also associated with the magical function of language, used ironically as a supposed performative formula, which accomplishes actions through words. Also noteworthy are the allusion to eschatological elements such as donkey excrement, which provokes a comic effect, and the description of the natural and cultural landscape such as the "fairs," enhanced by the use of

spatial deictics ("here"). This contextualization is reinforced by the allusion to vernacular beliefs, such as the one referring to the Ekeko, the vernacular divinity of abundance, belonging to the local cultural landscape. The corporal resources such as circular movements are also contextualization strategies, since they are associated with the ritual value of the circular movement, as a cosmogonic metaphor of the cycles of life in the Andean culture, enhanced by the narrator herself.

As abovementioned, the hallmark of Vargas's repertoire is the polyphonic style, along with the aforesaid use of gestures and body movements, as well as the parody of the magical function. This stamp of her personal style is also reflected in other discursive strategies such as the accumulative use of exclamations and interrogations, as well as in the polysynthetic accumulation of connectors in the initial position, with an emphatic value. All these resources add an affective nuance to the narrative discourse, close to the theatrical performance, also characterized by the conative style in addressing the audience.

2.3.1. Fictional and Ritual Discourse: Intertextual Connections

An intertextual comparison between the antithesis of "silver" and "donkey dung" of Vargas's version and an analogous contraposition linked to the transformations that take place during the Salamanca ritual of the Andean Quechua culture can be made. The development of this rite has been referred to in an explanatory narrative by the vernacular craftsman and narrator Marino Córdoba in 1987, in an interview that took place in the northwestern Argentinian province of La Rioja, in the same cultural zone to which the narrators Vargas and Castro belong. Cordoba is the author of a set of ceramic statuettes regarding the "Salamanca" rite, in which the deal with the devil is celebrated. The distinctive feature of this rite, as referred by Cordoba (in Palleiro 2016: 54–58) is actually the metamorphosis of nice, good, rich, or tasty elements into waste or garbage. One of these transformations is, precisely, the change of tasty food into "donkey dung." In the sequential development of the rite, the narrator interspersed a local "case," almost a memorate, referring to the transformation of an exquisite delicacy into "donkey dung," similar to the one alluded to in Vargas's version. Such similarity shows to what extent the contrast between the rich silver coins and the donkey dung has ritual connotations in the northwestern Argentinian culture. Another connection of this narrative with local worships and beliefs is the abovementioned Vargas's allusion to "the Ekeko," the divinity of abundance of the Quechua-Aymara culture, which the narrator herself links

with the thematic axis of the narrative, referring to the protagonist's skills to become wealthy. The abovementioned allusion to circularity, pointed out in the narrator's discourse ("It is always turning around, always circular"), is close to ritual discourse. Actually, in a scientific contribution, Vargas herself pointed out the relevance of the Quechua Mullu or circularity in rites, dances, and ceremonies of the Andean communities of the Argentinian northwest to which she belongs (Vargas and Mendoza Salazar in Palleiro 2019: 205–214). All these intertextual connections reveal the re-semantization of folk narrative matrices, due to vernacular beliefs.

2.4. A Genealogy of Narratives: from John the Fox to Pedro Urdimal

A relevant feature of Vargas's repertoire is reported speech, introduced by the declarative phrase "It says" in the initial position, through which the narrator inscribes her own narrative in a discursive genealogy. By means of this rhetoric strategy, Vargas updates the voice of her elders and, specifically, the one of her mother, whom she explicitly names as the previous narrator of this repertoire. In this regard, the narrator adds to the second narrative a final coda, related to the communicative situation in which she heard the story from her mother for the first time, and also intersperses a metanarrative reference enhancing the relevance of this oral source. It is worth noticing that, since both narratives transmitted by her mother, as a member of a vernacular matriarchal community, to the daughter are connected with trickery and deception, and since both tricks are made by male protagonists, these narratives can be considered as cautionary messages against the danger that deceptive men may cause to gullible people, especially women. Moreover, in the metanarrative clause, Vargas expresses her intention of updating traditional knowledge in a narrative format, with the awareness that such knowledge is part of a common cultural heritage worthy of being known and communicated. Consequently, the cumulative reiteration of declarative verbs in initial position, characteristic of reported speech, serves as an argumentative strategy as well, directed at legitimating the individual voice of the narrator with the polyphonic endorsement of a whole community.

To sum up, the folktales of Vargas's repertoire include a parodic use of enchantments in narratives that may be classified as "jokes" according to the ATU classification parameters. Such enchantments are pronounced as discursive formulae dealing with the magic function of language, directed at obtaining performative results. This performative speech involves not

only verbal discourse but also corporality. In spite of this ATU classification as tale types, the texture of the narrative discourse shows an intertextual blend of different folklore genres, dealing not only with fictional discourse but also with rituals and belief narratives. The parodic use of enchantments of Vargas's oral repertoire can be considered as a warning advice to protect the addressees from trickery, and, from a gendered perspective, this warning message is mainly addressed to women, since they are more likely to buy "magic" pots as the one offered in the advertisement discourse which will be dealt with in the following section.

3. FROM "THE MAGIC POT" TO "THE BEWITCHED POT": FOLK NARRATIVE PATTERNS IN ADVERTISEMENT DISCOURSE

In this section, the focus will be on a "pseudoscientific" advertisement circulating nowadays on the Internet, whose title is "Thermic pots or bewitched pots: a simple and efficient way of reducing expenses when cooking." Such an advertisement, presented in the framework of a pseudoscientific paper signed by Paola Lorenzo and Salvador Gil (2018), alludes to the "discovery" of a thermic pot, with a system of reducing expenses of wood, gas, and electric energy in the cooking process, by retaining the heating of the first part of it in a sort of "bewitched cage" [*sic*] in which such a process could be completed "by itself."

Advertising discourse, used to influence individuals by means of the media, tends to convey messages to a large number of people, often belonging to a particular category. The efficacy of this type of discourse is connected with the impact that it provokes in a large number of addressees (Palleiro 2008a: 171–179; Agwa Fomukong 2016: 105). In the case of the advertisement of the "bewitched pot," the particular category of addressees is the one of women who are socially expected to use it to cook food in a faster and cheaper way. The social function of advertising is connected with the poetic work of selecting and combining visual images and verbal language that have an impact on the addressees. There is a close connection between the advertisement discourse and the "teacher" image that it constructs in the minds of participants (Turhan 2017), linked in this case with a "bewitched" object such as the pot mentioned in the message in which the adjective connects the advertising discourse with the semantic field of traditional knowledge. The distinctive feature of such visual, verbal (and even musical) discourse is a "rhetoric of truth" (Palleiro 2008b), linked with the world of

advertising myths (Barthes 1972) aimed at convincing the addressees about the veracity of the discourse as well as about the efficacy of the advertised product.

This rhetoric can be recognized in the aforesaid message, presented in the frame of an article, with argumentative proofs of efficiency such as the statistics of the great amount of gas, energy, or even wood used in a normal process of cooking, in an antithetical opposition to the low amount required when using this "bewitched" pot. The "article" also included the photographs of traditional ways and even the rituals of cooking performed by vernacular indigenous women, used as iconic resources to convince the potential customers, mainly women, of the proficiency of the advertised product, connected with an ancestral knowledge. Moreover, the qualification of the pot as a "bewitched" one recalled the mythical character of the "witches," associated with supernatural powers. In fact, although the advertising discourse did not make any direct allusion to the supernatural, the way of presenting the "bewitched pot" connected the message with the semantic domain of enchantments. Such out of ordinary powers of the "pot" have been mentioned in Vargas's repertoire as well but with an opposite goal, in a parodic message directed at warning against trickery and mischief of the sellers of pseudomagic objects.

Regarding the semantic domain of enchantment, Curry (1999: 401–412) following Weber's affirmations about disenchantment, proposes a distinction between Enchantment, which produces a "Secondary World" into which both designer and spectator can enter, and Magic, which produces an alteration in the "Primary World"[3] by means of a technique. From this standpoint, he considers the domain of Magic to be the one of knowledge and Enchantment to be the one of art. He also argues that enchantment must indispensably include an experience of wonder as a reality. Nevertheless, as the author himself underlines, magic and enchantment often overlap. In Vargas's repertoire, the parodic use of enchantment creates a possible "secondary" world in which pots can boil by themselves without fire, or donkeys can poop silver, and such belief in an enchanted world is manipulated by a trickster to sell pseudomagic objects. The advertisement discourse, on the contrary, provides a pseudoscientific explanation aimed to transform the "disenchanted world" (*Entzauberung*) of modernity in a re-enchanted world not only (re-)created by the media but also rescued by the science, by re-signifying the power of enchantment, characterized as the knowledge that

. . . .
[3] Capitals used by the author.

can create a better world, in which there exist amazing "bewitched pots." In this sense, according to Curry's distinction, the advertisement discourse is closer to Magic. Rhetoric resources such as the antithetical opposition between similar objects (such as bewitched and common pots), along with the hyperbole that enhances the qualities of the advertised object, are used in the advertisement as discursive strategies to re-create an enchanted world, resources which are parodied in Vargas's repertoire. From a metapragmatic perspective, Vargas's narratives deconstruct the performative force of charms in warning messages with the objective of preventing people from false incantations. The advertisement message, instead, reframes traditional discourse regarding enchantments to propose an alternative world in which objects such as pots can emulate magic properties from marvelous tales. In this regard, the enunciator of the advertisement can be compared with the treacherous discourse of the fox and of Pedro Urdimal of Vargas's version.

As abovementioned, the main rhetoric strategy of the pseudoscientific register used in the advertisement discourse is the accumulation of argumentative resources, including comparative statistics regarding the different ways of cooking with different pots, along with the smooth descriptions of the system of saving energy and producing heating, inclining towards convincing the receiver of the excellence of the product, in this case, the "bewitched pot." The oral narratives of Vargas's repertoire, instead, link the pseudomagic powers of the pot with the performative efficacy of corporal and oral discourse. Such performative efficacy is connected with the correct use of the verbal formulae "Hirve, ollita; kirpe, ollita!" ["Boil, little pot; boil, little pot!"] or "¡Burrito, cagá platita!" ["Little donkey, please, poop money!"], as well as with the circular movements of the possessor around the pot or around the tail of the donkey. Such performative actions are presented as causative conditions to make the pot boil without fire or to make the animal drop money. Therefore, these enchantments performed by the treacherous fox or by the trickster Pedro Urdimal, which turn out to be false, are presented in Vargas's narrative as an ironic parody of charms, in an opposite way from the pseudoscientific discourse, in which the pot is presented as an extraordinary cooking device, which is worth buying. Actually, while the main strategy of Vargas's version is the antithetical opposition between the apparent and the real properties of the pseudomagic pot (or donkey), the main strategy of the advertisement is the hyperbolic presentation of a real pot as an object whose properties could apparently be qualified as "bewitched," in a semantic domain overlapping with magic. Hence, the distinctive feature of Vargas's repertoire of realistic tales is disenchantment, while the discourse of the advertisement

message presents a curious blend between science and tradition, through a re-semantization process of the properties of a pot qualified as a "bewitched" object. Such re-semantization can be connected with the re-enchantment of the postmodern worldview alluded by Curry, following Weber's categories.

4. CONCLUSION

As Hajduk-Nijakowska (2015: 161) wisely points out, the rapid development of new media, especially the Internet, triggered major changes in culture and caused a general change in the status of texts, and these changes call for a new folklore genre theory. The texture of the message regarding the "bewitched pot" mirrors such changes, in an intertwining between advertisement and pseudoscientific discourse, along with an intertextual connection with folk narrative matrices, such as the one of the *magic pot/donkey*. This analytical approach has been directed at emphasizing some of these changes, linked with the interweaving of folktales, ritual discourse, and belief narratives in an intertextual dialogue with contemporary genres such as advertising discourse.

The initial affirmation, regarding how disenchantment affected traditional genres and how re-enchantment shapes new ones, has been the axis of this approach. The analysis of Vargas's repertoire showed the parodic use of enchantments and magic formulae, as well as the intertextual connection with the ritual discourse of the Andean cultures, reflecting a local worldview. Such a worldview is based on the linkages between different semantic domains, such as the material, the animal, and the human ones, rooted in supernatural forces of the local divinities like the Ekeko and the Pachamama, whose powers are imitated by tricksters such as Pedro Urdimal. The counterpart of such parodic reversion of enchantments is the re-enchantment of advertising and pseudoscientific discourse of contemporary urban cultures, as the one of the "bewitched pot."

While the goal of Vargas's repertoire, received orally from her mother in a traditional genealogy of narrative discourses, is to construct a warning message against tricksters who invoke the magic function of language, the aim of the advertisement is to propose (female) receivers a better world which each customer can enter using as the key a "bewitched pot." In the tension between the utopian world of marvelous tales and dystopia of disenchantments, the advertisement draws a sort of continuity between traditional knowledge and (post) modern science, appealing to re-enchantments.

The intertextual dialogue between folk narratives and advertisement discourse shows not only the relevance of folk matrices in contemporary media culture but also its role in manipulating traditional collective identities. Such manipulation seems to be one of the distinctive features of contemporary consumer societies. Moreover, the re-semantization of traditional knowledge in advertising discourse reflects its argumentative force in the new forms and frames of messages, such as the virtual ones.

The advertisement that circulates on the Internet, emitted by plural enunciators (not only by the ones who compose the message but also by the ones who edit it) and open to global receivers, recreates traditional patterns in an "imagined community" (Anderson 2015) in which re-enchantment plays an important role. Dis-enchantments in folktales and re-enchantments in advertisement discourse reflect not only the transformation of traditional genres but also the reframing of the new ones, in a dynamic tension between tradition and innovation, which turns out to be a sign of contemporary culture.

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THE DREAMS ABOUT THE DECEASED AS A FORM OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE OTHERWORLDLY

Abstract: After the summative review of the dreams about the deceased as a form of communication with the otherworldly research so far, with the special emphasis on the dreams of the deceased, the author deliberates a whole range of topics which are realized in this type of narration about dreams based on the fieldwork material obtained at different points in Serbia and in Serbian communities in Romania. Special attention is devoted to the interpretations of meanings of the deceased person's appearance in a dream, alongside the emotional reactions to such meanings (from the fear of a demonized deceased, to a variety of semantically and emotionally codified images of the status of the deceased in "the other world," to the longing of a dream which is seen as the place and means of meeting the deceased). The levels of communication (communication with the otherworldly, social interaction, the communication of the dreamer with him/herself) will be observed in the final part of the analysis. A multiple semantical (and emotional) coordination of dreams and narratives about dreams of the dead reflects the ambivalence of the traditional representation of the deceased. Although the symbolism of "the folk dream interpretation" indubitably forms the basic fund of emotional relationships with the dream vision elements, multiple stratifications can actually be registered in the emotional communities which reflect the dreaming culture aspects. Within this framework (with relying on the folkloristic and psychological research conducted so far) the question of relation between the emotional experiencing of a dream and its potential subsequent folklorization through social interaction is discussed.

Keywords: dream, dream narration, stories about dreams, dreams about the deceased, anthropology of death, emotional communities, folklorization

1. INTRODUCTION

Given their multiply composite, layered, and complex nature, dreams and dreaming phenomena are the study subjects of a number of scientific disciplines: from neurology, psychiatry, and psychology, to the sciences which have culture in the focus of their attention in the broadest sense of the word (anthropology, ethnology, folkloristics, semiotics, linguistics). Within such a framework, the defining of the dream's nature is interpreted in various ways (i.e., it is predominantly conditioned by the discipline). The summary and connection of the research findings conducted in various directions has been offered on a number of occasions in the literature (cf. Burke 1997: 23–30; Mageo 2003: 3–10; Stewart 2004; Trunov and Vodenikova 2012; Rabinovich 2013: 9–32; Marić 2014: 84–87). In attempts at the systematization, the dream's nature and function perception dominant models have been singled out among other things. In the natural sciences model, developed on the foundations of materialistic concepts, within neuro- and psychophysiology, the dream is primarily seen as the product of cognitive and physiological functions, the result of brain activities induced by the external and internal stimuli. The psychological model (whose classical foundation is Freud's, Jung's, and Adler's theory) stipulates that dreams are principally a manifestation of unconscious or internal life content in general; their functions are interpreted differently, depending on the concrete theoretical concept: from the reflection of an internal conflict and emotional response to inhibitions (Freud), to the road towards the wholeness of the proper *I* (Jung)—to mention just a few. Simultaneously, it should not be forgotten that it was exactly Freud and Jung who regarded dreams as both individual and universal experience (Freud particularly focused on the universality of the latent meanings of symbols, and Jung, as it is well-known, developed the theory of the archetype and dreams as the collective unconscious manifestation; additionally, it is important to highlight that the universalist approaches in psychology do not necessarily exclude the concept of cultural conditioning of dreams, for example, an archetype). Finally, the specific view of dreams is connected to the metaphysical or mystical and religious model. In this context, the experience of dreaming is held equally important as the experiencing life while awake since the dream source is the metaphysical, spiritual, transcendent world. Within such a framework, the moral concepts of a community are connected to the dream: the dream can be the source of positive auguries or warnings but also a form of punishment and temptation (for such a systematization, see Trunov and Vodenikova 2012). By incorporating the experiences of the

intertwining of psychological and anthropological interpretations into the view of the dominant models of interpreting dreams (and approaches to their studying), Gary Alan Fine and Laura Fischer Leighton single out the psychological model (while indicating the existence of universal, typical dreams), the concept of dreams as the culture reflection, the view of the dream as a narrative, and the dream (i.e., its content) as an interpretation object (Fine and Fischer Leighton 1993: 98–99).

Regardless of whether the dream is regarded as a complex neurological, psychological and psychosocial, individual, or to a great extent as an experience conditioned by collective concepts, its symbolical dimension is difficult to refute—either if that symbolism is interpreted, in the psychological key, as a form of codifying the unconscious, or if dreams are seen in the light of anthropologically oriented interpretations: also as the form of projecting the culturally conditioned concepts/ideas. From the perspective of the latter, the dream emerges as a phenomenon which interconnects specific individual experiences, social, and cultural contexts since the culture of dreaming (which is also defined as a collective cosmological image of a group of dreamers' world, Milne 2019: 132) is "a complex interface between individual and belief-system" (ibid.: 132). The reproduction of typical motifs, images, and *sujets* in some types of stories about dreams is indicative of their reliance on "the tradition of ideas" as a complex system of super-linguistic metatextual connections which are formed in the semantical and ideational level, as Yevgeny V. Safronov (2006; 2016: 51) highlights relying on the theoretical research into the nature of folklore by Boris N. Putilov and Kirill Chistov.

The world which exists on the other side of this world's existence can be referred to as the otherworldly, in the broadest sense of the word, since its conceptualizations differ depending on the cultural representations of particular communities, especially the religious ones (since the representations of soul (or souls) are founded on them). The otherworldly can be close to the divine but also the demonic sphere, alongside the space in which the dead reside.[1] When it comes to Slavic cultures, the interpretation of the place of dreams within the framework of traditional representations were offered by Nikita Tolstoy (2003: 306), who differentiates five basic

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[1] The interpretations of the dream status in different cultural and religious systems, from Greek and Roman antiquity, to the cultures of the Far East, to Christian and Islamic cultures are offered, for example, in Shulman and Stroumsa (eds.) 1999; see also Bulkeley 2008. For a detailed investigation of the genesis of representations about the connection of the world of the dream and the world of the dead, the predecessors, the divine, see Rabinovich 2013: 32–43.

models of dream understanding: the dream as a state which is the opposite of the everyday, the dream as the awake state turned upside down, the dream as death (stepping into a "parallel life"), the dream as a bridge between this world and the otherworldly, and the dream as the opening up of the borders between the past and the present (cf. Gura 2012a).

The connection with the otherworldly can be established through various ritual practices, ecstatic experiences, and via visions and dreams. Therefore, dreams are also seen as the "contact zone," the "gate" between the worlds (Rabinovich 2013: 34)—i.e., a kind of "communicational corridor." Thus, they are a peculiar form of religious experience too, while the knowledge acquired in them represents a type of sacral information (Razumova 2001: 85; Pócs 2019a: 345).

The culturally conditioned understanding of the reciprocal relations between the "awake" life and the one which takes place in the dream defines the dream narration features (*dream telling*, *dream sharing*). In principle, dreams are perceived as a relevant topic in the societies which are more religious (Burke 1997). Having in mind the impossibility of seeing a community as an entirely homogenous group, it is relevant to accentuate the individual conditioning of assessments regarding the importance and meaning of dreams too, in particular in the contemporary framework (Pócs 2019a: 346–347). Apart from that, the discursive strategies of including the stories about dreams in the conversation do not necessarily have to be connected to the potential religious and mystical connotations (recounting about dreaming can be primarily entertaining, with a phatic function; Kaivola-Bregenhøj 1993: 216–220; Vann and Alperstein 2000: 113). The regulative functions of a cultural context are connected to dream types, communicative environment (intimate, private, public), narrators and recipients (with possible generational and social limitations), intentions, and effects which the narrating possesses.[2]

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[2] To illustrate the point, in some cultures dream narrating is allowed solely to the elderly men in the public sphere. According to Barbara Tedlock's research, the members of the Navajo community are afraid of the dreams of the dead, and such a contact with the deceased is seen as desirable only when they are about the individuals who were the traditional medicinal practices carriers. In a Brazilian community, women interpret their own dreams about the dead through the improvisation of texts in the form similar to lamentations, while, in the same community, men recount such dreams in public occasions exclusively, applying the convention of connecting them to the elements of myth motifs. Such a practice is passed down to younger members, who have a possibility of publicly speaking of their own dreams within the boundaries of the accepted regulations only after they have been initiated into the world of adults. In Peru, there are even formally established performances of *dream declarations*

As a social interaction form, dream narrating is "[a] collective attempt made to maintain an appropriate presentation of self, (in which) the narrator and audience collaborate in creating an acceptable meaning for these ideas" (Fine and Fischer Leighton 1993: 99). Speaking of traditional societies, Murray Wax (2004) sees precisely the disseminating of dream stories as one of the essential forms of establishing social interactions within a group, alongside various common social activities, music, dance, ritual. Dream narrating is, thus, not only a manner of creating and confirming sociocultural relations (Vann and Alperstein 2000: 113) but also a way of perpetuating the dreaming culture code.

Unlike the dreams which are connected to the individuals with special knowledge, abilities, and a status in the community (e.g., the so-called divination dreams, some of which are very difficult to distinguish from the visions related to ecstatic experiences induced in various ways; for a summative overview of such dreams, see Pócs 2019a) in a number of world cultures, or by whose mediation an individual acquires such a status in the community, dream stories about the deceased are principally free from this type of prominent specialization.

Research conducted in the last few decades in a few European cultures have confirmed that (in the contemporary context) all the members of a community dream about the deceased and can transfer such stories (Razumova 2001; Andriunina 2012; Kilianova 2010; Hesz 2012; Safronov 2016). Their recounting is primarily connected to the everyday private communication (mostly within a family).[3] Speaking of Serbian culture, the details of ethnographic description indicate the everyday, private framework of dream narration:

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(Tedlock 1999). The space in which some types of dream stories can function may be defined by the official religion framework. Thus, for example, it has been noticed that there are no dreams in which the dead appear in the *Old Testament* texts, which can be explained by connecting the communication with the dead with the folklore religiousness framework. On the other hand, a number of examples from the rabbinic literature testifies to the presence of such dreams in culture (Hasan-Rokem 1999).

[3] Dream stories (especially the ones in which the deceased convey a message, give advice, and talk about their own wishes to the living) can also become a means of manipulation and be significantly included in the public discourse of a community (Hesz 2012). The dreams about the deceased can step into the public sphere also when they are, for example, closely connected to the questions of (re)constituting ethnic identities. Namely, research conducted in the post-socialist Russia in a Karelian community has indicated that the dreams about the deceased and the messages conveyed by them are interpreted not only as an important part of the local ethnocultural tradition and specificity but also as a cry for returning to tradition (Stark et al. 1996).

In our rural houses, telling and interpreting dreams is usually the first conversation which is struck up in the morning (between the host and the hostess mostly) after the night's sleep. (Mijatović 1903: 119; cf. also Mićović 1952: 263)

The author of this text's impressions and fieldwork findings conducted in the last few years at different stations in Serbia and Serbian communities in Romania testify to the relative communicational "openness" of the dreams about the deceased.[4] Since dreams are regarded both as an intimate experience and as an experience of contact with the otherworldly, the conversation about the dream in the field is a complex process which requires establishing appropriate relations between the researcher (R) and the interlocutor (I),[5] alongside establishing mutual trust (for a more insightful view of the methodological issues, see Đorđević Belić 2020). The fact that it is precisely

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[4] The author has collected the material within the framework of the project of her home institution, the Institute for Literature and Art, *Serbian Oral Tradition in an Intercultural Code*. Part of the material has been acquired within some other projects' engagement: *The Research of the History and Culture of the Serbs in Romania* (since 2016; the Center for Scientific Research and the Culture of the Serbs in Romania within the Union of the Serbs in Romania); *Contemporary Fieldwork of the Oral Tradition of Zaplanje* (2016; the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš, with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture and Information of the Republic of Serbia); *The Serbs in Romania, and Romanian and Yugoslav Connections in the Late 20th Century* (since 2019; the Department for Social Sciences of SASA and the Romanian Academy of Sciences); *Fieldwork Research of the Oral Tradition of Southeastern Serbia* (since 2018; the SASA Branch in Niš, the University of Niš); *(Dis-)entangling Traditions on the Central Balkans: Performance and Perception (TraCeBa)* (since 2018; Slavonic Seminar, University of Zurich (Switzerland), Institute for linguistic research of Russian Academy of Sciences (Sankt Petersburg, Russia), Faculty of Philology, University of Belgrade and Institute for Balkan Studies (SASA); the project is being realized via the program ERA.Net RUS Plus (subprogram FP7/Horizon), and the Serbian project team is funded by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia; the author has been engaged as an outside collaborator on collecting the material. The following colleagues from the research teams supported and helped the author of this text in the field and in collecting dream narratives: Dr. Biljana Sikimić, Prof. Dr. Danijela Popović Nikolić, Dr. Svetlana Cirković, Dr. Mirjana Mirić, and Dr. Danijela Petković, to whom she wishes to extend her warmest thanks. The author also wishes to thank MA Ana Savić who kindly relinquished a part of her personal fieldwork material. All the conversations' recordings used in this paper are fed into the Digital Archive of the Institute for Balkan Studies (DABI). The names of the researchers are given in the form of the initials in the following way: SĐ—Smiljana Djordjević Belić, MM—Mirjana Mirić, DP—Danijela Petković). The transcripts have been provided by the author of the text. The author owes special gratitude to Dr. Biljana Sikimić and Prof. Dr. Nemanja Radulović for the critical reading of this study, suggestions, and indications regarding the additional relevant literature.

[5] These abbreviations will be used in the following dream conversation transcripts.

the deceased dream narratives that predominate the author's current corpus points at their peculiar status in the mental space of the interlocutors (64 out of approximately 120 narratives are about the dreams about the deceased). Namely, interlocutors often introduced the stories about the death of their close ones quite spontaneously, by connecting them associatively with illness narrations and family members' (less often their acquaintances' and friends') death. Simultaneously, the dream stories regarding the deceased have been a trigger for developing broader narratives about a concrete dead man, but also an opportunity for the interlocutors to vocalize their own feelings: from grief for the deceased man, loneliness, to experiencing the dream as a means of re-establishing physical connection which was disrupted by death.

The variety of messages conveyed in dreams about the deceased illustrate different thematic categories of dreams registered in the abovementioned recent fieldwork research in different European cultures. Thus, the dreams in which the dead visit the living, in which the dead ask for the things which they lack in the other world, foretell the future, punish the guilty, or mediate the image of the other world have been recorded in the region of Minsk (Belarus) (Andriunina 2012). The corpus based on the research conducted in a Slovakian community (Kilianova 2010) confirms the functioning of dreams in which the dead announce someone's death, make known their wishes and needs, evaluate the behavior of the living, or speak of their status in the other world. Similar types of dreams are also confirmed in Hungarian culture: the dead warn about the rites of passage elements' disrespect, tell the living not to cry or mourn for them, caution that the dead should not be talked badly about, the suicides explain their act as the will of "a higher power" or as the black magic influence, the dead declare the last will of their legacy, or inform of their place in "the other world" (Hesz 2012). Focused on the research of family folklore, Irina Razumova (2001: 102), alongside the categories of dreams which are close to the already mentioned ones, offers the examples of the deceased dreams without a developed narrative structure, which are shaped as fragmentary images of the encounter of the dead and the living, registers the stories of the dreams regarding how the living say farewell to the recently deceased (ibid.: 104), the stories about seeing the deceased before the funeral and in the days coming after the funeral. It is precisely the focus on family folklore that will indicate the importance of the dream stories in which the deceased take care of the destiny of their close ones (they warn them of the future misfortune in the family, foretell the fated events in their kin's life, offer consolation and advice in crisis situations, ibid.: 119–121). In the classification proffered by Y. Safronov (2016: 112–154), dream

stories are systematized according to the actions undertaken by the deceased person as the central agent: informing, indicating the breaking of a taboo and rules (in the system of funerary rites and behavior of the living in general), prevention, and foretelling.[6]

The corpus formed by the author of this text in her fieldwork fits this framework thematically. Dreams in which the deceased person asks for something from the living (most commonly what they do not have in the "other" world), makes known his/her transition to the "other" world (or the final dislocation into that sphere), reveals his/her presence in "this" world (i.e., demonstrates the knowledge of the goings-on in this world, including giving advice, morals, valorization of the behavior of the living, and the like) have also been collected. The dead more often than not show the "other" world or give some verbal information about it; it is possible to interpret various forms of seeing the deceased in the dream—most commonly as fragmentary structures (in which the dream is experienced and constituted as the place of contact between the worlds)—in this key. A fragment of the deceased dreams would belong to the group of the prophetic ones. Special status is granted to the stories about dreams in which "a specific deceased person" (the one who had the status of other/different—e.g., dream stories about acquiring magical knowledge or founding of a cult place)[7] appears. Fieldwork material was collected from (mostly elderly) interlocutors with whom various topics regarding the traditional culture were discussed, thus the dreams are relatively expectedly interpreted in the traditional key.[8]

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[6] A similar thematic specter about the deceased dreams is registered in the material of classical ethnographic records in Aleksandr Gura's (2012b: 91) comparative research which includes the material from the Slavic traditional culture.

[7] For the fieldwork material analysis of these dream stories, see Đorđević Belić 2018 (with reference to the more encompassing literature); cf. Jovanović 2017: 143–163.

[8] A relatively small number of ethnographic records confirms the variety of the thematic specter of the deceased dreams. Given the fact that extensive narratives of dreams are rarely recorded in Serbian ethnographic corpus, the author uses this opportunity to present a few of such examples: "'I have dreamt about my brother, his clothes mere rags' (Šetonje, Mlava county), which means that the deceased person's soul yearns for clothes. … Marko's Branko has dreamt about my father, and thus he narrates: 'I dreamt them plowing the Gypsies' Hill, planting potatoes. —May God help you, what are you doing there? —As you can see, we are planting potatoes, they reply. —Do you have to work there just as one has to work here? —Everything we did there we also do here, they respond.' … I dreamt my deceased complaining to me thus: Well, you see, I can't eat from all the hungry. —Hungry are the ones for whom memorial services have not been held" (Petrović 1939: 36–40; the author brings a few more examples of the deceased dream stories which fit into the model of *the deceased asks for something, the*

This material will be the foundation of investigating the whole scope of relations with the dreams about the dead as a form of communication: from grasping the dream as unwanted, to a certain extent dangerous contact with the deceased person and the otherworldly in general, to the longing for dream as a way of establishing (or confirming) the connection with the deceased (most commonly a close kin) in the reality of this world.

2. THE DECEASED DREAMS: BETWEEN FEAR AND LONGING

2.1. The Demonized Deceased

The experience of meeting the deceased in the dream as a form of dangerous communication is the most prominent in the narratives which are formed on the rims of the dream story and demonological belief narrative (a memorate). The deceased is demonized in such dreams, and it is not always clear whether it is dreaming experience or a vision similar to dreaming. In the forthcoming narrative the functions which are connected to the vampire in traditional representations are easily discernible (the choking of the dreamer, and (in this case hypothetically formulated) nocturnal visit home, banging; see Đorđević 1953: 173–183; Bandić 1980a; Levkievska 2001: 61–62). The assumption of the unwanted nocturnal visit's cause (potential turning into vampire) also fits into the concept—the potential reason of the visit could be the disrespecting of the code of conduct with regard to the deceased. The interlocutor highlights her own proper behavior from the standpoint of traditional ethical system—caring for and pronouncedly worrying about the deceased (*Well, I said, did I leave that many children and grandchildren down here, and come to take care of them here, I said, and put so much effort, Jova, and he came, I said, to choke me*).

> [1]
> When my father-in-law died, I had this dream, so, it was Saturday. He died on either Sunday or Monday, on Sunday, no, on Saturday he died, on Sunday, we buried him. And when we buried him, and we went upstairs at night, we sleep upstairs, because our bedrooms are upstairs, and [laughter]

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deceased shows the other world, but also into the model of the prophetic dream with the deceased person as an agent). Žarko Trebješanin (2012b: 856) has already highlighted the example of the recounted prophetic dream (the appearance of the deceased which foreshadows the death of the dreamer's father) in the book by Radovan Kazimirović *Charming, Fortune Telling, and Prophesying among our People* (from 1940).

at night I started dreaming. … He [her husband—S. Dj. B.] had gone upstairs earlier, and I, do this, do that, anyway, I don't know. … And I fell asleep, and he [the late father-in-law—S. Dj. B.] came to me, thus, from above, it was my and my husband's bed, he came from above, he had had big hands, he had been a big man, and he came thus, here on my chest. He pressed them so, and I couldn't catch a breath, and I couldn't, and I couldn't, and I couldn't breathe, and I just said: —Ouch! —As I cried, I woke him up [her husband—S. Dj. B.]. —What is the matter, says Lala?! —Well, I said, did I leave that many children and grandchildren down here, and come to take care of them here, I said, and put so much effort, Jova, and he came, I said, to choke me. —Who came? —I said: —Grandpa. —Why, how, there is no one here. —He turned on the lamp: —There is no one here, he said. —It was moments ago, I said, he was here by me, just some moments ago, he was and such. —In the dream, he pressed, and the end, I lost my breath. But those are dreams, so I dreamt that, and those are the … And I didn't feel anything to bang, to come, and since then I haven't been afraid.[9]

(DONJI DUŠNIK 4 DP, female interlocutor born in 1944; November 2016)

In "the folk dream interpretation"[10] of the Serbian traditional culture, the deceased person predominantly functions as a negative symbol, signifying loss, illness, death.[11] Establishing such symbolism also takes place through the activation of the taboo about verbal communication and/or the direct meeting, and more often than not with the introduction of the give/take symbolism (the conversation with the deceased person in the dream or giving a household object, food, and the like to the deceased is interpreted as a death omen; dreaming of the deceased who calls the dreamer is an annunciation of the dreamer's imminent illness or death; see Grđić Bjelokosić 1985: 232; Mićović 1952: 263; Škarić 1939: 137).[12] Closely connected beliefs are confirmed by the researched corpus:

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[9] All the peculiarities of Serbian dialects featuring in these excerpts (1–13) have been lost due to translation.

[10] The concept of "folk dream interpretation" has been developed in Polish and Russian ethnolinguistics. It is defined as a stable complex of semantic relations which are kept and fixed in collective knowledge, they have a clear structure (X→Y) and pragmatics— foreseeing the future (Tolstoy 1993; Nebzhegovska 1994).

[11] Žarko Trebješanin explains the logics of such folkloristic interpretation in the following way: "The appearance of the deceased person, even in dreams, disturbs the border between the living and the dead significantly, which is seen as a great threat, it bodes ill, and evokes fear in the living" (2012b: 858).

[12] The concurrent beliefs in Russian culture have been registered in Tolstoy 2003: 306; a somewhat more complex system of representations has been offered in the area

[2]

Let me tell you one thing, when you dream about a dead man, who died and then came to you into the house, and you dream that the two of you talk as if he/she didn't die, you speak with him/her there, and when, say, he tidies up, they say, I have heard that, someone in that house is going to die …

(GORNJI STRIZEVAC 1 SĐ; female interlocutor born in 1930; June 2019)

[3]

And I have noticed, when I dream about giving something to a dead man, he will definitely not die. In my garden, I gave a plate with rice, and that neighbor didn't die, from Dučevac, down there … And also, when Stanislav died [she refers to her neighbor—S. Dj. B.], and then I dreamt about him, I gave something to some of them [i.e., to someone dead from the family of the man who is about to die—S. Dj. B.], and he died … It can be, sometimes the dream comes true …

(KAMBELEVAC 4 SĐ; female interlocutor born in 1947; June 2019)

[4]

And once I dreamt about my father- and mother-in-law. And they, I really got scared then. They were making space for me, to lie down. And I said: —Well, I cannot lie there, on, on, on the ground, I cannot. —And my father-in-law said to that: —Well, there is space, we are … —If you know cattail, it was weaved manually from the top, we slept on the floor, it wasn't comfortable like today —There is, we have made it! —That, that is what I remember, and I cannot forget it, they were making space for me to lie down. When I woke up, I said: —Oh my goodness, they want to take me, I should die too! —But it was better that I had gone first, before my son, rather than staying here alone to suffer …

(GORNJI STRIZEVAC 3 SĐ; female interlocutor born in 1930; June 2019)

Additionally, the negative, or at least the disturbing nature of the deceased person's appearance in the dream is indicated in the reference to the prophylactic measures connected to dreams (e.g., tossing corn over

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of Kargopol: seeing the deceased person in a dream can symbolize death or illness, but also peace and tranquility; the symbolism may also be connected to meteorology (Jakushkina 1999: 30). The connection between dreams and weather conditions fits into the demonological system of representations, and the belief about the connectedness of the appearance of the deceased person in the dream with certain weather conditions has been confirmed in the research conducted by the author of this text (to dream about the deceased man—rain, STARA DEONICA 1 SĐ); cf. also Gura 2012b.

the shoulder, KAMBELEVAC 2 SĐ)[13]—i.e., the ritual practices which some of the interlocutors undertake after their encounter with the deceased in dream (e.g., giving contributions for the deceased person's soul, going to the graveyard, lighting a candle, and the like).[14] The belief complex is also reflected in the inclusion of the prophylactic measures in the story's framework, for example: *What can I tell you, I dream a lot of things, I dream about everything. Heaven forbid, the deceased, as some would say* … (KAONIK 1 SĐ; female interlocutor born in 1952; January 2019).

2.2. A Glance to the Other Side:
The Status of the Deceased in the Other World

The representation of the place of the deceased in the other world incorporates, among other things, the traditional concepts of "good" and "bad" death. "Bad" death is marked by the divergence from the usual norms in the funerary rites too (burying outside the graveyard, a lack of memorial service, and the like), and it is reflected in beliefs about the "unclean dead" transformed into the demonic beings (Zečević 1982: 18–19; Bandić 1980b: 133–135; Tolstaya 2012). Through systematic analysis, which links the etymological level to the semantics of traditional practices and beliefs, Marija Vučković (2014) confirms that the concept of "bad" death was connected to the death due to diseases (usually contagious), drowning, freezing, lightning strike, and the death in foreign lands is seen as particularly bad. Beside that, the representation of bad death is connected to the death of children, especially the unchristened ones, and the death of an unborn child (abortion). The same negative attribute is ascribed to death by murder, execution, suicide.[15]

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[13] The same prophylactic measures have been confirmed in the recent fieldwork research of Belica (Stanković 2020: 162); for further information on prophylactic measures connected to the deceased dreams in the Slavic context, see Gura 2012b; 2018: 87–88.

[14] It is worth mentioning that one of the written beliefs about the deceased dreams is actually connected to ritual practice—"Should you dream about the deceased person you knew, it means that you should light a candle them" (Filipović 1949: 191).

[15] M. Vučković also notices the layering of various cultural patterns, both pagan and Christian (e.g., in marking the death of children before christening, or in the negative marking of suicides; 2014: 531). In the contemporary conceptualizations of death, the author observes a lack of individual control and the right to choose as a dominant feature of "bad" death (ibid.: 531); for further research into the transformations of understanding and experiencing death in a diachronic perspective from the anthropological point of view, see Toma 1980 (for the contemporaneity-oriented research, see Toma 1989); cf. Pavićević 2011: 21–22; for the conceptualizations of death from a thanatological perspective, see Kuljić 2014.

The dream stories about the deceased whose death can be seen as problematic may have different emotional valorization. Since dreams familiarize the dreamers with the regulations which are effective in the other world, they may be regarded as the path of solving the status of the deceased in that other sphere of existence. Speaking of her late brother who took his own life (but was buried with all the necessary rites), the interlocutor recounts the dream in which the other world is pronouncedly positively hued; the topoi about the liminal sphere are readily discernible in its conceptualization, making the stratification quite obvious. Moreover, the deceased man explicitly tells the rules governing the path of a soul conditioned by premature death.

[5]

I have dreamt that I have seen my brother, very beautifully, I have seen him very beautifully. It was a pasture, with those tall, tall trees, there was shade, like a national park, so beautiful it was, when I my brother that. And I asked him nicely, I said: —Have you seen the mother? —No, said he, her I haven't seen. She is over there, he said, across that water, it will happen when the time comes. —And I understood that afterwards, when the time comes, that means when his time to die comes, so he still cannot be with her. That is what people were talking about, if someone commits suicide, they cannot be with their other close ones, that is what they were saying. And, I have dreamt him like that, he said: —When the time comes. —I thought, it has to come, how long will he have to wait, when is his time, maybe it still hasn't come, he is two years older than me, he was born in 1949, that brother of mine. … When he killed himself. Maybe his time for dying hasn't come yet.

(RIBARE 1 SĐ; Milanka, born in 1951; February 2019)

Unlike this image, the deceased person's message can bring an additional confirmation of the continuity of parallelism between "bad death" and postmortem existence functioning. This particular example tells the story of a young man who died a harrowing death, far from his beloved ones, after a long period of suffering from a malign disease (although the motif of hunger could be interpreted in the context of hunger and thirst of the deceased people's souls' representations).[16]

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[16] For the reconceptualization of death in the contemporary framework which, among other things, necessarily includes dying in hospital, outside family circle (which, among other things, brings about the absence of traditional behavior regarding the dying and the dead), see Pavićević 2011: 19–21; cf. Toma 1989: 21–36.

[6]

And it was once more that I dreamt about him [her son—S. Dj. B.], in the dream, we were all together, all of my children. And we had fun, talked, everything, and we wanted to go to bed. And he said: —I cannot, he said, go to bed, I am hungry, mom. —And I answered to him, I said: —Oh my God, Savle! —His name is Slavoljub, but I call him Savle. —I always have something prepared, but I don't have anything now, only, I said, bread and cheese. … So have dinner. —And I woke up. In those words. When I talked with my daughter-in-law and told her what I dreamt about, she told me: —Ma, he is truly hungry. He couldn't eat because he had that bad disease on his lungs, so he couldn't eat. —And, that is what I dreamt, it was so. Whenever I remember that, I feel sorry, I say, poor, poor one, he went away hungry …

(GORNJI STRIZEVAC 3 SĐ; Stevanka, born in 1930; June 2019)

Since the opposition between the "good" and "bad" death is a cultural universal, perceiving the issue from an intercultural perspective, the anthropologist Matthew Engelke (2019: 32–34), accentuates that the concept of "good death" incorporates the establishing of commemorative practices, including the place of the deceased in the memories of the ones who remain after him. It is through the dreams about the deceased that the concrete death seems to be axiologically relativized not only by the semantical but also the emotional dimension into the narrative of a transformed dreaming experience.

A number of highly frequent dream stories in which the deceased talk about a certain lack (particularly a lack of clothes, food, water) speaks of the status of the deceased in the "other" world. Emotionally differently connoted, these dreams can be essentially compromising for the dreamer, since the lack of which the deceased informs them can be interpreted as the breaking of a funerary rites' element or a rule regarding the relationship with the deceased. That is the reason way the author of this paper sometimes faced the issues of the interlocutor's rejection to talk about such dreams in the field (in one situation the conversation was even almost stopped after the researcher had informed the interlocutor that she had found out from other people about her dream in which her husband asked her for shoes which were missing as the compulsory part of the preparation of the deceased). In that sense, given the fact that they circulate in the form of narratives in the narrower and wider circles of a community, these dream stories can be interpreted as a socially regulative means too, incorporating, indirectly, part of the representations regarding the sin concept. An illustrative example is the

following extensive narrative where the interlocutor opposes someone else's experience—interpreted through the sin towards the deceased concept—to her own experience, which includes the adequate caring for a dying parent. The adequacy is confirmed by the vision of the grateful late mother.

[7]

R: And have you ever dreamt about your sister?

I: My sister … I haven't. Neither my mother nor sister. I financially supported my mother, took care of her, and buried her. And she has never visited me in dreams. Neither mother nor sister. But I light candles for them almost without fail, whenever I go, I light them, down there. I light down there for my sister's soul, my mother's, my son-in-law's. … My father's, and so on …

…

R: And does the deceased one come in dreams to their close ones?

I: They do, if you have sinned, for example. There are some, who died here. And he had not been taken care of during his life. … And he, it was his wife who told me, they live here. … And when they went to the graveyard, he [the deceased] had come during the night, they hadn't been to the church, he said: —I will come to take from you, he said, what is mine. I will come to take from you, he said, there are so many things, to your heart's delight, on the table, for the ones for whom they held memorial services, you know, for example, there is, he said, everything that is on that plate, a full table, and for whom they didn't, he said, like for me, they have nothing. —That one had nothing over there. He said: —I am hungry over there, he said, there is nothing. And they [other deceased people—S. Dj. B.], he said, they have a full table, he said, I don't know what they have, he said, to guess, this what is brought … —And when my mother was about to die, there was one neighbor, there was also a bed. And she, the doctors came, I brought the doctors from Zubin Potok to examine her at ten o'clock, and he didn't want to tell me, he gave, he gave, and she lost all the signs, he couldn't give her a shot in her arm. She lost signs, she lost signs. … And she [the mother—S. Dj. B.] she kept on saying: —Don't hold any memorial services when I die, she said, just bury me. —Two days before that my sister from Belgrade had come all the time, she couldn't, she had work to do, but she came to see her, you know, visit. She [the mother—S. Dj. B.] said: —Well, don't. —And she turned towards the wall, and the exact hour the doctor had said, at three o'clock, it was Saturday, and she turned towards the wall, and she held something thus. And our graveyard is fenced all around, with wire. And she was doing like this, touching the wire like this. I said: —Mother, what is that? —Well, you should see these people over there, what a beauty, she said, full tables, you don't know how many things. You should hold memorial services, she

said, for me. I had said, but hold them, she said, that service after forty days, half a year, a year … [the description of the mother's death] And when it happened, I did everything, that sister from Belgrade, she helped me somewhat from there. And we organized memorial services after a year of her death. After a week, ten days, the poor one came to me, that sister of mine died. And we talked just like this. Just like you and I are talking now, and she [the late mother—S. Dj. B.] came, nicely dressed, just as she had been, and came into the house thus, through the door. … What are you doing? —I said: —Nothing. —It's good, you have enough money for the memorial services. You have enough money since, she said, you held the memorial services for me. —And she hasn't come since then.

<div align="right">(ZUPČE 1 SĐ; Katarina, born in 1937; December 2005)</div>

2.3. The Longing for a Dream as the Longing for a Meeting

The narratives where the contact with the deceased is longed for function contrary to the belief that the nonappearance of the deceased in dreams signifies their calmness in the other world, provided by the adequate behavior of the living. The impossibility of establishing that connection is seen by the one who longs for it as their own guilt, insufficiency, unworthiness (in traditional representations, this situation could be marked by the phrase *something just won't happen to someone*). Speaking quite emotionally of her son's death, the interlocutor almost dramatically experiences the fact that she does not dream about him, and she speaks of magical practices which she does to that end:

[8]
I: I cannot see him at all [her late son—S. Dj. B.]. At night, when I go to bed, I cross myself, and I say: —Savle, Savle, come to my dream so that I might see you because I am sad and mournful. I cannot anyhow. I dream about my husband, my father- and mother-in-law, why that is, how it can be, I cannot stop wondering, and for this for whom my heart aches, him I cannot.

<div align="right">(GORNJI STRIZEVAC 3 SĐ; Stevanka, born in 1930; June 2019)</div>

[9]
R: And is there something to dream about?
I: There is, I dream. I dream every night, all the dead people from the village I dream about. I say, maybe I will die. … Now that my sister has died, I cannot dream. It hasn't been half a year. My brother's wife, she also died …

<div align="right">(ŠLJIVOVIK 3 MM; Kamenka, born in 1927; June 2019)</div>

Seen as the only place of a possible meeting of the dead and the living according to some interpretations, the world of the dream can be depicted as a place where communication is after all limited to a certain extent (e.g., by verbal contact taboos).

[10]

I dream sometimes, I dream about him [her late husband—S. Dj. B.], and we work thus, go to the shop, only I have never spoken with him, never spoken with hum. I have dreamt about us in a mountain, and I come to him, and we meet, we never stop, I watch the road after him, he has gone, only I have never talked with him … He says, they cannot talk with us … God will know … He said, we meet them only in dreams, we cannot see them any other way …

(LANGOVET 6 SĐ; Anđelka, born in 1946; June 2019)

Such a limited contact can be regarded as insufficient, denied to the dreamer for some reason. The interlocutor aged 86 at the moment of the conversation, who has been living all by herself for a number of years, testifies to such a deprivation of full contact with her dead daughter. Thus, the conversation about the deceased dreams is to a certain extent disturbing for her, provoking a more encompassing narrative of loneliness, illness, isolation, and longing for death—to which the deceased from the dreams could possibly call for her:

[11]

I: In dreams? Well, I dream, dream. Dream. I dream about my daughter and my husband I dream about. And they come, home, but they don't want to enter. They just look at me. In dreams. I sometimes call for them, in dreams, and sometimes not. If good lord would allow it, that they look at me, so that I could go too …
…
R: Has it ever happened that the dream foretold something?
I: I mostly see the dead. And I think that is because of the graveyard. That is why I see them. And I see. I don't see in the dream, the ones that I see. It is like that in dreams, I don't know … And my daughter comes to me, sometimes she doesn't, she doesn't speak to me. She is silent and, and [nudges] me to come into her room … In dreams. And my husband, he gives me a look: —Come, grandmother! —He looks at me thus. He had turned eighty and died. He hadn't been ill for long, only three days, and he went. He hadn't suffered, and I don't know how it will be with me … [the interlocutor goes on to talk about the old age and loneliness for a long time]

(KAMBELEVAC 1 SĐ; Rosa, born in 1933; June 2019)

2.4. Dream and the Continuity Uninterrupted by Death

As it has been already been mentioned, one of the dream stories' thematic groups is connected to the deceased person's annunciation of his/her own presence in the life of the ones who he/she has left behind in this world. In such dreams, the deceased demonstrate their knowledge of the events in the lives of the living (weddings, births, and the like), offer various types of advice and help (mostly to their family members).

The dream narratives of the interlocutor who spends most of the year on temporary work in Austria testifies to the experience of the uninterrupted connection between the dead and the living in a very peculiar way. An intensive feeling of loneliness is somewhat compensated for by this feeling of security ensured by the idea of the presence of the late kin who appear in dreams:

[12]

I: Only rarely. I dream about him more often when I am there [in Austria—S. Dj. B.]. And my brother, that brother of mine died very quickly. And then, believe me, all the dead I dream about when I am there. I don't know why. I dream so much over there, and I don't go to bed early, and I don't sleep during the day at all, I have trouble sleeping a bit. And that is why I prefer to sleep at night, not to doze during the day. And then I gather them all, my father- and mother-in-law, as if they were alive, as if they were all, they worked here, and as I did before, and so on. I don't know why. As if they protect me from there, I don't know. Because whenever I set off, I go to the graveyard without fail.

(RUDNA 3 SĐ; Melanija, born in 1950; May 2018)

The following extensive narrative depicts only a part of the dream stories and other forms of contact with the late mother which the interlocutor has shared with the author of this text in a wider circle of mutual colleagues and friends. The events in question happened soon after her mother's death. The interlocutor's giving in to pain was stopped by the intervention of the late mother, which brought about an important change in her daughter's life (the meeting of her future husband). The story about the dream, later introduced into the narration, is a new testimony to the mother's taking care of her daughter (the late mother confirmed the adequacy of the choice of the potential spouse).

[13]

My mother went away, went away with the sadness that she was leaving me alone. Forty years, a girl without anyone, what would the people say. And she mentioned that all the time, and she went away with that sadness. I have to tell you this, this is a testimony, I am telling it for my own sake. … My father says to me … The month of July is coming, my father says to me: —Go somewhere, I cannot look at you like that. —And: —Where should I go? —Go on vacation somewhere. Go, I cannot look at you anymore. Go somewhere! —One friend cannot go, another friend cannot go, yet another one cannot go, should I go alone!? —He says: —Go alone! Move somewhere from Lešak, go somewhere. —And, pay attention to this, bitter herb on a bitter wound. Let the people who watch avoid the pain, I will not, I will go to the center of pain, and let come what may come. —I am going, I said, to Meljine. —That is the place where we had a summer resort, my Mom's company, that is. That is where we went to the seaside. And I will sit on the bench where I sat with her, and I will walk the same paths we walked together … From bad to worse, as they would say. Instead of running away from the pain … I go … Never mind. I don't want to bother you. My friend is in Baošić. She says: —Come by, Valentina. —I say: —I cannot come by because I cannot anyone … I cannot listen to people. … I just want to tuck in somewhere by the sea. Just to mourn for my mother. To cry to my heart's content, and that no one can see me. I spend two days with her. I say: —You have to let me go; I cannot take it any longer. —Where do you want to go now? —I will go, I say, to Herceg Novi, I will find some accommodation. —And I go. Good people! She sends me a message. She says: —Let's meet at Belavista. —That's up there by the … when you go up the stairs, the Church of Saint Archangel Michael. —Come, she says, let's meet up at Belavista. I will come with my friend Dragan, let's have a cup of coffee. —I say: —Ok, I have only fifteen minutes for you. I am not myself; I cannot talk, I cannot listen to you. —Come, she says, right away! —Watch this, the Church of Saint Archangel Michael, my Mom's saint patron. We learnt at school that God didn't exist, and my grandpa Zarija, my Mom's father, his saint patron was Saint Archangel Michael. We came on Saint Patron's Day and he would tell us everything a grandfather should always say. … Eight o'clock. At eight o'clock comes that friend of mine, Jovanka, with that Dragan and says: —Valentina, let's wait a bit, a childhood friend of mine will come. —Alright. Five past eight, she is a cocky girl from Lika, we from Kosovo are not like that. —Five past eight. She says, I have no mind to wait for him. Let's go, she says. —And I say to her … Mind you, I who am running away from people, I say to her: —Jovanka, wait, he will come. —Fifteen past eight, she won't even listen to it. —Well, Valentina,

I really have no mind. —Fifteen past eight, and I tell her: —Wait, he will come, wait, he will come … —Until half past eight. At half past eight, a sea of people … You know how many people there are at the seaside at night … a sea of people. And I say to Jovanka … she has already told me that her friend's name is Željko, and I tell her: —Jovanka, there goes that Željko of yours. —Do you understand, a sea of people, and I see the man. And she looks at me and says: —How do you know?! —I have just shrugged my shoulders. That is my husband today. And no one can ever dissuade me, she went away with that … my mother … what she couldn't have done … mothers are always like that … how will she, what will she, should everything revolve around studying … what she couldn't have done when she was here, she did it from above! … Then I was in a big dilemma, in a big dilemma whether that man was the right one or not, it lasted for some three years, that deliberation … he is, he isn't, he is, he isn't. And I was not sure whether it was the real thing. … And I am talking with that future maid of honor of mine [in the dream—S. Đ. B.]. We are in a hallway. It's dark. I am in the room, and she is in the hallway. My mother, who died, with that future maid of honor of mine. And she says: —What is that, Jovanka, I hear it's some Željko? —Jovanka whispers to her: —It is, aunt[17] Nata. —Well, go on, finish it properly. —And, in the end, she was my maid of honor. We got married in Djakovica where there are no Serbs any more. And that's a story in itself … a long story … I don't want to bother you. That was the moment that I established that *something* through her.

(LEŠAK/BEOGRAD 1 SĐ; Valentina, born in 1963; February 2020)

The story of the mother who takes care of her daughter's destiny in many ways even after her death speaks of an intensive emotional relationship which was not disrupted and destroyed by death. The comments of the interlocutor interwoven in the narrative testify to the deeper belief in the reciprocity of that relation: *And no one can ever dissuade me, she went away with that … my mother … what she couldn't do when she was here … mothers are always like that … how will she, what will she, should it be only studying … what she couldn't do when she was here, she did it from above!*; *That was the moment that I established that something through her.*

. . . .
[17] In Serbia, children refer to neighbors and acquaintances as "aunts" and "uncles," even though they are unrelated. That habit remains even when they grow up.

3. TOWARDS A CONCLUSION: EMOTIONS AND DREAMS ABOUT THE DEAD AS THE STORIES ABOUT THE LIVING

The variety of messages mediated in dreams about the deceased is followed by the stratified levels of communication which can be discussed with regard to dreams. Since the central information is about the message conveyed by the deceased, and directly or indirectly shaped image of the "other" world, the dreams about the deceased can be interpreted predominantly as a form of communication with the otherworldly. On the other hand, having in mind that "dreams are private mental experiences … while dream reports are public social performances" (Tedlock 1991: 161), the stories about dreams include social interaction and certain social meaning. That aspect of dreams is highlighted in the conceptualization too. G. A. Fine and L. Fisher Leighton state that, "1) dreams are not willed by the individual self; 2) dreams reflect social reality; 3) dreams are public rhetoric; and 4) dreams are collectively interpretable" (1993: 95). Thus, Y. Safronov defines dreams (i.e., dream narratives) as a "contact" genre, emphasizing that the contact is established in a number of levels: "Finally, we highlight that the dream is a contact genre, essentially communicative: the interreflection of worlds (our world and some else's/the other) is the materialization of the need to find our own partner in communication" (2004: 234).[18] Ultimately, the dream is also communication with oneself (Hasan-Rokem 1999: 214).

Multiple semantical (and emotional) codification of the dreams about the dead reflects an essentially ambivalent idea of the deceased. As it has already been mentioned, the concepts of "good" and "bad" death, and a whole string of beliefs which mark the funerary rituality in its entirety are included in the very intricate system (cf. Đorđević 2002: 331–443; Zečević 1982; Bandić 1980b; Bandić 1983; Kovačević and Sinani (eds.) 2013a; 2013b; Tolstaya 2012). The elements of funerary ritual complex are an intricate system which follows all the stages of the deceased person's detachment from existence in this world, and crossing to a different sphere of existence, marking the phases of "postmortem dying" (Bandić 1983). However, ritual practices are not only a way of dislocating the dead into the world of the dead but they are also a part of the mechanism of (re)defining the status of the deceased person in the world of the living, representing "the reorganization of the status and communicative system" as a whole (Razumova 2001: 106). Therefore, the idea of the deceased (and a predecessor in general) as the protector of family

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[18] The translation provided by the author of the text.

and community functions as the antipode of the demonized appearance of the dead in various European cultures. Summarily reviewing the types of communication with the dead in different European cultures, and indicating the intertwining of the official Christian and folkloric religiosity, Éva Pócs accentuates:

> Contemporary beliefs held by Christian believers simultaneously accommodate Christian and lay, non-Christian notions of the soul and the other world, as well as of the spiritual and bodily aspects of life after death. More closely: the body continues to live on alongside the soul; the death of the body and the soul are not a one-time event but a step-by step process of transition from physical reality into a spiritual existence. All of these are varied forms of communication with the dead, substantiated by accounts about the "returning" dead who come to assist or who take care of their family. … Almost as numerous are data of the "evil dead" … of souls who never made it to the other world but instead linger in a state of limbo, or even demons who assault their own family. (Pócs 2019b: xiii; cf. Pócs 2019c).

The greatest number of dream stories' *sujets* discussed in this study essentially fits into the traditional cultural pattern (the so-called culture pattern dreams); correspondence with *sujets* registered in different cultures can be registered (in that sense, these dreams could be classified as, psychologically put, typical dreams as well). However, it seems that even though the broadest psychological matrices undoubtedly have a major impact in governing the interpretation of dream semantics, they are not always sufficient for grasping all the aspects of the dreamer–dream content relation. Discussing critically the concept of "folk dream interpretation" Mikhail Lurie (2002: 35–36) highlights the importance of emotions (both the ones experienced in the dream and the ones regarding the experience of the dream upon waking up) for the interpretation of a given dream from the folkloristic perspective; Anna Lazareva (2018: 185) has paid special attention to this problem, showing that the emotional framework, even when the emotions are not explicitly expressed, have a significant impact on the accentuation of some dream *sujet* aspects on a number of examples. Although the emotions are explicitly inscribed into the dream stories discussed in this paper in various ways, the narrative as a whole reveals the emotional relationship towards the dream content.

Having in mind that cultural content is not only the source of images and representations but also the emotions which such images produce, the introduction of the concept of emotional communities in

anthropological research, and dream study too, seems existentially fruitful. The abovementioned concept has been formulated by the historian Barbara H. Rosenwein, suggesting the integration of emotions history research into other historical subdisciplinary frameworks (social, political, intellectual history).[19] By highlighting that the emotional communities can be significant in size (such as national and ethnical) and less so, and even imaginary, this theoretician defines them in the following way:

> Emotional communities are largely the same as social communities— families, neighborhoods, syndicates, academic institutions, monasteries, factories, platoons, princely courts. But the researcher looking at them seeks above all to uncover systems of feeling, to establish what these communities (and the individuals within them) define and assess as valuable or harmful to them (for it is about such things that people express emotions); the emotions that they value, devalue, or ignore; the nature of the affective bonds between people that they recognize; and the modes of emotional expression that they expect, encourage, tolerate, and deplore. (Rosenwein 2010: 11)

The symbolism of "folk dream interpretation" undoubtedly forms the basic fund of emotional relationships towards the elements of dream vision (in the particular case—the dreams about the dead); however, multiple stratification is registered in the emotional communities which reflect dream culture aspects. Namely, there exists a tendency of principally ascribing negative connotation of the dreams about the deceased (who are seen as a threat for the dreamer or their close ones) to the anonymized deceased or the ones with whom the relationship was disrupted during their life or just before their death (or such a disruption can be pondered). The communication with a "related" deceased in the dream is predominately positively hued, even quite warm and intimate in some cases.[20] In the

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[19] For the possibility of the application of the concept in folkloristics, see Rudan 2018.

[20] I. Razumova (2001: 117) makes similar conclusions, noticing that a "related" deceased is perceived rather rarely as "unclean." The research of the deceased dreams in Arabic culture had to a certain extent similar results (Tuzin 1975). Namely, the appearance of the deceased in dreams in this culture is decidedly negatively connoted, seen as a particularly dangerous encounter with ghosts; after such dreams (which are often talked about publicly with the aim to relieve the dreamer of the potential guilt ascribing for the persecution which he endured in the dream) a number of magical practices is undertaken. Yet, a certain level of stratification in the treatment of the aforementioned dream type exists in this culture too. Although the encounter with a "related" deceased (a family member, cousin) is regarded as an assault on the dreamer, such a dangerous

understanding of dream semantics, the family interpretation tradition can play a significant role (and even an individual system of symbols in which an individual believes, as is depicted in Razumova 2001: 97; cf. Safronov 2004: 223). Finally, speaking of the deceased dreams, the individual relationship established with the deceased during their lifetime, the existing family relations, and undoubtedly the individual reaction to a certain death as a personal loss have an important role in the process of forming the attitude towards the dream.[21]

If the dream experience and valorization by the dreamer is identified in folkloristics as one of the primary conditions of their subsequent folklorization through social interaction (Safronov 2006; Safronov 2016: 41–46) (and the emotional aspect is important for that experience, as this paper has strived to show), the emotional reception by the recipient will be of equal importance in the further circulation of the dream story. On the other hand, in psychological research, the emotional layer of dreams is highlighted as particularly important in the memorization process (see particularly Stephen 2003; the study offers a wide overview of the relevant literature). The research conducted by the psychologists Antonietta Curci and Bernard Rimé is of vital importance for the hypothesis of the emotions and folklorization process connectedness. By highlighting the fact that there has been no research regarding the correlation between the emotional dream response and the later sharing of the dream experience in psychology, they have conducted an empirical and experimental research with regard to this

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contact is explained by the sentimental wish of the deceased to take the one who was close to them in life to the death space with themselves, which the author interprets as a form of rationalization (ibid.: 568). The aforementioned belief written down by M. Filipović indicates the specificity of the interpretation of a "related" deceased appearance in dream as well.

[21] The complexity of the relations between the individual and collective in dreams in literature has been discussed in detail on several occasions. Such an overlapping occurs already in the forming of dreaming experience, all the way to their narrative shaping which includes the dream remembrance process. Comparing her research findings with the results of a number of previous psychological and anthropological examinations, Katie Glaskin says, "Drawing on cognitive psychology and neuropsychology, I argue that much of the creativity that emerges from dreams is contingent on memory. Memory is both biological and cultural, so culture is implicated in how dreams are imaginatively shaped, remembered, reported, and experienced" (Glaskin 2011: 44). With regard to the reciprocity of relations and impulses between personal experience and culturally coded representations, and of the impact of these factors on the experience memory shaping, the discussion about belief narrative, memorate in particular, has been specially developed in folkloristics.

issue. Connecting the obtained results with a string of everyday emotions' social communication research, these researchers have confirmed that the intensity of a dream experienced emotion directly affects its later introduction in the communication with the others (regardless of whether those are positive or negative emotions): "The emotional impact of an experience is the sole consistent predictor of its social sharing" (Curci and Rimé 2008: 165). And yet again the fruitfulness of disciplinary dialogue in the research of dream and dreaming complex phenomena becomes evident.

Despite the fact that the communicational context is set and, to a certain extent, limited by the folkloristic interview conditions, obtained directly or indirectly, dream stories in this framework testify to an array of such narrations' functions. They are, firstly, a way of perpetuating the otherworldly representations and practices of (traditional) dreaming culture. As a form of keeping the memory of the deceased in an individual and/or family memory (in some cases also in the memory within a wider community circle), deceased dream stories are in a way the construction of the immortality idea, since "any memorizing process has such pretensions" (Pavićević 2011: 52–53). As Safronov (2016: 224–235) shows, the deceased dream stories follow the rituals concerning the funerary rituality quite often, indicating the intertwining of ritual, magical, and commemorative functions of these narrations. Longing for meeting the deceased in the dream and the further generating of the deceased narrative through the mentioned narrative macroblocks are the testimonies to the fact that these narrations function also as a type of individual emotional sanctuary. The singled-out functions once again point at the complexity of the deceased representation and the ambivalence of relations between the dead and the living: "If the dead are powerful, they are also vulnerable and rely on the care of the living" (Engelke 2019: 35). Thus, it is not strange at all that the dreams about the dead actually—speak volumes about the living too.

> The death of someone close to us is not a condition but an event, and it is not simply an end to their life but a marked occurrence in ours. It happens and it parts the stream of life, leaving a before and an after, opening a tear in established social and psychological relations that will be more or less well repaired. Eventually the death of another becomes part of memory, of a narrative. Stories are told about the event – how it happened, what I saw, and how it affected us. The psychological process of mourning coincides with social adjustment, detachment, and abstraction; eventually we look back at the death – and at the deceased – from some distance. (Lambek 2018: 87)

Indicating at some sort of an individual death transcendence in anthropological research, the basis of which can be seen in the specificities of funerary rituality (common ritual practices, in the formulative aspect of the emotional reactions' regulation), Michael Lambek (2018: 88–89) poses the question of the limits of insight into the understanding of a certain death, of a certain person, limited by that framework. Not striving to give any final answers to these questions, the study before the readers has come into being as an endeavor to, just to some extent, return the specific death to the ones it belongs to—to the deceased and the ones who mourn for them.[22]

<div align="right">Translated by Danijela Mitrović</div>

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[22] Thus, the author of this text has somewhat digressed from her own (and in the scientific ethics prevalent) principle of source anonymizing. The names are included in the dream stories which are positively connoted, and in the ones which are estimated not to be compromising for the interlocutor.

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DISENCHANTMENT, RE-ENCHANTMENT AND FOLKLORE GENRES

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"LAVENDER TOWN SYNDROME" CREEPYPASTA: A RATIONAL NARRATION OF THE SUPERNATURAL

Abstract: *Creepypastas* are horror-related legends spread on the Internet from anonymous or identified sources. Haunted or bewitched technologies are one of the key themes of creepypastas and can be encountered, for example, in stories such as the "Lavender Town Syndrome" creepypastas according to which a specific and early version of *Pokémon Green* and *Red* video games led children to suicide. *Creepypastas* are always told as true; they use specific markers of the journalistic discourse and references to textual, visual, or sound documents to authenticate themselves. The focus of this paper will be on the different strategies creepypastas use to gain their readers' trust, get them to believe the unbelievable by rational means and create stories in which the mysterious mechanisms and flaws of video games and social media are explored and amplified, creating powerful myths in the forms of memes which are collectively rewritten.

Keywords: creepypasta, video games, haunted media, technophobia, binaural beats, *Pokémon Red* and *Blue*, rational narration, horror

Creepypastas are horror-related legends spread on the Internet from anonymous or identified sources. Like urban legends, creepypastas are always told as true and use specific narrative techniques to convince their readers: they often mimic the specific markers of the journalistic discourse. They refer, in particular, to a set of textual, visual, and audio documents to authenticate themselves and aggregate direct speech quotations from these documents or characters from different professional, social, or scientific fields. Creepypastas are also collective stories rather than stories told by individuals; they are often recreated, extended by the addition of a new approach or materials.

The events documented by these materials are always horrific and, more or less, paranormal or even supernatural. Traditional figures, such as ghosts or the Bogeyman, are often integrated into stories which take place in the digital space. This surprising association can, of course, be explained by the fact that creepypastas were born and spread on the Web; but they can also be read as an expression of a certain disillusion about technology, expressed in stories where all its possible failures are amplified. This disillusion can be encountered in popular shows like *Black Mirror* which are, paradoxically, aimed at the audiences of these technologies' users and rely on "insider" knowledge. In creepypastas, the failures of technologies, such as video game glitches,[1] are an open gate to the ghost world and to manipulations of the human mind. Haunted technologies and the capacity of inert or virtual media such as audio, video files, or video games to manipulate or curse their listeners and viewers are also a common literary motif in creepypastas. In the following chapter, the focus will be on the different strategies creepypastas use to gain their readers' trust, get them to believe the unbelievable, and provoke fear by creating stories where haunted or bewitched media can take control of their readers, listeners, or players (Cooley and Milligan 2018: 197), at a time marked by the progression of rational thought. The "Lavender Town Syndrome" creepypasta example, a set of stories involving *Pokémon Green* and *Red*[2] video games, will be particularly developed.

1. THE "LAVENDER TOWN SYNDROME" CREEPYPASTA

The "Lavender Town Syndrome" (often abbreviated "LTS") is a popular belief amongst the Pokémon players of the first versions of *Pokémon Green* and *Red* video games, released in Japan in 1996. It is said to have triggered severe neurological, psychological, and physical symptoms, and led hundreds of children to suicide. This belief is supported by a series of creepypastas, which appeared in 2010 (New Age Retro Hippie and Tibbets 2010).

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[1] A glitch is "a small problem or fault that prevents something from being successful or working as well as it should" (*Cambridge Dictionary* online). Applied to video games, glitches can distort the graphics of the game and create strange playing experiences, such as Glitch City in *Pokémon* first generation of video games.

[2] *Pokémon Green* and *Pokémon Red* are the names of the first Pokémon video games released in Japan in 1996. In the rest of the world, the game was released under the name of *Pokémon Blue* and *Pokémon Red* in 1999. There are only minor changes between each "color," mainly in the Pokémon species present in each game; the aim was to stimulate Pokémon trade between players, one of the mechanisms that contributed to the game's popularity and novelty.

The first one appeared on Pastebin on February 21, 2010 (DannoW 2010) and on 4chan's paranormal board on March 3, 2010. Entitled "Come Follow Me," this long and complex creepypasta argues that a rare glitch, secretly inserted by a programmer absent from the game's credits, allows a wild Pokémon to attack the player in the first steps of the early versions of *Pokémon Green* and *Red*, when the player does not have any Pokémon to defend himself. This glitch would also have triggered the mass children's suicides in Japan in 1996. Right after he played with one of the cartridges that contained it, the detective who investigated this conspiracy came into contact with his deceased wife and son through the game, and saw all the players the game had murdered as ghosts. He ended up killing himself. According to the creepypasta, all the corrupted cartridges were destroyed, but "the code was said to have survived and was even passed on to other language versions of the games."

Unlike "Come Follow Me," all the other "Lavender Town Syndrome" creepypastas link the children's suicides directly to one music piece of the game: the Lavender Town tone. Lavender Town is one of the cities the player has to explore during their quest. Its gloomy atmosphere and the fact that it is the only place where death is openly discussed in the game sets Lavender Town apart from the rest of the first Pokémon versions' towns, intended for a young audience. The Pokémon Tower, which dominates the city, is a huge mausoleum, the only place where the player can find ghost-type Pokémon. The Lavender Town music is also very different from the rest of the soundtrack: it has its own theme, monotonous and sad. The early version of this song supposedly contained special "frequencies," "binaural beats" or "high-pitched frequencies" only audible to children that, intently or not, would have caused several psychological disturbances and/or have led them to suicide.

According to "Lavender Town and Pokémon 731" (originally known as "Decoding the Mystery of 'Lavender Town Syndrome' and the 'Lavender Tone'"), the mass children suicides were triggered by a *Pokémon* programmer, who secretly sought to "program" young players' minds for military purposes and failed to reach his goal. Appearing in July 11, 2010 ("Decoding the Mystery of 'Lavender Town Syndrome' and the 'Lavender Tone'" 2010), this creepypasta also described a special and creepy Pokémon, Pokémon 731, which would have appeared in the corrupt cartridges. This special Pokémon inspired fans' art (graphic designs or videos with text) and the creation of the three new creatures linked to the Lavender Town Syndrome: White Hand, Buried Alive, and the Ghost Animation or Haunting.swf, whose description resembles the

description of Pokémon 731. The "Lavender Town and Pokémon 731" and these 3 creations are, in some versions, mixed together (Nukem 2011).

Appearing on July 26, 2010 on Pastebin, "Lavender Town Red" argues, this time, that the *Pokémon* creator Satoshi Taijiri is responsible for the children's suicides ("Lavender Town Red" 2010). The Lavender Town tone's harmful version would only be present in the Red version of the game and linked to the *Pokémon* creator's childhood traumas, all involving the red color.

"The Missing Frequencies" is a creepypasta posted on blogs and YouTube with a video or an audio file called "lavender.wav." Its earliest version is dated to August 25, 2010 (Inunah 2010). Unlike other "Lavender Town Syndrome" creepypastas, "The Missing Frequencies" is not focused on the Lavender Town tone origins, but on the story of an aspiring sound designer who reconstructed the Lavender Town tone as it had been originally designed and died after listening to the result. We can assume that after its spreading as a written story, the Lavender Town Syndrome creepypastas have invested the audio, video, and video game mediums, trying to reconstruct the gaming experiences of the original creepypastas.

According to Google Trends, the interest in the "Lavender Town Syndrome" reached its peak in July 2012, and the Lavender Town name is now linked to these stories ("'Lavender Town Syndrome' on Google Trends" 2020). Lavender Town's *Wikipedia* page mentions the "LTS" almost from the moment of its creation in December 2016 ("Lavender Town" 2020), and the research interest's curves for "Lavender Town" and "Lavender Town Syndrome" in Google trends follow a similar trajectory as the "Lavender Town Syndrome" has become one of the most popular *Pokémon* "urban legends."

Apart from the true Lavender Town creepy music and the city's atmosphere, a true event probably fed into the "Lavender Town Syndrome" belief: after the broadcasting of a *Pokémon* TV cartoon in 1997, "up to 12,000 Japanese children reported illnesses ranging from nausea to seizures" (Radford 2001), including 700 requiring hospitalizations. The symptoms were, firstly, interpreted as the cases of photosensitive epilepsy (PSE) induced by a flashing light segment in the episode, during a fight between Pokémon Pikachu and Porygon. As noted by Benjamin Radford in a *Skeptical Inquirer* article, this event took place gradually and was probably amplified by the first cases' strong media coverage. This mediatization caused the second wave of the reported symptoms amongst children and new incidents as the television rebroadcast the flashing light extract. According to Radford, the most commonly reported symptoms were closer to those described in the cases of

collective hysteria than photosensitive epilepsy (PSE). The low epidemiology of PSE, however, led Radford to conclude that most of the affected children had suffered from mass hysteria rather than epilepsy. The impact of what we know as the "Pokémon Shock" was international, and led to parodies in popular TV shows, such as *The Simpsons*. In "30 Minutes Over Tokyo" (1999), the Simpson family starts to convulse while watching a TV program called *Battling Seizure Robots* during their trip to Japan.

2. A RATIONAL NARRATION

Creepypastas are often described as "horror-related legends that have been copied and pasted around the Internet" ("Creepypasta" 2020), or "short horror fictions and urban legends mainly distributed through word of mouth via online message boards or e-mail" (New Age Retro Hippie and Tibbets 2010). Like urban legends and rumours, these creepy Internet stories are always told as true, and they use *attributions* to authenticate the message.

As Michel-Louis Rouquette says, rumours "refer to a fact which is not immediate and concomitant to its transmission: its object is shifted in time and, often, in space in relation to the receiver. Therefore, the content of rumours is unverifiable directly. … [This] unverifiability is compensated by the *attribution*, which is the addition of a source's indication to the message (translated by the author)" (1990).

Rouquette distinguishes between two types of attribution in rumours: undetermined attribution ("I heard that") and determined attribution, often to a high-placed source ("My brother knows somebody close to the President, and the President said to this person that …"). "The fundamental trait of these two modes is the absence of the immediate link between the original source and the person who relays the information" (Rouquette 1975: 84).

More direct attributions can be observed in *hoaxes*, or Internet rumors, where the information is shared in a document copied and pasted, and directly attributed to a high-placed source or institution (Campion-Vincent and Manzinali 2020). Originally, creepypastas were close to this phenomenon. The word "creepypasta" appeared in 2007 as an Internet slang expression derived from "copypasta" which designates "any block of text that gets copied and pasted over and over again, typically disseminated by individuals through online discussion forums and social networking sites," according to *Know Your Memes* ("Creepypasta" 2009). "Creepypasta" is a portmanteau of the words "creepy" and "copypasta." Creepypastas were anonymously shared

in online communities such as 4chan, before the appearance of structured communities and websites dedicated to this genre,[3] where the users can post new stories under pseudonyms.

However, if urban legends and rumors are mostly attributed to a single source, creepypastas, as we know them today, are based on a complex intertext. They use, for example, direct speech quotations to authenticate a story, which keeps them away from urban legends. Some of the Lavender Town stories are, thus, presented as informative articles or posts ("Come Follow Me," "Lavender Town and Pokémon 731," "Lavender Town Red"), sometimes accompanying a video document ("Pocket Monsters Green Beta: Lavender Town Music").

These specific creepypastas use the markers of journalistic discourse. As rumors, the pieces of information relayed by the media are unverifiable directly, they are reconstructed by a journalist who questions and confronts different witnesses of an event, or examines documents to answer to the traditional Five Ws and How (Who, What, When, Where, Why, How) questions. The intensive use of quotation marks aims to remove the reporter's presence, to advance the elements that support evidence, or to present the conflicting points of view; clear distinction between facts and opinion, the presence of factual data throughout the text, and the prioritization of sources characterizes journalistic writing, as crystallized in the 19th century (Tuchman 1972: 660–679; Neveu 2019: 63–78). These sets of rules mark journalistic discourse as *objective* for its readers and suggest that "it's the facts that speak and not the subjectivity of the narrator (translated by the author)" (Neveu 2019: 65). It also acts as a protection ritual against the risks of journalists' trade, where the speed of the information processing collides with the fact-checking necessity (Tuchman 1972: 675–678).

The rich intertextuality of some Lavender Town creepypastas (especially "Lavender Town and Pokémon 731," "Come Follow Me," and "Lavender Town Red"), the interconnecting of multiple sources, mimics the polyphonic discourse of journalistic stories which aggregates direct speech quotations from different professional, social, or scientific fields.

As some other creepypastas, "Come Follow Me" begins with the "LTS" description, mentioning the victims' age range or symptoms with the coldness and impersonality of medical records:

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3 See for example: https://creepypasta.fandom.com/wiki/Creepypasta_Wiki (English); https://creepypastafromthecrypt.blogspot.com/ (French).

During the first few days of the release of *Pokémon Red* and *Green* in Japan, back in February 27, 1996, a peak of deaths appeared in the age group of 10–15.

The children were usually found dead by suicide, usually by hanging or jumping from heights. However, some were odder. A few cases recorded children who had begun sawing off their limbs, others sticking their faces inside the ovens, and choking themselves on their own fists, shoving their own arms down their throats.

The few children who were saved before killing themselves showed sporadic behavior.

"Lavender Town and Pokémon 731" attributes similar information to an internal report "made in June 1996 by the company Game Freak Inc. (株式会社ゲームフリーク), which was then leaked by one of its former employees, Ms. Satou Harue. In it, an employee gives a list of names, dates, and symptoms—the records of the children between the ages of seven and twelve who had suffered various medical problems as a result of playing Pocket Monsters Red and Green versions…" An extract of this supposed document is cited:

> 京極勝女; April 12, 1996 (11)
>
> Obstructive sleep apnea, severe migraines, otorrhagia, tinnitus. Attacked a police officer near a government building, and was killed.

We can guess that the creepypastas' full and precise symptoms description seems to mimic similar descriptions which could have been read in the press articles during the "Pokémon Shock" mentioned in the first part of this chapter, such as in the issue of *New York Times* from December 18, 1997:

> Victims said they got headaches or felt nauseated. Others said they felt groggy or carsick. Some victims recovered within an hour, while others were put in intensive care with breathing difficulties. Most victims were children, but some adults were also affected and some spent the night in the hospital. (Wudunn 1997)

The Game Freak internal report is presented as one of the key sources of the "Lavender Town and Pokémon 731" creepypasta, followed by an interview with Satou Harue. This meeting allowed the narrator to access a personal letter which proved the involvement of Ms. Harue's husband, named Ken Nakamura, in the Lavender Town Conspiracy and explained his motivation.

In "Come Follow Me," this attachment to a story grounded in sourced facts goes deeper. To switch to a direct-speech dialogue without being suspected of having invented the exact words, the narrator introduces the sequence of the meeting with Sousuke Tamada as an "unedited" transcription from "a voice recorder sitting on the table in front of the two detectives." Throughout the sequence, the listeners are reminded of the materiality of this medium:

> A shot could be heard, loud enough to distort the audio. Sounds of screaming, murmuring could be heard. The table the recorder was on crashed. Ear shattering distortions. Silence. Then laughing. Sousuke was laughing, and then words. "Come follow me … Come follow me …" And then nothing.

Thanks to this strategy, the narration maintains its fluidity without renouncing to the external point of view. As one of the leading French websites on creepypastas, *Creepypastas from the crypt*, notes in its FAQ, the omniscient point of view is very rare in creepypastas and would obviously threaten their plausibility ("Creepypasta from the Crypt: FAQ" n.d.). If the creepypasta sticks to this external point of view, the end of the story is, however, characterized by a rupture in the narration alongside the descriptions of ghosts seen by the detective; as if the omniscient point of view is only possible in this altered version of reality.

As in journalistic stories, a source can sometimes lead to wrong tracks or be questioned by the narrator:

> The article[4] also mentions a "Ghost Animation" which appears throughout the tower. […] While the rest of the paragraph itself is fiction (No such "Games Commission Board" ever held the programmers on trial) there is some truth behind this "Ghost Animation". In the recalled first edition of the games in which the Lavender Town Tone was present, hidden in the game's code is an unnamed Pokémon only identified by its assigned number – 731. ("Lavender Town and Pokémon 731")

This distance reminds the investigator of a journalist's duty: to contextualize every piece of information, check its reliability, and use it to complete the puzzle.

These fictitious quotations, beyond serving to authenticate and document the different elements of a story, and presenting the narrator as a serious and conscientious investigator, can produce a similar effect of an argumentative mille-feuille on the reader, whose mechanisms are well-described by Gérald

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4 It is not known if the article commented by this creepypasta truly exists since there is no external link or reference that would have helped to find it.

Bronner in *La Démocratie des crédules* (Bronner 2013: 87–113). According to the sociologist, conspiracy theories have become participatory stories with the development of the Internet: thanks to the Web's memory, each Internet user can provide an element of proof to a collective story potentially containing an unlimited number of elements, each one supporting a given belief. The superposition of these elements makes conspiracy theories harder to debunk, as well as it gives the impression of a beam of evidence to the reader.

Creepypastas are also collective stories, based on a complex set of sources or clues. Their participatory aspect works in the following way: the fictitious documents cited in a story are materially created in another one. The "Lavender Tone, which is supposed to be responsible for the *Pokémon* players' suicides, can be played as an audio file in "The missing frequencies." This last creepypasta is centered on the story of an aspiring sound engineer who had found "a rare rip[5] of the music from the first distributed batch of the Japanese-exclusive Green version," and the missing frequencies the Lavender music had been supposed to be mixed with: "binaural tones" as he had written in the "lavender.wav" (the name of the supposed file) metadata before being found dead. Like a never-ending circle, other videos posted on YouTube have recreated the "lavender.wav" spectrogram, which looks like a ghost (mintraw 2011).

These fictitious quotations are mixed with true background elements, often based on "insider" knowledge or video game players' collective memory or experiences (Crawford 2018: 86–88). "Lavender Town Red" is based, for example, on a true element of the *Pokémon*'s creator biography: the fact that Satoshi Taijiri was passionate about insects as a child, a piece of information known by many *Pokémon* fans.

"Come Follow Me" contains a video game description echoing every *Pokémon* players' experience, and "Lavender Town and Pokémon 731" mentions a glitch which is also known by many players. In the true *Pokémon* game, this glitch allows the players to capture high-level Pokémon near Cinnabar Island. But the creepypasta adds a tip which is supposed to help him or her see a hidden Pokémon which looks like a "ghost sprite" (the generic appearance of all the ghost-type Pokémon in the real game, before the player finds the "Silph Scope," an object used to identify and catch them). This "Ghost Sprite" animation, however, contains some disturbing flashing pictures. One of these pictures represents the Imperial Japanese flag with

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[5] A "rip" designates the extraction of an audio or video content as a digital file.

the two kanji symbols that mean "Emperor"—a significant element when we know Ken Nakurama's intention to "program" young players, turn them into warriors and create a "Great Imperial Japanese Nation."

Creepypastas use these usual game experiences and well-known glitches to introduce disturbing elements and question the fallibility of digital technologies. The pleasure of playing video games lies in the immersive universes they create. But here also lie all the fears we have about them: fears of addiction, violent behaviour, epileptic seizures, changes in personality induced by the simple act of playing. These fears are grounded in the disenchantment of technologies in Western societies. We understand that science and progress are not always compatible with the common good. In the case of video games, we also see and understand only the surface but not the code, these magical words that create the universes we interact with. What if a programmer or a ghost corrupts or uses this code to control our minds, surreptitiously?

3. BEWITCHED TECHNOLOGIES AND THE MIND CONTROL FEAR

Like many other video game creepypastas, the "Lavender Town Syndrome" stories are based on an old *Pokémon* version rather than a new one and contain details which are only understandable to the *Pokémon Green* (or *Blue*) and *Red* player. Since the first versions of the game were released 15 years before these stories, we can guess that the intended reader of the "Lavender Town Syndrome" creepypastas is the older *Pokémon* player, now a young adult. "The Missing Frequencies" plays, in particular, with this older player's nostalgia by introducing the two main characters as childhood friends who grew up with the successive *Pokémon* versions. Now a young adult, the narrator's friend tries to convince his childhood mate to play their old *Pokémon Red* cartridges before becoming obsessed with Lavender Town and its music; an obsession that will lead him to death.

Even though the *Pokémon* franchise is still active—in 2010, it was already in its fifth generation of video games; eighth in 2020, and a successful smartphone app, *Pokémon Go*, a billion times downloaded on stores, the first generation represented by *Pokémon Blue/Green* and *Red* is more prone to inspire Internet legends. With technological acceleration, its graphics already seems to belong to a distant past, and the games, edited on an outdated system, have long been inaccessible on new devices;[6] they continued to exist

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[6] First generation *Pokémon* games have been available for download on the penultimate Nintendo game console, Nintendo 3DS, since 2016. Before that, the games were

mainly in the fans' childhood memories and are considered now as cult and nostalgic objects.

Creepypastas create an unpleasant contrast between joyful childhood memories, encapsulated in these artefacts, and the danger it supposedly hides which the players never perceived as children (Cooley and Milligan 2018: 193–211). This extreme contrast is close to an urban legend motif highlighted by the sociologist Jean-Bruno Renard (Campion-Vincent and Renard 1992: 202), the "danger hidden in everyday objects," where a seemingly harmless object, used by children or innocent people, contains a mortal danger. According to the sociologist, "the effect is all the more spectacular [since] the two juxtaposed terms belong to opposite universes of meaning." Video games such as *Pokémon*, which provide immersive experiences, are perceived as possible ways for a malevolent programmer or entity to control our minds and lead us to madness or suicide.

3.1. Mind Control

This view is present in the *Polybius* urban legend, which surfaced in late 1990s on the Web, and it is now considered to be a creepypastas' precursor. *Polybius* is an arcade game whose existence has never been proven. According to the legend, the video game caused amnesia and terrible nightmares in players, and its installation in arcades allegedly corresponded to the arrival of men in black in Portland in 1981. These men were supposedly governmental agents testing mind control techniques on video game players. Brian Dunning (2013) links this legend to the two events that occurred in Portland in 1981 and were reported by the press: the discomfort and headache of the teenagers who stayed for hours playing in the same arcade, followed by the visit, ten days later, of FBI agents investigating a gambling affair. These events happened at a time when epileptic seizures induced by video games were highly mediatized and fed into a general debate about the negative effects of video games.

The mind control fear is a conspiracy theories' classic theme. Many of these theories mention the existence of MK-Ultra (1953–1964), a program developed by the CIA to experiment mind control and brainwashing techniques, particularly by the use of LSD doses on guinea pigs. If the objectives were worthy of a conspiracy theory (weaken the individuals to force confessions or lead them to act against their will, etc.), Véronique Campion-

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only accessible in ripped and hacked versions playable on computers, or thanks to secondhand Game Boy cartridges which, unfortunately, could not save the player's progress because of their obsolete backup batteries.

Vincent observes that the results were very limited and unpredictable, making mind control impossible to achieve on individuals. Many aspects of this program are, still today, highly fantasized, especially the idea that the CIA can program murderers through mind control (Campion-Vincent 2007: 113–125). This idea is present in "Lavender Town and Pokémon 731" where the Lavender Town music is used by one of the game's programmers to turn children into warriors.

However, other "Lavender Town Syndrome" stories are further from the universe of conspiracy theories. Mind control techniques are used by single and unstable programmers, in order to take revenge on their childhood traumas ("Lavender Town Red") or for no specific reason. They always act against the will of their development studio, which ignores their intentions and only intervenes afterwards to cover up the scandal. We never face mega-conspiracies, conspiracies involving institutions or linking different circles of power, three elements common in the conspiracy theories of today (Tangherlini et al. 2020; Campion-Vincent 2007: 7–25).

"Lavender Town Syndrome" stories seem, instead, closer to the rumors like "Momo Challenge" or "Blue Whale Challenge" which illustrate the fallibility of new technologies and their possible misappropriation. In the "Blue Whale" story, mediatized in 2016:

> Curators induced teenagers to commit suicide using special techniques of "psychological manipulation" – forcing them to wake up at 4.20 in the morning, to watch scary videos that contain an encoded call for suicide, and to listen to dark music. As a result of these techniques, a teenager allegedly will lose his or her will and become an obedient puppet of these "curators," and then commit suicide. (Arkhipova and Kirziuk 2020)

In these two challenges, WhatsApp private messaging app or social network groups are used by the "curators" to reach digital native users who do not perceive the dangers hidden in virtual spaces. What turned out to be an unfounded rumor was, contrary to "Lavender Town Syndrome" creepypastas, partly spread by panicked parents or school institutions who do not understand and control what their children do and who they talk to through these social media.

In Lavender Town stories, malevolent programmers do not come directly into contact with their young victims, but they use two powerful means to control or make them lose their minds: the Lavender Town music in itself and/or a hidden code inserted in the video game's code, which sometimes has a specific name:

This song is labeled as "hidoi" in the coding, which is the Romanization of "ひどい" (meaning "horrible" or "cruel"), only can be heard in the very early Japanese release of Pocket Monsters Red. ("Lavender Town Red")

3.2. The Hidden Powers of Music

Five "Lavender Town Syndrome" stories presented in this paper out of six are, indeed, focused on the supposed powers of the Lavender Town music. As it has already been stated, Lavender Town music stands out in the *Pokémon* soundtrack by its monotonous and sad theme, while all the other *Pokémon* songs are joyful and epic. These five stories mention "binaural beats" or "high pitched-frequencies," only audible to children and secretly hidden on purpose.

According to *Wikipedia*, "binaural beat is an auditory illusion perceived when two different pure-tone sine waves, both with frequencies lower than 1500 Hz, with less than a 40 Hz difference between them, are presented to a listener dichotically (one through each ear) ("Beat (Acoustics)" 2020)". By the end of the 2000s, binaural beats became a phenomenon thanks to *I-Doser*, an application which still sells audio files called "doses" with evocative drug names such as "cocaine," "alcohol," or "hand of God". *I-Doser* promises mind or mental improvement and experiences close to drug consumption, depending on the chosen "dose." This phenomenon led to numerous articles in the press wondering about the effects of this so-called "legal drug." In France, most of these articles were published in 2010, and bear evocative titles such as "Les 'drogues numériques' sous surveillance" [Electronic drugs under surveillance] in *Aujourd'hui en France*, "Inquiétudes sur de supposées drogues numériques" [Concerns about the so-called numerical drugs] in *Le Figaro*, or "Des ondes stupéfiantes" [Stupefying[7] sound-waves] in *L'Express*. The question has also been referred to on the French National Drug Information Center website since 2013 (Drogues Info Service 2013). According to the website's FAQ, there is no scientific evidence on the effects of binaural beats although these "digital drugs" have been under the Interministerial mission on drug and toxicomania's surveillance since 2008. This conclusion is shared by a *Medical News Today* review on the potential binaural beats therapeutic effects (Gonzales 2019).

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[7] A word play on "stupéfiant," which means "stupefying" as an adjective, and "illegal drugs" as a noun in French.

This concern about binaural beats is reminiscent of the 1970–1980 back-masking panic in the USA. Popularized in the 1960s, the technique of back-masking in music, the recording of a sound or a message backward onto a track led some American Christian fundamentalists to alert the public on the danger of hidden subliminal satanic messages in pop and rock music in the 1970s, 1980s, and later (Blecha 2004: 39–58). According to these fundamentalists, these messages would infiltrate insidious ideas and messages into the listeners' minds, only perceptible by their subconscious, influencing their behavior and attracting them to Satan's path.

The hidden power of music is a recurring theme in myths and folktales. In the famous *Pied Piper of Hamelin* (Germany), a piper gets rid of Hamelin's rats by playing his pipe to lure them in the river, where they all drown. As the mayor of the city refuses to give the promised reward, the piper returns later and plays his pipe to attract children into a cave where they disappear forever.

Subliminal satanic messages would, however, not be hidden only in music but also in advertising images, logos, bar codes (Campion-Vincent and Renard 1992: 293–301). As Jean-Bruno Renard and Véronique Campion-Vincent said, "The subliminal images belief—perceived only by our subconscious mind, and influencing our behavior without our knowing—is the modern and technological form of the bewitchment belief. The search of satanic symbols is close to the old satanic clues' quest, the Devil's marks" (translated by the author).

3.3. Haunted and Bewitched Media

At this point, it is interesting to note that numerous video creepypastas which can be watched on YouTube and which appeared after the abovementioned stories, argue that a ghost figure is hidden in Lavender Town tone musical spectrum. Interestingly, the word "spectre" designates, in English, the musical spectrum but also a ghost. This double-meaning exists in French; "Spectrum" is, otherwise, the French name of one of the three ghost-type Pokémon in the first video game generation.

These videos exist now almost independently of the original creepypastas and circulate on the Web as bewitched or haunted artefacts that the Internet users are challenged to watch, as the numerous audio files which are supposed to be the original Lavender Town music. Shared on YouTube, they often include warnings in their title or descriptions: "WARNING This video is potentially DANGEROUS!!", "Lavender town syndrome … (potentially Dangerous Music warning!!!)", etc.

This haunted or bewitched media motif is very common in creepypastas. In the dematerialized world of the Internet, there exists a certain fetish for creepy music, images, or videos which are supposed to have an occult power, and many creepypastas take this simple form without narrative content. "Smile.jpg" is the best example: this photoshopped picture of a dog is supposed to be haunted, and to drive its viewers insane (Saboooom and 13acab12 2010).

This power is attributed to ghosts in many creepypasta. "Ben Drowned," which appeared in 2010, tells, for example, the story of a *Zelda* player who bought an old *Zelda Majora's Mask* cartridge which turned out to be haunted by the ghost of its previous player, a boy called Ben ("BEN Drowned" 2010).

Ring (1998) is often cited as one of the main inspirations for these Internet ghost legends. In this horror movie, a videotape haunted by a ghost kills its viewers within seven days. During her investigation, a journalist follows the tracks of the girl who now uses her powers to take revenge on the world as a ghost. She thinks she has appeased her spirit when she finds her body and breaks the curse. Nevertheless, her ex-husband who, has also seen the haunted videotape, dies of a heart attack when the ghost girl appears and comes out his television set. *Ring* ends when the curse spreads all over the world: the journalist understands that she saved her life when she copied and showed the videotape to someone else, and the haunted movie turns into a death chain.

The haunted media is older than this famous horror movie. In one of their urban legends studies anthology, Véronique Campion-Vincent and Jean-Bruno Renard remind that the spirit photography, representing ghosts and spiritual phenomena, is almost as old as the photographic medium itself.

> In the 1860–1880, numerous stories about the deceased or dying persons whose image appeared miraculously on a window or a mirror after a thunderstorm lightning circulated. The American folklorist Barbara Allen explains these legends by the conjunction between a new and misunderstood technology, the photography, and ghosts belief. The symbolic thinking has established an equivalence between photographic plates and windows or mirrors, and between magnesium and the lightning flash (translated by the author). (Campion-Vincent and Renard 2002: 346–350)

The haunted television motif is present in a 1954 story where the television fog forms the picture of a dead man on his bed and stays when the family and the owner of the television set try to change the channel (Neubourg 1957, cited by Campion-Vincent and Renard 2002: 350–351). The

man appears to be the grandfather, who died in a car accident. The image disappeared after a few months.

In "Lavender Town Syndrome" stories, many elements refer to the *Ring* movie or haunted media motif even though the occult powers are not attributed to a ghost. One of the scariest elements in *Ring* is the videotape itself, composed of low quality black & white or color movie shots representing floating kanji, a man seen from the bottom of a well, a girl straightening her hair in an oval frame, etc., and also the TVs which dysfunction and turn on by themselves (Crawford 2018: 78). These nightmarish pictures have no apparent meaning before the journalist's investigation. This video seems to have inspired Pokémon 731's descriptions, in the eponymous story:

> The Pokémon itself is strange in nature. It does indeed use the ghost sprite, along with some flashing static. However, about twenty frames in it becomes a flashing series of low-quality pictures. Two of the clearest ones have been included, figures 2, 3, and 4. Figure 2 appears to be a man standing over a table upon which something hard to identify – a corpse perhaps – rests. He has his hands on this unknown object and also has what may be a surgical mask over his mouth. This strengthens the theory that it is a body in the frame. Figure 3 appears to be a low-resolution image of a building, the significance of which will be explained later. Figure 4 is possibly one of the strangest images, a picture of the Imperial Japanese flag with the two kanji symbols that mean "Emperor" in the bottom right corner. Other frames of the animation that can be made out include more images of doctors, corpses, and buildings. The theme from Lavender Town plays the whole time during the battle, although accelerated 3x.

As in *Ring*, the frames have a meaning only revealed by investigation,[8] and the Pokémon 731 animation causes the players' Game Boy to dysfunction:

> If one attempts to catch the Pokémon, the game will freeze. After restarting, the title screen of the game will have been modified, displaying only static and the tone accelerated to the blistering pace of 10x.

"Come Follow Me," the "LTS" creepypasta that most closely resembles a ghost story, shares its open end with *Ring*. As in the horror movie, ghosts cross the border between the virtual world where they were circumscribed

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[8] See part 3.1. of this chapter.

and the "real" world: after communicating with his deceased family through the video game dialog box, the detective saw the ghosts of all the persons killed by the "bewitched" *Pokémon* cartridge in his room and ended up killing himself. Just when we think this death and the destruction of the "bewitched" cartridges closes the story, we learn that "the code was said to have survived and was even passed on to other language versions of the games." The code became an independent entity and the story can, possibly, reach the reader, like *Ring*'s death chain:

> If you have an old *Pokémon* game, you can place the cartridge in the back of the classic Game Boy, turn on the system, and roll the wheel. Who knows, maybe you'll learn the secret for yourself.

4. CONCLUSION

With their bewitched or haunted objects, creepypastas create powerful contemporary myths which take the form of memes and videos widely shared on social platforms by thrill-lovers, or long stories which insert these objects in a complex background. Creepy memes or videos are usually based on the aesthetic inspired by video or video game glitches, old graphics, and strange noises to create discomfort for its viewer. The belief in their uniqueness, occult power, or special effects on the viewers is based on this disrupted aesthetic but also, and paradoxically, on a story that speaks to the viewers' rational minds.

An event unlikely to happen and arousing a strong interest will need, for a rational mind, a highly plausible proof. To convince their readers, creepypastas will refer to a complex system of true and fake documents, audio or video files assembled in a story that mimic the objectivity of the journalistic discourse and are grounded in the intended reader's video games experiences and knowledge. These stories are sometimes extended with the addition of a new story or a document linked to a previous story or reference. This practice increases, of course, their verisimilitude by giving the illusion that numerous proofs or stories converge in the same direction. Moreover, it builds up their mythical aspect, since the figures are created and recreated in collective stories that express collective fears surrounding the development of digital technologies.

In "Lavender Town Syndrome," two fears can be identified: the flaws of video games and social media, and their exploitation by ill-intentioned individuals have been particularly accentuated in the paper. These individuals

would target children through applications they perceive as harmless and of which they have an immoderate use caused by the immersive and interactive experiences these virtual technologies provide. The user's addiction to these applications can also be created thanks to the mastering, by some of their developers, some specific aspects of human psychology such as the reward system. The mind control fear can, otherwise, be rooted in the rationalization of production and social organization, alongside the development of a globalized mass culture (Campion-Vincent 2007: 135), often accused in conspiracy theories to relay propaganda elements and use brainwashing techniques to turn people into sheep. This political aspect is, however, absent from the "Lavender Town Syndrome" where mind control is established on a more individual scale, as a more ancestral fear of being hypnotized or bewitched and losing control over oneself under the influence of a haunted object.

Paradoxically, the "Lavender Town Syndrome" creepypastas can also be read as an attempt to re-enchant objects at a time of mass production by stating that among millions of *Pokémon Green/Blue* and *Red* copies sold to children all around the world, some of them are special and provide frightening gaming experiences. This motif can be found in other creepypastas where the bewitched cartridge is found in a flea market ("Pokémon Black" 2010) or bought from a strange old man ("Ben Drowned") and has an individual story which explains its obscure power. The video games' programming code in itself can be compared to a magical language: it is a structured language which has the power to create universes and sensory experiences in which video game players are immersed. This language is, otherwise, inaccessible since most of the video game companies choose to keep it secret. Mastering programming languages is, finally, reserved for a few trained people. In the creepypasta community, these characteristics are fantasized, and they lead to the idea that the code can, by extension, have a power over the player and the real world.

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FOLK HORROR AS RE-ENCHANTMENT OF A DISENCHANTED WORLD

> You tell yourself moments of doubts are important. Moments when you wonder if it isn't all psychological. Do ancient rituals in an old church make us feel spiritually secure for reasons entirely unconnected with religion? Or does that explain religion for the twenty-first century? (Rickman 2017: 352)

Abstract: The last few years have seen an increased interest in everything remotely connected to folk horror. Folk horror is a subgenre of horror dealing with metaphysical entities and occult dangers that are imagined as coming from a distant, pagan past. Often folk horror has a focus on agricultural customs and rituals.

The paper will start with a discussion of folk horror and its characteristics, its use of folklore to (re-)create an enchanted world of strange traditions and rituals. Furthermore, I propose a rereading of Phil Rickman's Merrily Watkins Series about a female Anglican priest turned diocesan exorcist (14 tomes, since 1998) The focus will be on (a) the respective use of folklore and folklore like stories (i.d. the folkloresque) that help to develop a sense of eerie danger and (b) on the way these books are steeped in occult knowledge thus showing how this genre is part of occulture and contributes to a continued re-enchantment.

Keywords: folk horror, Church of England, female priest, horror literature, re-enchantment

INTRODUCTION

Phil Rickman's Merrily Watkins series features a female vicar turned exorcist who frequently expresses her doubts about her faith and profession. This character can be read as a response to the widely stated disenchantment of the world. Perhaps the series even functions as an antidote to the perceived

loss of religious sense in Western, post-secular societies. However, getting to know the universe of Merrily Watkins means entering borderlands. As Rickman writes, "borders are risky places, where the unexpected happens" (2018: 1). The borders explored in this series are not only geographical but also spiritual and religious ones.

The series is located in the English-Welsh borderlands; it is set on the border of crime novel and supernatural thriller. It can even be read as a kind of social study of a rural world under pressure from wealthier, better educated, and more urban newcomers. All these elements have a certain similarity to what, in the last five or six years, has been discussed as folk horror. A short definition of the term suggests that folk horror should be understood as a subgenre of horror dealing with metaphysical entities and occult dangers, which are imagined as coming from a distant pagan past. Folk horror is often involved with agricultural customs and rituals.

The series can be read as an example of folk horror's way of dealing with the supernatural and the eerie in a world declared to be thoroughly disenchanted.

Therefore, to start with, a discussion of the genre of folk horror will be presented, proceeding to exorcism and female ordination in the Church of England as key elements of the series. Then, the use of folklore in folk horror as exemplified by the Merrily Watkins series will be discussed, followed by some thoughts on re- or disenchantment in the genre of folk horror. Instead of a classical conclusion, this paper will end with some reflections on the tendency of "othering" the rural people that is manifest in folk horror, thus referring to a concept of rural or peasant otherness which can, at least, be traced back to the folklore collecting activities in the late 19th century.

FOLK HORROR

Recent years have seen an increased interest in everything connected to folk horror. According to Paciorek (2018), the term first appeared in the 1920s referring to peasant superstitions and to Henry Fuseli's (i.e., Johann Heinrich Füssli, 1741–1825) iconographic paintings of nightmares and other eerie creatures. The small folk horror research community has agreed that the first person who used the term in the contemporary sense, however, was Piers Haggard in an interview about his movie *Blood on Satan's Claw* (Paciorek 2018: 12; Rodgers 2019: 13; Scovell 2017: 7). Keetley (2020: 1) has shown that a critique of the movie in the 1970s used the term.

There are two waves of popularity regarding folk horror. The first started in the late 1960s and early 1970s and is closely connected to British movies. Michael Reeve's *Witchfinder General* (1968), Piers Haggard's *Blood on Satan's Claw* (1971) and Robin Hardy's *The Wicker Man* (1973) are considered to be folk horror's "unholy trinity" (Paciorek and Charles 2017: 139).

The second wave commenced in 2010 with Mark Gattis's *History of Horror* (2010, part II: *Home Counties Horror*) (Paciorek and Charles 2017: 21; Scovell 2017: 7). Gattis focused on British horror movies to define folk horror. In fact, there is a narrow definition of this genre as "British movies of the late 1960s and 70s that have a rural, earthy association to ancient European pagan and witchcraft traditions or folklore" (Paciorek 2018: 12). Taking an interest in eerie legends and so-called pagan, pre-Christian traditions as the backbone of folk horror, it becomes rather obvious that the focus on British movies of the 1960s and 1970s is too constricting. Hence, the field should be opened up to a broader definition. As Adam Scovell argues in his study *Folk Horror. Hours Dreadful and Things Strange* (2017): "Folk horror can arguably manifest anywhere and within any culture as long as there are 'folk' to spread it around; every country has some relationship with its landscape, with its own folklore, its customs, superstitions, and rurality" (2017: 101).

He sees recurring features that, in combination, constitute folk horror. As a result, he proposes certain elements that define a movie, book, game, or play as part of this subgenre. In this context, he coined the new term *folk horror chain*, characterized by these recurring topoi (17f.):

- landscape
- isolation
- skewed moral beliefs
- happening/summoning

The *folk horror chain* has been widely accepted by the small existing research community as useful for the analysis of this genre because these four elements can be found in nearly every product connected to it.

Landscape and isolation go hand in hand: The typical folk horror landscape is most often an agricultural landscape. Thus, there is no wonder that folk horror "is interested in rural, earthy association to ancient European pagan and witchcraft traditions or folklore" (Paciorek 2018: 12). Even if landscape is not shaped by agriculture, it is characterized in a folk horror setting by the fact that nature or landscape is shown as a place where people try to scrape a living from a difficult, even hostile environment (e.g., the

herders on the isolated Alps, the charcoal makers in the impenetrable woods, or the fishermen with their tiny boats on the unruly ocean).

The meaning of isolation can be twofold: The landscape is isolated; thus, the population is separated, possibly even alienated from the values and trends of mainstream culture. Another typical trope of folk horror deals with the intrusion of an outsider in a more or less closed, self-sustained society—such as the vicar Merrily Watkins who is from Off (Rickman 2018: 5). Therefore, isolation does not necessarily mean being alone but focuses on the interactions of the outsider character(s) who cannot or will not connect to the closed group—a doubly inverted isolation of sorts (Paciorek 2018: 14; Trummer 2020: 279f.). The isolation of these communities results in their adherence to *skewed moral beliefs*. Therefore, folk horror can be seen as the dark underbelly of idyllic country life. Those *skewed moral beliefs* often manifest as pagan cults insisting on bloody sacrifices to ensure, for example, the fertility of the land and the crops, thus perpetuating 19th century notions about the character of ancient religion (Fehlmann 2014: 377–379; Koven 2007: 270–272). Folk horror's climax frequently ends with what Scovell names *happening/summoning*—such as the invocation of a pagan demon by the means of bloody sacrifices. As Keetley (2020: 15) has noted, the *happening/summoning* has often the function of strengthening the (isolated) communities.

This paper stipulates that the *folk horror chain* does not place enough emphasis on the role of folklore, mythology, and, to a lesser degree, the supernatural that is manifest in these products. Keetley is not alone in emphasizing the significance of folklore when she argues that "folk horror is rooted in the dark 'folk tale', in communal stories of monsters, ghosts, violence, and sacrifice that occupy the threshold between history and fiction" (ibid.: 4).

This interest in folklore—traditional tales, legends, rituals, and superstitions—can be taken a step further and interpreted as an expression of a kind of re-enchantment. As folk horror has roots in the *cultic milieu* or *occulture*, a large subculture alimented by occult themes such as paganism, eastern wisdom and conspirituality, and defined as standing in opposition to the dominant culture, its interest in mythology and the supernatural serves to re-enchant the world. *Occulture* is often interpreted as a reaction against the perceived disenchantment of the world, thus proposing a re-enchantment (Campbell 2002: 14; Partridge 2004: 122–124; 2013: 116).

Folk horror's frequent use of folklore can be seen in a similar vein. It claims authenticity, a sense of place and belonging by incorporating folklore elements in its narrative, but it also hints at what will possibly happen (Evans

2005: 120). The folklore presented as authentic in folk horror products, however, is most often *faux* folklore of the kind that Jeffrey A. Tolbert and Michael Dylan Forster named the folkloresque:

> Simply put, the folkloresque is popular culture's own (emic) perception and performance of folklore. That is, it refers to creative, often commercial products or texts (e.g. films, graphic novels, video games) that give the impression to the consumer (viewer, reader, listener, player) that they derive directly from existing folkloric traditions. In fact, however, a folkloresque product is rarely based on any single vernacular item or tradition; usually it has been consciously cobbled together from a range of folkloric elements, often mixed with newly created elements, to appear as if it emerged organically from a specific source. (Forster 2016: 5)

Thus, the folkloresque has the touch and feel of traditional folklore, with its focus on magical, occult, and supernatural elements, but is newly created to satisfy the needs for "authentic" traditional life by popular culture (Tolbert 2016: 125). Authenticity and nostalgia also contribute to the lure of folk horror. According to Scovell, folk horror is characterized by a "keen sense of nostalgia" (2017: 158). Folk horror deals effectively with "modern, psychological traumas such as misogyny, violence and religion" (ibid.: 166) by tapping into history and its terrors.

This reference to misogyny and religion serves as a transition to the next chapter, which will retrace the history of female ordination in the Church of England and exorcism or deliverance as it is currently called.

Innovation and Tradition or Female Ordination and Exorcism in the Church of England

At first reading of the novels, one might not realize how new and controversial the ordination of women was for the Church of England and may consider exorcism or deliverance, as it is now most often called, to be the fantastic elements which give more "spice" to the novels.

The Anglican Communion has discussed female ordination since the mid-20th century and the first of the Anglican Churches allowed the ordination of women in the 1970s. The Church of England particularly harbored a heavy opposition against female ordination, which was considered one of the most controversial topics, culminating in the fear that the admittance of women to priesthood could lead to a schism of the Church (Armstrong 1993: 196; Chapman 1989: 1f.).

The Church of England has allowed women to become deacons since 1987, but many women were not content with this important but still subordinate function and were active in the *Movement for the Ordination of Women* (Jamet-Moreau 2012: 213). Finally, the Church of England introduced female ordination in 1994; the majority of the first ten ordained women belonged to the *Movement for the Ordination of Women*. However, access to the priesthood does not equate to acceptance; ordained women have had to overcome a partly hostile clergy and lay congregations that sometimes interpret the ordination of women as a sign of moral decay. Sexism is also widespread and may come from other clergy as well as from the lay congregation mouthing, *inter alia*, problems with the idea that a female priest may be attractive. As women priests are still a novelty in the Church of England, they often feel that its structures reflect a male world. Conservative critiques—male and female—understood the female sex to be unsuited for this task. Two thousand years of tradition of a male clergy served as a strong argument against female ordination. Not only men but also women were opposed to female ordination. More secular-orientated women did not understand why certain women would want to join the Church, which was very often interpreted as one of the principal institutions responsible for the continued discrimination of women (Armstrong 1993: 229; Chapman 1989: 154; Jamet-Moreau 2012: 207–211, 244, 250).

The reflections of this debate are discernible throughout the novels. The high-ranking police woman Annie Howe, who functions in a way as Merrily Watkins's secular counterpart (Schrock 2018: 693), explains her aversion to the idea of female priests: "Women priests – that whole thing made me angry. Women who wanted to be priests. I thought we were bigger than that crap" (Rickman 2014: 225). Howe does not see why women would be interested in the religious or spiritual sphere if they could aspire to power in the real world. The novels frequently negotiate the place and role of women in the Church of England. Merrily Watkins, for example, has to fend off the sexual harassment of her organist. Her situation and physique—quite young and attractive, widowed, and a single mother to a teenage daughter—are very often discussed to point out her unsuitability for this office.

Exorcism is a minor but controversial theme in the Church of England, mainly connected to evangelical circles. The representatives of evangelical churches stress the need to exorcize demons; more liberal parts of the Church of England tend to see exorcism and demonology as elements of an overcome tradition; they interpret exorcism or deliverance more in terms of psychological counselling (Collins 2009: 5, 187–189; Leavey 2010: 573–584).

The eerie and the supernatural still hold a great appeal to explain certain personal crises. There generally exist two divergent interpretations of such crises (Freund and Pfeiffer 2019: 9; Leavey 2010: 572):

- a spiritual tradition, seeking help in religious rituals, and
- a scientific interpretation focusing on medicine and psychology.

One or the other interpretation is favored, depending on the social, religious, and cultural background of people, and help is sought in the respective field (Freund and Pfeiffer 2019: 10; Leavey 2010: 572). Spiritually inclined people often interpret such crises or unexplainable phenomena on a religious basis, while the psychological approach focuses on the inner conflicts of the people concerned. However, such an explanation may fail to consider spiritual experiences (Pfeiffer 2019: 131f.).

Merrily Watkins explains her interpretation of deliverance in quite similar terms: "All I do, Merrily said, most of the time, is try and help people whose lives have been disrupted by something they can't easily explain" (Rickman 2017: 213).

The practice of exorcism declined in the second half of the 20th century, but, in the same period, popular culture showed an increasing interest in the theme. There was an intensified demand for exorcisms especially after the airing of the movie *The Exorcist* in March 1974 (Collins 2009: 187; Young 2018: 141). The so-called Barnsley case triggered further controversy over exorcism. In October 1974, Michael Taylor, after frequenting an evangelical group, was persuaded that he was possessed by demons and brutally killed his wife after a night of exorcism. The public only learnt of this coincidence during his trial the following spring. Taylor was acquitted because he was considered insane and, subsequently, spent some years in psychiatric institutions (Young 2018: 141–143). In the aftermath of this crime, the Church of England formed a special commission dealing with the practice and future of exorcism. The name of exorcism was changed to deliverance ministry in the 1980s to emphasize its more modern character and function as counselling. In 1987, Michael Perry (then Archdeacon of Durham) published the book *Deliverance. Psychic Disturbances and Occult Involvement* in the name of *The Christian Exorcism Study Group*, and it was released in a new expanded edition in 2012. The central message of *Deliverance* can hardly be missed: "Magic, which is related both to the occult and to the psychic, is the attempted imposition of the will on circumstances or people" (Perry 1987: 45). Faith and magic are incompatible systems for Perry and *The Christian Exorcism Study Group*. The sole aim of the true Christian is to trust in God and serve him. The

subtitle *Psychic Disturbances and Occult Involvement* puts the emphasis on the perceived dangers resulting from occultism and esotericism. Even a slight interest in such themes is considered dangerous, or, as Young puts it in his critique, "Perry is as much interested in diagnosing the demonic potential of the New Age and occultism as he is in the practice of exorcism itself" (2018: 158). Exorcists often see black magic groups infiltrating the majority of society as their main adversary. The existence of such satanic circles cannot be proven; they are best considered a kind of sinister myth (La Fontaine 1992: 15–17; Young 2018: 157, 187). Subsequently, from the point of view of many people involved in the practice of exorcism, a general interest in occult themes and practices such as Tarot reading and paganism opens the road to perdition and may become, in this interpretation, the source of demonic possession (Leavey 2010: 580).

Rickman frequently quotes from *Deliverance* in the Merrily Watkins series, and this difference between Christian faith and magic is emphasized in his books, although he often writes in a rather sceptical manner about organized religions, and some of the characters who are not Christian are portrayed as luminaries.

In 2000, there was a further official paper from the Church of England on exorcism: *A Time to Heal*. An influential figure in writing this paper was Dominic Walker (Bishop of Reading/Monmouth), who represents a more sceptical position concerning the possibility of demonical possessions of people (Young 2019: 160). Whether sceptic or not, the Church of England's literature on exorcism and deliverance fails to engage with the existing historical literature, thus ignoring "the historic use of the rite to victimize marginalized people, especially women, children, indigenous people and ethnic minorities" (ibid.: 185).

FOLKLORE IN FOLK HORROR

As noted above, folk horror's interest in folkloric knowledge and traditions serves to understand the past better and give a sense of authenticity, local color, and belonging. But this knowledge is double-edged; if it is not properly understood, it is of a dangerous and superficial character, leading to perdition (Evans 2005: 117f.; Fehlmann 2018: 174).

Unsurprisingly, there are many references to folklore, legends, customs, and rituals in Rickman's novels. Ella Mary Leather's (1875–1928) collection, *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* (1912) is very important. Ella Mary Leather was from Herefordshire, and she devoted herself to the collection of customs,

rituals, and legends, thus following the trend of the late 19th century to search for and collect the lost wisdom of the past in rural areas (Freeman 2005: 51). The book is undoubtedly a treasure trove for the customs and legends of Herefordshire. Rickman lauds the book as "the best collection of local legends and traditions ever published in Britain. At least, I've never found one more detailed" (2018: 9). Leather's *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* may even be described as a kind of Holy Scripture for the series—or, at least, for Lucy Devenish, the character most closely connected to folkloric knowledge.

As wassailing and Morris dancing feature prominently in two of Rickman's novels, these customs, which may be interpreted as important symbols of English (rural) identity, will be brought into focus (Wigley 2019: 382).

Orchard wassailing is a ritual celebrated in the cider-producing regions of South England to ensure a good apple harvest the next year and probably also to ward off evil spirits. The original date of the celebration of the custom was on Twelfth Night. Thus, wassailing traditionally marked the beginning of the agricultural year. Although a pre-Christian origin of this custom is sometimes assumed, the first record dates from 1585 in Kent, and this wassailing was not only directed at apple orchards (Marchant 2019: 142f.). Ella Mary Leather reports that around 1900, wassailing was often accompanied by groups of Morris dancers (Leather 1912: 109). There was a manifest decline of this custom during the entire 20th century and only the last 20 to 30 years have seen a revitalization. People engaged in this reawakened custom often understand it as a way to create stability in an increasingly mobile world. Furthermore, the revitalization of the tradition helps to integrate newcomers in the respective village communities (Simpson 2003: 142f.; Wigley 2019: 380–382).

Rickman presents the wassailing ceremony in the opening scene of *The Wine of Angels* in this vein, starting with the newly arrived Cassidys' doomed attempt to reinstate a tradition and become the respected members of the village community. Apple orchards are traditionally places of richness and idyll, but not in the first volume of the series: this orchard is neglected and has, in turn, become "resentful" (Rickman 2011a: 2). The orchard serves as a superficial symbol of the cosiness of the village, but literately hides the darker secrets of the village (Martindale 2013: 31f.).

This new ceremony meets the strong disapproval of local Lucy Devenish who even reads from Leather's collection to prove that traditional wassailing was celebrated in a different way in the region, and so it is wrong and will create offence (Rickman 2011a: 4). It could be argued that the Cassidys' attempt at reinstating wassailing is *folkloresque* in character.

English culture especially expresses a fear of folk customs (Galea 2014: 78) even states that the reference to folk tradition serves to intimidate. This kind of tradition is shown as strange, eerie, and alienating (ibid.: 82). A similar use of traditional elements of English customs is quite frequent in Rickman's series. His description of the music accompanying Morris dancers in *All of a Winter's Night* is ripe with frightening elements: "The music – accordion, concertina, drum – was slow and seismic, like rock strata shifting. A suggestion of entirely unexpected menace, like Santa Claus coming down the chimney with a machete" (Rickman 2017: 76).

The oldest records show that Morris developed primarily in aristocratic, even royal circles in the late 15th and early 16th centuries; after 1525 it was no longer practiced at the English court, but Morris became popular with the country's subjects. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Morris dancing was an entertainment of the poorer classes of agricultural workers. It served to raise money in the months when paid work was scarce, and it was even seen as a kind of begging (Hutton 1996; Middleton-Metcalfe 2013: 6). In this manner, one of the Morris dancing characters in *All of a Winter's Night* (2017) explains the origin and purpose of the dance: "The dancers were usually farm labourers trying to raise some cash at a time of year when there wasn't much farm work around. Tour the villages, dance for the people, throw down the hat. Also explains the black faces. Didn't want to get clocked by their employers" (Rickman 2017: 90).

One characteristic trait of the so-called Border Morris is blackfacing. The widely accepted explanation of this phenomenon argues that blackfacing served as a means of disguise, thus granting anonymity and a certain licence in contrast to the normal public personality of the dancer, and as a marker for ceremonial and ritual activity. The first to formulate such a theory was Cecil Sharp (1859–1924, a founding figure of the folksong and -dance revival in England) (Hutton 1996; Buckland 2001/2: 417).

There is a further theory that the name Morris derives from the Moors, the Muslim inhabitants of the Maghreb, Hispania, and Sicily in the Middle Ages. This argument links Morris dancing to the practices of the dervishes. Furthermore, bells on clothes—as most Morris dancers have—served as symbols of Moorishness on English stages (Middleton-Metcalfe 2013: 9).

Newer research links the blackened faces to the popularity of minstrelsy, which arrived in Britain in the 1830s and was hugely popular. The portrayal of black people by whites on English stages had been common since the early 19th century. Minstrelsy left its imprint on Morris not only in the blackened faces but also in the tunes and instruments, especially the banjo (Buckland

1990: 2, 5, 8; Middleton-Metcalfe 2013: 9). It seems that blackfacing declined in the early 20th century and has had a revival since the 1960s (Palmer 2002: 183). Nowadays, this practice is very controversially discussed as a sign of racism, but it has certainly functioned as an indicator of otherness.

Some of the dances that Cecil Sharp considered typical of traditional Morris were, in fact, reinventions of folklorists of the late 19th century looking for "authentic" old dances. These dances corresponded to Sharp's image of Morris as a primordial dance. The assumption that Morris stemmed from time immemorial was often mingled with the idea that these dances were originally derived from old rituals with the aim of ensuring fertility. This explanation was popular among folklorists, dancers, and the general public alike for many years (Hutton 1996).

Thus, Sharp was misled by his own wishes of how a traditional dance should be performed. What also manifests in this activity of collecting folkloric material is a binary relationship between the collector and so-called tradition bearer (i.e., an inhabitant of a rural world) that, in the end, emphasizes the otherness of the rural counterpart, who is imagined as deeply rooted in traditions (Buckland 2001/2002: 418f.).

One of the members of the Morris side talks in *All of a Winter's Night* about this rift between the insider and outsider perspective: "Look […] I grew up, like most village boys, rejecting all this. It was offensive. Superstition. Like we were yokels. All the customs that gets brought back, it's always some bugger from Off, thinks they knows more about it than you do" (Rickman 2017: 387).

Rickman reveals that this Morris is a product of the 1970s in an attempt to reconcile the tradition of Morris dancing with the spiritual thirst of its founder with a strong interest in the teachings of Georges Gurdjieff (1866–1949), who, in turn, was influenced by Sufi traditions. In this way, the author links the dance to the meditative practice of the dervishes (Rickman 2018: 140). This must be read as an attempt to re-enchant the world.

RE-ENCHANTMENT OR DISENCHANTMENT?

This article deals with folk horror as a kind of re-enchantment of a disenchanted world. Keetley understands folk horror's re-enchantment, on the one hand, as a re-installment of the forces of the supernatural. On the other hand, she sees the evocation of a lost "enchanted" world also as an indicator of the completely disenchanted status of the contemporary world (2020: 16).

In the case of Rickman's Merrily Watkins series, it becomes even more complicated: the main character is a vicar, a representative of an organized and hierarchical religion, but throughout the novels, this kind of religion is constantly shown teetering on the edge of becoming superfluous. Even Merrily Watkins, as its representative, shows obvious signs of resignation with the religion she represents: "It's only by being dull and conservative that the Church remains relatively intact" (Rickman 2011b: 365). Rickman's portrait of the Church of England shows this religious denomination as dull and lethargic. The thought that the Church is probably too conservative to relate to the spiritual needs of the contemporary populace is mouthed many times in the series. Rickman's (2017: 189) overall evaluation of the Church of England as "part of a long-expired England" fits within a folk horror setting, which is fuelled by nostalgia for a long-lost past.

Therefore, it is fitting that Merrily Watkins fears more that the Church may have become as secular as the surrounding society: "There's now a whole bunch of ministers within the Anglican Church ready to tell you that the Virgin birth and the Christmas story and the resurrection are all myths and God as we know Him is just Father Christmas" (Rickman 2011a: 394).

A trend to more secular and liberal theology has been detectable in parts of the Church of England since the 1970s as a response to the dwindling church attendance, while other factions have adopted a more fundamentalist view in response to the disenchantment and spot the work of Evil everywhere—especially in modern urban life (Waters 2019: 251f.).

Rickman's series presents different models of the clergy; most are shown as problematic characters. They are too secular, only interested in power or are even covert Satanists (cf. *Midwinter of the Spirit*) or evangelist zealots, who see the work of the devil everywhere and use religion to further their personal vendetta (cf. *A Crown of Light*).

These bad role models allow Rickman to present his female vicar as a viable option to propitiate secular modernity and faith. Doubts and crises of faith are Merrily Watkins's permanent companions. She can be interpreted as a model for a spiritually seeking person in an increasingly post-secular world. Schrock (2018: 692) has noted that Merrily Watkins not only lives on a geographical border but also a spiritual one that he names the "doubt border."

Although organized and hierarchical religions are shown in a rather dubious light, their overall evaluation is positive because they provide their followers with a set of certainties and, thus, offer stability. In Rickman's fictive world, their adversaries are Satanists, magicians, and atheists, all driven by the desire for knowledge that is not meant for them, because they want it

solely to pursue their personal aims (Schrock 2018: 699). Interestingly, it is Athena White, a magician, who explains this to Merrily Watkins: "People who follow a religion, like Christianity or Islam, have faith that there's something beyond normal life. A magician wants to know. To know the unknowable" (Rickman 2014: 111).

The series does not stop emphasizing that what distinguishes people is not their religion but their spiritual inclination: "Merrily – Betty pushed back her hair – there doesn't need to be conflict. There's actually a lot of common ground. Spiritual people of any kind have more in common than they do with total non-believers" (Rickman 2011b: 365).

Betty Thorogood, a young pagan witch, is presented as wise beyond her years. It is noteworthy that the series generally links spiritual wisdom more to women than to men. In a way, this is a remnant of the traditional concept of gender roles that identifies femininity as passive, being focused on the inner world and having a penchant for religion, while masculinity is imagined as active, aggressive, and finding an outlet for its energy in the outer sphere (cf. Fraisse 1994).

The series tends to attribute wisdom to women not only in spiritual matters. Lucy Devenish, although she dies in the first volume, is permanently remembered for her comprehensive knowledge of village lore and folklore traditions. Leather's *The Folklore of Herefordshire* is even labelled as her Bible (Rickman 2011a: 411). She stands for traditional and folkloric wisdom which serves to better understand village life. In the second book, Athena White offers illumination or insight into occult and magical practices, and helps Merrily Watkins to ward off the psychic attack of which she has been the victim. Her thorough expertise of magical practices and occult themes may be the reason why she is shown in a less positive light than Lucy Devenish (cf. Rickman 2015: 450). Athena White has a more mischievous character, and, in the later adventures, she becomes increasingly frail. Betty Thorogood serves as a positive model for the spiritually stable person; she finds security in her pagan-inspired religious convictions but stresses the similarity between all those spiritually inclined and/or searching for spirituality.

In contrast to those women who have found security and stability in religious or folkloric wisdom, Merrily Watkins and her teenage daughter Jane are still searching. Their status as searchers probably makes them susceptible to spiritual and physical dangers; thus, they find themselves repeatedly in a liminal phase which is ripe with danger (cf. van Gennep 1986). Such a reading seems quite convincing, especially in the case of the teenager Jane. She is in a transitional phase—neither a child nor an adult—and has to find her place.

However, the mother is a grown woman and, as a vicar, even in a position of (spiritual) respect. As has been noted, she may serve as a role model for people searching for spirituality in a post-secular world (Schrock 2018: 691). But if she is a role model, how can one explain her frequent helplessness and weakness? She gets physically sick at her installation ceremony in *The Wine of Angels*. In addition, in *Midwinter of the Spirit*, her first missions as an exorcist go wrong. She is mentally or psychically attacked, respectively faints, and her mentor, Huw Owens, has to perform the necessary rites. Throughout the series, she seems weak and in need of the support of more experienced people. Schrock interprets these weaknesses as expressions of "the emotional strain of a believer within these irreligious times" (2018: 694).

By contrast, Whitbourn identifies Merrily Watkins as a Gothic heroine, thus explaining her frailty and powerlessness. He notes that she and her professions, both as a vicar and an exorcist, pose a threat to an illuminated, post-secular society: "She is a figure of opposition and the ambassador of the Gothic – that is, a deeper, maybe darker, underlying reality – to the world in which she moves" (2011: 439). Furthermore, he stresses that her professions join tradition and modernity—even in her person. Thus, the border that until now has not been treated in detail but remains central to the concept of folk horror has been reached: tradition and modernity.

CONCLUSION, OR SOME THOUGHTS ON TRADITION AND MODERNITY AS EXPRESSED IN FOLK HORROR

The border between traditional and modern England is also negotiated in the series. The secularization schism separates the old and new England. Modernity seems to be only a varnish over something dark, dangerous, and unchangeable—in any case, that is the image that Rickman evokes. The stability, even immutability of rural life is also problematized in the series: "It was the depressing side of country life; they all seemed to know their place in the Pattern and the Pattern didn't change" (Rickman 2011a: 308).

The presentation of life in the country is marked by a strong bias or even intended "othering" (Fehlmann 2018: 178f.). This bias is embodied in the figure of the peasant, as Palmer notes in his study *Cultures of Darkness*: "In the capitalist transformation of the countryside the peasant is thus Janus-faced; with an interpretative gaze fixed on the past, the fields are ploughed for a future that cannot be glimpsed" (2000: 25). This understanding of the peasant and rural life is in line with the changes that the image of the farmer have undergone since the mid-19th century. The peasant or rural dweller

standing traditionally for ignorance and backwardness was reinvented as the personification of tradition and wisdom. Nevertheless, he/she remains without a proper voice; he/she is the "other" of the more urban, better educated collector (Bell 1997: 91; Buckland 2001/2002: 418f.; Freeman 2005: 53). Nowadays, newcomers—still more urban and wealthier—have replaced the collectors.

Folk horror negotiates the tensions resulting from this situation. For the newcomers, the secure, happy country life turns out to be just a veneer. Underneath this varnish, bad things are waiting to resurface or, in the words of one of the characters of the series: "Roots is generally gnarled and twisted. Best kept buried, my experience" (Rickman 2011b: 108). Folk horror deals with the return of the old, the hidden, and the suppressed; because of this character, its haunting becomes more powerful and dreadful. But what folk horror presents as the pitfalls of rural life reflects, in the end, on the dark sides of modern life.

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A NEW LIFE OF THE FAIRY TALE
IN CONTEMPORARY SOAP OPERAS

Abstract: Folk narratives are a form of communication that is open to changes in any culture. Some folklore genres get completely forgotten as the culture changes. Other genres, such as the fairy tale, may continue to exist, even though the values and attitudes they express have changed to some extent. From the perspective of folkloristics, TV serials, especially soap operas, are the new epitomes of the continuity of oral narrative tradition. Soap operas, like folktales, have new versions which represent the social relations of the time in which they were created. There are some moral values plainly demonstrated in folktales and soap operas. Didactic tales are found in all the cultures: from the ancient times, Middle Ages, to early modern and modern periods. Even nowadays, the general idea in every soap opera is the importance of justice.

This paper gives an account of the folktale types ATU 510A *Cinderella*, ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls*, and ATU 531 *The Clever Horse*, the most predominant themes in contemporary TV serials. The paper suggests an explanation that one of the reasons why TV serials have better and more fruitful results in the Caucasus, Middle East, Balkans, and Far East lies in the rejuvenation of fairy tales and in the utilization of traditional tale-telling themes in the regions with the authentic storytelling.

Keywords: folklore, storytelling, folktale, oral narrative tradition, soap opera

Folk narratives are a form of communication that is open to changes in any culture. Some folklore genres get completely forgotten as the culture changes. Other genres such as the fairy tale may continue to exist, even though the values and attitudes they express have changed to some extent. From the perspective of folkloristics, TV serials, especially soap operas, are the new epitomes of the continuity of oral narrative tradition. Soap operas,

like folktales, have new versions which represent the social relations of the time in which they were created. There are some moral values plainly demonstrated in folktales and soap operas. Didactic tales are found in all the cultures: from the ancient times, Middle Ages, to early modern and modern periods. Even nowadays, the general idea in every soap opera is the importance of justice. The screenplays could be compared with the main scheme of fairy tales: everything gravitates toward the happy ending when the positive characters achieve happiness and the antagonists are punished.

Folklore studies have examined popular cinematography from a number of perspectives. On the one hand, folklorists are able to observe and trace the process of homogenizing cultural expressions through the mass media. On the other hand, a great deal of folklore scholarship has explored those traditional narrative types and motifs when they appear in popular movies and television.

This paper gives an account of the folktale types ATU 510A *Cinderella*, ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls*, and ATU 531 *The Clever Horse*, the most prominent themes in contemporary TV serials. The author of the text argues that the reason why Turkish TV serials have better and more fruitful results lies in the utilization of traditional tale-telling themes. The market for television serials in Turkey has improved enormously due to their popularity in the Caucasus, Middle East, Balkans, and Far Eastern regions—the regions with the authentic storytelling.

The critical survey of the academic literature on the relationship between folkloristics, popular movies, and television is presented by Mikel J. Koven, Mark Allen Peterson, Christine Geraghty, etc. (Koven 2003; Peterson 2007; Geraghty 2005). According to O. J. Joycee, "The development and institutionalization of culture studies has long been intertwined with that of media studies. It is not enough to recognize that the mass mediums play a significant role in folktale transmission and dissemination; it is closer to the truth to admit that they have become a part of storytelling" (2014: 242). Folklore in the modern media retains all the criteria by which we judge what folktale is and what is not: it is socially relevant, based on tradition and addresses current needs (Dégh 1994).

As Mark Allen Peterson has already noticed, the rise of global folklore is enabled by the capacity of the global culture industries to appropriate local images, transform them, and circulate them across the ever-widening routes of distribution. However, it also depends on the capacity of local culture industries to limit and transform media to suit local audiences (Peterson 2007: 94). The scholarly analyses of Turkish serials consider the appeal of

these cultural products to a cross-cultural audience, relating this fact to the emergence of both supranational and subnational regional spheres with cultural proximities (Yörük and Pantelis 2013; Celik Rappas 2016; Geçer 2015). In their article about the case of Turkish soap opera "colonialism," Zafer Yörük and Pantelis Vatikiotis (2013) demonstrate that the Turkish influence over the said region is not merely cultural but also economic. The "soft power" argument is consequently based on the rise in the economic interactions (an increase in the volume of export) along with the tangible increase in the demand for Turkish TV soap operas.

Soap operas are challenging in the terms of their narrative construction and the continuous flow of real-time events. In their narrative aspects, soap operas are comparable with fairy tales, although, unlike fairy tales, the soaps are continuous. Most texts can be analyzed in terms of storytelling, with the application of the concepts of fairy tales.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN
TELEVISION SERIALS AND FOLKTALES

Each story, which begins with a problem and ends with success, follows the structure of the fairy tale. The term "structure" is used as folklorists define it. With the structure of the fairy tale as a starting point, one can compose an infinite number of tales, all constructed according to the same law as folktales (Propp 1997: 76). Vladimir Propp's scheme with the maximum of thirty-one functions and seven characters has been applied to movies, for it can reveal the underlying structure of the narrative, not only in movies but in other media too. That is why he is called the "Aristotle of film and television narratology" (Joycee 2014: 243). The obvious merit of Propp's scheme lies in the fact that he created and developed a morphology method which became central for the humanities in the twentieth century and provided a starting point for further post-structuralist research. For the purposes of this structural study—which is not based on the early twentieth-century theory and is envisaged as a potential framework for extracting similar elements which add up to the proposition that contemporary soap operas are based on a standard register of protagonists with their stereotypical functions, requisites, and actions—it will be vital to keep this scheme in mind when interpreting heroic displays.

Many similarities can be discovered by comparing soap operas with folktales. The most important similarity between the two genres is their

theme. Many storytellers, female in particular, tended to emphasize the romantic aspect of tales.

There are other, more technical similarities between the folktale and the serial. Folklorists have long recognized the merits of Axel Olrik's observation that two is the maximum number of characters who appear at one time. The law of two to a scene is a strict one. The princesses of folktales can attend the battle with the dragon only as mute onlookers. The interaction of three or more characters, which is so popular in literary drama, is not allowed in folk narrative (Olrik 1965: 135). As Horace Newcomb states, "In the soaps … it is rare that more than three characters appear in a single shot, and in most cases, we see only two characters. In these scenes it is also rare that we are offered more than a head-and-shoulders close-up" (1974: 168). Apart from the fact that the storyteller plays all the parts, the audience will pay most attention to the upper half of the storyteller's body (Gerald 1983: 50).

This preoccupation with the fact, in serials as in folktales, is due to the emphasis on dialogue. The soap opera is a dialogue drama with little physical action. On the screen of the television set, moreover, the bodily movements of soap operas' characters often seem awkward and stiff. Both male and female narrators in private or family tradition exercise restraint when representing violent physical action, whereas in public tradition storytellers were unbridled in their movements.

According to Thomas Gerald (1983: 50), the parallel between the soap opera and the folktale is the physical context in which the tale narration and the soap opera action take place. The storyteller practiced his art in the *veillée*, in a kitchen, that is, in a familiar and physically restricted milieu. In soap operas, the action almost always takes place in a house or building, even when allusions are made to events happening outside. This familiar context is important on the technical level, from the audience's point of view. The viewer is not provided with vertical or panoramic shots in soap opera. Most often he sees the actor's faces, just as a storyteller's audience watches his face. The televised serial imitates the reality of a traditional narrative.

Further parallels between serials and folktales are formulas and the rhythm of narration. Folk narratives are formally regulated by rules such as the law of opening and closing, the law of repetition, the law of three, the law of two to a scene, the law of contrast, the laws of twins, etc. The opening and closing formulas are important in TV serials too. They serve as audible signs signaling the beginning or the end of an episode, but they also have a real effect on the audience: a smile of recognition betraying an expected pleasure.

The narrators of folk narrative traditions and soap operas try to reproduce the rhythm of natural conversational speech and to exploit the dramatic potential of voice, by lowering it, for example, before a violent or striking event.

Nevertheless, there are some important differences between folktales and TV serials to be observed. The narration in private or family tradition is usually full of hesitations, corrections, and nondramatic pauses.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN
TELEVISION SERIALS AND FOLKTALES

The most obvious difference is in the structure of each genre. A folktale's development is perfectly predictable. The triple repetition of events is so characteristic that even if a listener has never heard such and such a tale before, he/she knows what to expect. There is very little suspense in folktales.

It is certainly true that formulaic-like actions and situations are not lacking in soap operas; but they are not of the same kinds as repetition in tales. In soap operas, one encounters the same motifs of marital infidelity and intrigue, as well as certain character-types. But the problems raised by the highly emotional interaction of the actors are so personal, in that an audience may readily identify with them, that one tends not to notice the repetition of conflict and intrigue (Gerald 1983: 50). Moreover, the soap opera does undergo real evolution. The scenario is organic, changing from day to day, from month to month, from year to year, allowing the growth and development of characters.

It is this development—of characters and situations—which guarantees the soap opera its constant suspense, compared to the folktale which is repetitive and lacks character development. Unlike the soap opera, the folktale (which has a clearly indicated beginning and end) is a discreet unit of narrative entertainment. The soap opera evolves over an unlimited period of time, it is always "to be continued." It has organic evolution, and its repetition is not obvious, as it is in the folktale. If one may ultimately guess that such and such an affair will come to naught or will end in tragedy, its detailed development is not predictable, and suspense is kept at a very high level, especially by the Friday cliff-hanger. Suspense engendered by soap operas seems to have had the greatest effect of all on storytellers and their audience, perhaps because soap operas seem to more accurately reflect the uncertainties of life (Gerald 1983: 51).

THE THEME OF CINDERELLA

The tale of Cinderella is said to be the story that has most often been made into movies. The success of this story in cinema seems to lie in the same reasons that have made it so attractive from the ancient literature to the present: this romantic story glorifies love and ends in marriage as the epitome of happy ending. On the one hand, the story of Cinderella offers the chance to transcend loneliness and poverty. On the other hand, this story can be interpreted in various ways. The motifs from the *Cinderella* tale type[1] have had an explosive effect on literature[2] and art. The mid- to late twentieth century found many movies display a clear fairy-tale plot of *Cinderella* type, especially European and American cinematography. The following paper gives only a limited glimpse of some Turkish and Georgian TV serials exploring the themes of conflict between girls and women.

The TV serials are not so close to the literary source, but they are greatly influenced by some of the tale's most outstanding features, such as the presence of a poor or victimized female character who rises on the social scale.

The Turkish TV serial entitled *Benim Hala Umudum Var* [I Still Have Hope] (2014, dir. Deniz Akçay) is categorized as a "modern Cinderella story": it tells the story of the difficult and pure love of Umut and Ozan who are made for each other, yet from different worlds (*Benim Hala Umudum Var*, 2017). This TV drama was broadcast on Star TV and later on Fox TV between 2013 and 2014.

Umut (Gizem Karaca) is a young and beautiful, but really pure and naïve girl who works as a manicurist in one of the well-known beauty salons. She lives with her mother, her stepfather, two stepsisters, and two stepbrothers, but she only cares for her mother and her little brother. Her life is similar to Cinderella's in that she has stepsisters who do not do any house chores and who are always jealous of her, but she tries not to lose hope. And then, one day her life changes substantially—out of the blue, she meets Ozan (Şükrü Özyildiz) who is an extroverted, cheerful, energetic, and attractive young man coming from a rich family. As they get to know each other, they begin to bond, but since Umut has prejudice towards rich people, Ozan says that he is also a poor guy in order not to lose her. As their relationship develops, he tries to disclose the truth, but never manages to do that. His wish is to

....

[1] The earliest example of the motif of conflict between a young and older woman is fixed in the Ancient Roman novel *Metamorphoses* by Apuleius, 2nd century AD.

[2] The reliance on traditional fairy tales, such as *Cinderella*, *Bluebeard*, and *Beauty and the Beast*, is visible in *Jane Eyre* by Charlotte Brontë.

save Umut from her family and to make her happy. Although the limits of this love are obvious, Umut believes she can escape from her dreary life. This TV serial overlaps with the Cinderella story in more than one aspect. For example, the first meeting of the main characters takes place at a party, and the heroine loses her necklace.

The theme of a necklace in association with Cinderella is found in other TV serials too. *Aşk ve Ceza* [Love and Punishment] (2011) is not a "modern Cinderella story," but the nickname of the main female character is Cinderella. Yasemin, the young woman who lost love, marriage, and innocent belief due to betrayal, goes to Bodrum, where she throws herself into the nightclubs, has an affair with the man called Savas, and disappears like a Cinderella, leaving no trace except for a necklace she drops. Savas does not stop looking for Yasemin, the Cinderella (*Aşk ve Ceza*, 2017).

In 2013, the serial *Adini Feriha Koydum* [I Named Her Feriha] was very popular in eastern Europe (*Adini Feriha Koydum*, 2018; Pembecioğlu 2014: 31). It narrates the life of Feriha (Hazal Kaya), a young and beautiful girl who is a doorkeeper's daughter. The plot of this TV serial has many similarities with the theme of Cinderella: the heroine is an attractive, talented and ambitious daughter of a poor family. While studying at university, Feriha poses as a rich girl. She meets Emir Sarrafoğlu (Çağatay Ulusoy) there. Emir, who has never been in love before, falls in love with Feriha at first sight not knowing who she really is. She also falls in love with him and is trapped in her own lies. In this drama, the female antagonist characters, who have the same functions as Cinderella's stepsisters, are Cansu (Sedef Şahin) and Hande (Ceyda Ateş), the rich girls who are jealous and try to separate Feriha and Emir.

The motif of a poor girl who gets the attention of a rich boy, is a general conception of numerous TV serials, including *Yo soy Betty, la fea* [I am Betty, the Ugly One], filmed in Colombia in 2001. More than a dozen versions of the telenovela have been made in other countries due to the popularity of the plot. In Georgia, the TV serial *Gogona Gareubnidan* [The Girl From Suburb, 2010] is based on the Colombian soap opera.

The professional profile of modern Cinderellas is another aspect that might be affected by the contemporary expectations of what women can offer to the society as part of the workforce. In *Ask ve Ceza*, Nurgul Yeşilçay plays a role of an advertising agent whose intelligence helps her get promotion. In *Benim Hala Umudum Var*, Gisem becomes an actress. *Adini Feriha Koydum* shows that the classical discrimination on the basis of the inferior social class has become more complex. Feriha's Prince does not reject her on account of her social circumstances, but because she lied to him by pretending to be a rich student.

The tale of *Cinderella* (ATU 510), in Caucasian and Middle Eastern folklore is combined with another tale type—the tale of *The Kind and the Unkind Girls* (ATU 480), also known as *The Spinning-Women by the Spring*. This tale type is one of the most widely distributed tale types across the globe, puts a good, obedient, self-effacing, or kind girl against her opposite, showing how proper behavior will be rewarded and bad behavior punished. Although some variants have male figures, in general this is a tale of and for women and girls, and has been said to depict the childhood crisis of learning to become a self-sufficient adult, both emotionally and materially (Martin 2008: 533).

The patience of a kind girl who will be praised—this motif is presented in the TV serial *Elimi Birakma* (2018). The main character is Azra (Alina Boz), a young girl whose father died in a fire accident and left her and her little brother with the greedy stepmother. Azra's life changes when she meets an old woman, her aunt Şeker (Seray Göyler), who seems to be like Cinderella's Godmother. The first episodes of this TV serial have many similarities with the structure of the folktale: The heroine is tested, and interrogated to prepare the way for her receiving magical helper. She reacts to the actions of the future helper. She withstands the test and is rewarded by the "Godmother," who is no less than a rich business lady in Istanbul.

In the third episode, aunt Şeker tests Azra's patience with asking her to shake a featherbed and sew new pillows. This very scene evokes associations with the Caucasian and Turkish versions of ATU 510 *Cinderella*, including the tale type ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls*.

THE BALD-HEADED BOY

The tale type ATU 531 *The Clever Horse* comprises of various tales dealing with a clever horse. The Caucasian and Middle Eastern versions of this tale type talk about a poor boy with golden hair who hides his identity and pretends to be bald-headed. According to the *Greenwood Encyclopedia of Folktales and Fairytales*,

> A typically Near Eastern hero character is the baldheaded man, often a baldheaded shepherd. At the beginning of the tale, the baldhead is an outcast, a sluggard, or a coward, and always a pauper. During the tale's action and while being challenged, he proves to be clever and witty, courageous and reckless. With these qualities, he masters the most difficult tasks, often wins the favors of the princess, and becomes king. Sometimes, as in the tale of "The Magic Horse," the actual prince disguises himself as a baldhead.

Another frequent hero character is the wood collector, representing the lowest stratum of society. The wood collector's deep poverty usually goes together with his true belief, helping him to overcome his initial destitution and eventually acquire both wealth and happiness. (Marzolph 2008: 501)

İçerde [Inside], a Turkish TV serial, follows the story of two brothers, Sarp (Çağatay Ulusoy) and Umut Yılmaz (Aras Bulut Iynemli), who were separated during their childhood, and end up on opposite sides of the law. The protagonist Sarp Yilmaz is a former convict who becomes part of a gangster's inner group, apparently following in his father's footsteps. He is in fact working as an undercover cop for the commander in order to arrest Celal Duman (Çetin Tekindor), whom he blames for the imprisonment and death of his father, and for the disappearance of his younger brother Umut, which deeply affected him. Sarp has a strong sense of justice, he is very intelligent and skilled, managing to gain Celal's trust and constantly avoiding being exposed as a cop. He falls in love with Melek (Bensu Soral), Celal's daughter, and finds himself repeatedly at odds with Mert Karadağ, who is, unbeknownst to him, his long-lost brother Umut.

İçerde was first aired on September 19, 2016 on Show TV in Turkey. After the success, the TV serial was picked up by the broadcasting companies of other countries. Channels in Georgia, Azerbaijan, Greece, Romania, Albania, Bulgaria, Iraq, Israel, Pakistan, Malaysia, Korea, and Chile have signed the deals for the telecast of this ratings smash hit. It is the author's premise that the main reason why the TV serial became popular with both Western and Middle Eastern audiences is not only the fascinating screenplay and charming actors but also the connection with the traditional storytelling.

In the fifth episode, the schoolchildren perform a play "Keloğlan"—"The Bald-headed Boy." Behind the scenes happens an important meeting of the heroine and the hero who is a shaven-headed handsome young man. The kissing couple looks very harmonious with the background rap music narrating as follows:

Once upon a time, when the fleas were hairdressers and camels were crier, when I shook my mom's crib, in a far village, Keloğlan lived. "My name is Keloğlan, the one whose life is for free." It takes two people for love. One should definitely be bald-headed, the other one a beautiful person. […] Keloğlan and the candidates hit the road. Half of them gave up on the road because of hunger. Our Keloğlan didn't starve because he found some food in the forest. […] Here you go, the mace and the girl are yours. Hooray, Keloğlan! And they lived happily ever after! (*İçerde*, 2016, ep. 5, min. 17:12 to 2:08:51)

CONCLUSION

Nowadays, the folkloric genres, oral performance, and narrative structures are modified to meet the specific exigencies of storytelling. TV serials, like folktales, reproduced and placed in a new context, have new versions proving that the media contribute to the continuation of folktales. As with any folktale, a movie expresses the social relations of the time in which it was produced. Like the traditional taleteller, TV serials create stories with the particular audience. At the same time, it is important for the audience to recognize the common stories, which change over time, but always in patterned ways. Such stories are ATU 510A *Cinderella*, ATU 480 *The Kind and the Unkind Girls*, and ATU 531 *The Clever Horse*.

Like fairy tales, soap operas create images of violence and horror that are cushioned by the fable-like unreality of their contexts and by a symmetrical sense of ultimate justice, as well as being lightened by their essentially comic vision. From the cultural and historical point of view, the reason of the popularity and success of TV serials lies not only in fascinating screenplays and charming actors but also in the connection between the contemporary media and traditional culture manifested in the eternally recognizable themes of folk narratives.

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THE NEW LIFE OF *THE BOOK OF VELES*: THE TRANSFORMATION OF MYSTIFICATION INTO MYTH

Abstract: *The Book of Veles* came into being as mystification with the "genealogy" tracing back to Ossianism, and it has become the holy script of Rodnovers (Slavic Neo-Pagans). The topic of this paper is the question which layer of *The Book* itself enables such a reading. It contains mythical themes but also a historical, euhemeristic layer related to identity. The possibilities of it being adopted by Rodnovers are provided by both of them, although the historical one seems more influential.

Keywords: mystification, Rodnovery, *The Book of Veles*, Neo-Paganism

The news of certain planks which people claimed to be the newly found source about the oldest history of the Slavs, following the parts of the text itself from the planks, appeared in Russian emigrant periodicals between 1953 and 1959. It was thanks to the effort of the amateur ethnologist Yuri Mirolyubov (1892–1970) that the wider public got informed about this sensational discovery. He set forth that the planks originated from the immigrant officer Izenbek who had found them somewhere in Ukraine in 1919. The text from the planks in its original length was published under the title *The Book of Veles* in the USA in 1966 by the emigrant Lesnoy and afterwards in the 1970s within the collected opus of Mirolyubov.

The Book was written in an up-to-then unknown Slavic script, supposedly related to the runes and Devanagari—although it resembles the Cyrillic script to a great extent from which it is supposed to be older. It was put together by the pagan priests of Novgorod, the worshippers of the god Veles, at some point in the 9th century, but the story which it relates is much older. Its content speaks about the Old Slavs who migrated from India to the places which they

inhabit today. The Slavic tribes—the Eastern, Western, and Southern—stem from the three founding brothers (Oriy, Ariy, and Yarun—the name varies). The story focuses on their movement from the East, to the Russian territory—including Babylon—and their encounters with other peoples—the Greeks, Illyrians, Huns, Celts, but also with the Emperor Trajan. Simultaneously, there are hymns to gods, mythical stories from which the most important one is the idea of the mythical world division into three strata called Yav, Nav, and Prav. Alongside the tripartite division of the world appear some other mythological topics: Perun, the god of thunder, as a horse rider; the conception of the Milky Way from the milk of the mythical cow; the god Veles as a culture hero; Veles's nocturnal roaming the celestial world of "Svarga" and the morning opening of the temple door; the description of heaven as a rural life without any issues; the circle of Svarog (the cosmic cycle); dragon slaying; the making of the drink called *surina* or *kvasura* (the goddess Lada gives directions to the man called Kvasura how to make the drink, or the drink comes from the Cow); the cosmic egg; there exist a few cosmical addresses. All of this indicates that the text could be a source for the Old Slavic religion.

Quite understandably, the news attracted the attention of philologists, so experts dealt with the newly published text in Russian Slavic research a few times in the period between the 1960s and 1980s. The conclusion was devastating: it was mystification—and a maladroit one.[1] The conclusion was confirmed beyond doubt by Oleg Tvorogov's minute analysis in 1990. The language of *The Book*, supposedly Old Slavic, is actually linguistically impossible. It is a bad compilation made by someone unaware of the Slavic languages comparative grammar basics and historical phonetic changes. The script is merely a modified Cyrillic script. In other aspects too, the text does not correspond to anything known in the old Slavic literature (the chronicle genre which it purportedly belongs to) or mythology. The mystification author is most likely Mirolyubov himself since the topics of *The Book* correspond to his other texts.[2]

On the other hand, rejected by science, *The Book of Veles* has continued existing in the alternative world of parahistorians, "official science" opponents, Neo-Pagans, epic fantasy writers, music bands—initially in

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[1] The planks had never been seen by anyone (other than Mirolyubov). The first publishers gave different information about them, and it was finally announced that they had been lost during the war. One published photograph has been confirmed to have been made according to a drawing—it was not the photograph of the real planks.

[2] There is a supposition that it might be an even older mystification from the early 19th century by a famous antiquarian and even more famous counterfeiter Alexandr Sulakadzev, which reached Mirolyubov via Izenbek.

Russia and Ukraine, and later elsewhere—since the 1990s. Alternative might not be the suitable adjective here. The circulations and numbers of issues are really significant: it seems that it has been re-published six times solely in Serbia; in Russia, there are hundreds of thousands of copies. It has even found its place in some textbooks, and it sometimes appears in papers published in academic journals and collections of papers in Slavic milieu.

Today, *The Book of Veles* can be approached in a few ways.[3] One of them stems from the deliberation of the authenticity question. Certainly, the answer to this question was given a long time ago, and the consensus of Slavic philologists, ethologists, historians, and archeologists is that it is mystification.[4] Given the fact that the insisting on the authenticity of the text is persistent in the public, repeating and popularizing scientific conclusions is obviously necessary. However, the approach to *The Book* need not be limited by the research divulgence or popular and educational goals.

The second possible approach is to observe *The Book* as a cultural indicator, by which the emphasis is relocated to the cultural framework where it appears and its reception. It is not just a modern age product; it also has a long genealogy starting with Macpherson's Ossianic mystification. The genealogy is not necessarily dishonest—there are the Czech Václav Hanka, Prosper Mérimée, the Provençal poet Fabre d'Olivet (maybe also the Breton De La Villemarqué), who all went down in history as poets and patriots rather than impostors.[5] *The Book of Veles* can be seen, in that vein, as the late offspring of Ossianism.[6]

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[3] The author of this paper uses the text of the book published by O. Tvorogov (1990), as well as the publications by A. Asov and R. Pešić. Different translations often vary significantly. The linguist A. Zalizniak notices, "The text of *The Book of Veles* does not allow an exact translation, for an agrammatical text has no exact sense" (2011: 111). Something else can spring from there: "It is important to understand that, in this case, we are dealing not simply with agreements or disagreements between particular translators. Individual readings of *The Book of Veles* result in new ideologies and cultural expressions" (Lesiv 2013: 39).

[4] Critical works collected in the book entitled *Chto dumaiut uchenye o Velesovoi knige* (Alekseev (ed.) 2004); see also: *Fal'sifikacia istoricheskih istochnikov i konstruirovanie etnokraticheskih mifov* (Petrov and Šnirel'man (eds.) 2011: 97–178).

[5] In a similar vein, the French Romantic poet Prosper Mérimée—known today by his novella *Carmen*—published *La Guzla*, a purported translation of South Slavic folk poetry. However, it was *a literary game* which appeared at the time of Romantic amazement with the exotic "natural" and "folk" poetry from Europe itself. Pushkin, however, believed in the authenticity of the book and translated some poems from it as an example of Serbian folk poetry.

[6] If the supposition that the real author is Sulakadzev from the early 19th century is granted, this is a direct product from the time of Ossianic vogue.

The example of cultural influence, wider than the so-called "marginal" or "subculture" groups, can be observed in the fact that *The Book of Veles* is the authors' modern Slavic fantasy source. These genres, which are often Slavic derivates of Tolkienesque prose, have their worlds built according to the (pseudo)mythical world of *The Book* (e.g., the division of cosmos into Yav, Nav, and Prav). This phenomenon is not new. From Humanism to the 19th century, the so-called "office mythology" as the Russians refer to it—"armchair mythology" would be a kind of equivalent—of Slavic scholars reconstructed and, by applying wrong methods, actually created a number of pseudodivinities that allegedly existed in the Old Slavs' mythology (Lada, Lyelyo, Vesna). However, these divinities, which have never been the matter of religion outside mythological textbooks according to the opinion of most researchers, had an influence on poetry and arts at the turn of the 20th century.

> Although Slavic gods of love are a number of mythographers' fantasy product, I purport that their appearance, as well as the appearance of other Slavic gods in literary and art works, is part of Slavic cultures, and that the researchers of literature and art history must study them within the framework of the authors' altered relationship with Slavic mythology. (Ajdačić 2016: 119)

Therefore, mystification is not only something that can be regarded through authentic/fake relation but it also serves as a mythopoetic template for literature, putting itself in unusual and not easily defined categories of works which have no clearly delineated place in literary and historical taxonomies: from Macpherson to Graves's *The White Goddess* to—in a somewhat different way—automatic writing works.

Finally, *The Book of Veles* started its new life as the sacred text in Rodnovery (Slavic Neo-Paganism)—it is its cosmogony and mythical world image source. Moreover, it is often a ritual text (e.g., one group that the author of this text studied recites parts of *The Book* in their ritual practices).[7] This paper poses the following question: How can it be that mystification—not particularly convincing and an ill-composed one, lacking the poetical qualities which Macpherson's and Hanka's texts possess—has become a sacred

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[7] "We pray and worship the first Triglav and we sing his glory. We praise Svarog, the grandfather of god who is the protector of the whole world and everything living, the eternal source that runs everywhere in the summer and never freezes in the winter. And it feeds life into us by the living water until we reach the divine, holy pastures."

text? The full answer to this question would undeniably require a parallel fieldwork in the Rodnover communities in a few countries; nevertheless, that is not the topic of this paper. The conclusions to follow have been made based primarily on *text analysis* (i.e., what *The Book* itself offers as the possibility of sacral reading) and the exegeses offered by the modern Rodnover authors.[8] The focus of this text will also be on how such a reading can be understood in modern world, within the disenchantment and re-enchantment relationship framework.

A very short review of the history of such a perception is necessary at this point. The first step is connected to Russia and Russian groups.[9] Plainly speaking, there are such voices within Rodnovery which warn the disciples that *The Book* is mystification (in order to look more serious), or that it should not be taken in the way in which monotheistic religions take their sacred texts. Nonetheless, *The Book* has had the key role in the creation of Rodnovery. In Russia, the author under *nom de plume* Aleksandr Asov played a special role; he published a number of works inspired by *The Book of Veles*, its versions and elaborations.[10] In the Ukrainian movement, Volodymyr Shayan (1908–1974), a philologist and emigrant author, adopted *The Book* in the early 70s; its most well-known modern interpreter is probably Galina Lozko (or the priestess Zoreslava, a university professor and one of the ideologists of Ukrainian Neo-Paganism).[11] *The Book of Veles* reached Serbia in the 90s via the interest in parahistory and ethnology; a new form of reception followed the appearance of Rodnovery in Serbia early in the 21st century.[12] According to the available information, *The Book of Veles* plays no significant role in the Rodnovery of Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Croatia (Polish translation appeared as late as 2013/2014).

The upswing of Rodnovery can be regarded as part of a great wave of desecularization which passed through until-recently Communist countries. It caused not only the rehabilitation of traditional religions but also of the "alternative," which was already strong in that territory in the 70s and 80s. The other sources of the movement are the following: turning towards

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[8] It should not be forgotten that Rodnovery is no simple phenomenon, so the usage of the singular form in this case can be deceptive.

[9] Literature on Rodnovery is exhaustive and mostly in Russian and in other Slavic languages; for a wider context, see Aitamurto and Simpson (eds.) 2013.

[10] One part of Rodnover communities distanced themselves from Asov.

[11] About Ukrainian Rodnovery, see Ivankhiv 2005a; 2005b; Lesiv 2013.

[12] For more information, see Radulović 2017: 47–76.

national identity and the national restauration which was growing stronger and stronger in that period;[13] literary fantasy; ethnological theories—the latter two being of special importance for this study.

Therefore, Rodnovery has influenced literature, and vice versa. The emergence of "Slavic fantasy" in the 90s gave wings to the interest in paganism (e.g., the popular Russian novel series called *Troe iz lesa* [The Three from the Forest] by Yuri Nikitin). The two phenomena appealing to the readers of the same affinities are often so intertwined that the demarcation line between literature and religion becomes less clear. (Seen from a broad perspective, there exist new movements inspired by Tolkien, too (Davidsen 2012: 185–204; Zorya 2018).) It might be that the sources are not only textual but also visual, which is to be explored.[14]

As far as scholardom is concerned, the theses of the archeologist Boris Rybakov (1908–2001) about the divinity called Rod (the equivalent would be a clan, *genus*) as the principal divinity of the Old Slavs had the greatest impact on Rodnovery in Russia. Croatian Rodnovers refer to some extent to the theses of the Indologist and linguist Radoslav Katičić (1930–2019), which are derived from Vyacheslav Ivanov and Vladimir Toporov. The two Russian authors, as it is known, offered a reconstruction of Proto-Slavic and Proto-Indo-European core myth within the framework of the Moscow-Tartu semiotic school explorations: it is the myth of a thunder god who fights his serpentine chthonic opponent by the world tree.[15] Serbian Rodnovers refer, among others, to the classical philologist and ethnologist Veselin Čajkanović (1881–1946) who paid particular attention to the cult of ancestors and chthonic divinities. Parallels can be found in other related movements. Wiccans are known to have appropriated Frazer's and Margaret Murray's systems; rightist Neo-Pagan groups are known to have accepted Dumézil's ideas; feminist oriented pagan movements based their ideology on Maria Gimbutas's theory.[16] The comparison of Ivanov

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[13] A special topic concerning the USSR is the relationship of Communist authorities both towards Christianity and national identity since the 70s; it can be seen as one of the possible sources of Rodnovery.

[14] For example, to what extent the popular screening of *The Lord of the Rings* early in the millennium has had impact on Rodnovery as well as mythical and heroic world representations, but also the way of dressing, knight tournaments, and the like.

[15] A new generation which is simultaneously active in the academia world and Neo--Paganism is noticeable in the cases of both Rodnovers and Western Neo-Pagans.

[16] Thus, theological systems rely on ethnological theses which quickly become outdated and turn into criticism subjects.

and Toporov or B. Uspenskij with Rodnover groups reveal that all of them strive for the reconstruction of the Slavic religious system; however, the latter offer a bricolage and aim at revivifying the ancient religion. The main problem of pre-Christian Slavic religion reconstruction is the lack of internal sources. The researchers have overcome this obstacle, for example, by using the folkloric texts written down in the 19th and 20th centuries—a method originating from *Teutonic Mythology* by Jacob Grimm. The modern age folkloric data, literary works, and contemporary Western occultism converge in an attempt to create—"re-create"—a complete pagan system. Yet, unlike science, Rodnovers claim to have the direct source— *The Book of Veles*.

According to the available information, Mirolyubov himself was not a Neo-Pagan with an ambition to create the sacred text or an anti-Christian, but a white anti-Communist emigrant interested in the antiquity in an amateur fashion. The readers of Mirolybov's mystification turn *The Book* into an analogue of the *Bible* and *Vedas*. That causes *the textualization of Slavic paganism*.[17] (Certain Rodnover authors who warn the "congregation" that they come dangerously close to Abrahamic religions by such steadfastness to *The Book* are not far from the truth.)

The researchers of *The Book* have already highlighted that it presents the religion of the Old Slavs as anachronous, according to the 18th-century "natural religion" as essentially monotheistic (Alekseev 2004: 94–95); the moral system has retreated before orthopraxy (Ajdačić 2016: 187). Certain polemical tones are particularly prominent: reports about human sacrifices, which can be encountered in the real sources about the Old Slavs are rejected as defamation.

Two specific characteristics should be accentuated. The concepts of natural mythology, popular in the 19th century, whose "head" was Max Müller, and whose Russian proponent was Afanasyev, famous for publishing folk tales, had probably influenced Mirolyubov. That is why mythological motifs about the Sun, and its golden carriages, dawn, the Moon, stars, nocturnal travel of celestial bodies are emphasized in *The Book*. Relying on this long-discredited theory reveals Mirolyubov's dilettantism.

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[17] The term "textualization" is used in the literal sense: in the sense of turning Slavic paganism into the religion which possesses the text and which is known through the text, not in the sense in which it is usually used in folkloristics—for the written fixation of oral performance. Such a textualization is the consequence of the reception in which informants themselves take part.

The second influence is the representation of India, which has shaped popular imagination and intellectual vogues since the Romantic reception. Mirolyubov equated Slavic religion with "Vedism" in a layman fashion in his other works too: that still holds true for many Rodnover and amateur authors. The mystified script of *The Book*, as it can be seen in the published photograph of "the planks," a purported original Slavic script, although evidently molded by the Cyrillic script, is close to the Devanagari in that the letters are arranged on the upper line. Some mythological names and terms are originally Hindu, only reshaped: Tvasitar—Tvashtr, Krishni—Krishna, Vishenj—Vishnu, Suriya—Surya, Dayu Pitar—Dyauspitar, the drink surina—sura, while some of them are exactly the same as in Hinduism (the divinities Yama and Indra). Certainly, not only is the religion of the Old Slavs dissimilar to Vedic religion, but Mirolyubov also includes the layers of younger Hinduism (e.g., Krishna).

Referring to India should provide proof for the antiquity of the book and Slavic people, which is a form of legitimizing the language and culture stemming from Romanticism, primarily Friedrich Schlegel and his book *On the Language and the Wisdom of the Indians*.[18]

The concept of *The Book of Veles* which has had the greatest influence on Rodnovery is the division of the world into three strata: the so-called Yav, Nav, and Prav. Prav is the world of gods, Yav is the world of people, and Nav is the underground world. The terms are based on the existing words of Slavic languages: "yav" corresponds to the Slavic roots for reality (Serbian, Polish) or manifestation (Russian); "prav" is for justice or truth; "nav" is etymologically related to the Old Slavic terms for the dead and their world. The interpretations of these terms in modern paganism are multiple. These are some of the examples: "prav" is the divine law, "yav" stands for the perception of the world, and "nav" is the part of cosmos that is incomprehensible to people; or they are taken as corresponding to the moral, material, and cultural sphere; or different body parts. The analogy is, quite expectedly, made with the world tree: "nav" where the ancestors reside is at the root of the tree, human "yav" is in the middle, and "prav" is in the crown of the tree.[19] More philosophically: "yav" is everything manifested,

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[18] The racist forms of such legitimization and reception of the term "Aryan," known from the turn of the 20th century, appear in some currents of Rodnovery.

[19] Roman V. Shizhenskij. "Jav', Prav' I Nav' kak religiozno-filosofskie osnovy slavianskogo neoiazychestva", http://ogin.in.ua/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id= 29:l-r-&catid=3:2009-11-01-23-08-24&Itemid=8.

"nav" is everything unmanifested, and "prav" is "the law of Svarog" which keeps the other two in balance. More theologically: God is manifested as the master of cattle and nature in Yav, death in Nav, and wisdom in Prav. More unusual examples exhibiting the possibility of an exegetic swerve can be added to these. The author who calls himself Volhv[20] Veleslav has published books where the peculiar "left-hand path" of Slavic paganism is expounded—worshipping the fictive dark gods of the Slavic underground: *The book of the great Navi*, *Veda Navi: the black book of charms*, *The left path: the black book of Navi*, and *The Slavic book of the dead*.

Seen from a comparative perspective, *The Book of Veles* is yet another example of a mystified text unexpectedly acquiring a different role in later reception, and it becoming a mythical narrative.

Another example is the fate of the text called *Aradia* published by the American folklorist Charles Leland in 1899. The book describes the antique cult of the goddess Aradia which had survived via the medieval witchery until the modern times on Italian soil, where Leland allegedly met its disciples, his informants. Opinions are divided on the topic whether Leland mystified, or he was deceived. It is possible that some folkloric foundations exist in these claims, although not in the way Leland portrayed them. More importantly, published as a work of folklore, the text is of an unclear type, but it still influenced the establishing of some currents of Western Neo-Paganism half a century later. Little did Leland expect that Aradia would become one of the key figures of Wicca (cf. Magliocco 2009: 40–60).

Yet another example is *The Oera Linda Book*, a text published in the Netherlands in the 19th century purportedly coming from the ancient times of the Frisians who originated from Atlantis and elaborating on their mythical cosmogony and history. Whatever was the original intention of whoever the author was, the book had an unusual reception in the 20th century (Jensma 2008: 229–249). Herman Wirth, a Dutch folklorist who accepted pan-Germanic ideas and joined the parascience camp, declared the *Oera Linda* to be a kind of a new Nordic *Bible*. Once Himmler's protégé in the organization called Ahnenerbe (the legacy of ancestors), Wirth published "the translation," and based his voluminous work *The Origin of Humankind* on the *Oera Linda*. Since the 1990s, the esoteric geopolitician Aleksandr Dugin gave his version of the "Hyperborean" origin of the text, and focused specially on Slavic peoples (*Hyperborean Theory*; *The Mysteries of Eurasia*). Dugin connects *Oera Linda* with *The Book of Veles* and the Cyrillic script, as

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[20] The title of a priest in Neo-Paganism.

well as with the whole array of esoteric teachings. Simultaneously, the book is read in the anglophone New Age circles interested in Atlantis. The text, therefore, has reached a wider audience than the one interested primarily in the confirmation of Frisian identity. The contemporary researcher G. Jensma even supposes that the book was originally intended to be a parody of the literal reading of the *Bible* which "got out of control" and was read seriously, disregarding the authors' original intention.

The first step in finding the answer to the question which layer of *The Book of Veles* it was exactly that formed the cosmology of Rodnovery and encouraged such and so many readings should be the differentiating of myth and history. The difference is accepted by the approaches which are otherwise opposed and which interpret the relationship between myth and history differently, from the ones close to Eliade to the Enlightenment ones.

Speaking of the most influential part of *The Book*, the tripartite cosmos structure, in one level, corresponds to the well-known tripartite world divisions in mythical systems. Rodnovers start from the division, which is not presented in detail in *The Book*, and they expand it into a complete cosmology. However, more attention is paid to history recounting. Asov's books attempt at "correcting" this particular lacuna by adding mythical material of various origins.

The Book, therefore, consists of two layers—pseudomythological and pseudohistorical. Two possible answers to the question how this work became the key text for creating the Rodnovers' world image and attempting the re-sacralization and a re-enchantment of the world emerge. One is connected to pseudomyth and the other to pseudohistory.

The approaches relying on Meletinsky or Eliade would recognize the universal mythical structures in the text which attract the attention of the readers by their own force, coming to life in modern age. Thus, the text itself offers as a possibility the reading which would bring the world back to its youth, to the age before disenchantment. However, the reading diverges from Mirolyubov's aim in that case. These myths—regardless of how fragmentary they might be—which he proffered as an ethnographical and archeological illustration, as a supposed aura of antiquity, are taken seriously now and they have grown. The indications of the tripartite structure have constituted a whole cosmology—our world has been enriched by two layers, the upper and lower one.

However paradoxical it may seem, the second explanation could be that it is perhaps not the mythical archetypes but the historical nature of *The*

Book itself that explains the success in re-enchantment. The interpretation of history is in the service of identity. Not incidentally, the circles interested in Rodnovery are simultaneously strongly interested in the "hidden" history of people. It is also a known fact that in the so-called reconstructionist forms of Neo-Paganism, where Rodnovery belongs, collective identity has central place. Even in the broader framework of modern culture, history has often been a substitute for philosophy or religion, and by gaining insight into it, one recognizes the Herderian spirit of the nation and the core of all the world process. *The Book* can be regarded as an anti-modern, myth-founding, mythopoetic work, but also as an essentially modern work, since it is shaped by the modern understanding of nation. History and identity have become sacralized. Myth and history, which can be separated in the etic level, become much closer for the readers, as well as they were for Mirolyubov. Namely, *The Book* contains in itself *an implicit euhemerism*[21] as the core. Behind the holy history is history ("the real" one, alternative). Myth is no longer the stepping out of history into Eliade's *illud tempus* and ahistorical world of archetypes; behind the myth, the data about the origins and migrations of the ancestors which remain obscure in the official history are discovered. Its close relation with parahistography comes as no wonder.[22]

Mirolyubov was no proponent of re-enchantment with an agenda. His readers are. However, he bequeathed them with the text which contains the duality of mythical and modern, historical. Seeing it as modern, they develop its fragmentary myths into a mythical image of an enchanted world. At the same time, they take myth together with euhemerism, but they see it as no problem; simultaneously, they read it as history too, not feeling its twofold nature as a source of tension.

Things become more complicated when the text steps into the living phenomenon of Neo-Paganism. Other elements seem to be present too, such as game or creativity, probably more in an individual level than the collective one. Further relationships of these aspects are the matter of study for future research because they depend on the future of the movement itself.

Translated by Danijela Mitrović

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[21] The books of Erich von Däniken are yet another example of euhemerism which enjoyed popularity in the 20th-century culture; they have continued to do so to this day.

[22] Paradoxically, Rodnovery is somewhat similar to the *Old Testament* in that respect, where Yahweh announces chosen people in history. In history itself appear the gods of ancestors and the ancestor-gods, not delineated under the term Rod.

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