Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology

Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Zavetiška 5, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia

THE CONCEPT OF TIME AND SPACE IN EUROPEAN FOLKLORE

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ABSTRACTS

Karen Bek-Pedersen Weaving Swords and Rolling Heads

The Old Norse poem *Darrađarljóđ* portrays the macabre scene of a group of supernatural women weaving together men's intestines on a loom which has men's head for warp weights. While the women go about their weaving they appear to make prophecies about a distant battle taking place at the same time. Their grisly work at the loom seems to be very closely related to the violent death of men in battle.

Images similar to this one turn up in a number of other sources from medieval Scandinavia: An archaeological find from Norse Greenland consists of a weaving tool depicting figures wielding swords, a saga describes a prophetic dream in which a head falls from the warp of a loom, and another story portrays an outright decapitation!

In each case the scene takes place in a 'dyngja' – a separate room or space set aside mainly for weaving and considered to be particularly feminine. It is not thought to be a ritual space at all, yet it seems that a strong symbolism relating to ideas about fate is attached to this space: While it is an ordinary work space, which is generally mentioned only in passing in the literature, it appears simultaneously to be a place where major decisions concerning life and death are made. In the 'dyngja' prophecies are made – intentionally as well as unintentionally – by the women who go about their everyday work.

The examples mentioned here concern death, but others exist which appear to establish a link between the 'dyngja' and birth. Both of these images – textile-as-death and textile-as-birth – find support in comparative material from other cultures.

In my talk I want to carry out a close comparison of the different scenes from the relevant source material with a view to discovering whether the space which is the 'dyngja' is coincidental or essential to these two images and the ways in which they are understood.

Vitomir Belaj Trefoil structures in the territory of Croatia

Based on the observations of Andrej Pleterski related to the eastern Alps, according to which points that used to be dedicated to the pagan Slavic deities are frequently found in the groups of three and form a triangle characterized with fixed geometric features, similar analogous structures have been searched for and found in Croatia. That is the case in the area to the west from Varaždin, east from Zagreb, along the Bay of Kvarner, on the island of Pag, on the Mosor mountain near Split and on the peninsula of Pelješac.

These structures are shown, analyzed and compared, and the conclusions considering their common features are attempted to be given. Also, the importance these structures had for the early South Slavic communities has been highlighted.

Olga Belova The Sacral Places in the Poly-Ethnic Cultural Space

The paper presents some observations made in the process of field research in various regions of Ukraine (Podolia, Volyn', Bukovina) Belorussia (Grodno region) and Russia (Smolensk region) in the years 2001–2006. The aim of our project was to study different sides of ethnocultural neigbourhood in these poly-ethnic regions, to gather folklore evidences of the former close contacts between Slavic and Jewish population on the territory of the Pale of Settlement.

The impact of the remarkable culture of East European Jewry on the cultural traditions of East Slavic areas (the western parts of Russia, Ukraine and Belorussia) is hardly to underestimate. It was a unique civilization which was practically totally annihilated during World War II. Is it possible, after hundreds of years of Jewish history in East European regions, to find something that could remind the scholars (and not only them) of the former scales and richness of Jewish cultural heritage.

The phenomenon of the traditional East-European Jewish settlement (*shtetl*) was a unique cultural structure, which combined the elements of several ethnic and religious traditions: Jewish, Christian (Orthodox, Roman Catholic or Greek Catholic), and Muslim. In the former *shtetls* of the South-Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, where we conducted our field research in the last few years, the Slavic-Jewish neighbourhood had a long-termed history and traditions. During the long period of time when Jews and Slavs lived side by side, the unique mechanism of ethnic and cultural coexistence was elaborated – this model of neighbourhood united the ethnographic reality with a set of folklore-mythological stereotypes based on the traditional ambivalent attitude to the "others" in the folk culture.

The western parts of Ukraine and Belorussia are still abundant in material evidences of Jewish culture. One could feel the unique character of local Jewish communities through the shtetl streets, stately synagogue buildings, old cemeteries crowded with tombstones, that have miraculously survived the ravages of the 20th century.

The Jewish component of the cultural landscape was the most evident but not the only one. Till nowadays the cultural landscapes of the former shtetls are determined by such elements as church buildings (Catholic or Orthodox Christian church and Jewish synagogue), cemeteries ("Polish" i.e. Roman Catholic or Greek Catholic, "Russian i.e. Orthodox, and the deserted Jewish necropolis). These sacral places form the outer boundary of the settlement. Today the material evidences of the Jewish culture still existed in the regions of the former Pale of Settlement, while the Jews who formed the majority of local urban population had already left their shtetls. But nevertheless the elements of Jewish culture preserved in folk memory and narratives of the Slavic neighbours.

On the base of folklore narratives we analyze the modern Slavic and Jewish folk beliefs about the most relevant objects of cultural landscape. The great part of the local oral history of every former *shtetl* consists of the stories about the erection and destruction of churches and synagogues (the motives of miraculous appearance of the building); the stories about the rivalry of the Catholics and Orthodox or of the Christians and the Jews in getting the most appropriate place for the erection of the sacral building; memorates about the profanation of sacral places and objects (the motives of God's punishment for sacriledge);

memorates about the local cemeteries (as the sacral and the fearful place at the same time) and the rules of behavior at these places, etc.; folk narratives about the types and forms of the Jewish tombstones (*mazevot*);

folk narratives about the underground tunnels which unite the main cult objects (Christian and Jewish as well) in the single whole.

These folklore evidences are supported by the "religious" practices such as visiting the synagogues and the Jewish cemeteries by the Slavic population.

The material show that in the regions of Slavic-Jewish contacts there exist a kind of "folk hierotopia" (the system of forming the sacral space in the frames of the community), when all sacral objects possess equal significance. The cultural equality of the "own" and the "other" sacred objects does exist even when the ethnographic neighbourhood itself has become the fact of history.

We can also come to a conclusion that the sacral landscape of the polyethnic area can be formed, developed, changed, and transformed by the inhabitants. At the same time the local oral history estimates the extent of "sanctity" of these objects and makes them the markers of the whole place.

Josef Bláha Mythic and social range of Olomouc (Moravia) from protohistoric age to the end of Middle-Ages

Knowledge about sociotopographic evolution in Olomouc area, former political, religion, and culture centre of Middle-Ages Moravia, are summarized in the report. This knowledge insists on more than three decades of intense archaeological research of this place, and on evaluation of its results connected to topographic "quality" in Moravia (hydrogeological conditions, long-distance and local roads etc.) on the other hand.

To allow the accomplishments of terrain research and observation to interpret, the author involved among sources of information, which however must be critically analyzed, multiform material exceeding boundary of pure archaeological and historical research. Concerning toponomastic knowledge, analyze results of consecration of Middle-Ages Olomouc churches (with special respect to sanctification to Archangel Michael) as well as local topographically hagiographic and folklore traditions bearing on among others vernacular piety.

Today's Olomouc city area represents remarkable conglomeration vertical and horizontal qualities and aspects (complemented among others with water – Morava river, lakes and swamps), which can be confronted with archaeological findings – both synchronous and diachronically way. Special attention is paid to designating of social status in verifiable item terrain.

Particularly vertical hierarchy with clear symbolic meaning can be exactly determined in Olomouc area, in which religious as well as social "cosmic"

idea applies, with archaic and dominating cult centre in the middle – so-called Michael hill (rock, water springs). It looks very likely that this base imagine about local "micro cosmos" formed, in communities living in narrower range around Olomouc from eneolith, in prehistoric or protohistoric age. So it cannot surprise, that it was explicitly expressed in specific form of town pattern, sectionized in the first third of 13th century.

Broader St. Michael's church area (by which Dominican convent was founded in the beginning of 13th century) was put to test – chthonic character of pre- as well as protohistoric divinities worshipped here appears to be very likely. This thesis is among others supported by interpretation of Michael's consecration with reference to water cults (numerous inspirational and in our culture generally non-reflected parallels can be found in lateantic or early-Christian Mediterranean). In Olomouc case it is interesting, that monastery tradition documented lingering on of archaic tradition about healing and miracle properties of water springing from rock under church and convent, which was however "discovered" by St. Hyacint, the founder of the monastery. Modified "legend" relates even to spring in near chapel of St. John Sarkander – this saint was martyred here in first half of 17th century (!). This enlightens new discovered legend about "bandit" hiding in cave on the Michael hill – very likely archaic myth about dragon expresses - it has a number of parallels, Among others with obvious relation to mentioned chthonic "mother" divinity, worshipped in this case just in the area.

Rather extensive adjacent area of so-called "Předhradí" and "Hrad" (steep brow defended plateau) was evincible made use of for cult (however relation to so-called Michael hill is unknown). The place is becoming taboo by the ending of Hallstatt era and it's used as a meeting-place up to beginning of 9th century (many archaeological arguments can be showed for this thesis). At that time, the Great Moravia state is forming and this countryside, for three centuries inhabited by Slavs, is Christianized. The fortified sway centre in south of Olomouc from the end of 7th century was destroyed and one of the most important foot-hold of Great Moravian empire was constituted in "Předhradí" and "Hrad" area. Cult "stabilitas loci" undoubtedly acted here very strong - former over-region centre of pre-Christian cult was transformed to one of the Moravian bishopric. However pagan traditions can be observed in local archaeological material up to the 12th century – imported loam eggs ("pisanki") and rattles and even mercantile (?) St. Blažej church (relating to pagan Volos?) evidences of strong Russian influence.

Lina Būgienė

Concept of sacred time and space in Lithuanian belief legends

Folk belief legends as folk narrative texts representing traditional worldviews and popular ideas regarding world organization and certain global order are very popular and numerous in Lithuanian folklore. The Lithuanian Folklore Archives boast large collections of legends, reaching to tens of thousands of texts, both traditional and modern ones, recorded since the end of the 19th century until nowadays. These narratives are usually centered on some supernatural experiences lived out by the human beings; among their most typical features, emphasis on the alleged credibility of the narrated events should be named. Not all of these texts specifically indicate the exact time and place of the narrative action; but certain legendary chronotope based on mythical thinking is nevertheless inherent in these legends. The subject of analysis here would embrace particular moments of time and space, or rather, their "knots" depicted as endowed with certain sanctity (i.e. most frequently marking the borderline between the human and the supernatural realms of existence).

Although remnants and traces of very archaic worldviews, originating in pre-Christian beliefs, may also occasionally be spotted in the legendary material, especially in the older recordings (e.g. the idea of rivers and springs that run Eastwards, i.e. "against the Sun", and therefore possess magic healing powers, etc.), most of the material essentially deals with daily reality of the traditional rural community of Catholic peasants, typically comprising the majority of the Lithuanian countryside throughout the period when these narratives were recorded. From the bulk of these texts, certain basic understanding of the division of time and structuring of space may be conceived. Especially revealing in this respect are the legends telling of people breaking various taboos, like someone going to swim, fish or hunt on the Mass time and therefore suffering various misfortunes, or working (e.g. spinning, milling) on Sundays or Thursdays, and the like. There are particular moments in time that are believed to be almost "programmed" for supernatural experiences; among them, both midnight and midday may be named, also, particular dusk time after sunset, especially on certain weekdays, and the entire festive days of the calendar cycle, e.g. Christmas and Christmas Eve, Easter, Midsummer, All Saints' Day and other annual and Church festivals may be listed as being charged with particularly strict rules of human behavior and various taboos that were imposed by the traditional society on its members. The folk legends could be used to serve for either reinforcing or dismantling of these taboos.

Along with certain "marked" moments of time, the surrounding space and landscape also had numerous "marked" points in the eyes of the members of traditional rural society. In this respect it should be noted, that not only such places as churchyards, chapels, cemeteries, ancient burials, mounds,

etc. were practically charged with sacral qualities, but also numerous other everyday localities and even household buildings (bridges, crossroads, barns, saunas, etc.) could unexpectedly turn out to be inhabited by some supernatural beings, spirits or ghosts, which all demanded reverence and certain qualifications in dealing with them.

Finally, it should be emphasized, that according to Lithuanian folk narratives, only the junctions of particular moments of both time and space could be regarded as "sacred". Time and space alone seldom possess such qualities. Therefore it is reasonable to talk about existence of the mythical chronotope directing actions and perceptions of traditional human beings, depicted in the folk legend texts.

Mihály Hoppál Weltanschauung, Belief System and Everyday Knowledge Revisited

The concept of time and space in every culture are deeply connected to the system of beliefs of the given culture under study. As it was earlier labelled the worldview or Weltanschauung are a culture specific system of beliefs which contains a large set of everyday knowledge. There is a hidden dynamics between knowledge and belief by the help of which our everyday decision are governed. In our paper therefore we shall start with a working definition of belief, which is a mental conception of ourselves and of the world which we consider to be right and, though we do not prove it, we choose the modes and results of our actions in accordance with is. The authors make a clear distinction between knowledge and belief, in contrast with some researchers who do not consider this strict distinction relevant, although without this it is impossible to do justice to the question of beliefs.

In the study they deal with two groups of problems: 1) certain basic features of human nature, which are closely related to belief; 2) important experiences which induce man to rid himself of his beliefs, namely of his mental contents believed to be right, but unproved, and replace them with ones that are proved and known to be right.

Katja Hrobat Categories of space in the image of Baba

The contribution analyzes different categories of space through the perspective of a mythical image called *Baba*. The analysis primarily draws on materialized forms of tradition in stone monoliths. Nevertheless, other traditions concerning *Baba* and originating from this same space, namely the Mediterranean area of Slovenia, will be analyzed at the same time.

The image of *Baba* conceals a representation of an old woman, who is – in the case of Rodik – manifested in the natural stone monolith in the image of a woman with exaggerated attributes. Nearby the so-called stone monoliths or toponyms specific rituals were performed, as for example immolations or celebrations of Midsummer Eves. Stone monoliths called *Baba* were in one way or the other connected with water, both in the Croatian (J. Vince Pallua 1995/96) and Slovenian coastal region.

The tradition on Baba offers at least three different aspects through which different correlations of the mythical image with space can be detected. The first aspect is the analysis of positioning in spatial structures. In the area of Rodik certain similarities with the case from Velebit in Croatian coastal region can be discerned: in both cases the pattern of a monolithic Baba and a toponym the Lake appear, as well as the indications of aboriginal traditions. A further analogy comes from Prilep, Macedonia, where Baba – an imposing monolith on the top of the acropolis from the Hellenistic and late Antiquity period – is positioned facing the monastery Treskavec, which is erected on the cult place of Cybele, Artemis and Apollo (S. Zogović typescript). While the name Treskavec itself, with its legend of the golden apple, indicates thunder and lightning, the tradition has it that the storm originates also from a pre-Christian cult space Jezero (the Lake) above Rodik.

The second point of departure of the space analysis is a tradition, according to which the *Baba* supposedly bestrode above the village of Rodik with her feet on two of the nearby hills. When she farted she caused the wind, when she pissed she caused the rain, and when she lifted her skirt the weather cleared up (Peršolja 2000). The analogies with Macedonia are of considerable interest, where, according to the old custom, the newlyweds had to crawl under the oldest woman in the village, who was given the name *Baba* and who stood up on a chair and small tub. We may also encounter the image of the transition of pairs through somebody's legs in numerous dances. We are interested in the significance of the spatial transition through the legs of both man and a mythical figure.

The third aspect is represented by an interesting threat from the Slovenian and Croatian coastal region, namely that it is necessary to smooth the sniffing Baba and (...) blow up her behind on the first visit to a certain town, in our case the town of Trieste. Babas are frequently positioned in the immediate vicinity of archaeological settlements. J. Vince Pallua (1995/96) assumes that Baba presents itself as a certain genius loci, a protectress of a certain place. On entering the area under her protection, one has to pay respects to her, perhaps in a similar manner as in the sources on the life of St. Georgius Agioritis, where the saint is invited to make a bow to the local pagan idol (Čausidis 1994: 27-28).

Ivan Marija Hrovatin The beginning of time, from Chaos to Cosmos in the space of settlement in Slovenia

The foundation of the settlement is the beggining and the origin of a community. It is an important moment, a moments usually noted in tradition. It is the beginning of a new time - of the time in which we live, and it is also the beginning of a new arrangement of the place - the arrangement in which we live. Is the point of transition from Chaos to Cosmos.

In Slovenia we have oral tradition about the beginning of a settlement: in the beginning there was a lake (Chaos) and after the dragon's death (and the liberation of waters) the settlement was founded - so the version of the cosmogonic fight within the idea of the cyclic renovation of the world.

In the paper are presented and interpreted the elements of the structure of these beliefs and the elements of its manifestation in the landscape such as toponyms, cult places and elements of natural evironment.

Annette Kehnel

Times of suffering - spaces of humiliation. The "powers of weakness" in European inauguration rituals.

The paper starts off from the observation, that times of suffering (humiliation, prostration, trials, beatings, condemnation to silence and fasting etc.) form a surprisingly steady part of rituals performed, when it comes to the 'transfer power' or 'change of status'. These elements have often been described - both for European and non-European Communities already in the late 19^hth cent. (J. G. Frazer). Victor Turner, in his elaboration on van Genneps 'rites de passages' identified special times for these ritually produced states of weakness: namely the central period within the process of ritual transformation, the liminal phase. It seems that all over Europe special transforming powers are ascribed to suffering and weakness, set free by collective ritual activity in order to complete the proper transfer of powers. An archetype of the idea that ultimate power is attained by ultimate powerlessness can certainly be found in the Christian idea of redemption achieved by means of utter suffering and weakness as portrayed in the icon of the messiah dving on the cross. In the paper it is suggested to look at the spatial and material dimension of these "powers of weakness". I will concentrate on the locations of this ritual impotency primarily in medieval inauguration rites, taking up historical examples such

as the curial /sedes stercorata/, the ground floor of St. Mary's church in Aachen, the Carinthian inauguration stone, the imperial crown (Reichskrone), etc. It is hoped to contribute in some small way to a better understanding of the shared elements in the European concepts of power by describing times and places of the "powers of weakness" within the ritual transfer of power.

Mare Kőiva Symbolic Time and Place

The paper discusses the temporal and spatial relationships in charms and demonstrates the cognitive map of such charms on the example of some specific types.

The charm texts entail descriptions of various mythical spaces and creatures inhabiting these: three maidens/sisters/maids in the sky; apostles, Jesus or sickness demons on the journey; the abode of the sun, the moon and the stars in the form of a golden paddock and a large dish; the black man rising from the sea or appearing on the coast; the giant primeval ox, the North and the Underworld as abodes of the dead and demonic sicknesses; the forest, swamp, sea, stones, trees, tree stumps, and *Toonela*, land of the dead, as places from where hostile creatures and sicknesses have come and where they can be sent back to.

A separate category of charms that govern healing and social relationships are ones that are associated with biblical locations: the Red Sea, Jerusalem, the Jordan River, the garden of Gethsemane, etc. Characteristically, in historiolas a link between the mythical, semantically significant space, time, event and the actually existing space, time and event is being created (e.g. fire is told to stand still as Christ stood when St. John baptized him in the Jordan).

The verbal part of a healing ritual may be built upon impossibility. In such formulae, the world which cannot ordinarily exist is being described.

Charms were recited at specific times and in specific places, the nature of which varies depending on the type, but nevertheless included certain fixed elements. The symbolic dialogues and rituals accompanying these are quite closely linked to the ritual year: bringing Christmas (or the New Year) inside, cajoling winds at the end of the year, shaking apple trees for good harvest, repelling hunger, etc.

Preventive rituals include grinding flies on St. Matthew's Day, snakes on St Matthew's Day or St. George's Day; binding a wolf's muzzle on St. George's Day or on Good Friday and opening on St. Michael's Day. The choice of other charms often depends on the lunar phase, weekday, or the part of day/night.

Lubomír J. Konečný

The myth of the spring New Year and the time-space of the calender year as "imago mundi" in Romanesque painting of the Rotunda in Znojmo (Moravia)

The pictoral programme of the Znojmo Rotunda in general context. The mythical cycle of Přemyslids dynasty (origo gentis):

- The Horsemen Triad (triplicity) as the Creator of the World (original unity of the universe). Religious and ethnographic parallel.
- Sacred Tillage, "adventus", "mutatio vestis", "hieros gamos" and investiture of Přemysl the Ploughman.
- The "Dioscurean Trinity" and the topos of seven/eight monarchs in mythical process of world creatio

Circular space of the temple-cosmic house as the cycle of the Year.

Kaarina Koski Narrative time-spaces in belief legends

Belief legends are typically narratives with unusual, even unbelievable contents, which take place in a real milieu. They tell about places which the listeners know and times which the listeners reach through their own memory or through people they have heard of. Nevertheless, when framed into a narrative, the narrated events happen in a distinct realm - in Katherine Galloway Young's terms, the Taleworld. A legend is structured as a whole which is acceptable in its own Taleworld. Distance between the Taleworld and the listeners' everyday life allows more ontological freedom to the narrative content. What seems unlikely to happen in one's own everyday surroundings, might sound possible to have occurred somewhere else. When traditional legends are told, the most extraordinary things are more likely to take place in the neighbouring parish than in one's own.

Similarly, certain supernatural beings are said to have existed in old times, but not any more. The next step further would be that they only live in fairy tales.

Legends, however, are exciting and effective because they touch the listeners' own reality. An extraordinary event, which the narrator claims to have happened in the listeners' own society, may invoke disbelief but is, with the tension caused by the doubts, a highly narrative combination. In a traditional society with no recording equipment or mass media, distance meant inaccessibility. In Finnish and Karelian folklore, temporal and spatial distance is paralleled with inaccessible realms - such as the realm of the dead. A person who is far away is in a certain level like the dead: impossible to reach.

The distance could also be normative: In a society there were places that you could physically reach but where you should not go to. For example, the Church was a sacred building and outside its proper ritual context it was to be entered for a decent reason only. Similarly, there were times when you had to be cautious with your deeds, such as in the night, or during certain festivals. A popular narrative combination of a tabooed place in a tabooed time is a Church in the night. The fact that nobody was supposed to go there had made it normatively inaccessible and distanced it from the everyday life. Because of the distance, and also because entering the church was a norm violation, which one could expect to be punished for, the listeners would stretch their ontological concepts. On could expect something else to happen in that narrative time-place than, say, in a farmhouse in daytime. Stories about a person going to a Christmas mass by accident too early and being attacked by furious, corporeal dead have been really popular in Lutheran Finland.

Folklorists have used to consider such legend types as The Church Service for the Dead (Geistermesse) mainly entertaining and fictive. However, the motives of such legends have also been used as explanative models for people's own experiences. Despite the ontologically radical claims the legend makes, it still has in some level been sometimes taken seriously. I'm seeking to solve this problem by claiming that a nocturnal church has been a time-space with different ontological properties than the profane everyday sphere. In certain times and in certain places, unusual things are more likely to happen than in normal everyday life.

Monika Kropej Mythical Beings that Personify Days and Milestones in People's Yearly, Work, and Life Cycles

The article addresses the notion of time within the context of space that may result in fateful consequences for man and nature alike. Although an explicitly abstract concept, time has always played an important role in oral tradition and mythology. People personified it or depicted it by means of symbols. Time was symbolized in different ways, for instance in the form of a snake biting its tail, thus representing the circle of time and its renewal; or in the form of a horse whose canter symbolizes the passing of time. In the cosmology of numerous peoples time is personified by a deity (Kronos), or is conditioned by the origin of the world that will end in chaos. Yet these concepts were often too abstract so certain days of the week, months, seasons, or simply time as such, had been transformed into anthropomorphic figures. In the Slavic countries and in Europe in general, the memory of this has been kept alive by the names of the week named after Venus, for instance, or Mercury, Freya, Thor, Perun, and others. Some of the mythical characters connected with time and therefore sacred, preserved in Slovene cultural heritage, had been named after days of the week: Torka (Tuesday), Četrtka (Thursday), Petka (Friday), Sobotka (Saturday), and sveta Nedelja (Saint Sunday); all representing female figures. A temporal and spatial limen may also be personified by the Fates, the three goddesses of destiny that in Slovene are named Sojenice or Rojenice, and by the desetniki, all of them measure time and foretell the fate or prophecy.

Ivan Lozica The concept of time in carnival

Masks and Carnival freedom of behaviour are mutually conditioned – people put on masks in order to act crazily without being noticed, while facial masks cause a change in the behaviour of their wearers. The magical empty faces are only seemingly mindless – they bear layers of ancient meanings and purposes. Substitution of the face usually causes intimidation or laughter, but sometimes it seems that, even today, the mask can be in the service of superior forces or protection from them.

The magical, ritual effects of Carnival have continued unnoticed even into the 21st century. Participants in the events are unaware of the former ritual functions of their Carnival actions. They are not interested in stimulating fertility and new vegetation, or invoking protection from the forces of evil. They simply repeat the actions of their ancestors, surrendering to the pleasures that are permitted and even specified by tradition.

Carnival customs are channelled by the calendar and provide a planned political vent, an annual overall cleansing of the community, a catharsis that

enables a new beginning (or, at least, the semblance of the commencement of a new annual cycle in society, in harmony with astral and vegetational rhythm).

The historical determinacy of Carnival and its ever-mocking, oppositionist and critical stance towards ruling institutions often bothers the secular powers-that-be. Unlike the Church, which has learned the wisdom of being restrained regarding Carnival issues, politicians sometimes react nervously and heavy-handedly. To them, power is of this world and their comprehension of history is basically linear. The cyclical conception of time as a rhythmic opening and closing of annual circles (characteristic to folk culture) is, in essence, unhistorical, creating the impression of eternity and constancy, and offering protection from the terror of history. In contrast, political power is steeped in history, it sets up a new time in a linear manner, commencing with the establishment of authority, and it aspires to progress into eternity.

Carnival time is not only "designated by our forebears for dance, games and merriment" — Carnival time has a particular, autonomous status. Carnival's turning the world on its head is reminiscent of spiritual ploughing — the lower, suppressed layers of the mind come to the surface and become visible, making possible a more fruitful year. Similarly to an embassy that enjoys autonomous exterritorial status in a foreign land, Carnival has the autonomy of extra-temporality in its own community.

I would venture to interpret the Carnival period as a seemingly unhistorical, extra-historical period of the year. Carnival is a regular annual victory of the cyclical notion of time over the linear, historical time of the ruling order, made possible and conditioned by tradition (although only symbolically). The victory is not an actual one – it is a staged, enacted victory.

Neither good nor evil is being burnt in the bonfire of the Carnival puppet, neither order nor disorder. It is the conflict of antitheses that is burnt: in that way, ritual enables the new circle of everyday life. In practice, Carnival is a time of visits and joint feasts, a time for reconciling opposing sides, and a time for strengthening cohesion and identity within the community. In the end, only the puppet burns.

Emily Lyle

The Indo-European ritual year as a two-phase cycle including a period of reversal evidenced in the Twelve Days at midwinter and the Easter triduum

The concepts of linear time and cyclical time have long been familiar and it has often been assumed that we can express the human structuring of time with just these two terms. The first step, therefore, in the re-evaluation of the second of these in the Indo-European context that seems to be required, is to problematise the concept of cyclical time, for it is not self-evident which kind of cyclical time this is and we must begin to ask questions about it. We have to challenge our natural assumption that cyclical time as it has been understood in the bulk of recent scholarship is the only valid possibility and have to make sure that this quite natural assumption does not stand in the way of our entertaining an alternative possibility.

The assumption has been that cyclical time simply circles round, i.e. that it has an analogical relationship with continuous movement in the one direction. The alternative possibility that I shall be presenting is that the cycle is a two-phase one, i.e. that it has an analogical relationship with movement in two opposed directions. This would make the junction between two cycles much sharper and more abrupt.

I shall adduce some evidence from both inside and outside the Indo-European area to demonstrate the existence of the concept of two-way movement in the case of the diurnal cycle, and then go on to study the case of the year. I shall argue that a period in the year particularly associated with death is analogous to what is perceived as reverse movement, the idea of "reversal" implying that this is seen as the less "natural" of the pair of movements. In the Indo-European year as we know it, the period of reversal may be found at various points, for there was no possibility of controlling features of the calendar over many centuries and in widely different places without the existence of a central authority. In the case of the Christian Church, the concept of death/reversal is captured in the Easter triduum, and Lévi-Strauss has looked at the folk roots of some of the expressions of this concept in *From Honey to Ashes*.

Another anthropologist, Alfred Gell, in his book, *The Anthropology of Time* (1992), shows awareness of the two "distinctly different" types of cyclical time, and notes the special effect of the two-phase type as expressed in rituals by which "through a systematic exploitation of metaphors of natural and social processes thrown into reverse" the world is gradually restored to a pristine state (p. 92). I argue that it is this renewal through reversal that is found in the Indo-European context, and that it is a key component in Indo-European temporal conceptions.

Mirjam Mencej

Circular movement in European concept of space and time

In the paper I'm discussing the idea of circular movement related to the concept of space and time in European folklore. Circular movement has been proved in many forms in folklore: it is connected with certain mythical beings that are supposed to circulate or to go round or to be in another way connected with circular motion - Balkan fairies and also many other Slavic mythical beings are supposed to be found in whirlwinds, and whirlpools, round dances etc. The consequences of meeting mythical beings are also related to the same idea: these beings cause people to go round, to walk in circles for the whole night etc. The same notion is often related to people endowed with supernatural power like seventh/ninth/tenth child, magicians, in general people that are able to mediate between two worlds. Again, the same idea is related to the ideas about the movement of souls to and from the other world. The purpose of my research is to disclose the connection between this motion and the concept of space and time, as circular movement seems to be at the very base of the concept of the world. It is my hypothesis that circular movement as such is actually a way of interaction between the world of the living and the world of the dead and can be intentionally used through several symbolic entrances that indicate circular movement, such as mills, spinning (wheels), round (spiral) dances, circumambulations etc.

Andrej Moroz Time and Space in folk legends about saints

Folk legends about saints not only pass information about saints, but also motivate their veneration, as well as veneration of sacred places connected with saints and ritual practices that are performed in relation with saints' cult. Thus, time and space are very important in such legends.

It is necessary to mention several aspects of time significance in folk hagiography, and several kinds of time, that are relevant for folk legends. Two periods are very important for these texts: a time when saints lived, and present time. The saints' life time is very important as a period when miracles have taken place and when some objects have appeared or some phenomena have occurred. The present time is important for folk narratives as a time of rites that repeat saints' actions or when the saints' miraculous actions are notable. Rites connected with saints' cult usually symbolically repeat saints' actions, so saints' lives and miracles are in a sense revived in this way. It is very important that folk legends usually do not tell about any events or miracles that occurred after saint's death till now, or place them in the saint's lifetime.

Calendar feasts devoted to saints make a very important time category. Feasts of saints are a time of the most active and regular saints' veneration. Properly in these days sacred objects (springs, stones, trees etc) become wonder-working. Legends usually explain calendar feasts of saints as days, when saints were born or when some miracle occurred. Thus every year the miracle is repeated.

Folk legends and rites devoted to saints usually examine spatial objects perceived as sacred. A number of rites are performed at the sacred places and there are some typical folk legends that motivate their necessity and form. Usually the structure of these rites is similar to the hierophany - the actions of the saints that sanctified the area: people pass the way, where the saint have passed, wash themselves, where the saint has washed himself, step on his footprints impressed on the stone etc. Every object and detail of a sacred place is commented from the point of view of the legend and attached to the saint and his activity. Thus holy place is constructed as a form of veneration of the saints.

Tanja Petrović Concepts of Time and Space – Universal or Culture-Specific? Evidence from Folklore

Taking as a basis the bibliography composed of articles and books dealing with all aspects of the relationship between language, culture, and cognition published from 1985 to 2004 (available at http://hdl.handle.net/1880/44633), the present paper discusses ways in which concepts of time and space are studied by linguists. Concepts of space and time are traditionally seen as universal by those

who argue for independence of cognition from particular languages. Recent research of the relationship between language, culture and cognition however shows that spatial and temporal concepts highly vary across languages and cultures. The special emphasis is on contribution made by researchers who explore language of traditional culture and folklore texts to the argument that there are differences in ways how time and space are coded in various languages and cultures.

Miha Pintarič

What may have been the experience of time in Europe 700-900 years ago, and what comes out if you cross a monk with money

The first attempts to quantify the amount of daily work in 13th century were later followed by the awareness that time, when correctly managed, was a valuable asset not only in spiritual but also in lucrative sense. Hence the utility of clocks and watches. Time became a "thing", like everything else, and was no longer experienced as an integral and constitutive part of the self. It could be "measured" and human beings were soon to be "quantified" as well. Time was to become "money" and, as such, devoid of any moral or other inherent content. The "content" of time, called "history", was considered in a more or less arbitrary way, and this term in any case only referred to a past which, unlike the future, was seemingly under human control. The cyclical mythical patterns of time, soon followed by the sacred aspect of linear time as well, were relegated to the margins of collective consciousness, leaving the Story of humankind no less than that of every individual an open-ended and rather perplexing experience.

Pieter Plas

Folk discourse and the spatio-temporal anchoring of local identity: examples from early South Slavic ethnography

The paper examines the language and world view of 'locality' in a number of Croatian, Bosnian and Serbian ethnographic accounts from the end of the nineteenth century. The texts in question were produced as part of national and/or scholarly programs involving the production of local and regional ethnographies by 'literates from the people' in response to standardized academic questionnaires. From a historical and discourseanalytic perspective, such 'autochthonous ethnography' - in which the distinction between 'scholarly authorial ethnographic discourse' and 'folklore data proper' is blurred – is interesting in several respects; among other things, it yields valuable information on collective local-historical conceptions of space and time, and on how these (and folk world view in general) took and take shape in/through folk discourse. Using samples from different texts, our analysis will deal with discursive (narrative and other) developments of topics of 'locality' - local belonging and local identity, local history, local 'roots' -, in which spatio-temporal anchorings of village communities are verbally (re)produced and performed. In doing so, we will attempt to uncover some of the mechanisms through which the 'language of locality' links up 'real' topographies with symbolic valuations of space, time, social relations and other categories of folk world view. We will focus on such elements as:

significant uses of spatial, temporal and personal deixis (situating 'selves' and 'others' in space and time)

associations of 'place' and 'region' with local history and oral literature (folk legends and songs)

confessional/religious markings of 'own' vs. 'other' space

articulations of spatial (regional topographic-geographic) divisions in correlation with differential modes of living (e.g. coast vs. hinterland).

discursive processes of authentication, traditionalization and mythologization in etiological legends about the foundation of villages (e.g. the consecutive anchoring of discourse in the voices of identified/identifiable 'elders', in 'the old days' and in impersonal past narration; the 'rhythm' of locative adjuncts and place-names in etiological narration)

social relations and symbolic divisions of space and time in village communities (families, houses, kinship communities; symbolic valuations of the spatial opposition 'nearby vs. far away' in connection with strangers and brides, present vs. past)

Thus, the paper seeks to elucidate a number of latent and overt folk ideologies and categories of space and time as preserved in the 'folkethnographic' text-as-performance.

Andrej Pleterski Spacetime in Mythological Landscape and Within the House and Objects

Since Einstein, the physics are no longer debating the space and time as separate entities. Spacetime is percepted as a single dimension. Even before that, the notion existed in fiction writings such as Edgar Allan Poe's essay "Eureka" (1848) and Herbert George Wells' novel The Time Machine (1895).

Although today it seems that the space-time is a product of modern age thought the concept was known and used by our ancestors hundreds and even thousands years ago. The spacetime was fundamental in their comprehension of natural order on Earth and in space. After all, this concept made possible to fashion such an ingenious device as the sun clock. However, the existence of the concept can also be corroborated by other less obvious examples.

The author is presenting the case studies of measuring time with space in Early Medieval mythological landscape at Mislinja valley and within the

country house in Bohinj. Both cases are examples of calculating the duration of the winter length 2 x 45 days. The notion of cosmic wheel preserved in Bohinj folk tradition of "Kolo svete Katre" (The Wheel of St. Catharine) is also based on the spacetime concept. The latter enables us to explain the structural links between the archaeological artefacts and Slovene folk tales.

Éva Pócs Time and space concepts in European werewolf-mythologies

In my paper I shall talk about certain aspects of a particular archaic structure of space and time as it may be deciphered from a number of phenomena within official and popular religions, folk belief and folklore. This structure forms a part of the common European symbol systems and semantic classification systems. The aspects in question are related to werewolf beliefs and mythologies which were known in some form or other to all European peoples.

With the ability of metamorphosis between human and animal and carrying some mark of the nature (e.g. being born from an animal father or with an animal body part or in a snake skin), werewolves have alternatives of a double existence which may be located in the system of such binary oppositions as *culture* and *nature*, *'the raw and the cooked.'*

This system defines the specifics of human existence and its place in the universe as one that is opposed to a non-human (animal or dead) periphery. This way 'animal people' have a demonic/animal being and a wild natural world with which they are familiar. Viewed from the centre, this alternative existence is a dead world: double beings that move to and fro between the two worlds experience time cycles of life and death as well as of death and re-birth. This way the spatial alternation of the types of existence associated with culture and nature is coupled with a cyclic view of time: 'wolf times' and human times, life and death which alternate as is defined by fate. At the time of birth it is decided (by the decision of fate women/fate goddesses or through the marks of birth) which form of existence awaits the werewolf: culture or nature, life or death. Dark periods and points of the lunar and solar calendar play an important role in the time cycle (new moon, winter solstice, night) as well as the figures 3 and 7, and the seventh day (e.g. werewolves may 'die' or turn into a wolf or become initiated into the 'nature' side of life at the age of 7, 18 or 21). The same figures often appear in the date of the conception or birth of these double beings. These numbers carry the symbolism of being unclassified, not belonging to a group, being one too many and being outside of time. The

figures three, seven and nine in the context of the werewolf's birth also conceal the anomalies of being unclassified. This way they indicate the werewolf's liminal position between nature and culture as well as their duality covering nature and culture.

The beginning of ever newer time cycles is indicated by metamorphoses between human and animal, ritual methods of averting the destiny of a werewolf, rites of initiation into an alternative existence and battles of an ordeal type which are meant to determine the later fortune of a werewolf. The battles which bring about a shift in cycle can also be viewed as duels between culture and nature where the demon of nature must be vanquished by the human representing culture (i.e. the human werewolf must triumph over his/her own demonic alternative). The time cycle before the battle is in this sense the temporal representation of the demonic world of the nature. Thus these battles also place werewolf beings into the permanent cyclic repetition of birth-death-rebirth. This is symbolised clearly by the werewolf appearing as a snake and shedding its skin in spring in order to be re-born and, more generally, by the double 'changeable' skin of werewolves. This circulation also appears in the dates of the calendar year. In the case of 'good werewolves', which are known among several peoples of the Balkans to act as magicians in favour of their community, the battles for starting and ending the agricultural season are associated with important agricultural dates in spring and autumn, often with the day of St George. The outcome of these battles often defines the good or ill fortune of the community for the coming period such as good or bad weather and a favourable or poor harvest. The time cycle before the day of St. George represents the past and death, as a temporal equivalent of the demonic world of nature. The objective of these battles is often to re-capture the grain from the demons of the underworld for humans – their repetitions follow the vegetation cycle. The winner is re-born like the snake that shed its skin before the day of St. George and as a consequence of their victory vegetation is also revived.

Radvilė Racėnaitė Concept of inverse world in Lithuanian folk narratives

Quite a few phenomena related to beliefs about the afterlife that are characteristic both of archeology and folklore reveal that the other world is dominated by peculiar mythic spatio-temporal traits. In general, these mythological peculiarities can be defined by the conception of inverse symmetry, when the respective manifestations of another world are a kind of a mirror-image of the human realm. However, this is not a mere specular reflection, when everything is literally represented upside-down, but rather a

system of sophisticated mythic laws, that affects the material and temporal dimensions of the other world.

The paper attempts to define the concept of inverse world in Lithuanian folklore. The research object includes Lithuanian tales of magic, religious tales, realistic tales (novelle), and mythological (folk belief) legends. The analysis of the aforementioned folk narratives is supplemented by the study of archeological data of the Balts and relevant Lithuanian funeral customs and folk beliefs. Such a diversity of the discussed material is necessary for the reason that the issue of inverse reality in the afterlife is considered nearly in every folklore genre. A wider context discloses not only the versatility of mythological images, but often underlines their contradictions, as well.

In a number of cases, the archeological artefacts found at the burial sites of the Baltic tribes dating from the prehistoric times to the 13th c. approximately, disclose that burial items were deliberately damaged, elsewhere only a part of respective burial object or miniature copies of work implements were placed in graves. Notwithstanding different patterns of the afterlife conception that could explicate these long-endured burial customs of the Balts, there can be traced a fundamental mythic conviction about a certain expectative transfiguration of the burial objects that would assure their subsequent applicability in the other world.

It is worth mentioning, that in Lithuanian burial rituals of the $19^{th} - 20^{th}$ c. the belongings of the dead and other objects that had contact with the deceased were often destroyed or thrown away, as well. This custom could be elucidated in a similar way assuming, that damaged objects regain their form in the afterworld. However, the later actions can be explained in a rational manner, too.

These mythical notions are also vivid in narrative folklore. In Lithuanian folk tales and legends, the objects gifted to a man by mythical creatures undergo a transformation then brought to the human realm, e. g., barren things (a handful of wooden slivers or coal brands) turn to coins or, on the contrary, valuable objects change into rubbish (a tree stump, a piece of carrion or dung). It could be stated that in folk narratives the overlapping of the real and the mythical realms is often linked to the specific segments of time. The manifestations of the other world are more frequent at night or sleeping time, however a correlation with liminal periods of human life (e.g. birth, weddings and death) is of no less importance, as well. It also becomes obvious, that the spheres of death and dreaming are interrelated, i. e., a dream-time is regarded as a temporary death. The notions of inversion in the other world are best reflected in narratives that depict specific visions seen by a main character. Most often a man is invited to

make a visit and he observes incomprehensible phenomena on his way to the after world: two young ladies throwing each other a golden apple; fighting ravens or scuffling pigeons; thin sheep in beautiful pasture and fat sheep in poor pasture, etc. The explanation is given to the man that such condition of the personages observed is stipulated by their conduct – these are people who have got a corresponding reward or punishment after their death. Apparently, a human being is witless when he finds himself in the other world and faces death-related phenomena. A man wrongly interprets the visions seen in the other world as he characterises them according to external signs instead of their underlying meaning.

What is more, such manifestations of the other world could represent the abstract idea of temporality by figurative means (e.g., a man observes strange visions at bed of new born children that symbolize the duration and way of their life; a hero encounters a white / black / red man that are equivalent to a day, night and dawn; a man observes candles that represents the span of human's life and the time of his death, etc.). On the other hand, otherworldly time is different in itself. It is characterized by an exclusive concentration, – three days spent in the afterworld stand for three hundred or even three thousand human years.

The mythic alterations of space and time substantiate that even the most usual and natural features might turn of to be different in the other world. The peculiarities of inverse symetry in the afterworld are reflected both in burial customs of the ancient Balts as well as in Lithuanian folk narratives about the extraordinary spatio-temporal experiences undergone by a man.

Ljupčo S. Risteski Linear / historical time in the traditional culture of Macedonians

As much as it has seemed that the cyclic, continued and regular repeating of the natural phenomenon put an unique sign on the folk cultures, among the people still left the feeling and perception of the time as permanent and unrepeatable passing category which could not be appeared in the same form again. It means that in the folk ideas about the time, there are, at same time, ideas about the cyclic time and ideas about the linear time. It is sure that the most concrete form of the linearity of the time the man learned has been his/her own life line, precisely all life phases. From these presentations of the life line originate all characteristic of the *linear time*, than the concept of the *time which already passed*, about the time in which all the things are existing, *present time* and the time which should come, *future time*.

The most concrete form of the ideas of the linear time has been the *human life* (čovečki vek). In fact, unrepeatable "coming" of new and new generations, as well as memories for the previous generations, have enabled Man to create the basic sense of the Time. There is the basic category of time on which has been conceptualized most of the cultural ideas for the human life. The longitudeness of the human life became the basic measure of the Time (životen vek – vek – 100 years).

In those processes the Man have got the sense of the past time, of the *history*. From the very beginning that is a *oral*, *(re)retell history*, *history* as a story. In that kind of history, the *oral transmition of the information* and the *family history* were the unique forms of memorizing and crating of the people's identity. The *family (hi)story* had been retelling and transmitted from the older to the younger ones in the frames of the family cycle, where it has been understood as an obligation for both, the first to tell the stories and the second to listen and to learn the told.

Next part of the paper will discuss the essence, the origins and the usage of the *historistic time* in the folk culture. It is a word about specific category of time, close related with the mythic characteristics of the World and its creation. It is the story about the myth of creation, the story about the beginnings of the World and the Man.

Daiva Šeškauskaitė Calendar dates referring to the annual Development of Plants in Lithuanian folklore

Important dates, e.g. for sewing, planting, spring have been estimated until now according to the development of certain plants. The contribution discusses which plants have been in use and which special property has been considered as well as the triggered on event. The vegetation calendar follows the annual and long term changes in weather and seems to be more appropriate for the need of agriculture than the astronomic one.

Dates from folklore as well as modern ethnography have been taken into consideration.

Jūratė Šlekonytė

Ages of Man in Lithuanian Folklore

The concept of gradation of human race life is a very common phenomenon in different cultures. From the historical perspective, human time consists of certain époques that differ in quality of life. According to Classical mythology, stages of human existence on Earth are named as the Ages of Man (sometimes the term Ages of the World is used instead). Greek and Roman authors maintained that usually human life begins with Golden Age, after which Silver, Bronze, Iron Ages follow, each of them gradually declining in quality of life. This is the most popular schema but detailed division can slightly differ depending on the author. Meanwhile Christian historical periodization described by Saint Augustine around year 400 consists of Six Ages of the World. It is based on Christian religious events, from birth of Adam to the events of Revelation. This model of timing was in use throughout the middle ages, and until the Enlightenment. Analogous ideas can be found in the religious and philosophical traditions of the Far

In this paper I aim to find out whether Lithuanians have an idea of time division into certain periods and if so, then to distinguish and describe these periods. In Lithuanian folklore the concept of *human ages* isn't developed very clearly; there are no special cycles of folk narratives, illustrating life during different periods. However, some remains of prior existence of such image in Lithuanian worldview can be traced in various genres of folk narrative, e.g. in origin and local legends, and various beliefs depicting gradual changes in the course of time. According to some details found in these folk narratives an approximate picture of human life periodization can be discerned. It begins with origin of human race (God creates man), then several stages follow: from irretrievable ideal state reminding classical idea of *Golden Age* till premonition of coming dark future mixed with scares of technological innovation, stage of *Nostalgia* with regret for spiritual loss and desire to return to a state of perfection, freedom, beauty and honesty.

The detailed analysis demonstrated that in Lithuanian folklore the main idea of permanent deterioration of human life is quite clearly reflected.

Zmago Šmitek Travels and Spaces of »Green George«: Comparative Approach

»Green George« is a mythological figure, known in Eastern Slovenia and some adjacent parts of Croatia. He was believed to circulate on his annual journey from underground to our world and back. This circular motion is illustrated in various folk symbols and rituals which are present also in northern and western parts of Slovenia and were not yet appropriately elucidated. We can find further parallels also in wider territory of Europe

and Middle East as far as India (for instance, chtonian Zeus/Zeus Georgeus, Dionysos, Khidr, Indra, Sir Gawain). I shall concentrate to ritual forms and symbols of the circle (Sun, egg, round cake, mill stone, dance in a circle...), symbolism of colours (white, green, red) and numbers (seventh, ninth and tenth brother/sister) and accompanying cosmogonic and fertility symbols (spring water, stone, herbs, grass...).

Circulation of »Green George« represents an orientation in time and space from the human and phenomenological point of view. Human travels are – symbolically – always circular, as they presuppose not only the departure, but also the return. Temporary abandonment of one's home can be interpreted as a cession of that space to a rival, such as evident in the case of english-celtic Merlin. Emotional shock at this experience is clearly visible both in the case of Merlin as in the case of »Green George«. In George's case, the opposition home/wilderness exists in a vertical direction (above the soil, below the earth). »Green George« differs from Merlin also in the fact that he does not re-occupy his home but »dwells in his transmigration«.

In such constant motion are involved also figures of "the tenth brother" and "the tenth sister" which can be percieved in Slovenia both as mythological beings and/or as human persons.

Tok Thompson

Embedded Time: Memories, Stories, and Places in Irish Tradition

In this paper, I would like to present my research on the concepts of time and place in traditional Irish worldview, with a particular focus on the confluence of time, the landscape, and narratives in rural, long-settled, Irish-speaking communities. I examine the connections between these themes and elements of the Irish language and folklore, particularly the rich sí (fairy) tradition. Posited is a way of looking at time outside of the more commonly-imagined themes of lineal and cyclical time, and more towards a concept of perpetually-renewed earthly eternity, with an embedding of time into the landscape and folklore by the use of monuments and other mnemonic devices.

Francisco Vaz da Silva
The Space/Time Coordinates of the Otherworld in European
Cosmology

This presentation draws on ancient myths conveyed by Plato in order to inquire on the space/time coordinates of the otherworld in European cosmology. The point is not so much to convey "Platonic" views as it is to pinpoint convergences between ancient traditions and modern folklore, and so get a glimpse of otherworldly structures in the longue durée of European folklore.

THE LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Karen Bek-Pedersen, PhD student, Celtic & Scottish Studies University of Edinburgh, 27 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9 LD, Scotland, karen@bek-pedersen.dk

Vitomir Belaj, PhD, Full Professor, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, Ivana Lučića 3, Zagreb 10000, Croatia, vbelaj@ffzg.hr

Olga Belova, PhD, Senior Scholar, Institute for Slavic Studies RAS, Leninskij prospekt 32-A, Moscow 119334, Russia, kotmonya@yandex.ru

Josef Bláha, PhD, Assistant Professor, Palacky University, Philosophical Faculty, Department of Art History, Křížkovského 10, Olomouc 771 80, Czech Republic, <u>blahaj@ffnw.upol.cz</u>

Lina Būgienė, PhD, Senior Researcher, Department of Folk Narrative, Institute of Lithuanian Literature&Folklore, Antakalnio 6, LT-10308, Vilnius, Lithuania, <u>lina@llti.lt</u>

Mihály Hoppál, PhD, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Ethnology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences,H-1014 Budapest, Országház u. 30., Mailing Address: H-1250 Budapest, Pf. 29, Hungary, hoppal@etnologia.mta.hu

Katja Hrobat, PhD student, Research Fellow, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Zavetiška 5, Ljubljana 1000, Slovenia, katja.hrobat@guest.arnes.si

Ivan Marija Hrovatin, PhD student, Research Fellow, Institute of Archaeology, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi trg 2, Ljubljana 1000, Slovenia, ivan_hrovatin@yahoo.com

Annette Kehnel, PhD, Full Professor, Chair of Medieval History, University of Mannheim, Schloss, 68 131 Mannheim, Germany, annette.kehnel@uni-mannheim.de

Mare Kõiva, PhD, Senior Researcher, Department of Folkloristics, Estonian Literary Museum, Vanemuise Str. 42-235, 51003 Tartu, Estonia, mare@folklore.ee

Lubomír J. Konečný, PhD, Senior Researcher, Muzeum města Brna, Špilberk 1, 662 24 Brno, Chech Republic, <u>konecny@spilberk.cz</u>

Kaarina Koski, PhD student, Institute for Cultural Research, Helsinki University, Kyläkunnantie 93, 00660 Helsinki, Finland, kakoski@mappi.helsinki.fi

Monika Kropej, PhD, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of Slovenian Ethnology, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Gosposka 13, Ljubljana 1000, Slovenia, Monika@zrcsazu.si

Ivan Lozica, PhD, Research Advisor, Institut of Ethnology and Folklore Research, Šubićeva 42, Zagreb 10000, Croatia, <u>lozica@ief.hr</u>

Emily Lyle, PhD, Honorary Fellow, Celtic & Scottish Studies, University of Edinburgh, 27 George Square, Edinburgh EH8 9 LD, Scotland, e.lyle@ed.ac.uk

Mirjam Mencej, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Zavetiška 5, Ljubljana 1000, Slovenia, mirjam.mencej@guest.arnes.si

Andrej Moroz, PhD, Associate Professor, Historical and Philological Department, Russian State University for Humanities, Schelkovskoe shosse, d. 12, korp. 2, kv. 17, 105122 Moscow, Russia, abmoroz@mail.ru

Tanja Petrović, PhD, Research Fellow, Instutute for Balkan Studies, Belgrade / Institute of Philosophy, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi trg 2, Ljubljana 1000, Serbia/Slovenia, tanjape@zrc-sazu.si

Miha Pintarič, PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Romance Languages and Literatures, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Aškerčeva 2, Ljubljana 1000, Slovenia, miha.pintaric@ff.uni-lj.si

Pieter Plas, PhD, External Research Associate, Centre for Southeast European Studies at Ghent University, c/o Victor Braeckmanlaan 185, B-9040 Belgium, pieter.plas@fulladsl.be

Andrej Pleterski, PhD, Associate Professor, Institute of Archaeology, Scientific Research Centre of the Slovenian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Novi trg 2, Ljubljana 1000, Slovenia, pleterski@zrc-sazu.si

Éva Pócs, PhD, Professor Emeritus, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pécs, Rókus u. 2, H-7624 Pécs, Hungary, pocse@chello.hu

Radvilė Racėnaitė, PhD, Scientific Researcher, Department of Folk Narrative, Institute of Lithuanian Literature&Folklore, Antakalnio 6, LT-10308, Vilnius, Lithuania, raganagar@gmail.com

Ljupco S. Risteski, PhD, Assistant Professor, Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics, University Ss. Cyril and Methodius, Gazi Baba bb, Skopje 1000, P.B. 162, Republic of Macedonia, risteski@iunona.pmf.ukim.edu.mk

Daiva Šeškauskaitė, PhD, Lecturer and Associate Professor, Kaunas College of Forestry and Environmental Engineering, Liepu 1, Girionys, LT-53101, and Lithuanian University of Agriculture, Studentu 11, LT-53361, Akademija, Kauno r., Lithuania, daivases@yahoo.de

Jūratė Šlekonytė, PhD, Researcher, Department of Folk Narrative, Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, Antakalnio 6, LT-10308 Vilnius, Lithuania, jurates@llti.lt

Zmago Šmitek, PhD, Full Professor, Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, Zavetiška 5, Ljubljana 1000, Slovenia, <u>zmago.smitek@s5.net</u>

Tok Thompson, PhD, Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Southern California, 3501Trousdale Parkway, Mark Taper Hall 378, Los Angeles, California, 90089-4012, USA, thompst@earthlink.net

Francisco Vaz da Silva, PhD and *Agregação*, Assistant Professor, Department of Anthropology, ISCTE, Avenida das Forças Armadas, 1640–026 Lisboa, Portugal, <u>francisco.silva@iscte.pt</u>