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FLESH AND BONES: ON LITERARY AND REAL CODES IN FAIRY TALES

Abstract: This paper is dedicated to analysis of efficacy of cliché and formula as means of encoding *realia*, particularly in case of „human flesh and bone“ motif in Serbian and Russian fairy tales. The present approach is grounded on several prepositions: 1) that structure of fairy tale is complex; 2) that realization of this structure is simple; 3) that the former is possible to achieve by cliché and formula; 4) that fairy tale, as well as oral literary texts in general, is burdened by two dominant codes: a real and a literary; 5) that cliché and formula, keeping the same qualities in many different types of application, are successfully used as means of encoding on both levels - the level of *realia* and the level of literary text. The choice of means and evaluation of their efficacy are specially stressed: cliché offers best results on the level of global organization of sujet („roasted children“ and cannibalism), and formula is the best choice for multilevel connection between *realia* and text itself („rolling over the bones“).

If one were to formulate the question intriguing the contemporary „fairyology“ for decades, then it should have to be: why is the fairy tale - in spite of everything and for such an unaccountable amount of time - a successful literary genre? From Propp (1928) on, the answer has been sought, with varying results, both within the structuralist and semiotic studies, which resulted in these two methods considerably coming closer together, but not in a *Poetics of the Fairy Tale* comparable to Propp, or serving as a logical supplement of his *Morphology*. Nevertheless, the elements necessary for such

a poetics have already been built into the results of the research done so far and, if not yet systematized into an acceptable whole, it is the sole result of the lack, in the study of oral literature, of the real need for a firm theoretical basis in the operative approach to this genre. Such a basis is, however, indispensable when speaking about literary codes, so that - for the needs of this paper - we shall try to define its coordinates.

Therefore, what makes fairy tale a successful literary genre is a balanced action of two opposite form-generating principles: *complexity* of structure and *simplicity* of its realization.

There is no need for proving that structure of the fairy tale is complex.¹ It has to be so because of its generic commitment, especially if one bears in mind the common-place modelative theory of oral genres, by which in the process of modeling of a literary text, a completed non-literary² model can appear as the original. Such modeling is raised to the third degree, and the literary text becomes in fact a model of a model, which means that its structure is enhanced by additional, in some other sphere already defined and to the new function adjusted, elements. Code signals that these elements carry within themselves are not completely lost, but during the transfer they are pushed back, being replaced by stronger, literary code. Since - theoretically - a number of non-literary models starting this new modeling is in no way limited, the density of code signals that are pushed back can - also theoretically - be indefinite. The limits are, however, placed within the literary norm, with a tolerance which, although directly dependent on the basic characteristics of the genre, shows a general tendency of rise from poetry toward prose. Also, under the influence of literary norm, namely, in accordance with the priority needs of the text, the density of these signals is not only limited, but also graded, which leads to the stratification or leafing of

¹ Most important studies of the fairy tale, treat precisely this problem: Пропп (1982; 1984; 1986), Мелетинский et al. (1969), Meletinski (1974), Цивьян (1975), Corno (1979), Maranda ed. (1971), Dundes (1964), Škreb (1969) - together with many others that we shall have not be able to mention here (e.g. Max Lüthi, Kurt Ranke, Linda Dégh, Lutz Rörich, Maja Bošković-Stulli, D. S. Lihačov, J. Lotman, and others).

² In principle, there is no reason why a *literary* model should not serve as the original. For example: the sujet of „*riša riba*“ (goldfish), regardless of the sources from which it was conceived, is introduced into the epics as a finished literary text originating from a different genre. Depending on the direction of derivation, in any case a narrative text - prose (if taken from the fairy tale) appears as the original, or a text in verse (if it is taken from the lyrics). Further procedure is the same; only a degree of modelation is changed.

code records found in the material. At the same time, this means that in case of oral literary types one should in principle count on *two* dominant codes, of which one - the literary - is given in advance, being inscribed into the very structure of the text and directly accessible through its form, while the other - the real - is connected with the material, written into it and accessible secondarily, by way of decoding.³

Predomination of the literary code⁴ in literary text is an axiom *per se* and needs not be proved. Only very rarely can one of real codes become so strong as to cover the literary code, or become its equal in the strength of impulse. This can happen only in those text segments which are replaceable - for instance in formulas. Then *generic blanks*⁵ are created, an interesting and important phenomenon, but considerably less noticeable.

Determination of the predominant among the real codes is closely connected with generic affinities. In principle, for a set of *realia*, the predominant code is the one which appears to be the last one in the process of decoding, i.e. the one above which - from the standpoint of text - there is no need for new codes. For the heroic epics such a code is ideological; for non-ritual lyrics - social or mythical, depending on context; for ritual lyrics - ritualistic and mythical, and for the fairy tale - as we shall try to prove - that code is demonic.⁶ Since this is, however, the predominant, but not the sole code

³ Certainly, literary code - as any other, by its definition - can be also decoded (theoretical foundations of literary text could not be established in any other way), but the text is thus undermined and is being deconstructed into metatext. Decoding of real codes (the dominant one and an undetermined number of subordinate ones) is taking place, however, mostly *outside* the text, so that it has no influence on its integrity. That influence is realized within the sphere of reception of both the concrete text and the genre in general, which is an altogether different question.

⁴ In fact, one should speak of literary *codes*, but on this occasion it is not indispensable and could, furthermore, undermine the text and bring about confusion. Each time when literary analysis is performed from the standpoint of language, form, structure, sujet, plot, etc., the term „standpoint“ can equally be replaced with the word „code“. Among all the literary codes, the most frequent one in oral literature is genre coding. It is the most express and therefore the easiest to notice, and - if one approaches it with sufficient attention - it gives the quickest and the most efficient results.

⁵ See: Detelić, 1996 b, p. 409. Generic blank is in fact such a form of text in which the material (due to the real code predomination) communicates with the recipient without an intermediary.

⁶ Мелетинский et al. (1969) define the relation between the myth and the fairytale as a relation between the metatext and the text (p. 88), however at the structure level.

written into *realias*, i.e. into the material, the modeling effect of various genres brings about interesting turnabouts. For instance, the wedding in epics, under the influence of the respective predominant code, instantly becomes a manly marriage of an epic hero with three generic varieties⁷ but, differently than in lyrics, never, not even in indications, does it become the feminine marriage, as it appears from the standpoint of a bride. In the fairy tale, however, that same wedding is encoded socially, or even more narrowly, as a family event - which means that it does not enter the sphere of the predominant code at all, or that it is related to it only marginally.⁸ Within the framework of the same genre as well, different aspects and levels of encoding render a characteristic picture. In the fairy tale again, food can serve as a good example. When the stepmother sends her stepdaughter to the forest giving her only a piece of bread in a bag, and in the same situation, later, equips her own daughter with a roast, cheese, bread and wine - one of the lower real codes written into this context is undoubtedly social. Since the purpose of different food distribution in these fairy tales is not in itself, but has a significant role in heroine's temptations and tests of her values according to the rules of the demonic world (*baba-jaga*, witch, *ala*, bear), thus the last - and therefore the predominant - code that can be read here is in fact demonic, as should have been expected. On the contrary, when in the fairy tale „Careva kći i svinjarče“ („Emperor's Daughter and the Swine-herd“)

(This view had most and the greatest effect in the West: compare Susan Reid, *Myth as Metastructure of the Fairytale*, Maranda ed, 1974, II, pp. 151 - 173.) „Strong structural limitations“ - which are missing from the myth, as an element of „primordial folklore“, and which are found in the fairy tale - cannot be interpreted differently than in close connection with the genre, so that the systematization of real codes suggested here is closely related to the text of the Russian authors. On the contrary, when somewhat later (p. 104) they differentiate in fairytales the mythical (macrocosmic and microcosmic), tribal-familiar and linguistic (словесны) code, it is the case of non-literary encoding which is in our systematization defined as subordinate (or lower) in relation to the predominant real code. One should particularly stress that in our system, all real codes - including the predominant one - are necessarily subordinated to literary encoding. We consider it logical that in the literary text the priority should be given to the procedures and means which, above all, meet the needs of that text.

⁷ See: Detelić 1992 (pp. 221 - 254).

⁸ In the case of marriage (male/female) to a demonic being, Connection with the dominant code can in that case be achieved mechanically as well, as a rule when such marriage, in the function of the initial or secondary sujet, serves as a formal link with the main story (e.g.: „Baš Čelik“ as opposed to „Stojša and Mladen“).

we read the following: "When he got out, the boy squatted in the dark, took out of his bag bread and roasted chicken and a bottle of wine, and started eating and drinking. In the darkness, it seemed to the Turk that the child was doing the same job that makes an emperor dismount the horse, so he squatted also and with great difficulty and effort did the same. Hearing at that moment that the child was eating and chewing something, he thought the kid was eating his feces, and the Turk started eating his own"⁹ - and when we know that all this is happening in the function of competition for the emperor's daughter's hand, it becomes clear that coprophagia in this context loses all its indigenous codes and is subject only to one, literary coding.

Two different dominant codes are at the same time, therefore, both a necessity and an advantage, not only of the fairy tale, but also of every other oral genre. Owing to this, each individual text - as well as the genre as a whole - is on one hand directly connected to literature as a subsystem of a respective culture, and on the other, also without intermediaries, to the very tradition upon which that culture is founded. While the first system of relations has priority in literary-theoretical research, the latter is, above all, significant for folklorists: precisely due to it, literary texts are rated among equally valuable evidence within the complex process of reconstruction of a culture tradition. Nonetheless, the best results on both sides are achieved only in their combination.

In order to make such a combination possible, the means it will be achieved by must fulfill at least two conditions: their form must be literary, and their application simple. According to general poetical standards for oral literary genres, *cliché* and *formula* satisfy such conditions the best. Highly stylized, conservative, and resistant to the influence of cumulative changes within genre, adaptable in form, and therefore easily movable from poetry to prose and from genre to genre - cliché (as a special pattern of text organization), and formula (as a special type of cliché), counterbalance the structure complexity and the stratified encoding everywhere¹⁰ - and especially in the fairy tale. And not only that: cliché and formula, as sense-generating forms, are exactly that kind of text which keep the greatest number (and the oldest) of code recordings *per se*, and are therefore a logical live connection between literature and the sources from which it draws its material.

⁹ Vuk, p. 239.

¹⁰ See: Detelić 1996 a (especially Chapter: „For the Rehabilitation of Cliché“ pp. 10–12).

Thence the goal of this paper, and that is to test the functionality of clichés and formulas - as separate gravity centers in a future poetics of the fairytale - on the analysis of particular and general codes of *human bones and flesh* as a special kind of food in this genre of oral literature.¹¹

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A brief systematization of material on the basis of which this paper has been written is contained in *Annexes 1* and *2*. Therefrom one can clearly see that human flesh is eaten (or intended to be eaten) above all, by demonic beings: the fantastic bird from the underworld, devils, dragon, *ala*¹² and *ala's* sons, giant and one-eyed *divljan*,¹³ the master of *Zlatni Rasudenac*,¹⁴ three *Sudenice*¹⁵ in the forest. For the establishment of such relationship between the world of demons and the world of humans no effort is needed: its logical pattern is written into the foundations of tradition culture and is therefrom taken finished, regardless of the function it should serve and the environment in which it will be situated. That is why coding is simple, and the harmony of dominant codes is complete. Such balance, however, cannot be

¹¹ The material for this analysis is contained in the following collections: Вук Стеф. Караџић, *Српске народне приповејке*, Сабрана дела Вука Караџића, књ.3, Просвета, Београд 1988; Веселин Чајкановић, *Српске народне приповејке*, СЕЗ ХЛ, Српске народне умотворине књ. 1, Београд 1927; А.Н.Афанасьев, *Народные русские сказки в трех томах*, Наука, Москва 1985. We have opted for these collections, among other reasons, because they are all equipped with the scientific apparatus, so that they offer a good perception of variants - their number and distribution. Exceptions are only the tales „Srećni sat“ (1894) and „Grbo i kralj djavolski“ (1899), taken from periodical *Bosanska vila*, since the three collections contain no such subjects, and they were necessary for the creation of our corpus.

¹² Serbian *ala* (noun, f.) is an anthropomorphic demon with ability of transforming into animals (usually birds). It also can change heads, i.e. it can put e.g. horse head on its „human“ body. Although inclined to devour people, *ala* could also protect them and their harvest from another demon of the same kind. Due to this and to its dangerousness, in fairy tales it is often approached by people who wish to have it as a godmother.

¹³ Serbian *divljan* (noun, m.) literally means: wild man. It is usually one-eyed and paralleled with classic Cyclops.

¹⁴ *Zlatni Rasudenac* (untranslatable: name of a fairy land or kingdom). It is a place of demonic world where a hero comes in seek of stolen or lost treasure (either a princess or a precious goods). Its ruler is itself a demonic figure.

¹⁵ Serbian *Sudenice* (noun, f.) are comparable to the classic Parcae. They are three in number and they dispose of a persons destiny.

achieved in all segments of the text, so that there is nothing strange in the fact that this specific relationship is realized in the central segment of the fairy tale, where hero's destiny is also resolved - either through difficult tests (giant, dragon, *ala*, the master of *Zlatni Rasudenac*), through the test of hero's capability of obtaining a miraculous helper (the bird, devils, *ala*'s sons), or through his direct collision with the enemy (dragon, devil, *divljan*, *Suđenice*). On the other hand, this segment (together with the beginning and the ending), is liable to change the least in the structure of the fairytale, so that whether human flesh is devoured in it, or blood of a killed horse drunk, a poor-man's loaf of bread shared, or life of an insignificant animal spared - becomes irrelevant if this fits into the system of clichés obligatory for this part of the tale. In other words, the narrative manner is of far greater importance here than the choice among *realia*.

When flesh belonging to one's own species should be eaten, things change essentially and unexpectedly: people do it on their own will and need, or even with indulgence and lust, while demons do it only if tricked into it. Nonetheless, in order to gain access to this kind of food, the man must first undergo certain changes, namely he must bear some kind of stigma. In our examples, the unslaughtered ninth *hajduk* (ruscal, *Annex 1-4.2*) offers himself a comparison with a demonic animal,¹⁶ and a much older paradigm of evil step-mother, witch, and a demonic stranger, is inscribed into the unnatu-

¹⁶ Comp. *Elijade*, p.136; *Čajkanović* 1994, V, p.73. This character is problematic and, in some characteristics, probably an insufficiently successful consequence of contamination of at least two different literary genres: the fairy tale and the epic poem (comp. „Jovan and the Giants' Chief“). On one hand, his old age, as well as the length and whiteness of his beard, indicate a typical fairy tale hero, a demonic, the master of the underworld. On the other, the fairy with whom the *hajduk* enters into an expressly epic conflict, the council he receives from her, and the offerings demanded by *Sentin*'s sister feigning to be sick - all are typical for the epics. In the poem, however, *Jovan*'s adversary is a giant who lives in a cave, and in the fairy tale the *hajduk* lives in a lord's castle. (What is the same for both cases is the initial situation in which *Jovan* and his mother - and *Sentin* with his - live in a cavern on a mountain.) Being aware that this epic *sujet* originates from the prose, it seems that the fairy tale „*Sentin*“ from *Čajkanović*'s collection is an insufficiently good variant, which one should simply keep in mind. The lack of skill of its creator is reflected in the unexplained and totally uncalled for appearance not only of *Sentin*'s sister, but of a friendly lioness which, except from being mentioned, plays no role in the entire plot. Due to all this, the mentioned *sujet* will not be discussed further, until the analysis of the bones procedure. Till then, when discussing cannibalism, only example 4.1 will be taken into account.

ral image of parents inclined to eating their own offspring (*Annex 1 - 4.1*).¹⁷ The effect of literary coding in this direction can be also somewhat finer, as we shall see if we recall the terms defining human flesh as food: for humans it is „the sweet human flesh“, and for the giant it is „tame“.¹⁸ The inscribed real codes are, however, too strong, so that the mentioned literary procedure stops at this very place, since its purpose is not to make people act as demons or to, further in the fairytale, appear instead of them. In other words, the sign of equality is not placed between people and demons since the confusion, likely to come about, could easily get out of control.¹⁹ On the contrary, with special care, two interventions are being done in the sujet structure of this

¹⁷ See: e.g. Antonijević 1991, pp. 161 - 171. The sujets of this type are maintained on the international motif that has several variants: AT: A720 (step-mother is cooking her step-son and offering him as lunch to his own father); AT: B 780 A (the cannibal brothers are eating their own sister); AT: A 315 A (the cannibal sister intends to eat her brother; this type of sujet bears some elements contained in Afanassiev, No. 106 - 112 - the hero flees to a tree, the sister bites the tree, the hero runs to another tree, the faithful dog saves him, etc.).

¹⁸ Adjective „tame“ (from the opposition *savage-tame*) belongs here to a broad scope of one of the main oppositions within the system of tradition culture: *forest-home* (the opposite modus signifies the view from the demonic world). „Tame flesh“ can in the same context stand in contrast to venison as „savage meat“. In that case, between the domestic stock and the man - since their common gravitation center is *home* - there is no difference. For the demon living in a forest cave this isosemia is natural. As a term denominating quality - beside the used „fat“ - it can be changed equally into: „sweet“, „delightful“, „tasty“, or whatever. However, when „sweet“ appears as a term denominating the taste of human flesh, the balance existing between the elements of the opposition is disturbed and the man acquires demonic characteristics. The inscribed real codes can be, certainly, interpreted further and deeper, as for instance did Tihomir R. Đorđević in the quoted example 4.1 from *Annex 1*.

¹⁹ The exception are the Jews from Vuk's fairy tale „Opet maćeha i pastorka“ (pp. 132 - 135), but only at first glance. *Čivuti*, „The Jews“, are here in fact not perceived as humans, but as non-humans or „human-eaters“, in accordance with the ugly superstition which (almost all throughout Europe) was connected with the Jews and the Gypsies. In any case, their appearance in this context - as well as in a poem that will be mentioned further on - is very recent. The other case which could be interpreted as true cannibalism - but is still not presented as such, is eating of the mother transformed into a cow (the fairy tales of Cinderella type). The grounds for such an interpretation is above all found in the fact that Cinderella is prohibited from tasting any of that flesh. However, the text took trouble in covering the true meaning of the prohibition by the form in which the meat (flesh) is eaten (it is no longer „the meat of the mother“ or „human meat“, but it is „beef“). In this way, the effect of the inscribed paradigm of evil step-mother - the demonic stranger, is also alleviated. Nonetheless, the codes are there, only shifted away very successfully and very far toward the periphery.

type: first, the cannibalistic action (man-eats-man type) and preparations for its fulfillment are moved toward the beginning, into the very initial event, if needed. Only then, true demons of special kind are introduced into the development segment of the sujet (*psoglav*, *Čivuti*),²⁰ and an unintentional cannibalistic activity (inversion type: demon-eats-demon) takes place. The evident change in the choice of demons that will bring the initiated action to the end, is supported by the fairy tales in which the initial event (parents preparing to eat their children) is missing, since this usually involves functionally replaceable, as a rule antropomorphous beings (*baba-yaga*, the witch and their daughters, the devil king and queen: *Annex 1 - 3.1-10*). Whether the flesh is really eaten or not has no influence on the sujet structure: in both cases, the demon becomes enraged because of the deception and begins the revenge, and after the first mentioning, the parent-cannibal is no longer spoken of.

In other words, in the „conflict of authority“ in the course of realization of the text structure of any oral literature form, strong real codes are being pushed as far back to the margin as possible, with an explicit intention to find themselves at a non-pointed place or as close to it as possible; but, due to this - for example in the fairy tale - there is danger that the central part of the sujet may remain empty. Then - as always in similar cases and in different genres - the *reduplication* of the main motif takes place:²¹ it is repeated, but this time in the predominant literary code and at a pointed place. This simple and efficient solution, which always gives expected results, would be practically impossible without an elaborate application of clichés. Thus, from the standpoint of poetics, cliché appears also as a means which serves to defend the text from *realia*.

However, not every oral genre is equally sensitive to cannibalistic motifs. There, where the predominant real code is not demonological, and where, therefore, there is no danger of confusion if the border between the demons and the people is erased, roasting and eating of children can be the central or, even the single, element of the sujet. In epics, for instance, among the poems about the hero weddings, examples can be found with such an episode at a pointed place:

²⁰ On appearance, origin, and characteristics of *psoglav* (demons with human body and dog's head) see: Чајкановић, pp. 508, 509 (notes accompanying tales No. 27 and 28).

²¹ More about same see: Detelić 1996 b, pp. 408, 409.

<p> <i>Кад је јујиро о зорици било, Ал' ево њи до два Циџанина, Они носе звоздене ражњеве, Пожубише два Војиновића, Ђе сјаваху кано и заклани, Пак им русе одсекоше главе, Окидоше ноже до кољена, И бијеле руке до рамена, Набише их на звоздене ражње, Пријекоше вајри њламенијој,</i> </p>	<p> <i>шећером су месо њосијали Да их не би свайи ујознали. Кад су ђеца већ пчени били, Понесоше међу свайтовима; Даше Вука Краљевићу Марку, Мића даше Обилић Милошу. Када виђе Краљевићу Марко, Он сас' јече међу свайтовима, Дјјели за свој дружини редом, Неке њуће свайи заложили²²</i> </p>
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Whatever was inscribed into these lines as the real code, it was successfully pushed not to the periphery - but outside the text itself. What was left is only what the dominant, ideological norm can take: a triple national-confessional conflict (the Serbs against the Latins and the Turks), a noble Latin girl who wants a heroic Serb for her husband and not a Turk, the horrible crime of the deceitful king of Leđan (who preferred the Turk for his son-in-law), and the terrible revenge when the crime is discovered. In this context, there are in fact no inner contradictions: the dreadful procedure with children is also defined, as everything else, within the framework of the opposition *one's own-someone else's*, where what is essential is not whether the participant is a demonized human being or humanized demon, but *on whose side* did the sin take place. From that angle, the quoted lines had to be placed into the center of action, because the conflict would have otherwise

²² The same motif can be found in the poem „The Wedding of Milić Andjelić“ (Вук Стеф. Караџић. *Српске народне пјесме*, from the unpublished manuscripts of V. St. K., Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Belgrade, 1974, Vol. Three, No. 67). In the quoted example the episode is really physically in the center of the poem which contains 262 lines. while in the Academy edition III, 67, it is shifted towards the end, since that poem has a sujet combined of two equitable parts (seduction of a girl under false pretenses; marriage of the seduced girl against the will of her father). In this case (Academy) there is also another motive for the roasting of brother-in-law (Ban Zadranin is thus revenging the shame inflicted upon him), while in the former (Vuk), the reason for hatred is not explicitly given. Beside these, there is a number of poems on hajduks forcing the parents to roast and eat their own children (see: Branislav Krstić, *Indeks motiva narodnih pesama balkanskih Slovena*. Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, 1984: P.V. 216. *Grešni hajduk*). Poems with the same motif have been recorded in Bulgaria as well (see: SbNU XXXV, No. 198 and the entire publication). In examples recorded among the Serbs in Romania, hajduks are replaced by Turks (Бездински весник, 3-4 /7-8/, Arad, 1996: recording made by Sava M. Ilić, Varjaš 1953; recording made by Stevan Rajić, Ivanda 1996). This motif exists in the international fairy tale sujet as well (AT: 955 B*).

remained latent, relations unclear, and the grand names in the wedding party (Kraljević Marko, Relja Bošnjanin, Miloš Obilić) inactive and unused. Eventually, the epic structure of the event would have remained forsaken (as in the case of the poem „Ženidba Grbljičića Zana“ for example),²³ which is, from the position of poetics, a crime greater even than cannibalism.

Finally, the lyrical poem - if it needs to - can skip even this minimal contextual condition and realize its entire structure through formula as a framework for murder and eating of a child. As an example we quote here a Bulgarian poem „Евреин деца коли на сватба“ (The Jew Slaughters Children on the Wedding Day):

*Сл - ичице, мило ѝиленце,
 Јој' ми зарана ни за ѝдиш,
 да ѝи арѝајте ни кълнѝи,
 ѝослед арѝајте вързиче,
 на Драцко ѝоле косаче?
 - Ој мај, ој мила мај,
 малко си съм ѝостѝо ял,
 мноѝо си съм жумбѝи ѝоѝледал:
 ѝврејѝе сватѝба ѝравља
 на самовилцко вършило,
 ѝи са заклали, заклали*

*до девѝѝ крави ялови,
 десѝѝа крава младоѝина.
 Та сѝѝкми ѝозба, ни сѝѝѝна
 дор си заклаха, заклаха
 ѝедничѝк сина у маѝка,
 ѝѝѝѝ хми ѝозба сѝѝѝнала!
 Къде му кърви ѝечаха -
 цървен ѝрендафил ѝоникна;
 къде му ѝочи изѝекоха -
 два кладенца ми извр яха;
 къде му коса ѝокаѝа -
 чесѝѝа ми ѝора ѝоникна!²⁴*

One could almost claim with certainty that, outside the lyrics, such a text could not exist. Its exceptional density was achieved by the extension of the introductory formula to the point in which it starts „swallowing“ the poem, giving it at the same time the framework, thus fitting the given structure into a single segment which must fulfill three functions: a sense-generating one, a form-generating one and a pragmatic one.²⁵ When brought into such a position, the formula in fact always imposes upon the text its structure, to which the first two functions are immanent. Such overlapping, which can also be found in other oral genres, undoubtedly points to the archaic

²³ Vuk VII, 20.

²⁴ Harvest song (SbNU, 1963, L, p.140: Dramsko).

²⁵ It is a harvest song and is sung during harvest and during corn-husking (sic!) The dialogue form of the formula indicates, on its part, a ritual. See about this: Н.И.Толстой 1984. However, it is equally plausible to interpret this form in the magic key, especially if the quoted text is compared to the similar songs e.g. Sbornik, XXXIX, 51: Rodopi, 1927. On the mythical context of dialogue among the heavenly bodies see: Krnjević, 1989, p. 214.

character of real code recordings,²⁶ but only in lyrics - through the ritual - does this acquire an additional, extra-literal, sacral purpose. Decoding inevitably leads to the myth, while the fact that there are no conditions for its correct procedure remains irrelevant.²⁷

It is, however, important to note that formula, as a poetic means the effect of which is more intricate and profound, successfully „does“ what cliché is in principle unable to do: under its effect the *realia* are transformed so that they can survive in the literary text without disturbing its structure. This is precisely the reason why at the same place, in only a few lines without any contradictions, we find epically coded *fainj's lodge*, *bojling brooks*, and *bloody rose*, and the *forest* which - in harmony with the fairytales of „Cinderella“ type - *grows out of victim's hair*, and in another similar example *grows out of buried bones*.²⁸ Such an intergeneric recognition, with such high tolerance, is in oral literary forms as a rule mediated by the formula. This exceptional feature, however, does not make the formula a „transparent“ poetic means. Precisely because it keeps successfully the profound and old layers of different origin (literary and non-literary), the formula frequently becomes

²⁶ On this see: Detelić, 1996 a, pp. 62-70.

²⁷ Marazov (1981) in his work suggests a myth of Atamant. That myth, however, is much more successful as a solution for the paradigm of evil step-mother (Ina toward Nefela's children), than for the subject treated by the author, and which can be brought into connection with Tantalus for more reasons than one. How uncertain can the myth connection be, is best seen in another genre - the legend, aetiological in particular, which clearly points to a myth basis, but remains completely dark nonetheless. For example: „A woman went to the mountain, and ordered her daughter and son to make her lunch, before her return. The sister then tells the brother to sit in her lap, so as to pick his lice. She did not want to pick his lice, but she cut his throat instead, and made the lunch for her mother. When the mother was back, her daughter started serving her lunch; taking out the food from the pot, she somehow caught the little boy's hand. Seeing this, the mother started crying and at that moment turned into a cuckoo bird“ /Grgo Petković, *Narodne gatke (Budak u Dalmaciji)*, ZNŽOJS, 1907, XII, 1: „Kako je postala kukavica?“, p.152/. Compare the Medea cult in Kolchida.

²⁸ SbNu, XXXVI, p. 29, No. 70 (Nevropsko, 1893: harvest song). In Bulgarian folklore this motif can be found outside the wedding context as well, related - for example - to the sacrifice of Abraham (SbNU, 1936, XLII; 1953, 79) or to St. George's Day (a child is slaughtered instead of lamb that father cannot afford; a miracle occurs: the child is resurrected, and the lamb is in the pot). Compare: Marazov 1981, p.177. In the already mentioned poems on the sinful hajduk, this connection with the St. George's Day can also be found Manojlović, 1953).

ambivalent: functional but unclear (if accent is placed on literary coding),²⁹ and vice versa - clear and unfunctional (if stress is laid on some of marginal real codes).³⁰ In both cases, of course, the non-accentuated sphere of effect of the formula is the one demanding particular attention. One of the examples for the situation of the first type is found in the fairy tales as well.

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We shall note, in accordance with the already mentioned, that the sujet about the deceived demon that in ignorance eats (or avoids eating) the flesh of its own species, evolves in the Russian fairy tales differently than in the Serbian examples. It must also be noted that all sujets in Afanassiev (106-112) have a common moment: before the deception is discovered, *baba-yaga/witch* (sometimes together with the guests) exits from the house into the yard, throws herself on the ground (earth, grass), rolls on it and utters a certain text. In the apparatus accompanying Afanassiev's collection, it is said about the text that it is: „a frequent traditional formula in similar eastern-Slavonic fairy tales“.³¹

However, it is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the formula in question is neither single nor unique: its seven appearances can be placed under two types. The first consists of the texts speaking about the rolling and the eaten flesh, and the quoted comment concerns them: „Покатюся, поваляюся, Ивашкина мясца наевшись!“ (Afanassiev, No. 108-110, 112). The actor is a witch. Formulas of the second type are not considered different, although the actor is *baba-yaga* and although they bring the bones to the forefront: „Покататься было, поваляться было на жихарьковых косточках!“ (Afanassiev, No. 106, 107, 111). In addition to this, if we compare Afanassiev's examples 106-112 as they are given in *Annex 2*, we shall notice that all secondary elements in the sujet (which is considered common) as well are in fact very different indeed: heroes are of different origin, the manner in which *witch/baba-yaga* abducts them is not always the same, the place where they live and from which they are being abducted differs from text to

²⁹ E. g. epic formula of „hero in the fog“ (Detelić, 1996 a and b). Both in iconic and non-iconic aspects, this formula is always in the service of sujet and cannot be replaced by another, similar one.

³⁰ E. g. the emptied formula „кличе вила с Авале планине“ („a fairy is crying out from the Avala mountain“) in the poems of so-called „the most recent times“ (Detelić, 1992, s.v. *Gora*). Fairy is here easily replaceable with any other epic informer.

³¹ Vol. I, p.464.

text, the deliverance from the chthonic empire is once like this, and next time it is different. The only thing of the secondary apparatus that does not change at all is the mentioned dialogue formula. The fact that it appears in two types does not have to prevent us from interpreting such a state of the recordings as a fixed image of the process of transformation of *one* source model which, already at the moment of recording, had already been in use for a very long time.

First of all, different from throwing oneself on the ground and grass, which within the context of devouring hero's flesh remains unmotivated,³² rolling over the bones makes sense both at the realistic level of *sujet* motivation, and at the level of depth coding of *realia*. It is not at all by accident that it is precisely *baba-yaga* „костяная нога“ that is brought into the contact with bones: in that context, she is very close to *ala* from Serbian fairy tales, and not only as the border guard and an original chthonic being, but also as a demon whose natural surroundings consist of torn human flesh and blood.³³ The most important thing, however, is that - even there where flesh is not tasted by anyone and where there is no rolling at all (No. 106) - the bones formula is uttered anyway, and the dialogue is carried out, thus justifying the presupposition that it is precisely this formula which is considerably older than the others, and that it was inherited such as it is. Finally, in example No. 107, it is no longer the case only of the formula, but also of the special kind of action that accompanies it: „баба яга/ поела все, собрала все кости, разложила их на земле рядом и начала по ним кататься ... Вот яга, катаючись, приговаривает: Любезна моя дочь! Выйди ко мне и покатайся со мною на Филюшкиных косточках!“³⁴ The special trouble that *baba-yaga* takes to gather all the bones (after, having believed that she is eating the hero, she has eaten her daughter), the order in which she lays them on the ground, what she is doing with them, and the dialogue form in which the formula is realized (*Annex 2*, 3.1), speak about a systematic behaviour which - in accordance with the ritual - is hampered by additional meaning, the sense of which cannot be deduced from the text itself, but is yet to be discovered.

³² Comp.: „Grbo i kraljdj[avolski“. Regardless of the age and sacral character of the material, the fairy tale - as was noted long time ago - takes much care about the realistic possibility of motivation and details. On this see: Škreb, 1969.

³³ Comp.: „Kuma ala“, Čajkanović, No.115; Afanassiev, No. 102-103.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 137. On this type of fairy tales see: Пропп, 1984, pp.118-120. It is a pity indeed that in this case Propp stopped on Buslayev's criticism and did not offer his proposal for text analysis. He did not do so in *Istori česki korni...* either (pp.52-111) where there was room for this *sujet* as well.

It is self-understandable that what is sought cannot be the same as what one has started from in his search: rolling over the bones has not only been unnoticed anywhere, or affirmed as a possible ritualistic behaviour, but one should not even expect to find such an affirmation. The formula is unclear precisely due to the fact that there are no longer *realia* with which it could be directly connected. On the other hand, it is clear that its final (literary) form was shaped out from two different sources, one of which undoubtedly being the ritual (rolling), while the other is probably mystic (bones). They can be investigated in this order as well.

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There is abundant and important literature on ritual rolling³⁵ for the entire Slavic region. In general, the folk calendar lists six occasions for its performance: Christmas Eve (Serbs),³⁶ *Maslenica* (Russians),³⁷ St. George's Day (Serbs, Bulgarians, Russians, Poles),³⁸ the first thunder (Serbs, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Russians, Slovenes),³⁹ Mayday (Serbs, Rus-

³⁵ Мачај, 1892; Терновская, 1974; 1979; Шаповалова, 1974; Виноградова, 1978; Н.И. and С.М.Толстой, 1982; Н.И.Толстой, 1984; 1986; Чајкановић, 1985; Братић, 1985; Прица, 1986; Сикимић, 1996; Агапкина, 1996.

³⁶ Н.И.Толстой, 1984, p.15; Чајкановић, 1994, I, pp.128-132; Сикимић, 1996, p.246. On Christmas Eve a non-fat dinner is eaten from a rug on the floor (ground). After the dinner the rug is gathered together with utensils and the leftovers, and two men take it like this and roll it over the room. Someone from the household asks: „What are you doing?“ and the participants respond: „I am rolling this year's crop and well-being!“ So gathered, the rug remains on the floor overnight, and in the morning the women return the utensils to the table, while the crumbs from the rug are scattered over someone else's field for the birds. Explanation is also given: so that the birds would not peck corn from the field of the house-master.

³⁷ Соколова, 1978, p. 58. At that time of the year, the ground is still covered with snow, so that instead of rolling, there is sleighing. On the last day of the Carnival (Shrove Tuesday), when *maslenica* is lit, the sleigh used earlier for sleighing is being broken on the ice. Young people are sleighing, as a rule, but for newlyweds it is an obligation.

³⁸ Шаповалова, 1974, p.128, 129; Виноградова, 1978, p.17; Н.И.Толстой, 1982, p. 52; Чајкановић, 1985, p. 124, 202; Прица, 1986, p.135. On St. George's Day a series of different rituals are carried out, and rolling as well appears in various contexts: 1) in dew, in someone else's rye, on field boundaries - for good health; 2) in dew, in barley (*je čam*) (girls, so that young men would groan for them) - for the purposes of magic; 3) in field, over wheat - for a better crop.

³⁹ Терновская, 1979, p. 120; Н.И.Толстой, 1982, pp.51-52; Чајкановић, 1985, p.279. In all mentioned cases, the harvesters are rolling (on the ground, in rye) so as to avoid backache. The Serbs in addition to this adorn themselves with nettle. With Bulgarians and Macedonians, a small male child is rolling on the ground so that the crop is not destroyed by hail. The Slovenes roll on the ground so that the white mushroom harvest is abundant.

sians),⁴⁰ and the end of harvest (Russians).⁴¹ Reasons are mostly the same and can be reduced to securing health and fertility. What is especially significant for us, however, are the first and the last mentioned rituals, because - although not noted as a pair - in the Slavic world they stand one at the beginning (Christmas Eve), and another at the end of the cycle of vegetation (harvest). Particularly discreet topography of these recordings does not have to be the reflection of a real situation, as the shortcomings or insufficiencies of the material presented here are not the basis for a polemic on this subject, but on the author that is dealing with it. Therefore, conditionally, these two rituals belong to the same logical model. This is the premise from which our analysis shall proceed.

Although in literature we have found no descriptions similar to the Christmas Eve rolling of food in other Slavic peoples, nonetheless, in principle, the elements of the habitual-ritualistic complex contained in this holiday are so archaic, that they indicate the pan-Slavic character and a common, pre-Slavic origin.⁴² On the other hand, the ritual rolling on a just reaped field is indeed not reaffirmed in the Serbian harvest rituals, but many details related to „God’s beard“ are strikingly similar to or same as the actions described in the Russian sources, especially the rounding up (standing in circle, walking in circle, or placing objects in circle) and the ritualistic silence.⁴³ Although practice into which all this rituals fit is not unique, they

⁴⁰ Мачај, 1892, p. 122; Н.И.Толстој, 1986, p.15. With Serbs, frail and childless women roll on a moist field at the dawn of Mayday, so as to ensure good health and fertility. In Polesye, at the end of Whitsun holidays, on Saturday, the unmarried girls ride on „май“ (троицкая зелень), as not to become spinsters.

⁴¹ Терновская, 1979, p. 120; Братић, 1985, p.113. There should be more examples in the literature of all the peoples of the group, but they are not to be found in the literature that we have used. In the Russian examples, the rolling is accompanied by the uttered formula: „Field, field, give me back my strength!“ The author considers this formula to be the basic one, and all the others (more complex ones) to be derived. In the Serbian regions, the rolling takes place after hoeing up of the corn (without formula).

⁴² Чајкановић, 1994, I, pp.240-261.

⁴³ „In some regions there was a custom for the harvesters to walk around the ‘beard’ three times from left to right - ‘as one sows’. In the villages in Leskovac region, before plucking wheat, the harvesters sit around the unplucked ‘beard’, surround it with their sickles, then pull out the blades and braid the ‘beard’. In the vicinity of Peć, the unreaped ‘beard’ is tied with red thread, and the reapers then form a *kolo* and dance around it three times. /.../ the one carrying ‘God’s beard’ must not speak ‘because of the mice’.“ (*Srpski mitološki rečnik*, s.v.)

are the initial and the final acts in a ritualistic communication with earth aimed at providing good crop and survival. Therefore, it can virtually be brought into a relationship, which still makes sense even when checked through an entire series of binary oppositions (on Christmas Eve something is *asked from* and given to the earth, at the end of harvest, one *gets* and takes from it; giving takes place in *winter* and in *enclosed space*, and taking happens in *summer* and in *open space*; giving is performed by *males*, taking by *women*, etc.).

In addition, if we accept the interpretation stating that everything that happens on Christmas Eve and on Christmas itself is meant for the souls of ancestors, especially everything connected with food and the manner of its consumption (directly from the ground),⁴⁴ then the other direct contact with the earth (rolling), is not only chthonic (which by definition it is), but also communication with the dead. If this thesis is true, somewhere at an important moment in the winter ritual, activity performed only by women should exist. It is, of course, already there - since women are those who throw crumbs from the Christmas Eve dinner onto the fields on Christmas morning, intending them for birds as food.⁴⁵ Since this is in fact the first ritual offering to earth in the starting year, one could say that both at the beginning and at the end of the vegetation cycle, the ritualistic contact with the dead is realized by the woman, i.e., that in this circle of actions, she both gives and takes. Therefore, when offering sacrifice to birds/souls, and when, with the last sheaf in hands, she rolls on the freshly reaped field, or even on 'God's beard', such woman - as Ternovska noticed - is performing the function of the pagan priestess around whom a magic circle is completed, and whose actions are followed in silence.⁴⁶ On the other side of the barrier separating the world of humans from the demonic world, the activity of the same kind is performed by *rusalke*, who on Whitsun, with ritualistic shrieks and laughter, roll in thick, high or dewy grass in the woods.⁴⁷ So that in this class of procedures yet another - this time real - series of binary oppositions (silence-noise, woman-demon, field-forest, wheat-grass) is completed, also making sense both within the context and outside it.

⁴⁴ Чажкановић, 1994, I, pp.240-261.

⁴⁵ Crumbs and bones are, according to Čajkanović again, a typical sacrifice offering to the dead/ancestors (V, pp.31-32). Christmas offering does not include bones, because Christmas Eve dinner is a non-fat meal.

⁴⁶ *Op.cit.*, p.120. All details have been taken therefrom.

⁴⁷ Зеленин, 1995, p.163, 174, 192.

For us, however, of special importance is above all the dialogue form of the described rituals, and, together with it, the choice of formulas through which this form is being realized. On Christmas Eve, the question („What are you doing?“) and the reply („I am rolling this year's crop and well being“) are not only one of secondary elements in actions from the realm of imitative magic (the way this food is rolling, thus the wheat sheaves are to roll in the field), but it is quite the opposite: they are the obligatory formula by which the donor of food is indirectly pushed into a relationship defined in advance, and is thus, in fact faced with a *fait accompli*. The strength of the ritual word is executory (what is said is done), but is projected into the future. At the end of the harvest the projection changes: the formula „Filed, field! Give me back my strength“ indicates the finalization of the cycle and the return to the state of rest until the next obligation, but *per se*, it is not executory and does not have the strength of action. That is why in this ritual the stress is shifted to magic procedures (going in rounds, making circles, rolling, keeping silent), and not as in the former case - to the magic of words. Also, for the same reason, the dialogue is incomplete, and even the formula is not always the same, and, what is particularly important, it is not altogether obligatory: the structure and the function of ritualistic behaviour are not disturbed even if the formula is completely missing. Thus its use in this context can be considered redundant, which, on the other hand, indicates the contamination of this ritual with activities and purposes more sensibly fitting for other instances mentioned earlier (for health, love, etc.).

Applied to the fairy tale, the complementarity of such different ritual practice can serve as a framework for understanding *baba-yaga*'s behaviour. The dialogue which accompanies this behaviour has truly the significance of a magic text: the obliging strength of words is in fact the one which brings about the intensification of the hero's conflict with demon (if the hero had kept silent, there would have been no conflict at all). In addition, the sujet could have been sufficiently well realized without that turn (which in fact happens not only in Serbian fairy tales of the same type, but in the international sujet of „Hansel and Grettel“), which means that the need for it is not primarily literary motivated. As a confirmation there are those fairy tales in Afanassiev in which the witch/*baba-yaga* has three daughters, so that the situation is repeated *ad absurdum*, until demon itself is destroyed (No. 106), or until the hero manages to run away (No. 111). Dialogue, therefore, has significant influence both on the structure and the function of the plot which the fairy tale takes by way of its intervention. The meaning of the action is

probably closest to magic procedures at the end of the harvest, when - in order to preserve the creative power of seed, animals, and people⁴⁸ during the period of inactive vegetation - it is necessary to seize and conserve the vital force whose source was in the earth. Taking, plundering, and the profit are certainly a convincing enough motivation for the establishing of relations between the demon and the hero in the fairy tale. It is yet to be seen how bones fit into that context.

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From whatever angle one looks at them, whatever one does with them, and wherever they may be - bones always, on all occasions and in every type of context, show the same common characteristic: they contain great power that can be used for the purpose of magic. The goal of such use is defined in two ways: when they serve as a means for the conquering of powers or features of someone or something outside themselves, the bones are an intermediary between this and the other world, an agent freeing the chthonic forces, channeling them and securing their controlled effect; when, however, the activities with bones are aimed at the bones themselves, the used means have different origin, and the expected goal is to activate the vital force which they carry in themselves, namely - the resurrection. In the fairy tales - and, of course, in folklore at large - it is possible to find both examples.

In healing, for instance, if it is supposed to be carried out with the assistance of bones, it is always their mystical force whose effect is counted upon - either in the case of saint's bones,⁴⁹ dead person's bones that drifted in with flood or were stolen from an unknown grave,⁵⁰ bones of a still-born child,⁵¹ or bones of an animal sacrificed at Christmas, Carnival, or St. George's Day.⁵² Great in itself, that power - by the nature of things - is signally indifferent, so that it can be used with equal efficiency for less noble

⁴⁸ Wreaths of wheat from the last sheaf are hung over the stable door and above the barn, and the „God's beard“ is kept under the eaves on the house; there they remain during the whole year (until the new harvest). Seeds from „God's beard“ were added, due to their powers, to the sowing seed for the next year, but it also had several other uses. „God's beard“ decorated the pole on the threshing floor, it was added to the straw used on Christmas, its seed was used in Christmas cake, etc. (*Srpski mitološki rečnik*, s.v.)

⁴⁹ Павловић, 1954.

⁵⁰ Раденковић, 1996 а.

⁵¹ Мачај, 1892, р. 107.

⁵² Кајмаковић, 1973, р. 222; Кашуба, 1974, р. 166; Кулишић, 1970, р. 91; Раденковић, 1966 б, р. 126, 132-134.

purposes (for instance in love charms, in fertility theft, for acquiring psychic powers and invisibility, etc.), but in those cases the bone is usually taken from unblessed animals (cat, frog, bird, snake - as different from pig, Christmas rabbit and St. George's Day lamb).⁵³ Finally, bones (animal and human), in the same way in which they have the power to protect⁵⁴ and to provide fertility,⁵⁵ can kill and destroy.⁵⁶ Due to all this, magic actions taken in this context are aimed at, above all, activating and purposeful using of intermediary affinities of the bone as an *object* which definitely belongs to the world of *dead*, but which can relatively safely serve for the needs of the living.

Bones have somewhat different features if they are understood as the residence of soul,⁵⁷ namely, as *the vital principle* or the active substance which, owing to its never-ending force, lives through the physical death and becomes the guarantee of possible resurrection. That logical model is built into the fairytales of „Cinderella“ type, where the bones of cow-mother must be carefully collected, preserved, and buried; it is that model which prevents Jova to come back to life until the last bone is accounted for,⁵⁸ with the same reason why the devil, when wishing to destroy the hero, is not satisfied with eating his flesh, but must „crush his bones“ as well.⁵⁹ Different from this

⁵³ Раденковић, 1996 в, р. 123, 148, 163; Беговић, 1986, р.247.

⁵⁴ Т.Р.Ђорђевић, 1985, рр. 150-151; Кашуба, 1974, р. 166; Журавлев, 1994, р. 21, 25. Into the same context enters the use of bones in the protection from demons: when there is a cloud carrying hail, which is believed to be brought by *ala*, in the vicinity of Novi Pazar - for instance - a table is carried out of the house (or *sinija*) (commonplace: comp. Јефтић, 1958) with various utensils („*čuvadara*“ a piece of Christmas cake, *poskurnik*, wedding ring, etc.) among which, in the case of Muslims, *Kourban bones* are an obligatory item (Братић, 1985, р. 113).

⁵⁵ Грбић, 1909, р. 64; Николић, 1910, р. 139; Кајмаковић, 1973, р. 222.

⁵⁶ *Annex 2*, I.1.

⁵⁷ Чајкановић, 1994, V; Elijade, 1985, and the literature they quote.

⁵⁸ „Carev sin armičar“. Elijade (p. 53) gives the following example from shaman mysticism with Yakuts: the shaman, that is hatched from an egg, is being dismembered by three devils who later put him together bone by bone. „If later a bone is missing, one of his family must die in order to replace it.“

⁵⁹ „K vragu po tri dlake“. In Afanassiev the same role is played by emperor-bear (No. 201). There is a known belief in folklore that the bones of Đurđevilo (the lamb slaughtered on St. George's Day) and of Christmas roast must not be broken, since otherwise the sheep will break their legs during the year. (Миљевић, 1984, р. 122; Кајмаковић, 1973, р. 222) In the ballads of „Prokleti Duka Štковић“ type, the worst punishment, to be carried out only for the gravest of sins, is to throw away a dead man's bones „*za izvanjske gore*“ (to the mountains that form the outer frontier of the whole man's world) (See: Detelić, 1992, p. 44).

already classical repertoire, in the Kett fair ytale about the old man and his children of fantastic origin, about their death, and resurrection by cooking in a rocking cauldron, we find a somewhat different concept: if the cauldron, while rocking, overturns eastward, the children are dead „by weak death“ and come back to life; if the cauldron overturns westward, death is final and no resurrection will take place.⁶⁰ Similar cooking in the cauldron, similar reconstruction of the skeleton, rocking and expected resurrection, Eliade finds in shaman rituals around neophytes, recognizing them as an element, or relic, of „shepherd spirituality“. ⁶¹ In this context particular attention should be given to the relationship between the perishable flesh (which is always ritually destroyed and rejected) and the lasting bones which - since soul resides in them - become the only true connection with the eternal world of ancestors and, therefore, the only valid instrument for acquiring and transmitting knowledge from one world into the other. Thus, mystical dismembering of the neophyte's body, the deconstruction of the skeleton into tiny parts and its construction anew, working and binding the skeleton into a whole strengthened by iron, is not only the resurrection of a temporarily taken life, but also the completion, modeling, and enhancing of the knowledge acquired in the world of demons and the only way in which that knowledge can be transmitted into the world of living without punishment.⁶² That special knowledge, which in the case of shamans has both practical and mystical significance, is in the fairytale conquered indirectly - as the award for fulfilling the contract in the hero's agreement with the devil - and is in sujet, among other forms, being found as a miraculous rejuvenation and resurrection of the hero by being cooked in the devil's cauldron.⁶³

⁶⁰ Алексеенко, 1974. Children were gotten (from clay) by cooking in the cauldron. Falling eastward is provided for by shrewdness: the old man supports the cauldron with a stick, so that it cannot but overturn to the desired side.

⁶¹ Elijade, p. 53, 137. On the possibilities and frameworks for a comparison with shamanism, see: Flašar, 1996; Манжигеев, 1978.

⁶² On the way in which demons (precisely - *ala*) defend the transmission of knowledge to the ignorant ones, and further, see: Раденковић, 1996с, p.16. The motif of the forbidden transmission of knowledge from one world into the other is in fact international (AT: 333 B and A 363): a cannibal godfather/godmother eats hero in the same way and for the same reason as *ala* does in our parts; in sujet A 363, demon is a vampire that kills the victim only after it unknowingly admits of being aware what the vampire is doing and into what it changes.

⁶³ „Неумойка“, Афанасьев, No. 278. The contract that the soldier makes with the small devil (чертенок) - not to shave, cut his hair, cut his fingernails, clean his nose, and change for 15 years - is in fact equal to a fifteen-year long death (very similar

Although cannibal demons are nothing unusual in fairy tales, it is finally obvious that rolling over the bones of the eaten victim asks for additional explanation. The only one, based on this review, that makes any sense, can be found in the intention - after having destroyed the perishable meat - to destroy the undying soul residing in the bones. If that is the goal of *babaja*'s actions, it can doubly be provided for in the described manner: by crushing of the bones (which destroys their magic wholeness - and thus their power), and by taking the force contained in them (which is, most generally, the purpose of every ritualistic rolling). When this is done, the hero is definitely disabled and cannot come back to his own world in any way whatsoever. The fact that he manages to do so, however, to save himself from the demon by cunning and to find allies that will lead him away from the chthonic empire - is in fact the reason for telling the fairy tale.

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All that we have discussed here, could serve only as the material for modeling the basic and the derived sujet elements that have reached us in their final, literary form. In the process of material selection, concrete generic affinities were respected, but from the aspect of the final, several times over interposed user (our position in the analysis is certainly no better than that), it is difficult to say what those affinities were and, especially, which among them had priority. Of course, it is possible to suggest not one but - depending on the angle of perception - several associative chains, with the note that their validity should be accepted only conditionally.

1. - The first such chain is found in *badnjak* (yule log), certain Christmas customs and the unusual origin of heroes in fairy tales. It concerns a Ukrainian ritual known as *voločiti kolodku*, the elements of which can be recognized to a certain extent in the southern regions of Greater Russia, in Belorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, and Croatia.⁶⁴ What is interesting in that context is the coincidence - for the Serbs excessive coincidence - of

similar to shaman neophyte's death during his mystic initiation which is carried out in the world of demons, while the body falls dead in the world of humans). What happens to the hero at the end of the story, is also very similar to the shaman initiation: „Чертенюк изрубил его на мелкие части, бросил в котел и давай варить; сварил, вынул и собрал все воедино как следует: косточка в косточку, суставчик в суставчик, жилка в жилку“ (p. 288) Live and dead water, which completes the process of bringing back to life, are specific for the fairy tale and belong to it as a common place.

⁶⁴ Толстой, 1995, p.249.

the wrapping up of yule log into linen (Ukraine), i.e. „into a clean shirt of the head of the household“ or into the shirt of the youngest male child (Leskovačka Morava).⁶⁵ Thus in fact the birth of yule log is performed, while the further current of developments in the eastern Slavonic context (which is missing in the case of Serbs)⁶⁶ points to their hagiographic character.

In the fairy tales which constitute the subject of this paper, where the records come from Černigovska, Saratovska, and Kurska district - and where, according to Tolstoj's testimony, *вучење клале* (dragging of the log) is celebrated - Ivanuška is created from the *пань* (tree-stump) that the grandfather brings from the forest, and the grandmother is rocking it in the crib (Afanassiev No. 109), Lutonjka comes from the linden (*луїшошка*) which the grandfather brings one winter from the forest and throws nearby the fire, so that in three days time a child is created from it (No. 111), and Treščica comes from *клада* (a log) in the following manner: “Вот сделали они /баба и деда/ колодочку, завернули ее в пеленочку, положили в люлечку, стали качать да прибаюкивать - и вместо колодочки стал рость в пеленочках сынок Терешечка, настоящая ягодка!”⁶⁷ The Ukrainian ritual still provides for the log to be killed and buried, namely burnt. The main role in this was played by women.⁶⁸

This sujet line would be oriented to the hero and his destiny, which the fairytales do not express all in an equal measure, but certainly do express.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 249, 250. Tolstoj stressed that „wrapping a child into father's shirt - is an inseparable part of the birth ritual in many Slavic zones, eastern, southern, and western“ (p. 250).

⁶⁶ This circumstance does not have greater importance since the Serbs have preserved fairly well the cult of tree-stump as an idol (comp. *Српски митолошки речник*, s.v.).

⁶⁷ In fairy tales No. 108 (District of Voronez) and 110 (unknown origin), nothing is said about the hero, except that his name is Ivaško. Since these two examples are

most probably from the same area, it is possible that they were sometimes accompanied with a story about the hero's origin, so that in the moment of recording it was forgotten or is missing due to other reasons. Fairy tales No. 106 and 107 were recorded in Permska and Tambovska districts. In them, the hero is not the only son (in No. 107: one of three) or is not the son at all (No. 106: lives with a cat and a sparrow). Animal names of hero's brothers in No. 107 (Ram and He-Goat) indicate that both these examples belong to the same category, also very archaic but completely different from the rest (other five examples).

⁶⁸ In similar activities around Serbian *бадњак*, which are accessible only to men, in the cases in which *бадњак* is bound like a newborn baby (Leskovačka Morava), it

2. - The second associative chain could be constructed from the ambiguous position of the engaged female demons.

In the fairy tales which for hero's adversary take the witch, (Af. No.108, 109, 110, 112), the rolling mentioned by the formula is performed on the ground or in the grass. Although there are not many instances in which direct parallels can be drawn between human and demonic actions of the same kind but different purpose, as it was possible in the case of ritual rolling, it still remains unclear why *rusalke* are rolling in the grass on Whitsun - and that is the only datum of the kind that could also be reconfirmed outside the fairytale framework. The general meaning of the ritual rolling (the contact with the sources of vitality and taking of their powers regardless of the performers' origin), is in this context insufficient, indicating discrete secondary data written into the material. However, when brought into connection with the belief that fairies are born from dew,⁶⁹ and when compared with the lascivious formula which accompanies the rolling in dew in a Bulgarian custom,⁷⁰ this behaviour of *rusalke* - and even that of the witches from our fairytales - acquires even an erotic significance. Nevertheless, the main point is in the type of ground.

was recorded that the tree is cut in a „feminine“ manner (by horizontal cuts from the west side and in several places). Thus a double opposition male/female - east/west was inscribed into the ritual. We noticed the marginalization - probably much stronger in the past - of the role of women in Serbian rituals on Christmas Eve and Christmas Day, already earlier, when we discussed the rolling of food and the sacrifice offering to birds/souls. The same system of replacement feminine-for-masculine is indicated in the fairy tale „Grbo i kralj đavolski“ (*Annex 1 -3.1*). Differently from Russian fairy tales with *baba-vaga/veštica*, the mentioned fairy tale shows a male demon and his guests (godfathers), and standard victims (devil's daughters) are supplemented with the demon's wife (the queen). This relation is also maintained in the Serbian examples of „Hansel and Grettel“ since it is always the male characters („the Jews“, „*psoglavi*“, etc.) who give orders to „grandmothers“ and „mothers“ how the children should be cooked or roasted. The only active woman character with cannibalistic intentions (mother/stepmother ready to eat her own children), in Serbian fairy tales is in fact never realized. Owing to all of this, the line of the female demon-cannibal is more easily followed in the Russian, considerably more archaic subjects.

⁶⁹ Т.Р. Ђорђевић, 1953, p.70.

⁷⁰ On St.Jeremiah's Day (the day of expulsion of snakes, which are also the souls of ancestors), on the Mayday, young women go out into the fields at dawn, lie on the ground and roll in the grass wet with dew, saying: „яш, п... трева“ (SbNU, 1936, XLII, p. 128) Here, one should take into account also the international motif of reincarnation of the burnt man through the touch with his skull or some undetermined bones (AT: B788): a woman becomes pregnant from a contact or swallowing of such bone, and bears a child who is the reincarnated dead man.

3. Liminality of the persons participating in the chthonic ritual is always implied or mediated by the liminality of space and time in which the ritual is taking place (liminal places: threshold, fireplace, crossroads, border, unclean places in general, and such times of day or days: midnight, the dead of night, unchristened days, etc.), even more so if the participant himself is a chthonic being and - in addition - keeper of the frontier between this and that world. *Baba-yaga*, who is all of these, cannot be replaced by the witch in all the respects, and as the keeper of the frontier - not at all. The frontier itself is „strong“ and unpenetrable in everyday circumstances, so that we could agree with the view that „the hero can enter the chthonic space and discover the secret of that world - but he must not transmit that secret to the people“. ⁷¹ Hero in these fairy tales does not belong to the category of the so-called „informed“: he does not know the rules of conduct in demonic space, he is not very skillful in the world of humans either (he was caught by trick or due to his own mistake), he is not even offered the opportunity to pass the test and acquire the right to passage in this or that direction. In general, therefore, he is not seen as returning from that world, so that *baba-yaga*'s actions should be interpreted accordingly.

In these two chains, the sujet line follows the demonic opponent, but only with the appearance of *baba-yaga* does the space for the mystical use of bones open.

Finally, as many as new chains we open, we shall still be unable to determine what - and if any at all - ritual stood in the initial position of the conception of formula for rolling over hero's bones. ⁷² The signals that are being sent by the real codes inscribed in it (so far as we are able to track

⁷¹ Раденковић, 1996 с, р. 16.

⁷² „Hagiographic“ character of Christmas Eve rituals with Serbs and Ukrainians points to *one* possible interpretation. It is probably not completely senseless, since the roasting and eating of children, of which we spoke earlier, appears in the same light. In that context, one should pay special attention to the datum about one of quoted Bulgarian examples („The Jew slaughters children during the wedding ceremony“), where the ritual character of the text is doubly indicated: secondary - through the title (wedding) and primarily through its generic characteristic (harvest song). In accordance with the rituals related to the end of harvest (some of which we have analyzed here as well), the „hagiographic“ character of the customary texts could refer to wheat. The connection is only conditional, but already as such it points to myths about gods that resurrect, which are, as a rule, all related to the agricultural cycle. On the other hand, devouring of flesh and preservation of bones, indicate a ritual of different kind. In that sense Eliade, outside the context of the book on shamanism, mentions a Tibetan ritual *chöd* (see on this: Evans-Venz, 1988).

them), arrive from various sources (ritual dialogue, yule log, ritual rolling, the mystique of bones, protection of the strong frontier). In principle, every one of them could be considered the true one, under the condition that it fits into the story of successful resurrection - and that condition is in fact fulfilled by all of them. Perhaps such a syncretic picture calls for the quest for the initial sujet of the myth, and perhaps in its foundation there was, unknown to us, a very archaic ritual that was certainly abandoned long time ago. Although these presumptions are not to be rejected as being unable to investigate, and then, reconfirmed or rejected, from the standpoint of literary poetics there is practically no need for such an enterprise: formula in oral literary types „works“ under much simpler conditions. If the fairy tale demands not only that the hero should deceive the demon (which can be done in another ways as well), but also that the demon should annihilate his own kind, it will attempt to select, among the means at hand, those which will be most easily recognized and the quickest to fit into the new surrounding. As real codes are clearer and stronger, the association circle is narrower and handier: all the rest belongs to the narrative strategy.

Translated by Zdenka Petković

КОСТ И МЕСО

Књижевни и реални кодови у бајкама

Резиме

У овом раду учињен је покушај да се ефикасност клишеа и формуле, у својству средстава за кодирање реалија, провери на мотиву људских костију и меса као хране у српским и руским народним бајкама. Приказана анализа заснована је на неколико теоријских претпоставки: 1) да је структура бајке сложена; 2) да је реализација те структуре једноставна; 3) да је једноставност њене реализације омогућена применом клишеа и формуле; 4) да у бајци, као и иначе у текстовима усмене књижевности, постоје два доминантна кода: реални и књижевни; 5) да клише и формула, захваљујући посебним особинама које задржавају у различитим итповима примене, успешно служе као средства за кодирање у обе равни - равни реалија и равни књижевног текста. Посебан акценат стављен је на избор средстава и процену њихове ефикасности: клише даје најбоље резултате у равни глобалне организације сижеа („печена деца“ и људождерство), а формула у дубинском повезивању реалија са текстом („ваљање по костима“).

Annex 1

1. the animal eats man (part of his body)

1.1-9 The magical assistant - the eagle that brings the hero from the other world into this one - during the flight, when he runs out of the meat prepared for the trip, eats hero's flesh (part of the leg - calf): at the end of the journey the bird spits out a piece of flesh which, when fixed on hero's leg, grows into it, and the leg is as it was before.

Source: „Кравариџ Марко“, Чајкановиџ No. 10 (also 11, 12, 16); Вук („Биберче“); „Три царства - медное, серебряное и золотое“, Афанасъев No. 128 (also 129-131)

Similar motif („spit and stick“): devils. Mire's girlfriend's brothers, „in happiness“ kiss the hero: „all three kissed him on the cheek, and wherever each kissed him, he bit his flesh and ate it in happiness. /.../ Each spat and watered it and it grew as it used to be.“

Source: „Царев син и Мирева девојка“, Чајкановиџ No. 47

NB: in the first type of the fairy tale (where the eagle takes the hero to the upper world), the young birds at first hide the hero from their bird-mother, because they are afraid that she could eat him from happiness

2. demon eats man

2.1 Dragon, the hero's adversary, every day „carries a dead man home“ to eat it for dinner.

Source: „Биберац“, Чајкановиџ No. 11

2.2 *Ala's* sons eat human flesh: „In the evening, *ala's* sons came and asked her: 'Mum, why do we smell human flesh?' And she said to them: 'It was human flesh you ate for lunch, so you can smell it'. Then they took sticks to pick their teeth, one took out a shoulder from a tooth, another a rib.“

Source: „Цицанка царица“, Чајкановиџ No. 33

2.3 Devil (*vrag*) eats people; when he comes home and smells the hero, cries: „Here is a baptized soul, say where it is, so I can eat his flesh and crush his bones!“

Source: „К врагу по три длаке“, Чајкановиџ No. 37

2.4 Hero's enemy, *divljan* (one-eyed giant man-eater), eats human flesh in his cave: „and he started probing them behind the neck, to check who is fat to slaughter and roast him, and he found a fat priest, caught him and killed him, put him on a roasting-spit and placed over fire to roast“.

Source: „Дивљан“, Вук, p. 139

2.5 Three women in a forest are roasting a man in order to eat him: „one is spinning the spit, the second is poking the fire, and the third is bringing fire-wood“.

The context implies that they are demons (*Sudenice*).

Source: „Сестра сачувала брата“, Чајкановиџ No. 86

2.6 *Ala* christens a man's child and the day after calls his wife to visit her: at home (where a poker and a broom are fighting, in one room there are human arms, in another legs, in the third human flesh, in the fourth blood, and in the fifth *ala* took off her head and put on a horse's one), *ala* eats her godson and his mother as punishment for their improper behaviour in the demonic world (breach of speech prohibition): when the godson's mother says that she saw her changing heads: before that (broom, arms, legs, flesh, blood) *ala* does not react.

Source: „Кума ала“, Чајкановић No. 115; Афанасјевић No. 102-103 (*babavaga*)

2.7 Dragon, in his castle, eats people for lunch every day: „after he kills and roasts a man, he takes him and eats him (he eats only once) and makes her / the emperor's daughter/ eat human flesh also, but she deceives him by throwing it under the table, and eats other things that she cooks herself“. On that day (when the hero should free the emperor's daughter), the dragon eats two men.

Source: „Срећни сат“, Босанска вила, 1894.

2.8 Giant, the hero's enemy, lives in a cave and intends to eat the hero, but the giant's daughter helps the hero and he is not eaten. So all giant's activities are concluded in threatening only, that is in crying upon coming home: „There is tame flesh here“ (meaning human flesh) „tell quickly where it is, so that I can eat it“.

Source: „Царевић и дивова кћи“, Чајкановић No. 21

2.9 The master of *Zlatni Rasudenac* threatens the hero that he will eat him unless he fulfills difficult tasks: „If you do not do this, be sure that I will roast and eat you“.

Source: „До Златног Расуденца“, Чајкановић No. 40

3. *demon eats demon*

3.1 Hero's enemy, the devil king, king's godfather and the godfather's son, in ignorance, thinking that they are eating *Grba* (nickname meaning: Hunchback), eat the flesh of their queen - wife of the devil king (*Grbo* tricks the devil queen and roasts her: the king and his guests, thinking that it was *Grbo* who was roasted, eat everything without noticing any difference: only the godfather's son knows what they are eating and repeats three times that it is not right for them to eat their queen; thus the deception is unraveled).

Source: „Грбо и краљ ђаволски“, Босанска вила, 1899

3.2 Three *psoglavi* catch „some children that were guarding cattle“, take them home and make (their) mother prepare one of the children for lunch, and the other two for dinner. The children trick the old woman, push her into the boiling water, and run away. Upon returning home, the *psoglavi* learn what has happened, send their dogs after the children, but the dogs could not find them; the children find shelter with a woman who was married to a *psoglav*, she saves them, gives them food and helps them across the Morava river, so that the children save their lives.

Source: „Деца и псоглави“, Чајкановић No. 27

Ћајкановић („Деца анђели“, No. 28) has another fairy tale mentioning

psoglavi in a similar context: the children, who are being fattened by their parents so they can roast and eat them, a day before this should happen, beg holy Sunday to set them free, which indeed happens: running away, the children fall into the hands of *psoglavi*; they also want to eat them, and leave them to the old woman to cook them in the cauldron: the children trick her and cook her („We are small, and we don't know how to do that /to see if the water is boiling/ come with us and show us, so that we can do it next time“), but *psoglavi* do not eat her, although they go after the children (from that point on, the stories differ).

3.3 The heroes (daughter and son, step-children), after the boy is well fattened, instead of being eaten, cook the old woman. The Jews do not eat the woman, but when they learn what has happened, run after the children who run away and find a water-spring; by the spring a (demonic) woman gives the children nice gifts (roses from the mouth and pearls from the eyes); the step-mother sends her daughter to the same water-spring, but she does not pass the test and receives ugly gifts (slime and bloody tears).

Source: „Опет маћеха и пасторка“, Вук, p. 133

3.4-10 The hero tricks *haha-yaga*'s daughter and pushes her into the oven; upon returning, *haha-yaga* eats her daughter thinking that she is eating the hero: „Баба яга! поела все, собрала все кости, разложила их на земле рядом и начала по ним кататься“.

In some variants the witch brings also guests to dinner (similar to „Grbo“), but, differently from „Grbo“, none of the guests recognizes what kind of flesh he is eating.

Source: „Баба-яга и Жихарь“, Афанасьев No. 106 (AT 327 Ц, Ф)

4. man eats man (a part of his body) or intends to eat him

4.1 Wife carries lunch to her husband in the field, but she falls down and breaks the pot; out of fear she cuts her breast and cooks him a new meal, and the man (father of children - the heroes of the fairy tale) eats his wife's breast in ignorance and remarks that „he has not eaten anything tastier in his life“; the wife suggests: „See how sweet human flesh is, my husband. Let us lock those children of ours in a barrel and feed them, and then kill them and eat them“.

Source: „Деца анђели“, Чајкановић No. 28

T.R.Đorđević in his article *Cannibalism* (NNŽ, 1 p. 92) quotes a story from Skopska Crna Gora identical to the beginning of our fairytale: „It talks about a man who caught two pigeons and gave them to his wife to prepare dinner, and how a cat got them and ate them. In fear that her husband will beat her for that, the wife cut off her breasts and instead of pigeons made her husband dinner with them. When the man started eating, he could not stop praising the taste of flesh he was eating. The wife tells him the truth and, since she was the step-mother to her husband's children, tells him: 'When (human flesh) is so sweet let us slaughter your children, and eat them'.“ (Source: SEZ, VI, p.487)

4.2 Sentin, the fairy tale hero, thinks he has killed all his enemies *-hajduks*, but the ninth was not killed completely; during nine years, the ninth *hajduk* was healed by eating *flesh and bones* of his killed peers.

Source: „Септин“, Чајкановић No. 23.

Annex 2

1. human bones - magical

1.1 Hero (Sentin) thinks he has killed all his enemies - *hajduks*, but the last, ninth, he did not kill; during nine years, the ninth *hajduk* was healed by eating the flesh and bones of his killed friends; only one little forked bone was left that he could not chew". A fairy told the *hajduk* „that in human bones there is one bone which is poisonous, and the one who cuts himself on that bone would immediately die. This is that bone”.

Source: „Сентин”, Чајкановић No. 23

2. soul in the bones

2.1 The hero's (Jova's) enemy, an arrow-shooter, kills Jova and throws him into a well in order to take his place; ten years later, after the flesh had rotten and only scattered bones are left in the well, the God sends St. Peter to gather the bones and put each one in its place; St. Peter does not bring out all the bones at first - a finger is missing; the God orders him to descend into the well once again and find the finger which was hidden under a stone; on that finger there is the ring that Jovo received from the Emperor's daughter. Then, „God breathes into those bones a soul, and from them Jovo - Emperor's son is created again, alive as once he was before”.

Source: „Царев син армичар, Чајкановић, No. 60.

2.2 The heroine, Cinderella, is prohibited to eat the meat and bones of the cow into which her mother has turned; the prohibition comes from the cow itself: „Be silent, don't cry, but when they slaughter me, do not eat the meat, but collect all the bones and bury them in the ground under that stone behind the house, so that whenever you are in trouble, you can come to my grave and you will get help”. (A magical coffin appears on and disappears from that grave on its own will.)

Source: „Пепељуга”, Вук, pp. 125-128.

2.3 The heroine must not eat the meat of the cow foster-mother: the cow orders her to gather the bones, make a bundle, plant it in the fruit-garden and water it every morning; a magical apple tree grows out of the bones, with silver branches and golden leaves; thanks to it (indirectly), the heroine marries a prince.

Source: „Крошечка-хаврошечка”, Афанасьев, No. 100 (AT - magical cow) type Cinderella

3. bones - procedures with bones

3.1 - rolling over the bones -

3.1.1 **Афанасьев, No. 106:** a cat, a sparrow, and a courageous youth (*жихаръ*) live together; the cat and the sparrow leave to cut wood and tell the youth: „Remain at home and be careful: if *baba-yaga* comes and starts counting the spoons, don't say a word!” The youth remains on the fire-place, behind the chimney, and *baba-yaga* comes and starts collecting the spoons: „This is the cat's spoon, this is the sparrow's, and the third is *žihar*'s. *Žihar* could not take it any

longer and started yelling: „ Don't touch my spoon, *baba-yaga!*“ *Yaga* catches him and takes him to her home, but the cat and the sparrow save him twice; third time they don't succeed. After the trick with roasting *baba-yaga's* oldest daughter, *yaga* comes, and *before eating the flesh from the oven*, says:“Let me roll over the *žikarko's* bones!“ The same procedure is repeated with the middle and the eldest daughter, and finally, with *baba-yaga* herself. The rolling formula is irrelevant and acquires its true significance only in variant No.107.

3.1.2 **Афанасьев, No. 107**: there were three brothers in a family: one was called Ram, another He-Goat, and the third Čufilj-Filjuška. On one occasion, the three brothers went to the forest to visit their grand-father. The brothers left Filjuška with him, and went hunting. The grand-father was old and lost control over Filjuška, who wanted to eat apples, climbed a tree to pick one, when *yaga-bura* came „in the iron mortar and with the hammer in hand“ . She offers him the first apple - he refuses because it is rotten; she offers him a second one - he refuses because it has worms; she offers him the third „from her hand“, he takes that one and she takes him home. Two times his brothers save him, the third time they do not succeed. The episode with *yaga's* daughter and roasting follows. Filjuška hides, taking with him *yaga's* mortar and hammer. Eating the flesh, *yaga* does not think of her daughter, believing that she is in the other cottage spinning wool. Rolling over the bones, *yaga* utters the formula about rolling Filjuška replies: over bones, and Rock, mother, roll, mother, over the bones of your daughter *Yaga* attacks him, he defends himself by hitting her with the hammer and runs onto the roof. He sees a flock of geese flying over the roof, asks them for some feathers to make himself wings, and they give him what he asked; with the help of the wings, Filjuška flies home.

3.1.3 **Афанасьев, No. 108**: an old man and an old woman had a son, Ivašečka. Ivašečka went fishing and remained at the lake-side: from time to time, the mother comes to take the fish and bring him lunch. The witch imitates the mother and calls Ivašečka, but he knows that it is not his mother's voice and does not go; the witch goes to the blacksmith to make her voice same as Ivašečka's mother's, or she will eat him. When she gets the new voice, she catches Ivašečka and takes him to her place. She orders her daughter Alenka to roast Ivašečka, and she herself goes out to bring guests to dinner. The episode with the roasting of Alenka follows. The witch and her guests eat Alenka, and after the dinner, they go out of the house in the garden they roll in the grass. The witch utters the formula: without mentioning the bones, and Ivaško, who hid on top of an oak, replies: in the some manner as before (no 197) In anger, the witch starts chewing the oak-tree, but breaks two front teeth; runs to the blacksmith and asks him to make her false teeth, threatening to eat him. With iron teeth she cuts the oak into two, but Ivaško climbs the next tree. The witch breaks again two (lower) teeth, the blacksmith (under the same threat) makes her iron teeth, and she bites into the tree again. Over Ivaško, three flocks of swans are flying. Ivaško begs them to take him home; only the third flock accepts and brings him back to his parents.

3.1.4 **Афанасъев, No. 109**: a man and a woman are childless; the man brings a tree-stump from the forest, the woman rocks it in the cradle and the stump becomes a real child. When he grows up, the son Ivanjka, asks for a silver boat with a golden row so that he can fish in the river. From then on same as in No. 108. Instead of oak, Ivanjka hides in a maple-tree. The witch brings her *kumovi* (god-fathers) as guests. The rolling formula - the same. Ivanjka is also saved only by the third flock of geese.

3.1.5 **Афанасъев, No. 110**: a man and a woman had a little boy named Ivaško. The fishing is taking place in a lake. The witch's daughter is called Marusya. After the dinner, they roll in the grass (explicitly). The rolling formula is the same. The response is the same. The last flock of geese takes Ivaško home.

3.1.6 **Афанасъев, No. 111**: an old man and an old woman have no children. The old man brings from the forest some wood and *lutoška* (a specially worked out linden) out of which a child is created; his name is Lutonjka. *Babavaga* abducts him. Three daughters. The rolling formula mentions bones. Lutonjka is sitting on a tower. All three daughters are killed by deception. Lutonjka is saved by the swans (only one flock): they give him feathers to make wings and he flies home on his own.

3.1.7 **Афанасъев, No. 112**: a man and a woman have no children; they take a tree-stump, dress it into a diaper, put it into a cradle, rock it, and the stump becomes a child. They call it Treščica. The rest is the same. Witch's name is Čuviliha. Treščica is hiding in a tall oak. The witch rolls without mentioning the bones. Biting the tree and iron teeth - the same. Treščica is saved by the third flock of swans.

Source: „Баба-яга и Жихаръ“. Афанасъев No. 106 (AT 327 C, F)
same sujet 106-112

The rolling formulas:

1) Афанасъев, No. 112

Witch: „Let me rock, let me roll, after I ate the Splinter's flesh!“

Treščica: „Rock and roll, witch, after you ate your daughter's flesh!“

It does not say on what kind of material the rolling is taking place: „The witch went out of the house, she rocks, and rolls, and calls “ (the formula follows).

2) Афанасъев, No. 109

Witch: “I will rock, I will roll, after I ate Ivanjka's flesh!“

Ivanjka: “Not, but - Alenka's!”

- rolling most probably on the ground: “After they ate this meat, the witch went to where the maple-tree was, on which Ivanjka was hiding, and she started rolling and calling” -

3) Афанасъев, No. 108

Witch: “Let me rock, let me roll, Ivaško's flesh eaten!”

Ivaško: “Rock and roll, Alenka's flesh eaten!”

- rolling on the grass: the witch and the guests eat Alenka and later go out “in the garden and they roll in the grass” -

4) Афанасьев, No. 110

Witch: "Let us rock, let us roll, after we ate Ivaško's flesh!"

Ivaško: "Rock and roll, after you ate Marusya's flesh!"

- rolling explicitly on the grass: both the witch and the guests are rolling -

5) Афанасьев, No. 111

Baba-yaga: "Let me rock, let me roll over Lutonjka's bones!"

Lutonjka: "Rock and roll over your daughter's bones!"

- it does not say on what they are rolling: "She went out of the house and said" (formula is following) -

6) Афанасьев, No. 107

Yaga-bura: "My dear daughter! Come to me and roll with me over Filjkuška's bones!"

Filjkuška: "Rock mother, roll mother, over your daughter's bones!"

- rolling on the bones: "/baba-yaga/ ate all, gathered all bones together, put them orderly on the ground, and started rolling over the bones" -

7) Афанасьев, No. 106

Baba-yaga: "Let me rock, let me roll over žiharko's bones!"

Žihar: "Rock and roll over your daughter's bones!"

- the flesh has not been eaten, *baba-yaga* utters the formula before she even looked at the lunch; only the rolling formula is uttered, but the rolling does not take place.

3.2 - bones as construction material -

3.2.1 The hero, hunter, as a difficult assignment, must make a court out of giant's bones near the Emperor's court.

Source: „Сатаницкова кћи“, Чајкановић, No.39

3.2.2 The hero goes to see why the mountain flashes during the day and burns during the night; there he finds an old woman whose yard's fence is made of human bones and some people are standing in it „dumb and not moving“; the old woman turns him into a similar creature; later, his twin brother liberates him.

Source: „Три јегуље“, Вук, p.121

3.2.3 The animals unite and run into a forest, but fall into a deep trench: the cock and the hen fly over, but the rest of the animals (a rabbit, a ram, an ox, a fox, a wolf, and a bear) fall into it and are not able to get out; during the captivity in the trench, the animals eat one another, and the last one is eaten by the bear; finally, out of the bones of the eaten animals the bear „made a ladder, and got out of the trench“.

Source: „Хајдуци“, Чајкановић, No.2

3.3 - crushing of bones -

3.3.1 The devil eats humans; when he comes home, he smells the hero, and yells: "There is a christened soul in here, tell me where it is, so that I can eat its flesh, and crush its bones!"

Source: „К врагу по три длаке“, Чајкановић, No. 37

4. bones as food

4.1 - animal bones -

4.1.1 In a large household, the head of the family does not respect his father and mother, but keeps them behind the fireplace and every day, after dinner, „a girl comes to collect all the bones into one heap, and throws them behind the fireplace“, and „two old, skinny apparitions come out and start sucking on those bones.“

Source: „Усуд“, Вук

4.2 - human bones -

4.2.1 During nine years the unslaughtered *hajduk* healed himself by eating flesh and bones of his eight killed peers; only „one forked little bone which he could not chew“ was left. That bone was poisonous.

Source: „Sentin“, Чајкановић, No.23

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