



ORAL TRADITION

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Oral Tradition seeks to provide a comparative and interdisciplinary focus for studies in oral literature and related fields by publishing research and scholarship on the creation, transmission, and interpretation of all forms of oral traditional expression. As well as essays treating certifiably oral traditions, *OT* presents investigations of the relationships between oral and written traditions, as well as brief accounts of important fieldwork, a Symposium section (in which scholars may reply at some length to prior essays), review articles, occasional transcriptions and translations of oral texts, a digest of work in progress, and a regular column for notices of conferences and other matters of interest. In addition, occasional issues will include an ongoing annotated bibliography of relevant research and the annual Albert Lord and Milman Parry Lectures on Oral Tradition. *OT* welcomes contributions on all oral literatures, on all literatures directly influenced by oral traditions, and on non-literary oral traditions. Submissions must follow the list-of-reference format (style sheet available on request) and must be accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope for return or for mailing of proofs; all quotations of primary materials must be made in the original language(s) with following English translations. Authors should submit two copies of all manuscripts. Most contributions will be reviewed by at least one specialist reader and one member of the editorial board before a final decision is reached. Review essays, announcements, and contributions to the Symposium section will be evaluated by the editor in consultation with the board.

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Editor's Column

With the present double issue on Serbo-Croatian traditions, *Oral Tradition* comes to the end of its sixth year of publication. Devoting a special issue to this part of the world at this particular time is of significance in at least two ways. First, as these essays go to press, the postwar creation called Yugoslavia is in the throes of disunification, with Croatia and Slovenia having declared independence and Serbia attempting to maintain the nation-state. Warfare has broken out; lives are being lost and cities destroyed. We can only hope that some solution to the long-standing ethnic hatred can be found, for the sake of all concerned.

In the midst of this hostility, it may be difficult to remember that Yugoslavia was, with ancient Greece, the birthplace of what is historically one of the most important approaches to studies in oral tradition. In 1933-35 Milman Parry and Albert Lord undertook the field expeditions throughout Yugoslavia that would lead to an unparalleled acoustic and dictated archive of traditional oral narrative, primarily epic. This region served in effect as the "living laboratory" in which, they theorized, Parry's hypotheses about the dead-language tradition of Homeric epic could be tested. That beginning has led to investigations by hundreds of scholars in scores of different language areas,¹ and we have the *guslari* of the South Slavic lands to thank for helping to make possible this way of understanding oral tradition.

Thus it is especially poignant to report the recent death of Albert Lord, the co-founder of what has become known as the Oral Theory (but which by its demonstration in dozens of traditions has moved well beyond the status of a hypothesis).² With his classic *The Singer of Tales*, the editions of *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, numerous articles, and the 1991 *Epic Singers and Oral Tradition*, Lord transformed the original juxtaposition of Homer and the Serbo-Croatian bards into a genuinely comparative field of investigation, wherein today we can learn about similarities and differences among traditions from all over the world. Because it was Albert's work that, more than that of any of his contemporaries, created a need for this journal, *Oral Tradition* will dedicate its next issue (7, i) to his memory.

Before closing let me note that *OT* will be moving to a slightly

¹For an annotated bibliography of relevant studies, see Foley, *Oral-Fonnulaic Theory and Research* (New York: Garland, 1985), with updates in *Oral Tradition*; for an introductory history of the approach, see Foley, *The Theory of Oral Composition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

²For an obituary notice and a complete listing of Lord's published oeuvre, see the *Journal of American Folklore*, 105 (1992):57-65.

different schedule and format starting with the 1992 volume. Instead of a tri-quarterly, which has proven unwieldy and expensive in the present economy, we plan to issue the journal as a biannual. But, although each volume will have two rather than three parts, the same total number of pages per year will be maintained. The greater single-issue length will also allow the introduction of a new feature: “clusters” of essays on particular topics or areas, amid the customary mix of articles on a variety of fields. One of the first of these clusters will focus on oral tradition and Jewish mysticism; another will confront the knotty problem of editing texts from oral tradition. We hope the new format will allow even greater representation of the heterogeneity of the vast collection of oral traditions around the world.

John Miles Foley, Editor

Introduction

John S. Miletich

Few traditions of folk, or oral, literature can be compared to that of Yugoslavia in variety of genres and number of collected texts.¹ Nevertheless, this rich source has only too often been inaccessible to interested non-Slavist researchers, since a good deal of the scholarly literature on the subject is, naturally, written by Yugoslavs in their own languages. The present volume represents one attempt to remedy that situation. Each major genre—lyric, ballad, epic, and prose narrative—is dealt with from a different perspective by twelve scholars from Yugoslavia's six republics (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and Macedonia) and two autonomous regions (Vojvodina and Kosovo-Metohija [Kosmet]), providing a cross section of some of the main currents in the study of folk literature appearing in the most widely used languages of Yugoslavia (Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian). This does not imply, of course, that all major genres in each language or region have been covered evenly. Slovenian lyric and Macedonian narrative poetry, for example, have been treated only in a very general way, the emphasis having been placed on the more important Slovenian ballad and Macedonian lyric traditions. The so-called minor, but important, genres, such as charm, riddle, proverb, and dramatic forms, among many others, do not figure here either. Also absent is a discussion of the folk literature of Yugoslavia's ethnic minorities—Albanians, Bulgarians, Czechs, Gypsies, Hungarians, Italians, Rumanians, Ruthenians, Slovaks, and Turks—which deserves a special collection of its own. Nor is the folk literature of emigrés, more recent and even medieval, taken into account here in a systematic way, although, in the strictest sense it might be argued that it lies beyond the scope of a collection devoted exclusively to Yugoslav literature. On the other hand, it cannot be entirely bypassed, as some of the articles in this collection attest.

The lyric tradition is amply sketched out in the first three articles.

¹ Political-administrative, linguistic, and other changes that have been occasioned by the current climate in Eastern Europe are not reflected in the present volume, which was completed and submitted by the guest editor before such changes occurred.

Vladimir Bovan offers a panoramic view of the collection, classification, and characteristics of Yugoslav folk lyric, providing some fifty examples with emphasis on the Serbo-Croatian-language traditions, both Christian and Moslem. Drawing heavily on Soviet folklore theory, Hatidža Krnjević illustrates the crucial role played by psychological parallelism in various kinds of compositional models in contributing to the aesthetic organization of the folk lyric. Tome Sazdov's contribution is a survey of Macedonian folk poetry, with special attention to its unusually rich lyric tradition, in which such aspects as collecting, classifying, and poetics are covered, and examples of the lyric are provided.

The *bugarštica*, or *bugarščica*, essentially balladic in form, has of late attracted more attention than usual both in Yugoslavia and abroad. The two articles devoted to it in the present issue continue this renewed interest and open up new directions for further consideration. Josip Kekez provides a detailed overview of such aspects as collecting, origins, definition of genre, poetics, and the renaissance of this genre in contemporary Croatian lyric poetry. Maja Bošković-Stulli tackles the thorny question of the nature of ballad and epic genres in a comparison of *bugarštice* with the dominant Serbo-Croatian poetic narrative genre, epic heroic decasyllable song, arguing, in part, that the *bugarštica* generally shows a marked tendency toward ballad form even when its subject matter is epic. Zmaga Kumer introduces us to the rich tradition of Slovenian balladry, discussing such aspects as singers, themes, and poetics, with considerable emphasis on ballad melodies.

Five articles deal with epic poetry in Serbo-Croatian. Jelka Ređep surveys the development of the Kosovo legend, tracing it in learned written sources, but showing to what extent folk tradition was also operative in the process. Marija Kleut assembles, classifies, and cites a good number of the elusive final formulas used to address listeners, which appear to have been mostly suppressed by collectors or printers, thus stressing the need for further exploration of this relatively neglected component of epic poetry. Taking issue with Boris Putilov's notion that Montenegrin oral epic was from its very beginnings informed by myth, Novak Kilibarda provides a series of detailed arguments in favor of its markedly historical character. Đenana Buturović calls for a revision of the notion that Moslem oral epic can be reduced essentially to Alois Schmaus's two basic types, and presents arguments based on extensive analysis of the geography and chronology of the various strata of this rich tradition, advocating that Moslem oral epic is a much more complex phenomenon requiring considerably more attention than it has received to date. In a comparative reconsideration of enjambement as a criterion for distinguishing oral from written style, Zdeslav Dukat suggests on the basis of previous work and his own analysis of Homer and Serbo-Croatian epic (both oral and learned), that "integral"

(including “violent”) enjambement is a useful yardstick for measuring such difference and that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are not oral but “oral-derived.”

In the final article, Nada Milošević-Đorđević studies the well-documented folk tales and legends of a particular region, which were collected in the latter half of this century, against the corpus of comparable earlier material, pointing to a number of constants but also to significant changes that are present in the more recent texts and showing how the boundaries of different genres overlap when their structure or content is similar.

Translations of all relevant primary texts and titles of works have been provided. When it was thought necessary, brief background explanations of certain basic notions have also been furnished. Of the twelve contributions to this volume, seven were commissioned for translation by the authors themselves, two were written in English in original form, and those of Maja Bošković-Stulli, Vladimir Bovan, and Đenana Buturović were translated by the guest editor. In items in the reference lists, the names of publishers of works having a publication date prior to 1900 have been omitted and series have been noted only when they appeared to be especially useful in locating works.

I am grateful to Professor James F. Burke of the University of Toronto for providing convenient working space and to the Robarts Library of the same institution for access to their collections. Both have contributed significantly to the realization of this project.

John S. Miletich

Yugoslav Oral Lyric, Primarily in Serbo-Croatian

Vladimir Bovan

In spite of structural differences, Yugoslav oral lyric represents a unified whole in its genesis. For Yugoslavs, as well as other peoples, lyric song was the first poetic form in their aspirations toward human culture. When their ancestors immigrated to the Balkan Peninsula, they already had a well developed tradition of oral lyric that was rich and varied. From that period—the sixth and seventh centuries—until our own, under the influence of the new climate and the oral poetry of neighboring peoples, new lyric genres arose while others died out.

The first direct indications about lyric song among the South Slavs are from the sixth- and seventh-century historical writings of the Greek Procopius and the Byzantine Theophylactus Simocattes, respectively. In a tenth-century treatise against the Bogomils, the priest Kozma criticizes his fellow Slavs for preferring pagan songs and stories to Christian prayers. The *Letopis popa Dukljanina* [*Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*], a detailed work drawing on folk traditions in general, is from the twelfth century, while from the thirteenth we have the *Žitije svetoga Save* [*Life of St. Sava*] of the monk Teodosije, which speaks of songs in the court of Nemanja. In 1487 Juraj Šižgorić of Šibenik mentions particular oral lyric genres: laments as well as wedding, love, dance, and work songs. He not only describes the songs but also compares them to the most outstanding creations of Greek and Latin lyric, affirming that they do not in any way yield place to the songs of Sappho, Catullus, Propertius, and Tibullus (among others), but even surpass them.

In 1497 the Italian writer Rogeri de Pacienza recorded what is, in my opinion, the first oral lyric song in the folk traditions of Yugoslavia. It is the *bugarštica* about Despot Đurađ and Duke Janko that was sung in the small town of Gioia del Colle in southern Italy, where settlers from the Balkan Peninsula sought refuge from the Turkish invasion. In addition to the poems of Džore Držić, Šiško Menčetić, and other Dubrovnik writers, Nikša Ranjina also included in his miscellany of 1507 a number of oral lyrics, of which three are songs of praise and one is a wedding song. In

about 1555 the Croatian writer Petar Hektorović recorded six folk songs, three of which are lyric. The first Macedonian lyric songs were taken down by the archpriest Sylvester of the Latin Church in the sixteenth century. The Slovene Primož Trubar recorded a New Year's song in 1575. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries many other recordings appeared, including entire collections of oral song, both lyric and narrative. On the Adriatic coast we find the Dubrovnik and Gulf of Kotor manuscripts and in the interior two manuscripts from Slavonska Požega and the famous Erlangen manuscript, which contains 217 songs, only six of which are not folk productions (but were still composed under the influence of folk lyric). The Erlangen manuscript songs, which were recorded around 1720 by an anonymous collector, are mostly lyric.

The systematic recording of oral lyric and, of course, of epic songs began in the nineteenth century and is closely linked with the name of Vuk Karadžić. In Vienna in 1814 he published 100 lyric songs in his *Mala prostonarodnja slavensko-srpska pjesnarica* [*Little Book of "Slavensorpski" Popular Songs*] and in 1815 another 104 lyric songs in his *Narodna srpska pjesnarica* [*Serbian Folk Song Book*]. Thereafter, lyric songs were published as follows: over 700 in his Leipzig edition of 1824, about 800 (including some narrative songs) in the first volume of his classic Vienna edition of 1841, and 715 (mostly lyric) in the fifth volume of the State edition of 1898 from his manuscripts. The Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts made available the rest of Vuk's manuscript lyric corpus in two volumes (1 and 5) in 1973 and 1974. His entire published collection comes to over 2500 lyric songs.

About the same time, many others, some of whom were inspired by Vuk's activity, began to record folk songs. In Croatia the forerunner of collecting was the Zagreb bishop Maksimilijan Vrhovac, who sent a circular to the Catholic clergy urging them to record folk songs. The collections of Mato Topalović, Luka Ilić-Oriovčanin, and many others appeared, including the ten-volume *Hrvatske narodne pjesme* [*Croatian Folk Songs*], which was published by the Matica Hrvatska between 1896 and 1942. Toward the beginning of the nineteenth century, Slovene folk songs were being collected by the Slovene Society in Graz. In 1839 Stanko Vraz published the collection of Slovene folk songs *Narodne pjesni ilirske . . .* [*Illyrian Folk Songs . . .*]. Macedonian folk songs in the nineteenth century were recorded and/or published by Vuk Karadžić (1815, 1821, 1822), Viktor Ivanovič Grigorovič (1848), and Stefan I. Verković (1860). With the assistance of the Zagreb bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, a large collection of Macedonian folk songs, chiefly lyric, made by the brothers Dimitrija and Konstantin Miladinov, was published in Zagreb in 1861. Massive collections of Macedonian folk literature were made by the

Macedonians Kuzman A. Šapkarev and Marko K. Cepenkov.¹ In Montenegro lyric songs were recorded by Vuk Karadžić's associates Vuk Popović and Vuk Vrčević, who himself published part of the folk literature he collected. In Bosnia and Herzegovina Bogoljub Petranović published a large collection of lyric songs in 1867, which was followed by Ljubušak Mehmed-beg Kapetanović's collection of folk literature in 1888. Interest in collecting lyric song continued into the twentieth century and did not cease even after the Second World War. In some regions, however, such activity has run its course while in others it has only begun in a systematic fashion.

The fundamental traits of the approximately 100,000 Yugoslav lyric songs recorded to date are obvious. Most evident is their changing character, the result of their movement in time and space. Another is the presence of set stylistic devices and compositional patterns such as fixed beginnings and endings, descriptions, similes, metaphors, metonymy, stock epithets and numbers, traditional poetic diction, and other expressive features, all of which contribute to the collective character of oral lyric poetry. Yet another trait is a pagan sense of life, which is especially striking in ritual, ceremonial, and mythological songs. The variety of subject matter, another salient characteristic of this genre, makes it possible to classify it generally according to the following categories: ritual, ceremonial, religious, work, love, family, and patriotic songs.

Ritual Songs

Ritual songs accompanied seasonal changes and can be classified as winter, spring, and summer songs. Winter songs (*koledarske pesme*, New Year's songs) were sung toward the end of December and beginning of January in celebration of the sun's return from its southern solstitial point. The charm of these archaic songs lies in the fact that they reflect an ancient culture in the form of primordial concepts, beliefs, and feelings. The folk singer believed that nature was governed by good and evil spirits who could be appeased by sacrifice, ritual, and song. Deities were anthropomorphic, picturesque, and alive. The sun was extolled as a human with a mother who was concerned about his long journeys through the heavens. The new moon complained, for example, that witches were eating him. The ancient New Year rite with its songs was preserved in many Yugoslav regions in the nineteenth century. Songs varied according to area, but the wish for family prosperity was a feature common to all of them. In one example from a typical livestock-breeding area, the desire is

¹ For a detailed discussion of collecting and other aspects of Macedonian folk lyric, see the article by Tome Sazdov in the present volume.

expressed that there be an increase in animals (Karadžić 1881: No. 189):

Krave ti se istelile,
sve volove vitoroge;
kobile se izdrebile,
sve konjice putonoge;
ovce ti se izjagnjile,
sve ovčice svilorune.

[May your cows have calves,
all of them oxen with twisted horns;
may the mares have foals,
all of them ponies with white socks;
may your sheep have lambs,
all of them lambs with silky fleece.]

The New Year was often conceived of as the arrival of the new, young sun, which in fact represented the pagan light deity, portrayed in these songs as a male infant on horseback showering gold on houses. Some songs of this type underwent ecclesiastical influence, but the pagan elements are harmoniously blended with Christian ones as, for example, in “*Jordan teče*” [“The Jordan Is Flowing”] (Nedić 1969:No. 2), in which there is a boat floating in a river and carrying the mother of God and her divine child. Older elements can be discerned further on in the song as the old boat and good fortune are depicted: “Od milosti, od radosti, / šajka mu se poljuljuje, / zlatno veslo odsjajuje” [“From good will, from joy, / the boat rocks gently for him, / its golden oar is gleaming”]. This song from eastern Serbia is reminiscent of verses from the poetry of the Russian Sergej Esenin (Sergey Jesenin), who was perhaps inspired by the Russian counterparts of this type, or else the correspondence is due to chance.

Christmas songs are in actuality Christianized ancient New Year’s songs. In many of them we find the early refrain *koledo*, which clearly points to their origin. The basic characteristics of New Year’s songs are also present in them: rejoicing over the sun’s rebirth and the desire for prosperity in the coming year. We see in them also the imagery of ancient song, most often the golden door, an early symbol of Slavic New Year poetry: “Božić, Božić bata, / nosi kitu zlata, / da pozlati vrata . . .” [“Christmas, Father Christmas, / bears a twig of gold, / so he can gild the door . . .”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 194). Christmas songs are enriched by elements from other genres.

Epiphany songs (*bogojavljenjske* or *vodičarske pesme*) had lost their ancient symbolism by the time they were recorded. In the Christianized versions of these songs, preserved mainly in Macedonia and Kosovo, there is a belief that on the eve of Epiphany the heavens open and wishes are granted. John’s Day songs (*jovanjske pesme*) are linked with the feast of St. John the Baptist in January and their motifs deal generally with familial

relations. Wolf songs (*vučarske pesme*) were not sung on a specific day, but rather during the winter season when men went from house to house with a stuffed wolfskin and sang songs to assure that in that year the wolf “ne dođe s planine” [“would not come from the mountain”] and “da ne kolje ovčice” [“that he would not kill the lambs”] (Bovan 1980:No. 26). Winter ritual songs do not have a wealth of motifs nor have all subtypes been preserved to the same extent; New Year’s and Christmas songs are the most numerous. The fundamental trait of winter songs is the wish for prosperity in the coming year, a feature that shows clearly that they are based on belief in the magical power of words and ritual actions.

Spring songs, which have been recorded more extensively and are richer in motifs and expression than winter songs, celebrate the new sun’s beneficial effect on nature. Songs of early rising (*ranilačke pesme*) praise the awakening of nature. One of the finest, from Vuk’s collection, sings of the little deer that daybreak finds at the water’s edge: “rogom vodu mućaše, / a očima bistraše” [“with his antlers he muddied the waters, / and with his eyes he made them clear”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 199). Jeremiah songs (*jeremije*), sung on the feast of St. Jeremiah, appeared in a ritual context for driving away snakes. Their attributes were derived from an ancient pagan deity, a protector of snakes, and transferred to the Christian St. Jeremiah, who, according to Biblical legend, was a tamer of snakes. Young men performed the ritual and maidens sang the songs. A single motif—that the serpents should disappear into the sea—was repeated from song to song. In early spring, plowmen’s songs (*ratarske pesme*), or Mark’s Day songs (*markovdanske pesme*), were sung on the feast of St. Mark the Apostle for the protection of plowmen. When the ritual was lost, the songs became associated with the folk hero Marko Kraljević mostly as love songs, and it is difficult to recognize them as ritual songs.

Lazar Day songs (*lazaričke pesme*) have survived the longest in the eastern Yugoslav regions of Kosovo, Metohija, and Macedonia. Even today they are sung on Lazar’s Saturday (Willow Day) in the Mount Sar region of Macedonia. They have retained a pagan feeling for life, in addition to expressing good wishes to particular members of the family. A song recorded in the Vranje region deserves to be cited in full: “Igliče venče nad vodu cveta; / nad vodu cveta, nad vodu vene; / nad vodu vene, nad vodu spada” [“The little primrose wreath blooms over the water; / it blooms over the water, withers over the water; / it withers over the water, falls over the water”] (Nedić 1969:No. 19). Another, from the area of Prizren, is as follows (Bovan 1980:No. 40):

Grkalo [j]e grliče,
u svilene pelene,
u šarene povoje,
u strebrne kolepke.

[The little turtledove was cooing,
in silken swaddling bands,
in motley swaddling clothes,
in silver cradles.]

On the Sunday after Lazar's Saturday, on Palm Sunday, maidens led a round dance and sang Palm Sunday songs (*pesme na Cveti*). One such song from Kosovo is the following (Bovan 1980:No. 79):

Bela vila grad gradila,
grad gradila sa tri vrata:
prva vrata od dukata,
druga vrata od pozlata,
treća vrata od bisera.

[The white fairy was building a town,
was building a town with three gates:
the first gate was made of ducats,
the second gate was made of gold,
the third gate was made of pearl.]

Easter songs (*uskršnje*, or *veligdanske pesme*), rich in love and family motifs, were best preserved in the south of Yugoslavia. One song from Kosovo cannot be omitted (Bovan 1980:No. 82):

Jelena, Solun devojko,
Ne diži glavu visoko,
dosta si sama visoka:
slika ti Solun dovaća,
i solunačke ofčare!

[Jelena (Helen), Salonika maiden,
Don't hold your head high,
you're tall enough as it is:
your image reaches out to all of Salonika,
and to all Salonika shepherds!]

George's Day songs (*đurđevačke pesme*) are associated with the ancient ritual dedicated to the pagan protector of vegetation, animals, and water who has been Christianized by linking the the celebration to St. George. These songs express the desire that the power of nature that has been renewed should be transferred to humans through vegetation and water. Their basic characteristic is a powerfully expressed sense of total identification of man and nature. Magic plays an important part in them, as, for example, in this song from Kosovo (Bovan 1980:No. 109):

Đurđev danče, opet nam dođi,
ali mene ovako ne nađi,
već udatu ili isprošenu,

ili majci pod zemljicom crnom!

[Dear George's Day, come to us again,
but don't find me like this,
but rather either married or spoken for,
or else beneath dear black mother earth!]

Ascension songs (*spasovske pesme*) disappeared quite early. Vuk Vrčević recorded the surviving remnants of this tradition in Budva and sent them to Vuk Karadžić, who included them in the already-completed text of his first volume of folk songs on the basis of their aesthetic quality and antique character. Two of them recall the ancient myth of the abduction of Persephone, while the third is poetically the most refined: a maiden on an island notices something moving along the shore and does not know whether it is a falcon or a young man. If she knew it were a young man, she would run barefoot to him. The feeling in this song is situated somewhere between dream and reality.

Queens' songs (*kraljičke pesme*) were sung seven weeks after Easter on Pentecost. They have survived best in the Krajina, the former military march between Austria and Ottoman Turkey. Their refrain *ljeljo, le-jo, lejlo* points to the great antiquity of these songs, but its meaning is unclear. Their ancient character is also attested by scenes of *vilas*, or fairies, in a round dance (Karadžić 1881:No. 183), about a land with two suns (Karadžić 1881:No. 176), and scenes which appear to have been taken from the magic tale (Karadžić 1881:No. 167): the threshing floor is woven with gold, a heap of pearls has been scattered over it, and a flock of doves has alighted on the heap. The Middle Ages has also left its mark on these songs (Karadžić 1881:No. 168): "u tri nova grada, / tri sindžira roblja" ["in three new towns, / three chains of slaves"]. Some queens' songs developed a number of love motifs which resulted in brief graphic descriptions, sometimes humorous in nature.

Summer songs are few in number and subtype. The best preserved among summer calendar songs are those of John's Day (*ivanjske pesme*), sung near bonfires at the time of the summer solstice on the eve of the feast of St. John (June 24). Clearly erotic in content and therefore banned by the Church, they were first published in the Kajkavian dialect toward the middle of the eighteenth century. In addition to rain-making songs (*dodolske pesme*), others unconnected with particular calendar festivals are crossbearer songs (*krstonoške pesme*), which are nothing more than Christianized rain-making songs. Both groups were sung when crops were threatened by drought. The ritual consisted in the pouring of water on the rain-making girls (*dodole*, and variant forms). Maidens or little girls dressed in leaves and flowers sang songs in which they implored "da zarosi sitna rosa" ["that tiny dew would moisten the land"] and that beneficial rain would fall. The same motif is dominant in all such songs: clouds

competing with the procession of *dodole*, accompanied by the refrain *oj dodo, oj dodole*. The monotony of these songs is broken in a song about the hero who “nosi sablju u zubima, / nosi kišu u očima” [“carries a sword between his teeth, / carries the rain in his eyes”] (Nedić 1969:No. 34). Crossbearer songs took their verses from rain-making songs but added the Christian refrain “Gospodi pomiluj” [“Lord have mercy”].

In ritual lyric songs we find ancient beliefs and the magic power of the word. The poetic utterance is merged with ritual action, music, and dance, with primeval syncretism having survived longer in them than in any other group of songs. In New Year’s songs the wish for prosperity in the coming year is expressed, while in spring songs we find cheerfulness and joy because of the wealth of nature and the beauty of life. These songs display the greatest variety, a veritable treasure house of motifs, and a world of beautiful imagery.

Ceremonial Songs

Ceremonial songs were associated with the most significant events in a person’s life. The best preserved are wedding songs, toasts, laments, and lying-in songs. In his dictionary under the entry *Babine*, Vuk described an early custom that lasted for a week when during the night neighbors and members of the household “čuvaju babine” [“observe the custom of lying-in”] and sing songs for the occasion (Karadžić 1818:col. 15): “Pored nje je bešičica, drva šimšira, / u bešici muško čedo, zlatna jabuka” [“Next to her is a little cradle, of boxwood, / in the cradle a male infant, a golden apple”] (Karadžić 1898:No. 272), or “Trepetala trepetljika, puna bisera, / pod njom sjedi snaha naša, sina rodila” [“The aspen quivered, laden with pearls, / beneath it sits our sister-in-law, she has borne a son”] (Karadžić 1898:No. 273).

Wedding songs were sung only in the context of the wedding ceremony, which survived the longest in patriarchal milieus. Singing accompanied all the ceremonial actions of this event from the moment that parents decided to marry off their son and during the wedding until the young bride was visited for the first time. There is a difference in emotional tone between songs sung at the bride’s home and those sung at the groom’s. The former are melancholy, some of them even laments, whereas the latter are merry and replete with bright imagery and *joie de vivre*. Most wedding songs can be characterized by smoothness of expression and an indirect representation of feelings. Also striking are their fixed poetic diction, polished language, powerful imagery, and harmonious blending of music and verse. Thematic diversity and wealth of poetic devices make this one of the finest genres in the oral lyric tradition.

The bright colors of the imagery are often highlighted by epithets, similes, metaphors, symbols, and even hyperbole at times. Poetic details are taken to some extent from the world of mythology, but most often from animal and plant life. Images of the unreal are borrowed from mythological and ritual songs, and abound in elements taken from the various stages in man's development. The basic characteristic of these songs at the courtship stage is the competition between two choirs, one that attacks in the name of the groom and the other that defends itself on the bride's behalf. There is defiance throughout until the conciliating verse "Dever će doći, venac doneti" ["The best man will come, he will bring the wreath"]. There are songs urging the maiden to run off if the young man is not her match, and the youth not to look at her clothing and adornments but rather her figure and face, with which he will spend a lifetime. The songs sung between the engagement and the actual wedding ceremonies reflect the anxiety of the committed maiden as she anticipates her new life: she asks a bird whether her future in-laws are happy about her arrival in her new home (Karadžić 1881:No. 11). On that occasion the girl would prepare wedding gifts; the corresponding songs depict her feelings vividly, from her secret sighing—usually symbolized in the image of a melancholy flower—to her loud wailing, all of which is most typical of songs from Kosovo. Such reactions are understandable since the girl often did not see her intended until just before the wedding.

The songs of the actual wedding day follow the couple from the time of their initial preparations until their departure to the marriage bed, and songs to wedding guests are sung to the *kum* [marriage witness], *stari svat* [chief wedding guest or guest of honor], *barjaktar* [standard-bearer], and *vojvoda* [leader, in charge of duties at the wedding]. These exhilarating songs seem to have just been taken from the lips of the wedding choirs, yet they are, in fact, scenes from ancient times and very close in style to mythological songs. All humor vanishes from them as soon as they focus on the bride's separation from her parents' home. Her brothers implore the sun in these words: "Lakše, polakše, sunašce jarko, / dok nam se seja s rododrom izljubi, / s rododrom izljubi, s majkom podeli!" ["More slowly, more slowly, dear bright sun, / until our dear sister and family have kissed each other, / have kissed each other, and she has parted from her mother!"] (Nedić 1969:No. 58). When they deliver their sister to the groom, they say to him (Karadžić 1881:No. 55):

Mlad mladoženja, ružo rumena,
predadosmo ti struk ruzmarina!
Ako uvene struk ruzmarina,
tvoja sramota naša grehota;
često zalivaj struk ruzmarina,
da ne uvene struk ruzmarina.

[Young groom, ruddy rose,
 we handed over to you a stalk of rosemary!
 If the stalk of rosemary withers,
 your disgrace will be our shame;
 water the stalk of rosemary often,
 so the stalk of rosemary does not wither.]

After these sad lines, songs are sung about the groom (Bovan 1980:No. 189):

Ajd' poodi, kume i starejko,
 moli vi se mladi mladoženja:
 konja jaše, konj mu poigrava,
 sablju veše, sablja mu se smeje,
 sama mu se uzda zauzdava,
 puca kopča, puca mu grooču.

[Let's go, marriage witness and chief wedding guest,
 the young groom entertains you:
 he rides his horse, his horse is frisky,
 he girds on his sword, his sword is laughing,
 his horse is bridled on its own,
 his buckle is snapping, his buttons are bursting with laughter.]

In this song the groom's internal state is deftly dramatized. There is an entire series of songs for the wedding guests' journey from the bride's home to the groom's. In one such song a three-year snowfall glistens and in the midst of it the pagan iris blooms: "svi svatovi peruniku beru, / ne bere je Pavle mladoženja, / već on igra konja do neveste" ["all the wedding guests are picking irises, / Pavle [Paul] the groom does not pick any, / but races his horse toward his bride"] (Bovan 1980: No. 256). These songs provide the most beautiful descriptions of the bride. She is portrayed as a "žuta dunja među listovima" ["yellow quince among the leaves"], but also as a golden-winged female falcon: "Ide soko vodi sokolicu, / blago majci, zlatna su joj krila" ["The falcon goes and leads away the female falcon, / happy her mother, her wings are golden"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 79). At the groom's home songs are sung about the *kum*, *stari svat*, *vojvoda*, and groom, but the bride continues to be the center of interest. The songs deal very discreetly with the morning following the wedding night. As in love songs, so too in wedding songs similes and metaphors are chosen with care.

Wedding and love songs in the Štokavian dialect are the most beautiful in the Serbo-Croatian-language oral lyric tradition. There are also a good number of wedding songs in the Čakavian and Kajkavian dialects. The Macedonian wedding song recalls a former period in which the bride was bought; there are thus dark forebodings in such songs, with the bride viewing her new home as a formidable prison and her ring as fetters; there are likewise songs that depict marriage as the uprooting of a

cherry tree and the destiny of the bride as drowning in the sea. Slovenes also had a highly developed tradition of lyric wedding song, but the ceremonies were to a greater extent of the Central European type, and marriage was based on freedom of choice in the selection of partners. Wedding songs of the Slovenes are joyful and at times even humorous. Most of them are in dialogue form.

Toasts were performed at weddings, *Slavas* (Serbian family feasts honoring family patron saints), and other solemn occasions. The first recordings of such texts from Hvar, Korčula, and the Gulf of Kotor region preserve early pictures of the life of the nobility, as, for example, in the following sixteenth-century text (Pantić 1964:41):

Naš gospodin poljem jizdi,
 Jizda da mu je.
 Na glavi mu sfilan klobuk,
 Sinca da mu je.
 U ruci mu zlatne knjige,
 Družba da mu je,
 Prid njim sluga pisan poje,
 Na čast da mu je.

[Our master rides along the field,
 Well may he ride.
 Upon his head a silken hat,
 To give him shade.
 In his hand golden books,
 To keep him company,
 Before him a servant sings a song,
 To honor him.]

In one poem from Valtazar Bogišić's manuscripts, we find a playing with adjectives:

Ivan mi je malahan,
 konju mi je dragahan,
 zato mu je dragahan,
 er je konju lagahan.

[Ivan (John) is small,
 he is dear to his horse,
 the reason he is dear to him,
 is that he is light on his horse.]

A large number of cheerful and witty wedding toasts have been collected in Croatia and Slovenia. Mostly toasts for the Slava have been recorded among the Serbs. Originally the Slava was intended for the protector of the land on which one lived, with Christian details interspersed later in the old poems. Most toasts were made for the head of the household (Bovan

1980:No. 303):

U čije se zdravlje vino pije
sve mu zdravo i veselo bilo,
rodilo mu vino i pšenica,
i po kući sve muška dečica.

[To him to whose health the wine is drunk
all health and joy,
may there be wine and wheat aplenty,
and throughout the house all little male children.]

In the region of Croatian Zagorje, favorite drinking songs of urban or aristocratic origin are not easily distinguished from toasts.

The lament is one of the oldest lyric folk genres. The description of Queen Jakvinta's lament in the *Letopis popa Dukljanina*, mentioned above, shows that traditional improvisation was a basic characteristic of this form. Besides laments sung by women, there are also some performed by men, preserved only in Montenegro. We also find laments in the oral epic songs *Ženidba Milića barjaktara* [*The Marriage of Milić the Standard-Bearer*] and *Smrt vojvode Kajice* [*The Death of Duke Kajica*] (Karadžić 1894:No. 78; 1895:No. 81, respectively). Most often a mother laments the death of a son. Less frequent are a mother's lament for a daughter, a sister's lament for a brother, and a sister-in-law's lament for a brother-in-law or father-in-law, while a wife's lament for a husband is quite rare. Besides being improvised, the lament can be characterized by its indirect quality, strong emotion, imagery, and sonority. Its classic verse line is the octosyllable with a four-syllable refrain.² Laments for a young man or maiden are tender and evoke especially strong emotions. Vuk Karadžić recorded and published some of these, while others were collected after the Balkan Wars and the two World Wars. There are laments composed in imitation of the folk form by such writers as Petar II Petrović Njegoš in his *Gorski vijenac* [*The Mountain Wreath*] and Mihailo Lalić in his short stories. *Slova*, strophic compositions resembling necrologies composed by literate persons, are from Slovenia.

Religious Songs

Religious songs are either ancient, containing pagan beliefs, or fairly recent, with Christian beliefs, although the latter also include those based on superstition and blindmen's songs, which arose in connection with places of worship. Mythological songs are oldest, preserving pagan elements. In

² For a different view, see Petrović 1985.

them the world is governed by sun, moon, stars, thunder and lightning, fairies (vilas) and dragons, witches, and souls of ancestors. Most often they sing of fairies. There are some songs in which the fairy is man's enemy: "Grad gradio mlad Ivane, / što je za dan sagradio, / za noć vile oborile . . ." ["Young Ivan (John) was building a town, / what he built during the day, / the fairies toppled during the night . . ."] (*HNP* 1909:No. 29). In others, however, she helps man by preparing the maiden's gifts (*HNP* 1909:No. 34) or is instrumental in making a maiden beautiful (Vuk 1881: No. 224). There are still others about fairies and maidens who rival one another in work or in beauty, and in which the girl is the victor (*HNP* 1909:No. 33). There are few recorded songs about dragons, most of them telling of a maiden's abduction by a dragon. Also few in number are those about the sun and the moon, the texts of which are unclear. There are some about the marriage of the moon and lightning that seem to have borrowed from wedding songs. Heavenly bodies in such songs appear as members of large families: the morning star is the moon's sister, and the sun too has a sister, about whom there are a number of songs. Songs based on superstition are mostly moral-didactic in character, reflecting the morality of patriarchal man. The transmigration of souls appears in others (*HNP* 1909:No. 62): the maiden Janja turns into a mountain ash; a shepherd cuts off one of its branches and makes a flute, but when he plays it, Janja's song is heard instead of music from the flute. There are other examples about a maiden's transformation into an apple, a fairy, or the like, and also about her enchanting eyes and how she charms a dragon with valerian.

Christian songs originated under the influence of sermons, the Bible, frescoes, and icons, but a large part in their formation was played by ecclesiastics, monastic students, and Church services. Songs composed by priests were frequently published, but were not accepted by the folk and so did not enter the folk tradition. The folk adapted Christian motifs to its views in the spirit of traditional oral lyric. In the song "*Molitva k Bogorodici*" ["Prayer to the Mother of God"] (Karadžić 1898: No. 246), there are numerous folklore elements: angels take to heaven flowers that have sprung up from a drop of the crucified Christ's blood. Songs about Christ's birth and baptism are Christian only in their basic motifs. In "*Opet san prečiste Gospođe*" ["Another Song about the Dream of the Virgin Most Chaste"], we are told how Christ was born on Mount Romanija, how Simeon the shepherd wrapped him in beech leaves, and that when it dawned, shining swaddling clothes appeared on the infant's body (Karadžić 1898:No. 227). In a Macedonian song Christians get St. Nicholas drunk (Nedić 1969:No. 129), while in another there is greater blending of Christian and pagan beliefs (Nedić 1969:No. 126). Moral-didactic songs are arrayed in Christian garb because in the patriarchal village community the source of moral concepts and principles was Christian religion. The

fundamental teaching about renunciation of this world's satisfactions in favor of the blessings of the other world is expressed in the song "*Šta da čini, ko misli božij biti*" ["What He Who Wishes To Be Godlike Must Do"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 213): "U dobru se ne ponosi, / a u zlu se ne poništi, / na tuđe se ne lakomi" ["Take no pride in your good deeds, / and do not destroy yourself in evil deeds, / do not covet what is others'"], for when death finds a person, he cannot take anything with him "već skrštene bele ruke / i pravedna svoja dela" ["except folded white hands / and his righteous deeds"]. There are also songs about the expiation of sinners in hell (Karadžić 1898:No. 222; 1881:No. 207). Blind men's songs were not often recorded and are not aesthetically pleasing in their entirety, but some passages are poetically successful. The set verses of these songs have endowed them with a characteristic structure. Generally there are two parts, one in which alms are requested and another in which thanks are rendered for the gift. The first section is usually touching, particularly when the blind man describes his fate. Gifted singers of such songs were inspired to tell of their dark days without sun, their nights without moonlight, and their wanderings from pillar to post.

Work Songs

Work songs were generally sung in conjunction with particular tasks. Some, however, extol work in general and man's relationship to it. At one time they must have been richer in their motifs and many have been forgotten. Songs about making olive oil, mentioned by Šižgorić in the fifteenth century, have disappeared. Others also have vanished as certain tasks became outmoded, but new songs were created as other types of work arose. Work songs in general are not so old as was once believed. Vuk Karadžić was the first to make a collection of them. The most commonly recorded type of harvest songs were those in which young men and maidens competed in reaping and in which the girls as a rule triumphed. The song "*Moba*" ["Farming Work Group"], from Vuk's collection, is especially interesting (Karadžić 1881:No. 247):

Na kraj, na kraj, moja silna mobo,
na kraju je voda i devojka,
voda ladna a devojka mlada,
vodu pijte, devojku ljubite.

[Get to the end, the end, my strong work group,
at the end there are water and a maiden,
cool water and a young maiden,
drink the water, kiss the maiden.]

Harvest songs are light-hearted, and there are also humorous ones in which lazy workers are ridiculed: “Naval’ mobo, ja i moja žena, / žena spava a ja vodu nosim” [“Get to it, work group, like me and my wife, / my wife sleeps while I carry water”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 248). Songs with similar motifs have been recorded in the Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects, and in Slovenian and Macedonian as well.

These songs provide a key to the way work was understood. In “*Kad žanju Turcima u nedelju*” [“When They Harvest for the Turks on Sunday”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 246), the saints want to punish the Christians for working the spahi’s field on a Sunday, but the Virgin takes their side, saying: “jer vlasima Turci ne veruju, / a pšenica težatka ne čeka” [“Turks do not share Christian beliefs, / and wheat cannot wait for a working day”]. Christians often worked without pay on the land of agas and begs. There are songs in which maidens prefer being ill to working in the beg’s field, where they do not obtain even a crust of bread or drop of water. Macedonian songs are quite explicit in this regard.

Love Songs

Love songs are a very old genre. As early as the tenth century they are referred to as the devil’s songs by Kozma the priest, and as wild songs by Teodosije the monk in the thirteenth century. During the course of several centuries, tens of thousands of lyric love songs were recorded in Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian. Many of them have retained ancient elements from patriarchal communities. An archaic flavor is evident in the songs “*Ne otimlji, već me mami*” [“Do Not Carry Me Off, but Entice Me Instead”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 505) and in “*Žalost za dragim*” [“Longing for Her Beloved”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 556). Images of feudal times also appear: for example, castle gates, falcons flying above the town, and the arrow as the hero’s weapon. Dreams are also frequent in such songs, and their charm lies in their interpretation (Karadžić 1881:Nos. 639, 640). However, most elements in their world are from life in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries. At the head of this genre, and not without good reason, Vuk published “*Riba i djevojka*” [“The Fish and the Maiden”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 285), which conveys the general notion that feelings of love should not be disclosed but cannot be concealed either: the fish is the symbol of secrecy (“*ćuti kao riba*” [“be as silent as a fish”]), but the fish here does indeed speak, for the truth is profound and must be told.³

In the songs of this patriarchal setting, the ideal qualities of the

³ For another interpretation of this song, see Miletich 1985:154, 159-60.

young man are health and strength; the maiden implores God to give her, for example, a handsome hero with a dark moustache and a broad neck. Among the ideal characteristics of the maiden in this society are meekness and shyness. The song “*Srpska djevojka*” [“The Serbian Maiden”] portrays her well (Karadžić 1881: No. 599): “Nit sam luda, nit odviše mudra, / nit sam vila da zbijam oblake, / već devojka da gledam preda se” [“Neither am I foolish, nor overly wise, / nor am I a fairy who can drive clouds together, / but rather a maiden with eyes lowered”]. The maiden’s naiveté was ardently sought after as well (Karadžić 1881:Nos. 430, 457). In a Moslem urban milieu a maiden is depicted as a harem beauty. In “*Ljuba Alagina*” [“Alaga’s Wife”] Omer’s treasure is praised (Karadžić 1881:No. 384):

Kojeno je u kavezu raslo;
nit je vidlo sunca i meseca,
niti znade na čem žito rodi,
na čem žito, na čem rujno vino.

[Which grew in a cage;
neither did it see sun or moon,
nor does it know where wheat comes from,
where wheat comes from, where red wine comes from.]

In such songs the ideal lover is portrayed in contrasting images (Karadžić 1881: No. 392):

Star je vojno trula javorina,
vjetar duva, javorinu ljulja,
kiša ide, javorina trune;
mlad je vojno ruža napupila:
vjetar duva, ruža se razvija,
a od kiše biva veselija,
sunce sija, ona rumenija.

[An old husband is a rotten big maple,
the wind blows, it rocks the maple,
the rain falls, the maple crumbles;
a young husband is a rose in bloom:
the wind blows, the rose opens up,
and because of the rain it grows merrier,
the sun shines, it grows redder.]

The contrast is even sharper in “*Dragi i nedragi*” [“The Lover and the Unwanted Lover”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 310), in which the maiden entreats her mother:

Ne daj mene, majko, za nedraga;
volim s dragim po gori hoditi,

glog zobati, s lista vodu piti,
 studen kamen pod glavu metati,
 neg s nedragim po dvoru šetati,
 šećer jesti, u svili spavati.

[Do not give me to a man I don't love, mother;
 I prefer to walk through the woods with my lover,
 eat the hawthorn berry, drink water from a leaf,
 place a cold stone under my head,
 rather than stroll through a court with a man I don't love,
 eat sugar, sleep in silk.]

In Yugoslav love lyric, motifs are rich and varied, but feelings and moods are not complex; they are only somewhat more so in songs that originated in coastal towns and in Moslem urban milieus. The numerous love songs available can best be surveyed in an examination of love in its different stages.

In songs about lovers' meeting for the first time, the girl usually falls in love as soon as she sees the young man. Such encounters take place in a natural setting: at the waterside, in a pasture, a cultivated field, a meadow, a wood, and, in Moslem songs, in a narrow street. Love is normally declared indirectly: the young man places flowers on a sleeping maiden; the maiden makes a wreath and casts it into the water so that it is carried to her beloved; the youth throws an apple at the girl; or he breaks her jug at a spring; and so on. In the song "*Ne misli se ubiti, već ljubiti*" ["They Do Not Intend to Kill Each Other, but Love Each Other"] (Karadžić 1881: No. 487), the young man throws a hawthorn berry at the maiden and she throws a sloe at him.

Yearning for each other's presence after the first meeting takes a number of forms. The youth wishes to find out if his beloved is thinking of him (Karadžić 1881:No. 600). The maiden sits at the window for days on end, looks at the blue sea, and waits for her lover (Karadžić 1881:No. 352), while in another song she asks the maple to lower its branches and lift her up that she might see her beloved in the distance (Karadžić 1881: No. 353). In Moslem songs love's yearning is stated with greater candor. In "*Molitva djevojčina*" ["The Maiden's Prayer"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 354), she asks God to give her a crystal needle to sew a quilt of blossoms so she can cover herself and her young man in order to see how he sleeps. Bosnian *sevdalinke* are more complex in the feelings they depict. In some love songs longing becomes hopeless sorrow.

An entire cycle of songs deals with lover's meetings. In "*Uslišena molitva*" ["An Answer to Prayer"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 455), the lovers meet under a pine tree. When the maiden arrives at the trysting place before her lover and falls asleep, he is reluctant to awaken her and so implores God to send a breeze from the sea that will cause a small needle to fall from the pine onto his beloved's face and awaken her. Such

rendezvous can be held under a tree, in a garden, at a window, and in the house.

Obstacles to the lovers' happiness are the subject of most songs. They arise from those who are closest to the couple. In "*Dragojlo i Smiljana*" ["Dragojlo and Smiljana"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 512), when Smiljana's brothers learn of her love for Dragojlo, they build a tower and immure her. When the youth's mother proves the source of opposition to the union, the unhappy maiden curses the woman whom fate has decreed never to be her mother-in-law. "*Nesretna djevojka*" ["The Unhappy Maiden"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 609) is typical of this type of song. It deals with a maiden who returns her ring to her beloved because her family does not like him, but she begs him not to make this known:

Jer sam ja sirota nesretna devojka,
ja bosiljak sejem, meni pelen niče,
oj pelen, pelenče, moje gorko cveće!
Tobom će se moji svati nakititi,
kad me stanu tužnu do groba nositi.

[For I am an unfortunate unhappy maiden,
I sow sweet basil and wormwood springs up,
O wormwood, little wormwood, my bitter flower!
My wedding guests shall adorn themselves with you,
when they carry my wretched body to the grave.]

These songs also contain maidens' curses, which can be serious (Karadžić 1881: No. 534) or humorous (Karadžić 1881:No. 529).

The parting of lovers, usually preceded by dark forebodings, is the subject of a good number of songs. In "*Žalosni rastanak*" ["The Sad Parting"] (Karadžić 1881: No. 554), a young couple that had loved each other since childhood is prevented from marrying by a "kurva kučka Budimka" ["whorish bitch of a Buda woman"]. In another song, the maiden curses her sweetheart who was unfaithful to her and married another: "Nek se ženi, želila ga majka, / njega majka, a on devojaka!" ["Let him marry, may he never be seen by his mother again, / by his mother, and may maidens never be seen by him again!"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 356).

Some love songs are also humorous. The song "*Ajkuna i tambura*" ["Ajkuna and the Tamboura"] (Karadžić 1898:No. 381) is typical in its patriarchal mockery of the unusual behavior of a maiden:

Ajkuna se podilberila,
iz sanduka ruho prodavala,
pobačala vezak i kuđelju,
a uzela čibuk i tamburu,
čibuk pije, uz tamburu bije.

[Ajkuna became a handsome young man,

she sold clothing from a chest,
 she threw away her embroidery and hemp,
 and took a long-stemmed pipe and tamboura,
 she smokes the pipe, plucks the tamboura.]

A number of short love songs, most of which are from the region of Vojvodina, merit special treatment here. These *bećarci* were recorded as early as the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They are essentially brief, witty poetic observations, predictions of definite situations, defiant thoughts, or impertinent desires. The *bećarac* compresses a short scene into two uniform verses. These songs are filled with a zestful optimism and frivolity. The thoughts and desires expressed in them are direct, displaying a new concept of life and its joys, corporeal beauty, and pleasures. In comparison with the love songs of other areas, *bećarci* express a young girl's independence from her parents as, for example, in the following song: "Mene mati i psuje i tuče, / Opet idem kud me srce vuče" ["My mother both scolds me and beats me, / I go again whither my heart draws me"] (Leskovac 1958:No. 186). Class differences are sometimes emphasized also: "Da je meni što mi srce želi: / Lepu diku i kuću veliku" ["May I have what my heart desires: / Beautiful pride and a big house"] (Leskovac 1958:No. 158). Others are quite frivolous, such as: "Garavušo, moja namigušo, / Namigušo, i srce i dušo!" ["O brunette, my coquette / O coquette, my darling (heart) and dear (soul)!"] (Leskovac 1958:No. 344); or "Oči moje k'o dve trnjnice, — / Varam lolu već dve godinice" ["My eyes are like two sloes — / I have been deceiving my ladies' man for two years"] (Leskovac 1958:No. 340); and "Drugarice, kako se gledamo / Kad na čošku jednoga čekamo?" ["My female friends, how do we watch one another / When we're waiting for some guy at the corner?"] (Leskovac 1958:No. 8). Most of the foregoing examples are woman's-voice lyrics, and are sung by girls. There are explicit men's *bećarci* such as the following: "Stao lola na četiri šora, / Lupa glavu na koju će stranu" ["The ladies' man stood at the crossroads, / He racked his brains about which way to go"] (Leskovac 1958:No. 7).

If it were necessary to single out a few of the very best love lyrics, the following would be my choices. The first is "*Radost u opominjanju*" ["The Joy of Remembering"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 564), which Vuk was very fond of and which he published time and again. It is just possible that one reason for his liking this particular song was that it reminded him of his first love. "*Čija je ono djevojka?*" ["Who Is That Maiden?"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 496) is noteworthy because of its near-iambic rhythm and suggestion of alliteration and assonance. "*Ljubavni rastanak*" ["Love's Farewell"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 553) contains the hyperbole "Što je nebo da je list hartije?" ["What are the heavens but a sheet of paper?"], which is well known in Yugoslav folk lyric and other national traditions (Vidaković-

Petrov 1985). In “*Plač za budimskom lađom*” [“Lament for the Boat of Buda”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 561), the initial verse points to the subject of this song: “Otkide se lađa od Budima grada” [“The boat tears itself away from Buda town”]. Two Bosnian-Herzegovinian songs contain great pathos and *sevdah* [lovesickness]. In one song (*HNP* 1929:No. 76), “Prvi sevdah rana pod srdašćem” [“The first sickness of love is a wound below the heart”], the second is a wound upon the heart, and the third is a wound within the heart itself; one could recover from the first two, but not from the third. In the other song (Nedić 1969:No. 219) the lyric voice plumbs the depths of the human soul, for a maiden announces that she will not marry the young man who has been courting her, but that if he should marry another, she will poison herself.

Yugoslav love lyrics were disseminated without respect for boundaries. The Bosnian *sevdalinka* was widely circulated, but always retained its original regional characteristics, among which is a marked seriousness. Simplicity and freedom of expression are the hallmarks of the Vojvodina *bećarac*. Delicacy of feeling with an admixture of sorrow is clearly present in Macedonian songs.

The oral love lyric of patriarchal communities fostered a close symbiosis of the lover and the natural environment. Psychological parallelism is the basis for comparing interior states with natural phenomena.⁴ The connection of man with nature is especially evident in the conversations between young people and nature viewed as an animate being. Characters addressing the sun, moon, and stars appear frequently.

Songs from the Bačka region are distinguished from the rest by their bold expression of love. Their poetic diction exhibits many Germanisms, there are new forms of comparison and epithets, the decasyllable is uniform, and rhyme is more frequent here than in other songs. The settings of Moslem *sevdalinke* are densely populated areas, with enclosed porches, shops, gardens, side doors, and narrow streets common in them. These songs abound in Turkisms and Arabisms and reveal a highly developed Oriental sense for colors and aromas. A characteristic feature of Kajkavian love lyric is a rather marked subjective quality, which brings it closer to learned lyric poetry. Also typical are greater freedom and directness in the expression of love’s feelings, and tender language replete with diminutives. Slovene love lyric is rather similar in its subjectivism and frequent diminutives, and is often strophic and usually rhymed. Primarily patriarchal in nature, Macedonian love lyric has a good number of archaic elements, and at times is marked by a pronounced sensuousness.

⁴ See the contribution by Hatidža Krnjević in this collection for detailed discussion of this aspect of folk lyric.

Family Songs

Family songs extol love between members of a more restricted group, principally in whose circle they are sung. They also deal with relationships between members who are not blood relatives. Lullabies are included in the category of family songs, since they too are sung in this narrower group and deal with the relationship of mother to child. Similarly, songs about soldiers and migrant workers are usually understood as part of this division.

Familial relationships in patriarchal village society were created over the course of centuries and did not change rapidly until the appearance of urban culture in that milieu. This development occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in those regions under the influence of more powerful Christian states, in the nineteenth century in Serbia after it won freedom from Turkish domination, and only between the two Wars in the other regions that were under Turkish sway. In areas where heroic epic song was not a particularly important genre, lyric poetry assumed the role of depicting relationships in public life. The center of such songs was close family life. Most numerous are those dealing with relationships in the narrower family context: mother and children, husband and wife, and sisters and brothers. The mother is at the heart of such songs, for she was the key member of the family. Her children turned to her in their need and she was mediatrix between them and their father. A daughter confided simply and directly first of all in her mother in all of love's tribulations and secret desires. In "*Majka i djevojka*" ["The Mother and the Maiden"] (Karadžić 1881:No. 576), as a young man makes his way through a village, a maiden asks her mother to invite him to be an overnight guest in their home, but the mother declines, saying that he will want to be served *rakia* (brandy) and supper, and sleep in a soft bed; but the girl promises to replace all that:

“Moje mu oči rakija,
moje mu lice pogača,
a bijelo lice zaslada,
rosna mu trava postelja,
vedro mu nebo pokrivač,
a moja ruka uzglavlje,
zovni ga, majko, na konak!
Zovni ga, majko, boga ti!”

["My eyes will be his rakia,
my cheek will be his round bread,
and my white face his sweetening,
the dewy grass will be his bed,
the clear sky will be his blanket,
and my arm his pillow,

invite him, mother, to be our guest overnight!
 Invite him, mother, for heaven's sake!"]

In "*Znaci dobrih djevojaka*" ["The Traits of Good Maidens"] (Karadžić 1881: No. 516), a mother advises her son what to look for in the girl he would like to marry: "Ne gledaj im skuta ni rukava, / već im gledaj hoda i pogleda: / kako l' hode, kako l' pogledaju" ["Don't look at their skirts or their sleeves, / but look at the way they walk and the way they cast a glance: / how they walk, how they cast a glance"]. Because they are overly concerned about marrying off their children to the wealthiest persons possible, mothers are often a hindrance to real love and spoil their children's chances for a happy marriage. The problem is most clearly seen in such ballads as *Smrt Omera i Merime* [*The Death of Omer and Merima*] (Karadžić 1881: Nos. 343-45). In many a song we find young wives sighing after their mothers and the happy life they led in their former homes (Karadžić 1881: No. 409):

Đevovanje, moje carovanje,
 Car ti bijah kad djevojka bijah:
 da li mi se natrag povratiti,
 umjela bih sada devovati.

[Maidenhood, my emperorship,
 I was Emperor when I was a maiden:
 if I could do it all over again,
 I would know how to be a maiden now.]

Love between brothers and sisters is lauded most tenderly. A brother is the dearest person in the world: when a maiden has no brother, she asks her mother to purchase one for her, and when sisters do not have a brother, they fashion one of silk, boxwood, and a precious stone, and feed him: "To nam jedi pa nam probesjedi" ["Eat this and begin to talk to us"] (Karadžić 1881: No. 307). Loss of a brother results in grief of the highest order. A young wife cuts off her hair to mourn her husband, disfigures her face when her brother-in-law dies, but pokes her eyes out as a sign of grief when she loses her brother. Hair grows back again, the face heals up, "Ali oči ne mogu izrasti, / niti srce za bratom rođenim!" ["But eyes cannot grow back again, / neither can a heart for a brother born!"] (Karadžić 1881: No. 304). Although most songs from a patriarchal environment portray a sister's love for her brother in the strongest terms, sometimes a young wife's instinct for founding her own family is even stronger. In such cases the betrothed or the husband takes precedence over a brother. In "*Brat i sestra*" ["The Brother and Sister"] (Karadžić 1881: No. 308), a married sister asks her brother to come and visit her, and he promises to do so when she gives birth to a son, to which she replies:

“Kad ja rodim muško čedo,
 čeda ću se nanjijati,
 jarka sunca nagledati,
 za te neću ni mariti!”

[“When I give birth to a male baby,
 I shall rock my baby to my heart’s content,
 look at the sun to my heart’s content,
 I shall not be concerned about you!”]

Similar is the song in which the wife’s relatives replace the sister as the object of a brother’s affection (Karadžić 1881:No. 299).

Songs about the relationships of sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law resemble those dealing with brothers and sisters. They show the greatest warmth of all in the entire Yugoslav folk lyric tradition. The dealings of sisters-in-law with mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law are completely different, however. The mother-in-law is almost always portrayed as the enemy of the young wife. In this regard “*Tuđa majka zla svekrva*” [“Someone Else’s Mother Makes a Bad Mother-in-law”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 420) is typical: the mother-in-law “[s] večer vodu sve proliva, / u komšiluk dovikuje, / da u dvoru vode nema” [“(s)pills out all the water in the evening, / she calls out to neighbors, / that there is no water in the courtyard”]. Songs about husbands and wives are the most humorous. They often speak of the drunken husband and the wife who is lazy or gluttonous. Songs about ideal relationships between husband and wife are rarer. One example is “*Jovan bećar i sirota djevojka*” [“Jovan (John) the Bachelor and the Orphan Maiden”] (Karadžić 1898:No. 345), in which Jovan cheers up the maiden and marries her: “Ljubiše se ne omraziše se, / umriješe, ne prekoriše se” [“They loved each other and did not hate each other, / they died, they did not reproach each other”]. In “*Ljubav muža i žene*” [“Love between Husband and Wife”] (Karadžić 1898:No. 342), a happy couple is depicted, but everyone thinks the reason for this is an herb that the wife used to cast a spell on her husband, and so the other women search for the herb in order to have their husbands love them also, but the happy wife provides them with the ingredients for a successful marriage: “Jedno bilje, docno lijeganje, / drugo bilje, rano ustajanje, / treće bilje, neodgovaranje” [“The first herb, going to bed late, / the second herb, getting up early, / the third herb, not talking back”].

According to Vuk, lullabies are “[p]jesme koje se pjevaju djeci, kada se uspavljaju” [“(s)ongs that are sung to children when they are being lulled to sleep”] (Karadžić 1881:No. 182). A mother’s deepest love is expressed in them. Many involve nature’s collaboration, as this example shows (Đurić 1958:178):

Majka Jova u ruži rodila,

ružica ga na list dočekala,
 bela vila u svilu povila,
 a pčelica medom zadojila,
 lastavica krilom pokrivala,
 nek je rumen ko ruža rumena,
 nek je bijel ko bijela vila,
 nek je radin ko pčela malena,
 nek je hitar kao lastavica.

[The mother gave birth to Jovo (Johnny) in a rose,
 the little rose welcomed him on her leaf,
 a white fairy swaddled him in silk,
 a little bee gave him honey to drink,
 a swallow covered him with her wing,
 may he be pink like the pink rose,
 may he be white like the white fairy,
 may he be hardworking like the little bee,
 may he be swift like the swallow.]

Songs about soldiers describe the sense of absence of a husband, son, or brother. The return of loved ones from military service was highly uncertain in the past. In regions under Austrian and Hungarian control, farewells are most common and the songs are filled with sorrow. Other songs tell of the difficulties of the soldier's way of life; most of these are from the Croatian Zagorje region. The largest collection of these regional songs was published by Vinko Žganec (1950). In one such song a mother asks her son when he will be back from military service (No. 148), and he replies: "Mamica ljubljena, ja si dimo dojdem, / gda bu suhi javor zelen listek pušćal" ["Beloved little mother, I shall come home, / when the dry maple is green with leaves"]. An exceptionally fine song is from the Bunjevac region (Nedić 1969:No. 298), with its felicitous comparison of a soldier serving in a foreign army: first his body grows thin like a year-old poplar, then it withers and grows yellow like hay in the fall, until finally it cracks like soil thirsting for rain. Life was also hard in areas under Venetian rule. In one of the songs on this subject, we are told how the Venetians tricked a man into serving in a galley away from his own land (Čubelić 1952:No. 153), and so Prince Ivan from Omišalj grieves for his home:

"Aj, turne moj lipi,
 lipi ter prostrani,
 kako sam te lipo,
 lipo sagradio,
 a sada ne smijem,
 blizu tebe biti,
 komu te ostavljam?"

["O, my beautiful fortress,
 beautiful and spacious,

how beautifully,
 beautifully have I built you,
 but now I am not permitted
 to be near you,
 to whom am I abandoning you?"]

More recent soldiers' songs usually deal with recruits who ask their officers to allow them to go on leave because dear young wives have been left "unloved."

Migrant-workers' songs originated in areas that men left in order to look for work abroad. Most departed from Dalmatia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia in the nineteenth century. The most moving songs deal with the worker taking leave of his family, nostalgia for his homeland while abroad, and his return home. America frequently appears in these songs as the worker's new home, but he curses it because "[s]ve ostadoše mome neudate, / sve ostadoše ljube neljubljene" ["(a)ll the maidens remained unmarried, / all the wives remained unloved"]. These verses are repeated in many songs.

Patriotic Songs

The oldest patriotic songs tell of the heroes of Kosovo and of the many freedom fighters in the uprisings and wars of later centuries. Those of more recent times are linked with the First Serbian Revolt, the Balkan Wars, the two World Wars, and the postwar period of reconstruction. In the Second World War the patriotic song evolved rapidly, but, in addition to the traditional style and verse line, it absorbed a number of elements from workers' songs from the period between the two Wars and from revolutionary-international songs.

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Notes on the Poetics of Serbo-Croatian Folk Lyric

Hatidža Krnjević

Lyric folk songs in the territory of present-day Yugoslavia within its Serbo-Croatian language boundaries have a long history. As recorded texts they have existed for half a millennium, although historical data on singing and the playing of folk instruments go back much further. The phases of the historical continuity of the genre have been reconstructed according to sources known to us thus far by Vido Latković (1967:145-205), Maja Bošković-Stulli (1978:68-323), Vladan Nedić (1966), and others.¹ These studies also deal to some extent with the poetics of folk lyric. More comprehensive treatment of the subject, however, has been undertaken mostly by non-Yugoslav Slavists and folklorists, who are interested in the lyrical traditions of particular regions (Peukert 1961), or in cycles of songs within the context of Balkan folk poetry (Pollok 1964). But the texts, particularly of the more archaic songs, have not yet been assembled, systematized, and studied from the aspect of the poetics of lyric folk song. For example, there are no studies of the system of poetics of classical forms of ritual lyric (seasonal and family songs). Such research needs to be undertaken.

One of the most important theoretical issues is lyric composition, or the manner in which the lyric folk song is constructed. The basic and most frequent compositional models had been created centuries before Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864) began his work. However, his collections of lyric, published in 1814, 1815, 1824, and 1841—particularly the chronological divisions of material beginning with the earliest seasonal and family ritual songs right through to the love songs and others free from ritual dependence—offer the most comprehensive synthesis of stylistic wealth available in any anthology of folk lyric. On the basis of these sources, the present article will outline a number of characteristics that are crucial in the process of folk lyric stylization.

Indispensable to the study of the style and poetics of lyric folk song involving Slavic material is the comparative-historical work of A. N.

¹ For a more recent study of this aspect, with extensive bibliography, see Krnjević 1986.

Veselovskij (1940) on the primeval syncretism of artistic expression in general. For the study of folk lyric, of particular importance is his thesis on forms of “psychological,” “emotional” parallelism, a universal law on which numerous songs are based. Various types of poetic parallelism present either throughout the song or only in a part of it are genetically connected with an archaic animistic view of the world. Folk lyric has thus been impressed with “diffuse” mythical thought in the form of analogy and parallels, a process that does not separate man from his natural environment. Veselovskij reached his conclusions through a study of the genesis and the historical development of human society and consciousness—the heart of poetic language and imagery—from primeval syncretic artistic forms and collective performance to the gradual differentiation of genres, the separation of individuals from the group, and the individual performance. In that long process, each phase automatically inherits the patterns of the previous one and in this way a specific folklore amalgam is created. Components of the external context, which was responsible for determining the immediate life of the lyric folk song, have gradually been transformed into characteristics of the genre, that is, the structure, composition, and style of the songs.

Modern folklore research, especially among the Soviets, has elaborated on and developed Veselovskij’s views, but his fundamental contribution regarding psychological parallelism and its forms as the principles on which the world of lyric folk song is built has remained the basis of research. Thus V. I. Eremina (1978), one of the leading experts on the poetics of folk lyric, has followed in Veselovskij’s footsteps by starting with the genesis of lyric song, but has formulated the new thesis that repetition is the basis of lyric folk song composition. The traditional classification—monologue, dialogue, fusion of one or the other with narrative, and the like—has thus been assigned to a general category. Indeed, repetition is, as E. M. Meletinskij (1968) so convincingly argued in his analysis of the *Edda* and early epic forms, the oldest and most comprehensive law of the dynamics and aesthetics of oral forms. And psychological parallelism is, by its very nature, founded on the universal principle of repetition.

In the richly nuanced spectrum of Serbo-Croatian folk lyric, there are various compositional species: monologue, dialogue—most often in question-and-answer form—more complex modes of monologue within monologue, dialogue within monologue, narrative combined with dialogue or monologue, and lyrical narration without dialogue or monologue. The continuity of these forms, which are more or less developed and complete, and often intertwined, can be followed from the period of the earliest recorded songs, that is, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries up to the present.

Internal forms operative in those compositional schemes are, as a rule, based on one of the following types of psychological, poetic parallelism: triple repetition of parallel series of speech or action, a chain sequence of scenes or images in which the preceding one generates the one following, and a “gradual reduction of images” by starting with the broadest and ending with the narrowest (as formulated in Sokolov 1977), that is, the singling out of one detail crucial to a particular song. The internal form of the song can therefore be realized through different lyrical techniques applied within the framework of one compositional model.

The narrative element, one of the principles of compositional form of lyric folk song, is evident in a great number of songs and requires some explanation. In Slavic folklore research there is frequent reference to the *sujet* of lyric songs, or to “*sujet* situations,” as it is also known. The foundation of the greatest number of lyric songs in Slavic oral traditions is always an event, episode, or situation from human life taken from reality or dreams that is lyrically stylized as a “realistic” action in fictive space and time. Even when there is no concrete external action, one cannot generally speak of the absence of the *sujet*. But its nature is specifically lyrical. It is psychological in character, and expressive devices are subordinated to that basic, inner, true content of lyric song. Therefore, the lyric *sujet* is far from the epic’s gradually developed *sujet*, in which the event and the activity of the epic hero are central. In lyric folk song the briefly mentioned event, or just a suggestion of it, differs in quality and function from that of the epic. The former specifies, announces, or in the most succinct manner shapes a special reality: man’s inner life, his psychological states, and his experiences. The external event, in fact, paves the way to inner experience, and that is where both its role and meaning are to be found.

The narrative principle is expressed most clearly in the narrative-descriptive songs having no dialogue or monologue, in which an important role is played by various types of parallel repetitions. However, the narrative element is particularly interesting in songs whose composition is based on the fusion of a narrative segment (most often in the introduction) with a dialogue or monologue form (in the second part of the song). These two parallel planes, external and internal, divide the song into two parts: the first, using images from nature, prepares and announces the character of the content and describes the circumstances and scenes of the event; the second part consists of lyrical disclosures (monologue or dialogue) that carry the meaning of the entire song because both planes are united by a single emotion. Narrative form is also expressed by using compositional models in other ways: monologues and dialogues, for instance, can be shaped as detailed descriptions of some past event, experience, dream, or

prophecy.

Lyric folk song almost always contains a story in some form or other, most distinctly in the more complex forms of the lyrical *sujet*, in which it is varied in multiple series and in great detail. In any case, the *sujet* element of lyric folk song should be treated with caution and cannot be viewed as the highly elaborate *sujet* of epic forms, but rather as a reduced *sujet* that is confined to one lyrically characterized theme or lyric sketch, one that functions as the emotional content of the song and that is present in almost every single lyric folk song.

The simplest monologue form is considered to be also the earliest, and corresponds fully to the nature of the lyric genre, directly expressing lyrical content, emotions, and experience. The monologue form, as well as other forms of composition and style in lyric folk song, illustrates the rule that the technique of parallelism is inseparable from repetition in whatever layer of the song it may appear, whether such parallelism is literal or reduced, gradated or expanded, condensed or narrowed down (Karadžić 1891:No. 567 [No. 73 of *Mala. . . pjesnarica* (1814)]):

Čarna goro, puna ti si lada!
 Srce moje, puno ti si jada!
 Gledajući prema sebi draga,
 Gledajući, al' ga ne ljubeći.

[Black forest, you are filled with shade!
 My heart, you are filled with grief!
 Seeing your beloved next to you,
 Seeing, but not loving him.]

The clear parallel in the first two lines can develop in only one direction: by concretizing the second member in the form of a realistic disclosure of the girl, which is, indeed, the meaning of psychological parallelism. Since *jad* [grief] is a psychological state, abstract and shapeless, it must be made concrete and evident. Therefore, *jad* in the initial parallel construction is first foreshadowed (*čarna gora, lad* [black forest, shade]), then it is named, and in the third phrase its cause is specified. The poetic external image (l. 1) and the theme of grief (l. 2), apparently unconnected, are bound by an associative kinship defined from within. The gloomy mood (*jad*) in the symbolism of folk language, as studied by A. A. Potebnja (1860), conforms to characteristics of natural phenomena (darkness, shade). An undefined, vague feeling is conveyed by externally evident phenomena. The image of a bleak landscape is directly connected with human feeling, which is further intensified by sound correspondences, on which the key association and poetic semantics of other microformulas are based (*čarna-lad-jad*). Only after the process of identification of the objective and subjective is completed does the intimate

confession emerge in a condensed form. This monologue form is a parallelism consisting of only one member—just one of the existing types—and the repetition of one syntactic pattern strengthens the associative connection between two different themes. The lyrical monologue with the characteristic address to someone at the beginning, whether direct or rhetorical, is among the most frequent in Serbo-Croatian oral tradition.

The dialogue form, originally connected with dance and an archaic antiphonal principle, is founded on a parallelism in a series of speeches. Narrative links between them often do not exist in the text since the roles of singers were assigned beforehand. It was understood, in other words, that one singer would respond to another's text, enter into the same situation, and share the same perspective. This aspect of alternate singing (*na otpjev*) was described by the poet Petar Hektorović, who recorded folk songs in his *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* [*Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations*], which was first published in Venice in 1568. The need for two or more speech series to be connected by narrative certainly dates from a much later period when song became separated from its earlier manner of performance and one singer alone took on a number of roles, as Veselovskij has described in detail (1940).

The most frequent and simplest dialogue form is the question-and-answer pattern. As in monologue songs, it begins with an address accompanied by a direct or a rhetorical question (Karadžić 1891:No. 669 [No. 45 of *Mala. . . pjesnarica* (1814)]):

“Oj Dunave, tija vodo!
Što ti tako mutna tečeš?
Il' te jelen rogom muti,
Il' Mirčeta vojevoda?”
“Nit' me jelen rogom muti,
Nit' Mirčeta vojevoda;
Već devojke đavolice,
Svako jutro dolazeći,
Peruniku trgajući,
I beleći svoje lice.”

[“O Danube, you quiet river!
Why do you flow by so muddy?
Does the stag muddy your waters with his antlers,
Or does Mirčeta the duke?”
“Neither does the stag muddy my waters with his antlers,
Nor does Mirčeta the duke;
But maiden devils do,
Who come each morning,
Who pluck irises,
And who make their faces white.”]

This song is constructed on negative parallelism, which is very frequent in Serbo-Croatian folk lyric and which is based on thematic, syntactic, and lexical repetition. This is the essential characteristic of question-and-answer songs: total dependence of the first series on the second. Thus all members of the first series must be repeated in the second for the riddle posed in the first to be solved. As in the case of parallel images, parallel speech (or action) series are composed of two members, each of which can have a greater or lesser number of units variously arranged. The basic theme in this type of song is introduced at the very beginning: the question why the waters of the Danube are so muddy. The second utterance, the answer, necessarily results from the first, thus creating a unified text and a symmetry in the two narrative series.

The entire text is permeated by repetitions since the second speech series contains literal repetition of the first in negated form: every question contains in itself the possibility of an answer, but none is the true answer. When the negation is completed and all the elements of the first series are eliminated as possible answers, a necessary turning point occurs. Static images are pushed into the background and an entirely new motif (“Već devojke đavolice,” l. 7) becomes central. It is expanded and developed into a number of fresh and vivid forms. Further analysis of the unexpected reversal, which comes to its full realization at the point when flowers are mentioned, would show that this song belongs to the spring cycle of ritual songs and that it refers to fertility and to the time when maidens went early at dawn to pick herbs possessing magic powers to be used most often in love’s service.

This simple example proves that in songs of this type the dominant role is played by the second narrative series from the moment when the negated literal repetition is completed and a new detail, essential to the meaning of the entire song, is introduced and elaborated. Such are the basic characteristics of songs founded on this compositional scheme. This popular lyric form has preserved in its style and composition traces of performance by two groups or two singers.

The ancient origin of antiphonal parallelism as exemplified in the question-and-answer form is best seen in some cycles of the earliest ritual lyric. Thus, for example, the twenty-four earliest *kraljičke pesme* [queens’ songs] were already published with complete ethnographic descriptions in 1815 in Vuk’s second volume of folk songs, the *Narodna srbska pjesnarica* (Vienna). For the first time, a ritual, that of the *kraljice* [queens], was described in detail together with songs that formed an intimate part of it. It was outlined in broad terms by Vuk in the first edition of his dictionary in 1818 (Karadžić 1966:cols. 335-36). *Kraljičke pesme* are among the earliest seasonal-ritual songs of the spring-summer cycle. They were performed by choirs in the context of dynamic ritualistic dance by maidens

glorifying the fertility cult. The textual elements thus have their source directly in ritual practice: description of movements, scenes, outfits with “male” characteristics (sword, standard on a pole), and strictly defined roles (“king,” “queen,” “standard-bearer,” and so on). An entire merry ritual drama depending on the season (it was performed on Pentecost) was introduced into the songs. Group singing was preserved, as was the belief in the mythical role of the queens, who personified spirits of vegetation. Syncretism is also evident: the protagonists of the songs are at the same time both dancers and singers, that is, the performers of the ritual.

The same characteristics are inherent in other ritual songs. Most important are those from the cycle of family-wedding songs, published by Vuk in the 1815 collection referred to above, and also other ritual seasonal songs, *dodolske* and *koledarske pesme* [rain-making and New Year’s songs], which were published later. They have all preserved traces of archaic syncretism and also a feature of the utmost importance, the multiple voice, or collective monologue, so that *all* participants are *one* and the compositional form is founded on a joint monologue-address. Some of the songs of this type, with different subject matter, can be better understood only if the rules, the meaning, and the purpose of certain rituals are viewed in the context of prototypic drama. That is why many of the songs can be interpreted by analyzing various chronologically different layers of their rich poetic semantic system.

The narrative form with dialogue (or monologue) represents a combination of two techniques in the organization of lyric folk song. Especially typical of the Serbo-Croatian oral tradition, this compositional model makes possible a more complete outline of the circumstances and atmosphere of the lyrical event, thus providing a deeper insight into psychological motivation. The narrative portion is introductory—first level, in the first person—and the dialogue or monologue—second level, in the third person—emerges at the very moment when the elements of the previous narrative technique have been exhausted. At that point, the direction changes and moves inward, dwelling on one character’s destiny or situation. These songs are, therefore, as a rule divided into two parts, each one complete and independent. The introduction consists of a description of a scene, landscape, or the time of day or night, and that is the parallel not yet filled with human content, as Veselovskij put it (1940). That comes later, from the perspective of the second parallel, namely, from the personal attitude of the hero who, in revealing himself, also reveals the metaphorical meaning of the external image in the introduction. The narrative factor is replaced by monologue or dialogue, that is, by a new event that need not be a concrete action, and whose goal in the lyrical story is to define more sharply the decisive factor determining one moment in a character’s life. The internal form of these songs and of other

compositional types can be shaped in various ways.

The following lyric, analyzed along general lines, illustrates the compositional scheme of narration plus dialogue and the particular techniques by which it is realized (Karadžić 1891:No.612 [No. 24 of *Narodna. . . pjesnarica* (1815)]):

S večer' sjala sjajna mjesečina.
 Obasjala zelenu livadu,
 Po njoj pasu dva gospodska konja,
 Čuvala ih dva gospodičića:
 Ban Stijepo i kapetan Jovo.
 Ban Stijepo Jovu govorio:
 "Da moj brate, sjajne mjesečine!
 Blago, brate, onome junaku!
 Koga nije na daleku draga;
 A moja je draga na daleku,
 Istrunu mi jagluk i marama:
 U marami grožđe odnoseći,
 A jaglukom suze utirući,
 Sa mojom se dragom rastajući."
 Al' govori Jovo kapetane:
 "I moja je draga na daleku,
 Al' kad meni na um padne draga,
 Ja ne gledam tavnj noći doba,
 Nit' moj konjic mutnoj vodi broda:
 Putem idem, za njim praha nema,
 Vodu gazim, za njim brčka nema."

[In the evening a bright moon was shining.
 It cast its light upon the green meadow,
 Two lordly horses were grazing along it,
 Two young lords were minding them:
 Ban [Governor] Stijepo and Captain Jovo.
 Ban Stijepo spoke to Jovo:
 "My brother, look at the bright moonlight!
 Lucky is the hero, brother,
 Whose beloved is not far away!
 But my beloved is far away,
 The shawl and napkin she gave me fell apart:
 The napkin I took some grapes in,
 And the shawl I wiped my tears with,
 When I took leave of my beloved."
 But Jovo the captain spoke:
 "My beloved too is far away,
 But when my beloved comes to mind,
 I don't care what time of the dark night it is,
 Nor does my horse care how deep the muddy water is:
 I wend my way, there is no dust behind him,
 I tread water, there is no sound of splashing behind him."]

The bipartite structure of the song is immediately evident. It begins with the description of a nocturnal landscape formed by a chain sequence

of images, starting with the broadest and ending with the narrowest, which at the same time moves from the uppermost image to the lowermost. The gradual reduction of images in the first part, which is normal, proceeds in an epic manner to a more specific portrayal of the entire scene—bright moonlight, green meadow, lordly horses—and finally the sequence comes to a halt with the two heroes, who are designated by both name and title. This is the point at which the discourse is directed inward. The first part of the song, which is complete and independent in its relation to the second, does not contain any indicators announcing further action. The lyrical narrative technique of the emergence of images linked to one another and their gradual reduction has come to an end. Now it is a question of a stylistic shift in the form of a change in the *sujet* through expansion. The result is a new stylistic transformation: the narrative form is now carried over into a dialogue against the descriptive background. Everything takes on a dynamic quality when the dominant element of the *sujet* situation is stressed. It is the feeling of longing shared by both heroes. The synonym for love, the beloved (*draga*), now occupies the crucial point of the entire song.

How are the first and second parts united even though each remains an independent whole? Two images, the external description and the internal frame of mind, are connected by the repetition of only one motif appearing in the introduction: bright moonlight, which evokes a feeling of longing. That single thread, the brightness of a celestial body, directly imprints itself on the souls of the heroes and unites the uppermost and broadest cosmic image with earthly life and human destiny, thus giving the entire song its structural unity. The landscape described during a night of peace and silence is qualitatively changed in the dialogue and acquires a new meaning through the perspective of personal experience. That is the psychological meaning of parallelism: images introduced from nature become *ex post facto* metaphors of the troubled human soul. The static, external, “cold” motif of moonlight is transformed in direct speech into a dynamic erotic stimulus and the lyrical story begins to evolve from within. The initial exclamation and sigh momentarily mark the speech with a higher intonation, since from it there emerges the intimate and passionate confession of longing. Here is where the story in fact begins, not as *an* event, that is, a concrete flowing action, but rather as *the only* event, since the true content of the song is given form here. Two qualitatively different confessions flow in parallel fashion, two states of the soul that are different but emerge from the same starting point: the beloved who is far away is the object of both heroes. The entire first image is, as it were, extinguished and only the erotic magic of the moonlight is operative, evoking in the heroes the same association of the distant beloved. The first parallel lends poetic character to the entire song, while the second discloses its inner

content, and only in the mutual symbolism of the two planes is the complete lyrical experience attained.

The style of the two speech series is shaped differently because each is a different experience of the same excitement and feeling: in the first, bleak tones and the theme of separation prevail; the second contrasts with the sorrowful disclosure of the first by the unrestrained energy of love that is directed toward reunion in spite of all obstacles. The first part is the story of love and separation, while the second, with a certain epic vehemence, describes a rider who, on the wings of passion, hurries to the beloved who is far away. In the highly effective image of the latter series, a new moment is achieved—as well as another “exit” into the nocturnal landscape—by the introduction of the concepts of space and time: the tension between distance and proximity is resolved by the dynamics of movement: ““Ja ne gledam *tavnoj noći doba*, / Nit’ moj konjic *mutnoj vodi broda*” [“I don’t care what *time of the dark night* it is, / Nor does my horse care how *deep the muddy water* is”]. The abstract categories of space and time are not only inseparable but also “visible,” since they are mutually concretized in accordance with Mikhail Bakhtin’s notion of the body as a universal, condensed formula that overcomes the laws of space and time (1968:18-19). The body is thus a form of their concrete unity.²

The present short survey should be viewed as a rough outline of some aspects of the literary composition of lyric folk song. Attention was focused on monologue, dialogue, and narrative combined with dialogue (or monologue). Other compositional models were not discussed—monologue within monologue, dialogue within monologue, narrative-descriptive forms without dialogue or monologue—nor was there any detailed analysis of style (especially of metaphors, epithets, and symbols), nor a definition of the specific nature of the “lyrical hero” in folk song. I have confined my attention to the most important compositional forms and have singled out the internal laws that shape lyric content. Examples were taken from Vuk’s collections since they are readily accessible, but the present contribution is based on a general familiarity with the entire Serbo-Croatian folk tradition, in both manuscript and published form, beginning with the earliest sources from the fifteenth century. Already at that time, five centuries ago, a lyric folk song without dialogue or monologue but with a finished compositional pattern was recorded in Dubrovnik (Pantić 1971:5-6). In only a few lines the essence of folk lyric

² This particular lyric folk song was selected to illustrate a frequently occurring compositional scheme. Its principal characteristics have been outlined, but much more could be added by way of analysis, including the meaning of its microformulas. That, however, lies outside the scope of these brief remarks.

style, indirect expression, was achieved as a result of the use of various kinds of poetic parallelism.³

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³ I would like to express my gratitude to Zdenka Petković for translation of the present article from Serbo-Croatian.

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Macedonian Folk Poetry, Principally Lyric

Tome Sazdov

Macedonian folk literature, which has its beginnings in the distant past, developed over a long period of time. Information provided by the Byzantine chronicler Nicephorus (Nikephoros) Gregoras in 1326 is one of the most convincing testimonies to its antiquity. In his journey from Byzantium to Serbia, he visited the Macedonian town of Strumica and its surroundings. There he heard, to the accompaniment of the dance, many folk songs about heroes whose names were already familiar to him (Jagić 1876:111-12). The oldest examples of Macedonian folk song were recorded by the Austrian archpriest Sylvester in Kostur (Aegean Macedonia) in the sixteenth century. They were published only relatively recently by Ciro Giannelli and André Vaillant (1958).¹

The name of Vuk Karadžić is connected with the publication for the first time of a Macedonian folk song (1815)—“Don’t get up early in the morning to fetch water, *doz*, girl with the white face”—in his *Serbian Folk Song Book* (1965:201, No. 101). The first collection of Macedonian folk songs was made and published by the Bosnian Croat Stefan I. Verković under the title *Folk Songs of the Macedonian Bulgarians* (1860). It contains 335 Macedonian songs from Serrai (forty miles from Salonika) and its vicinity. From only one woman, named Dafina, whom he called the female Homer, he recorded 270 songs. Stanko Vraz, a famous Croatian poet of Slovene background, also published Macedonian folk songs. The Russian Slavist Viktor Ivanovič Grigorovič gave Vraz some recordings of western Macedonian folk songs, twenty-four of which the latter published in Zagreb in 1847 and the rest of which were published by Xaralampie Polenaković in Zagreb in 1951 and in Skopje in 1960 (Polenaković 1973a:71-77). Special mention should be made of the first Macedonian falsification, the *Veda of the Slavs*, published by Verković in two volumes (1874, 1881); the third volume was never published after the falsification was discovered. Later the number of Macedonians who collected their own folk literature increased, but a good number of foreigners were also engaged in such activity. Especially notable among these numerous

¹ For further information on early recordings of Macedonian folk song, see Polenaković 1973b.

collectors are Kuzman A. Šapkarev of Ohrid, whose eight volumes (1891-94) form one of the largest collections of Yugoslav folk literature (comparable to those of Vuk and of Franjo Kuhač) and Marko K. Cepenkov of Prilep, the most original and the most prolific collector of Macedonian folk literature, whose ten-volume collection (1972) was published some fifty years after his death.

The collection and publication of Macedonian folk literature played a significant part in the national revival. Verković provides convincing evidence of this in the introduction to his collection of folk songs (1860):

That this branch of the Slavic people has not disappeared by now nor been assimilated can be attributed only to the fact that... [a Macedonian] spends almost his whole life in his village, among his fellow countrymen, removed from foreign influence, in continual, diligent work in the fields, in sociable conversation, in relating and singing his numerous songs.

Generally speaking, the publication of folk literature played an important role in emphasizing and raising the cultural level of the people. Thus, in the introduction to the Miladinov collection of folk songs (1861:VII), the first real Macedonian poet, Konstantin Miladinov (1830-1862) says simply but beautifully:

Folk songs portray the intellectual development of a people and reflect its life. In songs a people shows its feelings, in them it immortalizes itself and its feats of old, in them it finds its spiritual food and sustenance; thus, in happiness and sadness, at weddings and dances, at harvest and grape gathering, at embroidering and spinning, in fields and forests, it pours forth songs as from a rich spring. Therefore we can say that a people is always a great poet.

Classification, Verse, and Poetics of Macedonian Folk Poetry

Macedonian folk literature comprises all known genres of folk literature. Thus, in poetry, lyric and epic songs are distinguished, and lyrical-epic songs are known as ballads and romances. In addition, Macedonian folk poetry is classified into groups and subgroups. Thus, lyric folk poetry is divided into the following main groups: ritual, mythological, work, love, family, children's, and humorous songs. Folk epic has the following divisions: non-historical, historical, heroic, haiduk, komita (revolutionary anti-Turkish), and partisan-revolutionary songs.

The mutual influence and assimilation of genres and types of folk literature, particularly of poetry, is an inevitable and natural process in its development. Ballads and romances are the most obvious examples of this interrelationship; therefore, they are not fixed as independent elements in the classification of Macedonian folk poetry.

The versification of Macedonian folk song is closely related to its accompanying melody, a linkage that is one of the factors responsible for the practically invariant number of syllables in each line of a folk song. Macedonian folk song is characterized as syllabic verse with a caesura. In addition, there is a definite rhythm, a fixed pattern of syllables, which in part may be determined by the melody. Therefore, quite rarely, there are cases also of syllabo-tonic verse. Such verse is an organic fusion of text and melody. Macedonian folk song is composed in a wide range of meters. There are lines of four to sixteen syllables, although the most common number is eight in lyric poetry and ten in epic. Quite rarely we encounter a line of just four syllables (usually only in children's songs). The hexasyllable is common enough in humorous songs and the heptasyllable is especially characteristic of Lazar Day songs (explained below). The octosyllable is the most common in Macedonian folk lyric. It also offers the widest range of possibilities, since it may have a caesura in any one of three positions—in the exact middle of the line (4 + 4):

<i>Ona strana, / ogan gorit, veter veit, / ne go silit, rosa rosi, / ne go gasit.</i>	Over yonder / a fire burns, the wind whistles, / does not fan it, and drops of dew / do not quench it.
---	--

or after the fifth syllable (5 + 3):

<i>Da bi me tatko / žalilo, ne bi me mene / davalo.</i>	If my father would / pity me, why then he would not / give me in marriage.
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or after the third syllable (3 + 5):

<i>Na taa / slatka večera, na bela / meke postela.</i>	Come to that / supper, repast sweet, to that white / pallet, soft as fleece.
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The most common metrical feet in lyric folk song are the trochee and the dactyl, as illustrated in the following verses:

<i>Mlāda sākā, mlāda zēde, mlāda zēde, sprēma sēbe.</i>	The maid wants him, the maid takes him, The maid loves him, makes herself ready.
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and:

<i>Māruše, Māruše!</i>	Maruša, Maruša!
<i>Jāsna mesečino!</i>	Clear as the pale moonlight!

Kō̄njo za krādenje,
Mō̄me za grābenje.

Filly for stealing and
 Maiden for ravishing.

The verse form of Macedonian epic song reflects its narrative function. Despite some variation, this is usually the decasyllabic line. The dodecasyllable is used mostly in ballads as well as in dance songs. The other longer lines are used quite rarely.

Another characteristic of Macedonian folk song is the insertion, usually after a caesura, of certain expressions, most commonly a refrain. Like other similar elements (repetition in general and at the start of a line, asides to the audience, and so forth), the refrain exists primarily to strengthen the metrical pattern and to expand and embellish the line. It serves the purpose, in longer epic forms, of giving the performer a rest and may also be used to vary the metrical structure. There are also rare cases in which verses are grouped into stanzas, a tendency that is becoming more pronounced in contemporary folk song.

Macedonian folk song is highly picturesque and emotive, because of the composers' artistic use of traditional poetic devices. Over the centuries folk poetry built up a rich repertoire of techniques, which were employed within a clearly defined system, with great talent and true creative inspiration, to create superb folk songs. The artistic merit of some folk composers is so great that certain of their phrases have been carried over into daily speech.

The use of the epithet, the most common poetic device of Macedonian folk song, is largely responsible for the plasticity of folk verse. There is a large stock of such epithets, most often adjectives (*green* wreath, *level* courtyard, *swift* steed), although nouns (*sapling*-maiden, *marble*-stone), pronouns, adverbs, and even certain numerals may serve this purpose. The epithet may at times be used in apposition: *earth-little mother*. In epic as well as lyric, there are fixed epithets, phrases that have fused together into an inseparable compound, for example: *rolling* field, *green* forest, *blue* sky, *slender* waist, *dark* cloud, *sharp* saber, *heavy* cudgel, *honorable* table, *decked-out* wedding party. Frequent use is also made of double epithets, for example: *white, rosy* face; *white, black-eared* wheat; companions *faithful* and *true*.

Comparisons lend greater emotional force and vitality to lyric verse, and solemnity and appeal to epic. Particularly impressive are those that express the speaker's attitude toward a given character. The verse "The black plague appeared..." from the beautiful ballad for Goce Delčev shows dramatically the danger resulting from the appearance of the enemy, who is portrayed here as the black plague, elsewhere as a dark cloud, and so on. Macedonian folk song has many such comparisons, characterized by

descriptive simplicity and conciseness. Such metaphors as the following abound: the bride is a slender fir tree, a cool spring, a rose in a garden; the bridegroom is the bright sun, a golden cord; the couple is a pair of doves, a falcon and a partridge, two suns.

The following is an example of the use of symbol in Macedonian folk lyric, where it is especially common:

There bloomed a plant of many colors,
upon the young maid's windowsill.
By day the maid would water it,
by night the youth would steal it.

It was not a flower but love that flourished at the window and that was nurtured secretly at night, when the youth would steal it from the maiden. Pure youthful love was thus symbolized by the folk poet as a flower, the folk symbol of unconcealed beauty and tenderness.

Repetition is used widely in both lyric and epic songs in several forms. In the lyric, repetition of a word, phrase, and entire passage intensifies the emotional character and melodiousness of the verse, binding together the lines, adding harmony, and stressing certain concepts. One form of repetition is anaphora:

Your brothers saddle the horses,
your sisters-in-law pour out wine,
your sisters plait wreaths and garlands.

The final word or expression of one line is often repeated at the beginning of the following line in a figure of pleonasm or terracing:

His mother's *nine brothers*,
nine brothers, eight sisters-in-law....

Other well-known stylistic devices used by the folk poet to embellish his verse are contrast ("white paper written on in black ink"), allegory, personification, hyperbole, and the so-called Slavic antithesis.

Macedonian folk songs are typically dynamic and direct. This is accomplished in part by the use of numerous dialogues and monologues. The dialogue as a compositional scheme is found in both lyric and epic, whereas the monologue appears almost exclusively in lyric. Many Macedonian lyric songs are pure monologues, as, for example, the confession of a young girl or of a young man:

May you know, maiden, may you know,
may you know, may you never wed.
While I was living with mama,
while my dear mama combed my hair,

my blond hair thick and shining grew,
 while my dear father nourished me,
 my slender figure taller grew,
 while my dear brother cared for me,
 my fair face blossomed like a rose,
 but since the time I was wed,
 my fair face faded, lost its bloom,
 my golden hair has fallen out,
 my slender figure gone to ruin.

Macedonian folk song is characterized by a consummate union of composition, character, and language. The wealth of stylistic and expressive devices of the folk singer is sure evidence for the inborn poetic sense of the Macedonian people.

Folk Lyric Songs

Because of their exceedingly rich poetics, Macedonian lyric folk songs have more variants and genres than epic songs do, and surpass the latter in aesthetic quality. They therefore merit especially detailed discussion. Lyric folk poetry of the Macedonian people, like that of other peoples, is characterized by profound sincerity and a total unveiling of the life of the spirit. Revealing thoughts and feelings, such verse has existed since time immemorial as a normal part of life and work. Lyric songs carefully select those elements of daily life that are appropriate for poetic treatment, finding their subject matter at village gatherings, among harvesters and shepherds in the mountains, at weddings and dances, in the infant's cradle, and at the graveside. The world of lyric song has no boundaries, for it portrays every area of Macedonian life. Lyric folk songs are usually performed by women—"A maid outsang a nightingale," says one Macedonian folk song—for which reason Vuk in 1824 called them "women's songs," in contrast to epic, which he called "men's songs" (Karadžić 1964:87).

Ritual songs provide excellent evidence for the great significance accorded to the spoken word. In former times there was a strong belief in the magic power of speech, leading to the rise of the numerous rituals that filled daily life. This belief, reinforced by animistic concepts of the world, was especially evident in the celebration of the many festivals held throughout the year. Each festival listed in the folk calendar had its own specific rituals that were performed with a belief in the power of the word to influence the workings of nature and thus insure health and happiness within the family, a bountiful harvest for the farmer, and the fertility of livestock. The Macedonians, like other South Slavs, supported themselves primarily by farming and cattle breeding, two activities that are celebrated

in the folk calendar. Ritual songs, the regular accompaniment of family and calendrical festivals and customs, are also known as *calendar* (or *seasonal*), *festival*, and *ceremonial songs*.² They are inseparable from the life and work of the Macedonian peasant and are intimately bound up with his conception of magic, mythology, and religion. Ritual songs have an aesthetic function as well, serving to make ritual ceremonies more splendid, giving artistic value to an otherwise routine life and imparting an atmosphere of holiday cheer. Thus, Macedonian ritual songs can be divided into a number of distinct types.

New Year's songs are characterized by simple content and composition and most frequently are short verses dating from pagan times that express during the New Year season wishes for good health, happiness, wealth, success, and the like. New Year's songs are frequently sung in alternating recitative by a group of *koledari* (young men and boys). The thematic material of such songs is clearly influenced by religious and apocryphal legends, unconsciously modified by elements from daily life. Only quite rarely do they contain humor.

Lazar Day songs are performed by girls called *lazarki*, who are decorated with flowers and are dressed in white. The *lazarki* go from house to house singing songs to family members, for which they receive gifts. Like the New Year's songs, Lazar Day songs often address the person to whom the song is being sung and are punctuated by refrains and other characteristic compositional elements, usually blessings and requests for gifts. Love, family life, the idealization of village work, and luxuriant spring vegetation are the most common themes of these songs.

Easter songs are characterized by the presence of many elements from mythology. Mostly short, they are primarily dance songs and frequently contain dialogue.

In Macedonia, as elsewhere among the South Slavs, *George's Day* rituals preserve elements of an old pagan festival, inspired by the leafing out of spring vegetation, to insure fertility. They are, therefore, luxuriant in style.

Rain-making songs are usually sung by a group of girls during the dry summer months to bring rain. They are accompanied by rituals having marked magical elements. Supplication, of course, is dominant in them:

Give me, lord, a dark gray storm cloud,
that the fine rain may start raining,
that the black earth might be sprinkled,
that it might bear wheat and millet,
that the orphans might be nourished,
starving orphans, starving paupers.

² For detailed treatment of ritual songs in the context of Yugoslav folk lyric, see the article by Vladimir Bovan in the present collection.

Ritual songs also include *wedding songs* and *laments*. Wedding songs solemnize marriage, the central event in a person's life. From earliest times this ceremony was accompanied by appropriate rituals and songs, as is evident from the content of such songs, which arose before the development of a class-based society. We find references here to certain outmoded forms of marriage (e.g., purchase of brides, abduction), as well as elements of animism, magic, religious belief, and social and historical phenomena. These songs provide some idea of the world view of the patriarchal family. A clear illustration of social relations, these songs are the artistic embodiment of many elements of the wedding ritual, which was meant to insure a happy and harmonious life for the newlyweds as well as healthy offspring, the latter being the basic reason for marriage. Practically every moment of a peasant wedding is accompanied by a corresponding folk song, a fact that shows how strong belief in the fateful power of the word and of ritual was. Engagement of the bride, her leaving home with the uncertainty of a new life in an unfamiliar family, arrival of the wedding party to take her away, the celebration itself, the marriage ceremony, and other customs typical of a peasant wedding were preserved in songs of great artistic value. Particularly poetic are the songs sung on the occasion of the departure of the bride from her parents:

Give me your blessing, Oh darling father,
for I must leave you for a strange household,
for a strange household, and for strange people.
Though not my father, I'll call him father,
I'll call him father, he'll not say daughter.
Though not my mother, I'll call her mother,
I'll call her mother, she'll not say daughter.

Laments reveal the existence of early rituals connected with the occasion of death. These rituals, magical in character, were intended to gain the favor of the departed and to insure that they would pass on to a life after death. The songs that were sung during burial ceremonies are highly lyrical. Lacking fixed form and content, they depended on improvisation by the singer. Laments are characterized by their extreme emotional tension: grief is given full vent in the repetition of endless passages, which often lack stanzaic structure and almost never rhyme, and there is frequent use of exclamations and questions. An expression of important moments in a family's life, these songs show evidence of folk beliefs and sometimes social and historical reality.

Macedonians believed earlier that such creatures as dragons, fairies, and water nymphs were personifications of the forces of nature. Other mythological beings included the sun, moon, and stars, as well as the embodiments of human diseases such as plague, fever, and smallpox. Other beings existed who were capable of predicting individual fates. The

numerous *mythological songs*, evidence of primitive ideas and beliefs as well as of the artistic talents of the early Macedonians, were termed “fairy songs” by the Miladinov brothers (1861). Many of these songs dealt with love between a dragon and a maiden, or between a shepherd and a female dragon or a fairy, or with a duel between a village youth and a three-headed snake that had cut off the water supply, sought human sacrifice, and so on. Interactions between humans and mythological beings were described in great detail and in highly poetic language:

The young fairy was out dancing,
 was out dancing on the mountain.
 Her mother-in-law called to her:
 “Oh dear fairy, daughter-in-law,
 leave your dancing, come home quickly
 for your baby boy is crying.”
 “Mother-in-law, Oh dear mother!
 I will send a ewe for milking,
 to suckle my dear baby boy;
 I will send a gentle shower,
 to bathe my darling baby boy;
 I will send a gentle zephyr,
 to sing a lullaby to my baby boy.”

The fates, terrible diseases, and epidemics were often portrayed as ugly old hags. The fates appear in folk songs as three women at the cradle of a newborn child on the third day after birth and prophesy the baby’s future. The third fate’s prediction is the most decisive.

Closely related to the mythological songs are *religious-legendary songs* which deal with the lives of Christian deities and saints. The connection is clear in that characters of the latter type may often encounter those of the former category, as, for example, when St. George meets a dragon or the Virgin converses with fairies. There is, however, an essential difference between the two, clearly seen in the more realistic treatment of the subject matter of religious songs. Thus, for example, St. Nicholas, a favorite character also in Macedonian folk prose narrative, is portrayed as an old man engaged in normal activities.

The largest group of Macedonian folk songs are *work songs*, which are further subdivided into laborers’, harvest, shepherds’, migrant-workers’, craftsmen’s songs, and the like. Connected with the social and economic development of the Macedonian people, the first work songs reflected the basic activities of the Macedonians in the past: agriculture and cattle breeding. Later songs dealt with the more recent occupations of craftsmen and of migrant workers. Among the most popular work songs are harvest songs, which show great enthusiasm for gathering in the crops. Harvest is the peasant’s most important festival and the time of greatest exertion. From early morning until late at night the harvesters compete by

working quickly:

If I harvest more than you do,
I do not want your swift stallion,
it is you I want, brave young man,
brave young man, to be my husband.

Love between maiden and youth is a frequent theme of these work songs, with the victor in such competitions always being the beautiful, vigorous, and cheerful village girl. Social themes also appear in these songs. In character and content, laborers' songs are quite similar to harvest songs. Farm and field work on someone else's behalf, however, was more exhausting than harvesting. Shepherds' songs portray a relatively accurate picture of the Macedonian shepherd's life in the past: the shepherd worked for a crust of bread for wealthy farmers and peasants. These songs are especially rich in their stylistic expression. The craftsman was essential to Macedonian life since his wares were important to persons from all walks of life. The lovely maiden would wear "a fine chain around her fair neck," "about her slender waist a girdle," and so on. These songs portray the hard life of the artisan, his daily struggle to support himself, and his aspiration to earn enough to build his own house. They deal most often with the activities of goldsmiths, ironsmiths, tinsmiths, tailors, carpetmakers, bricklayers, and so on.

Among the most melancholy Macedonian folk songs are those of the migrant worker. Overflowing with nostalgia for his native land, they show the extreme social injustice that prevailed in Macedonia's past. They are an artistic portrayal of the mass exodus from the homeland in search of a more secure existence. Especially in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these workers traveled to neighboring Balkan and other European countries as well as to the Americas and Australia. The lot of the migrant worker and his family was especially sad, since the young husband in the prime of life was forced to set off alone for an unknown land for an indefinite period of time. Scenes of parting are extremely touching; for example:

The youth is starting out on his journey,
while his young bride stands near his horse, weeping,
bloody tears are falling as she entreats him:
"Do not go, darling, stay another year,
don't go, I beg you, to that far country!
Money, you know, darling, can always be earned,
But wasted youth cannot be regained!
A flower's fragrant while it is dewy,
A maid's for kissing while she is youthful!

A wasted youth, nostalgia for family, home, and country, and unfulfilled

desires and hopes are all present in almost every line of these songs.

It is no coincidence that *love songs* are the most numerous of all Macedonian folk songs since they are highly resistant to the “ravages of time” (Polenaković 1968:38). The basic motif is, of course, love between a young man and young woman. The songs depict yearning and passion and arousal and suffering, inspired by the mutual emotional involvement of the two lovers. Especially common is the motif of the plaintive lament for lost youth:

Foolish youth, youth is not for eternity,
youth flows onward, foolish youth, like a river.

One of the central themes of these songs is feminine beauty, which is almost always identified with health. A girl with a fair and rosy complexion should be healthy so that she can give life to equally healthy offspring, for marriage in folk song is a natural sequel to love. Physical beauty is generally equated with spiritual beauty and quite often idealized:

A young girl is like dew in the springtime:
the more dew there is, the more she'll flourish.

Macedonian love lyric avoids expressing the erotic directly since it is foreign to the patriarchal value system. Love lyric expresses some of the more important moral and ethical beliefs of early Macedonian society. For example, it is thought that first love will last until death and that the breaking of love's promises will bring unavoidable and well-deserved punishment. For that reason songs about one's “first love” are sung with great respect. The largest number of variants in this genre center on the inseparability of lovers, a theme dealt with dramatically, especially in ballads. Although the main characters and their relationships are poetically idealized, they live in a completely realistic setting. Social injustice and the uncertainty of life during the feudal period frequently were reasons for the forced parting of lovers:

Young bride so dark and beautiful,
why go so weary to the well?
Do your clay pitchers weigh you down,
or does your necklace weigh you down?
“My pitchers do not weigh me down,
nor does my necklace weigh me down,
rather my true love weighs me down.
My true love is in Bitola,
behind those accursed prison walls,
with heavy fetters on his feet,
with a fine chain, *lele*, round his hands!”

Subjective as it is, the love song gives a fairly accurate picture of folk life, for love is found everywhere, out on the burning-hot meadow and at the cool spring, in narrow alleys and on wide verandas, at the festive dance and at lively parties, beside the sparkling well and at the village fence, in the bustling market place and at the dark grave.

The natural successor to the love song is the *song about family life*. The marriage contract, which in folk song is the natural conclusion to true love, signals the start of family life, characterized by a number of complex relationships between spouses, parents and children, brothers and sisters, daughters-in-law and mothers-in-law, and so on. Almost all of these songs bear the stamp of the patriarchal family, whose greatest wealth is its children. Some of these songs clearly idealize family life. This is no coincidence, since in feudal Macedonia, where there was no independent sociopolitical life, the family unit, the only form of social autonomy, resisted the denationalizing efforts of the regime. Songs of family life centered on women in the roles of wife and mother or often daughter-in-law. Women held a fairly responsible position in the family circle and were often unhappy. The wife was expected to make possible the continuation of the family line into which she had married. More children were desired so that the family would have a better opportunity to maintain itself; consequently a childless wife was criticized by the folk poets:

“Brother-in-law, the youngest one,
 what fault, then, has he found in me,
 that he should wish to drive me out?”
 “Sister-in-law, young sister mine,
 this is the fault he’s found in you:
 nine years already are you wed,
 where is the cradle at your head,
 where’s the baby boy in your arms?”

A childless wife is despised even though she always behaves properly toward her husband, takes care of all his needs, keeps the house in the best of order, and is the main worker in the field. On the other hand, the mother’s most joyful and comforting moments, brightening her daily exhausting labor, are those spent with her children as she sings lullabies and feeds and educates them. The relationship between brother and sister is portrayed with particular warmth. The brother is his sister’s staunch defender, dearer to her than her beloved. Family songs often deal with the theme of the sister dying of grief for her brothers, forgetting her own children, or sacrificing herself for a brother. Maternal love is also one of the major themes of these songs; it is depicted as elevated and pure above all other forms of love, as is stated simply and credibly in the song “Sar Mountain Has Split”:

True lovers grieve, true lovers grieve for three long months,
and sisters grieve, and sisters grieve for three long years,
but mothers grieve, but mothers grieve right to the grave.

Humorous folk songs are also known as funny, joking, or satirical songs, depending on whether their humor is a means or an end. Humorous songs are directed without insult against human inadequacies and social injustice. Laziness or an unhealthy attitude toward work is frequently satirized in humorous songs. Other topics for sarcasm are common human shortcomings such as stupidity, timidity, miserliness, dishonesty, pride, and, above all, a tendency to drink to excess:

Tintana, maiden Tintana!
Are you done spinning all your wool?
“Yes, I have spun a spindleful,
carried it to the inn to sell,
bartered it there for cheap red wine,
sold it for worthless rakia.”

Also subject to ridicule are the desire of older people to appear young and the untidiness and gluttony of women. The folksinger also satirizes the upper classes, particularly the clergy.

Laments, mythological, and haiduk songs show a mixture of lyric and epic elements in Macedonian folk poetry. But folk ballads and romances display most clearly the artistic fusion of lyric and epic elements. In fact, in motif and expression folk ballads and romances are primarily lyric, while in structure they are predominantly epic. The basic epic plot of the folk ballad is interwoven with a lyric mood and intensive dramatics. Folk ballads most often deal with love, family life, battle, or mythological themes. They contain fantastic motifs and preternatural beings, and therefore are very close to mythological folk songs. Ballads are characterized by the subtlest contrasting mixture of centuries-old fantasy and everyday reality. Thus, we find therein traces of animistic elements: birds talk, people are transformed into plants and animals, and vice versa. There are mythological and religious beings, and revenants as well. Action in this unusual world very often leads to a tragic denouement.

Folk romances are closer than ballads to lyric songs. Their subject matter is cheerful and they never end tragically. They most often contain love motifs and dramatic passages, but the narrative pace is smooth. Sometimes their romantic content features lyrical repetitions, which prolong the action in order to intensify the emotive character of certain passages. There are melodies for many romances and ballads, which are performed vocally and to instrumental accompaniment.

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Bugaršćice: A Unique Type of Archaic Oral Poetry

Josip Kekez

Historical and Geographical Definition

In the context of oral literature, *bugaršćice*¹ represent an important and unique genre in many respects. They are, among other things, striking proof that oral literature is not simply a discovery of the nineteenth century—as was long maintained in South Slavic regions—and that two literatures, oral and written, were in contact from the earliest times in a number of ways, including the manner of their recording and study. On the other hand, we would know nothing of the genre in question and its aesthetic values if interest in oral literature had not existed from the beginning; many passages in the early literature of Croatia would have forever remained obscure, while Croatian poetry of the present day would have assumed a different profile. Scholars have not so far taken sufficient account of the fact that the poetic system of the *bugaršćica* is distinctly indigenous and in many of its features remote from other verse forms of oral literature; nor is there evidence that it existed at any time or in any national community or setting other than those discussed below.

Apart from one or two examples, all *bugaršćice* have been recorded on the eastern Adriatic strip from Istria in the north to the Gulf of Kotor in the south, so that they are geographically strictly defined. One poem was recorded on the western side of the Adriatic, in southern Italy, but it was sung in their own language by settlers from the eastern side of the Adriatic. Two actually come from the hinterland, from the edge of the Kajkavian dialectal region. In spite of their numerous Kajkavian features, these examples would not in themselves extend the area of the *bugaršćica* as

¹ Pronounced “boo-gahr-shchee-tseh”; sing. *bugaršćica*. For English translations of forty-one *bugaršćice* with texts in the original, and an introductory survey and extensive bibliography of major scholarship on the *bugaršćica*, see Miletich 1990.

defined if there did not exist other evidence in written Kajkavian literature and if we did not know of a fair number of Kajkavian forms in *bugaršćice* recorded in the extreme south. Apart from the fact that they were certainly current in Kajkavian dialectal areas, the territory of the *bugaršćice* should be moved from the central and southern littoral toward the interior, as indicated by traces of their existence—particularly in medieval inscriptions—in that region. There are, indeed, theories according to which the origins of the *bugaršćice* should be sought somewhere other than on the coastal strip. These migratory theories suggest that *bugaršćice* came to the western part of the Balkan Peninsula from the East. The fact is, however, that all known examples, commentaries on them, and popular names applied to them (as well as the term, used in linguistic, literary and other published works) all derive from the western region of the Balkans, or else from areas settled by Croats. Neither eastern nor western neighbors of the Croats are familiar with *bugaršćice*.

All this might mean that the *bugaršćica* is of very ancient indigenous origin, and it might be supposed that it was known throughout the entire nation, its subsequent uneven distribution in the course of history being a consequence of geographical and political fragmentation: in some districts the course of events led more rapidly to its disappearance, in others more gradually, so that by the eighteenth century it had in fact practically vanished everywhere, and only fragmentary echoes survived into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Kekez 1978:13-14, 18). While many writers of the older period in the western area actually apply the term *bugaršćica* and use the verb *bugariti* to describe its plaintive performance, the verb with the same meaning was current in popular usage throughout the nineteenth century, again in those areas from which we have recordings and where there is evidence of its previous performance. Thus Vuk Karadžić included the lexeme *bugariti* in his dictionary, adding a note to the effect that it was used in Croatia. And two very brief fragments written down in the nineteenth century are from that area, in fact from its western most part, so that they define both the geographical and the upper chronological limit in the history of the *bugaršćica*.

Texts and Principal Modes of Presentation

Fate ordained—although not without some degree of diachronic logic—that the earliest recording should be the last to be discovered. This took place only recently, and certain literary-historical values that had hitherto prevailed had at once to be revised: the poems from the manuscript collection *Zbornik Nikše Ranjine* [*Nikša Ranjina's Miscellany*]

(1507), which also include the poems of the first Dubrovnik lyric poets, can no longer be considered the oldest complete recordings of Croatian or Slavic oral poems. Nor are Petar Hektorović's two mid-sixteenth-century recordings the earliest *bugarščice*, although their literary-historical value remains considerable and their aesthetic quality unimpaired; they retain their fame as the first published examples of oral poetry. The principal character in the earliest known *bugarščica*, Janko Sibirjanin, one of the most frequent figures in oral poetry, whether *bugarščica* or not, like many characters in lyric and epic poetry who find themselves imprisoned, generally by the Turks, is languishing in a Smederevo dungeon and addresses an eagle, asking the bird whether he cannot somehow be rescued from his confinement. The poem was performed on Thursday, June 1, 1497, in the small town of Gioia del Colle, near Bari, which was at that time already inhabited by the Molise Croats (Šimunović 1984). The performance was in honor of Queen Isabella del Balzo and presented by Slavs drinking "according to their custom" and shouting "in their tongue." During the recitation they leaped like goats and whirled around. The Italian poet, Rogeri de Pacienza, courtier and eyewitness, has left us a detailed account of the performance, performers, and actual text with which Queen Isabella was welcomed. Since Italian literary historians believed that they were dealing with a minor poet, they paid no serious attention to his work until quite recently. They then came across the passage in question, which they could not understand, and turned to their Slavist colleagues for assistance. In this way the poem was discovered, identified as a *bugarščica*, and first published in our own time (Pantić 1977).

A comparison of the language of the poem with that of the Molise Croats, and of the recorded names of the performers with those of Slavic settlers in southern Italy confirms the fact that the poem shows fifteenth-century linguistic features of the Neretva region. The names of the performers also coincide with first names and surnames of the Molise Croats and other medieval Croatian settlers of southern Italy. Both sets of names belong to the same linguistic and intellectual milieu as regards origin, formation, and anthroponymical content (Šimunović 1984:53). Early features linked with the *bugarščica* have been preserved elsewhere. At the time of the Turkish wars, especially during the whole of the sixteenth century, there was an exodus northward from the northwestern mainland areas of Croatia and from its coastal strip. The emigrants, who now live for the most part along the Austro-Hungarian border in the province of Gradišće [Burgenland] and call themselves the Gradišće Croats, have preserved motifs and plots as well as stylistic and metrical characteristics of the *bugarščica* in their early songs (Gavazzi 1951; Miletich 1987).

What other sources are there for the preservation of the *bugarščica*? We should be grateful to those who recorded this specific literary form before it disappeared and for thus saving it from oblivion. To date all anthologies of *bugarščice* organized chronologically have begun with recordings made by the writer Petar Hektorović (1487-1572) as the earliest and most aesthetically perfect examples of the genre. Nobleman and poet, Hektorović, who was from the island of Hvar, went on an outing in the Adriatic, even at a relatively advanced age, in the company of two fishermen, his fellow islanders Paskoj Debelja and Nikola Zet, who shared with him their knowledge of oral literature. Nearly four and one-half centuries ago, our poet spent three pleasant days with them, rowing and fishing, talking and singing, reciting poems and proverbs, and solving riddles. As they traveled through the familiar waters of their homeland, one of the fishermen sang the *bugarščica* of Marko Kraljević and his brother Andrijaš, while the other sang the one about Radosav Siverinac and Vlatko Udinski. Hektorović interpolated into his own work two *bugarščice*, three rhetorical oral *počasnice* (poems of praise), and one lyric poem, reproducing them, moreover, exactly as he had heard them from his informants. In this context, incidentally, Hektorović states his opinion that folk songs should be transcribed just as they are heard, a rule that ought to be considered inviolable, but that has only been strictly observed in our own time. Judging by all that has been said, we see that Hektorović is the first accomplished South Slavic folklorist. Moreover, no one before him had drawn a portrait of folk singers, described in concrete terms the situation in which songs were sung, nor defined the purpose of the singing. Hektorović does not mention when he took down the two *bugarščice*, but it was before 1556, when his own work was written, and thus twelve years before the first edition of his *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* [*Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations*] was published in Venice in 1568. They were first extracted from *Ribanje* and published by Ivan Kukuljević in his *Pjesnici hrvatski I* [*Croatian Poets I*] in Zagreb in 1856 (pp. 100-01), and then by the famous Slovene Slavist Franz Miklosich in Vienna in 1870 in his anthology of folk epic poetry of the Croats (1870:62-65). They were subsequently included as a matter of course by Valtazar Bogišić in his anthology (1878), and ultimately in all other anthologies.

We owe the *bugarščica* entitled *Majka Margarita* [*Mother Margaret*], one of the most moving of these poems, to a transcription made by a citizen of Zadar, Juraj Baraković (1548-1628), who incorporated it in his poem *Vila Slovinka* [*The Slavic Fairy*], published in Venice in 1614. Kukuljević also included it as a separate item in his *Pjesnici hrvatski II* [*Croatian Poets II*], published in Zagreb in 1867 (pp. 7-8). Its poetic quality has insured it a place in every anthology of *bugarščice* published to date. Baraković makes no mention of the place of transcription. We may suppose, indeed,

that he heard it in his early youth and learned to recite it by heart. It may also be presumed that it was generally known not only in the immediate surroundings of Zadar but also in the broader coastal area, for echoes of the poem found their way into the written literature of Dubrovnik in the sixteenth century. Its popularity and wide circulation are also confirmed by its variants, which Bogišić planned to publish in his second volume, while an almost entirely literal transcription of Baraković's copy can be found in Zagreb MS. 638.

Among the papers from the trial in which Petar Zrinski (1621-1671) — governor of Croatia, politician and military leader, and acknowledged man of letters—was condemned to death together with Fran Krsto Frankopan, another well-known writer, there subsequently came to light the text of a *bugarščica* that is most frequently published under the title *Popivka od Svilojevića* [*The Song of Svilojević*]. The recording is from northwestern Croatia, and some believe that it might even have been made by Zrinski himself, who, apart from his other literary activities, was also engaged in the collection of folk poetry and was himself the hero of popular poems. It was first published by Miklosich in 1851. Later, Bogišić included it in his anthology, as did all subsequent compilers. When Miklosich published it for the first time, he did so in prose form with no mention of Zrinski, and with the statement that it had been written down in 1663 (1851). He was to publish it again in 1870 in the anthology mentioned above, only this time in the *bugarščica* meter. He initially published it in prose because it was in that form in the manuscript, which has since been lost. One ought to bear in mind that *bugarščice* were not sufficiently well known at that time as a specific literary form, although the two recorded by Hektorović and the one transcribed by Baraković had already been available. In his 1870 edition Miklosich included the poem as a *bugarščica*, stating his reason for the change: “At that time I did not recognize the meter, and probably it would not have been clear to me even now, if the Dubrovnik manuscript had not made available to me a larger number of poems composed in that same meter. . .” (71).

It is in the Dubrovnik MS., housed in the library of the University of Zagreb, that we find the largest number of *bugarščice*. Apart from them, the manuscript contains other material of interest to students of written and oral literature and linguistics. The anthology was started at the end of the seventeenth or the beginning of the eighteenth century by the writer Đuro Matijašević, who was then joined by another writer, Jozo Betondić, and a number of other unknown transcribers. Ivan Marija Matijašević (1714-1791), a Jesuit, writer, and scholar who was active in the public life of Dubrovnik, was inspired as a collector by Andrija Kačić Miošić's *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* [*Pleasant Recreation for the Slavic People*] and added his own material to that collected by his uncle Matijašević, Betondić,

and the others. To the collected material he gave the title “Popjevke slovinske skupljene g. 1758. u Dubrovniku” [“Slavic Songs Collected in Dubrovnik in the Year 1758”].

In the Historical Institute of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb, there are two manuscripts, one relatively long and the other shorter, which are known as Zagreb MS. 638 and Zagreb MS. 641. The former was written at the very beginning of the eighteenth century and contains nothing but twenty-seven *bugaršćice*, while the latter has three *bugaršćice*, mostly religious poems, and a smaller number of heroic decasyllabic poems. Both manuscripts originated in the region of the Gulf of Kotor. No one published anything from the second manuscript before Bogišić, but Miklosich published some eighteen items from the first manuscript, and later others were published at random.

Likewise, before Bogišić no one had published examples of the Perast *bugaršćice*. A manuscript was found in Perast in the home of a certain Balović, and thus became known as the Balović MS. It contains twenty-four folk songs, including nine *bugaršćice*. Both the *bugaršćice* and the heroic decasyllabic poems deal exclusively with events that took place in Perast and the surrounding area, so that in this respect they differ markedly from other *bugaršćice* or heroic decasyllabic poems. It is believed that the manuscript originated at the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century. Linked with the Balović MS. is the Mazarović MS., which also derives its name from the Perast family in whose home it was found. The cover bears the date 1775 as the year of origin. This manuscript does not contain *bugaršćice*, but it does have heroic poems in decasyllables, of which some are literal renderings of *bugaršćica* subjects from the Balović MS. Both the Balović and the Mazarović MSS. are in the Bogišić archives in Cavtat (about six miles south of Dubrovnik).

A number of other recordings were omitted from Bogišić’s edition, the first comprehensive published collection with a treatise on the *bugaršćica*, simply because the anthologist did not know of them. Among the omissions were two poems from the middle of the seventeenth century that were written down by the Dubrovnik sea captain Nikola Ohmućević. An admirer of Ivan Gundulić’s verse, he spent his leisure time copying that author’s *Osman*, and added as a supplement to his manuscript two moving *bugaršćice* usually entitled *Smrt despota Vuka* [*The Death of Despot Vuk*] and *Smrt kralja Vladislava* [*The Death of King Vladislav*]. They were discovered in the manuscript of *Osman* by the literary historian Armin Pavić while he was preparing Gundulić’s works for the standard edition in the series *Stari pisci Hrvatski* [Early Croatian Writers] (Pavić 1879). Ohmućević’s first transcription was published by Miroslav Pantić in his anthology (1964:61-64), and I included the second in mine (1978:203-8). I

also included there a *bugarščica* that gives a lyrical account of the Croatian governor Derenčin and his defeat by the Turks on the battlefield of Krbava in 1493 (1978:104). It was written down in 1682 by the Croatian writer and philologist Pavao Vitezović (1652-1713) and is now part of a manuscript kept in the library of the University of Zagreb. Apart from my anthology, it has not been included in other collections of *bugarščice*, but some historians have quoted it in their published studies. A *bugarščica* that describes lyrically a skirmish between Croats and Turks near Zagreb in 1593 was written down in the seventeenth century and published in the nineteenth, but has not found its way into any of the anthologies so far (Kekez 1986a:32).

In 1851 Josip Antun Petris recorded fifty-four songs in Vrbnik on the island of Krk, including some in the *bugarščica* meter. For my anthology (Kekez 1978:131-32) I took two brief fragments from Vjekoslav Štefanić's *Narodne pjesme otoka Krka* [*Folk Songs from the Island of Krk*], published in Zagreb in 1944; they have not been published elsewhere. Petris said that they were not complete, and somewhat less than a century later Štefanić tried to discover remnants of the fragmentary *bugarščice* in question, but even the fragments had vanished from oral tradition.

This, then, constitutes the body of *bugarščica* texts collected in the course of several centuries. Their discovery, presentation, and interpretation in modern times began with Miklosich's 1870 publication, referred to above. His collection preceded Bogišić's, and inspired the latter to search for and publish a broader range of material and to elaborate on the subject (1878). Apart from *bugarščice*, Bogišić's anthology also contains other forms of oral poetry from earlier periods. It includes altogether seventy-six *bugarščica* texts, some of which are incomplete, and, apart from two or three fragmentary recordings which are absent, it represented for some time the sole body of texts at the disposal of researchers. In the course of time, as mentioned above, entire new texts were discovered. Indeed, Bogišić states in his anthology that hitherto unknown *bugarščice*, together with variants of known texts, had come into his hands after his book had gone to press. He did not, however, include them in his book, provide sources, or say anything about them except that he would include them in a second volume, which was never published. All subsequent editors, in fact, merely published a selection from Bogišić's corpus, and all researchers were necessarily committed to his edition in their discussion of *bugarščica* texts, since there was no point in having recourse to manuscripts and deciphering early handwriting and orthography when everything was already available in one place together with relevant commentary. Bogišić's anthology assembled all material known to him at the time and provided a comprehensive and multifaceted description of the published texts. Its importance to the field is, therefore,

considerable; but, as we have seen, a number of examples are missing from his collection. Furthermore, in spite of his many valuable observations and competent approaches, he was capable of improper procedures, principally because he himself was taken unawares by the unusual features of the *bugaršćice*, and interpreted them or altered details in them to conform to notions that he had formed under the sway of other verse prominent at that time, paying less attention to the *bugaršćice* themselves in this respect.

Definition of Terms and the Question of Origins

Until recently Hektorović enjoyed the distinction of being not only the first to write down *bugaršćice* and leave us other valuable information concerning them and other oral literature of his period and region, but also the first to call them *bugaršćice*. The term is, for the most part, identical with that used by later writers, becoming firmly established in the technical vocabulary of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Hektorović calls them *bugaršćica* and *bugaršćina*. Quoting *Majka Margarita* in his *Vila Slovinka*, as recited by “some young child,” Baraković confirms that *bugaršćica* was the customary term in the central Dalmatian region at the beginning of the seventeenth century. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries other etymologically related terms like *bugarkinja* and *pjesma bugarka* were frequently used. *Bugaršćice* were also called *popijevke* and *davorije*, although other songs and not only *bugaršćice* were understood by these terms.

The word *bugaršćica* and its etymological variants have prompted researchers to offer explanations of the origins of the form. In general, they may be reduced to three categories. The term has been linked by some to the adjective *bugarski*, indicating that the poems are of Serbian origin, because Croatian Humanist writers understood *bugarski* to refer to both Serbian and Bulgarian regions. Others derive the term from the Italian *poesia volgare*, or the Latin *carmina vulgaria*, because the poetry of the inhabitants of the eastern Adriatic coast struck them as popular. A third group sees the solution in a contamination of these two explanations. In the dictionary of the Yugoslav Academy, Đuro Daničić suggested that the term *bugaršćica* might be derived from the verb *bugariti*, formed from Medieval Latin *bucculare*. Daničić argued that it was difficult to believe that *bugaršćica* could stem from the national designation *bugarski*. It was more likely, in his opinion, that it sprang from an Italian word corresponding to the Medieval Latin *bucculare*, from which are derived *boccalone* and *boccalona*, that is, males and females who shout, wail, or cry; and to Romance peoples it seemed that their Slavic neighbors were shouting or wailing, even when they were merely talking; probably the

opposite was also the case.

I do not doubt that the term *bugaršćica* is connected with the verb *bugariti*, the fundamental meaning of which is to sing sadly. This indicates, on the one hand, the basic mood, or, to be more precise, the mood of the subject matter as conceived by the people, regardless of the fact that certain poems have plots that end happily, if somewhat cheerlessly, and the fact that they were performed on festive occasions. On the other hand, instances of the verb *bugariti* are to be found in the works of early Croatian writers, and, more recently, among the inhabitants of the coastal region. Thus, both these factors coincide with a third, which indicates the area where the *bugaršćice* originated and were performed and written down.

Another theory explains the origin of the *bugaršćica* by migration from the East. It differs from the previous theories in that it is based on a few motifs and themes, and characters from the thematic cycle. I refer to the so-called Srem theory, according to which *bugaršćice* were poems from southern Hungary (hence the presence of personages from the Hungarian court), whence they were allegedly adopted by Serbian noblemen in the sixteenth century; after the conquest of Srem in 1521 and the retreat from the Turks, they were taken to the coastal area. This theory, of course, has many weaknesses, which I shall not enumerate here. It is sufficient to note that the *bugaršćice* of the coast are older than the critical date proposed by the Srem theory. Nor is there any reason for inventing new terms, such as *pjesme dugog stiha* [long-line poems]. On the contrary, the specific features of the *bugaršćica* as a poetic form provide sufficient reason for the retention of that term, especially when it matches the poetic nature of the *bugaršćica* better than any other term in literary theory matches the concept it is meant to define. The term *pjesma dugog stiha* should not displace a term that has been established for centuries, not only because it is ambiguous—not every long-line poem need be a *bugaršćica*—but also because it merely stresses a formal feature of the genre, and, moreover, does not identify it geographically or chronologically. We would not expect this of a given term if we did not in fact have one that includes all that and more. Since all that is so, it should be regarded as an etymological boon. Etymological definitions of the word have led to numerous misunderstandings, disagreements, and, not infrequently, deliberate misrepresentations. The false conclusions have stemmed from fundamental methodological errors: we ought to distinguish between an etymological explanation and a definition of a literary form in national terms, especially since the latter should not be controversial. The origin of the word has still not been established reliably, and it is certainly not the only such case, but the fact is that the *bugaršćica* is closely linked, etymologically and semantically, with the verb *bugariti*, and both the

nominal and verbal form have been widely used in Croatian literary and philological works in past centuries (Kekez 1978:33-38). The verbal form always denotes a plaintive, distressing, melancholy, and nostalgic kind of singing, and the *bugaršćica* is a song with precisely those qualities. And this is what constituted its attraction for the listener; even if the ballad did not end tragically—in the course of history certain changes of that kind did take place—it still retained its typical melancholy character, or at least qualities akin to it. Its distinctive features came into being through the choice of motifs, structure, versification, poetic diction, and all those other stylistic elements calculated to produce a specific aesthetic effect.

The Poetics of the *Bugaršćica*, Its Performance, and Its Stylistic Metamorphosis

Until now, most scholars have regarded *bugaršćice* as epic poems, considering them “a matter of fact” and historically credible. In short, they have concentrated on the content, while other qualities interested them less. This is evident even from some of the recordings, since some collectors left out the refrain, for example, or other “superfluous” elements. Even some who introduced the *bugaršćica* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries omitted the refrain. Bogišić published *Majka Margarita* without the recurring verses, thus abbreviating it by almost half, with the explanation that the missing passages contained nothing new that had not already been stated in preceding verses. In the *bugaršćice* historical characters and, more rarely, historical themes are indeed present, but they are not used to express historical truth or for development of an epic plot. What was stressed, then, was content, narration, but in the *bugaršćica* these are only present for the sake of the motif. The *bugaršćica* plot never has the breadth or objectivity of the epic, to say nothing of digressions, retardation, episodes, and other related formal devices of the epic. This kind of poetry does not develop a plot in order to narrate events, to glorify the past or, possibly, personages from an epic age. On the contrary, if the heroes of epic poems do appear in the *bugaršćica*, then they are melancholy figures.

In a number of cases, the *bugaršćice* make use of a plot, but only in order to facilitate a more subtle psychological representation of the chosen motifs, and to represent all the more strikingly the human emotions that lie behind it, either of a positive or, more frequently, of a negative kind. In the *bugaršćica* about Marko Kraljević and his brother Andrijaš in Hektorović’s work, for example, the two brothers are bound by love for each other and by a joint love for their aged mother. The brothers always share their booty in fraternal fashion until they capture three fine horses,

which, naturally, cannot be divided equally. Greed makes its appearance as a motif, and Marko is so carried away by it that Andrijaš suffers a mortal wound. Remorse ensues and is followed by a renewed declaration of fraternal affection and love for their mother, but there is no return to the former happy state. In another case it is human vanity that destroys the happy community, as, for example, in the *bugarščica* of the Jakšić brothers, in which an attractive maiden loved by both brothers decides in favor of one of them. The other, seized by vanity, is driven to a tragically impulsive act and kills his brother. When he sees what he has done, he kills himself. In the poem *Kako Jele Arbanaška umori Turčina Mostaranina* [*How Jele the Albanian Slew the Turk from Mostar*] (Kekez 1978:124-26), Vojin the Albanian and the Turk from Mostar are sworn brothers and friends. As they drink wine together and pass the time in conversation, the Turk asks where Vojin got the fine, delicate shirt he is wearing. When he replies that he “has his dear Jele, his wife” who sewed it for him, the Turk blurts out wildly in typical *bugarščica* fashion that he desires the fair Jele. Vojin retorts in kind, expressing his desire for “a fine Turkish lady from Mostar.” The Turk instantly orders the other Turks present to hang Vojin. He then instructs them to entice Vojin’s Jele into his tent. But Jele is in fact the typical proud, loyal wife, intelligent and independent, who embodies all the virtues of the honorable spouse of the folk tradition, and she cunningly slays the lecherous Turk. What is typical here of the *bugarščica* is the negative human content—the motif of lechery and the vulnerability of the psyche—that motivates the balladic organization of the text and brings it to a tragic conclusion. In one of the most moving examples, *Majka Margarita*, family unity has been undermined by a brother and a son who have gone off into the world never to return again.

The *bugarščica* is apt to treat a wide range of relationships between individuals in everyday life, including those between master and servant. Here, too, some unforeseeable chance event within an established orderly community brings negative emotions and motives to the surface, disrupting mutual trust, often with a tragic outcome, whether this is caused by the master—often the king himself—or by the royal servant (by “servant,” we should understand also the king’s more elevated subjects). Life at the royal Hungarian court is merely a setting for the depiction of destructive acts against this cultivated and intimate background, with the aim of stressing the tragic egoism of an impulsive deed. The subject of Kosovo is also used to this end in the *bugarščice*, but, in contrast to its position in the epic poem, Kosovo remains in the distant background, while those events that characterize human relationships in a restricted context are acted out in the foreground.

The *bugarščica* either considers an interesting psychological subject separately or combines it in a relationship involving other individuals:

relatives, family, friends, or members of some other closely knit group. The more intimately bound the members of the group are, the more acute is the conflict, and hence the more moving the ballad. Innate evil in an individual thus disturbs the balance of the group. Even when the *bugaršćica* has recourse to epic characters and themes, it is discriminating in its choice of epic material or in its use of factual events as subjects. For example, the so-called local *bugaršćica* chooses only what can be integrated into its poetic design and restricts itself to the level of detailed psychological description. The long, slow-moving line is well suited for the treatment of such motifs, and so are the repetition of verses and refrains, the use of diminutives, which express intimacy, and so on. The long verses, which may be repeated wholly or in part and, as a rule, have a refrain after every other verse, are tonic in character, so that the structure of the verse, in conjunction with the refrain, emphasizes even more the mood of cheerless melancholy and nostalgia. This fondness for a tragic aesthetic system is part of the poetics of times long past, although the *bugaršćica* was welcome on every occasion.

The *bugaršćica* verse line varies from thirteen to nineteen syllables, but lines of fifteen and sixteen syllables occur most often; lines of twelve, nineteen, and twenty syllables are also occasionally found. The refrain most frequently has six syllables. It may occupy different positions between verses and sometimes occurs only after a number of verses. Apart from those cases in which collectors suppressed refrains, some *bugaršćice* did not have them at all. Poems in which a refrain is present confirm that it is most often situated as in *Majka Margarita*:

Cvilu to mi cviljaše drobna ptica lastovica,
Ona mala ptica,
Cvilu to mi cviljaše drobna ptica lastovica,
Ona cvilu cviljaše Zadru gradu na pridvratju,
Ona mala ptica.

[Plaintively sang the little swallow bird,
That little bird,
Plaintively sang the little swallow bird,
Plaintively it sang before the gates of Zadar town,
That little bird.]

At the beginning of a poem, therefore, the refrain customarily comes immediately after the first verse, and then after every other verse except at the end. Refrains vary regularly within the same poem: sometimes a six-syllable syntagmatic unit from the preceding verse is used as the refrain. The poem just mentioned begins with a refrain after the first line and finishes with only a single line after the last occurrence:

“I da ti si nikadare od suz’ lišca ne osuše,
 Nit ćeš bratca dozvati, nit ćeš sinka dočekati,
 Starice nebogo,
 Nit ćeš bratca dozvati, nit ćeš sinka dočekati!”
 [“And even if the tears on your face should never dry,
 You shall never summon your brother nor welcome your son,
 Wretched old woman,
 You shall never summon your brother nor welcome your son!”]

The verses are based on clausal units and, as a rule, each unit is fixed in speech as a linguistic and semantic whole; these rhythmically based units are then linked up with one another. The *bugarščica* verse is thus essentially associative in character and origin, and in such cases it is difficult to break it into semantically independent hemistichs or to define it by established metrical patterns. It is to some extent trochaic, but also combines trochees and dactyls as well as other feet. It is based on colloquial referents from a rural setting, and so the number of syllables must be variable since the verse is founded on the principle of semantic and rhythmic units that are composed of one or more condensed conversational formulas, whose rhythm may be further intensified by change in word order.

In the *bugarščica* the vocative is at times used in place of the nominative case, not to fulfill the necessary syllabic requirement since the line does not depend on strict syllabicity but rather to render the sentence more manageable rhythmically, unless it has already been adopted from the heroic decasyllabic line, where that phenomenon is a regular feature. In the final phase of the *bugarščica*'s existence, epic formulas inserted into the line served as a means of formulaic structuring. The clause is also constructed with the aid of typically oral devices: *pođe, stade, side* (inchoatives) plus infinitive (*govoriti, pitati, udarati*—“to speak,” “to ask,” “to strike,” respectively). In the same verse the verb is used with its verbal noun, and there are enclitic forms of the personal pronoun and additions such as *ere, e da, još*, to which we cannot assign the function of filling out the line. They are included in the verse as a constituent part of a metrical, syntactic, and rhythmic whole, or as constituent parts of oral or conversational syntagms. The uninformed view is that the *bugarščica* would be just as effective without them. I mention here, too, the unprofessional assertion, sometimes emphatically stated, that the refrain serves merely to allow the singer a pause. The refrain is in fact one of the most important stylistic and structural techniques of the *bugarščica*, without which the aesthetic effect of melancholy would not be fully achieved.

The stylistic features of the *bugarščica* also include duplication of the preposition, a structural device used in written verse from the Middle Ages down to the present. Since medieval prose is rhythmic in character and

duplication of prepositions occurs only in Croatian poets of the early period and has not been found in prose or anywhere else outside of verse, it is maintained that it is present exclusively in poetry. The *bugarščica* very often separates the preposition. For example, instead of *u cara čestitoga* [to the honorable emperor], we find *I oni je upustiše u cara u čestitoga* [they admitted her to the emperor, to the honorable one] (Kekez 1978:162). In the same poem we find also: *Pođi s Bogom, djevojko, na tvoje na bijele dvore* [Go with God, O maiden, to your, to the white court] (163), which, outside of the *bugarščica*, would read: *Pođi s Bogom, djevojko, na svoje bijele dvore* [Go with God, O maiden, to your white court].

We cannot say that the *bugarščica*'s poetic diction is select unless we mean that it is the result of a process of abstracting linguistic data in the formation of colloquial formulas and of combining numerous diminutives with the compositional and stylistic technique of emphasis. Precisely because the language used is the folk idiom, foreign words are relatively rare, being usually of Turkish and Italian origin, a feature which is understandable in view of the geographical location of the genre. It is also natural that such an age-old poetic tradition should have a good many archaic words.

The classification of *bugarščice* is identical with their poetic definition, but if the terms of reference associated with the latter do not match those appropriate to the former, it matters little in principle. This is also the reason why the classifications proposed to date that do not take account of formal criteria have not met with success and most often have misled the reader. This is particularly true of those that are based on theme and character, since they give the subject of the poem a historical or authentic dimension, attributing an exclusively epic character to it and placing it in a diachronic context, where it does not belong. A classification based on theme and character may to some degree situate the *bugarščica* in areas where it did not originate or was not prevalent. Subject matter cannot rationally be classified chronologically (e.g., by century), because it is sparse and discontinuous; we are, after all, dealing with individual texts. If we were to start with the collector, more emphasis would fall on another important constituent (the literary-historical) and less on the former characteristics of the *bugarščice*. It is best in the end to opt for certain internal features, that is, to take as a point of departure the manner in which the poet handles his subject matter, forming it into a literary text, and to note the changes that took place in this process. In this way less prominence is accorded to externals and internal elements are safeguarded.

If we proceed thus, we can reach the following conclusions: *bugarščice* are ballads as a rule (in the course of time exceptions have

appeared); their subject matter is the internal human process, which, as a central motif, governs the organization of the text and most often ends in tragedy. The only exceptions are some of the local *bugarščice*; in these examples, however, there is a departure from the classical archaic *bugarščica* and they should, therefore, be placed in a special category. The structure of the *bugarščica* is governed precisely by its emphasis on particular, profoundly subjective human states of mind or behavior, most often of an irrational kind or the result of natural causes. Even when there is a departure from the tragic, the *bugarščica* does not abandon inner psychological workings and its melancholy tone. Moreover, thanks to its verse form, rhythm, and refrain, or to the manner of the performance and the melancholy mood, the basic characteristics of the *bugarščica* described here become even more explicitly lyrical.

In defining the genre, it should not be forgotten that the *bugarščica*'s typical lyrical content became consistently more permeated by epic elements in the course of its history. This happened particularly at the time of its relative eclipse by the ever more powerful heroic decasyllabic poem, whose themes, structure, and style were characteristic of the epic period that was closely connected with the events themselves, that is, the trauma occasioned by the Turkish invasion and presence. Hence, if we take into account the original stylistic resources of the *bugarščica* in addition to what subsequently happened to it in the course of history, we can identify four cycles of texts in the relatively meager material known to us. Apart from expressly lyrical examples, a new group can be identified that can be characterized by the infiltration of certain epic features. A third, more recent group shows a greater influx of epic elements, so that we might term them "lyric-epic." A special group is made up of those with distinctly local characteristics. These local *bugarščice* are thematically linked to events in the localities where they originated. The reference here is mainly to the Gulf of Kotor region—above all Perast—then Dubrovnik, and certain other localities. They regularly give a factual account of local events, but they do not choose just any set of events. They select those that match the qualities of the *bugarščica* as described above.

A case in point is the *bugarščica* that describes an event that took place in Perast in 1573. Its suitability as a *bugarščica* subject may be deduced from its original descriptive title: *Kako Peraštani kazniše ispan-skoga vojvodu don Karla koji osramoti dvije peraške sirote djevojke . . .* [*How the Citizens of Perast Punished the Spanish Duke Don Carlos Who Dishonored Two Orphan Maidens from Perast . . .*]. An incident described in a *bugarščica* from the Balović MS. is also from the sixteenth century. The poem was composed towards the end of the seventeenth or at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and the subject is clearly well suited to the requirements of the genre. It tells how many of the local people

perished and how love, sworn brotherhood, and the kinship of godparents were destroyed because a maiden was dishonored. The poem is entitled *Paštrovka djevojka* [*The Maiden of the Paštrovićes*] (Kekez 1978:230-32).

Typical examples of the lyrical *bugaršćica* persist all the way to the upper limit of its chronological existence, but there is infiltration of epic elements to some degree as early as the sixteenth century. Infiltration may have begun even earlier, but we lack textual evidence for it. The influence of epic poetry was most pronounced in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Its influence can be seen in the example of the *bugaršćica* about Jele the Albanian and the Turk from Mostar, referred to above. Verse, expression, and choice of motifs are handled in the customary *bugaršćica* manner, but the text has obviously been influenced to a marked degree by the epic principally in its plot, and to some extent in its verse line. For instance, the long *bugaršćica* line may be based on a heroic decasyllabic line or on a formula taken from it. Thus, many epics begin with the formulaic heroic decasyllable *Vino piju do dva pobratima* [Two sworn brothers are drinking wine]. The first line of the *bugaršćica* in question reads *Vino dobro pijahu do dva mila pobratima* [Two dear sworn brothers were drinking fine wine]. Some subjects are shared by both the *bugaršćica* and the epic, but not, as in the previous example, as the result of the epic's marked influence on the style of the *bugaršćica*. Thus the *bugaršćica* creates its own version of the epic poem *Banović Strahinja* [*Governor Strahinja*] because the theme of female infidelity fits into its typical framework of destruction of familial solidarity. The character of Strahinja is more appropriate for its melancholy aesthetic system than it is for the epic. The Strahinja portrayed in the *bugaršćica* is similar to the melancholy characters of our own time, whether we encounter them in everyday life or in contemporary novels and films. There are certain obscure passages in the epic, especially, for example, the question of Strahinja's pardon of his unfaithful wife, a matter that is frequently discussed but never answered satisfactorily. In the *bugaršćica* the issue is sufficiently clear. It is once more for its own intrinsic reasons that the *bugaršćica* deals with the problem of political betrayal, as, for example, in *Knez Dabisav izdajnički predaje Samobor Turcima* [*Count Dabisav Treacherously Surrenders Samobor to the Turks*]. The *bugaršćica* *Kad je Hodžulo, ban skradinski, poginuo s ostalim Skradinjanima* [*When Hodžulo, the Governor of Skradin, Perished with the Other Men of Skradin*] is in fact a thematic variation of the epic *Smrt bana Derenčića* [*The Death of Governor Derenčić*], which refers to the Krbava disaster of 1493. What is missing in the epic and is present in the *bugaršćica* is the negative aspect of one of the national heroes, who was in fact a coward, and was responsible for the death of one of his relatives in the battle.

The mutual relationship between the *bugaršćica* and the epic is

evident from the manuscripts from the Gulf of Kotor region, which reveal literal adaptations of *bugarščica* subject matter. In the southern coastal area the *bugarščica* was influenced not only by the heroic decasyllabic epic but also by the octosyllabic lyric, which was also current there, and elsewhere it was influenced by the dodecasyllabic lyric. In the two nineteenth-century fragments from the northern littoral already referred to, there is a somewhat pronounced influence of lyric song in the Čakavian dialect. In a few cases, the influence of the lyric in the mainland areas was so great that it eclipsed the typical features of the *bugarščica*, although only one text of this kind has appeared with *bugarščica* subject matter (Kekez 1978:94-95). Otherwise, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the octosyllabic lyric and especially the heroic decasyllabic epic became dominant socially and in the context of performance until they finally displaced the *bugarščica*. But two centuries later, in our own time, both these formerly dominant types suffered the same fate.

Two factors are, therefore, uppermost in a stylistic definition of the *bugarščica*: there are only relatively few of them and it is important to consider them not statically but in the context of a diachronic process. *Bugarščice* are fewer in number than other extant oral forms not because they actually were sparser, but because few have been preserved, and everything that is stated about them is thus based on insufficient material.

Bugarščice were popular on all occasions, even the most cheerful. Most of the evidence suggests that they were sung at weddings, an impression confirmed by information found in written literature. But it is also evident from texts of the *bugarščice* themselves, which have at the beginning or end—in *bugarščica* meter—usually two verses with an intervening refrain in which the host is exhorted to continue the festivities. Even the first recorded *bugarščica* of 1497 was performed on a festive occasion, in spite of the fact that the mood of the poems is, as a rule, melancholy and cheerless. Wherever people came together, the *bugarščica* had an audience. This again suggests how common the *bugarščica* was and how widely it was diffused throughout Croatian regions. Even wedding toasts and toasts in honor of guests were sung in the *bugarščica* form. The experience of mourning and melancholy and the aesthetics of tragedy were essential to the poetics of earlier ages, and in this respect the *bugarščica* proved attractive to many. It must still today be regarded as a very successful artistic genre, and here I part company with the majority of those who have studied it and have concluded otherwise. On the other hand, I do not claim that it was much more successful than the epic, for example, as has been stated by some who go to the opposite extreme now that the epic is relatively out of fashion. Every literary form, apart from its specific poetic character, has a specific aesthetic system of its own, and we appreciate the fact that our own age is inclined to favor the lyric in

general, and hence the *bugarščica*, rather than the heroic decasyllabic epic that was accorded mythological status at the time when the *bugarščica* was first being interpreted in scholarly circles.

Traces of the *Bugarščica* in Written Literature

Like other oral forms, the *bugarščica* left its mark on the language, style, motifs, and themes of written literary works even in earliest times. If written and oral literature had not come together at an early stage, as mentioned above—inter alia, in the way they were collected—we would be the poorer for lack of an exceptional genre of true aesthetic worth. Early Croatian writers relied on oral literature in their own works, performed it, commented on it, and recorded it. The *bugarščica* was also involved in these processes. Interaction between written and oral literature occurred in the earliest written monuments; that is, even medieval literature in its origins and continued existence was sustained by the spoken word (Kekez 1977; 1978:44-45).

The stylistic device of prepositional duplication necessitated by the demands of meter, referred to above, is a common feature in the early writers of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries: Mavro Vetranović, Nikola Nalješković, Ivan Bunić, Ignjat Đurđević, and many others (Kekez 1977). There is a strong tendency for the preposition to be separated in this way in medieval inscriptions. Although such texts—for example, those on the medieval tombstone (*stećak*)—are in prose, the preposition is separated in syntagmatic units that impart a rhythm to the clause similar to that of the *bugarščica*. The preposition is separated in one of the oldest Croatian monuments, the inscription on the stone from Baška on the island of Krk (ca. 1100). It has recently been treated by scholars not only as an important paleographic and cultural monument but also as a text founded on rhythmic principles. Father Dobrovit tells how he and nine other priests built the church, in a text in which the arrangement of words, the separation of prepositions, and the rhyme and rhythm differentiate it from everyday speech. The conjunction *da* [that] is also adopted from the *bugarščica* for the same purpose and given a meaning that is no longer current. It occurs in two proverbial formulations in the inscription on the Baška stone, serving as an emphatic particle in the sense of *thus, hence, but*. In the *bugarščica* this stylistic element stands at the very beginning of the verse: in one of Hektorović's recordings alone, it occurs four times. This feature and others similar to it, typical of the *bugarščica*, are prevalent in a number of medieval texts and also appear in Croatian Renaissance poetry. In the case of Vetranović's double-rhymed twelve-syllable verses, it is more the rule than the exception. Other elements of

the *bugarščica*, especially poetic diction, diminutives, syntagms, and the like, as well as general features of the *bugarščica*, are all scattered throughout his works. In his sixteenth-century *Posvetilište Abramovo* [*Abraham's Sacrifice*], the dramatization of a Biblical subject, the lament from *Majka Margarita* in adapted form is applied to the tragic figure of Sarah. This is a *bugarščica* that was not to be written down by Baraković until the beginning of the following century.

The first Croatian poets recorded oral lyrics but also wrote many poems themselves in that same style. The celebrated Slavist Matija Murko (1931:240) said that the first *bugarščica* in Croatian literature was some seventy years older than the two transcriptions of Hektorović, which were traditionally regarded as the oldest examples. Admittedly, it is written and not oral. The reference is to a poem in long lines, "Odiljam se" ["I Take My Leave"], attributed to Džore Držić. It is composed in sixteen-syllable lines on the model of other *bugarščice*, with the same refrain recurring after seven distichs, which is taken from the beginning of the first and second strophes and is repeated also at the beginning of the last two verses. In order to illustrate its *bugarščica* style and mournful mood, it is sufficient to quote the opening lines:

Odiljam se, moja vilo, Bog da nam bude u družbu;
plač i suze i moju tužbu da bi znala, moja vilo!
Odiljam se a ne vijem komu ostavljam ličce bilo.

[I take my leave, my nymph, may God go with us both;
if only you knew my sobbing and tears and sorrow, my nymph!
I take my leave, and know not to whom I leave your sweet white face.]

Držić skillfully exploits the external features of the *bugarščica* and its balladic melancholy mood, which is characteristic of the love poetry of that period.

We might likewise associate with the *bugarščica* a fragment from the dramatic ritual of the discovery and adoration of the Cross on Good Friday in the so-called second Glagolitic missal of Vrbnik of 1462. At the beginning there are instructions that the text must be sung mournfully in the manner of wailing women. The *bugarščica* can contribute to a plaintive dramatic performance of this kind by its analogous mood, and it can thus play its part in shaping the text. From the Middle Ages down to the present day this text has been intoned in Vrbnik on the island of Krk to mark the day of Christ's passion and death.

In addition to two *bugarščice*, Hektorović interpolated a number of other complete works from oral tradition. He also had recourse to oral literature in shaping the content and style of his *Ribanje*. Baraković proceeded in similar fashion in his *Vila Slovinka*, in which he incorporated

the moving tale of *Majka Margarita*, using various other elements of oral literature, including some from the *bugarščica*. In the heraldic documents composed and published in Venice in 1663 for the use of the Ohmućević family—which valued folk literature highly and recorded it—there is mention of songs: “come si canta nelle poesie de detto conte Hreglia e delli suoi egregij fatti, ch’in lingua illirica chiamano Popieukigne . . .” [“as is sung in the poems about the said Count Relja and his remarkable deeds, which in the Illyrian language they call *Popijevkinje* (*popijevke*) . . .”]. For some writers and ordinary people who had left their country, the *bugarščica* was a means of nostalgic communication with their native land as was epic poetry for the emigrants of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Dubrovnik citizen and poet Jaketa Palmotić and Stijepo Gradić used to sing a song about Marko Kraljević when they were in Rome. In letters written in 1679, Palmotić quotes entire verses from *bugarščice*. Juraj Križanić inserted verses from the *bugarščice* of his homeland as linguistic illustrations for the Pan-Slav grammar he wrote during his Siberian exile. He also commented on the performance of *bugarščice* at court celebrations and incorporated verses with a *bugarščica* flavor in the few poems he wrote.

In his literary works Vitezović showed a great love of oral literature, devoting critical attention to it and valuing its aesthetic qualities. One example of such activity is his recording of the *bugarščica* about Governor Derenčin, referred to earlier. Petar Zrinski and the *Popivka od Svilojevića*, mentioned above, show that epic heroes in an epic age meet the requirements of the *bugarščica* as a lyrical rather than epic genre. This is also clear in Vitezović’s epic, *Odiljenje sigetsko* [*The Szigetvár Farewell*] (1684), where there is ample evidence of oral poetry in general, and where *bugarščica* syntactic patterns and versification are used to articulate an emotional identification with the tragedy of Szigetvár and its principal character (Kekez 1986b). Petar Zrinski refers to the performance of a *bugarščica* in Szigetvár, as does also Brno Karnarutić in his narrative poem *Vazetje Sigeta grada* [*The Capture of Szigetvár*] (1584): Nikola Šubić Zrinski holds a great feast in honor of the victors at which *davorije* are sung, that is, martial songs accompanied by a war dance glorifying the triumphant warriors. The soldiers sing these songs in their native Croatian tongue. That the reference may be to ancient *bugarščice* can be deduced from the fact that Križanić speaks in similar terms of their performance and that for some earlier writers the term *davorija* is synonymous with *bugarščica*. At one point in Karnarutić’s poem, Zrinski also prepares a feast at which *bugarščice* are sung. The fact that the reference is to the performance of the same songs as in Petar Zrinski’s and Križanić’s writings is evident from the fact that Karnarutić calls them *bugarkinje* (Kekez 1986b:174).

In Dubrovnik in the second half of the seventeenth century, interest in oral literature was revived, and the *bugarščica* was admirably suited for the poetic sensibility of the period. The smooth, gallant, and gracious style of the Arcadian age restored the practice of oral recitation and thus the oral poem became fashionable. This was also the era of encounter in matters of style between the literary north and the literary south, both of which made use of oral literature (including the *bugarščica*) on a large scale and in the same manner, even when they did not serve as models for each other. Franjo Krsto Frankopan in the north and Ignjat Đurđević in the south are especially good examples of this phenomenon (Kekez 1981). A fellow townsman and close friend of Đurđević, Antun Gleđević wrote the dramatic work *Porodenje Gospodinovo* [*The Nativity of Our Lord*], in which shepherds glorify the newborn Lord by singing a *bugarščica* melody and refrain. Somewhat earlier, Gundulić had demonstrated his practical and theoretical allegiance to oral poetry and fondness for the *bugarščica* in his *Osman*. He refers fairly often to the *bugarščica*, mentions its chief characters, and even explains its origins. In Gundulić's company we might also place his contemporary and fellow citizen Junije Palmotić, the baroque dramatist, who, according to the testimony of Stijepo Gradić in the year 1670, was given to visiting places where people gathered and took part in folk dances. Palmotić would join in the *kolo*, or round dance, during which folk songs were sung, and he himself would improvise *poskočice*, that is, folk songs for the dance. Palmotić's interest in oral literature is also manifested in his use of typical characters from the *bugarščica* in his dramas—a collection of Slovene, Hungarian, and Bosnian gentlemen, for example (Stjepan Herceg, Janko Sibirjanin, Đurđe Branković)—and also characters from the heroic decasyllabic epic; incidentally, Gundulić also did the same thing. In other ways, too, the Croatian baroque, as we have seen to some extent, was fond of recasting, adapting, and remaining close to the form and content of the *bugarščica*.

Until recently it was not believed that archaic *bugarščice* were present in the Kajkavian dialectal area. A case could not be made merely on the basis of the few examples, referred to above, that show infiltration of Kajkavian linguistic features and that stem from the border of Kajkavian and Čakavian dialectal areas. There is, however, one epic, the *Pjesma o Sigetu* [*Song of Szigetvár*]¹—a title added later since the beginning was missing—that has some *bugarščica* features. It is found in the *Prekomurska pjesmarica I* [*Prekomurje Songbook I*], which is from the end of the sixteenth or beginning of the seventeenth century. It displays some of the features of a *bugarščica* dealing with Szigetvár, from the Gulf of Kotor region where we do in fact find a certain number of *bugarščice* with Kajkavian dialectal features. The *Pjesma o Sigetu* does not conform to the external features of the *bugarščica*—versification and form—but it does

reflect its internal characteristics: rhythm, poetic diction, syntactic constructions, clausal structure, and the relationship of characters. A number of these features are either general or coincident with those of the *bugarščica* about the death of Nikola Zrinski in Szigetvár. Since certain general imitations of the *bugarščica* are found in the *Prekomurska pjesmarica I* and in some other poems, and since the *bugarščica* served as a pattern for poems in the first published anthology in the Kajkavian dialect and in Latin, the *Cithara octochorda*, published in Vienna in 1701, we may conclude that the *bugarščica* frequently circulated in the Kajkavian area. This fact explains some hitherto obscure passages in the *bugarščica* corpus (typical of Kajkavian) and also offers a new view of its origins and historical development (Kekez 1986a).

It is self-evident that early Croatian writers frequently encountered the *bugarščica*, for it is to them that we owe the preservation of texts. Persons who wrote them down were certainly familiar with the genre and we have not listed them in this section. Nor have we mentioned the numerous works, particularly of writers from the coastal regions, in which the term occurs, or the majority of lexicographical works in which the entry *bugarščica* or the verb *bugariti* appears (Kekez 1978:33-38).

In our own time Croatian poetry has frequently had recourse to the age-old *bugarščica* with a specific purpose, although it is some hundred years ago that it vanished from oral tradition. As in earlier periods when written examples were found, the *bugarščica* is once more becoming part of written literature. Not only does written literature use its poetic elements, but an entire body of poetry is emerging that is modeled totally on the *bugarščica* technique and that contains no conspicuous elements of written literature, to which it otherwise naturally belongs. This is the case in Dubravko Horvatić's poem "*Bugarščica*," from his collection *Baščina [Heritage]*, published in Zagreb in 1982, the opening verses of which read as follows:

Zgorila je gusta česta, moj brajene, lug i gvozdi u dolini
i u onoj vilin-gori visokoj, moj brajene
kojuno sta prohodila i lipo sta drugovala, pisani vitezi.

[The dense young scrub is dry and withered, my dear brother, and
the young wood, too, and the mature wood in the valley
and in the high hills, where the fairies are, my dear brother,
where finely decked-out knights often walked by and enjoyed friendship.]

Horvatić's "*Bugarščica*" is cast in the long verses of the oral *bugarščica* and makes use of its archaic poetic diction, phrasing, morphology, syntax, and language in general. It too is a ballad, but it synthesizes the national balladic tragic identity and thus creates the customary melancholy

atmosphere of the oral genre in question. It employs motifs from a number of oral examples of the genre, and, in addition, adopts a title documented by collectors of and commentators on the *bugarščica* from the sixteenth century right up to the present.

Horvatić's approach to the ancient *bugarščica* is part of a general trend in contemporary Croatian prose, poetry, and drama to make use of the language of ancient settings. In this literature the language of ages past establishes a bond with contemporary culture. This linkage has a dual function: it serves to place time and space in an absolute context, interpreting history as the eternal recurrence of the same phenomena; and it renders time absolute and space concrete in that it interprets Croatian balladic history as a constant return to the same reality. These two variants of one idea are typical, as I have said, of postwar Croatian literature, and a historical identity is virtually created from oral factors, either factual or visualized in real terms, but invariably ancient and primeval. As a rule they derive from the Middle Ages, but sometimes they go back to the remote Croatian past, hypothetically even to the first appearance of the human race, or the very beginnings of Croatian history. The subject matter of the *bugarščica* is an integral part of the most venerable Croatian cultural data, and it is eagerly accepted and employed, especially in poetry. Unlike the example taken from Horvatić, the *bugarščica* is mostly used in modified form. The *bugarščica* entitled *Majka Margarita* thus appears in fragmentary form in Josip Pupačić's anthology of poems *Moj križ svejedno gori* [*My Cross Burns Nevertheless*], published in Zagreb in 1971.

The use of the *bugarščica* in postwar poetry is particularly well illustrated in the collection *Kameni spavač* [*The Sleeper of Stone*] of Mak Dizdar, whose poetic work is regularly inspired by medieval gravestones, or *stećci*—from which this collection takes its title—or by the inscriptions and drawings on them or by oral narratives, especially legends and related traditions. Thus, the entire anthology is couched in the language (morphology, syntax, poetic diction) and reconstructed style of the medieval period. This involves literal transcriptions of the gravestone inscriptions referred to above and other epigraphs or the incorporation of old documents and oral literature, including *bugarščice*. In terms of versification and communication, the *bugarščica* in more or less modified form is used to shape a number of Dizdar's poems. The mode of expression and the stylistic devices already identified indicate clearly the presence of the *bugarščica*. Besides age-old diction, rural speech, folk ideas, proverbial expression, and the *bugarščica*'s use of the conjunction *da* at the beginning of the verse, we find fairly common duplication of the preposition, for instance, *u tome kratkom u ljetu* ["in that brief, in summer"]. The oral literary element represented by the *bugarščica* in this poetry reconstructs the language, thought, and life of the Middle Ages and

establishes communication with the present age. To render this reconstruction more complete, Dizdar not only frequently uses duplication of the preposition but—in contrast to the *bugarščica*, which merely duplicates it—intensifies the medieval oral style by repeating the preposition several times: *u ovom dobrom u radosnom u bijelom u svijetu* [“in this good, in this joyful, in this white, in this world”]. Thus the ancient *bugarščica* finds its way into our own age, not merely as something of historical and aesthetic value, but also as a device that shapes contemporary literature. At the same time it is transformed from an oral to a written literary form.²

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Balladic Forms of the *Bugarštica* and Epic Songs

Maja Bošković-Stulli

According to the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, the characteristics of oral ballads in the European tradition are as follows: the ballad is a poem which is sung; it contains an action, which unfolds during the course of various scenes until it reaches a climax or conflict; and, finally, the ballad lives in oral tradition (Brednich 1977:1152-53).¹ In the same text it is stated that because of the fact that the art of improvisation is still alive among Serbs and Croats, “the boundaries between ballad and epic are often still fluid” (col. 1163). In a study of ballad and epic, Erich Seemann affirmed that in countries in which epic poetry is still a living tradition no stylistic difference exists between short songs (*Lieder*) and songs that resemble a small epic because of their length. He singled out the Serbo-Croatian language region as typical of this phenomenon (1955:172-73). In an examination of Seemann’s study, however, I noted the need for attempting to determine “to what extent the essential features of the ballad are dominant in our songs and to what extent those of epic poetry prevail in them” (1960:106). On that occasion I pointed out that some of the songs designated by Seemann as ballads belong to that category because of their stylistic features while others are, in fact, epic songs (107).² Subsequently, in a comparison of a number of variants of Croatian and Serbian songs having the same plot, Mira Sertić demonstrated how the stylistic boundaries of ballad and epic texts in those traditions can be defined (1965:320-30;

¹ A German version of the present text was read at a meeting of the Commission for Oral Poetry of the International Society for Ethnology and Folklore held in Rovinj, Yugoslavia, in the summer of 1987. The principal theme of the meeting was the ballad’s relationship to other genres. Because of the participation of scholars who were unfamiliar with specific aspects of oral poetry in Serbo-Croatian, basic information is occasionally provided in this text about some matters that are generally well known in the study of Serbo-Croatian oral poetry (e.g., the nature of the *bugarštice*).

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² One of the songs referred to there—the one about Marko Kraljević and Minja of Kostur—is discussed below.

348-49).

The problematic character of the relation of epic songs and ballads in the Serbo-Croatian oral tradition has been viewed by Alois Schmaus from a different perspective. It is clear that in the area of the so-called epic dominant (the central, or Dinaric, zone, roughly speaking) “the narrative posture conditions structure and style.” There heroic epic songs about battles and exploits are thematically different from songs whose themes center on family matters, but stylistically both groups are the same. Such style is “clearly narrative, it avoids reduction, makes use of formulas and repetitive techniques, its events take place gradually, step by step at an even pace, it does not permit leaping or rushing to the conclusion” (Schmaus 1971:414). No matter what the theme, that style is epic and not balladic. On the contrary, in some regions, particularly in Adriatic and village zones, another type of song is present “with a tendency toward compression of the action, reduction, temporal concision, and foreshadowing,” whereby the “desired lyric effects” are achieved. “The subject matter that, as if by its very nature, demands a narrative style here [. . .] is rendered lyrically, freed from epic weight” (415).³ In other words, in the region of the epic dominant, even songs that according to their familial-private content would be suitable for the ballad genre are cast in epic form, while in the areas of the lyric dominant, epic subject matter is freed from its epic form and is transformed into ballads. Therefore, the observation on the fluid nature of the boundary between epic songs and ballads is correct, but these songs are, at the same time, identifiable and shaped in accordance with one model or the other.

A similar difference between two types of narrative song is to some degree also present in Russian oral poetry in the case of the archaic epic *byliny* and ballads. In a comparative analysis of their verses made by D. M. Balašov in two exemplary studies, fundamental differences are clearly present (1963:7-13; 1966:5-14). At the thematic level, the ballad, in contrast to the *bylina*, does not represent events of general national significance but instead concentrates on individual human destinies or familial relations, through which broader national, ethical, or social meaning is revealed. From the standpoint of style, ballads are narrative songs that are dramatic in character. While the *bylina* unfolds gradually and branches off into series of episodes, the ballad is concentrated, condensed, dynamic; it is reduced to a single conflict without description of the events that preceded it or follow it; the action is interrupted and is often developed in dialogue form; repetitions show gradation and an increase in dramatic quality, whereas in the *bylina* they retard the action. Reasons for

³ For differentiating between the ballad and epic narrative song in the Balkans, especially in the Serbo-Croatian language areas, see also Schmaus 1973:espec. 28.

the conflict in the ballad are often only partially revealed, so that it unfolds enigmatically and in understated form. While the hero of the epic song is exaggerated and idealized in epic fashion, as is also the description of his person with weapons, clothing, and horse, the hero of the ballad is portrayed as a real person, who is “depicted” only through his conduct.

The subject of the present article is not a general comparison of epic songs and ballads in Serbo-Croatian oral poetry, a relatively easier task, but rather the investigation of certain *bugarštica* ballads.⁴ *Bugarštice* are a specific type of oral song with a long verse line of fifteen or sixteen syllables, which shows some fluctuation; they often have a refrain. They were first recorded at the end of the fifteenth century and ceased to exist in the eighteenth. Until recently the earliest recordings were thought to be those from the island of Hvar, published in 1568 in the lengthy poem of the Croatian poet Petar Hektorović, *Ribanje i ribarsko prigovaranje* [*Fishing and Fishermen's Conversations*]. Recently, however, an important *bugarštica* fragment of ten lines, which had been recorded in 1497 among emigrants from Dalmatia to southern Italy, was discovered and published by Miroslav Pantić (1977).⁵

All *bugarštice* from the territory of present-day Yugoslavia were recorded along the eastern Adriatic coast—in central and southern Dalmatia and in the Gulf of Kotor region—with one exception, which is from the interior of Croatia. Whether they in fact also originated in that and neighboring regions or were brought to those areas from the interior has been the subject of much debate, and will not be considered here.⁶ The discussion at hand is concerned with the generic features of the *bugarštica*.

More recent recordings of Croatian oral poetry of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries from the Adriatic coast show that there are no epic songs in the northern littoral area, whereas oral poetry in central and southern Dalmatia—where, as noted above, *bugarštice* too were recorded—is characterized by both balladic and epic styles. *Bugarštice* are

⁴ For English versions of forty-one *bugarštice*, see Miletich 1990.

⁵ For information on the ethnic and regional origins of the singers of this song, based on linguistic and anthroponymical analysis, see the fundamental study by Petar Šimunović (1984). The term *bugarštica* is a later, nineteenth-century form based on the original *bugarščica*, used by Hektorović in the mid-sixteenth century. The consonantal cluster *šč* does not exist in contemporary standard Serbo-Croatian, and so, like the majority of previous investigators, I use the form *bugarštica* in technical discussion, as suggested to me by the linguist Šimunović in an oral communication. The term *bugarščica* has recently come into use again to a limited degree. It is appropriate especially in contexts in which the historical aspect is emphasized, as, for example, in Šimunović's study, referred to above.

⁶ I have dealt elsewhere with most of the differing opinions expressed in previous discussions of this question, including some of my own (1975:7-25).

typologically older than the epic songs in the heroic decasyllabic meter known to us today and do not lend themselves automatically to a comparison with the latter, but, nevertheless, some *bugarštice* show a tendency toward epic style, while others, which are more significant, clearly display balladic features.

Schmaus, who very perceptively noted and differentiated epic and lyric dominants in particular zones of Serbo-Croatian oral poetry, overlooked that problem in relation to the *bugarštica*. Moreover, he believed that the *bugarštice* are heroic songs, among which he also included “the earliest recordings from the middle of the sixteenth century,” that is, those of Hektorović (1973:36). Although he had origin and not style in mind in that context, nevertheless, in my opinion, the two cannot be separated in a clear-cut way, at least when it is a question of pure ballads, as Hektorović’s *bugarštica* texts clearly are.

Valtazar (Baldo) Bogišić, who, in the nineteenth century, published the most important collection of *bugarštice* to date, noticed from his observation of the texts themselves a series of stylistic traits that we recognize as balladic, although he did not have in mind the theoretical literary model of the ballad. He remarked that *bugarštice* are considerably shorter than decasyllabic epic songs; they do not have the kind of extensive repetitions that the decasyllabic songs have and repetition in them is not stereotyped but allows “a greater or lesser degree of change”; there is less of the marvelous and the exaggerated than in the decasyllabic songs; in contrast to the decasyllabic epic, rarely do the *bugarštice* have “beginnings with questions and answers,” that is, with the figure of antithesis so common in epic poetry (1878: introd., chaps. viii, xiii, xviii, xix, xxi). As a typical nineteenth-century scholar, with a legacy of Romantic views, Bogišić saw in the *bugarštice* “a lack of true poetic beauty” when compared with the heroic decasyllabic epic (61), an assessment that is certainly unwarranted. However, his aesthetic evaluation is irrelevant in the context of this discussion, which centers on features that have a bearing on the balladic character of the *bugarštica* (or at least on a considerable part of its corpus).

Let us now turn to the texts themselves. I shall compare the generic features of a number of *bugarštica* ballads and decasyllabic epic songs with the same plot. The most characteristic *bugarštica* ballads—which at the same time are aesthetically the best—will be treated only in part since both ballads and epic heroic songs tend toward their proper thematic material, and mutual plot correspondences are thus not especially frequent although they do exist. On the other hand, in instances in which there is a plot correspondence in the *bugarštica* and the decasyllabic song, either an epic or a balladic style is at times dominant in both cases, so that such examples

are also unsuitable for generic comparison.⁷

One of the earliest and most aesthetically successful *bugarštice*, the song about Marko Kraljević and his brother Andrijaš from Hektorović's *Ribanje*, is a true ballad. On the basis of its theme, it could conditionally be classified among the haiduk songs, which are clearly epic in the Croatian and Serbian decasyllabic oral tradition, but in its entire construction and noble, knightly tone, it is completely different and remote from the haiduk epic. It deals with two brothers who quarrel about the division of booty, and Marko strikes his brother Andrijaš in the heart with his sword. As he dies, Andrijaš utters a deeply moving speech to his brother, which constitutes the principal part of the ballad. The song is totally enigmatic and understated. There is not a word about how the brothers acquired the booty for which they quarrel. After some brief introductory information about the quarrel, the wounded Andrijaš speaks "po tihora" ["softly"] to Prince Marko: he implores him to conceal his evil deed from their mother, to lie to her, saying that his sword is covered with blood because he struck in the heart a "tihoga jelenka" ["peaceful little deer"], who did not wish to yield to him on the road, and that Andrijaš has remained in a foreign land:

“‘ostao je,’ reci, ‘junak, mila majko, u tujoj zemlji,
iz koje se ne može od milin’ja odiliti

Andrijašu;

onde mi je obljudio jednu gizdavu devojku.
I odkle je junak tuj devojku obljudio,
nikad veće nije pošal sa mnome vojevati,
i sa mnome nije veće ni plinka razdilio.
Ona t’ mu je dala mnoga bil’ja nepoznana
i onoga vinca junaku od zabitja,

gizdava devojka.

Li uskori mu se hoćeš, mila majko, nadijati.”

(Bošković-Stulli 1975:8)

[“‘the hero,’ say, ‘dear mother, has stayed in a foreign land,
from which he cannot take his leave for pleasure’s sake,

Andrijaš;

he fell in love there with a fair maiden.
And ever since the hero fell in love with that maiden,
he never again went off with me to battle,
and did not ever even share booty with me.

⁷ Such, for example, are *bugarštica* No. 1 of Bogišić's collection with its 253 verses and the song about Musić Stefan from Vuk Karadžić's collection (1895:No. 46), which are both epic in character. On the other hand, the following are balladic in character: the two *bugarštice* about the marvelous selection of Matijaš as king (Bogišić 1878:Nos. 30, 31) and the songs with the same plot in the heroic decasyllabic meter (*HNP* 1896:No. 67; *HNP* 1942:No. 12; Gezeman 1925:No. 75 = Bošković-Stulli 1964:No. 11); such balladic character is due, perhaps, to the fabulous non-heroic subject matter or to the "non-heroic" region in which the songs about Matijaš's selection were recorded, or to both of these reasons.

She gave him many unknown herbs
 and to the hero that wine of forgetfulness,
 Do not hope, dear mother, that he will soon return.”]
 fair maiden.

Andrijaš utters these words as part of a projected, future dialogue between his brother and mother, making use of condensed, symbolic speech, describing the wounded “little deer” so as to make it evident that he, in fact, is that deer, moving from speech in his brother’s voice to speech in his own, and reminding his brother that he will be left unprotected from the highwaymen’s attack “u carnoj gori” [“in the dark woods”], that then he “poklikne brajena Andrijaša” [“should cry out for his dear brother Andrijaš”] and that the highwaymen out of fear will be dispersed in all directions; at the end he reproaches his brother for killing him without cause. Everything in this ballad is compact and concentrated, and the “action” is reduced to Andrijaš’s unusual, poetic monologue (Bošković-Stulli 1975). Among the Croats of Gradišće, or Burgenland—emigrants from Croatia in the sixteenth century whose descendants now live principally in the region bordering Austria and Hungary—there are recordings of a number of ballads whose plots and formal characteristics are similar to those of the *bugarštica* about Marko and Andrijaš (*ibid.*:15-18).

To my knowledge, there exists only one epic decasyllabic song having such subject matter. I recorded it in 1962 in the vicinity of Dubrovnik (*ibid.*:28-30). Two brothers who are haiduks quarrel as the result of an insult and one wounds the other mortally. In his dying words, he advises his brother to conceal what has taken place when he arrives at the “white court,” and to lie, saying that his brother stayed behind on the mountain to wait for the haiduk Mijat. The assailant makes his way alone along the mountain, the haiduk Mijat attacks him there, and in his misfortune he calls out to his brother for help. The dying brother hears him, stops up his wounds with grass, “and shouts out at the top of his voice,” so that Mijat takes flight out of fear. He then dies and his killer takes his own life.

This decasyllabic haiduk song of fairly recent origin, whose motifs have the same source as the *bugarštica* about Marko and Andrijaš, resembles the latter quite closely in its subject matter but is altogether different in form. It is not merely a question of different meter and epic formulas but rather of a different representation of the action: what in the *bugarštica*—that is, in the ballad—is only a prediction expressed in the monologue of the dying character is now transformed into a string of epic events: haiduks *really* attack the brother, the dying man *really* comes to the aid of his brother. Everything is raised to the level of the real event and of heroic undertakings, although the ending, nevertheless, is balladic. In poetic range, the decasyllabic text falls well behind the *bugarštica*.⁸

⁸ For a somewhat different analysis of this decasyllabic song, see my earlier study (1975:19-20).

There are other songs with familial relations as their central interest, reflected in the ballad genre in the form of the *bugarštica*, while the same subject matter in its more recent decasyllabic form takes on epic features to a greater or lesser extent. The *bugarštica* about the conflict of the Jakšić brothers over their inability to reach an agreement on the division of a horse and falcon is a true family ballad; as Mitar goes off to hunt, he demands that his wife poison his brother Stjepan, but she does not do so, making peace between them instead (Bogišić 1878:No. 44). The text does not tell us what the wife intended to do after receiving that horrible command: “Brzo Jele biješe gospodara poslušala, / A objed pripravi u svojemu b’jelu dvoru” [“Jele quickly obeyed her husband, / And prepared the meal in her white court”]. Only afterwards, from her conversation with her brother-in-law during the meal, do we learn that she does not approve of killing him. The central event, therefore, is expressed through dialogue.

Two decasyllabic variants, one from a recording of Nikola Tommaseo and another from Vuk Karadžić’s collection, are also ballads—in addition, Tommaseo’s text from Dalmatia calls the brothers Kraljević Marko and Andrijaš, as in the *bugarštica* in Hektorović’s text—but epic tendencies are nonetheless evident in both of them (*HNP* 1897:No. 25; Karadžić 1895:No. 97). Whereas the *bugarštica* begins *in medias res*, the song in Vuk’s collection has a typical introductory formula about the conversation between the Moon and the Morning Star; the description of feudal possessions to be divided by the brothers is given in detail; in Vuk’s song we find the poetically very effective symbolic episode of the falcon left with only one wing who feels like the brother who has lost his brother, a feature that is, admittedly, characteristic of the ballad but which also expands the text. Finally, in Vuk’s text the sequence of events moves forward at an epic pace: in the course of ten verses Anđelija the wife reflects on her inability to do away with her own brother-in-law, and then goes and asks him to make her a gift of the horse and falcon, which he in fact does. The balladic dialogue of the preceding *bugarštica* example is replaced here by a series of events.

Another song-type about the Jakšić brothers, in which the loyalty of their wives is tested, also deals with familial subject matter. An eighteenth-century *bugarštica* is condensed in ballad fashion, whereas a decasyllabic song of the same century moves along broadly with typical epic repetitions.⁹ Each brother asks his wife whether she agrees that her brother-in-law should be given a costly horse, clothing, and arms, and while one wife turns out to be generous, the other is malevolent and tightfisted. Although both songs are approximately from the

⁹ In the first part of that *bugarštica* (Bogišić 1878:No. 41), verses 1-40 belong to a different type of ballad, which appears separately as No. 42 in Bogišić. The song in the heroic decasyllabic meter appears in the work of the Croatian writer from Slavonia, Matija Antun Reljković, published in 1762 (1779). Vuk took it from Reljković’s book and published it in his second volume of *Srpske narodne pjesme* [*Serbian Folk Songs*], alleging that he had recorded it “od jednoga momčeta iz Užičke nahije” [“from a young lad from the district of Užice”] (Karadžić 1895:No. 99; 624, n. 76).

same period and have the same family subject matter, the difference in their styles points up the fact that the decasyllabic meter has oriented one song to the epic form.

The *bugarštica* about the death of Ban [Governor] Sekul (Sekula), the nephew of Duke Janko, which has as its historical background the second battle of Kosovo of 1448, is irrational in its mythical view of the world and enigmatic in its plot (Bogišić 1878:No. 19). Before the tent of the Turkish sultan, Sekul

Iz njedara pustio ljutu zmiju krilaticu,
 Bože! ljutu zmiju,
A s njom mi je pustio sokola lijepu pticu.
Zadjeli se bijahu u jajeru vedra neba,
 Soko i ljuta zmija. . . .

[loosed a fierce winged serpent from his bosom,
 O God, a fierce serpent!
And with it he loosed a fair falcon.
They clashed in the air of the clear sky,
 The falcon and fierce serpent. . . .]

In that struggle Sekul's uncle shoots the "winged serpent" instead of the falcon, and the nephew returns to Janko's tent seriously ailing and says "'Nego me si u srce ljutom str'jelom ustr'jelio, / Od ove se rane neću ja junak izvidati, / Vu'če da moj Janko!'" ["'But your sharp arrow has struck my heart, / From this wound I, a hero, shall not recover, / My Uncle Janko!'"]. Then Sekul soon dies in the saddle. That the serpent and falcon are the incarnation of Sekul and the Turkish sultan can be surmised only vaguely and indirectly from the first of the three lines just cited. What happens in this entire song is fragmentary and strange, and is poetically suggestive precisely because of such understatement. Its expressiveness is based on the poetics of the ballad.

A decasyllabic song from Vuk's collection likewise leans in the direction of the ballad because of its somber, mythical content, but also shows clear signs of epic transformation (1895:No. 84).¹⁰ The action moves forward gradually in a number of episodes whose boundaries are fixed; formulas are repeated in epic fashion. Sekul's death is foreshadowed: some maidens curse him on his way to Kosovo. Sekul expressly tells Janko that he will appear under the guise of a "six-winged serpent" who will bear the Turkish sultan in his teeth in the form of a falcon, and that Janko should shoot the falcon and not the serpent. All this is carried out and expressed in the same words, except that Janko shoots the serpent instead of the falcon and, as a result, Sekul soon dies. Although the meaning of the animal transformations is left unexplained in the decasyllabic text as well, the

¹⁰ For a variant, see Karadžić 1895:No. 85. In another text, the plot about the fight between the serpent and the falcon is fit into a long epic song with different subject matter (*HNP* 1896:No. 78).

course of events leaves no room at all for confusion. Furthermore, the substratum of this song is very archaic. Dagmar Burkhart interprets it as “an ancient shamanistic motif, that is, it refers to the soul’s departure from the body in the form of some animal. If the animal which represents the soul is killed, the one whose role it has assumed will also inevitably die” (1968:477).

Two *bugarštice* tell about the marriage of Despot Vuk (or Ognjeni Vuk [Fiery Vuk (Wolf)]), but in very different ways (Bogišić 1878:Nos. 12, 13). The action of the first song unfolds entirely in the lordly, feudal milieu of the Hungarian court of King Matijaš. Its solemn, stately, lordly atmosphere and the courteous bearing of its characters are typical of most *bugarštice* and are in accord with their slow, measured, plaintive discourse in contrast to the often cruel elemental nature of the decasyllabic epic. In that song King Matijaš marries off his vassal Vuk to Barbara, sister of a Bosnian ban, and gives him as gifts the estates of which he had been divested. In the second *bugarštica* Vuk marries the sister of the ban of Poljice. His sworn brother, the Turk Alibeg, carried away by the young bride’s beauty, tries to abduct her by taking her on horseback into the Danube. But Radosav, one of the wedding guests, forces him to give up the bride.

The plots of these two *bugarštica* ballads are merged in an extensive epic decasyllabic song (*HNP* 1896:No. 80). The differences between the two types, which are similar to those in the other examples discussed above but are here considerably more conspicuous, consist in the epic stringing together of events, in formulas, extended repetitions, and a different social milieu. On this occasion, I will not analyze those differences but only comment on one that is particularly outstanding. Whereas in the *bugarštica* (No. 13) the sworn brother attempts to abduct the bride almost against his own will, since he is carried away by her extraordinary beauty, at the same point in the decasyllabic song we find a true epic ambush with three hundred Turkish janissaries, who attack the wedding party on the mountain in order to abduct the bride. But Vuk heroically stops them:

Kad to vidi ognjeviti Vuče,
brijetku je ćordu povadio,
pa na Turke juriš učinio,
sve pos’ječe, n’jedan ne uteče.

[When the fiery Vuk saw that,
he drew his sharp sword,
and charged the Turks,
he slew all of them, not one escaped.]

A number of *bugarštica* ballads and their epic transformations have been compared up to this point. There are also cases in which differences between the *bugarštica* ballad and the decasyllabic epic song cannot be attributed solely to the nature of the *bugarštica* genre since an action may also be reduced because of the

inferior quality of the text. It seems that one such example is the *bugarštica* about Marko and the Moorish maiden, whom Marko kills even though she freed him from prison.¹¹

Just as the central theme of ballads—familial subject matter and individual human destinies—can be transformed from the *bugarštice* into later epic forms, so too, but conversely, the same heroic plots find their parallels in the *bugarštica* and the epic decasyllabic song. I will, however, put aside the questions of origin and dissemination of particular plots and focus our attention on the form that the epic heroic plot takes in the *bugarštica*. I have noted above that at times both the *bugarštica* and the decasyllabic song that have a plot in common appear in the same generic form, whether balladic or epic (for examples, see n. 7, above). These are, however, rare cases. For the most part, *bugarštice* show a preference for the balladic form. It goes without saying that songs with epic heroic subject matter cannot be true ballads like the ones we have examined above. It is sufficient to be able to identify a tendency toward the ballad style in the *bugarštice* that have such epic plots. This I will attempt to do below.

Two *bugarštice* contain the archaic heroic story about the groom who is not permitted to lead his bride away until he has fulfilled three difficult tasks: to shoot a golden apple down from a wall with a bow, to jump over twelve saddled horses, and to recognize the bride who is one of twelve maidens (or something similar). One or more heroes replace the groom in carrying out these ancient fabulous tasks (Bogišić 1878:Nos. 9, 26). These events are related briefly in the *bugarštice*, are inserted into a context with different subject matter, and are free of epic stylization, but also of a specific balladic form.

In 1756 in his *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* [*Pleasant Recreation for the Slavic People*], Andrija Kačić Miošić published a decasyllabic song about the marriage of Sibirjanin Janko, which is very close in its chronology to the *bugarštice* just discussed (1967:126-29). The plots are essentially the same, but the text in Kačić Miošić is a genuine epic folk song with a slowly paced action, stylized epic repetition of episodes, and drawn-out plot, which will appear later in numerous variants of that heroic song.¹² As we saw earlier in the case of the song about the Jakšić brothers testing the loyalty of their wives, the importance of chronological proximity in recording the decasyllabic song and the *bugarštica* retreats in the face of the much more significant role of the reciprocal generic linkage of decasyllabic epic texts.

In addition to *bugarštice*, Bogišić's collection also contains decasyllabic songs from an eighteenth-century manuscript. Some of the latter have plots which are comparable to those of the *bugarštica*. Thus, one *bugarštica* and two decasyllabic texts in Bogišić's collection deal with Minja (Mihna) of Kostur, who

¹¹ Bogišić 1878:No. 5 (= *HNP* 1897:No. 13); Karadžić 1895:No. 63; *HNP* 1897:No. 14.

¹² For some variants, see Karadžić 1895:Nos. 28, 78; *HNP* 1896:Nos. 70, 71.

carries off Marko Kraljević's wife, whom Marko, disguised as a monk, manages to regain (1878:Nos. 7, 86, 87). The same plot can also be found in Vuk Karadžić's collection (1895:No. 61). Without making a detailed comparison, I will note that the *bugarštica* is epic in character, but that it is, however, in some of its features, close to the balladic form as well. It is reduced to a key incident, whereas in the epic texts the action branches off into several secondary episodes, which are, of course, formulaic and repetitive. The heroic subject matter of the agon is attenuated in the *bugarštica*: there is no description of the combat with Minja and there are no soldiers (janissaries) to help Marko; Marko simply cuts off Minja's "glavicu" ["little head"].

We can also see a similar relationship between epic content and certain tendencies toward the balladic mode in the *bugarštica* in the well-known song about Banović Strahinja and his unfaithful wife.¹³ The difference between the *bugarštica* and the decasyllabic song is immediately evident from their lengths: the *bugarštica* comprises 131 verses and the text in Vuk's collection has 810. The songs deal with the abduction of Strahinja's wife by a Turk. The decasyllabic song depicts the event in the greatest poetically impressive epic detail, whereas the *bugarštica* begins *in medias res*: while at dinner, Strahinja's brother-in-law asks him why he is sulking: "Ali žališ, Strahinja, dvore tvoje porobljene? / Ali žališ, moj šura, ljubi tvoju zarobljenu?" ["Are you grieving over your looted court, Strahinja? / Or are you grieving over your captive wife, my brother-in-law?"]. The abduction has already taken place before the song begins and it is not described here. This stylistic ballad feature, of which there are a number of other instances, does not, however, change essentially the epic character of the *bugarštica* under discussion.

Sometimes, however, as in this final example, stylistic ballad features are so pronounced that to some degree they leave their stamp on an entire song whose subject matter is epic. In the decasyllabic song about the Jakšić brothers' ravaged court, we are told in epic fashion how Arap-aga looted their court and carried off their sister into captivity (Karadžić 1895:No. 96). The brothers then go and free her, killing Arap-aga and also the children their sister had with him: "Od zla roda nek nema poroda, / Od zla pseta nek nema šteneta" (ll. 168-69) ["From bad seed let there be no offspring, / From a bad dog let there be no pup"]. A *bugarštica* with the same plot is completely different (Bogišić 1878:No. 45). Its milieu is lordly and there is no trace of cruelty. The events are related through dialogue: the mother tells her son that the Turks abducted his sister when she was still just a child and that she is a slave in the court of a ban. The brother sets out to find his sister. The dialogue in which brother and sister recognize one another is the central "event" of the entire song. Together they flee without struggle or bloodshed. This *bugarštica* also contains a description of the fitting out of the hero, characteristic, moreover, of epic song, but instead of a warrior's outfit the

¹³ Bogišić 1878:No. 40; Karadžić 1895:No. 43; *HNP* 1896:No. 56.

hero decks himself out as if he were planning to visit some nobleman's court:

Na se mi je obuk'o od svile zlatne kavade,
Na glavu je stavio kamilovac bio klobuk,
Za klobuk je zadio svê pero od suha zlata. . . .

[He donned silken gold robes,
On his head he placed a white camel-hair hat,
In his hat he stuck a feather all of pure gold. . . .]

What are the consequences of all that has been said here up to this point? Among the *bugarštice* there are a goodly number of pure ballads, unsuitable for comparison with epic songs, and they have not been the object of our consideration here. However, *bugarštica* ballads exist that have parallels in epic decasyllabic songs with the same subject matter, and a comparison of both groups shows very clearly how they differ in style. Finally, there are also *bugarštice* that belong to the category of the heroic epic genre; a comparison of them with decasyllabic songs with the same subject matter shows, however, that they tend toward the balladic mode. What lies at the root of the *bugarštica*'s affinity for balladic form is a question for a separate and different type of discussion.

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Šimunović 1984

Petar Šimunović. "Šklavunske naseobine u južnoj Italiji i naša prva zapisana bugarščica." *Narodna umjetnost*, 21:53-68.

The Folk Ballad in Slovenia

Zmaga Kumer

Slovenia is the western most republic of the Yugoslav federation, bordered by Austria to the north, Italy to the west, and Croatia to the south and southeast. Slovenes are South Slavs and the Slovene language, one of the most archaic Slav languages, is divided into many dialects. Although a small country, Slovenia is geographically very diverse, with high mountainous regions, low hills, valleys and lowlands, a section of the Adriatic coastline, lakes, and the limestone karst. An adequate rural economy influenced the life of the people, and this is reflected in their customs and folk songs. Folk-song content has also been influenced by the lot of Slovenes throughout their history.

A relatively large proportion of Slovene folk songs are of decidedly narrative character but belong to the ballad genre rather than to epic poetry (Kumer 1978a:137). So far, more than three hundred types of ballads have been discovered, several of which have many variants. Although the Slovene people have their own expressions for some genres of song, no special words for ballad exist, except in one region where ballads are known as *žalostne*, meaning "sad songs." This term reflects the fact that many ballads end tragically and are (or were) sung during the deathwatch (Kumer 1981:50). Some ballads have survived until now precisely because of this.

Ballads can be found in all Slovene regions and are sung by nearly all folk singers. Ballad singers as specialists do not exist. The repertoire of a folk singer is a result of his or her own personality as formed by the circumstances affecting his or her life, heritage, education, and so forth (Kumer 1981:50-53), or is influenced by incidental events. Possibly, some singers prefer a certain genre of songs because of their own temperament and mental disposition. As an example, let me cite here a singer from a village near Ljubljana, the capital of Slovenia. A small frail person of seventy-eight, she told us that in her youth, beneath her paternal roof, they were not used to singing frivolous songs. Hence she continued to sing folk songs of serious content and her repertoire consisted almost exclusively of ballads, legends, and similar songs (Vodušek and Kumer 1958:188-89). Ballad singers are not always old women. We also have recorded ballads

sung by girls, boys, and men (Kumer 1975:115-23). These may be sung with one voice when performed by a single person, or with many voices like other Slovene folk songs when a group of singers come together.

Up until the Second World War, Slovenia was a predominantly agricultural country with much of the work still done by hand, in groups, with neighbors assisting one another. Such collective work consisted, for example, of the shucking of corn cobs, harvesting of grapes, and spinning. If the workers were able to sing, the songs provided a regular accompaniment to their work. In the past, a similar occasion for singing was the visit of a cobbler or a seamstress to someone's home. The stranger was the bearer of news and for many days the house became a meeting place for young people; some ballads would also have been sung.

Another important, special occasion for the singing of ballads is the deathwatch. Until recently, in nearly every Slovene region it was customary for the deceased to remain at home until the actual funeral. Relatives and friends came together in the evening to pray and sing throughout the night. The repertoire for these occasions included not only songs with appropriate themes but also religious songs and ballads, for example, *The Death of a Bride*, *The Holy Virgin and the Ferryman*, *The Widower with Child at His Wife's Grave*, *The Death of the Robber's Wife*, and *The Condemned Soul*.

A ballad may be added to a customary song or may replace it. Examples of the ballad exist as the middle part of an Epiphany (January 6) carol, or as a substitute for a carol on St. Stephen's Day (December 26) and on St. Florian's Day (May 4). In a village in the Bela Krajina region, the usual carol for the eve of Midsummer Day (June 23) is replaced by the ballad *The Three Sinful Souls* whenever a member of the household has died during the current year. Exceptionally, an ancient ballad was recorded in the nineteenth century as a lullaby. A further exception is the ballad as a dance song, performed in the village of Predgrad in Bela Krajina as an accompaniment to the ritual St John's Day Dance on December 27.¹

The majority of Slovene ballads have either legendary themes (42%) or family themes (24%). Love ballads are also numerous (14%) and so are ballads about preternatural forces or beings (12%). By theme Slovene ballads belong to the Western European ballad tradition; some are related to the Slavic tradition and others are particularly Slovene in origin. Ballads of international themes include, for example, *The Warrior Girl*, *The Husband's Return*, *Heer Halewijn*, *The Musician at the Gates of Hell* (the so-called Orpheus motif), *The Apparent Death*, and *The Cruel Mother*.

¹ Ramovš 1979; Boškovič-Stulli 1968; Kumer 1977; Seemann 1959a; *SLP* 1970: No. 23.

Not all of these ballads underwent complete transfer, some of them belonging only by their themes to the international tradition, with their details treated according to Slovene tradition (Kumer 1987). There are also examples in which a foreign ballad was, in essence, transformed by time. An excellent instance of this phenomenon is the ballad *Heer Halewijn*, which came to Slovenia through German folk poetry. In German, Heer Halewijn has the name Ulinger and in Slovene this became Jélengar. The oldest Slovene version is very close to the German versions, but by the first half of the nineteenth century it was already designated a transformed version. Here the “hero” is never a noble minstrel but a Gypsy singer, and his victim is not a princess but the daughter of an innkeeper. In the most recent version from the beginning of the twentieth century, the Gypsy seduces the girl by drinking to her three times (Kumer 1978b:46-47).

The adaptation of international ballad themes is evident in various motifs and details. In the ballad with the “Orpheus motif,” the musician’s mother must be in hell because, as an innkeeper, she adds water to the wine, something considered fraudulent, a crime in Slovene folk tradition. A further indication of adaptation is the use of indigenous geographical or personal names. The Slovene version of *The Warrior Girl* is set in Slovene villages, her father is a Slovene peasant, and people maintain that the story is a true one.²

Some Slovene ballads have parallels in the Slavic tradition, owing either to the ancient, common heritage or to later borrowing from one of the Slavic nations. One example of this is the ballad *The Death of the Robber’s Wife*, known to all Slavs everywhere in regional variants. *Three Sorceresses Paring the Shepherd’s Heart* and *The Waterman’s Wife* also originated in Slavic tradition (Kumer 1968b). A number of ballads with no counterparts in other languages can be taken to be originally Slovene. Examples are *The Tenth Daughter*, *Bloody Revenge*, *The Girl Dancer Abducted by the Devil*, *Two Seminarians and the Sinful Waitress*, *The Miller Driving Away Death*, and *The Galley-Slave*.

In addition to legendary ballads or versions of European balladry belonging to medieval traditions, we have recent ballads originating in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and based upon real events. Such is the case with an infanticide executed in Ljubljana in 1766 (Kumer forthcoming). Some ballads reflect historical circumstances rather than actual historical reality. The ballad *The Robber Matjon* is such a case (Kumer 1984).

In the region of Styria, the practice of composing a narrative poem with a melody when someone was killed or had an accident existed right up

² Seemann 1959b; Makarovič 1963-64; *SLP* 1970: Nos. 7 and 8.

to the twentieth century. Several of these songs spread to other regions to be included by folk singers in their ballad repertoires. Obviously the text was altered, the real names omitted or another melody substituted as is usual in folk music tradition. A classical example of this type is the ballad about a girl killed by her jealous lover after dancing with another boy (Kumer 1963-64).

The uniqueness of Slovene ballads is expressed more in the motifs than anywhere else. The problem lies in the kind of motifs employed, their context, and their frequency. Preliminary information on these issues is available in the index of Slovene ballad types in Slovene and German (Kumer 1974). We can, for example, see that the theme of flowers growing from the graves of lovers is used frequently and in different situations. Among preternatural forces or beings, the devil appears often, either as an abductor, a seducer, a bridegroom, the buyer of an unborn child, and so on. An important figure in Slovene folk poetry is the Holy Virgin. Ballads present her not only as the simple human mother of Jesus, solicitous about her child, but also as the powerful mediatrix before God and redeemer from danger. In some ballads the deceased return to the world to intervene in the action. Consequently, in a ballad about orphans, their mother rises from the grave to provide for her children, or the dead bridegroom comes for his bride. Among animals, it is the bird that is important, either as a messenger, a helper, a harbinger of death, a symbol of the soul (in the Slovene language both bird and soul are feminine) or of the Holy Virgin, a dead person, and so forth. Death, also feminine in Slovene, may be presented as a woman in white, as the messenger of God or as a mythical being.

The texts of ballads reflect the ethical and moral principles of the people, their outlook on life and the world. This means that all evil actions are followed by punishment, either in the form of illness, some modification in the natural state (a human changes into an animal or turns into stone), or the execution or damnation of the culprit. Punishment can be averted by atonement, sometimes in drastic form, for example, by self-immolation or by cutting off flesh from one's own body. One can see that people tolerated human failings but not offenses against the community. These offenses were matters such as the refusal of hospitality, pride, faithlessness, heartlessness, the oppression of the poor, fraud, and so on, all of which were condemned by the people. Anyone sinning in such a manner may be condemned to hell, where different torments, very drastically described, exist. Adultery usually appears in ballads about the nobility and is always penalized. It appears that the Slovene people protested about the injustices they had to suffer merely by describing the nobles as sinners, as corrupt persons.

The former social order is reflected in ballads where, for instance,

the brother and not the husband is the protector of the wife and her children; the husband can by right execute capital punishment against his adulterous wife; the lover is permitted to punish his faithless sweetheart; the son may avenge his murdered father; parents decide about their daughter's marriage; and love of the master's daughter leads to capital punishment.

No less than other Slovene folk songs, ballads reveal the special nature of folk poetic language (Kumer 1975:68-81). Most of them begin with an introductory line, which is significant not only for individual ballads but for the ballad genre as a whole. For example, "Stoji, stoji en beli grad" ["There stands, there stands a white castle"] or "Leži, leži ravno polje" ["There is, there is a level field"] or "Leži mi vrtec ograjen" ["There is a fenced garden"]. Telling the story in his or her ballad, the folk poet uses stock expressions indicating time, space, contrast, and so forth, as the following examples illustrate:

preden to—že ono [before this—already that]	Preden bo jutri beli dan, <i>boš pa ti že na pare djan.</i> [Before it is broad daylight tomorrow, you will be laid on the catafalque.]
<i>komaj to—že ono</i> [no sooner this—than that]	<i>To komaj Liza zgovori,</i> <i>že mrtva na tleh leži.</i> [No sooner does Liza say this, than she lies dead on the ground.]
<i>dozdaj—od zdaj</i> [till now—from now on]	<i>Dozdaj si bla hčerka birtova,</i> <i>zdaj boš žena ciganova.</i> [Till now you've been the innkeeper's daughter, from now on you'll be the Gypsy's wife.]
<i>naprej—nazaj</i> [forward—backward]	<i>Naprej ne vem, nazaj ne smem</i> [Forward I do not know how to go, backward I must not go].

The repetition of words or sentences is also characteristic of the ballad style. Sometimes repetition is used for dramatic intensification, such as with numbers. Here is an example:

<i>Pavka prvič zapoje,</i> <i>Lenka že gori vstaja . . .</i>	The tambour beats for the first time, Lenka is getting up . . .
<i>Pavka drugič zapoje,</i> <i>Lenka že pokič skup spravla . . .</i>	The tambour beats for the second time, Lenka is preparing her baggage . . .
<i>Pavka tretjič zapoje,</i> <i>Lenka že na konjča seda. . .</i>	The tambour beats for the third time, Lenka is getting on her horse. . .

The oldest recordings of Slovene folk ballads do not preserve melodies because the collectors considered them poems and not songs. Their interest lay in the content and they consequently neglected the form, simply writing down lines one after the other even in cases where the existence of stanzas is evident (for example, those established by rhyme). In form, ballads do not differ essentially from other Slovene folk songs. The majority of them are composed in stanzas, and only a small number prove that in the past examples must have existed where the melody consisted of a single line only, as below:³



Example 1

The melodies are regularly in strict rhythm and the lines of the text retain their constant number of syllables. Exceptions can be found only in a small western region, where legendary ballads have unequal long lines and an appropriate melody, for example:



Example 2

The characteristic line of Slovene folk ballads is the trochaic heptasyllable - v - v / - v - , with an optional anacrusis (an unaccented syllable at the beginning) (Vodušek 1960: 110), although it can be found in other folk-song genres too:

³ The fifteen examples of melodies are taken from Kumer 1975 (Nos. 416, 380, 391, 479, 379, 495, 480, 473, 392, 399, 419, 429, and 407); *SLP* 1970 (No. 33/20); and Kumer 1968a (No. 288).

Kaj pa delaš, Anzelček

- v - v / - v -

One of the oldest lines is the dactylic decasyllable, called the lyrical decasyllable, - v v - v / - v v - v , also known in some Croatian regions, Macedonia, Bulgaria, and among the Baltic peoples. Nevertheless, it appears to be an old Slavic form (Vodušek 1959:201):

Sveta Kristina bolna ležala

- v v - v / - v v - v

The dactylic-trochaic octosyllable, - v v / - v / - v v , is another significant line, with the corresponding rhythm in the melody (Vodušek 1984):

Fantič je hodiv daleč v vas

- v v / - v / - v v

3/8 

There are also other forms that are not so frequent.

As mentioned earlier, the texts of most Slovene ballads are composed in stanzas of two, three, or four lines. The structure of the four-line stanzas is really varied because of the length of the lines, their position in the stanza, their repetition, and the eventual use of a refrain (Kumer 1975:82-86), for example:

Kaj pa delaš, Anzelček?	M ⁴	- v - v / - v -	7
Svoji ljubci šolenček,	N	- v - v / - v -	7
<i>trala lila tralalilala,</i>	R	- v - v / - v - v -	(9)
svoji ljubci šolenček.	N	- v - v / - v -	7
Stoji, stoji mi lipica,	M	v / - v - v / - v -	(1) 7
pod njo je hladna senčica, N	N	v / - v - v / - v -	(1) 7
u senci miza kamnata,	O	v / - v - v / - v -	(1) 7
na štiri ogle rezana.	P	v / - v - v / - v -	(1) 7
Mlad pastirček kravce pase	M	- v - v - v - v	8
po zelenem travniku,	N	- v - v - v -	7
mlad pastirček kravce pase	M	- v - v - v - v	8
po zelenem travniku.	N	- v - v - v -	7

The Slovene ballad melodies have at least two lines, sometimes three, but usually four. The text stanzas correspond to the melody or are adapted

⁴ Text analysis is characterized by the letters M, N, O, P . . . and refrain by R, to avoid confusion with melodic analysis, characterized by the letters A, B, C, etc.

by repetition of lines (Kumer 1975:86-91), for example:

Example 3 (MM) shows two staves of music in G major and 6/8 time. The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes. The lyrics are: Le- pa - vo- da Lju- bljan- či- ca, le- pa vo- da Lju- bljan- či- ca.

Example 3 (MM)

Example 4 (MMM) shows two staves of music in G major with changing time signatures (2/4, 3/4, 2/4). The melody consists of eighth and quarter notes. The lyrics are: Ma- ri- ja z O- gr- ske- ga gre, Ma- ri- ja a z O- gr- ske- ga gre, Ma- ri- ja z O- gr- ske- ga gre.

Example 4 (MMM)

Example 5 (MN) shows two staves of music in G major and 3/8 time. The melody consists of quarter and eighth notes. The lyrics are: Sta- ri Job bo- lan le- ži, on pa še zme- ri god- cu- žu- li.

Example 5 (MN)

Musical notation for Example 6 (MNN) in 3/4 time, key of D major. The melody consists of two lines of music. The first line has four measures, each with a slur over five notes and a '5' above it. The lyrics are: Lep- šga de- kle- ta ni na svet, ka- kor je sve- ta. The second line has four measures, also with a slur over five notes and a '5' above it. The lyrics are: Bar- ba- ra, ka- kor je sve- ta Bar- - ba- ra.

Example 6 (MNN)

Musical notation for Example 7 (MNMN) in 2/4 time, key of D major. The melody consists of two lines of music. The first line has four measures with lyrics: Ma- ri- ja šla na bož- jo pot, na bož- jo pot v Je- ru- za- lem, Ma- ri- ja šla na bož- jo pot, na bož- jo pot v Je- ru- za- lem. The second line has four measures with lyrics: ri- ja šla na bož- jo pot, na bož- jo pot v Je- ru- za- lem.

Example 7 (MNMN)

Musical notation for Example 8 (MNOP) in 2/4 time, key of D major. The melody consists of two lines of music. The first line has four measures with lyrics: Dü- ša pre mi- šla- va- la, kam bi se o- ber- no- la, dü- ša se o- ber- no- la, pred ne- be- ška vra- ta šla. The second line has four measures with lyrics: dü- ša se o- ber- no- la, pred ne- be- ška vra- ta šla.

Example 8 (MNOP)

As far as the rhythm of melodies is concerned, the ballads are not unique but are linked to other Slovene folk songs (Kumer 1975:95-99). They are in 2/4, 3/4, 4/4 time, and can jump to alternated 3/4 + 2/4 time;

6/8 time is rare and the characteristic Slovene 5/8 time is not very frequent:

Ker- mu se drem- le, naj gre spat, ka- kor je
sto- riw An- zel mlad.

Example 9

Ja- grič mi gre v za- le ni log, ja- grič mi gre v za-
le- ni log, ja- grič mi gre- v za- le- ni- log.

Example 10

No- be- na mat prov ne sto- ri, če svo- jo
jčer da- leč mo- ži, ži.

Example 11

Se- stri ca, sta- ni, na pa- šo boš šla, boš
gna- la dva vo- la pa ko- nji- če tri.

Example 12

Sto- ji, sto ji en klošterlep v klo- štru je pa nun de- vet.

Example 13

Occasionally, as in other Slovene folk songs, 3/4 time in the melody alters at a certain point to 2/4 time, though this shift is never accidental but rather the rule; for example:

Mladpa- stir- ček krav- ce pa se na ze- le- nem - trav- ni- ku,
mlad pa- stir- ček krav- ce pa- se na ze- le- nem trav- ni- ku

Example 14

Some Slovene ballad melodies are very simple, diatonic with a narrow range, here and there with traces of pentatonic or of oligotonic structure. Thus the music itself also confirms the fact that certain ballads belong to the archaic period of Slovene folklore tradition. Ballads also exist in which quite recent melodies are associated with an old text. It seems that people loved these ballads for their textual content, considering

the melodies less acceptable. Some singers admitted directly that they knew of the existence of certain ballads we wished to record, but were unable to sing them because they did not like the strange, awkward melodies. Consequently they had not committed them to memory.

Because Slovene songs are only by exception sung as solos, ballads are also performed in groups as part-song by men or women. It is a rule in folk part-song that one singer begins and is followed by all the others, but the division of soloist and a choir singing only the refrain is not usual in Slovene tradition. We do find other forms of solo-tutti division; for example, the soloist sings the first line (or a part of it), while the tutti repeat it and finish the stanza; or the first soloist is followed by a second one with the second line, the remainder then repeating the whole stanza (Vodušek 1960:114). Here is an example of the latter:

1. solo 2. solo 3 3

Sto- ji, sto- ji Lju- bljan- ca, Lju- bljan- cadow- ga vas,

sto- ji, -sto- ji Lju- bljan- , ca, Lju- bljan-ca dow- ga vas.

Example 15

In view of the fact that after the Second World War rural life and conditions changed greatly and occasions for singing folk songs became rarer, a question arises about the existence of ballads in the future. Ballads treating general human themes will probably survive, while others dealing with stories that are no longer relevant will possibly be forgotten. It is likely that ballads of unusual content will also be preserved purely because of their curious nature. Some ballads are currently still very popular. Let us hope that the ballad as a genre is not condemned to complete oblivion.

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The Legend of Kosovo

Jelka Ređep

The two greatest legends of the Serbs are those about Kosovo and Marko Kraljević. Many different views have been advanced about the creation of the legend of Prince Lazar and Kosovo (Ređep 1976:161). The most noteworthy, however, are those of Dragutin Kostić (1936) and Nikola Banašević (1935). According to Banašević, the legends of Marko Kraljević and Kosovo sprang up under the influence of French *chansons de geste*. Kostić, however, takes a different stance. Rejecting Banašević's interpretation along with the opinion that the legend of Kosovo arose and took poetic form in the western regions of Yugoslavia, which in the second half of the fifteenth century had strong ties with western Europe and in which the struggle against the Turks was most intense, Kostić points out that Banašević does not distinguish between the legend and its poetic expression in the Kosovo poems. He states that "French chivalric epics did not affect the formation and even less the creation of the first poem about Kosovo, not to mention the legend of Kosovo, but only *modified* the already created and formed legend and its first poetic manifestations" (1936:200; emphasis in original). It seems reasonable to accept Kostić's opinion that the legend originated in the region in which the battle of Kosovo took place.

The dramatic nature of the event itself, along with those that followed, could certainly have given rise to the beginnings of the legend soon after the Serbian defeat at Kosovo on June 15, 1389 (June 28 of the old calendar), and the canonization of Prince Lazar. The battle between the Serbs and the Turks was waged in the early morning hours, with the Serbian army led by Lazar and the Turkish force by Sultan Murad I. The battle did not last long and was probably over before noon. It was a fierce encounter with many casualties on both sides. There were not a few reasons why the battle should become memorable. Both rulers—a Serbian prince and a Turkish sultan—fell in battle; the best part of the Serbian army was lost; and although there were many casualties in the Turkish ranks, the losses were more ominous for the small Serbian state than for the mighty Turkish Empire. At that time the fortunes of the latter were on the rise and Kosovo was one of its most decisive victories during the course

of its expansion throughout the Balkans. The Serbian defeat did not, however, mark either the downfall of the Serbian Empire or the beginning of the oppression of the Serbs under the Turks. The Serbian state came under Turkish rule only after the fall of Smederevo in 1459. Besides Serbian accounts of the battle of Kosovo, there are also very important Turkish and Byzantine sources, although it is interesting that in Serbian historiography from the beginning of the fifteenth century it is quite difficult to distinguish between legend and historical fact.

The earliest traces of the Kosovo legend can be found in texts dating from the end of the fourteenth century. The legend evolved gradually so that by the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century it had already taken shape, and in texts of the eighteenth century it can be found in its complete form. From the sainthood cult of Prince Lazar, who originally symbolized all the heroes who died in the battle, there arose in the eighteenth century a cult with national features, particularly in the regions north of the Sava and the Danube. With the awakening of national consciousness and enthusiasm in the northern regions of Yugoslavia, especially following the Serbian migration northward, a new thematic corpus of texts about Prince Lazar and Kosovo, with strong roots in the south, found its full justification there.

The first Kosovo texts were written soon after the battle, Lazar's death, and his canonization in the monastery of Ravanica in 1390-91. During a period of some thirty years—from the 1390's to about 1420—ten medieval Kosovo texts known to us were created. They constitute a separate and complete corpus of texts in medieval Serbian literature.

Also worthy of attention are both Serbian and foreign sources dating from the year of the battle itself or shortly thereafter: the record by the scribe Božidar; a letter of the Venetian council dated July 23, 1389; the dispatch by the Russian deacon Ignjatije; the firman of Sultan Bayazid of July of the same year; the letter of King Tvrtko to the Trogir municipality of August 1; a reply from the Florentine municipality to King Tvrtko dated October 20, 1389; verses of the Turkish poet Ahmedi; a note in Philippe de Mézières's *Songe du vieil pèlerin*, from the end of the fourteenth century; and a reference in the Catalan tale *Història de Jacob Xalabín*, most likely from the beginning of the fifteenth century. From a study of the earliest sources, the historian Mihailo Dinić concludes that "all the sources known to us dating from the year of the battle of Kosovo inspired by the event itself either quite openly celebrate the Christian triumph or are quite indefinite and not even one of them speaks explicitly about the Turkish victory" (1940:138). Since these sources do not contain elements of the Kosovo legend, they will not be considered further in the present discussion.

Medieval Serbian writings that constitute the first thematic corpus of

texts are the following: *Prološko žitije kneza Lazara* [*Prologue Life of Prince Lazar*] (1390-93) of Ravaničanin II [a monk of the monastery of Ravanica]; “*Slovo o knezu Lazaru*” [“Discourse on Prince Lazar”] (end of 1392 or beginning of 1393) of Danilo the Younger (Patriarch Danilo III); *Žitije kneza Lazara* [*Life of Prince Lazar*] (after 1392 and before 1398) and “*Služba knezu Lazaru*” [“Office for Prince Lazar”] (in the fall of 1390 or 1402) of Ravaničanin I; “*Slovo o knezu Lazaru*” (1392-98) of Ravaničanin III; “*Pohvala knezu Lazaru*” [“In Praise of Prince Lazar”] (1402) of the nun Jefimija; David’s *Žitije i načelstvo kneza Lazara* [*Life and Reign of Prince Lazar*], the so-called older Serbian chronicle, from Peć (second half of 1402); “*Pohvala knezu Lazaru*” (1403) of Princess Milica; “*Natpis na mramornom stubu na Kosovu*” [“Kosovo Marble Inscription”] (1404) of Despot Stefan Lazarević; and “*Pohvala knezu Lazaru*” (1419-20) of Andonije Rafail Epaktit [of Lepanto]. Because the specific purpose of these texts is to celebrate and glorify Lazar, they do not deal sufficiently with the Kosovo event itself, and they are considered inadequate and incomplete as historical sources. Some of them, however, are important for a fuller understanding of the development of the legend.

The most important is the “*Slovo o knezu Lazaru*” of Danilo the Younger. This text provides many facts, such as the name of Lazar’s father (Pribac); it refers to Lazar as a “young man” close to Dušan; it speaks of the family ties of Emperor Dušan and Princess Milica, and says that she was the daughter of the great Prince Vratko; it tells of mountain hermitages and gives a description of Ravanica. Like its predecessors, this text does not exaggerate the size of the Turkish or the Serbian army. There is no specific mention of either victory or defeat, and in only one place is it said that “pobedu postaviše” [“victory was achieved”]. Lazar’s speech to his soldiers and their reply on the eve of the battle and his conversation with Milica are important elements for the origin of the legend. Calling the Kosovo heroes to battle, Lazar says to them:

“Bolje je nama u podvigu smrt, nego li sa stidom život. Bolje je nama u boju smrt od mača primiti, nego li pleća neprijateljima našim dati. Mnogo poživismo za svet, najzad postarajmo se za malo podvig stradalački primiti, da poživimo večno na nebesima, dajmo sebi imenovanje vojnika Hristovih, stradalaca blagočastija, da se upišemo u knjige životne. Ne poštedimo tela naša u borenju, da od onog koji prosuđuje podvige svetle vence primimo. Bolovi rađaju slavu i trudovi dovode do počinka.” (Radojičić 1960:110)

[“Better is death in heroic effort than life in shame. Better to meet with death by the sword than to turn our backs on our enemies. We have lived long in this world, now let us undertake feats and endure suffering so that we may live eternally in the heavens, let us call ourselves Christ’s soldiers, martyrs for the holy cause, to go down in books that long endure. Let us not spare our bodies in the struggle in order to gain bright laurels from the judge of feats. Pain gives birth to glory and toil leads to rest.”]

The soldiers are ready to heed Lazar's call and to show their loyalty:

“Mi, gospodine naš, otkako po opštoj prirodi od oca i matere rođeni bismo, boga i tebe poznadosmo. Bog nas podiže, a ti vaspita. Kao čeda ishrani, i kao sinove obdari, i kao braću izljubi, i kao drugove poštova. Slavu i bogatstvo i sve što je krasno na svetu i sreću ima, u svemu zajedničari i prijemnici bismo. Veselja i radosti, a ujedno i vojinstva, jela i naslađenja bogatih trpeza, ljubav i čast, sve obilno od tebe primismo. Što je mnogo za te i za blagočastije, i za otačastvo nam umreti? Ne pošteditimo sebe, znajući da imamo i posle ovoga otići i s prahom pomešati se. Umririmo da svagda živi budemo. Prinesimo sebe bogu kao živu žrtvu, ne kao pre malovremenim i obmamljivim gošćenjem naslađenju našem, no u podvigu krvlju svojom. Ne pošteditimo život naš, da živopisan primer posle ovoga drugima budemo. . . .” (Radojičić 1960:111)

[“We have, lord and master, known God and you ever since, by the general order of things, we were born of father and mother. God gave us sustenance and you raised us. Like your own children you brought us up, and like your own sons you gave us gifts, and like your own brothers you held us dear, and like your companions you honored us. Fame and fortune and everything wonderful in the world that brings happiness we have shared and received. Joy and mirth, and also the warrior's life, food and the enjoyment of a rich table, love and honor, all in abundance did we receive from you. Why should it be too great a task to die for you and for the holy cause, and the homeland? Let us not spare ourselves, knowing that we have to take our leave at some time and mingle with the dust. Let us die in order to live eternally. Let us sacrifice ourselves to God not as formerly by catering to our pleasure by feasting, but by blood in heroic deeds. Let us not spare our lives in being living examples to others henceforth. . . .”]

Leaving for the battlefield, Lazar is in a dilemma about whether to choose the kingdom of earth or that of heaven, and in selecting the latter he calls his soldiers to join him in battle, that is, in certain death. He chooses honorable death over dishonorable life, eternity over transience. Setting off for battle with their prince, the soldiers voice their loyalty and their awareness that struggle and death signify immortality. According to the legend of Kosovo, besides Vuk Branković's treason, one of the main reasons why the Serbs lost the battle and their empire was Lazar's deliberate choice of the kingdom of heaven over that of earth. This notion is first encountered in the “*Slovo*” of Danilo the Younger and only subsequently in oral legend and in the folk epic poem *Propast carstva srpskoga* [*Downfall of the Serbian Empire*]. It can, therefore, be said that the legend of Kosovo is rooted in the early written literature and not in folk literature, and that it is connected with the creation of a cult to the fallen Prince Lazar.

In Danilo's “*Slovo*,” specifically in the dialogue between Lazar and Milica, there is another instance of Lazar's conscious choice of the life hereafter. In a description of the transferral of Lazar's remains from the

Church of the Ascension in Priština to Ravanica, at which Milica is present with her two sons and during which she grieves for Lazar, he replies to her thus (although he is dead), consoling her:

“Bolja mi bi pohvalna smrt, nego li s porugom život. Ako i na obrazu ranu i po glavi mač, zbog blagočašćea mučih se, no mužastven pokazah se i s mučenicima ubrojah se. Videh donje bojeve i izbrojah gornje počsti. Videh mačeve, i pomišljah na gornje vence. Očekivah smrt, i na besmrtnost pomišljah. Promena podviga dovoljno mi bi za utehu. . . .” (Radojičić 1960:112)

[“Better to me was praiseful death than shameful life. Though with a wound across my face and a sword upon my head, I suffered for a holy cause, manfully I proved myself and numbered myself among the martyrs. I have seen battles down below and counted honors on high. I saw swords and thought of laurels on high. I awaited death, and thought of immortality. A change in feats was sufficient consolation. . . .”]

Lines from the *Propast carstva srpskoga* (Karadžić 1953:288) contain the same idea: ““zemaljsko je zamaleno carstvo, / a nebesko uvek i doveka”” [““earth’s empire is short-lived, / Heaven’s is lasting and forever””].

Treason is one of the main themes of the legend of Kosovo. According to oral legend, Vuk Branković, a high-ranking Serbian noble and Lazar’s son-in-law, betrayed him to Murad at Kosovo, which was the reason why the Serbs lost both battle and empire. There is no mention of treason in these terms in the Serbian ranks in any of the historical sources from the time of the battle, not in fact until about two centuries later. The theme of betrayal at Kosovo as we know it was created gradually in an effort to find justification for the defeat and subsequent downfall of the Serbian Empire and its coming into Turkish hands. A study of medieval Serbian literary texts and other sources reveals that at first there is vague reference to treason, that it is then linked to a group of people, and that only later, at the end of the sixteenth and at the beginning of the seventeenth century, is there specific mention of Vuk Branković.

In an effort to find the reason for the defeat at Kosovo, David voices his opinion and that of his contemporaries in his *Žitije i načelstvo*:

I boj među obojima bi, i u boju tom nečastivi nasilnik pada od mača posred razboja, i telom i dušom, s množinom svojih boguprotivnih vojnika. A ostaje toga sin jedan. I na kraju boja toga—ne znam šta istinito reći o ovom, da li je izdan kim od svojih hranjenika, ili je naprotiv ovo sud božji koji se zbi nad ovim—u ruke toga uzima i posle mnogih muka sam časnu i pobožnu glavu njegovu otseče. I potom kao podružnike (potčinjene) uzima sve. . . . (Radojičić 1960:142)

[And there was battle between the two of them, and in that battle the fiendish villain fell by the sword in the midst of the strife, both in body and

soul, along with a multitude of his God-opposing warriors. But of the others there remained a son, and at the end of that battle—I know not what to say of him in truth, whether he was betrayed by one of his dependents or whether it was God’s judgment rendered against him—he took him in his hands and after much suffering he cut off his honorable and pious head. And then he took all the others as his subjects. . . .]

David clearly is unsure as to whether Lazar was betrayed or his death was due to fate. However, there is a change in the corresponding section of David’s chronicle in later versions of it: the *Studenički letopis* [*Studenica Chronicle*] (second quarter of the fifteenth century) and the *Cetinjski letopis* [*Cetinje Chronicle*] (a longer, supplemented version of the *Studenički letopis* up to 1572). Not only is uncertainty now absent, but there is a decisive statement about the betrayal and flight of Serbian soldiers at Kosovo. There can be no doubt that oral legend has exerted its influence. In the *Cetinjski letopis* the account is longer than in the *Studenički letopis*, and there is mention of flight out of fear or breach of faith, and also of calumny and envy.¹

Calumny and envy are also spoken of in the *Žitije despota Stefana Lazarevića* [*Life of Despot Stefan Lazarević*] (1431 or 1433-39) of Constantine the Philosopher. For the first time in Serbian texts mention is made of Miloš’s deed (though there is no mention of his name) and it is said that “neko veoma blagorodan” [“someone of very noble birth”], someone who had been maligned by those who envied him, in his desire to show his faith and courage, killed Murad. The tale of the maligning of the hero who killed the Turkish sultan and his penetration of the Turkish camp indicated how the story of the battle was told when Constantine lived. It is, at the same time, evidence of the evolution of the legend.

From the mid-fifteenth century it is also possible to follow the gradual development of yet another theme, the quarrel between Lazar’s sons-in-law. A Nuremburg gunsmith in the service of Duke Stjepan took down the story of the quarrel between Lazar’s sons-in-law. In later sources this story evolved into a tale about the quarrel between Vuk Branković and Miloš Obilić/Kobilić and between their wives, Lazar’s daughters.

By the end of the fifteenth century, the betrayal account included a group of people. In the *Turska hronika* [*Turkish Chronicle*] of Konstantin Mihailović of Ostrvica (1496-1501), it is said that some were friends of Lazar and that others were not, “a kudgod jedinstva nema, nikakvim načinom dobro ne može biti” [“and that where there is no unity, in no way can there be any good”]. This text talks about disloyalty and discord:

¹ The story of the Serbian flight is also recorded on a parchment from the first half of the fifteenth century.

Gospoda koji su bili prijatelji knezu Lazaru, ovi su se junački i istrajno pored njega borili, a drugi, kroz prste gledajući, bitci su se divili. I zbog te nevere i nesloge zlih ljudi bitka je izgubljena u petak u podne. (Radojičić 1960:222-23)

[The lords who were friends of Prince Lazar fought bravely and steadfastly at his side, while others, peering through their hands, marveled at the struggle. And because of the disloyalty and discord of these wicked men the battle was lost on Friday at noon.]

Mihailović sees the reason for the defeat in unequal and improper participation in the struggle. This is, in his opinion, a breach of faith, and treason. In the *Turska hronika* we also find other elements of the legend. It is said that the battle lasted for three days, from Wednesday to Friday. This confuses the actual events of the first and third battles of Kosovo (the three battles occurred in 1389, 1402, and 1448). In Mihailović's account there are details that indicate the infiltration of oral legend into written texts (Ređep 1976:183-85). Among other things, it is said that the Serbs lost the battle of Kosovo since "sam Bog je tako hteo zbog grehova naših" ["God himself wanted it so because of our sins"] (184). In Serbian oral legend it is believed that the Serbian Empire fell because of the sins of the nobles and their misdeeds against their rulers. This influence on the battle of Kosovo can be perceived even in the texts of some Turkish chroniclers (Ređep 1976:185-93), especially Mehemmed Neshri (sixteenth century) and Mehmed Solakzade (seventeenth century).

By the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, the betrayal theme was linked to a single person. An anonymous resident of Dubrovnik or at least of Dalmatia translated an account of the battle of Kosovo written by the Byzantine historian Ducas. His story about this event, however, is a longer one, since he supplements it with details taken from oral legend. The traitor is Dragoslav Pribišić (Probištitović), who is said to have committed treason and turned his arms against the Christians; as soon as Duke Vlatko learned of this action, he quickly fled to Bosnia: "Ovaj glas pustili [su] Turci, najprepredeniji ljudi, da bi uplašili našu vojsku, ili je tako htela nesreća jadnih hrišćana zbog grehova njihovih" ["This rumor was started by the Turks, the most devious of men, in order to consternate our army, or such was the ill fortune of these poor Christians because of their sins"] (Ređep 1976:194-95).

In the *Komentari [Commentaries]* of Ludovik Tuberon Crijević, dating from the sixteenth century, there is no mention of treason but there are many other elements of the legend: Lazar's supper on the eve of the battle, the maligning of Miloš, and Lazar's reproach of him for his disloyalty. In the genealogy of the Albanian emigrant Jovan Musać, dating from 1510, "punom raznih izmišljotina" ["full of various inventions"], it is stated that Lazar, Marko Kraljević, and Todor Musać and other Albanian

nobles fought together against Murad, that the Christians were defeated, and that Lazar was captured and executed (Kovačević 1888: 266).

In his *Putopis kroz Bosnu, Srbiju, Bugarsku i Rumeliju* [*Travels through Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Rumelia*, 1530], the Slovenian Benedikt Kuripešić (Kuripečić) shows how the legend of Kosovo changed and took on various aspects during its evolution. He claims also that “na celom hrvatskom i srpskom terenu pevaju junačke epske pesme” [“heroic songs are sung throughout Croatian and Serbian territories”] (Latković 1954:333). Kuripešić was a Latin interpreter in the diplomatic mission King Ferdinand sent to Suleiman II in Constantinople in 1530. The *Putopis* gives a detailed account of Lazar’s supper on the eve of the battle, although Miloš Obilić is depicted here as an old hero. He is a deserving nobleman but has fallen into Lazar’s disfavor because of calumny. The prince humiliates him to such an extent that he is not allowed to sit at table. In the tale recorded by Kuripešić, in order to prove his loyalty Miloš murders the sultan, but there is no mention of defeat. It is only stated that on this occasion the Serbs took leave of the Turks.

The battle of Kosovo and Lazar’s death are also recorded in later Serbian chronicles dating from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century and later. They give only the basic facts about the battle: Lazar’s and Murad’s deaths and when the battle took place. In some of these chronicles it is said that Murad was killed by Miloš Obilić, but only in the *Podgorički letopis* [*Podgorica Chronicle*], written in 1738, is there also mention of Vuk Branković, where it is said that he fled the field with his seven thousand men and thus had broken faith. This source also refers to other heroes—Jug Bogdanović, Musić Sćepan, and Milan Kosančić—thus making it evident that oral legend about the battle had become part of the chronicle also.

Mauro Orbini’s *Il regno degli Slavi*, published in Pesaro in 1601, is particularly important for reconstructing the development of the Kosovo legend. Orbini relates the tale of the battle according to L. T. Crijević and the Byzantine historian Laonicus Chalcondyles (Chalcocondylas), but he also incorporates into his narration some themes from oral legend unknown to his predecessors. He is the first to record the story about the quarrel between Lazar’s daughters over the bravery of their husbands, Vuk Branković and Miloš Obilić. Orbini sees the reason for Vuk’s hatred and his calumny of Miloš in this disagreement. In addition to many other details about the battle taken from oral legend, Orbini is also the first to refer to Vuk Branković as a traitor at Kosovo (Orbin 1968:102):

Vuković je s malo svojih ljudi pobegao posle pomenute bitke, koja se zbilja na Kosovu 15. juna 1389. godine. Međutim, zet kneza Lazara Vuk Branković spasao se gotovo sa svim svojim ljudima, pošto je (kako neki kažu) imao tajne pregovore s Muratom da izda (kako je i učinio) svoga tasta

da bi se dokopao njegove države. Tako je posle njegove smrti i ostao gospodarem jednog dela Raške, dok je drugi deo dobila Lazareva žena Milica i Lazareva dva nejaka sina, Stefan i Vuk.

[With a few of his men, Vuković fled after the aforementioned battle, which took place at Kosovo on June 15, 1389. Lazar's son-in-law, Vuk Branković, however, saved himself and almost all of his men, since (as some say) he had had secret talks with Murad to betray his father-in-law (which he did) in order to seize power over his state. In this way, after his death, he became ruler over half of Raška, while the other half was given to Lazar's wife, Milica, and Lazar's two infant sons, Stefan and Vuk.]

As noted above, the betrayal at Kosovo as we now know it is not mentioned in the earliest texts: David (1402) voices uncertainty about whether fate or betrayal led to Lazar's death; in the *Turska hronika* the theme is linked to a group of people; in the anonymous translation of Ducas' text, the traitor is a specific person, Dragoslav Pribišić; and it is only in Orbini's text that Vuk Branković's name comes up for the first time. The theme of betrayal in its final form evolved gradually over a long period of time just as the legend itself, and reasons can be given for the charge leveled at Vuk Branković (Ređep 1976:206; 1969).

In the *Dubrovački letopisi* [*Dubrovnik Chronicles*] (1608) of Jovan Lukarević, the story of Vuk's treason is also found, while Lazar's other son-in-law, Miloš Obilić, "vlastelin iz Tjentišta i Lazarev zet po kćeri Vukosavi" ["a noble from Tjentište and Lazar's son-in-law by his daughter Vukosava"], is said to have killed Murad. In the so-called *Brankovićev letopis* [*Branković Chronicle*] (1600-18), preserved in a Latin translation, it is said that "Vojvodi ergo, knezio infideles facti, fugere, Vuk Brankovich, et alii" ["the dukes, therefore, Vuk Branković and others, having betrayed the prince, fled"] (Kukuljević-Sakcinski 1854:16). This is the earliest Serbian chronicle that accuses Vuk of treason. The genealogies speak of the battle, but not of betrayal and flight from Kosovo.

A translation of Orbini's *Il regno degli Slavi* was published by Sava Vladislavić in St. Petersburg in 1722. Its language is a "mešavina slovenskoga, ruskoga i srpskoga jezika" ["mixture of Slavic, Russian, and Serbian"] (Radojčić 1956:25). Nikola Radojčić claims that this "okretni trgovac i mudri diplomata, rođeni Hercegovac, u ruskoj službi" ["clever businessman and wise diplomat, a Herzegovinian by birth, in the service of Russia"] (p. 24) translated Orbini's work at the request of Tsar Peter the Great, who wanted to learn more about the glorious Serbian past. Vladislavić's *Kniga istoriografija* is not a real translation but rather an adapted and shortened version of the original. This text was widely read in the eighteenth century, particularly in the regions north of the Sava and the Danube, and although Austrian authorities attempted to prevent its distribution among the Serbs in Austria, Radojčić states (26) that "nije bilo

iole veće biblioteke a da se u njoj nije nalazio prevod Orbinija od Save Vladislavića” [“nowhere was there a rather large library that did not have a copy of Sava Vladislavić’s translation of Orbini”].

At the end of the seventeenth century, an anonymous resident of Perast wrote a play in dodecasyllables in the vernacular about the battle of Kosovo. It has been attributed to Andrija Zmajević, archbishop and “Serbian primate.” Instead of a short title, the following inscription heads this work: “Here begins [sic] the battle of Prince Lazar and the evil purpose of Miloš Kobilić and of the traitor Vuk Branković and the nine Jugović brothers at Kosovo field on June 24, 1343.” Oral legend is thus evident here too, as it is elsewhere in the Kosovo legend.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century (perhaps by the end of the seventeenth), the anonymous *Žitije kneza Lazara* [*Life of Prince Lazar*] was composed, some of whose versions bear the longer title: *Žitije kneza Lazara, Miloša Obilića, Vuka Brankovića i ostale gospode koja su bila na polju Kosovu* [*Lives of Prince Lazar, Miloš Obilić, Vuk Branković, and the Other Nobles Who Were at Kosovo Field*]. The author compiled his work on the basis of several written texts as well as oral legend and folk poems in both the *bugarštica* and heroic decasyllabic meters. The manuscript was produced in the south—the Gulf of Kotor and Montenegro—but was gradually disseminated to the regions north of the Sava and the Danube and even further. It represents the second thematically complete corpus of texts about Lazar and the battle of Kosovo, and is therefore also known as the *Priča o boju kosovskom* [*Tale of the Battle of Kosovo*]. The manuscript *Priča* is, no doubt, a well thought-out compilation, composed on the basis of several other works: Orbini’s *Il regno degli Slavi*, the Perast play mentioned above, chronicles, oral legend, and folk poems. Its author interpolated verses from the poems and the Perast play into his prose narrative. No other work viewed as part of the corpus of Serbian medieval literature reflects the influence of folk literature as much as the manuscript *Priča*, whose internal structure situates it closer to a folk tale and really outside of the medieval genre of rulers’ and saints’ lives.

A study of the manuscript versions of the *Priča* has revealed a very large number of variants (some 36) and the possibility of grouping them into two streams according to their similarities and differences (Redep 1976:157). These two can be shown to have branched out from the mainstream, although the differences between the manuscripts are neither very extensive nor essential. Copies of this very popular text were made for some 150 years, and the manuscript variants are found over a broad area, ranging from southern Yugoslav regions to those in the north, and even as far as Budapest and Sofia. Originating in the south, where the Kosovo tradition was very vigorous in the seventeenth and eighteenth

centuries, the *Priča* was disseminated to northern regions, particularly after the migration of Serbs to those areas. There it underwent a rebirth, especially after Lazar's remains were transferred to the Srem monastery of Ravanica near Vrdnik at the time when the cult of Saint Lazar was revived. This cult, which was created toward the end of the fourteenth century, took on national significance with the awakening of Serbian national consciousness in the northern regions.

The *Priča* contains all the elements of the fully developed Kosovo legend: attaching itself to the legend of Vukašin's murder of Emperor Uroš, it deals with Lazar's coming to the throne, the battle of Kosovo of 1389, the quarrel between Lazar's daughters and sons-in-law (as the cause of Vuk's hatred and his calumny of Miloš Obilić to the effect that Miloš would betray him to the Turkish sultan), Lazar's supper on the eve of the battle and his rebuke of Miloš, spying on the Turkish army, the details of Miloš Obilić's arrival in the Turkish camp and his meeting with the sultan's attendants and Murad, the death of Miloš, Ivan Kosačić, and Milan Topličanin, the dialogue between Murad and the captured Lazar and Miloš, and their deaths, along with a number of details absent from the entire folk epic tradition. Since the *Priča* has preserved interpolated verses from unrecorded folk poems dating from the end of the seventeenth or beginning of the eighteenth century, it is important for solving the problem of when the Kosovo poems in Vuk's collection originated (Ređep 1976:239-69). The *Priča* contains lines identical to those recorded by Vuk a hundred years later.

Around the middle of the eighteenth century, and under the influence of the manuscript *Priča* and Sava Vladislavić's Slavic translation, the *Tronoški rodoslov* [*Tronoša Genealogy*] was composed. Like its sources, it too preserves the legend of Kosovo. A comparative study of the *Hronike* [*Chronicles*] of Count Đorđe Branković (a historical text from the end of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century), of the *Tronoški rodoslov*, and of Orbini's original and Vladislavić's translation reveals great similarities in accounts of the battle of Kosovo. Both the *Hronike* and the *Tronoški rodoslov*, just like Orbini's and Vladislavić's, tell of the duel between Miloš and Vuk and of many other details that show a greater similarity between the *Tronoški rodoslov* and Vladislavić's translation than between the former and Orbini's original text. It is possible to cite other eighteenth-century texts that share features with the manuscript *Priča*: Pavle Julinac's *Kratkoe vvedenie v istoriju proishoždenija slaveno-serbskago naroda* [*A Short Introduction to the History of the Origin of the "Slavenosrpski" Nation*] (1765) and Vasilije Petrović's *Istorija o Černoj Gory* [*The History of Montenegro*] (1754).

In folk poetry, Kosovo became "tip bojnog polja, razbojišta, pa i saborišta za raspravljanje svih značajnih pitanja narodnoga života našeg" ["a

symbol of the battlefield, the scene of combat, and even of the assembly ground for debating all the important matters of Serbian national life”] (Kostić 1939:1-2). From two different historical events that occurred at different times—the two battles of Kosovo in 1389 and 1448—two different Kosovo cycles arose, as Dragutin Kostić has noted. In collections of folk poetry, one can distinguish between the poems about the battle of 1389 and those about the battle of 1448. In the creation of the legend, confusion arose between the actual historical events of these two battles. The poems about them can be found in the collections of Vuk Karadžić, Valtazar Bogišić, Bogoljub Petranović, Franz Miklosich, Ivan Franjo Jukić and Grga Martić, Grigorije Nikolić, as well as in various periodicals. The largest number of Kosovo poems about the battle of 1389 appear in Vuk’s collection (Karadžić 1953:194-206, 256-310, 315; 1935:66) and in the collection of Bogišić (Nos. 1, 2, 14). The oldest heroic decasyllabic poems about Kosovo are contained in two manuscript collections: Avram Miletić’s “Istorija kneza Lazara ot Kosova i ot cara Murata” [“History of Prince Lazar, Kosovo, and Emperor Murad”] (1780) and Timotije Nedeljковиć’s “Pesma od svetago serbskago kneza Lazara” [“Poem of the Holy Serbian Prince Lazar”] (1812). A comparison of these folk poems with the manuscript *Priča* shows that there are similarities between them and indicates that Vuk’s poems represent a phase in the evolution of the Kosovo legend (Redep 1976:239-69).

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Concluding Formulas of Audience Address in Serbo-Croatian Oral Epic

Marija Kleut

Olinko Delorko, who had an excellent knowledge of Serbo-Croatian oral literature and was a successful collector of oral poems, on one occasion recorded a poem that ends with the following lines (Delorko 1950:No. 240):

Draga braćo, ostala družino,
evo varna pjesme na poštenje.
Ko me čuje, živ i sretan bio,

Ko ne čuo, i taj vesô bio!
Domaćine ad ovoga doma,
pripni de se gore na tavanu,
pa odreži jedan klip slanine
da narnažem grlo i gudalo,
samo pazi, ne poreži ruku,
odmaknije tri-četiri pedlja!
Svakom momku po lepu devojkju,
a ja, brate, osta bez ikakve.
Svakom pravo i veselo bilo,
ali nije baki u zapečku,

baka kune gusle i guslara.

Dear brothers, and the rest of the
company,
here is a song in your honor.
May he who hears me be hale and
happy,
May he who does not be merry also!
Host of this home,
go up to the loft,
and cut off a rasher of fatback
to grease my throat and bow,
only take care not to cut your hand,
move it away three or four spans!
For each young man a beautiful girl,
while I, brother, am left without any.
May it be right and merry for everyone,
but it is not for the grandmother left
behind the stove,
the grandmother curses the gusle
and the guslar.

These lines serve as a good illustration of the singer's habit of ending his song with a direct address to his audience and are clearly an indication of the circumstances of the performance. The address to the audience (most often in the second person plural) is an integral part of the oral performance. It is made possible and is motivated by the oral presentation and it is a real address, not a fictive one as in written literature.

Formulas—groups of formulas and formulaic expressions¹—for addressing the audience are found in initial, medial, and final positions in Serbo-Croatian oral poems, and their position in the poem has an essential effect on determining their function and meaning. In initial position the function of these formulas is most often to draw attention to the beginning of the performance, while in medial position their role is most often to condense the action and to avoid repetition. The semantic types of concluding formulas of audience address and the way they are structured into series are the subject of this article.

The study of these formulas in Serbo-Croatian oral epic has been made difficult because of the attitude collectors took toward them: they were, it would seem, most often either not recorded or not printed. Valtazar Bogišić, who was the first to draw attention to this phenomenon in the study of Serbo-Croatian oral poems and who termed it *usklik* [exclamation] and *završetak* [ending] (1878:58-59), stated the following (60):

Even Vuk himself, who did not otherwise pay much attention to these endings, recorded for lexical purposes two lines of this kind in his *Rječnik* [Dictionary] under the entry *zagluh*.

In the unpublished manuscripts of Vuk Karadžić, five such *pripjevi* [refrains] have been preserved in his own hand. On the basis of their form and content, they appear to be the endings of epic poems (Karadžić 1974: 299-300). It is not known under what circumstances these lines were recorded—whether Vuk extracted them from certain poems or recorded them separately. In his editions of folk poems these lines are missing, and, on the whole, there are few poems that end with formulas of audience address. This is also the case with other early collections.

The same approach is also revealed in Sima Milutinović Sarajlija's *Pjevanija cernogorska i hercegovacka* [A Montenegrin and Herzegovinian Songbook] (1837). In this collection, however, there is a greater number of concluding formulas of audience address, but one must exert caution here; some lines were added by the poet himself (Nedic 1958:239-40). This attitude on the part of early collectors can be explained by considering two characteristics of such formulas. First, their content has no connection with the narrative structure of the poem, so that they do not give the impression of being organic parts of the poems. In principle, every group of such formulas serves as an adequate closing for any poem. Further research might be able to show that each singer had one manner of ending

¹ The terms *formula* and *formulaic expression* are used in this article in the Parry-Lord sense (Lord 1960:30-67).

his poems. Second, when the oral poem appears in print, the address to the listeners loses its function or, at least, its function is significantly altered.

An attempt to present a repertory of these formulas should perhaps begin with a study of their connection with the narrative structure of the poem. Since an epic poem is a tale of past events while the address to the audience during the moment of performance takes place in the present, the formulas under discussion really represent a step taken from outside of the epic time of the poem into the present time of the performance. The temporal gap is bridged by means of a group of formulas that express the following ideas:

- A₁ -- honoring/blessing the hero of the poem
- A₂ -- temporal antithesis (then/now)
- A₃ -- dedicating/addressing the poem to the listeners

In order to express honoring/blessing the hero, there are definite series of formulas and formulaic expressions in the oral tradition, and these give way to:

- B₁ -- blessing the listeners
- B₂ -- comment on the poem
- B₃ -- demanding wine

In the poems studied, the following relationships were established:

$$A_1 + B_1; A_1 + B_2; A_1 + B_1 + B_3.^2$$

The temporal formulas (A₂) emphasize, most often within the limits of a single line, the antithesis between past and present, succeeded by series of formulas signifying:

- B₁ -- blessing the listeners
- B₃ -- demanding wine
- B₄ -- a prayer
- A₃ -- dedicating/addressing the poem to the listeners

so that the formulas and formulaic expressions are organized according to the following schemes:

$$A_2 + B_1; A_2 + B_4; A_2 + B_1 + B_3; A_2 + A_3 + B_1.$$

When the address to the audience begins with formulas that express dedicating/addressing the poem to the listeners (A₃), the next step involves formulas signifying:

² A repertory of concluding formulas of audience address is provided in the appendix to this article.

- B₁ -- blessing the listeners
 B₂ -- comment on the poem
 B₃ -- demanding wine

Thus a series of formulas is established according to the following scheme: A₃ + B₁; A₃ + B₂; A₃ + B₁ + B₂; A₃ + B₃. In these cases an antithesis is established by the opposition poem/listener, and the connection between the narrative structure and the formula for addressing the audience is a looser one than in the previous cases. Still, in all the schemes of series of formulas mentioned so far, there is an evident effort to establish, at least formally, a continuity of narration. There are, however, poems that end without a "transition," simply by blessing the listeners (B₁).³

The material for this article has been collected systematically from several of the most important published collections of Serbo-Croatian oral epic poetry made in the nineteenth century, and somewhat less systematically from several manuscript collections. The selection might give rise to some objections: for more thorough conclusions a more systematic study of manuscript collections would be necessary, together with analysis of material of more recent recordings of Serbo-Croatian oral epics. In spite of these limitations, however, the material has revealed certain characteristics of concluding formulas of audience address, presented here in the form of a hypothesis rather than as the result of an exhaustive study.

As a special feature of Serbo-Croatian oral poems, audience address is formulaic to a great extent, so that one can posit a stock of traditional formulas and formulaic expressions. From the standpoint of theme, this stock is independent of the narrative structure of the poem, and, because it gives expression to general and generally accepted ideas (blessing, praise, prayer), it is easily adapted to the circumstances of the individual performance. The stability of these formulas and formulaic expressions is also manifested by the existence of the same or of similar forms in poems originating and recorded in various places and times. The groups of formulas and formulaic lines used in addressing the audience have a relatively narrow thematic scope. Dominant are expressions of good wishes in the form of a blessing, praise, or prayer; there is a high frequency of such words as hale/health, merry/mirth, brother/brothers/ sworn brother, group/company, glory/honor, integrity, poem, glass, and God—all of which signify positive life principles. Stating that the poem is being recited in someone's honor, or as a blessing of the living and the dead, or as praise has particular implications for the poem and its

³ A special subtype of this group of formulas is a blessing connected with mention of the dead (B₅) (schemes B₁ + B₅ and B₅ + B₁), in which antithesis is created by the opposition dead/living.

performance: the poem is recited with honorable intentions. The highly formulaic nature of this poetic device indicates that it too, like others, is traditional, even in the absence of a traditional plot.

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Appendix

A₁ + B₁

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>-- Bog mu dao duši spasenije,
nama, braćo, zdravlje i veselje
(Karadžić 1862:No. 2)</p> <p>-- Bog im dao duševno spasenje,
narna, bratjo, zdravlje i veselje
(Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 16)</p> <p>-- Bog mu dao sa životom zdravlje,
narna, braćo, na sretno veselje.
Tek velimo: da se veselimo,
ne bi li nas i bog veselio
(Karadžić 1845:No. 31)</p> <p>-- Bog mu dao sa životom zdravlje,
nama, braćo, na srećno veselje
(Karadžić 1846:No. 38)</p> <p>-- Bog im dao u raj u naselje,
a ostalim zdravlje i veselje
(Karadžić 1862:Nos. 1, 10)</p> <p>-- Bog mu dao u raj u naselje,
nama, braćo, zdravlje i veselje
(Karadžić 1846:No. 15; 1862:Nos.
31,47)</p> <p>-- Zdravo o'šli, vesela im majka,
njima majka, a mene družina
(Karadžić 1846:No. 49)</p> <p>-- Zdravo došli, vesela im majka,
njima majka, a nama družina
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 131)</p> <p>-- On uteče, vesela mu majka,
njemu majka, a mene družina
(Karadžić 1862:No. 4)</p> <p>-- Eto njima pjesma na poštenje,
narna bog dô zdravlje i veselje
(Glavić 1865-85:No. 269)</p> <p>-- Eto njima pjesma na poštenje,
tamo raslo klenje i jasenje,
nami bog dô zdravlje i veselje
(Glavić 1865-85:No. 271)</p> | <p>-- God give his soul salvation,
to us, brothers, health and mirth</p> <p>-- God give their souls salvation,
to us, brothers, health and mirth</p> <p>-- God give him health in life,
to us, brothers, happy mirth
We say only: let us be merry,
so that God too may give us mirth</p> <p>-- God give him health in life,
to us, brothers, happy mirth</p> <p>-- God give them a place in paradise,
and to the rest health and mirth</p> <p>-- God give him a place in paradise,
to us, brothers, health and mirth</p> <p>-- In health, farewell, may their mother be
merry,
their mother, and my company</p> <p>-- In health, welcome, may their mother be
merry,
their mother, and our company</p> <p>-- He fled, may his mother be merry,
his mother, and my company</p> <p>-- Here's a song in their honor,
God give us health and mirth</p> <p>--Here's a song in their honor,
there may the maple and ash grow,
God give us health and mirth</p> |
|--|--|

- Tebi Mara, pjesma na poštenje,
Svem narodu od boga proštenje
(Marjanović 1864-86:No. 63)
- To you Maro, a song in your honor,
To all the people pardon from God
- O Stojane, tebi na poštenje,
svem narodu od boga proštenje
(Marjanović 1864-86:No. 64)
- Oh Stojan, in your honor,
To all the people pardon from God

 $A_1 + B_2$

- Tko ostade, vesela mu majka,
tko pogibe, nek' mu kuća znade.
Ja ne pjevam da je varna ljepo,
niti, bratjo, što je meni drago,
već ja pjevam da se veselimo
(Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 23)
- May the mother of him who survived be
merry,
may the family of him who perished
know it.
I do not sing for your pleasure,
nor, brothers, because it pleases me,
but I sing that we may be merry

 $A_1 + B_1 + B_3$

- Eto njima pjesme na poštenje,
narna bog dô zdravlje i veselje.
Ova gusla ne ostala pusta,
moja rni se osušila usta.
Domaćine, donesi narn vina,
tako bio s domaćicom miran,
da bi čaša ad barela bila,
moja bi je družina popila
(Glavie 1865-85:No. 108)
- There's a song in their honor,
God give us health and mirth.
Let this gusle never be without a player,
my mouth has gone dry.
Host, bring us some wine,
may you thus find peace with the hostess,
were the glass the size of a barrel,
my company would drink all of it

 $A_2 + B_1$

- Bog sarn znade je li tako bilo,
a rni, braćo, da se veselimo
(Karadžić 1846:Nos. 71, 72)
- God alone knows if it was so,
and let us, brothers, be merry
- Davno bilo, sad se spominjalo,
a mi da smo zdravo i veselo
(Jukić and Martić 1858:Nos. 12,32;
Marjanović 1864-86:No. 33)
- That was long ago, now it is told,
and let us be healthy and merry
- Onda bilo, sad se spominjalo,
a mi da smo zdravo i veselo,
da pjevamo, da se veselimo,
sve u strahu Boga velikoga.
Nek' se ženi tko je za ženidbu,
a udaje tko je za udaju,
stare bake da paze kućarke,
a čobanke nek' stoje kod majke
(Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 22)
- That was then, now it is told,
and let us be healthy and merry,
let us sing, let us be merry,
all in fear of Almighty God.
Let him who should wed be wed,
and let her who should marry be married,
the old grandmothers should watch
the marriageable maids,
and the little shepherd girls should live
with their mothers

- Onda bilo, sad se spominjalo,
a mi da smo zdravo i veselo,
da pjevarno, da se veselimo,
a za time da s' Bogu molimo
da nas čuva kuge i morije,
da nam rode berda i doline
(Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 24)
- Davno bilo, sad se spominjalo
kano Đurđev danak u godini,
baš kô dobar junak u družini;
Tamo raslo klenje i jasenje,
među nama zdravlje i veselje
(Karadžić 1846:No. 24)
- Onda bilo kadno se činilo,
Urodilo šarenilo cveće,
Među narna zdravo i veselo
(Šunjić 1925:No. 113)
- Onda bilo kadno se činilo;
s onu stranu Save i Dunave
urodilo senje i jasenje,
među nama zdrčlje i veselje
(Šunjić 1925:No. 1)
- Onda bilo, sad se spominjalo,
a mi da smo zdravo i veselo
(Jukić and Martić 1858:Nos. 1, 33)
- Onda bilo, sad se spominjalo
kano Jurjev u godini dana,
a mi, braćo, da se veselimo,
sve u stravu boga velikoga,
a u zdravlje kralja kraščanskoga
(Alačević 1888:No. 121)
- Tako bilo, pak se spominjalo,
a mi da smo zdravo i veselo
(Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 34)
- To je bilo kad se učinilo,
a srce se naše veselilo.
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 166)
- To je bilo kad se i činilo,
nama, družbo, zdravlje i veselje
(Karadžić 1846:No. 81)
- To je bilo kad se i činilo,
tek velimo: da se veselimo
(Karadžić 1862:No. 6)
- That was then, now it is told,
and let us be healthy and merry,
let us sing, let us be merry,
and then let us pray to God
to protect us from plague and pestilence,
to let our hills and valleys yield well
- That was long ago, now it is told
like St. George's Feast in the year,
just like a brave hero in his company;
there may the maple and ash grow,
among us health and mirth
- It was then that it happened,
Let bright flowers bloom,
Among us health and mirth
- It was then that it happened;
on the other bank of the Sava and Danube
let the timber and ash grow,
among us health and mirth
- That was then, now it is told,
and let us be healthy and merry
- That was then, now it is told
like St. George's Feast in the year,
and let us, brothers, be merry,
all in fear of Almighty God,
and to the health of the Christian king
- So it was, now it is told,
and let us be healthy and merry
- It was then that it happened,
and let our hearts be merry.
- It was then that it happened,
to us, company, health and mirth
- It was then that it happened,
we say only: let us be merry

-- To je bilo kad se i činilo,
 pokojnijem duševno spasenje,
 a živijem zdravlje i poštenje
 (Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 9)

$A_2 + B_4$

-- To je bilo kad se i činilo,
 već za slavu boga da molimo
 i za zdravlje vladike svetoga
 Amin, bože, vazda te molimo.
 (Karadžić 1845:No. 95)

-- I to bilo kad se zahoćelo.
 Arnin, bože, sve se s tobom može.
 (Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 7)

$A_2 + B_1 + B_3$

-- Davno bilo, sad se sporninjalo,
 a rni, bratjo, zdravo i veselo:
 rodila narn bielica pšenica,
 uz pšenicu rujna lozovina,
 vince pili pa se veselili.
 Varna pjesma, meni čaša vina,
 ne bi l' ona od barila bila
 (Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 21)

-- Onda bilo, sad se sporninjalo,
 a rni da smo zdravo i veselo.
 Ko me sluša, na čast neka mu je,
 varna pisma, meni čaša vina,
 da bi ona od barila bila
 (Šunjić 1925:No. 173)

-- Onda bilo, sad se spominjalo;
 trista glavah, a trista je falah.
 Komu pievarn na zdravje mu bilo,
 što popijem, to u moje tielo
 (Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 15)

-- Onda bilo kad se je činilo;
 s onu stranu Save i Dunave
 urodilo senje i jasenje,
 među nami zdravlje i veselje.
 Pokraj Lašve, baš iz one strane,
 urodilo svakojako cviće,
 ponajviše modro i zeleno,
 sve u zdravlje kućnog domaćina
 koji nas je ovdje sakupio.

-- It was then that it happened,
 to the dead their souls' salvation,
 to the living health and honor

-- It was then that it happened,
 but let us pray for the glory of God
 and for the health of our holy bishop.
 Amen, God, always we do pray.

-- And it was then that it was desired.
 Amen, God, everything can be done
 with your help.

-- That was long ago, now it is told,
 and let us, brothers, be healthy and merry
 may our white wheat yield well,
 and with our wheat our dark red grapes,
 may we drink wine and be merry.
 For you a song, for me a glass of wine,
 let it be the size of a barrel

-- That was then, now it is told,
 and let us be healthy and merry.
 Let it be to the honor of him who listens
 to me,
 for you a song, for me a glass of wine,
 let it be the size of a barrel

-- That was then, now it is told;
 three hundred men, and three hundred
 praises.
 Health to him for whom I sing,
 let what I drink be for the health of my
 body

-- It was then that it happened;
 on the other bank of the Sava and Danube
 let the timber and ash grow,
 among us health and mirth.
 Beside the Lašva, on that very bank,
 may flowers of all sorts bloom,
 most of all blue and green,
 all to the health of our host
 who has gathered us together here.

Kako narn je milo na sastanku,
 nek' narn bude lipo na rastanku,
 varna pisma, meni čaša vina.
 (Šunjić 1925:No. 51)

Since our meeting is pleasing,
 let our parting be pleasant,
 for you a song, for me a glass of wine.

$$A_2 + A_3 + B_1$$

-- To je bilo, nije davno bilo,
 skora bilo, sad se spominjalo;
 vama pjesma, a pomoć od Boga
 (Karadžić 1862:No. 53)

-- That was, it was not long ago,
 it was recently, now it is told;
 for you a song, and help from God

-- Onda bilo, sad se spominjalo,
 svim delijam pisma na poštenje,
 a nam bog da zdravlje i veselje
 (Ivančić 1886:Nos. 21,24)

-- That was then, now it is told,
 to all heroes a song in their honor,
 and to us may God give health and mirth

-- I to bilo ka' se je činilo;
 ova pjesma svijema Srbima,
 od men' pjesma, a od boga zdravlje
 (Karadžić 1862:No. 9)

-- And it was then that it happened;
 this song to all Serbs,
 from me a song, and from God health

$$A_3 + B_2$$

-- Eto pisma, bratjo moja draga;
 komu mila-i milja mu bila,
 komu merska--i merža mu bila;
 nek rniluje što je njemu drago,
 dat' ću njemu gusle i gudalo,
 neka pieva što je njemu drago
 (Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 5)

-- There's the song, my dear brothers;
 to the one to whom it is dear-the dearer
 may it be,
 to the one to whom it is loathsome-the
 more loathsome may it be;
 let him love what is dear to him,
 I shall give him the gusle and bow,
 let him sing what he pleases

-- Eto pjesma, moja braćo draga;
 kažu ljudi da je tako bilo,
 a ja tude asli bio nisam,
 kako čuo, tako vama kazah.
 Tko zarnjera, nek' mi dade mira,
 ja ću njemu gusle javorove,
 i gudalo, drvo šimširovo,
 i nek' pjeva kako njemu drago
 (Ikić 1881:No. 5)

-- There's the song, my dear brothers;
 men say that is the way it was,
 but I was not there, truly,
 as I have heard, so have I told you.
 Let him who finds fault leave me be,
 I'll give him the maple gusle,
 and the bow, made of boxwood,
 and let him sing as he pleases

$$A_3 + B_1$$

-- Ova pjesma svjema Srbinjima,
 od men' pjesma, a od boga zdravlje
 (Karadžić 1862:Nos. 33, 34)

-- This is a song to all Serbs,
 from me a song, and from God health

- Ova pjesma svjema Srbima,
od men' pjesna, od boga varn zdravlje
(Karadžić 1862:No. 43)
- This is a song to all Serbs,
from me a song, from God health to you
- Od nas pjesna, a pomoć od boga
svakojemu bratu Rišnjani
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 19)
- From us a song, and help from God
to all brothers from Risan
- Ova pjesma na tvoje poštenje,
Bog ti dao zdravlje i veselje,
rodilo ti vino i pšenica,
i da bi ti rodilo predivo,
i da bi ga gulile dievojke,
udovice terle i topile,
biegunice na rosu nosile,
stare bake žicu otezale;
pošten bio tko te je rodio
i bielim mliekom zadojio,
poštena mu na rarnenu glava,
poštenija pod obrazom brada,
štimala te braćja i družina,
dušmani ti svi pod nogarn' bili
kano konj 'ma klinci pod pločama
(Jukić and Martić 1858:Nos. 17,30)
- This song in your honor,
God give you health and mirth,
may your vines and wheat yield well,
and may your flax yield well,
and may the girls strip it,
may the widows comb and soak it,
may the girls who have eloped spread it
on the dew,
may the old grandmothers spin it;
honored be the one who begot you
and who gave you white milk,
honored be the head on his shoulders,
even more honored the beard on his chin,
may you be honored by your brothers and
company,
may all your enemies be under your feet
like nails under horses' hooves

 $A_3 + B_1 + B_2$

- Od nas pesma, a od boga zdravlje,
nas lagali, mi polagujemo
(Karadžić 1845:No. 12)
- From us a song, and from God health,
if they lied to us, we are lying to you

 $A_3 + B_3$

- Vami pjesma, a meni čaša vina,
da bi čaša od barjela bila,
ova bi je družina popila
(Svilokos 1885-86:No. 1)
- For you a song, for me a glass of wine,
were the glass the size of a barrel,
this company would drink all of it

 B_1

- A mi, braćo, zdravi i veseli
(Alačević 1888:No. 22)
- And let us, brothers, be healthy and merry
- A mi da smo zdravo i veselo
(Glavić 1865-85:No. 259)
- And let us be healthy and merry
- A mi, družbo, zdravo i radosno,
vince pili, te se veselili
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 100)
- And let us, company, be healthy and joyful,
let us drink wine, and be merry

- I mi, družbo, zdravo i veselo
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 152) -- And let us, company, be healthy and merry
- Pa rni zdravo i veselo, družbo
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 87) -- And so let us be healthy and merry, company
- Pa da si rni zdravo, prijatelju
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 42) -- And so may you be healthy, my friend
- I da si rni zdravo, pobratime
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 12) -- And may you be healthy, my sworn brother
- A sad zdravo, moja braćo draga,
bog vam dao zdravlje i veselje,
ne bilo ga ko brata gubio
(Milutinović-Sarajlija 1837:No. 39) -- And now to your health, my dear brothers,
God give you health and mirth,
let no man live who has killed a brother
- Bog narn dao zdravlje i veselje,
dušmanima ternje i kamenje
(Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 35) --God give us health and mirth,
to our enemies thorns and stones

B₁ + B₅

- Narna bog dô zdravlje i veselje,
mrtvim dušam vijčno spasenje,
koga nije da kruha ne ije,
a mi da smo zdravo i veselo
(Glavić 1865-85:No. 252) -- God give us health and mirth,
to dead souls eternal salvation,
let him who is not here eat no bread,
and let us be healthy and merry

B₅ + B₁

- Koga nije da kruha ne ije,
a mi, braćo, zdravo i veselo
(Jukić and Martić 1858:No. 19;
Glavić 1865-85:No. 261) -- Let him who is not here eat no bread,
and let us, brothers, be healthy and merry
- Koga nije da kruha ne ije,
a mi da smo zdravo i veselo
(Glavić 1865-85:No. 251) -- Let him who is not here eat no bread,
and let us be healthy and merry

B₂

- Ja ne lažem, moja braćo draga,
onaj laže koji meni kaže
(Delić 1877 :No. 39) -- I do not lie, my dear brothers,
he lies who told me so

The Montenegrin Oral Epic in a New Perspective

Novak Kilibarda

In 1982 a study by the Russian scholar Boris Nikolaevič Putilov entitled *Geroičeskij èpos Černogorcev* [*Montenegrin Oral Epic*] was published in Leningrad by "Nauka." After a series of earlier studies on the problem of the oral epic of different peoples, Putilov investigates here the relationship between history and poetry in Montenegrin oral epics dealing with the struggle for liberation of the Montenegrin people from about 1700 to 1850. He has made a careful study of the collections of folk songs of Vuk Karadžić, Sima Milutinović-Sarajlija, Petar II Petrović Njegoš, and others during the classical period of the Serbo-Croatian oral epic tradition, as well as of the manuscripts containing the oral heroic songs preserved in the libraries, museums, and archives of Montenegro.

Vuk Karadžić was the first to point out that in Montenegrin oral epics history rather than poetry is in the foreground. This idea put forward by Vuk has gained wide acceptance among scholars, but Putilov takes a different view.

In his study Putilov advances the opinion that the question of the relationship between history and poetry in Montenegrin oral epic poetry can be resolved by the historical-typological method, which reveals that oral heroic poetry, one of the universal forms of folk art, did not, in its earliest stages, rely on the representation of real historical personages. Its point of departure was, instead, "the oldest strata of ethnic history, *understood and fixed in the language of myth*" (227; emphasis mine). By this method it can be demonstrated that archaic epics are the repository from which basic epic subjects and fundamental motifs are drawn. This is the level at which the basic structure of the epic and the types of heroes and their opponents are established, spatial and temporal relationships are delineated, and epic style is formed. Later, Putilov argues, the oral epic tradition underwent a succession of transformations, evolving under the impact of historical events and reflecting radical changes in the national consciousness. Each stage in the development of oral epic is influenced by the preceding one, thus ensuring a specific kind of continuity between typologically different stages. The process, according to Putilov, is also characterized by a permanent shift from the fantastic to the concrete historical world and to the strengthening of the principle of truthfulness. Thus it becomes apparent that the distinctive characteristics of the national

epic regarded as *primary* by the historical school of thought were in fact *acquired at a later stage of development* as the result of a prolonged evolution of epic poetry from its archaic to its historical forms. Putilov argues that the above process is virtually irreversible.

An erudite scholar of broad theoretical knowledge, Putilov criticizes in detail adherents of Vuk's view that Montenegrin oral epics are closer to history than to poetry. Putilov's familiarity with the secondary literature on the question is impressive. He includes in his study the briefest articles published in the daily papers as well as rare books preserved in libraries. On several occasions he examined at length the materials available in the libraries and archives of Montenegro. Traveling about Montenegro, he has studied the current state of affairs regarding oral epics sung to the accompaniment of the *gusle* and has visited the places where the events described in the classical oral epics occurred.

Although Putilov's conscientious work deserves the greatest respect, it must be pointed out that he was not in a position to fully apply the "historical-typological method and theory" to Montenegrin oral epics since that method is based on oral literature that in principle *precedes* written literature and higher forms of culture. The author neglects the fact that Montenegrin oral epic, like all other epics created in the Serbo-Croatian language, was, in the process of developing and maturing, in constant interaction with written literature and Christian civilization. It was immersed in a Christian culture that had developed over a period of a thousand years. During the Turkish occupation, the written tradition, in its specific aspects, maintained close links with oral epic poetry that reflected various forms of resistance to the enemy by the enslaved people. In other words, *the memory of historical events* of the Montenegrin people is preserved in their oral epic tradition and this aspect of content distinguishes it typologically from oral epic that precedes the written tradition. The fact that oral literature was influenced by historical thought and Christian civilization by no means precludes the influence of the fundamental principles governing the development of oral epic. Among the "universal forms of folk art," the presence of historical thought and memory and the ideological and psychological need of the enslaved people to maintain connections with their historic past—from which they were severed by the Turkish invasion—were prominent categories. It is these categories that militate against the conclusion that Montenegrin oral epic "did not from the start present and describe real historical personages," but instead took its point of departure, in Putilov's words, "from the oldest strata of ethnic history, understood and fixed in the language of myth."

The language of the poems about the Montenegrins' incessant warring against the Turks is as far removed as possible from the "language of myth." In the tribal organization of Montenegro, supreme power was in

the hands of the Orthodox Church. It should be noted that the bishops from the Petrović family, Danilo, Sava, Vasilije, and Petar I and Petar II Njegoš, were versed in both ecclesiastical and literary matters. They were also in control of the struggle against the Turks. This situation caused their religious, ideological, and political views to be directly incorporated in oral epics concerned with the struggle. As a result, the system of ideological and political thought current at the time was placed in the foreground, while the mythological and fantastic elements concerning historical and anthropological issues were dealt with only marginally.

The universal character of oral epic poetry found its supreme expression in those songs that were beyond the control of the audience and not in those about the actual reality of Montenegrin clans and their struggle against the Turks. Both the poet-singer and his audience “activated” their positivistic parameters whenever a song centered on the events involving tribal pride and competitive spirit typical of the patriarchal man, in which he and his kin strive to surpass others in all areas (this spirit has a great deal in common with the *agon* of Homer’s heroes, who strive to excel in noble and manly competitions). In such songs the truth-loving Montenegrins prevented oral epic from developing into poetry in the way that the songs dealing with pre-Turkish times developed in the same regions and during the same period. Free from the concern that he might hurt the feelings of tribal pride of Montenegrin warriors, the bard could give full rein to his imagination in the latter songs. On the other hand, the poet-singer composing to the accompaniment of the *gusle* a text in which he described an event of interest to an audience consisting of members of particular clans could not gratify his fancy in the same way as when he performed—before the same audience—a song about Marko Kraljević or about the personages and events from the period preceding the battle of Kosovo of 1389.

Thus, even though one may accept the hypothesis that history was not a *primary* category in the oldest Serbo-Croatian oral epics, one cannot find solid proof that Montenegrin oral epics dealing with the struggle for liberation in the 1700-1850 period did not from the very beginning depict *real historical personages and events*. The bard composing heroic epics had at his disposal stylistic and poetic devices used in older songs not concerned with the current reality of war. He drew upon them when he was not restricted by his theme, that is, when realistic facts and events were to be described. Šarac, Marko Kraljević’s horse, can run so fast that he can even catch a fairy (*vila*) beneath the clouds! That horse can also understand human speech! The Montenegrin bard sang about Šarac in this way, but he could not ascribe such preternatural qualities to the horse of a living Montenegrin hero. From the old, rich poetic storehouse he took only such elements as he could adapt to the realistic theme of his song.

A local episode in *Gorski vijenac* [*The Mountain Wreath*] by Njegoš, the Montenegrin Prince-Bishop who lived during the period when the oral epic investigated by Putilov was fully developed, is instructive for the discussion at hand. Njegoš had an intimate knowledge of the Montenegrin oral epic tradition dealing with the struggle against the oppressors. At the beginning of his literary career, he himself composed oral epics that cannot be distinguished thematically and structurally from the oral traditional songs produced by unlettered bards. In this episode of *Gorski vijenac*, we are told how the news of the death of Batrić Perović, a young hero treacherously killed by the Turks, is received by Montenegrin warriors. They are severely distressed by the news as well as by the lament sung by the young hero's sister mourning for her brother, which depicts his manly and heroic moral and physical qualities. Moved by sorrow and enraged by the Turkish deceit, the warriors loudly extol Batrić Perović as a hero. Knez Rogan claims that in his eighty years of living he had seen many a famous hero—Montenegrin, Turkish, and Latin—yet had never met such a fierce youth; Batrić was a “winged hero” second to none in valor and prowess. Vuk Mićunović says that never before had a Montenegrin woman given birth to such a hero. In their praise of the young hero, the warriors cannot agree which of his qualities was most outstanding: his handsomeness, his wisdom, or his valor and prowess. One of them says that he had “iron eyes,” another that he was not afraid of death, and still another that Batrić was intrepid. All of them agree that his death is mourned by all of Montenegro in recognition of the courage and other virtues of the young hero, not yet twenty years of age. The peculiar thing about all this is that these feelings are shared by the members of different clans.

Njegoš' verses show clearly that men inflamed with warlike passion, filled with patriarchal moral and tribal pride, men who love and hate with elemental force, did not in their eulogies speak of their slain fellow-warrior as of a *real warrior*; instead, they depicted him in the *language of myth*. In the eyes of the peasant-warriors venerating the cult of glory, apart from being the son of the goddess Thetis, Homer's Achilles was not superior to Batrić Perović. However, in the Montenegrin oral epic tradition there is not a single song referring to any of the exaggerated qualities of Batrić Perović mentioned by the warriors in *Gorski vijenac*. Other variants deal with this incident that have come down to us, one of which is to be found in Njegoš' *Ogledalo srpsko* [*The Serbian Mirror*] and the other in the fourth volume of *Srpske narodne pjesme* [*Serbian Folk Songs*] collected by Vuk Karadžić, are typical oral epic chronicle songs, attempting to give by poetic means as faithful an account of that historical event as possible. They mention not a single quality ascribed to Batrić Perović that, in its epic stylization, could not be applied to a real-life hero.

In both variants there is considerable poetic elevation here and there, but it is still far from that of the best songs dealing with older themes. Accordingly, in his *Gorski vijenac*, Njegoš showed that “universal forms of folk art” existed in the collective mind of patriarchal Montenegrin warriors, and that in the beginning such fundamental principles determined the mental attitudes of individual men and of the entire community in depicting particular historical events. This is the epic-mythic attitude toward history singled out by Putilov as revealed by the “historical-typological method and theory.” However, *strict truthfulness*, closely adhered to by the ambitious warriors who were members of particular clans, clipped the wings of the imagination of the Montenegrin bards. Those who composed and transmitted oral epics compensated for such loss in songs about early heroes who did not belong to any particular clan. Strict insistence on truthfulness by the audience was markedly reduced in songs dealing with themes that aroused an identical ideological and psychological response in them.

In conclusion, Putilov’s *Geroičeskij èpos Černogorcev*, however lucid, complete, and instructive, nevertheless fails to corroborate its central proposition: that Montenegrin oral epic poetry created from 1700 to 1850 during the struggle for liberation did not in its incipient stages represent and describe real historical personages and events, but that its point of departure is intimately linked with a mythic system of thought.

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The Geographic Extent and Chronological Coordinates of South Slavic Moslem Oral Epic

Đenana Buturović

The roots of that segment of South Slavic Moslem oral epic recorded from the beginning of the eighteenth century up to modern times are to be found in the cultural-historical events of the late Middle Ages and the early period of Ottoman rule. Little attention has been focused on the nature of early folk traditions in the South Slavic regions of the Ottoman Empire, particularly on their distinctive features that, from the very beginning, have provided a basis for their separation into different national traditions. These folk traditions, including the epic of that period, are, above all, determined by region and chronology. They belong to broader territorial divisions and have vigorous epic plots and other traditional epic features, in which earlier names are frequently replaced by more recent ones.

In different epochs and decades various ethnic impulses contributed to the formation of individual epic traditions. In the past certain historical events such as the battle of Kosovo of 1389, even at this early juncture in the oral tradition, stimulated talented storytellers, singers, and chroniclers in perpetuating the thoughts and aspirations current at the time among their own and other peoples. In its early stages, however, a tradition generally tends to be associated with the real events and personages of the region in which it originates and only later takes on the specific features of other regional groups. The early South Slavic oral tradition about the battle of Kosovo of 1389 has its origins in Raška, Zeta, early Hum, and other parts of the medieval Bosnian state. As early as the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, we find echoes of the Kosovo tradition in the works of the Turkish historians Mehmed Neshri and Idris Bidlisi.¹ The presence of the Serbian tradition about the Kosovo battle in Neshri's description served as the basis for the hypothesis that the Serbian and Turkish folk traditions were in part acquired and formed in Bursa (Brusa) around Murad's grave, and that both of these traditions about Kosovo underwent mutual influence (Ljubinković 1961). The early

¹ For Neshri, see Olesnicki 1935, Elezović 1940, and Ređep 1976; for Bidlisi, see Trako 1969.

Serbian tradition, which certainly had a Serbian-Turkish phase, attests to the penetration of regional and national features during the process of its formation.

All the early traditions of the South Slavic regions, which evolved in the course of the stormy Christian-Islamic conflict between South Slavic peoples and a goodly number of European states on the one hand and the Ottoman Empire on the other, are marked by specific directions in the development of their thematic-ideological nuclei. Their principal characteristics are warrior themes and their own interpretation of events, ranging from the realistic to the hyperbolic. One of these early traditions is the Moslem Bosnian tradition—or that of the South Slavic Moslems—understood in a broad sense. The early folk tradition of Bosnia in the Turkish period, viewed in the light of information about epic song in European Turkey, and the effect of the Bosnian tradition on Turkish writers and chroniclers—Suzi Čelebi, Ibn Kemal, Mesih, Ibrahim Pečević, Evliya Čelebi—support the conclusion that the early formative period of the South Slavic Moslem Bosnian tradition was coeval with the stage during which epic traditions were being shaped around events essential to the Rumelian tradition, that is, individual national traditions that helped to form the complex of European Turkish traditions.² These factors in the genesis of the Moslem epic are crucial to an understanding of its distinctive features.

Oral verse traditions from the very beginning display a more pronounced national orientation than oral prose legends. From the abundant testimony of the above-mentioned chroniclers on the Rumelian oral tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is possible to deduce information, in order of importance, on epic cores and bearers of epic legend and song. In the first place, we can single out the *krajišnik* as the bearer of a tradition, by which is meant, judging from all the facts, primarily Bosnian and other Slavic Moslems as well as the Christian Slavic population in the service of the Turks. However, it is also possible to include Moslem Albanians in this group. In the sultan's campaigns they fought alongside the Bosnian and other South Slavic *krajišnici*. Both during and after these battles, there were numerous possibilities for the creation of traditional epic legends and songs by the representatives of various ethnic groups, who glorified the same exploits and individuals. In this way, in the same period there arose songs of the earliest layer of the Moslem tradition about Gürz Iljas-Đerzelez, or Đerđ Elez-Alija and the South Slavic Bosnian-Moslem and Albanian songs about European heroes in the service of Turkey, which appeared somewhat later. As a rule, these songs were different from the very beginning. As a figure of the Moslem

² Olesnicki 1934; 1933:19-20; Buturović 1975.

krajišnik of the seventeenth century, the Albanian follower of Mohammed could be included in the connection between the Moslem South Slavic and Albanian epic. The second important core in which songs of war were sung consisted of the Christian population as a whole, while the third—that of the veterans of the Buda military frontier—was made up of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Moslem population. All these categories of bearers of the epic tradition in the broader territory of European Turkey also apply to the bearers of the epic tradition in Bosnia over the centuries. The Bosnian Moslem tradition as a concept covers most of the South Slavic Moslem tradition. The Moslem tradition in regions outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which for centuries were either always or occasionally parts of the Bosnian *pashalik* (the Sanjak [*Sandžak*], Plav, Gusinje) when this tradition sprang up, fills out the circle of this thematic whole.³

Changes in the border of the Bosnian *pashalik*, that is, of Bosnia during the Ottoman period, were instrumental in enriching its oral traditional repertoire. At the time of the Ottoman conquest, Bosnia had been a battleground for almost half a century; its subjugation was to last for more than a century and a half (Aličić 1982). In addition to the early conquests of the fifteenth century—when Bosnia had as its borders the territory of Isha-beg and later the Bosnian sanjak, and was a component of the Rumelian ayalet—new conquests from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the taking of Bihać in 1592 and conquests lasting until the end of the seventeenth century rounded out the borders of the Bosnian *pashalik* into eight territorial units, or sanjaks (those of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Zvornik, Klis, Požega [in Slavonia], Krk or the Lika, Pakrac or Cernik, and Bihać) and gave their stamp to the subject matter and characters of the most vital layers of Moslem epic songs about the borderland heroic bands of widespread Bosnian Moslem epic songs, among which are also those about the so-called *undurski* [Hungarian] Moslem heroes.

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, the Turks lost Hungary, except for the Banat, and then Slavonia and Croatia up to the Una River and south of the Velebit mountains, as well as the cities and regions taken by Venice (Herceg Novi, Knin, Sinj, Vrgorac, and Gabela). As a result of these losses, the borders of Bosnia were greatly reduced and it became a

³ The epic poetry of the Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina is an important segment of the epic traditions of the peoples of Yugoslavia. It is most closely connected with the epic song of Serbs, Croats, and, above all, Montenegrins by a common language, Slavic and Proto-Slavic epic legacy, and lines of development with various kinds of overlapping. The distinctive features of the epic folk tradition of the Moslems is the result of the evolution of their awareness as an ethnic group and a people, which is best expressed in the basic attitudes and points of view of their epic singers and the ideological character of their songs. The Moslem epic thus reflects the complex events of political, ethnic, and cultural currents on Bosnian soil during the Ottoman period.

meeting place for refugees and those who had returned home from these regions. After the Treaty of Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci) in 1699, its long-term border was established and included the territory from Novi Pazar to Bihać and from the Sava River to an outlet to the Adriatic. The Bosnian pashalik was reduced to five sanjaks: those of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Zvornik, Klis, and Bihać (Šabanović 1982:229).

Bosnia as the homeland represented and experienced in Moslem epic song from a regional-political standpoint exists within the borders of the Bosnian ayalet up to the Treaty of Karlowitz. In other words, by 1699 Moslem songs already glorified the deeds of heroes from those regions that Bosnia, or rather the Ottoman Empire, had lost through this treaty, and, in particular, the heroes from the regions of the Lika and Krbava, who became the bearers of entire cycles of the Moslem epic (Bosnić Mehmed-aga is from Novi, the two Musićes are from below Perušić, Kumalić Mujaga is from Raduč, the Kozlics are from Široka Kula, and so forth). The sanjak of the Lika was a Turkish frontier province facing the Christian West. Udbina, now a village in Krbava, appears continually in the Moslem epic as the center where Moslem epic warriors assembled to receive counsel on the heroic exploits of bands and of individuals and the attacks and campaigns prepared by the “enemy.” The songs have preserved the geopolitical significance of the Udbina of the Ottoman period as a center in which the Empire’s interests were defended and decisions were made with regard to raiding the vicinity of Zadar, the Croatian coast, and the northern regions across the Kupa River and in the direction of Karlovac. In the songs it is known as Turčija, by which is meant both the Bosnian borderland and the Ottoman Empire (Buturović 1976:364). In addition to Udbina, the Moslem epic preserves various names for the districts of the Krk area under the jurisdiction of a *cadi*—or Knin—from the seventeenth century (Knin, Zrmanja, Zečevo, Skradin, Vrana, Zvonigrad, Gračac, the Lika, Perušić, Novi, and Bunić). The unidentified Bilić of the songs is probably a name for the district of Bilaj. Cetina, Vrlika, Gospić, Lički Novi, Perušić, and Ribnik are, in both the songs and the history of the period about which they sing, the places inhabited by the Moslem Slavic population, that is, the towns in Turkish hands. Brinje, Brlog, Otočac, Korlat, and Novi at the foot of the Velebit mountains were free from Turkish control. The regions constituting military borders at Sinj and Otočac left traces in the Moslem epic as the starting points of attacks. Songs recorded in the nineteenth century in the Krajina, the military march between Austria-Hungary and Turkey, preserved the tradition about seventeenth-century events, so that, in the view of the epic hero Durutagić Ibro, the border of the Moslem world of Bosnia is the seventeenth-century frontier between the sanjak of the Lika and the Krajina:

“A moj Lika, direk od Udbine,
 ja sam skoro uzjahô dorata,
 protjerô ga preko Velebita,
 pa od Zadra do Herceg-Novoga [Novi ispod Velebita],
 i od Brinja do vlašskog Lenđera,
 od Zrmanje pa do Zvonigrada,
 od Otočca do vode Gaščice.
 Tud’ sam, tada, beže sve vodô dorata,
 tražeć, beže, jadnih nevoljnika,
 našô n’jesam, Lički Mustaj-beže.
 Pa sam otle otiskô dorata,
 na Kunaru u ćesarovinu,
 pa sam plaćuć došô do Karlovca,
 u Karlovac utjerô dorata.”

(Hörmann 1888-89:324)

[“O my Lika, mainstay of Udbina,
 I mounted my bay horse not long ago,
 I drove him across the Velebit mountains,
 and then from Zadar up to Herceg-Novi [Novi at the foot of the
 Velebit Mountains],
 and from Brinje up to Christian Lenđer,
 from the Zrmanja and up to Zvonigrad,
 from Otočac up to the Gaščica.
 I, the beg, guided my bay horse all around there then,
 as I, the beg, looked for miserable wretches,
 I, Mustaj-beg of the Lika, found none.
 And so I spurred my bay horse away from there,
 to Mount Kunara into the Christian empire,
 and weeping, I reached Karlovac,
 I drove my bay horse into Karlovac.”]

It is interesting that certain Moslem singers whose places of origin were farther removed from western Bosnia—areas to or within which the Moslem population of the Lika migrated—refer to some of the localities of the Lika mentioned that were at that time settled by Moslems as free from Turkish dominion (Bunić, Skradin). In such cases places are not linked with specific Moslem figures and Christian heroes are unnamed bans [governors].

In the history of the development of the Moslem epic tradition, one can rightfully ask whether the Lika was one of its more vital centers. Alois Schmaus (1953:97) sees that region as the home of the “Krajina epic,” providing we view it in a broader sense as comprising both the Krajina and parts of former Turkish Dalmatia. In my opinion, the Lika sanjak was the spawning ground of a new phase in the history of the Moslem epic’s development, but really only one of its especially more vital centers.

The almost desolate Lika of the first half of the sixteenth century

welcomed Turkish control. Islamized natives of the Lika, early Moslem immigrants to it from the Unac, Pset, Sana, Livno, and Grahovo regions, and the numerous Christian population in the service of the Turks originally from the Ibar, Lim, Piva, Tara, and Morača regions (who were fond of epic songs) all contributed from the repertoire of their traditional legacy to the new center of life and culture that for the next 170 years stimulated the creation of epic poetry with its new subject matter and heroes. The later Moslem immigrants of the seventeenth century from western Bosnian areas contributed new strata to this tradition from their narrower homeland and from the broader territories with which they were in contact in northeastern and central Bosnia. The protracted influence of the *martolozi*—usually Christian garrisons in the Turkish service—who very frequently were singers and transmitters of these songs, is attested to in the powerful layers of the Moslem epic in those regions of Dalmatia and the Dalmatian islands over which the Turks never had dominion and in which there were no Moslems, but which had been settled by *martolozi* from the end of the seventeenth century. The earliest stratum of recorded Moslem epic songs in the Erlangen manuscript (hereafter *ER*) corroborates the phase of *martolož* influence in the historical development of Moslem epic (*ER* 1925; Schmaus 1974:59-60).

Moslem epic song and its heroes are also known in the northwestern regions of Croatia, which were at war with the Ottoman province of Bosnia. Evliya Čelebi provides information from the year 1660 about songs that were sung in the Zrinski dukedom (Čakovec) about the glorious exploits of a captain from Bihać. There can be no doubt that Čelebi's account refers to Mustaj-beg Hasumović, Bihać captain from 1642 to 1676.⁴

The Christian element fought alongside of the *bešlije*, members of the paid cavalry, and Moslem epic song from the western regions of Bosnia preserved the memory of the contribution and importance of these layers in the borderland and broader Turkish military campaigns (e.g., the son of Prince Vukašin, Nikola, informs Mustaj-beg of the Lika of the threat to Udbina occasioned by the Karlovac ban and frontier). Mustaj-beg of the Lika relied on the strength of Stipan Maljković and the Christian *rayah* (non-Moslem subjects of the Turks) under his command in periods of unrest and other crises. Meho Kolaković's song *Lički Mustaj-beg brani Udbinu* [*Mustaj-beg of the Lika Defends Udbina*] is eloquent testimony to this relationship:

Begu opet suze udariše,
a povika dvi paše careve:

⁴ See Čelebi 1967:241-56 and Buturović 1980b:201-4; 1986.

“Čujete li, dvi paše careve,
 ko zametnu kavgu u planini?
 Ono je naša raja ispod kraja,
 i prid njima Maljković Stipane.
 Dočekô je bana u planini,
 on je s njime kavge zametnuo.
 Leže naša raja u planini,
 poginut će Maljković Stipane,
 od’ mi krilo od široke Like!”

(Marjanović 1898-99:216-17)

[The beg burst into tears again,
 and shouting, he called two of the sultan’s pashas:
 “Do you hear, two of the sultan’s pashas,
 who started the quarrel in the mountain?
 That’s our rayah at the border’s edge,
 and at its head is Maljković Stipan.
 He awaited the ban in the mountain,
 he started the quarrel with him.
 Our rayah lay down in the mountain,
 Maljković Stipan shall be killed,
 come, my flank, from the broad Lika!”]

The same song tells of the exemption from taxes enjoyed by Maljković and the rayah led by him as a reward for their military service. The song thus calls to mind the ways in which these Christian warriors earned privileged status. The *uskok* [raider or guerrilla] Radovan is one of the trusted Christians in the service of Mustaj-beg of the Lika, who withdraws from the Lika after Mustaj-beg’s death and goes off to Glamoč (Marjanović 1898-99:220-28).

The basis for the rise and continuity of the Moslem epic in the Lika and the Bosnian borderland lies in the ethnic, geographic, and political links between these regions. All the events took place within narrow geographic confines. Those who returned to the Bosnian borderland from the Lika recalled through oral tradition the arrival of their ancestors in the Lika from neighboring regions. After all, when the Moslem population withdrew from the Lika, the songs they sang already existed outside of that region (having versions in central and eastern Bosnia) and were the same as those of the Bosnian borderland. The situation was similar in the case of the Moslem epic that during the course of a whole century was brought by Montenegrin Moslem immigrants to Herzegovina, where it too had already existed under similar conditions.

The epic of the Bosnian Moslems in Hungary, however, whose origins and subject matter are linked to the period of Ottoman rule in Slavonia and Hungary, had, according to my research up to this point, a different sort of influence on the content of the Bosnian Moslem epic tradition as a whole. Its subject matter, scope, and especially some of its

stylistic features indicate primarily late influence on the entire Bosnian Moslem epic tradition. From the material available to me and from my own field investigations, I have concluded that the Moslems from Hungary who came to Bosnia from Serbia in the second stage of their return influenced epic folk creation in central and eastern Bosnia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In a similar way, Moslem refugees from regions of the coast and of continental Dalmatia (Risan, Novi, Sinj), which were taken from the Turks by the Venetians, exerted their influence on Bosnian Moslem epic poetry. They were already fleeing to Herzegovina from the end of the seventeenth century, and they added new characters and events to the epic stock in that area. This, of course, does not mean that earlier influence did not exist in the case of these two traditions in the primary phase of creation in the homeland epic areas. I posit such influence on the poetry of western Bosnia and believe that it resulted in the so-called *krajiško-undurske* songs. The foregoing remarks provide an overview of the geographic genesis of Moslem epic with regard to the contributions of the regional traditions outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The recording of South Slavic folk songs, including those of the Moslem tradition, was begun relatively late. Moslem epic songs recorded toward the end of the seventeenth century and during the first decades of the eighteenth are few in number (Buturović 1972-73). The Moslem epic was recorded in the nineteenth century from the time of Vuk Karadžić to that of Kosta Hörmann and Luka Marjanović, and was sparsely published until the appearance of the fundamental collections of Hörmann (1888-89) and Marjanović (1898-99) toward the end of the nineteenth century. This situation was prejudicial to its investigation. It was neglected, identified with the Serbo-Croatian-language Christian epic, reduced to a single peripheral cycle, and so on. In addition to the rich collections of Moslem epic recorded in the nineteenth century, a tradition that still exists today principally in manuscript form, the songs recorded in the twentieth century right up to our own time are also significant in an evaluation of the Moslem epic tradition as a whole. It is possible to speak of such a tradition properly only from a comprehensive understanding of the existing published and unpublished texts. The published collections, particularly that of Marjanović, which was published primarily as a literary source of representative songs of the Moslem epic genre known as the *krajišnica* (restricted to western Bosnia), do not provide opportunities for an understanding of the Moslem epic in its geographical and typological diversity. Thus, Marjanović's collection does not contain even one example of the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian type, and, generally, only a few of these have been published to date. There are, of course, no studies of this type, and probably that is why this rich epic tradition has been neglected in the overall context of poetry from the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian region in

Boris Putilov's investigation of the Montenegrin oral epic (1982). Limitations of space prohibit my citing other examples of serious omission in casual treatments of Moslem epic. The fragmentary state of text publication has been a serious obstacle to the formulation of general and definitive conclusions about this tradition.⁵

The earliest recorded stratum of Moslem epic songs, that of *ER* (1925), as mentioned earlier, attests to the chronology, but, unfortunately, not the geographic extent of the Moslem epic from the end of the seventeenth century and beginning of the eighteenth. In this regard, it is necessary to keep in mind that they are, like the rest of the songs in *ER*, shortened versions of the songs sung by excellent, mediocre, and poor singers. We owe such abbreviated versions to their recorder, that is, to the conditions of their recording. The Moslem songs of this collection, against the background of the total repertoire of Moslem epic songs of the first half of the nineteenth century, constitute a modest number of those preserved from an isolated, specific repertoire: twelve songs in all (*ER* 1925: Nos. 61, 74, 77, 83, 88, 91, 120, 126, 138, 161, 172, and 187). The choice of these songs and not others could have been due as much to the inclinations of the singers or the audience toward particular subject matter as to their being typical of the period in which they were collected. We can be certain, however, of one fact: the subject matter of the Moslem repertoire was also typical of its Christian Serbian and Croatian counterpart. In other words, like most other songs from this collection, these songs have as their central interest the conflicts and destinies of the borderland warriors who were their bearers. They leave no doubt that historical themes were the primary subject of eighteenth-century Moslem epic. That the Moslem epic songs of *ER* were generally typical of the repertoire of Moslem singers is corroborated by the early information available to us about Moslem epic as well as by the songs recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The well-developed plots of the *ER* songs, as typified by *ER* No. 88, show that they are abbreviated versions of songs that were repeatedly sung. We find support for this view in the valuable information about songs of this period in the chronicle of Mustafa Mula Ševki Bašeskija (1968). In contrast to the compressed recordings of the epic songs in *ER*, the songs about the borderland heroes described by Bašeskija provide evidence of a highly developed form of epic poetry (268, 429). The songs to which he refers were sung during the period in which the unknown collector of *ER* recorded his poetry. According to Bašeskija's information on two singers who lived toward the middle and

⁵ Without having at his disposal in any way nearly enough songs of the Montenegrin-Herzegovinian type, that is, of the so-called southern type, Schmaus (1953) assumes without documentation that the southern type evolved into the *krajišnica*.

second half of the eighteenth century, there was a tradition of itinerant Moslem singers at that time.

Two *ER* songs in particular, Nos. 88 and 61 (as well as some others from that collection)—the earliest sultan-vizier song and the earliest song about the Bosnian representative of the sultan⁶—offer persuasive arguments through their integral and well-developed plots about the diversity of epic layers (from the end of the seventeenth century, beginning of the eighteenth, and during the nineteenth) of songs linked with definite historical events (this is not intended, of course, to deny stratification—the age of plots and forms—in epic songs recorded in the nineteenth century). A comparison of these two songs with their corresponding variants or types recorded in the nineteenth century makes it possible to establish the stratification of views and concepts and, in general, the layers resulting from entire events of successive centuries.

The general historical conditions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, important for the Ottoman province of Bosnia, characterize the entire epic atmosphere of song No. 88. In no other songs, except in this earliest of traditions typical of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Moslems, is the pasha of Banja Luka the representative of the local interests of Bosnia. In its own way, this song recalls the Ottoman conquests in western Bosnia, but, at the same time, it is a real, poetic conception of the history created by that segment of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian population that took part in those conquests and that in the course of its embroiled history developed and preserved its identity. The central figure in this song is the captain of Bihać, leader, warrior, and defender of Ottoman Bosnia and its local interests, around whom new songs were created. He protects Bosnia from the *kauri* [infidels], but also collaborates with them.

Similarly, song No. 61 emphasizes the role played by the Ljubović family in events taking place in the Bosnian pashalik. The actual roles of the army of *spahis* and the feudal lord Ljubović as their representative at that time are depicted through the actions of the Ljubović band. It is clear that the epic singer in *ER* in his description of characters and events does not depart from Bosnia and its hero in his statement of a basic idea. Hörmann's variant of this song, recorded in the nineteenth century, preserved the *ER* epic singer's view of the events about the battle of Szigetvár, but, in the later variant, the event is viewed with some temporal distance, a perspective that led later singers to have a sense of the opposing side and to devote considerable attention to it, which the *ER* singer did not do. In the nineteenth-century song (about the battle of Szigetvár), the Bosnian epic hero is no longer an outstanding feudal lord but rather a common standard-bearer, Kajtaz from Mostar (Hörmann 1888-89:126). In

⁶ Already examined in considerable detail (Buturović 1972-73:40-41;1980b).

order to provide their own view of key historical events, singers would dwell on secondary episodes, which were only a small part of the historical event. This is a general rule for the shaping of feats in an epic tradition and is a feature both of the *ER* songs and of those recorded in the nineteenth century.

The songs in *ER* and those of later periods all have the homeland as a constant theme. Affiliation with the broader homeland of Bosnia as well as with smaller localities was vigorously expressed in the Moslem epic at a time when frontiers shifted regularly. Bosnia as homeland, region, and political whole was the vision toward which the Moslems as a religious-cultural group, ethnic unit, and people were striving in accordance with the rules of troubled times by means of sword, duel, and bloody skirmishes when the South Slavs were divided (Buturović 1980a).

In contrast to the songs of the oldest stratum (*ER*), the entire corpus of Moslem epic songs recorded in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries offers abundant information about the geography of Moslem epic, whereas the problem of the chronological origins of individual songs, cycles, plot-thematic wholes, and the like, continues to be the subject of scholarly debate. It is unfortunate that Moslem epic has not been the object of investigation by the majority of scholars, but it is fortunate that the texts have been massively collected, with the lesser part of them having been published, as mentioned above.⁷ The essential factors that exerted influence on Yugoslav folk poetry—namely, the Ottoman conquests of Yugoslav national territories and the existence of a flourishing tradition of diverse ethnographic and social epic centers in Yugoslavia, with its abundance of archaic but vital features—were also the basis for the subject matter of the Moslem epic as a whole. The Turkish conquests, without a doubt, had the greatest influence on the Moslem epic. The conditions for the shaping of that tradition were created when a significant portion of the population in Bosnia and Herzegovina accepted Islam. By this action they affiliated themselves with the Islamic Ottoman state and, in part, with Islamic civilization, so that the stage was set for political and religious confrontation with the Christian population whose ethnic background they shared. Islamization led to the preservation of some epic features which

⁷ The fundamental archival materials of Moslem epic song are housed in several centers: the Etnološki Zavod Istraživačkog Centra Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti (Arhiv Rukopisa Odbora za Narodni Život i Običaje) [Ethnological Institute of the Research Center of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (Manuscript Archives of the Committee for Folk Life and Customs)] in Zagreb, the Arhiv Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti (Etnografska Zbirka) [Archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Ethnographic Collection)] and the Arhiv Srbije [Archives of Serbia] in Belgrade, the Folklorni Arhiv Zemaljskog Muzeja Bosne i Hercegovine [Folklore Archives of the Territorial Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina] in Sarajevo, and in the Milman Parry Collection at Harvard University.

existed prior to the Turkish period, since the Islamized population, especially the villagers of the herding regions, were less inclined to migrate and so preserved the traditional culture that they had inherited. In Moslem herding communities, such as, for example, Drežnica near Mostar, we find the most persistent oases of the epic tradition, which have survived right up to the present (Buturović 1982).

My investigations of Moslem epic to date point to the existence of numerous important elements especially characteristic of epic creation in individual regions made up of smaller ethnographic entities (Buturović 1976:92-152). The influence of specific social milieus was particularly instrumental in producing greater variety. However, the boundaries of epic zones were never strictly defined by type or subtype. The Montenegrin-Herzegovinian type can be singled out because of its special form and content, whereas the rest of Moslem poetry shows a broad spectrum of variations so that, generally speaking, it can be described as a "wide-ranging" type of epic song. It is represented in Hörmann's collection and, for the most part, in existing manuscript collections, including that of the Matica Hrvatska, which we owe to Luka Marjanović's efforts. Schmaus referred to songs of this type as the "mixed type," or songs that represent incomplete "performances." In the entire corpus of Moslem epic poetry, Schmaus, furthermore, singled out as a special group the most highly developed forms of epic song taken from Marjanović's informants and, to a lesser extent, from Hörmann's collection. By identifying tendencies in the development of this so-called Krajina type with the development of Moslem epic song as a whole, Schmaus excluded other tendencies in the evolution of the Moslem epic and, even more broadly, in Serbo-Croatian-language epic in general. Even those examples designated by him as belonging to the "Krajina type" are often characterized by heterogeneous formal features (1953).

The "mixed type" is not always marked by the special features of one definitive form. Judging from most texts recorded in the second half of the nineteenth century, I believe that it is the result of vigorous epic contact throughout almost all of Bosnia and Herzegovina over the course of several centuries. Taken as a whole, this type can be defined in terms of its themes, subject matter, form, length, and so forth. In this group we can classify songs that reflect more markedly definite historical events, those about heroes from the Bosnian borderland of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries characterized by the age of their tradition, songs about warriors from the Venetian and Austrian borders, those about well-known border fighters who often are outstanding soldiers from all the regions of the Bosnian pashalik, as well as songs about the Moslem heroes from Hungary, the so-called *undurske* songs. These songs show that length is not a formal feature but rather a descriptive category, since longer and shorter epic

songs exist as parallel forms of this type. The phenomenon is especially characteristic of songs with a historical basis and those about the borderland heroes of the seventeenth century. Among songs of this type, we can single out, in particular, a central Bosnian variant of the Moslem epic with representative examples recorded in Sarajevo, Zenica, and Travnik. The most numerous and most interesting are the songs from Sarajevo, which represent the Moslem epic tradition of a wider geographic area that merged in Sarajevo and is part of a tradition of wide-ranging epic forms with multiple variations. It is interesting that the highly developed epic songs of Sarajevo about Bosnian Moslem heroes, warrior bands, and epic borderland fighters of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in a series of interesting variants, are representative of the Moslem epic song in general.

The phenomenon of the epic singer in the South Slavic tradition has not been explained satisfactorily in terms of the recorded epic repertoire. This observation, of course, applies to Moslem epic also. However, precisely in songs from this epic area, we catch sight of the singer-transmitter of definite categories of songs that are strikingly original. Thus, among the songs of Mehmed Kalabić's narrators (Hörmann's associates), which fall into the category of the type just mentioned, we find a highly developed epic song with the theme of the warrior band (Mustaj-beg of the Lika setting his brother free), in which the heroic company resembles medieval knights-errant traveling from one land to another (Hörmann 1888-89:355). In its romantic subject matter, Avdo Pivo's song *Mustaj-beg Lički oženi Kumalić Nuhana* [*Mustaj-beg of the Lika Marries Off Kumalić Nuhan*] (from the group of another associate of Hörmann) is reminiscent of a short novel (Hörmann 1888-89:395). Both of these songs, as well as some others, preserve the thread of the medieval epic tradition of the courts that most likely was rich in the epic plots of medieval stories and that surely, to a significant extent, became part of the Serbo-Croatian-language epic tradition.⁸

The most characteristic examples of the epic tradition of central Bosnia are songs with a historical background (*Gazi Husrev-beg vodi svatove u Stambol* [*Gazi (Hero) Husrev-beg Leads Wedding Guests to Stambol*], *Ibrahim-beg Ljubović*, *Car Sulejman uzimlje Budim* [*Sultan Suleiman Takes Buda*], *Filip Madžarin i gojeni Halil* [*Filip the Hungarian and the Powerful Halil*], *Filip general osvaja Zvornik* [*Filip the General Conquers Zvornik*], *Osman-beg Osječki i Pavičević Luka* [*Osman-beg of*

⁸This aspect of the epic has not been studied although the manuscript collections offer ample material for such investigation; these features of the epic tradition of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian Serbs recorded at the same time as the Moslem epic in question have been simplistically characterized in casual discussions as falsifications.

Osijek and Pavičević Luka]), a significant number of which were created in that area (Hörmann 1888-89:3, 155, 139, 451; 1966:123). Their historical foundation is rooted in the important events of the Bosnian Turkish period. Their themes and ideas reflect the many problems in the lives of Islamized Bosnians, such as their search for a *modus vivendi* from the fulfilling of obligations to defending the rights they inherited or acquired otherwise. These songs underscore the importance of Bosnia to the Ottoman Empire and show that positions attained and historical gains were the direct results of that significant role. Comparing the song about Osman-beg and Pavičević Luka from Hörmann's collection with its variant *Pavišić Luka i Hajser general* from western Bosnia (Marjanović 1898-99:555), we find Beg Ljubović and the traitorous vizier of Buda absent in the latter, while in the central Bosnian song both contribute in a significant way to enhancing the reputation of Bosnians (Buturović 1976:100-01). The poetry of central Bosnia is also important in the history of the epic tradition because a significant number of songs from this region clearly show that the Moslem epic tradition was created and preserved by Moslem urban society: businessmen, soldiers, tradesmen, and those in similar callings, who, like the members of village communities, incorporated heterogeneous cultural-ethnic layers in their songs (it is possible to suggest that *Car Sulejman uzimlje Budim* arose in a military dervish milieu [Buturović 1976:103]).

Within the framework of the entire Moslem epic tradition, it is possible to speak about a group of songs from western and northwestern Bosnia that are in fact representative of the western Bosnian variant. Their subject matter deals with the attacks of heroic bands in the Krajina, and they are linked principally to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Compared to songs with similar subject matter recorded in central and eastern Bosnia, these songs are more realistic in their portrayal of life in the Krajina. The borderland fighters led by Mustaj-beg of the Lika, the heroes of these western Bosnian songs, have concrete tasks in the course of warfare and plundering, and are depicted as an important military force. One of the central characters in these songs is Mustaj-beg himself. Unlike the central Bosnian songs, these do not emphasize the special status of Bosnia. In the songs of singers transmitting poems that, to judge from the norm, were western Bosnian epics, the notion of the sultan as protector of the Krajina warriors is absent; the sultan in fact drives them into conflict with the enemy.

In a layer of songs by Mehmed Kolaković, we see powerfully reflected those tendencies in epic song that evolved after 1737, that is, after the Banja Luka battle and later, and that are the result of the accumulation of views formed in the eighteenth century during the period of open Bosnian antagonism to the central government. Kolaković the singer is tightly bound to the Krajina and its set of historical problems, with the

result that he “turns” even so-called *undžurske* songs into Krajina songs. His songs are characterized by epic realism. There is no idealization here, but rather misfortune, and life as it was for the warrior who had no other destiny; battles, duels, and skirmishes were his inevitable lot. This is why his heroes take no pride in their courage. Kolaković’s special gift was his ability to convey the essential messages of the tradition on which the epic songs of western Bosnia were based. He thus sings of the life of Moslem borderland fighters but also of the life of their fellow-countrymen of different faiths. He relates more eloquently than other singers the part played by the Krajina Moslem border warriors in the service of the Ottoman Empire, those stalwarts who defended its frontiers from Austria and Venice, and, on the opposite side, the role of the haiduks and *uskoci*, who were in the pay of Austria and Venice (Desnica 1950-51; Kleut 1987). The turbulent and uncertain life of the border fighter ran its course in a forced confrontation of Christians and Moslems of the same Slavic stock. Reality in an ethical sense was overshadowed by heroic excellence. That empires did not completely divide fellow-countrymen of the same language but of different faiths and political convictions is clearly brought out in these songs, which provide numerous examples of friendships and sworn brotherhood and sisterhood, attested to in extant documents and the testimony of contemporaries (Miscelanea I 1949; Čelebi 1967:146-47).⁹

⁹ As a typical example of the friendly relations between warriors of opposing sides, I cite below the letter of Mustafaga, Captain of Udbina and the Lika (the epic hero Mustaj-beg of the Lika) to Petar Smiljanić (father of the well-known epic hero Ilija Smiljanić), written before July of 1648:

Od nas gospodina Mustaf-age, kapetana udvinskoga i ličkoga, harambaši Petru Smilaniću poklon i vele drago i lubeznivo podravlejne kako bratu i prijatelju našem.

Čudimo se vašemu gospodstvu da nam nigdir list ne dodjo od vas, budući s našim ocem prijatel. Toliko li mlite da mi nismo ništa posli oca vrini[?]? Molimo vaše gospodstvo, ako ne bude koje oprave, ča smo vam bili pisali da opravite pri gospodinu djeneralu, molimo vašu milost, ako ča vidite da ne bude mira, daj[e] nam na glas po priatelsku skrovito, molimo vašu milost. I pozdravlaše vas naša mati i molaše vas za jednu tursku robinicu, a ča bude pravo, hoćemo vam uslati. Molimo vašu milost, pozdravite nam od naše strane sina vašega harambašu Iliju. Čuli smo da je junak na toj Kraini. Bog znade da nam je drago, jere je naš. I eto mu uslasmo jedno pero sokolovo, zač je za nj. Hoće ga nositi prid junaci. I molimo ga za jednu signu karabinu, ča znate, da tribuje. Vira moja, hoćemo mu je pošteno jizpraviti. I bog vas veseli. I molimo vas harambaša Ilija da nam ušalete jednu bocu rakije, ča ćemo se napiti. I da ste veseli Amin.

(Miscelanea I 1949)

[From us Lord Mustaf-age, Captain of Udbina and the Lika, to the Haiduk Captain Petar Smiljanić, a bow and very warm and cordial greetings as to our brother and friend.

We are surprised at your lordship that no letter from you has reached us anywhere, since you were a friend of our father. Do you think that we are nothing to each

This is the tradition fostered and developed by these songs from the very moment that the event they reflect took place. That tradition was the driving force of their subject matter and form (indeed, the many topographic references in these songs, which are identifiable, point to a singer who knew the regions in which the events mentioned in the songs took place).

The songs about the heroes of the Krajina, who lived and fought in that marchland, sprang up, in my opinion, in the same period in different epic zones of the Bosnian pashalik and had the distinctive features of the tradition of their narrower homeland, while other epic subject matter and forms were fashioned over the course of time. From Bašeskija's account (1968) we know that highly developed epic songs about Krajina heroes existed in Sarajevo in the eighteenth century, and so we can assume that such forms existed in the western regions. Epic songs about Krajina heroes in eastern Bosnia appear in longer and shorter forms, that is, as two completely different forms. In my view, the shorter variety represents the type that is characteristic of the eastern region and the longer type is the result of normal, continual contact with central Bosnia and other regions. After investigating the shorter type characterized by compressed action and frequent dialogue, I reached the conclusion that it was diffused over an area broader than eastern Bosnia, that is, the area of Prozor-Jablanica-Konjic, of which it is typical. Examples of epic songs of this type in Hörmann's collection show that it is well preserved in the mountainous areas of the Foča region, a sign of the great age of this tradition, a fact confirmed by my fieldwork in that region in the seventies. It is interesting to note here that in my investigation of the eastern Bosnian type in general, I ascertained that the basic characteristics of these songs are linked with the older epic tradition of these areas. I was especially struck by possible parallels in these songs with the Albanian song cycles about Mujo and Halil (song length, stereotyped form of recorded versions, dehistoricizing of border and band warriors, especially of Mujo and Halil, and presence of mythological elements). The parallel existence of this type alongside the

other after our father's passing(?)? We entreat your lordship to carry out what we had written you to do regarding the lord general if there is no order to the contrary; we entreat your grace, if you see that there will be unrest, send us a message secretly as a friend, we entreat your grace. Our mother sends you her greetings and requests a Turkish slave girl of you, and we intend to send you what is fair in exchange. We entreat your grace, give our greetings to your son, the Haiduk Captain Ilija. We have heard that he is a hero in that Krajina. God knows that we are pleased, because he is ours. And so we have sent him a falcon's feather, for he deserves it. He will wish to wear it in the presence of heroes. And we request of him a black carbine, which, you know, he needs. Upon my faith, we shall set it in perfect working order for him. And may God give you joy. And we request that you, Haiduk Captain Ilija, send us a bottle of rakia, so we can drink our fill. And may you be joyful, Amen.]

poetry of the longer type, which was clearly influenced by the former, points to a layer of songs which “endured” in the epic tradition. Consequently, it cannot be said that the shorter songs are poorer versions of songs from central and western Bosnia. In this way, it seems to me, we can also understand the genesis of Albanian songs about Mujo, Halil, Udbina, and the like.

Moslem epic songs of the so-called southern, or Montenegrin-Herzegovinian, type are closest to the Christian epic. These Moslem songs, as well as those of the Montenegrins and Herzegovinian Serbs, arose in the particular circumstances of the herdsman’s way of life in Montenegro and Herzegovina from the fall of the South Slavic medieval states until the end of the nineteenth century. They are rooted in the patriarchal culture characterized by early Balkan and Slavic elements. Their basic themes are tribal conflicts caused by blood feuds, the desire for grazing lands, sheep- stealing, and so on. They also deal with raids by warrior bands both small and large in scale that are prompted by political conflicts. This corpus of poetry can only be studied from archival sources. Most of these songs show that their principal bearers were Moslem herders who were themselves burdened by the *filûri* [florin]—a tax levied by the Turks on all herdsmen, whether Moslem or Christian—and whose situation was scarcely different from that of their Christian counterparts.

This type of poetry was closely bound to Montenegrin-Herzegovinian soil. It was “spread” in the sense of being transmitted to a different religious and social milieu. Its influence is certainly conceivable, but, on the whole, this results in a different kind of song. There are cases of exceptionally fine songs of this type about notables of the Krajina (Hörmann 1888-89:413). However, at this point in my research, I have not been able to establish that phenomenon as a spatial and chronological coordinate of Moslem epic song. It appears to be the individual creation of master singers of Moslem epic. I therefore believe that this type did not evolve into a widespread Moslem epic song about the Krajina and Hungarian Moslem heroes.

The Moslem epic is a stratified phenomenon of a broad geographical area determined by cultural-historical, ethnic, and social impulses. In addition to the recognizable geography in its layers, it is also determined by chronology. It is one example of an epic tradition that shows the extent to which regional characteristics are present in artistic creation, and so it cannot be bypassed in the study of epic tradition.

Territorial Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo

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Enjambement as a Criterion for Orality in Homeric and South Slavic Epic Poetry

Zdeslav Dukat

One of the most conspicuous consequences of the adding style of oral poetry is a strong tendency for the end of the sentence to coincide with the end of the verse. In other words, a relatively negligible number of overrun verses is to be expected. As in other aspects of the true nature of oral style, Milman Parry here too was a pioneer, comparing the frequency of various kinds of enjambement in Homer, Virgil, and Apollonius of Rhodes (1929).

Obviously, Parry considered enjambement a self-explanatory term and did not offer a formal definition. Subsequently, G. S. Kirk, in his elaboration of certain aspects of the problem of enjambement in Homer, defined it as “the carrying over of the sentence from one verse into the next, involving an overrunning of the verse-end” (1976:147). Admittedly, Svetozar Petrović objected recently that this definition does not agree with what is usually called enjambement in general versification because it ignores the existence of a strong sentence stop in the middle of the latter verse (1982:10n), a feature which is essential according to the majority of versification experts. There is, however, no doubt—and Petrović did not deny this—that Parry’s and Kirk’s concept of enjambement is wholly appropriate for their purposes.¹

Parry divided enjambement into two main groups that he called “unperiodic” and “necessary.” We have unperiodic enjambement when the sentence, in Kirk’s formulation, could have ended with the verse, but in fact is carried over into the succeeding verse by the adding of further descriptive matter (adverbial or epithetical) or, as Parry wrote, of “a word or phrase or clause of the same grammatical structure as one in the foregoing verse” (1929:207). This type of enjambement was considered by Parry as characteristic of oral style; he derived the term “unperiodic” from the ancient Greek critic Dionysius of Halicarnassus, but Kirk proposed instead the term “progressive” as more convenient. Necessary enjambement comprises cases in which, as Kirk explained, the sentence

¹ Cf., for example, the definition of enjambement in Preminger (1974:s.v.): “The completion, in the following poetic line, of a clause or other grammatical unit begun in the preceding line.”

cannot be considered complete at the end of the verse and must be carried over into the following verse. Parry further introduced a distinction between two subtypes of necessary enjambement without, however, giving special names to either of them. The main distinction is that in the first, weaker subtype a weak punctuation mark is possible at the end of the former verse, which is not the case with the second subtype. For example, the first subtype would consist of a subordinate clause in the former verse, such as “when he had gone,” and of a main clause in the latter one, while in the second subtype the verse-end divides the sentence without allowing even the weakest sentence stop at the point of enjambement (Kirk’s example is: “when he” in one line and “had gone” in the following one). Kirk supplied suitable denominations for both of these subtypes: “periodic” and “integral,” respectively. It is evident that this last group of enjambed verses is by its very nature contrary to the oral adding style, since it is inconceivable that a singer should be able to plan in advance sentence periods extending beyond the verse-end of several verses, at least not in the sense that every single verse should not contain a semantic and syntactic whole. If the thought of the first line is continued in the succeeding one, then it would be accomplished by adding a supplementary participle (the *oulomenēn* type in *Iliad* I.2) or an adverbial phrase, but not (or at least extremely rarely) so that the verse-end separates the subject from the predicate (or vice versa: the type *hos mala polla / plangthē* in *Odyssey* I.1-2), a transitive verb from its object (when the object is indispensable), a verb of incomplete sense (e.g., the Greek *tugkhanein*) from its verbal complement, and so on. Kirk added a third subtype of necessary enjambement, which he called “violent.” It covers instances in which the verse-end comes between a preposition and its noun, for example, or an epithet and the noun described or determined by it; in short, it separates words belonging closely together by semantic and/or syntactic criteria. However, this is a very rare phenomenon and he himself found only three instances in his entire corpus of 867 verses of Homer. Besides, he admitted that there is always a certain degree of subjectivity in distinguishing violent from integral enjambement. Therefore, he counted them together in his tables, as I have also in my analysis.

The table below shows the relationship between Parry’s terminology and Kirk’s as represented in the latter’s article (1976:148), the only difference being that the columns with Parry’s and Kirk’s terms have been given in reverse order. The numbers in the first column are Kirk’s symbols for various degrees of enjambement:

Number	Parry's Terms	Kirk's Terms	Possible Punctuation
0	(no enjambement)	(no enjambement)	(actual) strong stop
1	unperiodic	progressive	(conceivable) strong stop, (actual) comma
2	necessary (type 1)	periodic	comma
3	necessary (type 2)	integral	none
4		violent	none

For his statistical sample, Parry chose the first hundred lines from six books of the *Iliad* and from six of the *Odyssey* (selecting them by the formula $1 + [4 \times n]$ where n stands for 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5), the first hundred lines from each of the odd-numbered books of the *Aeneid*, and the first hundred lines from all four books of the *Argonautica* plus lines 681-780 from the first book and lines 889-988 from the last book. Given in percentages and counting both types of necessary enjambement together, his results are as follows (1929:204):

	No Enjambement	Unperiodic Enjambement	Necessary Enjambement
<i>Iliad</i>	48.5%	24.8%	26.6%
<i>Odyssey</i>	44.8%	26.6%	28.5%
<i>Argonautica</i>	34.8%	16.0%	49.1%
<i>Aeneid</i>	38.3%	12.5%	49.2%

What is striking in these results and what Parry himself particularly emphasized is the proportionately higher percentage of verses without enjambement in Homer (approximately every second verse), the considerably lower percentage of unperiodic enjambement in Virgil and Apollonius, and the appearance of necessary enjambement in almost every second verse of epic poems known to be written as compared to only every fourth in Homer. Parry attributed this frequency of unperiodic enjambement in the presumably oral style of Homer to an interplay of formulas and took it as a most significant mark of the adding style of oral poetry.

Soon after the war, Parry's procedure was applied to South Slavic oral poems from Parry's collection by Albert B. Lord (1948). On the basis of a sample of 2,400 epic decasyllables—600 from each of two songs by Salih Ugljanin and 600 from each of two by Avdo Međedović—he established the absence of enjambement in 44.5%, unperiodic enjambement in 40.6%, and necessary enjambement in only 14.9%. Lord analyzed this last type into six sub-categories. The first contains an apostrophe at the beginning of a speech, consisting of a noun in the vocative case plus some

word or phrase, frequently in apposition, to fill out the line; for example:²

Sultan Selim, od svijeta sunce Sultan Selim, light of the world.

As Lord noted, this is the most unnecessary type of necessary enjambement. The second sub-category involves a subordinate clause in the preceding line:

Da nijesu ovaki junaci, If they were not such heroes,
Ne bi za nji znale kraljevine. The kingdoms would not have known
of them.

“These two types cover the largest number of cases,” Lord notes (117). The third is similar to the second of the first two, involving an adverbial phrase in the initial line:

No u jutru prije zore rane.... But in the morning, just before dawn....

In the fourth category an explanatory clause in the latter line completes the meaning of the main clause in the former line:

Bog će videt', a videt' Krajina, God will see, and so will the men of
the Border,
Šta će Luka Pavičević radit'. What Luka Pavičević will do.

There are, in addition, cases of parallel grammatical constructions in the upper and lower lines (“either . . . or . . .,” “not only . . . but also . . .,” and so on); for example:

Al nam valja Bagdat prifatiti, Either we must take Bagdad,
Al Stambola zemlju jostaviti. . . Or leave the country of Stambol. . . .

But, as Lord remarked, in all the preceding instances there is not to be found “a single case of an adjective in one line modifying a noun in the next, or the subject in one line separated from its verb in the following line, or of any integral part of the sentence structure separated by the pause at the end of the line from another integral part” (117-18). In fact, as Lord noted, there do exist some rare cases of this type of enjambement in his sample: only one instance was found in the 1200 verses of Salih Ugljanin, and twenty-two in the same number of Avdo’s verses; for example:

² I draw on Lord (1948) for the descriptions and examples.

<i>Svi hajvani aga carevije</i>	All the horses of the imperial agas
<i>Pred mehanu za čatal svezani. . . .</i>	Were tied by their halters before the
	inn. . . .

However, as Lord indicated (119), with Avdo it is often a question of a “variation” of a more regular type (one of the preceding five sub-categories); for example:

<i>Husejine, ja sam jutros, sine,</i>	Husein, my son, this morning I
<i>Kod hanume mrku kahvu pijo.</i>	Drank black coffee with my lady . . .

instead of the more usual and more correct

<i>Husejine, moj milosan sine,</i>	Husein, my dear son,
<i>Ja sam jutros mrku kahvu pijo</i>	I drank my black coffee this morning
<i>Kod hanume u šikli odaji.</i>	With my lady in our beautiful room.

Petrović (1982) objected that there was not a single instance in these twenty-three exceptional enjambements where a comma would be impossible at the verse-end. Though this is generally true, however, as we have seen it is not always the case.

Parry’s procedure was re-examined on the basis of the Greek material by Kirk (1976). His results differ considerably from those obtained by Parry, although at least part of the deviation could be due to his different sampling and still more, perhaps, to the fact that his definition of the sentence was not so restrictively grammatical as that of Parry. The differences are not easy to account for, since Parry did not provide tables showing how he classified single verses but gave only the sum total of various degrees of enjambement. For his sample, Kirk chose one entire book of the *Iliad*, the Patrokleia, Book XVI. His reasons for this choice were that it is one of the longest books in both Homeric poems (the fourth longest, in fact), that it occupies a key position in the action of the *Iliad* (the death of Patroklos as a turning point in the plot), and that it contains various types of scenes typical of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*: arming and preparation for battle, divine scenes, speeches—both calm and excited—exhortations and taunts, fighting scenes of all kinds, and many extended similes. While it is doubtful that this judgment is valid in regard to the *Odyssey*, there is no question of the soundness of Kirk’s conclusion that the Patrokleia “is untypical of the style of the *Iliad* only in that it is too typical of it” (155). Taken as a whole, the Patrokleia with its 867 lines is a somewhat larger sample than Parry’s 600 lines of the *Iliad*, but considerably smaller than his 1200 lines from both poems taken together.

The results of Kirk’s analysis are 248 verses with progressive enjambement, 106 with periodic, and 181 with integral and violent, while

the rest of the 332 verses are unenjambéd (182, Table B); in percentages this distribution amounts to 38.2% without enjambement, and 28.6%, 12.2%, and 21.0%, respectively, for the various kinds of overrunning verses.

If we add the percentages for periodic and integral (plus violent) enjambement, the result is 33.2%, which is substantially higher than Parry's figures for necessary enjambement (for the *Iliad* alone, the increase is nearly 7%), but it is still much lower than Parry's 49% for the *Aeneid* and the *Argonautica*. Furthermore, Kirk's progressive enjambements are more frequent than Parry's unperiodic enjambements. But most striking is the deviation in the number of lines without enjambement: in Parry's *Iliad* sample we find 48.5% against Kirk's 38.2%, a notable difference exceeding 10%. In fact, the number of such verses in Homer, according to Kirk's count, agrees with the percentage Parry had established for Virgil and exceeds that for Apollonius by a small margin. Thus there remain the considerably higher number of progressive enjambements and the considerably smaller number of "necessary" ones as distinctive features that would differentiate Homer from writing poets.

I made a similar count along Kirk's lines in the Patrokleia, but independently of his tables. Since I probably used somewhat broader and looser criteria, I arrived at a somewhat higher percentage of integral enjambement: 222 instances, or 25.6%, against his 21.0%. I have, for example, counted as integral the enjambement in the following lines: 7 (*kourē / nēpiē*, noun/epithet), 119 (*gnō d' Aias . . . / erga theōn*, verb of perception/direct object), 194 (*meteprepe . . . / egkhei*, "he excelled / with his spear"), as well as all cases where the verse-end separates the subject from the predicate (or vice versa) regardless of a possible interpolation of a part of speech that allows for a comma at the end of the former verse (Kirk assessed such cases differently, and Petrović would probably agree with him). There appear, of course, several lines on which I disagree with Kirk the other way round, which is further proof that he was right in stating that a certain measure of subjectivity is unavoidable in such analyses (Kirk 1976:150). For example, I consider it inconsistent to classify the enjambement in lines 617 and 620 as integral but that in lines 770 and 831 as periodic: all four verses end with a participle after which a comma is possible.³ But these are trifles, and what is important is that both Kirk's stricter criteria as well as my looser ones yield a relatively high proportion of integral enjambement in a supposedly oral text. But, as we shall see later, the same point is valid also for Parry's percentages.

The most severe critics of Parry's methodology until now have been

³ In my text of the *Iliad* (H. Färber, ed., Munich, 1954), there is, in fact, a comma at the end of ll. 617 and 620, but not after ll. 770 and 831.

Dee Lesser Clayman and Thomas van Nortwick (1977). They disagreed with him on his sampling technique, lack of proper statistical tests to determine the significance of his results, and assumption that the conclusions, reached on the basis of a study of only three poems, were valid for all Greek hexameter poetry. Therefore, in their opinion, his final conclusion was unreliable (Barnes 1979:1). However, Harry R. Barnes, in a re-examination of their work, showed that the deviation in their statistical findings is the result of the application of a different definition of enjambement, that their figure for Aratus is erroneous, and that their own sampling in the case of Theocritus is incorrect. His conclusion (9) was that Clayman and Van Nortwick “are correct in objecting that Parry overemphasized this one type of enjambement,” that is, unperiodic, “as a distinguishing characteristic of oral poetry,” but that they are wrong in denying a correlation between the degree of enjambement and the oral or written form of composition of the respective songs, as asserted by Parry.

My intention here is not to question the basic soundness of Barnes’s criticism of Clayman and Van Nortwick, but rather to call attention to the first part of his conclusion referred to above. It seems to me that there is a tendency among oralists to overemphasize the role of unperiodic (Kirk’s progressive) enjambement in oral poetry. In my opinion, necessary (type 2) or integral enjambement is more indicative of the way in which a certain piece of poetry came into existence. If we accept as valid the maxim that in oral poetry the verse-end and the sentence-end naturally tend to coincide, then integral enjambement should not be expected to occur to any significant extent, since it is by its very nature contradictory in oral traditional improvisation. Lord’s analysis strongly supports this point: in his sample of 2,400 incontrovertibly oral verses, a mere twenty-three instances of his sixth subtype of enjambement were found, that is, less than 1% of the total sample, a figure in clear disagreement with the percentages established for Homer by various scholars.⁴

To test Lord’s results, I have analyzed a certain number of oral traditional poems from the collection of Vuk Karadžić. Admittedly, some adherents of the Harvard oral school often object that Vuk did some editing before he published the collected songs and thereby spoiled (or falsified) their documentary value. However, Petrović (ms.) showed recently how negligible his interventions had been: apart from some minor and unimportant points, only occasionally did he attempt to bring the songs into accord with what he established as the norm of the singer. After all, Parry’s Yugoslav assistant, Nikola Vujnović, also intervened during the

⁴ I have made random tests on various oral or “oral-derived” poems (see n. 6, below) either in the original (*Song of Roland*) or in translation (*Manas, Alpamysh*); the findings seem to confirm the thesis of this article, but before such results can be quoted as evidence more extensive analyses are needed.

composition of the songs recorded by Parry: Lord informs us that Vujnović drew the attention of the singers to patent mistakes, metrical irregularities, blunders in the subject matter or plot of the songs, and so on. Therefore, I believe that the use of Vuk's collection as a corpus of authentic oral poetry is fully legitimate.

It is well known that Vuk published his heroic (*muške*) songs in volumes 2-4 of his collection. They comprise, respectively, 100 songs (with 18,696 verses, not counting a small number of variants here and elsewhere printed in notes), 87 songs (with 16,606 verses), and 62 songs (plus four in an appendix, all together 15,347 verses), which total 253 songs with 50,649 lines. I have used for my analysis all the songs in the second volume and songs 24-43 from the fourth volume (1932). My sample was chosen in order to include the songs of Vuk's best singers (Tešan Podrugović, Filip Višnjić, Starac Milija, Starac Raško, Stojan Hajduk, Živana, Stepanija, and Jeca). I have, therefore, analyzed enjambement in 120 songs with 24,575 lines, which is approximately half of Vuk's entire corpus of epic poetry. I restricted myself, however, to counting only those instances of enjambement that could be classified as Parry's type 2 of necessary enjambement, or Kirk's integral overrunning, that is, those that are in most patent disharmony with the oral adding style: separation of the subject from the predicate by verse-end and all similar cases. As mentioned earlier, strictly formal criteria are difficult to establish and some other count might yield different data. However, the general impression would hardly change substantially.

To clarify my method of classification, I cite below some examples illustrating what I consider integral enjambement:

Vuk 2, No. 68, ll. 98-99, p. 386:

<i>Kako j' proklet Arap isekao</i>	How the accursed Arab cut down
<i>Sedamdeset i sedam junaka,</i>	Seventy-seven heroes,

(The direct object in the second line is indispensable to the meaning of the subordinate clause in the first line.)

Vuk 2, No. 94, ll. 312-14, p. 561:

<i>Ne bih ti se mlada pokrstila</i>	I, young one, wouldn't become a Christian
<i>Ni za kakvo blago od svijeta</i>	For any wealth in the world
<i>Do za tvoju na ramenu glavu.</i>	Except for your head on [your] shoulders.

Vuk 4, No. 33, ll. 64-65, p. 208:

<i>Šestu posla [knjigu], brate,</i>	The fourth [letter] he sent, my brother,
<i>na četiri</i>	to the four
<i>Na četiri sandžak-alajbega.</i>	To the four sandžak-alajbeys.

(This is an instance of violent enjambement attenuated by the repetition of the final words of the first verse at the beginning of the second one.)

Vuk 4, No. 33, ll. 600-01, p. 222:

<i>Turci daše pleća, pobjegoše</i>	The Turks took to their heels,
	they fled
<i>Drini vodi ladnoj na obalu.</i>	To the bank of the Drina, the cool stream.

(The complement in the second verse is necessary in the sense that the verb *pobjegoše* [“they fled”] otherwise remains to some extent dangling; perhaps this example is the least convincing.)

Vuk 2, No. 35, ll. 145-46, p. 189:

<i>Tvoga starca, stara Jug-Bogdana</i>	Your elder, old Jug-Bogdan,
<i>Na muke sam udario teške.</i>	I have submitted to painful torture.

Vuk 2, No. 36, ll. 2-4, p. 192:

<i>Kada slavni srpski knez Lazare</i>	When the glorious Serbian
	Prince Lazar
<i>Posla zeta Miloš Obilića</i>	Sent his son-in-law Miloš Obilić
<i>U Latine da kupi harače,</i>	To the country of the Latins to
	collect poll taxes,

(This is again one of the most violent cases of enjambement.)

Vuk 2, No. 81, ll. 111-12, p. 455:

<i>Slušaj čudo: Todor Pomoravac</i>	Hear about a wonder: Todor of Pomoravlje
<i>Odveo mi snahu isprošenu.</i>	Abducted my daughter-in-law already
	promised in marriage.

Vuk 2, No. 49, fragment 3, ll. 46-47, p. 284:

<i>Nego sjutra mislim u Kosovo</i>	But tomorrow I intend at Kosovo
<i>Za rišćansku vjeru poginuti.</i>	To die for the Christian faith.

(The second verse contains a necessary complement to the verb of the first verse.)

Vuk 2, No. 88, ll. 841-42, p. 507:

<i>Pa stadoše sluge i sluškinje</i>	So the servants and the maids started
<i>Na kapiji svate darivati.</i>	To give presents to the wedding guests at the door.

In my sample of 24,575 lines I have found a total of only 271 instances of integral enjambement (some of them open to doubt, as I have illustrated), which amounts to no more than 1.1% of the sample. This result shows great similarity to Lord's percentage for the songs of Salih Ugljanin and Avdo Međedović, and a remarkable deviation from all figures obtained in analyses of Homer (either by Parry, Kirk, or Clayman and Van Nortwick).

Perhaps one might object that such a low percentage of integrally enjambed verses in South Slavic oral poems has something to do with the nature of its decasyllabic meter. Anticipating this objection, I undertook an analysis, along the same lines, of the written poem *Gorski vijenac* [*The Mountain Wreath*] of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, who was himself the author of folk songs preserved in Vuk's collection (1967). There are many examples of most violent enjambements in this written poem; for example:

ll. 583-84:

<i>Junaku se češće putah hoće</i>	Several times, on account of the hero, would
<i>vedro nebo nasmijat grohotom.</i>	the serene sky roar with laughter.

ll. 1522-23:

<i>da su jednom žbiri i špijuni</i>	that once the policemen and spies
<i>oblagali jednoga principa.</i>	slandered a doge.

ll. 1680-81:

<i>Koje čudo mogu na godinu</i>	What a lot can in a year
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kokošakah oni pozobati! of chickens they eat up
 (= What a lot of chickens they
 can eat up in a year!).

Enjambements so violent in nature are rare in truly oral songs. The frequency of enjambed verses is also considerably higher in Njegoš: in the first 800 verses, I have counted 53 instances of integral enjambement, or 6.6%, that is, six times as many as in the songs from Vuk's or Parry's collections. Of course, this is still far below Parry's 49% for Virgil and Apollonius, and even substantially less than in Homer.⁵

If we now consider together the results obtained by Lord and by me in analyzing South Slavic oral poetry, those of Parry and Kirk in their studies of Homer, and Parry's percentages established for Virgil and Apollonius, and if we compare them with one another, the surprising fact is that the figure for necessary/integral enjambement in Homer is considerably higher—moving in the direction of written poetry—than those found as valid for poems composed by oral traditional improvisation (see note 5). How should this unexpected result be explained? In my opinion, there are two possible answers: either the principle of verse = sentence is to be abandoned, or Homer is not a poet of the same kind as Tešan, Milija, or Avdo. In my view, the second alternative is more persuasive. This would not mean, of course, that Homer was another Virgil or Njegoš, but only that writing had played some role in the production of what we now read as the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. While not to be classified either as an oral singer or as a literate poet, he should be taken as someone in between those types. The most apt and convenient designation for that category that occurs to me is John Miles Foley's "oral-derived":⁶ this does not negate his deep indebtedness to the oral tradition, but does offer an explanation for certain features in his poems that are difficult to reconcile with oral character. If this article is not completely mistaken, enjambement is one such distinctive feature strongly pointing in the same direction.

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⁵ Why the percentage of integral enjambement in a written poem is, after all, relatively low is another problem requiring a separate discussion. With regard to Parry's figures, we must recall, of course, my earlier remarks, namely, that his figures for necessary enjambement include both of Kirk's periodic and integral types, but this difference has already been taken into account for my conclusions, which are based on the strikingly low figure for integral (plus violent) enjambement in South Slavic oral poetry (about 1%) as compared to Kirk's 21% and my 25.6% in the *Iliad*.

⁶ Foley 1988 and 1990:chap. 1.

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Continuity and Change in Folk Prose Narrative

Nada Milošević-Đorđević

South Slavic culture developed a rich written literature from the very beginning of the institution of authentic Church Slavic. It is thus possible to investigate the full variety of its genres beginning with the ninth century. Both original and translated, this religious and profane literature was written not only in Church Slavic but also in the vernacular. Conditioned by different historical and cultural events, it varied regionally and chronologically, flourished and then declined, and evolved along very specific lines primarily because of the influence of oral literature. In short, oral verbal art was very often a link between periods and territories that preserved the continuity of South Slavic written literature and was sometimes the only means of artistic communication.

It is, therefore, neither peculiar nor accidental that South Slavs should have an extraordinarily rich oral verbal art. Such oral literature continuously survived over the centuries in more or less “standardized form.” It is, indeed, mainly due to that form that it did survive, developing numerous patterns from a dynamic stock of formulas to stylistic conventions and a system of genres. Although in theoretical approaches to oral literature and discussions about its formulaic character, the very existence of genre was denied or, at least, called into question,¹ investigation of older sources of Serbo-Croatian material demonstrates clearly the presence of generic categories.

The present article deals with both older sources and new field recordings of Serbo-Croatian material, the latter made in the Morava River basin around Leskovac, Serbia, in 1953-71 (Milošević-Đorđević 1988). The older material serves only as a basis for comparison. An extract was made of it so that it could be considered as a kind of “ideal type,” or genre model, for each narrative category. The categories (animal tales, fables, magic tales, romantic tales, legendary/religious tales, jokes, anecdotes, and

¹ For an analytic survey of different approaches, see Ben-Amos 1976:esp. ix-xlv; and for folklore as communication, see Ben-Amos and Goldstein 1975 and Bošković-Stulli 1981.

legends),² however, were corroborated on the basis of tales collected in the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, and have not been merely assumed a priori.

The data used for comparison are 1) materials in Serbo-Croatian recorded at random during a long period of time (from the twelfth century);³ 2) materials in the archives of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts, namely, manuscripts of tales and legends from the nineteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century collected systematically. Among them, the most important place belongs to the manuscripts that Vuk Karadžić used for his dictionary and his famous collections in 1821 and 1853 (Karadžić mss.:No. 8552); and to the manuscripts (Etnografska Zbirka [Ethnographic Collection]) that Veselin Čajkanović used for his collection (1927). The third source consists of materials from the Institute of Folklore Research (now, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research) in Zagreb, mostly the field collection of Maja Bošković-Stulli.

Because of the opposition of the Church to folk literature, evident in its references to oral narrative forms that are either denounced or the value of which is denied, some early concrete texts have been noted. Some of them were used as illustrations of ethical norms, documentary raw material, or background for given themes and motifs in travel books, annals, and so-called belles-lettres. A large number of legends contained in the *Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja* from the twelfth century, Serbian hagiographical and apocryphal literature, and sermons of Franciscan and Dominican friars appear, for instance, in similar versions even in the most recent recordings. Because of those works, it is possible to arrive at a basic understanding of the continuity of oral prose tradition in Yugoslavia, and even to note the existence of an established system of oral genres, almost all of which have distinctive features.

The magic tale *Vrač (The Sorcerer)*, written down at the end of the fifteenth century in the Serbian recension of Church Slavic, serves as a good example (Trifunović 1975:63-68, No. 20). Its “deep structure,” or internal morphological characteristics, is almost identical in the manuscript tale by one of Vuk’s best storytellers, Grujo Mehandžić (Karadžić mss.:No. 8552/258I-1-IX), and in that of Vuk’s published edition.⁴ The variations and changes are visible at the thematic and stylistic levels (if the stylistic

² The categories of folk prose narrative are designated according to the standard typology of Aarne and Thompson 1961.

³ The main survey of these recordings is available in Bošković-Stulli 1978:68-123; see also Milošević-Đorđević 1984.

⁴ Cf. *Usud [Fate]* (Karadžić 1853:89-99).

level can be discussed in texts that are not recorded directly from the storyteller). All three of these texts follow, more or less, the concept of the ideal magic tale as described by Max Lüthi (1982). A highly developed structure and a tendency toward rich rhetorical composition are also characteristic of the tales in the nineteenth-century manuscripts used by Čajkanović for his collection.

On the other hand, the dialectal texts in the manuscripts of the Zagreb collection recorded at the same time as the material from the Morava River basin, but in a different part of the country, show less developed compositional features and some conspicuous similarities with the Leskovac collection. Although the Morava material cannot be taken as a general sample of all the material recorded in recent times throughout the Serbo-Croatian language area, it may be very useful as evidence of the process of change in oral genres.

The texts correspond generally to the types in the Aarne-Thompson catalogue (1961). Some of them, however, conform to types in the Eberhard-Borataw index (1953). The legends mostly fit the categories used in the Simonsuuri (1961) and Christiansen (1958) catalogues. Thus, organized in terms of animal tales, ordinary folk tales, . . . legends, to paraphrase Dan Ben-Amos, those groups apparently represent prose-narrative genres (1976: xvii). However, a problem arises in the very concept of genre. This raw material turned out to be very different from the so-called classical text used for comparison. The collector, Dragutin M. Đorđević, a priest from a village near Leskovac, took down more than 450 texts from dictation or by tape recorder, paying special attention to the authenticity of the performances. He classified the texts according to associations of the storyteller, that is, as a rule he followed the order in which the stories were told. The abundance of material made possible a comparison between variants of one tale told by the same storyteller on different occasions as well as between variants of the same tale told by different storytellers. The complete biographies of the more than thirty narrators reveal that they were males and females of different ages from different walks of life—peasants, workers, priests, pupils, housewives—that some of them were illiterate, and that they lived in villages and towns. But what all of them had in common was a kind of consciousness of the demands of the traditional art of storytelling. That awareness of the need of “adjustment” to a pattern and of “adjustment” in the material shaped by it made visible the evolution of genre and the general problem of the concept of genre in each concrete performance of the tale during the very process of its telling.

In the extremely close interaction with the listeners, the storyteller obviously orients him- or herself according to the “expectations” of the audience and addresses him- or herself directly to it. He/she also discusses

the wishes, actions, and words of the protagonist. For instance, in one animal tale the storyteller first imitates the bear's mumbling and then interprets for the audience the difference in meaning of each animal imitation: "You see M . . . is as if he said 'thank you,' and M . . . M . . . means 'thank you very much'" (Milošević-Đorđević 1988:No. 6). The storyteller no longer allows animals to speak as humans do in the older versions, but relies instead on the "realistic" orientation of the public. Sometimes the narrator apologizes if the attitudes of the protagonists do not concur with the listeners' supposed view of the world, explaining that it is his/her duty to follow the demands of the genre. When, for example, in different types of magic tales, the false protagonist assumes the role of the main one and none of the participants in the action of the tale perceive the substitution—which is, of course, one of the "rules" of the magic tale—the storyteller provides a commentary: "I really don't know why they were so foolish so as not to see the difference between the heroines, or something else, but anyway, I have to tell it to you this way since that's the way the story goes!" (No. 59). In addition, the storyteller and the audience comment on the subject matter and connect it with their own or someone else's experiences. Relating the Cinderella story, the female narrator comments on the father's behavior after the transformation of his wife into a cow: "The father, like all fathers, loves children only when the children's mother is alive; since the mother is no longer around, the father does not take care of the children" (No. 61).

Mediating between the primary life reality of the first order and the reality of the second order, the storyteller has in mind a kind of current form, a well-known pattern to which the raw material is supposed to be able to adapt itself. But what is of interest here is that some kind of constant pressure of new ideas, a different world view, or modified sensibility becomes so strong that the storyteller (and some of the listeners) find a need to defend the "rules" of the genre. That pressure is neither instantaneous nor accidental, but represents a long-term process brought about by changes in historical and social consciousness. Observation of the concrete milieu offers the possibility of investigation of a new modeling system of verbal genres in performance, or, in other words, favors research on an old modeling system that is now dying out.

The tales from the Morava River basin show three essential tendencies: 1) conciseness even in those tales which, according to adopted criteria, are complex (magic, romantic, and religious/legendary tales);⁵ 2) realism: a change in the fictitious and fantastic in general; and 3) a psychological orientation in which the philosophical point of view remains

⁵ By "adopted criteria" I refer principally to the common traits discussed by Lüthi (1982), and, to a lesser extent, to those of Propp (1968).

outside the text, rarely as an explicit explanation. All three tendencies are correlated with the verbal-artistic system in general, the formulaic character of the entire tradition, and everyday life.

The most common form of abridgment takes place at the level of rhetorical composition. Instead of the formulaic appearance of three brothers, only one participates in the story. The tale then has to follow only his actions (for instance, the search for the sister abducted by a dragon). Repetitions, parallelisms, and triplications are automatically eliminated.

Sometimes events are foreshadowed. The *vila*, or fairy, foretells the hero's future adventures and advises him how to behave toward the "helper," or "donor," in order to gain possession of the "magical agent": "You will meet a thirsty man; give him a drink and he will make you a present of his two hairs that can revive any man; take them, thank him, and go further. And then you will meet a pigeon. . . help him and he will give to you two of his feathers. . . . And then everything happened as the vila said. . . and he went further. . ." (No. 73). References or allusions to earlier events are not avoided. However, instead of narrating the events in the same manner, the retrospective narration appears as a kind of *précis* at the end, often in the form of the protagonist's monologue, a confession in which explanations about previous events are given. Thus, in one tale, the raven girl, who finally rids herself of her raven "dress," explains to her mother that only her husband "the king" could help her to regain human shape forever "by burning the feathers" because he loved her: "That is why I could not allow you to burn my dress. If you had done it, I would have died. You were childless, mother, for such a long time. . . and you wanted to have a child even if it were in the form of a raven. . ." (No. 44). In another example, the well-known tale of the serpent bridegroom, which does not have a happy ending, the bride explains the cause of her husband's death as the result of the violation of a taboo: "You are guilty, mother-in-law, you did not have the right to watch us!" (No. 46). The explanations are interesting not only because of the tendency toward abridgment but also because of the evolution in cultural consciousness.

Within an entirely new artistic sensibility, relations between character types are changed. These types, who were almost never completely removed from their real surroundings, now acquire some sort of inner social life. In connection with those changes, "agents" and places, although still typical, assume quite concrete qualities. The magical rug is made of ten kilograms of wool and is bought with money received from the sale of land. The king wants to know exactly where a castle is located and tries to find it on the map. The youngest brother is afraid that the "buried treasure" he found will be confiscated by the "state authorities." Following the demands of the structure, a helpful animal, for instance,

fulfills his tasks, but ceases to be merely a helper “figure,” as illustrated in the following beautiful magic tale (No. 11). A miller succeeds in marrying the king’s daughter. But the usual happy ending is darkened by an epilogue: the helper, a fox, comes to live in the couple’s house, but is thrown out “because of his unpleasant scent” by the miller, who is now the king. Apparently troubled, the fox dies. The storyteller explains: “This happened because his kindness and helpfulness were so quickly forgotten.” She then adds: “Then the king’s daughter ordered ‘the fox to be cut into pieces—and not even to be buried.’” It is interesting to note that the storyteller was very unhappy living in the same house with her son and daughter-in-law.

The possibilities for abridgment are frequently based on the “oral knowledge” of the audience, that is, on some common, mutual oral education that the storyteller and listeners had acquired and that permits associations within a tradition. Thus, the understanding and the complete aesthetic experience of a particular tale can be achieved even beyond the text through comparison and associative additions from some other well-known variants. In this way the abridged performance can be accepted as an integrated whole. Such is the case in the animal tale about the wolf and the fox, which usually consists of two symmetrical parts (No. 2). In the first, the wolf injures the fox, and in the second, the fox takes revenge. Neither the storyteller nor the audience perceives the absence of the first part, taking the second as a logical consequence.

The fact that the audience no longer agrees with the irrationality of the magic tale as a common, widely acceptable poetic category leads to change in the entire stylization of the genre. It is often transformed into a parody, which results in laughter. A good number of comical magic tales still carefully preserve the “deep structure” of their serious prototypes. On the other hand, the humorous approach requires opposition of the rational to the irrational. It demands a realistic world view. In other words, the absurd attitude and the action and words of the hero can be made ridiculous only in comparison with the opposite actions, words, and the like, conceived as normal. Thus the way is clear for everyday reality to enter the magic tale.

One particularly interesting feature of the tales of the Morava region is a tendency to borrow their world view from other closely related folklore genres. The animal tale, for example, borrows attributes of certain animals from the semantic stock of the fable and leaves animal descriptions aside. In this way the animal tale becomes a story that can be understood at the surface and subsurface levels.

It is noteworthy that the magic tale shows affinities with the legend, especially with the demonological and etiological legend. Preternatural beings (dragons, monsters, fairies) that are only “figures,” as Lüthi calls

them, in the magic tale are real creatures in the legend. Entering the magic tale within a structural unit, they bring with them their own psychological identity. What is of special concern here is that the change in the nature of these beings automatically changes the story. The tale takes another direction and transfers itself into the field of legend. Magic word, curse, and desire no longer have a transcendental character but become effective and permanent. In the well-known story *Cinderella* (No. 60), the protagonist must, among other tasks, wash black wool until it becomes white. For this purpose, the magic help of her mother is unavailable. She cannot fulfill the task: "She cried and washed the whole day, and the wool still remained black. And then she cursed herself: 'Oh, damned life! May cruel destiny turn me into a bear so I can go into the forest.' And so it happened." The story ends with an explanation of the origin of the bear and thus turns out to be an etiological legend. With the disappearance of the second member of the pair of common "functions," the task/fulfillment of the task, the whole story turns in the direction of the legend. The second member of the pair of "functions" is replaced by the structural unit of the magical power of words.

Within a completely transformed artistic sensibility, the search for explanations in different types of magic tales opens up the possibility for the study of the introduction of existing patterns of explanations in folk beliefs and legends. The legend becomes a kind of storehouse for other genres, not only because of its own semantic-thematic repertoire but especially because of its spiritual, psychological, and cultural determinations. This does not mean, however, that legends as such cease to exist. On the contrary, they are much more persistent than other oral genres.

Explanations about the nature of things or the essence of phenomena, an unusual feature of magic, animal, and "ordinary" tales in general, now become an integral part of them and direct the telling in two ways: toward the legend and toward the short realistic story. Within a completely altered stylization in both cases, psychological aspects of the interpretation are underlined, mostly as an expression of traditional and life experience. In conjunction with this psychological tendency, the dialogue and monologue appear, both of which are predominant in all types. They reveal the characters of the personae and lend dramatic substance to the happening (as usual). In addition to its connective role, the narration assumes the function of describing psychological conditions.

The survey and analysis of folk tales and legends from the Morava River basin in the vicinity of Leskovac reveal a marked flexibility in the entire system of oral genres. This living material collected directly from storytellers on journeys, at water mills, funerals, construction sites, and workshops is an authentic and outstanding source for the study of the art of

contemporary oral prose, although the results cannot be taken as universally applicable until an investigation of the material of each Serbo-Croatian language region has been completed.

An analysis of the collection shows that the questions of existence or nonexistence of oral genres and of their stability or change can be solved only through a study of concrete material. Access to the material has to be diachronic as well as synchronic, and one needs to bear in mind that as international as the tales and legends are, they depend on the historical tradition of each national heritage (at the levels of both structure and content). In this sense Hans Robert Jauss is perfectly correct in stating that “the theory of literary genres cannot remain within the structures of self-enclosed histories of genres, but rather must also consider the possibility of a historical systematics” (1982:95).

Indeed, continuity and change in genres are not peculiar to folk prose narratives, but in oral literature the entire “principle of *informing* and structuring” — in Claudio Guillén’s terms — is more “visible” (1971: 110, emphasis in original). The new poetic “system” of genres that corresponds to the aesthetic, verbal, and semantic standards of a given period constantly orients itself according to old models but, on the other hand, also diverges from them. The boundaries of different genres overlap only to the extent that there is a common ground for such interaction at the level of structure or content.

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