

The Dyadic Goddess and Duotheism in Nodilo's *The Ancient Faith of the Serbs and the Croats*

Suzana Marjanić

Depending on the primary source that is used in the reconstruction of the Southern Slavic Pantheon, the text considers two possibilities for re/construction of the Southern Slavic goddess. Namely, Helmold's Chronica Slavorum cites Siwa (Živa) as the Polabian Slavic goddess, while, naturally enough, the Russian goddess Mokoš features in the Chronicle of Nestor. Within the framework of these two possibilities of the extension of the Polabian/Russian goddess - Siwa/Mokoš - to the concept of the Southern Slavic goddess, my intention is to show Nodilo's re/construction of the Southern Slavic dyadic goddess - the celestial Vida and the terrestrial Živa - or, more precisely, the goddess in the context of the »ancient faith« of the Serbs and the Croats in the chapter entitled »Sutvid and Vida« in Nodilo's work The Ancient Faith of the Serbs and the Croats (1885-1890). In the re/construction of the assumed duotheism of the theophoric pair of twins - Vid (Svantevid) and Vida/Živa - who create an incestuous hierogamy, Nodilo starts out from Helmold's Chronicle, which relates to the Baltic Slavs.

Mythology is the type of subject that does not lend itself to apodeictic language, and there is also the fact I am, through misfortune, also a timid mythologist (Nodilo 1981: 587).

I shall be uncovering the foggy *sfumato* image of the Southern Slavic goddess, or more precisely, the goddess in the context of the *ancient faith* of the Serbs and the Croats that Natko Nodilo tried to re/construct, among other theonyms of Early Slavic polytheism, in his work *Stara vjera Srba i Hrvata* [The Ancient Faith of the Serbs and the Croats] (1885-1890), with a brief review – a very brief indeed – of the Early Christian denial of the Mother Earth that St. Aurelius Augustin conferred on western spirituality, refuting Varro's symbolic-naturalistic interpretation of the Mother Earth:

Then he [Varro] adds that, because they gave many names and surnames to mother Tellus, it came to be thought that these signified many gods. 'They think,' says he [Varro], 'that the Earth (tellus) is Ops, because the earth is improved by labor (opus); Mother (mater), because it brings forth much; Great (magna), because it brings forth seed; Proserpine, because fruits creep forth from it (proserpant); Vesta, because it is invested with herbs (vestiatur).' (Augustin 1995 I:511)

In a footnote to the above edition of Augustin's work *The City of God* [De civitate Dei] (Book VII, 24: Concerning the Surnames of Tellus and Their Significations, Which,

Although They Indicate Many Properties, Ought Not to have Established the Opinion that There is a Corresponding Number of Gods) the editor corrects Varro's erroneous etymology of the last theonym: »Lat. *Vesta*, Grk. *Hestia*, means hearth, according to the Indo-European root *ves*, to burn« (cf. *ibid.*).

Mokoš and/or Živa

Since Natko Nodilo took as his source Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* (written around 1170) – which reports on the Pantheon of the Baltic Slavs, more precisely, on the *Balto-Polabian* Slavs, whom Nodilo referred to as the *North-Western Slavs*, or the *Polabian* and the *Baltic Slavs*, or the northern *maritime* (*pomorski*, *pomorjanski*) Slavs (cf. Nodilo 1981:29, 32) – he designates Živa (Siwa) as the supreme *Early Slavic* female deity in the re/construction of the Southern Slavic Pantheon. Helmold of Bosau notes that she figured as the supreme Polabian goddess – »Siwa dea Polaborum« (Helmold I, 52), whose temple was in Ratzeburg (cf. Nodilo 1981:69-70).¹ In his re/construction of the *Southern Slavic* goddess, Nodilo *ignored* the *Chronicle* of Nestor (the *Russian Primary Chronicle*; written around 1113) according to which the Russian Prince Vladimir in the year 980 placed six idols on a hill before his palace at Kiev – of Perun, Hrs, Dažbog, Stribog, Simargl and Mokoš (*Chronica Nestoris* 1978:46 [Chapter 38]; cf. Belaj 1998:50). For instance, Roman Jakobson (1950:1027) interpreted Mokoš – the only female deity mentioned in the Kievan Pantheon – as »another name for the slightly personified 'Mother moist earth' (*Mati syra zemlja*)«. However, Nodilo does not allow in his book for the *possibility* of (also) interpreting Mokoš as a *Southern Slavic* female deity. He interprets etymologically the theonym of the *Slavic* goddess Živa, the *Earth*, with the descriptive syntagmas »living and vital« (»živa i životna«) who »opens up her fertile lap to everything and everyone« (Nodilo 1981:112). Petar Bulat (1930:3) compares Nodilo's above etymology with the *earlier* interpretations of Helmold's syntagma *Siwa dea Polaborum* (Helmold I, 52), »which are largely constructed on the basis of the erroneous Czech gloss in *Mater Verborum*: 'Siva dea frumenti, Ceres'«. The extent to which the theonym *Siwa* lends itself to opening up the *etymological fan* – Nodilo (1981:69) adds the theonym *Dziewa*² as having similar meaning – is shown, for example, by Andrej S. Kajsarov (1993:83), who *also* etymologically links the Deity's name (Siwa) with (*female*) *breasts* – *Siva*, *Dziva*, *Sisja*,³ which, of course, evokes the lactomorphic configuration of the archaic Great Goddess.

Depending on the primary source that Croatian scholars/mythologists use in the reconstruction of the *Southern Slavic/Croatian* Pantheon, the text considers the two possibilities for reconstruction of the *Southern Slavic/Croatian* goddess – Nodilo's re/construction of the *Southern Slavic* Pantheon, commencing from Helmold's *Chronicle*, in which *Siwa* figures as the Polabian goddess (whom Nodilo defines as the *Slavic*, and thus, also, the *Southern Slavic* supreme female deity); and the recently realised

¹ »Ratzeburg, the main town of the Polabians, was the centre of the cult of the goddess Siva« (cf. Stupecki 1994:67).

² In this etymological comparison, Nodilo could call for confirmation on the note/sentence – »Item *Deus vitae*, quem vocabant *Zywie*.« from the *Historiae polonicae libri XII* (I. 37. B) by Jan Długosz, a canon from Krakow. Otherwise, the reliability of Długosz's work was questioned by A. Brückner (cf. Kulišić 1979:201).

³ For various etymological interpretations of (Helmold's) theonym *Siwa* cf. Kulišić 1979:197-198.

Katičić/Belaj reconstruction of proto-Croatian mythology, whose starting point is the *Chronicle* of Nestor. In that chronicle, Mokoš figures as the Russian female deity and Radoslav Katičić (1997:115) defines her as the supreme Slavic goddess, citing the toponym Mokošica in the Dubrovnik area as proof of the Deity's survival in the Southern Slavic region (cf. Katičić 1998:306). In his book *Hod kroz godinu: mitska pozadina hrvatskih narodnih običaja i vjerovanja* [Walking through the Year: the Mythic Backdrop to Croatian Popular Customs and Beliefs], Vitomir Belaj defines the Sun (Belaj 1998: 211, 349) as the *consort* of the supreme Slavic god, Perun – the God of Thunder at the proto-Slavic level. However, in the article »Uz Katičićevu rekonstrukciju tekstova o baltoslavenskoj Majci bogova« [An Adjunct to Katičić's Reconstruction of Texts on the Balto-Slavic Mother of the Gods], conceived as a *dedication* to a series of lectures that Radoslav Katičić gave in 1999 (*Gazdarica na vratima. Tragom predaje o slavenskoj i baltičkoj velikoj boginji* [The Mistress at the Gates. On the Trail of Legends about the Slavic and Baltic Great Goddess]); and 2000 (*Tri žene na vodi* [Three Women on Water]) at the Zagreb Faculty of Philosophy, dealing with reconstruction of fragments of the Balto-Slavic mythical legends about the Great Goddess, V. Belaj put forward »several perhaps useful facts and thoughts on that theme« (Belaj 2000:113). Not only did V. Belaj define Mokoš as the divine Mother Earth (ibid.:122), he also suggested »that in an increasing number of poems in which one fairy/*vila* is mentioned, I found that this was, in fact, a reference to Perun's consort« (ibid.:125).⁴ Within the framework of the two possibilities mentioned for the *extension* of the Polabian/Russian goddess (Siwa/Mokoš) to the concept of the *Southern Slavic* female divinity, my intention is to present Nodilo's re/construction of the *Southern Slavic* dyadic goddess – the *celestial* Vida/the *terrestrial* Živa – or, more precisely, the goddess in the context of the *ancient faith* of the Serbs and the Croats, as found in the chapter entitled »Sutvid and Vida« of his work *The Ancient Faith of the Serbs and the Croats* (1885-1890).

Commencing from Helmold's report that defines Svantevid as the Supreme Deity of the Rügen Island Slavs and as the *deus deorum* of the *Balto-Polabian* Slavs, Nodilo stretches the theonym to cover the concept of the supreme – *global*, in the Slavic sense – deity in the Early Slavic Olympus, and in that way to the *Southern Slavic* Pantheon (Vid). In the same way, he sets apart Živa, who according to the *Chronicle* was the Polabian goddess, as the supreme Slavic and *Southern Slavic* deity. The assumed duotheism (Svantevid/Vid – Živa) combines two *diverse* Pantheons of the Baltic Slavs – the Pantheon of the Rügen (Svantevid) and of the Polabian (Živa) Pantheon.

In an expertise in which he amplifies *the reason* for his not using *only* comparative Slavic mythology, Nodilo (1981:18) relies on the historical data according to which »the Croats and the Serbs are separated from the Russians by a linguistic past of at least twelve centuries, and they were also separated from contact with Slavic territory by the inroads of the Hungarians, some ten centuries ago«, and because of the *non-conservation*

⁴ On the example of the Montenegrin poem *Vila zida grad* [Fairy Builds the Fortress] (Karadžić I, 226), Radoslav Katičić, too, draws attention to the hypothesis of the fairy/*vila* as Perun's *consort* (cf. Belaj 2000:125). In his interpretation of the same song, Natko Nodilo sees the *fairy who builds the fortress/grad* »neither in the sky nor on the earth, /but on the branch of a cloud« as the Supreme Goddess (cf. Nodilo 1981:466). Cf. Nodilo 1981:VII, in the Chapter *Vile/Fairies*, for Nodilo's interpretation of the fairies (cloud fairies, mountain fairies, and lethal fairies) as *meteoric* creatures who are connected with the God of Thunder (Perun), while he interprets them in the context of *Rigvedic* celestial *apsarā*, Greek terrestrial nymphs and the *death-dealing* Norse Valkyries.

of Slavic mythic material (ibid.:21). In comparison with Indo-European comparative mythology in Nodilo's *The Ancient Faith of the Serbs and the Croats*, that ignores in part the *Southern Slavic/Russian/Baltic* links (I mean the Balts in this syntagma),⁵ Radoslav Katičić and Vitomir Belaj realise their reconstruction of the Croatian Pantheon – with the Supreme/Masculine deity, the God of Thunder/Perun – within the framework of Slavic and Baltic *folklore*, by a reconstruction of the proto-Slavic religious system and its *integration* into Indo-European comparative mythology (cf. Belaj 1998:29-31).

Sacred (Geminous) Incest

Since the *emphasis* in Nodilo's re/construction of the *Southern Slavic* Pantheon is also placed on the cult of the Goddess – as is proved by the syntagma in the title »Sutvid and Vida« as the first chapter following the Introduction in the study *The Ancient Faith of the Serbs and the Croats* – his re/reconstruction of the *South Slavic* supreme divine binomial can be referred to as a duotheism that is implicit in the holistic or complementary permeation of the God and the Goddess. The pagan matrix of incestuous hierogamy with the geminous mythem in which (Svantevid's) Vid's *wife* figures familiarly as his sister – she is *no-one's* daughter (Nodilo 1981:64) – Nodilo opens with a mythic interpretation of four oral literary poems. In the melding of the *pagan-Christian* world of the poem from the Serbian cultural circle (cf. »Narodne pesme« – XLV, 1866:645), where the shepherds Vid and Vidosava figure as brother and sister, the Christianised matrix reveals in the mythem of Vidosava's sacrifice (*throwing herself* upon the sword), by which she *solves* Vid's alternative »*Either you desire to be my faithful love,/Or you desire to kiss my sword?*« (»*Il' mi voliš verna ljuba biti, /Il' mi voliš sablju celivati?*«).⁶

Nodilo links three epic poems from Karadžić's collection *Srpske narodne pjesme II* to the mentioned mythem of *unconsummated* incest (which is initiated by the brother *from* the category of *knowledge*). In the poem *Dušan hoće sestru da uzme* [Dušan Wants to Wed His Sister] (Karadžić II, 26; 27, in Nodilo's denotation), which Paul G. Brewster (1972:5) categorises in the ballad genre, the Serbian Czar Stefan wants to *wed* his sister Roksandra so as to avoid dividing up their father's estate. It is assumed that the incestuous motif is linked with Dušan since he initiated the »anathema of the Greek Church cast upon the Serbian Church« (Matić 1953:664) by founding the Serbian Patriarchate. Nodilo, of course, interprets this possible incestuous hierogamy solely by the mythic matrix. The subject of the poem *Udaja sestre Dušanove* [Dušan's Sister Is To Wed] (Karadžić II, 27; 28, in Nodilo's denotation) is the attempt at realisation of incestuous *hierogamy* between the Serbian Czar Stevan and his sister Kandosija, which the brother initiates while *intoxicated*. For example, in the verse *that what is the czar's face is not dissipated/da se carsko ne razlazi lice* of this Serbian epic poem, Zoja Karanović (2000: 418) also comes across »the trail of the conception of the sovereign's behaviour as being

⁵ I used *Baltic Slavs* for the Slavs from the Baltic, and *Balto-Slavic* for the *religious matrixes* of the Balts and of the Slavs.

⁶ In his interpretation of this poem, Nodilo (1981:65) mistakenly states that Vida/Vidosava brings water to Vid in a *golden flute* (namely, in the mythic scenario of the poem, Vid brings Vidosava water in a *golden flute*, which he interprets as an indication of a *spring breeze* and as a remnant of the mythic Trojan-Midas flute). He places in parallelism the mythem mentioned and the *Rigvedic* myth of the cosmic hierogamy/incest between the *zračno vidilo/atmospheric sight* and the *vлага/moisture, damp* who figure as »the male and female twin« whose *embrace* gives birth to rain (ibid.).

divine, by which the king's incest, in relation to that committed by others, takes on a ritual context«. Nodilo takes the example of the realised *marriage* between Czar Stjepan and *the maiden* Roksanda from the *Latin* city of Leđan in the poem *Ženidba Dušanova* [Dušan's Wedding] (Karadžić II, 28; 29, in Nodilo's denotation) »in which, for the sake of Christian circumspection, she loses her sisterly status« (Nodilo 1981:65).⁷ Under the assumption that the *colonialised* Christian ideosphere modified pagan/divine actors into *heroes or Christian saints*, stripping the *saintly or human* attributes from the oral literary (epic) characters, Nodilo makes a palimpsestic return in the framework of allegorism to the mythic matrix of the poems referred to, revealing the *original* divine figures. He removes the *Christian context* from the poetic syntagmas *heavenly emperor* and *heavenly empress*, since it reveals Vid and his *female consort* in its theophanic binomial. By detailed reading of oral literary poems, he detects how the syntagma mentioned dominates particularly in the *sljepačke pjesme* (ibid.:38), while he cites the »pagan« *Epiphany* poem from the Bay of Boka, *Car nebesni kad ženjaše sunce* [The Heavenly Czar When Wedding the Sun] (Vrčević 1883:71-72).

Nodilo also sought for the remnants of divine incestuous hierogamy in the folklore material of the *western Southern Slavic* (Croatian) regions. Comparing the poems from the Serbian oral literary circle, he read off remnants of Vid's name in the Croatian cultural circle in the Midsummer poems (*ivanjske pjesme*) in which, according to his re/constructions, he *appears* under the alternative name Ivan/Ive: »St John the Baptist is celebrated at the Summer Solstice, when the Sun is seen most clearly, and St John's Day [*Ivanje*] replaces Vid's Day [*Vidovo*], and Ivan replaces Vid, particularly among Christians« (Nodilo 1981:64). Vitomir Belaj (cf. 1998:258) also observed traces of Vid's Day links with St John's Day in the folklore calendar. Since Nodilo starts out from the assumption that the *first religious heritage* is made up of (oral-literary) *female* and *heroic* poems (*ženske i junačke pjesme*) – particularly emphasising *real/purely epic poems*, for which, in comparison with *purely historic* poems, he sets the category of *miracle* (Nodilo 1981:13) – and *mythic tales*, and refers to those mentioned as the *sources* for his re/construction of the actants in the incestuous hierogamy. Consequently, when *evaluating* Nodilo's study, Vitomir Belaj stressed that even the sub-title (the original title of the study was *Religija Srbâ i Hrvatâ, na glavnoj osnovi pjesama, priča i govora narodnog* [The Religion of the Serbs and the Croats, Basically Founded on Folk Poems, Tales and Speech]) and confirmed that »he did not accept Jagić's critical approach in the reconstruction of the proto-Slavic religious system and mythology, which resulted in the fact that his major work was no less critical than the other Romantic works of that time and did not offer any basis for further serious study« (Belaj 1998:41). In contrast to Nodilo's allegorical interpretation of *female* and *heroic poems* and *mythic stories*, which he specifies as the *primary source* for study of myths (cf. Nodilo 1981:20), Vitomir Belaj commences from New Year and St George's Day processional songs that

⁷ Cf. Nodilo 1981:68-69 for Nodilo's strategy through which he finds points of contact between the epic names *Leka the Captain* and *Roksanda* (Karadžić II, 39 – *Sestra Leke kapetana* [Leka the Captain's Sister], 40 in Nodilo's denotation; Petranović III, 36 – *Ženidba Leke kapetana* [The Marriage of Leka the Captain]) with the theophoric pair Vid-Vida. By the anthroponym Leka, which he interprets as a diminutive hypocoristic of the anthroponym Aleksandro, he opens up the connection with Alexander the Great and his Persian wife, Roxsana, from the mediaeval novel about Alexander the Great - *Alexandrid*. However, Nodilo gives no information on the historical interpretation of this anthroponym that indicates that this is *probably* linked to epic remembrance of the *historical gesture* of Leka Dukadin (cf. Matić 1953:692).

announce the *sacred wedding* that takes place on Midsummer Day, in the reconstruction of the *mythic backdrop of Croatian folk customs and beliefs*. In comparison with Nodilo, who re/constructs the incestuous hierogamy of the *supreme* divine geminous binomial (Vid – Vida/Živa), Katičić and Belaj's reconstruction is concentrated on the incestuous hierogamy (*incest out of ignorance*) between the geminous *offspring* (Juraj – Mara) of the supreme divine duality.⁸

Theophoric Polyonymy

Since the purpose of this text is to present Nodilo's re/construction of the theonyms and attributes of the *Southern Slavic* goddess in the chapter »Sutvid and Vida« in his work *The Ancient Faith of the Serbs and the Croats*, I shall briefly describe the strategies by which he *initiates* the dyadic goddess (the *celestial* Vida – the *terrestrial* Živa). Nodilo commences this re/construction with a comparison between the attributes of the goddess Vida and those of the (supreme) Greek-Latin goddesses – the »goddesses of marriage and birth«, Hera and Juno (Nodilo 1981:66).⁹ He explains Southern-Slavic/Hellenic/Latin comparative mythology with the thesis »that the mythic contact of the Serbs and the Croats is more akin to the Italo-Hellenic, than to that of the other Aryan Europeans« (ibid.:23). The *ethnic syntagma* in the title of Nodilo's study, *The Ancient Faith of the Serbs and Croats*, is structured according to Nodilo's comprehension of the common matrix of Serbo-Croatian mythology (*religion, ancient faith*):

(...) *the Croatian and the Serbian became so interwoven and coalesced so very long ago as to become equivalent, so that it is more than difficult now for scholarship to differentiate in the ethnic sense what is Croatian and what is Serbian. (...) I do not know how to give an intelligible answer, just as an Englishman now would not know to discuss in detail the antiquities of the Angles and the Saxons* (Nodilo 1981:2).

⁸ Radoslav Katičić commenced with the sacred rhyme *hoditi – roditi* [walking - giving birth] his reconstruction (in 1987) of the fragments of proto-Slavic mythic narration about the divine hero of fertility and vegetation. In his reconstruction of the pagan components in Croatian folk customs and beliefs in his book *Walking through the Year: the Mythic Backdrop to Croatian Popular Customs and Beliefs*, Vitomir Belaj follows the *anthropo/phyto/zoo*-metamorphosis of the God of Vegetation (Perun's son): the newly-born *Young God/Božić* (who is led by the *Koledari* into the world of the dead – to *Vyrej/Virej*, *Veles's* world, a mythic world of eternal Spring) – the young man Juraj returns in a *horselike* form to his father Perun's land on St George's Day (*Jurjevo/Juraj's Day*) and, *unrecognised*, woos his own sister, his twin Mara – the unfaithful Ivan (who will use his sister and abandon her) – *Jumis/Sporyš* (who plays an important role at harvest time) – Juraj's *horselike* death that is initiated by his twin and *lover* Mara, because of his betrayal (cf. Katičić 1990:44; cf. the concept of the cosmogonic equine sacrifice of *Aśvamedha*, that is the basis for the renewal of life in the Vedic tradition *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*; Belaj 1998:321). The sacred wedding of the divine twins on *St John's Day/Ivanje* brings fertility and fecundity to the land: Juraj brings *warm dew* to Perun's land, where it is cold in winter and *dry*, on his return from the world of *Veles* (*Vyrej*), where it is warm and *damp* (cf. Belaj 1998:207).

On Nodilo's reconstruction of the incestuous hierogamy of the offspring (the Sun and Zora [the Dawn]; cf. Nodilo 1981:177) of the supreme divine binomial (cf. Marjanić 2002:Chapter V).

⁹ Mavro Orbini (1999:143-144) in *Kraljevstvo Slavena/Il Regno degli Slavi* [The Kingdom of the Slavs] notes how the Polabian Slavs and the *Laboni* revered one goddess »whom they called« *Siva* »in their language«. »She had the form of a sturdy and well-built young woman, holding a bow and arrow in her right hand, bound with a large wreath. That was a sign to the common people that the one who was skilful and brave in the use of that weapon, would be crowned with a wreath by the hand of the goddess Siva, who was nothing other than their Juno.« In all probability Nodilo established the *Siva/Živa*-Juno parallelism according to Orbini's cited notation.

He explains the »justification« for placing the Serbian *ethnos* in the *initial* position in the syntagmatic title of his study with the thesis: »(...) that depends solely on our main source, on the folk songs and tales, which derive largely from the Serbs« (ibid.).¹⁰

In respect of Nodilo's assumption that *Italo-Hellenic* mythology is similar to the *ancient faith* of the Serbs and Croats, he applies comparative methods to the Croatian/Serbian *ancient faith* and *Italo-Hellenic* mythology in the re/construction of the *Southern Slavic Pantheon*. However, this is, of course, contrary to the mythological research of Vitomir Belaj today who reconstructs the Croatian Pantheon by comparison with Slavic and Balto-Slavic comparative mythology. On the cited path, Nodilo tries to confirm the parallelism between Svantevid/Vid and his *consorts* Živa/Vida and the divine Greek pair, Zeus – his (sister and *consort*) Hera, and the Roman couple Jupiter-Juno, indicating that the theonyms of the latter binomial are morphologically akin: »Juno was once *Jovino*, the feminine form of *Jovis* – Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, I B., p. 271.« (Nodilo 1981:65). Within the framework of the permeation between the theonymic grammatical genders (Nodilo uses *spol/sex*), he points out that the lexem *bog/god* in folk speech can also sometime denotes *boginja/goddess*, and he confirms the same replacement of theonymic *genders* with examples of Greek and *Latin theonyms* (ibid: 70). Invoking Preller's work *Römische Mythologie* (1881 I:274), Nodilo emphasises that the official cult of Juno merged with Jupiter's cult: at the time of the »March calenda when the ancient Romans created the coming year from a new sight/*vidilo*« (Nodilo 1981:65).

In »Ispravke i dopune« [Amendments and Supplements], Nodilo noted the hypothesis that it was *probable* that the (pagan) weddings among the Serbs and Croats took place under the theophanic protectorate of Vid and Vida (ibid:649), while he places the song *Djevojka hoće momke da nadigra* [The Lass Wants to Outdance the Young Men] (Karadžić I, 375) with the epiphora »Le! Le! Leljo! Le!« as a matrix proving how the name/theonym of the Southern Slavic goddess (*now* under the name of Lelja) was preserved in oral poems (Nodilo 1981:650).¹¹

Just as he discovered the name of Vid in the alternative name Ivan/Ive in the Mid-summer songs, he also sought for the theonym of the Goddess in the customary songs that accompany the folklore calendar and in his interpretation of the solar dodecalogy of the *Young God* (*Božić*)/Sun. In the customs of the wolfmen (*vučari*) or *čarojičari* (Nodilo used the form – *čarojci*), as they are called in the Zadar region, while starting out from *only* one song that was »delivered to him from Benkovac«, Nodilo interpreted the personage of the *baba slegjena/the frozen grandmother, hag* (ritual transvestitism: a man adopting the female dress code in a unisex/masculine ritual) and the *vuk hranitelj/wolf provider* (carried on the back of one of the six *čarojičari*) (Nodilo 1981:254-255) as the *Young God/Božić* (the *January Sun* in theriomorphosis of the *wolf provider*) and his

¹⁰ See Marjanić 2002:Chapter XII on the absence of individual Croatian 19th century *folklore* and *ethnographic* material which *could have* found a place in Nodilo's work as a foundation of his re/construction of the »ancient faith« of the Serbs and the Croats.

¹¹ Nodilo (1981:212) points to the possible euphemistic naming of the *Lady of the Heavens/gospa nebesna* as the *aunt/lelja*. He interprets the theonym Lelja as having meaning akin to the theonyms *Tetka/Aunt* or *Baba Zlatna/Golden Hag* (ibid:239). Nodilo finds an *additional* link with the *festivities* of Juno and Lelja (ibid.: 358) in the *Leljo!* invocation in the songs of the sword-wielding *Queens (kraljice)*, which are performed in *June*, referring to the etymological point of contact between *June* and Juno that he adopts from Ovid (*Fasti* VI, 26).

mother (the *hag*).¹² He interpreted the refrain *Le!* in the songs of the *lazarice* (the young women who accompany the hypostasis of the Young God of *February*) by the *Lelja* theonym (ibid.:270-271). He also takes the songs of the *ladarice/ladavice* that contain the invocational *exhortation* to *Lada* (Juraj, as the *fifth* of the twelve annual solar hypostases/the solar dodecalogy in Nodilo's interpretation of the cosmic scenario, figures as *Lada's* lover),¹³ or the *celestial* empress, *Lelja* (ibid.:329), as proof that the Goddess' name has also *been preserved* in customary songs. He finds confirmation for the cited theonyms (*Lada, Lelja*) in *one* (an example of Nodilo's *deixis*) sole historical report from the Polish regions: »some Polish booklet printed in 1550« with a report on a place of worship with »three idols, called *Lada, Boda* and *Leli*« (ibid.:330; according to Jagić 1886:528).¹⁴ And then, of course, in the sequence of the *cynicism* of history, in keeping with the Christian corrective, a Church of the Holy Trinity was built in its place. In the content of the *Queen* (*kraljice*) songs, which are connected with Whitsuntide/the Trinity (the hypostasis of the *June* Sun), he places *Vid* as the epicentral protagonist of the *great divine theophany* in *June* and - in relation to the *invocation* - his *mistress Lelja* (ibid.:350).¹⁵

The Dyadic Goddess

Fragmentary, mosaic-like *knowledge* of the Early Slavic gods/goddesses is the consequence of notation bequeathed to us by Christian priests/missionaries who, in addition to their not being very *knowledgeable* about the *practice* of mothers, women and girls, condemned the polymorphic fertility cults (cf. Davidson 1994:107). Alternatively, as was detected by Marija Gimbutas (1987:354), Slavic beliefs preserved the ancient pre-Indo-European image of agriculture, matrifocal and matrilinear culture; while Slavic paganism, testified to in the chronicles by Christian missionaries, contains masculine/androcentric deities of Indo-European origin. However, Nodilo interprets the *problematic nature* of the Goddess's *sfumato* personage by her polymorphic nature: »The contours and outlines of Goddesses, particularly supreme ones, often flicker, so that their image is unclear« (Nodilo 1981:163).

Since he uses Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum* in the re/construction of the *Southern Slavic* Pantheon, Nodilo introduces the hypothesis according to which *Živa* also ruled in the *Southern Slavic region* during the pagan era, and he finds one of her proving matrixes in the Kajkavian dialect *tale* (Krauss 1883 I:No. 31, »Fuhrmann Tueguts Himmlswagen«) with the mythem of *Živa*, who has the right to lead off in the fairies' *kolo* (circle-dance), and teaches the *first* humans how to cultivate the land and to raise live-stock, by which she is connected with the mythem of the cultural *hero*. I link Nodilo's

¹² Nodilo explains the wolfmen (*vučari*) customs in the context of the Roman Lupercalia, the topos the Lupercal Cave and the *lupine* goddess who nursed the twins, Remus and Romulus, which he interprets as the *January* and *February* Sun (cf. Nodilo 1981:255-256, 295). In so doing, he introduces parallelism between the *lupine* Goddess and *Acca Larentia* (cf. ibid.:255-256).

¹³ Cf. Marjanić 2002:Chapters VII and VIII on the twelve hypostases of the *annual* Sun in the context of Nodilo's interpretation (the solar mythem), which corresponds with the hypostases of the God of Vegetation, *Juraj* (the vegetational mythem) in the reconstruction of the *mythic backdrop to Croatian popular customs and beliefs* in Vitomir Belaj's book, *Walking through the Year: the Mythic Backdrop to Croatian Popular Customs and Beliefs*.

¹⁴ »Some have explained the name *Boda* as a corrupted form of the original name *Baba*« (Kulišić 1979:201).

¹⁵ Cf. Nodilo 1981:346-347 for Nodilo's interpretation of the *Queens' game* through the symbolism of the great *June theophany*.

cited hypothesis, in which he adds the theonym Živa to that of the celestial Goddess theonym Vida, with Vitomir Belaj's (2000:125) thesis mentioned above that the theonym fairy/*vila* also indicates the supreme goddess. Apart from that, Nodilo (1981:494-496) returns in the chapter on fairies (Part VII *Vile/Fairies*) to the mythic interpretation of the tale from Krauss's collection, mentioned above. And while the goddess named Vida, who figures as the *upper (celestial) Mistress*, can be read off in the melding of the pagan-Christian worlds of songs about Vid(osav)a and Vid, he finds her as Živa in the world of tale/*mythic story* (Krauss 1883 I:No. 31), in which she is comprehended in his *re/construction* as the *terrestrial Goddess aspect*, and, as such, has left in the figuration of the *Earth (Mother)* more traces in Southern Slavic beliefs. Nodilo was convinced that the names that are semantically linked to the *name Živa* were not of Christian origin and confirmed their apotropeic meaning (cf. *ibid.*:70). He found confirmation and traces of reverence for the Earth in Slavic *paganism* in *invocations*, songs, stories, and in *everyday* speech; for example, quoting »I swear by the Sky and by the Earth!« (»Tako mi neba i zemlje!«) from Karadžić's collection of sayings (cf. *ibid.*:71), by which Nodilo also presents evidence of Early Slavic duotheism.

Nodilo places a rhetorical question in the framework of the *dyadic* celestial goddess Vida – the terrestrial Živa mythem: »Are Vida and Živa two names for the same supreme goddess, or are they two personages, two great ladies? *I would not categorically state one or the other*; but I would definitely incline towards the latter« (*ibid.*:70; SM's italics), expanding the cited alternative to the possibility that the *Earth/Živa* also figures as the *Empress* beside the *celestial Czar*. This is in respect to the cosmic structure of the Earth that brings forth plenty under the influence of the *vidilo/sight* (the supreme god Svantevid/Vid), by which Nodilo suppresses the duotheistic binary opposition *above (ascensus: the virile Sky, God)* – and *below (descensus: the feminoid Earth, Goddess)*, which in *particular* religious concepts *transformed* into *ethic dualism*. Unlike Svantevid, whose theomorphic qualities were observed by Nodilo from the aspect of his vegetational and warlike attributes,¹⁶ he condensed the multiplicity of the Goddess's theonyms into the dyad formed by the *damp* celestial Vida and the *dry* terrestrial Živa/Earth (*ibid.*:71).¹⁷ The pluvial hierogamy, by which the fecund cycles of the aquatic (God) and the earthly (Goddess) are united, only achieves Svantevid's theophanic vegetational aspect (*ibid.*:64). Nodilo detects evidence of the incestuous hierogamy between the (masculine) Heavens and the (feminine) Earth in the riddle *Tall father, flat mother (Visok tata, plosna mama)*, whose solution indicates the *Sky* and the *Earth*. This riddle »Tall father, flat mother, rebellious son-in-law, frenzied maiden«/»Visok tata, plosna mama, bunovit zet, manita devojka« is from the Novaković (1877:142) riddle collection, and its solution indicates the fourfold cosmic reality »Sky, Earth, Wind and Fog«. It can be seen that Nodilo reduces the riddle in question and its solution to the binomial *Sky and Earth*, which *figures* in folklore *musings* as a *conjugal couple*. The mythic cosmology largely contains the cited familial-cosmic structure; only in Egypt did the Earth figure

¹⁶ Nodilo (1981:33-34) interpreted Svantevid as a vegetational deity on the basis of the ritual of prophesying with the Horn of Plenty that was held in the right hand of Svantevid's four-headed idol in the Arkonian temple, making a sacrifice (that also included an annual human sacrifice – »a foreign person who was a Christian, whom they would draw by lots«), and the *milanja* ritual, and also interpreted the god as a warlike deity (*ibid.*:34) according to the *hippomanty* – prophesy based on Svantevid's white horse.

¹⁷ Natko Nodilo (cf. 1981:62) adopts the term polyonymy (multiple names) from Max Müller's terminological instrumentarium.

as a masculine deity – Geb, while the goddess Nut was the Mother of the Heavens (cf. Campbell 2001:221), who is shown iconographically on amulets by the fructiferous zoosymbolics of a *sow suckling her young*.

Nodilo detects confirmation of the dyadic (celestial and terrestrial) goddess in the mythic riddles about the two *fair ladies* (*neve, druge*) – *upper and lower*, with the mythem, *the lower lady sends word to the upper*; »let flow your golden tears, for I am dying of black drought« (Novaković 1877:60-61); or – the lower *neva* sends word to the upper *neva* »send me *rainy* lard/rendered butter, for I am cracking apart in misery« /«pošlji meni svàsala [svasal – rain or water; cf. Rječnik XVII:148] màsala, sva sam se jedna raspala« (Novaković 1877:60; Nodilo 1981:71). Applying these mythem riddles, Nodilo *enthrones* the dyadic goddess (celestial and terrestrial) in the framework of duotheism (Vid-Vida/Živa) and concludes that the upper lady, the *neva* in the quoted riddles, figures as *Vida*, while the *lower neva* (who is *cracking from drought*) is *Živa*.¹⁸ The *divinity* of the mentioned *women* is also confirmed by the syntagma »fatty« *pork* »lard« (»salo maslo« *svinjsko*), since this sacral animal is defined as the zoosymbol of the Great Goddess. This re/construction of the *Early Slavic* goddess shows how the Southern Slavic religious system did not degrade the *female* proto-element, in comparison, for example, with the spiritual concepts in whose worlds God creates the world *with the thought* of the Goddess *in absentia*.

Celestial Vida	Terrestrial Živa
onteme: upper, damp (rain)	onteme: lower, dry
reconstruction source: <i>pagan-Christian worlds</i> of the song about Vid(osav)a and Vid	reconstruction source: <i>the mythic story</i> (Krauss 1883I:No. 31)
confirmation of the Early Slavic dyadic goddess in Nodilo's re/construction: <i>mythic riddles</i>	

Nodilo (1981:72) establishes parallelism between the *agon* mythem of the supreme Southern Slavic *conjugal couple* (cf. *Kod koga je krivda* [Who is at fault] 1867:455-456; Kukuljević Sakcinski 1847:131-132 – *Sud neba nad zemljom* [The Judgement of the Heavens on the Earth]; Karadžić II, 1 – *Sveci blago dijele* [Saints Divide the Treasure]) and the *agon* between Hera and Zeus. As well as figuring as a great goddess, the Earth at the moment when she is *dry* and *frozen* (the winter cosmic cycle), also figures as *a great sinner* (cf. Nodilo 1981:72),¹⁹ in which giving birth to the Gigantes and Titans is attributed to Gaia's *negative quality*. Vitomir Belaj, too, on the trail of Vjačeslav Vs. Ivanov and Vladimir N. Toporov (1983), emphasises Mokoš's dual importance in Russian folklore – the *upper*, who is linked with Perun, to whom the author adds the attribute of (dry) *fieriness*, borrowing from the Fiery Marija/Ognjena Marija in Southern Slavic folklore who figures as the sister of St Elijah [Elias the Lightning-Wielder], Perun's Christianised

¹⁸ Petar Bulat (1930:7) took the cited riddles as proof that the *cloudy* sky in Southern Slavic riddles was personified as a female creature.

¹⁹ The existence of diverse and multiple names for the *Vedic* feminine deity are only various aspects of »one and one only great goddess (*mahādevī*), the great mother (*mahāmātā*) with innumerable faces and many names. They call her *Durgā* (unapproachable) and *Kālī* (black), *Çamḍā* (intense), *Parameśvarī* (the supreme female ruler) and quite simply *Devī* (Goddess). She is the mother of the world (*jaganmātā*) and is spoken of in gentle terms as *umā* (mamma)« (Katičić 1973:141).

theonym; and the *lower*, who is connected with Veles in an *adulterous* mythem, to which he adds the category of dampness, stressing how dampness *perhaps* connects her with the Polabian goddess, Živa herself (cf. Belaj 2000:123; cf. Ivanov and Toporov 1983:194).²⁰ What is in question in the twofold plot of the *adultery story* – she is either kidnapped by Veles or *she herself* provokes an argument (*agon*) between the gods, while the author also refers in this particular mythem about her infidelity to the lexem used on the outskirts of Moscow, *mokosbja*, the term for a *loose woman* (Belaj 2000:123; cf. Ivanov and Toporov 1983:185). Thus, *infidelity* becomes an ethical characteristic of the supreme Slavic goddess (just as the dogma of the *unfaithful woman*, the *adulteress*, the *evil woman*, and the *witch* was given its place in the Christian ideosphere). For example, the lexem *wiccaphobia*, meaning fear of witches and their *spells*, has been formed in the English language in the framework of polymorphic fobias. Nodilo interprets the attribute *zlovarnost/evil-doing* that is linked with Vid's wife and is, otherwise, a frequently applied feminine attribute, as the connection between *divine* woman/wives and *darkness* in the meaning of *adulterous women* (cf. Nodilo 1981:164). It is interesting that in his observation of the supreme Slavic goddess, Nodilo does not take into account the possible link with the Vedic mythological system, where the Earth/Pr̥thivī and the Sky/Dyauḥ pitā, are the proto-progenitors of all the gods, sharing the common name Dyāvapṛthivī (cf. Ježić 1987:44).

Pluvial Matrimony

Nodilo interprets the pluvial *dodole* rituals (performed by girls) and the *prporuše* rituals (in unisex male performance; cf. Nodilo 1981:73) with the epicentral ritual gesture of *pouring water* that is concentrated on the period of »the most powerful Vid epiphany« as rituals that repeat the divine gesture from the period *in illo tempore*, and takes their theme as the original and supreme *pluvial matrimony* (Nodilo 1981:74). In reading off the mythic foundation (the incestuous hierogamy of the *pluvial* gods; *ibid.*: 66) of the cited customary songs, Nodilo concentrates largely on the *dodole* songs from Karadžić's collection *Srpske narodne pjesme I* (cf. Nodilo 1981:73). Unlike Nodilo's, Vitomir Belaj's (1998:59, 87) interpretation – similarly to those of Vjačeslav Vs. Ivanov and Vladimir N. Toporov – deconstructs in the customs of the *dodole* and *prporuše* significant traces of the reverence for Perun among the Southern Slavs.²¹ It is interesting to note that Nodilo did not conceive an etymological link between the *prporuše* and Perun, while citing a very similar meaning of the lexem *prporuša* and the group of lexems *prpor*, *prporiti se*, and *prcati se* that he places in lexic contiguity with the vegetational deity, Priapus (Nodilo 1981:74).²² Priapus, who was also known by the theonym Triphallus

²⁰ V. Belaj (2000:120) derived the theonym Mokoš from the adjective **mok-*, **mokr-* meaning *mokar/damp*, wet, moist (cf. Ivanov and Toporov 1983:198) and assumed that it originally figures as the *Mother Earth* deity, the wife of the supreme god Perun, who are also mutually connected by the *days of the week*; and while Thursday belongs to Perun, Mokoš (who figures in the Christian Orthodox cult as St Paraskeva [from the Greek *paraskevi*, »Friday«; cf. Gimbutas 1987a:27], Pjatnica [Piatnitsa], St Petka) is linked to Friday - Lat. *dies Veneris* (Belaj 2000:122).

²¹ The *dodole* songs and the ritual which they accompany (a performative translation of a verbal ritual) introduce the assumption that the *mythic dodola* originally (*in illo tempore*) figured as the Thunder God's consort (cf. *Mify narodov mira* 1980 I:391).

²² Cf. Nodilo 1981:73-74 for the etymology of the lexem *prporuša* and Nodilo's assumption that the masculine role in the *prporuše* ritual was a secondary one.

(Triphallos), figured primarily as the supreme deity of Lampsacus, a city from Antiquity on the north-western coast of Asia Minor, where women maintained the practice of reverence for his sexuality that was denoted iconographically by a hypertrophied phallus (cf. Ryley Scott 1996:119).

In the framework of Southern Slavic-Roman comparative mythology, Nodilo postulated parallelism between the *prporuše* and the ceremonies that were dedicated to the *Italic* goddess Bona Dea (Good Goddess): »[The female participants] in the Roman religious rituals, although held in the secrecy of the home and with the exclusion of men, were pure *prporuše* as far as their unbridled dancing was concerned« (Nodilo 1981:74). In the same way, the zoosymbolism (of *fecund*) sows (in symbolisation of fertility) enabled Nodilo to make a connection between the Slavic (and *Southern Slavic*) Supreme Goddess and Bona Dea (ibid:77).²³ Preller's work *Römische Mythologie* (1881 I:402-403) mentions that the Roman women made a sacrifice to Bona Dea of a jug of wine and »a fat barrel of young pigs« on a *December* night with the exclusion of men (cf. Nodilo 1981:76).²⁴ The cited zoosymbolism in »Amendments and Supplements« expands on the information that the Lithuanians, too, sacrificed a *sow* to the goddess Žemina (ibid:651). He found remnants of the *piglet/pig* that zoosymbolised the fertility of the Supreme Goddess (cf. Gimbutas 1991:146-147) in *our* (following Nodilo's *ethno-historical* pronoun) tale of *Veljko and Darinka* from the province of Vojvodina (cf. Kojanov Stefanović 1891:187-197). Here, Nodilo identifies the *Earth* under the name Živa (as in the mentioned tale from Krauss's collection) and Darinka (cf. Kojanov Stefanović ibid.) in the world of tales (*mythic stories*). He was convinced that the theomorphic names - Živa and Darinka - were appellations for the *tufty and fertile Earth*, while he compared the anthroponym/theonym Darinka with the Latin goddess Ops. Since Darinka had a *greed for piglets* (she bought three piglets and a sow/*krmužina* from Veljko the Swineherd; cf. Kojanov Stefanović 1891:195), he established parallelism with the Roman goddesses Ceres and Bona Dea, who were connected with *fecund/sacral swine* (Nodilo 1981:77).

Nodilo draws together the cited *religion of gender and water* (ibid.:74) and the adoration of the Hellenic Mother of the Gods, Rhea. He finds a Graeco-Phrygian contiguity (the Great Mother parallelism: Rhea - Cybele) in the *entourages*, followers of the Goddesses - Rhea's *Kurets* and Cybele's *Corybantes* - adding that Cybele gives birth to the annual Sun/Attis just as *our celestial lady* brings forth the annual Sun/*Young God/Božić* (cf. ibid.:74-75).²⁵ Within the framework of the cited parallelism with the Phry-

²³ Nodilo (1981:212) stressed that the saint called Vara (whose saint's day is December 4th), in whose *tributes* he divined the remnants of the pagan *Mother of God* (the Great Mother), was also dedicated to the *fertile sows*.

²⁴ In comparison with Nodilo's description of the ceremony which was dedicated to Bona Dea, which he adopted from Preller's study *Römische Mythologie*, Fernando Henriques wrote that there were conflicting, contradictory descriptions, accounts of this ceremony, reputedly of Phrygian origin. »The version given by Plutarch (*Caesar*, 9) depicts a sober, matronly affair from which men were rigorously excluded. That of Juvenal in his *Sixth Satire* is of a licentious, drunken mob of women who at the culmination of the ceremonies raped any man who happened to be passing. Prostitutes appear to have been admitted, and there is more than a suggestion of Lesbian practises« (Henriques 1961:116).

²⁵ For more on the celestial *Lady* who bears the annual Sun/*Young God/Božić* (the mythem of the *pagan Mother of God/figure of Our Lady with the Child*) in the context of Nodilo's re/construction cf. Marjanić 2002:Chapter VII.

Cf. Nodilo 1981:266-269 on the mythem of *Ć/čutalica*, the (mythic) silence of »God's Mother«.

gian Cybele, he sought for the possibility of the formation of Southern Slavic-Phrygian comparative mythology, indicating that Phrygian names were grafted onto the Southern Slavic concepts of the *early faith* (ibid.:75) *by way of* the Greek or Latin *religious matrixes*. By Southern Slavic-Phrygian-Graeco-Roman mythology, Nodilo established the parallelism of a series of goddesses: the *Phrygian* Cybele – the *Hellenic* Rhea, Hera – the *Italic* Bona Dea, Juno, Ops, Ceres – the *Southern Slavic* Živa/na (in the *Veljko and Darinka* tale, Veljko's mother bears the theonym Živana) or Darinka, who are all (largely) linked with the fructiferous *piglets/sow* zoosymbolism. It is quite strange that Nodilo does not also mention Demeter's cult, since the *goddesses* in the foregoing series were (largely) linked with the cult of fertile and fructiferous swine; it was to Demeter, and to her daughter Persephone, that women sacrificed piglets at the festival of Thesmophoria (cf. Gimbutas 1991:147).²⁶

In the re/construction of the theonym of the original Goddess whose *personage*, in comparison with the supreme god Vid – *god of the vidilo/sight who made the weather fine or cloudy* (cf. Nodilo 1981:65), is still (only) *sfumato* in her polymorphic *nature* – or we could utilise Joseph Campbell's (2001:225) designation which established, on the examples of the early European Neolithic figures of the Goddess (»Venus«), that the Goddess appeared *then* as the sole visual deity; to which he applied the syntagma of the morphogenetic field, »the field which produced forms« – Nodilo wandered within the framework *interpretatio multiplex* of Goddess's polyonymy – between the *celestial* Vida/Lelja/Živa/Earth(Zemlja)/Zora (cf. Nodilo 1981:163).²⁷ For example, he interprets *Baba Korizma/Grandmother Lent* and *Baba Gvozdenzuba/Grandmother Iron Tooth* as the pagan *Baba od zlata/Baba Zlata* [Grandmother of Gold/Grandmother Gold], whose name – according to his interpretation – was preserved by *our* 16th and 17th century writers »so that the Italophiles christened her as 'Ecate Notturna'« (ibid.: 239, 279). However, the Academy's *Dictionary* (cf. *Rječnik I:129*), from which Nodilo *takes*

²⁶ Cf. the theriomorphic sow mask (c. 4500 – 4000 BC, Macedonia) which Marija Gimbutas (1991:146) assumed to have been used in the ritual cult of the *pregnant Goddess* and her sacral animals – *piglets/sows* who symbolised fertility with their plump, rotund bodies.

²⁷ For other Nodilo conceptualisations of the Goddess, for example, as Koleda, Vara, Baba Zlata (Baba od Zlata, Baba Zlatna), Petka, Grozda, who appear (and are modified) through the chapters of his work *Stara vjera Srba i Hrvata*, which was published in ten issues of the *Rad JAZU* [JAZU Papers] (1885 – 1890) cf. Marjanić 2002. In *this* text I am concentrating mainly on the conceptualisations of the Goddess in Nodilo's chapter »Sutvid i Vida«. Nodilo (1981:176) stresses that the Vedic Zora, in respect of her polymorphic nature, figures as the Sun's sister/daughter/mother; »but she is largely, while she is a virginal daughter of the heavens, the Young Sun's exalted wife, his wife who is haughty, bright and virtuous«. It is interesting that V. Belaj (1998:137) mentions that Nodilo is thinking of Koleda as a »male deity«, while Ivan Lozica (2002:182) – on the trail of Belaj's claim – suggests that Nodilo »is unable to decide between a male or female deity«. In other words, at the beginning of his re/construction, Nodilo sees Koleda as the *Young God's/Božić's sister*, nonetheless, in his *uncertainty*, indicated the possibility of the interpretation of Koleda as the *Young God's mother* (cf. Nodilo 1981:214, 262).

For example, Slobodan Zečević (1964:314) also interpreted Koleda as a matrilineal goddess of fertility, while, on the basis of the winter rituals that took place from the Winter Solstice to Carnival, he designates her euphemisms as *baba*/grandmother, *majka*/mother, and *seka*/sister, and concludes that her name cannot be derived from the Roman *calenda*. He interprets the main actants in the winter rituals – the *old man*/grandfather (*starac/did*) and grandmother (*baba*) – the latter being presented in the category of ritual transvestitism by a *man* dressed in *female attire* (cf. ibid.:307), as a hypostasis of the deities. Following Milan Budimir's study (1957), Slobodan Zečević reconstructs the hierogamy of Koleda as the chthonic Goddess of Fertility (the Great Mother) and Dažbog as the deity of the Sun (cf. Zečević 1964:315), who figures in Nodilo's re/constructions as the son (the Young God/*Božić*-Dabog) of the supreme God and Goddess.

the information in question, gives only one example, that of the pastoral tragicomedy *Ljubmir* by Dominko Zlatarić (a translation of Torquato Tasso's *Aminta*), who translated Tasso's syntagma »Ed Ecate notturna« with the syntagma »I Babu od zlata«. In Nodilo's re/construction of the Southern Slavic *ancient religion*, the theonym *baba* (*Baba Zlata*) figures as *Vida*, the aged *Empress of the Heavens*, in the winter cosmic period, when the supreme *Vid* (now also as a *grandfather*) is also active in his *aged* aspect (cf. Nodilo 1981:264, 279). These are theophanic aspects *in old age* in which their *suffering* bodies are set by the category of *blindness*.

Through detailed reading of oral literary material, Nodilo comes to the conclusion that the traces of the *Great Mother* (the *Great Goddess/Magna Mater* in the context of the pagan *Mother of God*) were preserved in the *calendar* customs at the time of the Winter Solstice, and he saw her remnants in the *Vara/Varvara* and (*with somewhat less certainty*) in the goddess *Koleda* (ibid.:211, 214, 262). For example, he found confirmation of the fact that *Vid's* wife gave birth to the *young Sun/God/Božić* – this refers to Nodilo's mythem of the pagan (Early Slavic) familial *Trinity* (*Vid, Vida* and the *Young God/Sun/Božić*) – in the song *San prečiste Gospođe* [The Dream of the Immaculate Lady] (Karadžić 1866:312-313), with the mythem of the *immaculate* Lady who dreamt a *small dream* that a *sapling* was growing *beside her heart*. He interprets the *Lady* from the song as *Vid's wife*, and the mythem of the *sapling beside the heart* as the paradisiac *Tree of Light/the Lichtbaum* (Nodilo 1981:210-211).²⁸

Translation of Scandinavian-Germanic-Slavic theonyms

Nodilo also expands the cited parallelism between the *Great Goddess* in the framework of Southern Slavic – Balto-Slavic (Polabian) and Southern Slavic-Phrygian-Graeco-Roman comparative mythology by Southern Slavic-Germanic/Scandinavian comparative mythology, and analysed it in detail through the parallelism between *Vid* (the supreme celestial being among the Serbians and Croatians) and the German and Scandinavian *Supreme Being* (Nodilo 1981:77) – the Saxon *Woden* and the Norman *Odin* (Nodilo noted them at *Wōdan* and *Ođinn*; cf. ibid.). He draws a parallel between the supreme Germanic (unnamed) god who is the »moving force behind all things« and the goddess *Nertha*, testified to by *Tacitus* in *Germania* (p 39, 40), which relate to the *Suevians*, and the *Arkonian Svantevid* and his *wife*, and indicates that *Tacitus's* abstract syntagma *in insula Oceani* (*Germ.* p 40), where the (Germanic) *Mother Earth/Nertha* (»Nerthum, id est, Terram mater«) was revered, *probably* refers to the island of *Rügen*.²⁹

In the framework of Scandinavian/Germanic mythology, Nodilo found a triad of theonymic *dualities*: *Woden* (*Odin*) – *Jörd* (the Earth, *Fru Gode-Wode*)/*Odin-Frigg/Freyr* – *Freyja*, who bear the attributes of the *Celestial Being* and *Mother Earth*.³⁰ The

²⁸ Nodilo initially bases his interpretation of the *Tree of Light* (*stablo od svetlosti*) mythem on Schwarz's work *Indogermanischer Volksglaube. Ein Beitrag zur Religionsgeschichte der Urzeit* (1885).

²⁹ In his »Notes« to *Tacitus's Germania*, M. Šrepel (1993:89) mentions that *Jacob Grimm* thought *Tacitus's* geographical syntagma meant »that it was *Rujana* [Rügen], but that it was more likely that it was *Fehmarn*«.

³⁰ The two latter dual names derive from *Edda*.

To *Odin/Woden* beside *Fru Wode* (*Vida*) and *Jörd* (the Earth; *Jörd* is said to have also once been called *Fru Gode-Wode*; cf. Nodilo 1981:78, 379) Nodilo adds another wife – *Rind* (*Rindr*), »whose name means *bark*« (ibid.:303), with whom he draws a parallel to the Southern Slavic *Grozda*. With the dyadic *Jocasta* name

first and last binomial designates an incestuous affair in which the Goddess figures as both *wife and sister*. Referring to the Anglo-Saxon and Langobardian historical reports »that *add* Frea to Woden« (ibid.:78), he sets the Freyr – Freyja binomial as a figuration of Odin and his *consort*. In the context of the etiological *tales* about the ethnonym *Langobardi* (*Dugobradi/Long-Bearded*), which was noted down by Paulus Diakonus in *De gestis Langobardorum* (1. I, c. 8), Frea figures as Woden's wife (cf. Nodilo 1981:81). Among other, the etiological *tale* speaks of the Winnili appealing to *Freia* in prayer for their success in battle; for her part, she instructs them to undertake a costumographic transgression (cross-dressing) by the female gender in order to defeat the Vandals: »(...) and that Frea gave her counsel that the women of the Winnili should take down their hair and arrange it upon the face like a beard and that in the early morning they should be present with their husbands« (cf. ibid.:81). With the interpretation of the binomial Freyr and Freyja with the syntagma *Lord and Lady (Emperor and Empress)* Nodilo established an incestuous couple who belonged to one and the same formative *family* (Vid-Vida/Freyr-Freyja), and introduced the parallelism Petka=Freyja; »according to *Friday*« (*Freitag* in memory of the celestial *Lady*, Freyja). This means that (St) Petka – who is a popular folk saint, healer and help to women among the Serbians, the Bulgarians and the Russians (cf. Slapšak 1979:82) – figures as the *Celestial Empress* Živa according to Nodilo's conviction. »Freyja gave her name to a day [*Freitag, Friday*], while Petka, did the opposite, taking her name from a day [*petak*]« (Nodilo 1981:602).³¹ In the same way, he connected Freyr and Freyja with the fertile (sacrificial) symbol of the piglets (*a wild boar*), forgetting to mention that Syr – Sow also appeared as one of Freyja's multiple theonyms (cf. Sturluson p 35).

According to the characterology of the mythic feminine figures, the *wanton* Freyja has a love affair with *another* (an opponent) as, for example, was the case with the *wanton wife* of Banović Strahinja (in whose epic attributes, Nodilo discerns the remnants of Svantevid's warrior aspect), who had a *romantic* liaison with his *opponent* or enemy (ibid.:80).

Nodilo's conceptualisations of the Southern Slavic goddess (the goddess of the *ancient faith* of the Serbs and Croats) presented above, which extend and are modified through the pages of his *The Ancient Faith of the Serbs and Croats*, and their parallelism in the framework of Indo-European comparative mythology are shown in what is, naturally enough, a summarised (and more accessible) way in the following table.

– Jocasta and *Epicasta* (cf. Homer's *Odyssey*, XI, 271-280), Nodilo introduces the interpretation of Grozda as the *Mother Black Earth* and as the *spring bouquet, sister/proljetna kita, sestra* (ibid.:313). Since Rind is the wife of Odin (the *universal father*), she can be regarded as the *universal* mother of the gods (ibid.). Convinced that attributes existed which linked Rind – whom Odin had embraced with the help of a cunning ruse, »touching her with an enchanted *bark*« (ibid.:303) – with Jörd/the Earth (ibid.:313).

Cf. Evans (1974:101) on the Scandinavian divine couples Fjörgynn – Jörd (Fjörgyn)/Fjörgynn – Frigg/Odin – Frigg/Odin – Jörd (Fjörgyn).

³¹ In the Balkan cult, there is a belief that *Friday (petak)* is an unlucky day for men – »the young Friday did him harm« (cf. Slapšak 1979:82).

Cf. Nodilo 1981:378 (Petka as Vida), 602 (Petka as Živa) on his search for and modifications in reading off the mythic matrixes of the theonym Petka.

»the ancient faith« of the Serbs and Croats	Vida/Lelja (Tetka/Aunt)/ (<i>fairy</i>) Živa /the Earth (the concept of Mother Earth – Terra Mater)/ Grozda (»Black Earth«; cf. Nodilo 1981:313)/Petka; ----- Vara (Varvara), [Koleda; cf. Nodilo 1981:214, 262] (the figuration of the Young God/the Sun's mother; the mythem of the <i>Mother of God</i> ; the concept of the Great Mother – Magna Mater) ----- Baba/Baba Zlatna (the <i>aged</i> aspect of the Great Goddess)
<i>Rigveda</i>	(<i>pluvial</i>) <i>damp</i> (cf. Nodilo 1981:65); [Zora/Dawn] cf. <i>ibid.</i> :163-164, 176
the Polabians	Siwa
Greek Mythology	Gaia, Hera, Rhea
Roman Mythology	Juno (Lucina), Bona Dea, Ops, Ceres; the <i>lupine</i> goddess (Nodilo 1981:255-256)
Phrygian mythology	Cybele (cf. Nodilo 1981:269)
Scandinavian/Germanic Mythology	Jörd, Frigg, Freyja, Rind (Rindr); Nertha (from Tacitus's <i>Germania</i>)
Lithuanian Mythology	Žemina (cf. Nodilo 1981:71)

Just as he conceptualised the Southern Slavic Vida as a dyadic goddess, he also regarded Freyja in the *warrior-like* aspect when she accompanied Odin into *battle* riding on his chariot, and her designation by the zoosymbol of two cats (cf. Sturluson p 24); and in the figuration of the goddess of love and marriage, when she is designated by the zoosymbol of a *consecrated* weasel (Nodilo 1981:80). With the latter zoosymbol, Nodilo opens up the possibility of a link between the *weasel* as the Goddess' (Freyja's) zoosymbol and the Great Goddess: »In Saxon Westphalia, the weasel is called *froie, frau*, taking her name from her mistress, while in Italy it is *donnola* (see Grimm), and that is definitely according to the same translated Langobardian word. Isn't *nevjestica* [bride], as the Montenegrins call a weasel, also from the same connubial goddess?« (Nodilo 1981: 80). The link with the weasel established here by Nodilo was replaced in the Katičić/Belaj reconstruction with the *marten*,³² within the zoosymbolic valency of which Vitomir Belaj (1988:236) emphasises that a word derived from the Proto-Slavic **nevěsta* [bride] is used in some places for the *kuna* [marten] in the Slavic languages.

³² V. Belaj shows how Mara is frequently identified with the marten [the *kuna*] in Slavic folklore texts, adding that the lexems *kuna* and *kunica*, the diminutive form, denote the *female genitals* in colloquial Russian. »In Russian wedding songs, it is described how the wedding guests, following the trail of a marten, found their way to the bride's house« (Belaj 1998:232).

Cf. Nodilo 1981:281 on Nodilo's interpretation of the marten as the zoosymbol of the *March Sun* (the *March* hypostasis of the *Young God-Sun/Božić*).

The pine (golden) marten/*kuna zlatica*, the small weasel/*mala lasica* (the stoat) and the large weasel/ermine/*velika lasica* (the ermine-furred winter stoat), who are all members of the marten family, are nocturnal and, as such, *appropriate* for inclusion in the archetype feminine nyctomorphicity.

Baba (hag, old crone, harridan or grandmother), *hagology* and the feminisation of the Fall

And at the imaginary end of Nodilo's multiplied concept of the supreme Southern Slavic (dyadic) goddess (or, as Shakespeare's Polonius would say, diagnosing Hamlet's psycho-strategic *mask* – *Though this be madness, yet there is method in't.*), it seems that her theonym continues to exist in a *sfumato* polyonymic sphere. In comparison with Nodilo, who, at the end of the 19th century, re/constructed the dyadic Vida/Živa, Radoslav Katičić in his recent mythological research created a mythological penetration of the Russian Mokoš into the Croatian Pantheon, and Vitomir Belaj reconstructed her as the Sun, an actant from astral mythology (Belaj 1998:211, 349), as a fairy (*vila*), an actant from the worlds of oral literature (Belaj 2000:125) and, of course, as Mokoš who figures as the divine Mother Earth (ibid.:122).

Seeking out Proto-Croatian mythology, Vitomir Belaj (1998:31) *fits* Slavic legends into the Indo-European framework, pointing out that he will even cross over *that broad framework*, while this crossing over *that broader framework* opens up the *global* question of the *unity of the human spirit*. By means of the cited (archetypical) *Unity* and archetypical anthropology, it is probably possible, in uncovering the attributes of the *Southern Slavic/Croatian* goddess, also to use, for example, the attributes of the goddess of the Earth and Love (the Mother of the Gods) Tlazolteotl (the Goddess of Mud) of the Nahua people. Since the reconstruction of the *Southern Slavic* goddess in the research done by Croatian scholars/mythologists initially deconstructed two primary written sources – either Helmold's *Chronica Slavorum*, which noted Siwa (to reiterate, as Nodilo does, starting out in the re/construction of the dyadic Vida/Živa from the mythological concept of the Polabian Siwa); or the *Chronicle* of Nestor, which spoke of Mokoš (by which the Eastern Slavic/Russian Pantheon is invoked) it looks (or is even perhaps obvious) – as is shown by the example of Nodilo's re/construction of the *Southern Slavic* goddess – that when speaking of the Southern Slavic supreme Goddess, we are dealing, notwithstanding and in spite of everything, with a multiple *nomina sacra*.

The polyomial net in which Nodilo's dyadic goddess (Vida/Živa) is enmeshed, and the lexem *baba* – which is also quoted by Veselin Čajkanović (1925:107), who interpreted the theonym *baba* as an euphemism for the *ancient* female chthonic deity – are imbued with cult meaning in the beliefs of the Southern Slavs. Nodilo sees *her* theonym in the meaning of the *aged* Goddess's aspect, for example, in the *popular* name for Orion – *Babini štapi* [Grandmother's sticks], *Babina štapka* [Grandmother's stick] (also adding the *Scandinavian* lexem *Friggjarockr* – Lat. *Friggæ colus*, thus once again pointing to the Frigg - *B/baba* parallelism), the seasons (*babina zima* [Grandmother's winter], *bablje/babino ljeto* [Grandmother's summer], and *babini jarci* [Grandmother's billy-goats]), in phytonyms (*babina dušica* [wild thyme], *visibaba* [snowdrops]...), in toponyms (Babino jezero, Babino polje, Babin dub, Babin lug, all qualified by *Grandmother's*)...³³ Following Nodilo's concept of the dyadic goddess Vida-Živa, and particularly the Vida/Živa (cos-

³³ Cf. Nodilo 1981:263 for other lexic examples in which Nodilo found remnants of the theonym *baba*.

Cf. Nodilo 1981:239-240 for the mythic interpretation of the legend of *Grandmother's billy-goats/Babini jarci* for which Nodilo establishes a parallelism with the myth about Nioba.

Cf. Zečević 1964 on the *baba* (represented by costumographic transvestitism – a man adopting the female dress code) in the winter rituals that are performed from the Winter Solstice to Carnival.

mic) dichotomy – the *baba* (the *aged* Goddess aspect) and Belaj's proposed concept of a singular *fairy* (*vila*) who can figure as Perun's *consort*, perhaps one could initiate the concept of a Southern Slavic goddess in the dyadic bonding of *fairy/vila* and *grandmother*, or *hag/baba*. Here one has the aspect of the *young* and also *beautiful* goddess (the still vital phrase *as beautiful as a fairy*) as well as the *vilenice* who were dedicated to healing with white magic; and the aspect of the *aged* goddess (now the *hag* or *old crone/baba*), who was given the negative witch valorisation and was popularly believed to practice black magic (the *baba* witch/*baba vještica*, the *baba* who cast spells/*baba vračara*, the Russian Baba Jaga, Baba Ruga, *babaroga*, or *Bogeywoman*, and *baba* midwives [*babice*] who were childbirth demons). This *dichotomy* on the part of the Goddess in the world of imagination of the common folk deconstructs the iconographic contacts between fairies and witches, the *vilinske vještice*/fairy-like witches (cf. Pócs 1999:49).

In cosmological dualism day/night and summer/winter, Nodilo defines *night* with a masculine *form*, while *winter* is – *an old hag*: »To them, winter usually seemed to be some sort of old hag who was malevolent and annihilating« (Nodilo 1981:142-143).³⁴ He found confirmation for driving out the *Winter Hag* in the Spring customs (in March) among the western and *South-Western* Slavs, when they carried a puppet out of the village which personified Morana/Death (Mora, Morana, Morena – the goddess of Winter and Death; cf. Nodilo 1981:59) in the figuration of the *old hag* when they drowned her or sawed her up (ibid.:286).³⁵ Burning which made *resurrection* impossible and throwing the puppet into water as a testing procedure in the framework of the strategy of *supervision/discipline and punishment* (in Foucault's attribution) were also applied to *living puppets* – the *baba* witches (*babe vještice*). The *Vida/Živa* – *baba* (the *aged* Goddess's aspect) dichotomy also opens up the »dualism« between the Great Goddess and her nyctomorphic aspect (the *Terrible* Goddess) who evades the ethical categorisation (*Good-Evil*) due to the fact that the Goddess's *terrible* aspect *follows* the cosmic seasonal changes. In other words, there is an absence of the division into the (ethical) Good and Evil of a deity in the natural religions, because (every) deity possesses *Good* and *Evil* (cosmic) aspects. »The brighter gods, whenever they lost their joy and power, seemed to be traitors to our ancestors« (ibid.:451).

The legend of the amorphous stone *snotty and muddy* hags in the Croatian coastal regions can also serve as another piece of information (of the many, indeed) about the *baba* as a (possible) deity. Jelka Vince-Pallua (1995/1996:286-287), as she wrote in her exceptional article dedicated to the stone hags to whom gifts of crops and grain were made, encountered a unique example of a female monolith in Grobnik near Rijeka that is not an amorphous representation but rather a grotesque female figure carved into the living rock. The configuration of this *stone hag* with broad hips and hypertrophied *breasts* can be linked with the *complex* of steatopygous Paleolithic »Venuses« whose excessively *fat buttocks* (with which today's *lovlier half of reality* still does dietic battle) Marija Gimbutas (1991:163) symbolically interprets as a visual metaphor of the double

³⁴ Cf. Nodilo 1981:59-61 on Nodilo's polysemy of the Evil of *winter horrors* in the figures of Mora/Vada (Kavga) – Ruga (Baba Ruga) who are linked with the aspect of the wind and the isomorphism of the broom as the *terrifying weapon of the winter monster*. The broom as a requisite of the *performance arts* of the levitation of witches obtained the dimension of (ethic) evil in the Christian imaginarium.

³⁵ Cf. Belaj 1998:323-324 on Morana's death (the aged *Virgin Mara*) that takes place after the burning/burial of Poklad, Fašnik (the Carnival puppets).

(cosmic) egg or the *pregnant* belly of intensified fertility; through the attributes *snotty and muddy*, one could establish a possible link between the stone hags and the *damp* Mokoš as well as with the above-mentioned Goddess of Mud (Tlazolteotl).

The goddess who is connected with the terrestrial sphere, unlike the *ascensus* (virile) gods of Christian ethics, is *fittingly* awarded the feminine symbolisation of the Fall (cf. Durand 1991:98), with the negative (ethical) valorisations of the *unclean, damp, and muddy* tellurian valences. Just as the *Goddess-Sow* (*Boginja-Prasica*) became the (pejorative) *krmača/sow* (with the derogative meaning found in Anić's *Rječnik hrvatskoga jezika* [Dictionary of the Croatian Language] of 1991 – *a female person with bad character features, or a very obese and neglected female person*), and the demonised *krmača/sow* (the Christianised zoosymbol of Satan, gluttonous and with vicious carnality), and the sacral *baba* was degraded into a *baba, babetina, babuskara*, who would find her *kynic* (in Peter Sloterdijk's meaning) expression, for example, in the name of the *Udruga za ženska ljudska prava – B.a.B.e (Budi aktivna – Budi emancipirana)* [Women's Human Rights Group – *Be active. Be emancipated*, Zagreb, Croatia] as opposition to all the androcentric condemnations of ostensible (again here, in quotation marks) »*udruga-babinjaka*« [societies of crones]. I refer readers to Željko Malnar's article (2003) »Babino ukazanje na gredi« [Baba's appearance on the rafter] on certain *political hags* and the place in which the apparition showed itself where »ostensibly, *Baba* appeared on a rafter to Little Ivica [Račan] and revealed to him how to govern the country well«. At the archetypal anthropological level, the article is interesting for a number of reasons in relation to the theme of the *Goddess-Prasica*: namely, Malnar, a well-known satirical journalist, spent the entire day in the township of Babina Greda, futilely waiting for the *Baba* to show herself, and it was not by chance that he chose the backwater of Babina Greda³⁶ - in the spirit of his political and ironical *homo ludens* stance. And, if the well-intentioned aspect of the *Baba* grants me the *good fortune, good sense* and *good health* that I sincerely hope for, there will be more about the extremely ancient *Baba* in some further textual *baba-ology/hagology*.

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³⁶ The article in the manner of an *eschatolog* selects the Beckett-type situation of *waiting* and the *lascivious curse*: »I am waiting to meet *Baba*, but the real one. The ones I have met to date all sent me to hell« [the untranslatable Croatian version is more to the point] (Malnar 2003:83).

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Dijadna boginja i duoteizam u Nodilovoj Staroj vjeri Srba i Hrvata

Suzana Marjanić

Ovisno o primarnomu izvoru koji se koristi u rekonstrukciji *južnoslavenskoga* panteona, tekst razmatra dvije mogućnosti re/konstrukcije *južnoslavenske* boginje. Naime, Helmoldova *Chronica Slavorum* kao polapsku boginju upisuje Siwu (Živa), a u *Kijevskom ljetopisu*, naravno, kao ruska boginja figurira Mokoš. U okviru navedenih dviju mogućnosti *protezanja* polapske/ruske boginje (Siwa/Mokoš) na koncept *južnoslavenske* boginje, tekst prikazuje Nodilovu re/konstrukciju *južnoslavenske* dijadne (*celestijalna* Vida — *terestijalna* Živa) boginje (određenije, boginje u kontekstu *stare vjere* Srba i Hrvata) u poglavlju »Sutvid i Vida« njegova djela *Stara vjera Srba i Hrvata* (1885.-1890.). U re/konstrukciju pretpostavljenoga duoteizma teoforičnoga blizanačkoga para Vid (Svantevid) — Vida/Živa, koji ostvaruju incestuoznu hijerogamiju, Nodilo polazi od Helmoldove *Kronike*, koja se odnosi na baltičke Slavene. Pretpostavljenim duoteizmom (Svantevid — Siwa/Živa) sjedinjuje dva različita panteona baltičkih Slavena — panteon Rujanâ i polapski panteon.

Kako je Nodilu bitna komparativna mitologija između *hrvatskog/srpskog etnosa* i *italo-helenske mitologije*, južnoslavensko-frigijsko-grčko-rimskom komparativnom mitologijom otvara paralelizam niza boginja: *frigijska* Kibela — *helenska* Rea, Hera — *italska* Bona Dea, Junona, Ops, Cerera — *južnoslavenska* Živa/Vida koje su (uglavnom) povezane uz zoosimbolizam *prasadi/svinja*. Paralelizam Velikih Boginja u okviru južnoslavensko-baltoslavenske (polapske) te južnoslavensko-frigijsko-grčko-rimske komparativne mitologije Nodilo proširuje i južnoslavensko-germanskom/skandinavskom komparativnom mitologijom u čijim *svjetovima* pronalazi trijadu teonimijskih *dvojstava*: Wodan (Odin) — Jörd/ Odin-Frigg/ Freyr — Freyja, koje postavlja u dodir s *južnoslavenskim* teofornim parom Vid – Vida/Živa.

