

SLOVENE FOLK SONG AT THE CROSSROADS OF INFLUENCES, CONTACTS, AND OPPOSITIONS OF EAST, WEST, NORTH, AND SOUTH

Marjetka Golež Kaučič

Introduction

Slovenia's historical and geographical position gives its territory a distinctly "transitional" nature, with the intermingling of cultures and languages in the past; ethnic minorities in Italy, Croatia, Hungary, and Austria; various political conditions; and other sociocultural elements. The effect of all of these factors is that Slovene folk song allows one to trace the foreign elements that in one way or another have left their mark on folk song and, through folk songs, the attitude of their creators to the Other, the foreign. The history of the Slovene nation (Nečak 1999), which until 1991 was a nation without a state (as part of the Carolingian and German states, the Austro-Hungarian empire, the short-lived State of the Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs, royal Yugoslavia, and then communist Yugoslavia after the Second World War), has also left its mark on Slovene folk song tradition. Nonetheless, it is actually the folk song tradition that in its basic linguistic and creative core has shown the greatest native character, despite the influences of the other cultures that coexisted with it—at times harmoniously, and at other times in opposition.

Despite the transitional nature of Slovene territory, the structure of the Slovene population is relatively nationally homogeneous today. Only two ethnic groups have been accorded the status of indigenous minorities: the Italians on the western margin of the country, and the Hungarians in the east. Slovenia is also home to various other former Yugoslavs, Roma, and a small German population. In the past, Slovene culture was marked by various Germanic, Romance, South Slavic, and Hungarian influences. The most heterogeneous areas are those along Slovenia's borders—in particular Istria, where the cultures of the Slovenes, Italians, and Croats mixed (Ravnik 1996: 11–29), and White Carniola, where the descendants of the Serbian Uskoks (refugees from Turkish-occupied territory), who immigrated in the sixteenth century, still live today (Terseglav 1996: 9). Varied mixtures of cultural and linguistic elements resulting from Slovenia's history can also be found in Prekmurje, in the Rába Valley (Sln. *Porabje*)—a Slovene-populated area in Hungary—and in Slovene and Austrian Carinthia. In a similar way, the distinct cultural spirits of the Italians and Slovenes have mingled in the Resia Valley, Venetian Slovenia, and Friuli in Italy, where Slovene populations still live. A complete treatment of the mingling of cultural elements in these areas would require much more extensive discussion. This paper only deals with a fragment of

this mosaic-like process and seeks it in Slovene folk song material. Through the contents of individual songs and the analysis of formal structures and melodic elements, this paper traces a great variety of cultural elements that have been transferred to Slovene ethnic tradition from other ethnic traditions and that have influenced it in one way or another. It also discusses original materials, themes, and motifs that have been transferred from the Slovene folk song tradition to the broader European sphere. This paper focuses on the ballad repertoire, and only occasionally touches on lyric songs if they are clearly subject to influences, contacts, or oppositions with regard to any of the linguistic groups mentioned above.

The phenomenon of foreign places and people in songs

Two dimensions of the attitude toward the foreign, or at least two designating oppositions, can be traced throughout the whole of Slovene song tradition. "Abroad" is, on the one hand, a distant land, for the most part in a negative sense. On the other hand, it is "India Coromandia," a wonderland flowing with milk and honey. This interweaving of fear and hope also marked contact with various cultures. The two contrasting views of the foreign derive from the microcosmic and macrocosmic perspectives on the world as portrayed in folk songs.

In Slovene folk song, the attitude of the native to the newcomer can be seen in the song "Ulovljeni mladenič in dekle" (The Trapped Youth and the Girl, Š 705), in which a newcomer, who is not from far away but merely the next village, introduces danger because he is from another microcosm. He somehow penetrates the sociological structure of the village by making off with a girl belonging to a different environment. Of course the girl and the boy are caught committing a lewd act, which further worsens the situation. Because they do not subject themselves to the laws of the village community, the young men of the village feel discredited and punish the boy and the girl by leading them to the mayor, who pronounces a sentence on them. The young men protect their territory from alien invaders and popular law severely punishes every deviation from the rules of the community. One still sees a vestige of this protection today, when the young men of a village set up a *šranga*—a barrier erected across the path—to force the bridegroom pay them a ransom for his bride. This wins him free passage to her and acceptance into the new social environment.

Almost every village or neighborhood is a world unto itself with its own customs and peculiarities, self-sufficient and mistrustful of everything that is different from it. Nothing on God's earth sings as beautifully as the church bell of our own village. Below it live the prettiest girls, the handsomest lads, the most industrious wives, and the cleverest husbands. The neighboring villages do not even come up to its knees—the

cosmos (home) is always our cosmos. The bodies to which the world is still homey and safe are narrow; what is beyond them is unknown and hostile. (Goljevšček 1982: 144–45)

Slovene folk ballads allow observation of the creator's attitude to the foreign, the world that surrounds him and into which he travels—or that he merely imagines. During his travels, however, he comes into various contacts with foreign cultures and peoples, and these leave different impressions on him. During the course of history, Slovenes have had many opportunities for contact with foreign nations and cultures. Even in the Middle Ages people went on pilgrimages, soldiers fought in foreign lands and for foreign rulers, artisans had to travel abroad to perfect their skills, and craftsmen, students, and seasonal workers went abroad (Kumer 1975: 44, 1996: 147).

The Slovene folk song tradition contains traces of foreign lands and people, from the borders of Europe to the shores of the Levant and all the way to India. These were formed on the basis of Bible stories, saints' legends, and various prophecies, as well as from direct contacts with European and non-European peoples (e.g., Huns, Mongols, Saracens, and Turks). The second half of the nineteenth century also produced emigrant songs describing life in North and South America (Šmitek 1983: 31).

From a glance at the folk song tradition, it is evident that for the most part the attitude toward foreigners was one of mistrust, even of hostility. On the one hand, this is linked to the closed nature of the local and social environment, and on the other hand to evaluation of people in terms of their religious beliefs. In the ballads examined here, foreign lands and people sometimes appear by name, and sometimes as abstract, general concepts simply indicating distance and mysteriousness. The most common expression is *deveta dežela* 'the ninth land'.¹ This sometimes stood for the Promised Land, but usually it had a negative connotation. Even more than this, traveling elsewhere was believed to involve dangers, and therefore it was not unusual for pilgrims to make a will before setting off for distant lands.

The fear of the abroad was expressed in songs in various ways. Marrying a man from a distant land, for example, brings ill luck: in some variants of the ballad of the forced marriage, the young wife dies when

¹ The following foreign lands, places, and people appear in songs: Hungary, Turkey, "white" Vienna, Linz, the Turks, the Polish king, the Muscovite, the Englishman, Timișoara, the Veneto, Venice, "beautiful" Galicia, the Spanish king, the Black Sea, *deveta dežela*, the Turk, Belgrade, Rome, Bergamo, Constantinople, Upper Styria, Graz, Trieste, Paris, India, Innsbruck, the Jordan River, Croats, etc.

bearing her first child (Š 97)² or discovers that her husband is a brigand (Š 99). If a man stays abroad too long, his wife remarries the very day he returns (Š 215–18). Neighboring or nearby nations and places mentioned in songs include: the pilgrim city of Rome; for example, in the legendary song about St. Ulrich and the devil as the pope's wife (Š 20). The Rhine River is mentioned in the song “Jezus pomiri vodo Rajno” (Jesus Calms the Waters of the Rhine; Š 347), probably because Slovene pilgrims went on pilgrimages to Cologne (Sln. *Kelmorajn*, < Germ. *Köln am Rhein*). In a fragment of a Carinthian ballad about rescue from captivity, the town of Pergam (Bergamo) appears; it is known that the inhabitants of the Gail Valley (Sln. *Ziljska dolina*, Germ. *Gailtal*) in Austrian Carinthia followed trade routes to Italy. *Lah* ‘Italian’ and *Laško* ‘Italy’ are linked to the appearance of old “Vah” in a song about Zarika and Sončica (Š 71—known from the international tradition “Die dienende Schwester”—The Servant Sister). Hungarians or “Ugrians” (Sln. *Ogri*, dial. *Vogri*) are mentioned in a song about Mary's migration (SLP 108).³ In one of the ballads about an unhappy marriage in a far-off land, the Black Ugrian (*Črni Vogrin*) is a brigand that presents himself as a suitor from distant lands. In central Slovenia there are variants of the same song in which the brigand is a Croat. In these cases it is not a question of genuine opposition to a particular nation, but instead fear of difference and the unknown.

Fig. 1. The first stanza of the song “Kata Katalena daleč moža vzela” (Kata Katalena Got Married Far Away). Sung by Ana Oreovec, recorded in Apátistvánfalva/Števanovci, Rába Valley (Hungary), 1970. Sound recording, no. GNI M 31.640

GNI M 31640

1. K^o - ta K^o - ta - le^l - na da - leč mo - za vze - la,

prek si - vo - ga mo - rja, prek čr - no - ga Du - na - ja.

Members of other nations are typified in songs, with Spaniards and Turks being mentioned most frequently. This can be explained by historical circumstances. In Slovene the expression *španska vas* ‘Spanish village’ means an unknown land, or something unknown in general (e.g., *to je meni*

² Š designates Štrekelj (1895–1923).

³ SLP designates the collection of folk songs with melodies and commentaries by Kumer et al. (1970–98).

španska vas 'It's Greek to me'—the equivalent of Germ. *Das ist für mich ein spanisches Dorf*), but to Slovenes in the Middle Ages Spain was not an unknown land because pilgrims frequently traveled to Santiago de Compostela and memories of this remained in a number of narrative songs; for example, in one of the variants of the ballad about rescuing a husband from captivity. This ballad tells how the Spanish king goes on a pilgrimage to Galicia (Š 37). Famous in song form is the ballad of the Compostela pilgrim and the cheating innkeeper, known from the medieval collection the *Golden Legend*. However, the Spanish king is not a real king, and probably not even a Spaniard; Spain was conquered by the Moors in the eighth century, it was ruled by them throughout the Middle Ages. Until 1492, when Granada was liberated, the Moors traveled from Spain as pirates and slave traders as far as the northern coast of the Adriatic; in other words, as far as Slovene ethnic territory. As Muslims, they were heathens, according to medieval notions. They were known as Saracens, after an ancient Bedouin tribe. Slovene folk song also depicts them as infidels; for example, in the legendary song of St. Barbara and her pagan suitor, the Spanish king (Š 641). He is also mentioned in the ballad of Zarika and Sončica (Š 71)—but the label is not an ethnic one. The Arabic marauders and slave traders are also referred to in song as *zamorci*, literally 'from beyond the sea', but because of their dark skin this expression came to mean 'black people'. Thus in the song "Lepa Vida" (Beautiful Vida) the abductor is a Saracen from Spain and not a black from Africa.

In the fifteenth century the Saracen danger was replaced by the Turkish threat. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Turks conquered the whole of the Balkans and, after the battle of Mohács in 1526, a large part of Hungary. In 1529 they laid siege to Vienna. Turkish troops came from Bosnia and in songs the Muslim Turks assumed the role of the Saracens, while the Turkish sultan took the place of the Spanish king in variants of existing songs or in new songs. The Turkish sultan is a suitor of Scholastica, who saves herself from his wooing when angels rescue her because of her piety (Š 38). The Turkish sultan comes for Mlada Breda in the ballad of the unhappy bride that dies before her wedding (101). The Turks carry off King Matjaž's beloved Alenčica to deepest Turkey—which does not mean Asia Minor, but the Balkan lands conquered by the Turks. King Matjaž is the Slovene version of Matthias Corvinus, who really did fight against the Turks. However, neither "Turks" nor "Saracens" was a genuine ethnic designation. Rather, these were merely a symbol for invaders, plunderers, and "heathens." It was because of their plundering and kidnapping that the Turks were hated. Two Slovene ballads sing about Turkish abductions: one tells how a Turkish soldier sees a girl reaping wheat with some Turkish women and offers to take her home (Š 93). When they reach her family, who give the Turk an unfriendly reception, the young man reveals that he is actually the family's son that had been carried off by

the Turks years earlier, and then he sadly returns to Turkey. The other ballad tells of a brother and sister of noble birth that have been in Turkish captivity for seven and a half years when by chance they find out about their origin and then escape back home (Š 95). A famous ballad of a girl warrior also deals with the Turkish massacres. In it, Alenčica, whose brother Gregec was killed by the Turks, sets off for Turkey disguised as a Turk and kills so many Turks that the sultan begins to fear that perhaps she is Gregec and that he was not killed after all. Alenčica then reveals that she is a girl and disappears (SLP 7; Kumer 1996: 147–51).

More distant lands are placed in the perspective of the mythological attitude to the foreign, to the macrocosm. This includes everything that indicates relative distance, and the most extreme example is India, which is transformed from a real country to the mythical land of “India Coromandia.” India as a land of milk and honey, where roast chickens fall from the sky, is the subject of two songs—a ballad and a dance song. The ballad “Sv. Tomaž noče v Indijo” (St. Thomas Doesn’t Want to Go to India, SLP 118) refers to a “land of plenty,” a “gastronomic utopia” (Šmitek 1998, Del Giudice & Porter 2001): “There is no country in the world more beautiful than India, where it never hails nor rains, but where every morning there is fresh dew . . .” In the dance song, which is sung in the Gail Valley at the *Visoki Rej* dance, in alternation with the dance, one learns that not only does it never snow there, but “a roast ox walks around with a knife stuck in its side, so that whoever wants to can cut himself off a piece. And on its horns it bears a barrel full of sweet wine.” Another song known in the Karst states: “India Comandia / They cook porridge in a spoon, / They whitewash the houses with cheese, / And roof them with cake.”

Fig. 2. The first stanza of the song “Sv. Tomaž noče v Indijo” on the theme of the Promised Land. Sung by Jozefa Spruk, recorded in the village of Smrečje v Črni near Kamnik, Upper Carniola, 1962. SLP II/118/9. Sound recording, no. GNI M 25.308

♩ = 184 GNI M 25.308

1. Je - zus je jo - gre ta - low na vse štir sra - ni.

All three songs mention distant India—which, however, does not represent danger, but paradise. Who would not want to go to a land where the living conditions are so excellent? In the ballad, Thomas does not want to go to India even though Christ, who has sent him there as a missionary, told him that “there they never dig, nor do they plough, but nevertheless the following year they harvest three times.” The authors of Antiquity that mentioned India, such as Herodotus, referred to Indians (probably adherents

of Jainism) that do not cultivate fields or sow crops so as not to kill the tiny creatures in the earth, and that live instead off wild pulses and other plants. That there is neither rain nor snow nor hail is mentioned by another Ancient writer, Ctesias of Cnidus (fl. fourth century BC). In a work entitled *Indica*, he claims that in India it does not rain, but the country obtains moisture from the Indus River. Thus this ballad must have been created based on ancient tradition and is probably based on the apocryphal text the *Acts of Thomas*, which is ascribed to Bardaisan and which was written somewhere in Upper Mesopotamia in the early third century (Šmitek 1998: 142–43; SLP II 1980). India also appears in the ballad “Smrt zaprta v sod” (Death Shut in a Barrel, SLP 47).

India and its epithet Comandia, later Coromandia, became a symbol of the land of plenty. The epithet Coromandia is probably derived from the Coromandel Coast of southeast India (Murko 1940). This expression was then transferred into general Slovene terminology to mean the land of milk and honey. This land then became any land where Slovenes set off in search of a better life—even America.

However, the phenomenon of foreign lands and foreigners in Slovene song tradition is not the only element linking this tradition with the wider macrocosm of the world. Other cultural elements, either transferred from other song traditions to the Slovene tradition or vice versa, are very important. These include subject matter, themes, motifs, verse structures, and melodic elements that build the substantive and formal stratum of the song tradition.

Subject matter, motifs, verse structures, melodic elements

In terms of subject matter, the Slovene ballad drew on the tradition of Antiquity and on the traditions of the Germanic, Romance, and Slavic nations. How subject matter and motifs really traveled, and why some “took root” and others bypassed Slovene tradition, is a complex issue requiring in-depth analysis. That Slovene folk song culture was susceptible to influences can be illustrated by examples of subject matter and stories that have come from elsewhere. The Orestes motif traveled from the Greeks to the Romance peoples of the Balkans, and from there to the Slavs. It was put into words in its Slovene variant with the title “Rošlin in Verjanko” (Rošlin and Verjanko, Š 139–41). The Indo-European motif of bloody revenge has already been significantly reduced. The Oedipus motif appears in altered form in the song “Sin (Sv. Lukež, Sv. Matija) nevede ubije očeta in mater” (A Son/St. Luke/St. Matthew Unwittingly Kills his Father and Mother, SLP 51). The old mythological core is already completely obscured by Christian motifs. The story of Orpheus and Eurydice is retold in the song “Godec pred peklom” (The Fiddler at the Gates of Hell, SLP 48).

Fig. 3. The beehive panel titled “A Brass Band at the Gates of Hell.” The motif is related to songs about a musician playing at the gate of Hell. In addition to the three gentleman visitors, there are three musicians. The accordion in the painting dates the panel to the last third of the nineteenth century or the early twentieth century. From the collection of beehive panels. Slovene Ethnographic Museum, no. 10260, published in Makarovič and Škafar (2000: 331/672)



An interesting characteristic of this particular song is its unusual geographical distribution: it is found in central Slovenia, in the Resia Valley, in Moravia, and among the Sorbs. Detailed research would probably reveal why it is spread in this particular geographical area (Terseglav 1987: 83–84). The ancient story of Hero and Leander found its Slovene form in the love ballad “Čez morje v vas” (Over the Sea to the Village, SLP 208). The subject matter for the animal ballad “Lovčev pogreb” (The Hunter’s Funeral, Š 970) is believed to have traveled to Slovenia from France, but interestingly it is only among the Slovenes that the story of the cunning fox survives in song form. In other nations it either survives in prose form or as folk art. The motif is believed to have entered the European tradition from a cycle of stories about the cunning fox—the beast fable of Reynard the Fox—and as it developed the fox is believed to have changed into a hunter (Golež Kaučič 2002). It is true that the Slovenes acquired a large number of motifs and subjects from the Germans—for example, the songs “Adam in Eva” (Adam and Eve, SLP 68), “Jezus obudi Lazarja” (Jesus Resurrects Lazarus, SLP 107), “Dekle zastrupi ljubega” (A Girl Poisons Her Beloved, SLP 210), and “Plemič zapeljivec” (The Noble Seducer, SLP 186), which

spread mainly via handbills in the eighteenth century, as well as the song of the seducer/murderer of girls, known throughout Europe, that arrived via the Germans, as is shown by the name Jelengar (Germ. *Ulinger*, SLP I/64) or via them from other nations. However songs also traveled in the other direction.

From the Greek prose tradition via the Balkan Slavs, the Slovenes took and reshaped a song about the death of the bride before the wedding (§ 102–07), while the Germans received it from the Slovenes (“Die Todesbraut”), probably via the Gottschee Germans. Only the Slovene tradition has a sung version (SLP 51) of the “Desetnica,” the story of the tenth daughter, although a prose version of the story is known throughout Europe. The Gottschee Germans learned it from the Slovenes and transferred it to the German-speaking world, just as happened with the legendary song “Ptica poje Mariji” (The Bird Sings to Mary, SLP II/111), which not only forms part of the Slovene tradition, but is also known among the Gottschee Germans. The song “Spokorjeni grešnik” (The Penitent Sinner) probably came to Slovenia in the eighth or ninth century—that is, during Christianization—and the ancestors of today’s Slovenes were probably acquainted with it through the activity of the Christians among the original inhabitants (Vlachs), perhaps already in song form. The song is also known by the Croats, it was transmitted by the Slovenes to the Gottschee Germans, and it was written down by German Styrians living close to Slovene areas (SLP III/152). Outside Slovene areas, the song (SLP III/152) is only known among the Croats and Bulgarians; the only German example, recorded in the former Gottschee linguistic enclave, is clearly of Slovene origin. The song “Marija in brodnik” (Mary and the Ferryman, SLP 107) is only known in Slovenia. It spread via Styria to neighboring Croatia and is also known in German tradition. It is not known elsewhere in Europe.

Foreign influences are evident in the verse structures of the ballads; for example, the Slovene heptasyllabic ballad verse that appears in 70% of ballads and developed under western influence. Its original source is the French or Gallo-Roman *octosyllabe*, which is one of the oldest verse forms of French folk song. An example of this is found in the love ballad “Smrt čevljarjeve ljubice” (Death of the Cobbler’s Sweetheart, SLP IV):

- (1) Kaj pa delaš / Anzelček? / Svoji ljubci šolenčke.
 ‘What are you making Anzelček? / Little shoes for my sweetheart.’

The sources for this ballad are Gottschee variants of the German “Jungfer Dörtchen” (Spinster Dörtchen) which was known throughout the German lands. The Gottschee variants differ from the German ones. The Slovenes must have become acquainted with the Gottschee variant very early on but nevertheless shaped it in their own way. In Slovenia, the tailor was replaced by a cobbler and the verse is trochaic heptasyllable (SLP IV 209).

Another such verse structure, found in 8% of Slovene ballads, comes from German tradition. This is the distich consisting of an octosyllabic verse and a heptasyllabic verse, as in the song “Nevesta detomorilka” (The Infanticide Bride, SLP V):

- (2) En pastirček / ovce pase / na zelenem / travniku.
 ‘A shepherd boy / Pastures his sheep / On the green / Meadow.’

It is interesting that the majority of Slovene ballads also known in Croatian territory are mostly in this meter. A clearly Old Slavic verse is the lyric decasyllable, in the song “Mačeha in sirota” (The Stepmother and the Orphan):

- (3) Sveta Kristina / bolna ležala, / bolna ležala / milo ječala . . .
 ‘Saint Christina / Lay sick, / Lay sick / Softly sobbed . . .’
 (SLP 258)

which also appears in the Kajkavian area of Croatia. Its archaic origin is demonstrated by the fact that it mainly appears in ritual songs, and in Bulgaria and Macedonia as well. From the Germans the Slovenes also received the *Vagantenvers*, the *Nibelungenvers*, and the *Ländenvers* (Vodušek 2002: 41–48). The *Nibelungenvers* is epitomized to a considerable degree by the Slovene folk song “Zavrnitev vasovalca: Stoji, stoji, Ljubljanca” (Rejection of a Suitor: Stand, Stand, Ljubljana, SLP IV: 222) and is only found in two or three examples in neighboring Croatia. Its structure consists of a hexasyllable and a pentasyllable, which the Germans call a *Nibelungenvers*, after the early thirteenth-century *Nibelungenlied* epic, and which the French call a primitive Alexandrine, after a twelfth-century epic poem about Alexander the Great. Both poems use this verse. In terms of its subject matter, the ballad probably derives from the German “Der schwatzhafte Junggeselle” (The Garrulous Young Man; cf. DtVldr. no. 139, Freiburg in Breisgau, 1967). The first written records of the ballad date from the sixteenth century. It is also known in the Netherlands, Denmark, and France, but among the Slavs it is known only to the Sorbs and the Slovenes. The substance of the ballad probably came to Slovenia in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. This love ballad, which tells of a girl who overhears a boy’s conversation while she is hiding behind a tree, is interesting because it is the only Slovene example in Alexandrines and couplets. Other ballads generally have older verse forms. However, the stanza of this song consists of just two verse lines that are repeated—something that no German song has, because a German stanza must have at least four lines. Other Slovene songs have four-line verses in Alexandrines—for example, the legendary song about Jesus being stolen from Mary (“Judje vzamejo Mariji Jezusa”—The Jews Take Jesus from Mary, SLP 92). This is known in several variants, but only in westernmost Slovenia, in the Littoral, and it is therefore possible that the Alexandrine

came to Slovenia not only from the German north but also from the west, because it is also known in Italian folk song (Vodušek 2002: 281–82).

All of this shows that, even from the point of view of verse, Slovenia is marked by its own special geographical and historical coordinates that allowed relative openness to foreign elements. These were of course close to the Slovene style of creation and singing, and could thus take root in Slovene linguistic structure. One can only conjecture how these patterns came to the Slovenes. The most likely explanation may be that they influenced the illiterate populace via religious or devotional songs, probably above all during the Reformation, when Slovene Protestants, adopting the melodies of German Protestant chorales, transferred the verse patterns when translating the texts. Something similar occurred with Counterreformation currents. Only the Alpine dance rhythm was transferred directly, with the *Steierisch* dance and dance songs, around the beginning of the eighteenth century from German/Austrian territory via Slovene Carinthia and all the way to Slovenia's southern borders (Vodušek 2002: 91).

A very similar situation can be observed in the interweaving of foreign melodic structures into Slovene folk song. This is most evident in those parts of Slovenia bordering other countries. In White Carniola, in the south of Slovenia, there is a strong use of major tonality using the second degree of the scale as the finalis (Vodušek 2003: 89), both in Easter plays and in the *Uskok* tradition (of Serbian immigrants), or in songs brought from other areas of Croatia (especially Slavonia) from seasonal workers. The contact of two musical cultures is also evident in easternmost Slovenia, in Prekmurje, bordering Hungary. On the one hand there is the old-fashioned tetratonic and do-pentatonic melodic form characteristic of Slovene song with a special type of two-part harmony and, on the other, unison Hungarian song. Although the influence was great, it does not appear that Slovenes sang in unison. Only in the ethnically Slovene *Rába* Valley enclave in Hungary does it appear in places that singers sang in unison, but in the field it was stated that these were mainly translations of Hungarian songs. It is true, however, that the influence of Protestant chorales spread in Prekmurje, but only in the singing of dirges at the graveside or over the corpse.

Contacts with neighboring Romance peoples in the west and Germans to the north show that tonal criteria do not yield any findings that stand out because, like most of Slovenia, both Friuli (Italy) and Austria belong to central European Alpine culture, which is fairly homogeneous among all the ethnic groups in the Alpine area. However the Germanic influence is less than widespread opinion would have it because the *Resia* Valley, with its archaism in music and song, has already prompted researchers to conclude that there are probably strong elements of a Celtic substratum here and not Alpine influence.

In addition to these lasting influences, both melodies and songs have come to the Slovenes via individuals, particularly apprentices that, after a period of study in German-speaking Carinthia or Styria, returned home to Upper Carniola. This is probably how some German/Austrian songs in translation came to the Slovenes, although they remained limited to a small area. The same happened with songs brought by people from other provinces when returning from seasonal work or military service. The Slovenes were not only receivers, but also transmitters, as is shown by Friulian-Slovene contacts. According to the ethnomusicologist Valens Vodušek, the Friulians took more from the Slovenes than they gave them. For example, one can conclude from the designation *schlave* 'Slav' for the melodies of Steierisch dances that Alpine dance songs arrived in Friuli via the Slovenes (Vodušek 2002: 88–93).

Conclusion

The outside world, in all its strangeness, is presented by folk song characters and their creators in two ways: on the one hand, it is seen as a menacing, empty, and dark place filled with dangers; on the other hand, it is portrayed as a land of fantasy—bright, promising, and fabulous, as dictated by experience. Because of their geographical and historical position, the Slovenes have always complemented the indigenous cultural elements of the folk song tradition with other, foreign elements that are either universal, and therefore despite their strangeness were close to Slovene creativity and meaningfulness, or attractive in their narrative structure, or close to the melodic and metrical laws of Slovene folk poetic or choral creativity.

Although it could be understood from the above that Slovene folk culture has at least a dual relationship to the foreign, and that the influences of west, east, north, and south are clearly reflected in the songs presented here, one can nevertheless say that the creators of Slovene folk song transformed every foreign element in such a way that it no longer stands out as something alien, but instead has been accepted by the song tradition and reworked in its own way. The same thing happened with Slovene folk song and musical elements, subject matter, and stories that made their way into the European tradition.

Just as Slovenes have accepted a great deal that was foreign, and also rejected things that were not close to them, they were able to open their song tradition to all those elements that original Slovene tradition was capable of enriching. Indeed, songs have enabled Slovenes to better understand and accept the heterogeneity of European ethnic groups and nations.

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POVZETEK

**SLOVENSKA LJUDSKA PESEMSKA KULTURA NA PREPIHU
VPLIVOV, DOTIKANJ IN OPOZICIJ VZHODA, ZAHODA, JUGA
IN SEVERA**

Zgodovinska in geografska umeščenost Slovenije, njeno izrazito prehodno ozemlje, v preteklosti mešanje kultur in jezikov, njene etnične manjšine v Italiji, na Madžarskem in v Avstriji, politične razmere in drugi socio-kulturni elementi, so vplivali na to, da skozi odsev slovenske pesemske podobe lahko spremljamo tiste tuje prvine, ki so tako ali drugače zaznamovale ljudsko pesem, skozi njo pa odnos njenega ustvarjalca do drugačnega, tujega. Vsaj dve označitveni opoziciji lahko spremljamo skozi celotno pesemsko izročilo, to je tujina, ki je na eni strani deveta dežela, v večinoma negativnem smislu, na drugi strani pa je tujina Indija Koromandija, dežela, kjer se cedita med in mleko. Preplet strahu in upanja je zaznamoval tudi stik z različnimi kulturami. Tujina je že sosednja vas, kar ponazarja pesem Ulovljeni mladenič in dekle (705), kjer je fant iz osednje vasi ugrabi dekle in ju vaška skupnost kaznuje, ker sta kršila njihova pravila. Ostanek varovanja vaške skupnosti pred tujci, vidimo še danes, s postavljanjem pregrade na poti (šranga) z namenom, da fant, ki iz druge vasi pride po nevesto, plača zanjo odkupnino. V slovenski pripovedni pesmi lahko najprej opazujemo ustvarjalčev odnos do tujega, sveta, ki ga obdaja, kamor potuje ali si ga samo zamišlja. V celotni zgodovini smo Slovenci imeli veliko priložnosti za stike s tujimi narodi in kulturami, v srednjem veku so ljudje romali, vojaki so se borili v tujih krajih, obrtniški pomočniki so morali na obvezno izpopolnjevanje v tujino, študentje, rokodelci in sezonski delavci so morali na tuje. Slovensko ljudsko pesemsko izročilo je vsebovalo sledi tujih krajev in ljudi, od evropskih mej do obal Levanta in Indije. Izoblikovalo se je na osnovi bibličnih zgodb, svetniških legend, ob neposrednih stikih z evropskimi in neevropskimi ljudstvi. Iz pregleda ljudskega pesemskega izročila je razvidno, da je odnos do tujcev nezaupljiv, včasih celo sovražen, strah pred tujino se je izražal na različne načine, npr. možitev v daljno deželo, prinaša nesrečo, kar je ponazorjeno z balado Z roparjem omožena (Š 99–100). Pripadniki drugih narodov so v pesmih tipizirani, še največkrat so omenjeni Španci in Turki, kar lahko razložimo z zgodovinskimi okoliščinami, npr. Slovenci so veliko romali k sv. Jakobu v Compostello in je ostal spomin na to v eni od balad o rešitvi moža iz ujetništva (Š 37), prav tako so do leta 1492 iz Španije prihajali Arabci kot morski romarji in trgovci s sužnji vse do severne obale Jadranskega morja, kar je upesnjeno npr. v baladah Lepa Vida in Zarika in Sončica. V 15. stoletju pa je saracensko nevarnost zamenjala turška, kar vidimo v baladi o Deklici vojaku in vseh pesmih, ki imajo za junaka kralja Matjaža. Tujina pa je lahko tudi obljubljena dežela—Indija Koromandija, dežela obilja, kar tematizira npr. balada Sv. Tomaž noče v Indijo.

V drugem delu članka je prikazano, kako se je slovensko pesemsko izročilo snovno oplajalo z antičnim izročilom ter z izročili germanskih, romanskih in slovanskih narodov, npr. v baladi Godec pred peklom, ki tematizira Orfejev motiv. V evropski prostor pa je s pomočjo kočevskih Nemcev prišla balada Desetnica, ki je v pesemski obliki znana samo na Slovenskem, enako se je zgodilo tudi s pesmijo Ptica poje Mariji. Tuji vplivi so vidni tudi v formalni strukturi pesmi, npr. iz evropskega verznege izročila je k nam prišel galo-romanski octosyllable, ki je eden najstarejših verzov francoske ljudske pesmi, npr. v pesmi Smrt čevljarjeve ljubice (ki je v sedmecu), k nam je iz južnega dela Evrope prišla tudi melodična struktura, npr. prisotnost F-dur tonalnosti, v izročilu Uskokov (srbskih priseljencev) v Beli krajini. Furlansko-slovenski stiki pa kažejo, da so alpske poskočnice v Furlanijo prišle po posredovanju Slovencev.

Slovenska pesemska kultura je vsaj dvotirna v odnosu do tujega, vplivi zahoda, vzhoda, severa in juga zelo jasno odsevajo v posameznih pesmih, vendar je slovenski ustvarjalec vsako tujo prvino transformiral tako, da danes nič več ne štrli kot tujek, pač pa jo je pesemsko izročilo sprejelo in pregneto po svoje. Enako se je zgodilo s slovenskimi ljudskimi pesemskimi in glasbenimi prvinami, snovmi in zgodbami, ki so potovale v evropsko izročilo.

Tako kot smo Slovenci veliko tujega sprejeli in nekaj kar nam ni bilo blizu tudi odklonili, lahko trdimo, da smo pesemsko izročilo znali odpreti vsem tistim prvinam, ki so naše izvirno tradicijo lahko močno obogatile. Prav prek pesmi pa smo lahko bolje razumeli in zato lažje sprejeli raznolikost evropskih etnij in narodov.

