

## **BUŠE, BUŠARI, ULICE**

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*The article discusses some of the occurrences that accompany the customs of wearing masks at the festivities in some areas of Slavonia, Srijem and Baranya. The attention is focused on questions posed on one or two terms for mask wearing persons in these areas.<sup>1</sup>*

In some areas of Slavonia, Srem and of Croatian and Hungarian Baranya the terms *buše* and *bušari* describe the mask wearing persons who are playing a part in some custom festivities. We are talking mainly of carnivals, but in these areas the mask wearing characters visit the houses in which there are festivities as: eating freshly prepared pork (chops or joints, etc) in a rather large company of friends and acquaintances at the times of customary slaughtering of pig, raised with the intention to provide meat for the family in cold days of winter, and the wedding festivities. In over 150 years a large amount of material had been compiled on the subject, and a number of other names for the mask wearing characters have been brought to our attention, particularly in Slavonia. Luka Ilić Oriovčanin, in his book on customs in Slavonia published in mid 19th century, talks of the custom at the time of the carnival (February): young people "are preparing to join *fašingare* or as they call them in some other places *maškare* or *ćoraci* in Velika and *bušari* in Djakovština. There it is customary to gather some 30 to 40 people on horses, dressed as Turks, soldiers, apprentices etc. moving up and down *sokak*" (street in a village of this area).<sup>2</sup> *Bušari* are mentioned also by Mijat Stojanović who was describing the customs in Slavonia and Srem but had omitted to point to the

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<sup>1</sup> The basic idea of the article had been published (with a lot of errors) under the title *Buše, bušari* in the review: Đakovački vezovi, Jubilarna revija, Đakovo, 1991, 9-11. Some of the data had then been taken indirectly from the original texts (from Ethnological Atlas questionnaire based data already classified for map-making), and the number of data has multiplied in the meantime. A bit more complete text has appeared in Hungarian in the review Ethnographia, 105, 1994 (the author's copy not having been delivered, other facts on the published text are not known). The current text of the article has been rearranged, new and checked data added and the events accompanying the terms *buše, bušari* have been interpreted in the new light. Late Professor Milovan Gavazzi had pointed out that further efforts to study the customs of mask wearing should be made as soon as he had seen the first version of the text, just before he passed away, which is why I dedicate this new version to his memory with the deepest respect.

<sup>2</sup> L. Ilić, 115.

places the customs belonged to.<sup>3</sup> Several terms on the custom of disguising can be found in a text dating back 50 years when the terms seem to start multiplying: *Bušari* walk around the village during the last two weeks of the carnival time. This is the term we encounter in Andrijevcu, while in some villages the terms are the following: *fašanke, fašingari, maškare, kurjače*, etc. In some villages of Slavonia the whole period of festivities is called *bal*.<sup>4</sup>

The Croats in Baranya, in the Croatian as well as in Hungarian areas, the mask wearing characters of the carnival are known as *buše*, rarely as *bušari*. Historically, Moháč (Mohács) had been the place well-known for very imaginative and frightening masks and noisy and colourful performances on the streets. The customs had been recorded in written documents since last century, and museum collections have acquired a number of items of the *buša* equipment, particularly facial masks. Several experts have been describing masks, classifying and analysing them. It has been confirmed that they have been changing in size and form from time to time in the last century or so, that they used to be of lighter and thinner material (they are even made of wood),<sup>5</sup> and some experts are of the opinion they were not frightening before.<sup>6</sup> Ernyey József had been studying the origins of the custom and the origins of the term *buše*. He had not found similar customs in Hungary. The outside appearance and behaviour of the masks had led him to make comparison with the customs in the Alps areas and to search for the origins of the term in German language. His attempt appeared to have pinpointed the possibility of the term *buše* being derived from *bušar* and not the other way around. Ernyey had rejected the opinion of Đuro Daničić, who searched, at the end of last century, for the etymology in a Hungarian word,<sup>7</sup> which, according to our expert Petar Skok, was the term for a sort of cattle in our and Slovenian language.<sup>8</sup> Although masks of the *buše* from Baranya have some kind of human appearance, they are adorned with a pair of animals horns (even antlers) more often than not - it must have seemed attractive to be connecting animal featuring on the masks with the term denoting cattle in Hungarian. Some ethnologists have accepted the possibility as the solution and have shown the fact in their works.<sup>9</sup> A very good

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<sup>3</sup> M. Stojanović, 179

<sup>4</sup> M. Markovac, 67 (description of the custom 66-72).

<sup>5</sup> Mándoki L., 173-176 (giving opinions of other authors who had been studying the matter; new versions of masks do not keep to the traditions).

<sup>6</sup> Đ. Šarošac, 1994; the author emphasises expression of joy on the faces of old masks (mouths with a large smile and well exposed teeth seem to be typical); he thinks that the custom was not to frighten but rather that the mask represented the good spirit of the house.

<sup>7</sup> J. Ernyey, 147 and others, particularly 165-167.

<sup>8</sup> P. Skok, 1, 1971, 244, under *buša*.

<sup>9</sup> It can be compared e.g. with: T. Cevc, particularly 70-71, 76-77 (the question posed was on the possibility of further meaning of toys in the form of small cows, called *buše*, and there is also information that that was the term used for the mask wearing characters in the vicinity of Kamnik; the word would seem to be pre-Roman); N. Kuret, 71 (he mentions *buše* from Mohács in paragraph on "bovid" masks, i.e. on wearing masks to look like an ox); K. Benc-Bošković: "If considering the terms given to masked characters, the source of many masks could be in the cult of cattle (*lampa, buša, turica*)."<sup>9</sup> For the similar reason may have the terms *bušari, buše* found themselves in the classification for the map on the terms of carnival attendants in the group: the terms connected, in a way, with the character they represent (B. Somek-Machala, 124, also on the enclosed map).

researcher of the customs in Croatian Baranya had very cautiously marked down that "nor the younger nor the older generations had been thinking of Bosnian cattle called *buša* in the festivity spirit, and that, anyway, it could not be a decisive point when explaining the term given to the character masks."<sup>10</sup>

The data from earlier periods had also talked of the terms *buše*, *bušari* as being related to the custom of mask wearing characters appearing at the carnivals in the more eastern parts of Slavonia and in Baranya, as well as of the fact that the terms had not been appearing in any other area. It is possible today to define, in a way, the areas, and even to make comparisons between the different terms for the mask wearing characters at the festivities in different areas; basis for information used in this text is the ethnological map which was made on the basis of data compiled by questionnaires of Ethnologic Atlas (compiling covered all areas of the former Yugoslavia). The map is entitled: Customs around the year, Carnival - *Poklade*, Terms for mask wearing characters at the carnival procession. The title limits the data to only those connected with the procession walking around the village only the very days of carnival (*Poklade*). Different terms for the masked characters in the procession, recorded on the questionnaires, have been classified in 3 groups: terms based on the way and the fact that the characters were masked, terms derived from the name of the day or periods on which the customs had taken place and terms connected with the character the masks represented. There are, of course, terms that can belong to either of the groups, but they seem to appear at random and are isolated occurrences.<sup>11</sup>

The data on the terms *bušari* and *buše* are not separated, in order to be put on the map they have been classified together in a large group of terms "connected with the character they represent". On the map the terms *buše* and *bušari* appear in six villages in Baranya, the area being explicitly separated from areas in eastern parts of Slavonia, in which the terms seem to appear most frequently, because of other terms appearing there. To mention particularly the area around Đakovo in which the northernmost occurrence of the terms had been discovered in the village of Vuka, bringing us thus close to Osijek<sup>12</sup>; a bit west from Đakovo data on the terms are listed, in an almost unceasing line all the way from Gorjani on the north to Donji Andrijevc (east of Slavonski Brod) and to Donji Svilaj on the other bank of the Sava river (in Bosnia).<sup>13</sup> West of Đakovo, in the villages Trnava and Drenjski Slatinik, other term seems to be appearing together with the term *bušari*; these other terms had taken over in the areas closely around Našice and Slavonski Brod, where the term *bušari* is not used any more.<sup>14</sup> An interesting fact is the existence of two isolated occurrences of the two terms,

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<sup>10</sup> Z. Lechner, 167. Reserve was also shown by T. Lozica 1998,204, rem.21.

<sup>11</sup> B. Somek-Machala, particularly on 124 and the map under the title mentioned.

<sup>12</sup> Location on the map (coordinates): dk 432

<sup>13</sup> dk 334 -eK 224, eK 422.

<sup>14</sup> EK 441 (apart from the term *bušari* there are also *maškare*, *balije*), EK 212 (*maškare*, *mačkare*); terms *maškare*, *mačkare* most frequent west of Đakovština.

far from the territories of their frequent use, in western Slavonia (in Grubišno Polje and Šibovac near Daruvar).<sup>15</sup> Outside Croatia there is only one other place, apart from Donji Svilaj, in which the term *bušar* seems to appear - Bazik near Bosanski Šamac,<sup>16</sup> though the occurrence is not at all odd there, as on the other bank of the Sava, in Croatia, the term is spread in Sikirevci and Babina Greda and further on in Gradište.<sup>17</sup> Gradište belongs to Vinkovci area in which the term *bušari* is spread but, according to the map, it is connected with the Đakovo area spread only by this strip along the Sava river. Individual occurrences of the term seem to be appearing east of Vinkovci towards Ilok.<sup>18</sup> The map unfortunately shows lack of data for greater part of Srem and Bačka as the Center for Ethnological Cartography does not have the filled questionnaires for many places in the area.

This useful map covering the topic of the terms for carnival attendants wearing masks could become even more so with additional information and some changes if they can be made. First, data from different sources, other than data from basic questionnaires of Atlas could be added, but it may also be the task for experts who could then use the map as a source in their further work. There is, though, another map compounded on the basis of experimental questionnaires of Ethnological Atlas on the theme: Mask wearing attendants processions, Days of processions, and there was an unprinted map of terms in existence based on the same questionnaire results, which could come in useful. The map was supposed to contain all the terms for the procession attendants no matter at what time of the year the processions were held.<sup>19</sup> Our map, quite by chance, contains only the terms for the attendants wearing masks at carnival time,<sup>20</sup> and it does not bring solution to the problem of the terms such as: *čorojice* or *čorojičari* and other similar ones, though those terms are frequently not connected with carnival time either in Croatia or in Bosnia, anyway. Still they sometimes are, as changes do occur, so the map might ensure (with a bit more information) the connection

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<sup>15</sup> DI 144 (Questionnaire folio 4, no. 1653 lists the information for the Croats in the place; *fašanke*, beautifully dressed young girls appear together with *bušari*), questionnaire 1654 talks of the Serbs in the same place; it is said they have no mask wearing custom; dI 213, questionnaire no. 312.

<sup>16</sup> eL 331.

<sup>17</sup> ek 441, ek 243, eL 231.

<sup>18</sup> Em 331 (questionnaire folio 4, no. 469 brings the information on *bušari* attending the house at the time of *svinjokolja*; the information was entered into the map quite by chance though it does not represent a complete mistake).

<sup>19</sup> Ethnological Atlas of Yugoslavia, Trial Maps, Map 8; the published map as well as the not-published one was made by Marija Išgum (authors were not listed in this issue).

<sup>20</sup> V. Belaj, 121-122, states that the topics of the articles "were defined by the framework of the annual *Narodna umjetnost*, the task was to cover all the customs connected with carnival time". The study of the material "spotted a certain on-sidedness which should be taken into account in further work on the maps". Mask wearing attendants processions in the former Yugoslavia were not held at carnival time only. About one of the themes, ritual rocking movement, all the data were taken without reference to the dates and "that is the reason why the map gives ever so much more information. It seems obvious that those who will be giving final editing touches to the maps on masks wearing events will have to take the experience into account. Thus the interpretative possibilities of the maps will be multiplied".

between the carnival *ćorak* from the area of Požeština to *ćorjaci* in middle Bosnia.<sup>21</sup> The fact might be of some importance for the questions on the terms: *buša* and *bušari*. It would be useful for studying of these terms (as well as other terms) to have a map survey of all occasions in which mask wearing occurs and there is no necessity to have them connected to certain dates or days. The custom may be part of *sijelo* (customary evening gathering at one person's house in winter) or be connected with the customs regarding important events in a person's life, in which case there may not be a procession at all. To cover the differences in details of a term or the use of variants, one would often need special maps. And in those, at least, the terms *buše* and *bušari* would be presented separately.

Still, it is not too difficult to separate data on *buše* and *bušari* in principle. The data on *buše* seem to be originating from Baranya where the term *bušari* will be rarely found as it mainly belongs to the data from Slavonia.

If data from other sources were added to the map the spreading of the term *bušari* in the area of Đakovština would show almost insignificant change. In the village of Donji Andrijevc, east of Slavonski Brod, as recorded on the current map and also according to the work *Selo i seljaci*, "in the evening girls and younger women gather in a house and dress in *bušari*. Men seem to be dressing up less."<sup>22</sup> There is mention of the same type of occasion in Garčin (which is in the vicinity of Brod): "Some girls dressed as *bušari* in puppet-like mask, others dressed as colourful gypsies, others wore sheets or were dressed as men."<sup>23</sup> To the east of Brod, a bit far from it, there is the village Gundinci (close to Sikirevci and Babina Greda) and here as well men and women masked as *bušari* at the carnival time.<sup>24</sup> According to the main questionnaire at carnival time in Sikirevci there appear *handsome (lipi)* and *frightening (strašni)* mask wearing *bušari*. According to the trial questionnaire, men used to dressed as women and vice versa, and all the masks are called *bušari* "because they are dressed so uncomely". Nikola Bonifačić Rožin recorded the occurrence of a *ploughman* who visits homes and even makes the move as if starting the first furrow in the yard if there is snow enough to do it. The scene is performed by women dressed as men, only the *bearer of the food (ručkonoša)* is played by the man dressed as a woman.<sup>25</sup> In Gašinci, west of Đakovo, *bušari* are also out at times other than carnival time as e.g. around the houses in which

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<sup>21</sup> EJ 344, questionnaire folio 4, no. 273, *ćorjaci*; it is the only example on the map, but another information has been marked for the larger area of Požeština, though mainly in the form of *ćoraci*, on seven experimental questionnaires (numbers 630-634, 1035, 1036); the largest number of data from Bosnia is covering the location around the upper bed of the Vrbas river, though there are some recordings in Herzegovina; but according to the experimental questionnaires there might be more in the Bosna river area (nos 1073, 1101, 1102).

<sup>22</sup> As remark 4 (to compare the location on the map, remark 13).

<sup>23</sup> Z. Toldi, 1987, 13 (only the term *bušari* is mentioned in the text, though another term, *šafingari*, is written next to it in the title, though perhaps only as the term largely known in that region).

<sup>24</sup> A. Matasović Šabesar, 79-80 (it is emphasised that both young and elderly people went to *bušari*; the women, as it seems, represented various roles of the women).

<sup>25</sup> Location on the map ek 411, questionnaire no. 104; experimental questionnaire no. 617; N. Bonifačić Rožin, 1960, 14-17.

the custom of slaughtering of the pig takes place.<sup>26</sup> The same was performed in the nearby village of Drenje, but here, at carnival time, another term, *mačkare* is mentioned beside the term *bušari*.<sup>27</sup> In Drenjski Slatinik, on the west border of the area the term *bušari* extends on, they talk of the term as being the oldest they know to be in use there. In this place and in Trnava, *bušari* visit the houses in which *svinjokolja* (custom of pig slaughtering occurring in cold winter days) took place.<sup>28</sup> The same was true in Piškorevci in the vicinity of Đakovo, but there they used only this term in all occasions, as the place is located just inside the extended area of the use of the term.<sup>29</sup> In Budrovci, the masks appear at the wedding procedure as well: the women "go to the house of the bride dressed in *bušari* masks. They take with them a baby, older women throw on the shoulder embroidered shawl that is not fit for them to wear. They are on their way to enjoy a prank or two."<sup>30</sup> The custom of *bušari* appearing at the time of *svinjokolja* (custom pig slaughtering) is popular in Vuka, and in Gorjani it has been marked as a rather new occurrence. Here, on the north of Đakovo, there are no other terms, while in Semeljci and in nearby Kešinci the masked attendants at the time of *svinjokolje* are not mentioned.<sup>31</sup>

On the map in the area connected to Vinkovci there are a few recordings of *bušari* though fairly scattered around, but quite a number of occurrences could be added to the map if other sources from the ones used in putting together of the map were considered. In Babina Greda (in the space bordering to Đakovo area, by the Sava) two sources mention another group named *garači* apart from the term *bušari*. *Garači* with blackened faces (by soot) go around the village at a special time.<sup>32</sup> In Gradište, the main questionnaire records the term *poklade* with the term *bušari* and the trial questionnaire mentions *maškare*.<sup>33</sup> In the vicinity of Gradište there are recordings of the term for several more places. By the trial questionnaire the terms *bušari* appear in Županja, south of Gradište,<sup>34</sup> and in Cerna, Rokovci and Prkovci to the north of it. According to

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<sup>26</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 637

<sup>27</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 641.

<sup>28</sup> EK 212, questionnaire no. 205, experimental questionnaire no. 625, EK 441, questionnaire no. 189, experimental questionnaire no. 638. (According to the main questionnaire there are also terms *balije* and *maškare*).

<sup>29</sup> Ek 341, questionnaire no. 483, experimental questionnaire no. 629.

<sup>30</sup> T. Petrović (only wedding customs have been studied in the research; I owe her gratitude for the information given).

<sup>31</sup> dk 432, questionnaire no. 255, experimental questionnaire no. 364; dk 334, questionnaire no. 1, experimental questionnaire no. 363; Ek 224, questionnaire no. 482, experimental questionnaire no. 628; J. Njikoš, 1970 and 1978 (with longer description of *orači* and *svatovi* (ploughman and wedding attendants procession) in which men and women dress as opposite sex; but only men are dressing as *the Turks*, riding around the village and *kupe harač* (collecting Turkish tithes *harač*) in the houses in which there are girls).

<sup>32</sup> ek 243, questionnaire no. 109; more detailed information; experimental questionnaire no. 612 and Z. Toldi, 2, 1994, 16-18 (On Monday carnival attendants are nicely equipped riders and young girls dressed as married women, and married women as young girls; on Tuesday everybody dressed in finery, but with faces, sometimes hands as well, heavily smudged with soot, with intention to put soot on somebody else).

<sup>33</sup> eL 231, questionnaire no. 107, experimental questionnaire no. 38.

<sup>34</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 1012 (data not detailed).

the main questionnaire in Rokovci: "Young men are called *bušari*, and the girls *fašanke*. All are being called *maškare*." The information has been recorded in the map under the last term. It could even be added here that there exist *frightening* as well as *handsome bušari*.<sup>35</sup> In Cerna, beside the *bušari-fašanke*, *very nicely dressed* characters walk around.<sup>36</sup> In Retkovci the term *bušari* is known to have been described in earlier sources; here again *bušari* may be *handsome or frightening*. Both women and men dress up so as to play the role of the other sex and change the character presentation accordingly. The report states that the custom exists also in Prkovci and that groups from one village sometimes visit the other one.<sup>37</sup> In villages to the west and to the east of Vinkovci the groups of mask wearing characters may be given multiple or different names. The main questionnaire records *fašange* for Ivankovo.<sup>38</sup> In three articles on the village Nikola Bonifačić Rožin reports on the term *bušari* and in one of them he also mentions the use of the term *fašange* in the village. Men are taking over the roles of women and vice versa; they are acting the process of ploughing and wedding.<sup>39</sup> According to the experimental questionnaire the terms used in Ivankovo are *bušari or fašingari or bušangari*, the terms being the same for all groups of women or men wearing masks.<sup>40</sup> In Tordinci, north of Vinkovci, the term *bušari* refers to the masked groups coming to the house after *svinjokolja* (custom slaughtering of the pig), while *fašange* or *poklade* are walking round the village at the carnival time. The report emphasises the description of *bušari* being dressed as characters in the carnival procession in other places.<sup>41</sup> According to the main questionnaire the similar activity is occurring in the neighbouring village Antin, where there are *sijela* for the young ones from the New Year's Day to the carnival time, while *bušari* are appearing at the time of *svinjokolja* (this is the reason why the information for the village on the map is negative). The experimental questionnaire brings completely different information: at the time of *svinjokolja* there are *maškare*, while *bušari* walk around at the carnival time, both women and men wearing masks. There are also masked horsemen, and young girls dressed up "as married women, gypsies, in Hungarian folk costumes".<sup>42</sup> In Nuštar (according to the trial questionnaire) *bušari* are appearing in the houses at the times of *svinjokolja*, while *fašange* appear at the carnival time. Individual masks, whether dressed up men or women, are called then *maškare*. On the last day of carnival time the young girls dress up as married women (*snaše*). In one published source apart from

<sup>35</sup> EL 432, questionnaire no. 204 (the only source).

<sup>36</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 1105.

<sup>37</sup> I. Filakovac, 164-167, only the term *bušari* cited; experimental questionnaire no. 1048 (not very detailed) gives the following answer to the question on terms used: *bušari, maškare, fašingari*.

<sup>38</sup> EL 321, questionnaire no. 188.

<sup>39</sup> N. Bonifačić Rožin, 1960, 22-24, 24-25, 51 (*bušari* and *fašange*). The first two recordings were published by I. Lozica, 1996, 82, 84 (no. 8, *Bušari* must play), 85, (no. 10 *Bušari* make up the wedding procession).

<sup>40</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 320.

<sup>41</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 294; the author of the recording knew that *bušari* attendants elsewhere lead procession at carnival time.

<sup>42</sup> EL 212, questionnaire no. 467; experimental questionnaire no. 293 (difference in recordings is rather bigger than it is usually the case in such other examples).

*fašange* (once only masked men) at carnival time there are disguised men walking around village at weddings and at *svinjokolja* time. They are called *maškare*.<sup>43</sup> Further on east, the materials from the west Srem, from Sotin, Lovas, Tompojevaci and Tovarnik, describe the masks wearing custom at the times of carnival and *svinjokolja*. In Sotin and Lovas at carnival time walking in procession are *mačkare* (*maškare*), men and women playing each other's character roles, girls also dress up as *snaše* (young married women). The houses where there was *svinjokolja* (the custom slaughtering of the pig) are visited by *bušari*. In the same role and at the same event *bušari* appear in Tompojevci, though they may be called *maškare* there. The Croats in Tovarnik also use the term *bušari* for the masked characters at *svinjokolja* time, while the term *mačkare* is used for the procession attendants at the carnival time. The Serbs in Tovarnik, on the other hand, call the masked characters *bušari* at carnival time.<sup>44</sup> According to the main questionnaire collected information there is no mask wearing tradition in Ilok at carnival time (though *bušari* may appear at *svinjokolja* time); but one published source and the trial questionnaire claim that there are groups of mask wearing inhabitants *mačkare* at the carnival time.<sup>45</sup> Different terms for mask wearing groups appearing at the times of carnival and *svinjokolja* are mentioned in case of the village of Berak, but at the carnival time they are *bušari*.<sup>46</sup> According to the main questionnaire in Ilača, in the vicinity of Tovarnik, there is no procession at carnival time; though there are *sijela* the whole of the time. *Bušari* do appear around the houses at which the custom of *svinjokolja* (slaughtering of the pig) is going on. According to the experimental questionnaire information the *bušari* are walking around at the carnival time too, and young girls dressed in men's clothes, or wearing unusual women characters (from other social groups, possibly) take on principal roles, then.<sup>47</sup> According to the main questionnaire results for Privlaka, only *sijela* are held at the time of carnival, while *bušari* appear only at the time of *svinjokolje* (the reason for the negative mark on the map). The experimental questionnaire information talks only of masquerading for the Carnival; groups called *maškare* and *balovi* (wearing horrible as well handsome masks) are visiting only homes in the neighbourhood. According to Bartol Jurić *bal* is the term for a group of participants in carnival. The saying goes: *Here comes the bal*. Young men and girls together, mainly, while the older ones in groups divided according to age and sex *go in the bal*.<sup>48</sup> The term *balovi* is mentioned in a well-known

<sup>43</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 693; V. Domaćinović, 41-44.

<sup>44</sup> M. Černelić (manuscript), thanking the author for letting me have the data. There is the main questionnaire for Lovas, no. 2227, EM 341; only children go round at carnival time dressed as *maškare*. According to the experimental questionnaire for Donji Tovarnik (no. 871) (for the Serbs) *maškare* walk around at carnival time and at the time of *svinjokolja*.

<sup>45</sup> As in the remark 18 (for questionnaire); J. Grbić, 288; experimental questionnaire no. 640.

<sup>46</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 297 (a place south of Vukovar).

<sup>47</sup> eM 112, questionnaire no. 471 (the map mark speaks of no data for carnival time); experimental questionnaire no. 360.

<sup>48</sup> el 111, questionnaire no. 470, experimental questionnaire no. 366 (negative recording on the map). B. Jurić, 675 (the information refers only to the carnival customs, and *maškare* are not mentioned; B. Jurić seems to be adding to the information from Otok everything she knows from Privlaka and Komletinci).



source for the nearby Otok, marked on the map as a place with *maškare*, according to the main questionnaire. These *maškare* are only children. N. Bonifačić Rožin reports that, in Otok, mainly women wear masks (and only a small number of men do it). They are called *balovi* then.<sup>49</sup> Here only Slakovci are marked on the map as having carnival *bušari*, the data being corroborated by the experimental questionnaire. Mask wearing in other occasions is not mentioned here.<sup>50</sup> The same is true, according to the experimental questionnaire, for Komletinci too, where men and women, young girls and men, dress in *bušari* masks at carnival time, though not all on the same day nor masked in the same characters.<sup>51</sup> The village Nijemci is marked for the term *mačkare* as carnival procession attendants, and the experimental questionnaire supports the information.<sup>52</sup> Nikola Bonifačić Rožin reports on the term *bušari* in several places, but does not state clearly whether the term applies to the carnival procession attendants or to mask wearing in all other occasions as well. "The term for carnival time is *fašnik*, but also *poklade* and *fašanke*. *Fašanke* are *mačkare*. The carnival is starting with 2nd February (*Svijecnica*). Then *bušari* are preparing." On a Wednesday, called *Vrtičeva srida* men and women dress up in each others clothes to participate in the wedding attendants procession (*svatovi*). On the same day, "*bušari* walk around the village as well, but in a special group. *Bušari*, then, appearing as some kind of horsemen dress in Turkish folk costumes wearing sabers (swords), that are real." "*Bušari* are real men. They race through the village on their horses. The Turks are racing." *Bušari* having blackened their faces with soot, are wearing hats though very often with animal horns as well. They are carrying sticks (bars) and bells, blowing their bugles made of tree bark or even the cattle horn.<sup>53</sup> There are other groups of masked men and women walking around the village disguised differently, but masked characters also appear at the weddings and at the houses where *svinjokolja* is going on.<sup>54</sup> "Who wears the mask at the carnival time - here it's *bušar*. Kids are afraid when you say: here come *bušari*. But now the times are different - it's atomic time and kids are afraid no more."<sup>55</sup> "When the child

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<sup>49</sup> el 143, questionnaire no. 460; J. Lovretić, 311; "In Otok, all the festivity at carnival time is called *bal*. In other villages there walk *bušari*, *fašanjke*, *maškare*, *kurjače* while in Otok they say for a girl: She got herself prepared for the *bal*"; 310-315 (at carnival there are kolo dancing and *sijela*; during the last days of carnival young girls and women dressed in each others cloths walk around the village, or dress up as men and women of different professions, mainly strangers); N. Bonifačić Rožin, 1966, 1, 7-13, 16, 19 (according to recordings men are dressed up as women, and vice versa, but, it seems, that this is more done by women, wedding procession is mimicked and *ploughing* on Ash Wednesday; according to one information the term for the masked person is used in singular form of the word, *balov*, and always in masculine form; in Otok there is no mask wearing at the time of *svinjokolja*, though it is mentioned that there are masks at the time in Jankovci).

<sup>50</sup> El 342, questionnaire no. 1035, experimental questionnaire no. 369. There is one datum referring to *bušari* on the map at the village Bošnjaci: that is a mistake as the term there is *bulje* (el 432, questionnaire no. 132).

<sup>51</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 367.

<sup>52</sup> el 241, questionnaire no. 472; experimental questionnaire no. 365.

<sup>53</sup> N. Bonifačić Rožin, 1965, 45, 46, 47, 48; the main part of the manuscript (46-48) is brought by I. Lozica, 1996, 84-85 (no. 9).

<sup>54</sup> N. Bonifačić Rožin, 1966, 28-39 (the term for mask wearing outside the time of carnival had not been recorded); N. Bonifačić Rožin, 1965, 36, 37, 49-55 (the term *maškare* is mentioned describing groups at wedding and *svinjokolja*).

<sup>55</sup> N. Bonifačić Rožin, 1966, 37.

is crying, they are telling him: Stop it, or *bau, bau, buša* will come and take you away! Or somebody puts his hand down, hard on the table saying: Stop it, there goes *bau, bau buša!* They seem to be still saying it."<sup>56</sup> On the south-east of Slavonia there are villages Vrbanja and Soljani and these two villages belong to the group of villages in which the carnival procession attendants are called *kurjače*. In Soljani the term *buša* appears in the saying "*Here's buša come for you now, used to frighten the children when they are small. Though they add that nobody had seen her yet.*" The statements of the kind and "threats" of the same contents have been known in Vrbanja, as well. (*Don't go there, buša will get you out of the dark*).<sup>57</sup>

We most frequently meet the term *buša* for the carnival procession attendants in Baranya, though there are some rare occurrences of the term elsewhere. Thus, according to the experimental questionnaire, there are *buše* in Bački Brijeg, though this seems to be the only information for Voivodina settlements of the Bačka Croats, also called Šokci. N. Bonifačić Rožin's report does not seem to agree with this fact. He mentions that "*maškare* are still very much alive custom there at carnival time". "They are also called *čokotari* by *čokot*, the oldest part of Bački Breg." Women largely play the roles of attendants in the performance of *gypsy* weddings, but men take on masks of special characters. "*Čokotari* were going around Bački Breg at carnival time. They had been wearing masks (*buše*) on the face. They used to make *buše* out of paper, wood and pumpkin. And the scare-crow is often called *buša*." In carnival time the inhabitants of Bački Breg used to visit the village Santovo (Hercegszántó) on the other side of the border in Hungary. With the inhabitants of that village (Šokci) they had always been in friendly and kinship relations.<sup>58</sup> Carnival customs appear to have died out in Santovo after World War I, but they have been reestablished recently. They used to perform the *wedding* here as well - women and men would change the roles and there were other characters in the event. The masked persons were called *buše* but the term *bušari* seems to have also been recorded.<sup>59</sup> The custom in which *buše* used to take part had been customary also in Baja, the village of the Bunjevci Croats in Hungary. There has been no other such information for this group of the Croats. In Baja, the procession of masked attendants was made of handsome as well as frightening *buše*, picturesquely made up, mainly men wearing masks. The noisy procession was accompanied by silent *witches*, men wearing women's clothes or women themselves as well as other characters.<sup>60</sup> *Buše* from Baja remind us of still more popular *buše* from Mohács, described many times. They used to wear coloured masks (*kape, larfe*) made of soft wood on which a kind of fur had been fastened covering the head, with ram or cattle horns attached on top of it. The fur coats had often been put on with fur on the outside,

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<sup>56</sup> N. Bonifačić Rožin. 1965, 48.

<sup>57</sup> B. Pejić, 1, 3.

<sup>58</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 859; N. Bonifačić Rožin, 1962, I, III, 13-17, 27-35; *maškare* walk also at the time of *svinjokolja* and on the St. Agatha's Day (III, 1-2, 12-13); the scarecrow is called *buša* as well (13,60).

<sup>59</sup> S. Velin, particularly 222-231, 234-236.

<sup>60</sup> S. Velin, 216; J. Ernyey, 152-153 (both descriptions, the other being more detailed, are based on the source from 1903; one or two sources on the use of *buše* in Hungaria could not have been obtained in time).

the trouser legs filled with straw. They used bells to make noise, as well as all kinds of rattles, tin pots, cattle horns and long wooden trumpets, while *buše* used to shout: *bao, bao*. Some were carrying special cudgels or bags filled with ashes, while other had women's house devices (which could easily become weapons), shoulder strap (used to carry water filled vessels), battledores, distaff etc. Some had a cradle strapped to the back or a trough with a doll in it. There were many other characters in the procession performing different scenes in which the characters would be otherwise appearing. In Mohács only male inhabitants were dressed as *buše*, but on *small poklade* (on Thursday before main carnival days) children were going around the houses, small girls dressed as boys and the other way around.<sup>61</sup> There are some data on *buše* custom for the Šokci Croats in Hungary from Semartin (Alsószentmárton) and Kašad. In Semartin only girls used to take part in masking, but in Kašad, men were going around dressed as frightening *buše* with girls in different groups dressed in ceremonial folk attire accompanied by young men dressed as hussars. The report on the customs mentions the term *bušari* as well.<sup>62</sup>

In the Croatian part of Baranya six places are marked in the ethnological map as places where the term *buše* (*bušari*) is used. There follow places along the Croatian Hungarian border all the way from the Drava to the Danube): Torjanci, Baranjsko Petrovo Selo, Šumarina, Branjin Vrh, Duboševica, Gajić.<sup>63</sup> The majority of places (with the exception of Duboševica) are covered by both questionnaires (the main and the experimental one). The term describing masked persons is mainly *buše*, but the main questionnaire for Gajić adds or *fašanke*,<sup>64</sup> while for Baranjsko Petrovo Selo it mentions: "Groups are called *bušari* and individuals *buše*."<sup>65</sup> According to experimental questionnaire information and other sources it is known also that the term *buše* had been in use in Draž, Topolje and Luč.<sup>66</sup> The study of Zdenka Lechner contains the data on Torjanci and Petrovo Selo, villages in Drava region, then on Duboševica, Topolje, Gajić and Draža, the villages near the Danub; it is full "of data on carnival in Baranya from the end of past century up to our time", and it represents "one of the most thorough and detailed research on carnival in Croatia in general".<sup>67</sup> "*Buše* are disguised or dressed up attendants of carnival procession. In Baranya only the terms *buša* and *buše*

<sup>61</sup> Đ. Šarošac (Sárosacz G.), 1974 (1973); J. Ernyey, 137-146.

<sup>62</sup> Gelencsér J., particularly 430-433 (the author brings comparison according to customs in Mohács and in Croatian Baranya).

<sup>63</sup> ck 333, ck 344, ck 442, cL 313, cL 123, cL 234.

<sup>64</sup> Questionnaire no. 1323 (the Hungarians participate; therefore perhaps two terms).

<sup>65</sup> Questionnaire no. 506.

<sup>66</sup> Experimental questionnaires nos. 36, 37, 1014. There is particular information for Luč: "At the time of *svinjokolja* they used to go to *pištoker-buše*" (M. Keler, 59). Z. Lechner has studied Draž and Topolje (among other places), and she specifies for *buše* outside the carnival time that they appeared at the wedding as well as at the time of *svinjokolje*. "Then, they do not put on horns and are not called *buše* everywhere." In Duboševica they are calling them *buše*; in Gajić *mačkare*; in Petrovo Selo in Baranya *pištoker*; in Torjanci *pištiker* (173, remark 1). The questionnaires do not always talk of these occurrences; in Luč, there is the term *buše* registered and in Topolje *mačkare*.

<sup>67</sup> I. Lozica, 1997, 71.

are used as common nouns; *buša* stands for an individual character, which can then be more closely described, and *buše* for a smaller or bigger group of masked persons, or for all that participate in performing *fašinski* custom. Slavonian form of the term *bušar*, *bušari* is not a home tradition in Baranya villages". According to the author the same is valid for Hungarian Baranya villages where the Croats Šokci live. *Buše* from *Podunavska sela* used *bušala* or *larfe* made of textiles, leather or paper, together with wooden masks they made alone in much the same way as *buše* in Moháč. *Buše* from *Podravska sela* have never made nor used wooden masks. "Both groups were called *buše* by their appearance and equipment: *terrible* or *frightening buše* (*strašni* or *strašne*) or *handsome* (*lipe*) *buše*. The Baranya inhabitants use *buša* in feminine and masculine gender." The term *disgusting buša* is also used. "*Bušalo* is the term still alive in Topolje, Gajić and Draž. It does not cover the idea of a special mask, but is the term for any mask for frightening *buše* to wear." In Topolje this is the whole equipment for *buše*.<sup>68</sup> *Frightening buše* are only masked men. They are equipped rather like the *buše* in Moháč: overturned leather coats (fur on the outside), they are carrying a stick and wooden sword as well as all kinds of rattles and other items to make noise. *Handsome buše* walk around the village singing; "young girls dressed as men or women, and young men dressed as women or girls. Some are even wearing their own clothes (of their real sex as well)." They wear a veil across the face.<sup>69</sup> *Little fašange* or *little carnival* is the day when children put on the masks. "In Duboševica and Topolje it was usually on the Thursday before the big carnival, while in Gajić and Draž it was on the *fašanski* Monday, and in Torjanci and Baranjsko Petrovo Selo it was on the Sunday - a week before the carnival time."<sup>70</sup>

The expression *lead buše*, as the Baranya people are saying for the participation in the carnival custom, can be seen in the little song for the occasion which opens with: "Arrange, *fašange*, *poklade* (carnival) / Each one grabbing his own." (*Arrange, fašange, poklade / svaki svoju spopade.*)

The opening line of the song can differ, but still with a similar, not overmuch *polite* contents, as is fit for the carnival, but the rest of the song (where it is known) goes rather like this: "The woman chosen for the work in the house uses muddy *uše* and has sooty train. I will lead *buše* again if ever I am alive." (*U reduše blatne uše / I garava krila / I opet ću vodit buše / Ako budem živa.*) "The term *garava krila* refers to the woman's clothes, to the train". The expression *blatne uše* remains unexplained. The song had been recorded in Duboševica, but has been known in Topolje where they do not sing *blatne uše* but *masne uše* (fat *uše*) and instead *vodit buše* they sing *terat buše* (run *buše* around).<sup>71</sup>

Everywhere where *buše* occur there is a well known tale in existence: the dressed up Šokci frightened the Turks and sent them packing from *Mohač*. The tale may

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<sup>68</sup> Z. Lechner, 159, 160, 166.

<sup>69</sup> Z. Lechner, 165, 169.

<sup>70</sup> Z. Lechner, 163.

<sup>71</sup> Z. Lechner, 163-164.

be retold in a summarised version or with more or less details. In its essentials it tells that the Šokci had to take cover on the island on the Danube, among the reed, when threatened by the Turks. There they waited for the foretold signs (earthquake, thunderbolts, trumpet sound), and had waited for a very long time, or over a hundred years or perhaps as long as it took for the weapons to rust. The turning point was the appearance of a knight on a white horse. The leader of the Šokci saw in his dream how to equip his people, and hidden by the stacks of reed they crossed across the frozen surface of the Danube, they frightened the sleeping Turks and ended the siege of Mohácž.<sup>72</sup> "In the legend on driving the Turks out there is the belief that *buše* with animal horns represented ghostly apparitions (*ukaze*), and according to the information from Baranjsko Petrovo Selo the carnival days are *funny days (stranjski dani)*, which means fairy or vampiric days." *Buše* should wear animal horns, "as apparitions come wearing ram horns; there may be apparitions in the form of an ox, wolf... the apparitions were to frighten people, and that is how they scared the Turks".<sup>73</sup> There is another legend: "Only some persons explain that *buše* were what remained from the story on Jesus, and not on the Turks; for when torturing Jesus they dressed as *buše*. That is why people still think: it's a great sin to act *buše*."<sup>74</sup>

For the expanse of Baranya, in the corner between the Drava and the Danube and for Slavonia on the right side of the Drava, along the ending part of the river, the data on the ethnological map bring the details on the term *maškare (mačkare)*. Though there may be an exception here and there, based on other sources. In Aljmaš: "*Buše* go around the houses, streets on carnival Monday making jokes, doing pranks, scaring children, hitting around with sticks, making noise and sending the bells ringing." "*Buše* are carelessly dressed and equipped as Gypsies. They are wearing sheepskin coats, furside out, fur caps and worn clothes. They have smudged their faces with soot or are hiding them with rags." On the carnival Tuesday young girls and men dress nicely, into the clothes of the other sex. In the days of *svinjokolja maškare* are walking around.<sup>75</sup> In Darda near Osijek, in Baranya: "On Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday before the carnival there are even today *buše* or *fašange* walking, but only the orthodox inhabitants put on disguises. At the time of *svinjokolja mačkare* walk around in the areas where catholic population lives as well. Young people are putting on masks, men wearing women's clothes and vice versa."<sup>76</sup> The information from Darda is one of two or three cases of the term *buše* or *bušari* appearing among the Serb population. This is the case in Tovarnik (where the Croats have *bušari* around *svinjokolja* time and the Serbs at carnival time)<sup>77</sup>, and it is quite possible that this was the case in the western Slavonia, in Šibovac, but the information does not explain whether both groups of inhabitants are referred to.

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<sup>72</sup> Z. Lechner, 167, 169; Đ. Šarošac (Sárosacz G., 1973, 1974); J. Ernyey, 154, 146.

<sup>73</sup> Z. Lechner, 163, 167.

<sup>74</sup> Z. Lechner, 167.

<sup>75</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 8.

<sup>76</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 7.

<sup>77</sup> See remark 44.

Space distribution of the data on terms *buše* and *bušari* represents a puzzle which arises mainly from the relatively closed area outside which there are no traces of the terms. Though there are exceptions from two villages in western Slavonia which represent the problem on their own. The confirmations that have been found for the majority of other places marked on the map have not been discovered for these two.<sup>78</sup> A more complete picture of the space expansion of the term *bušari* and that of *buše* would probably change in some details if all the finds on the terms were entered in the map. Perhaps a closer relationship between the Vinkovci area and Đakovo area could be thus shown, forming a unique expanse of the use of one term, though when moving eastwards the term seem to be rather mixed with some others. Around Đakovo the term *bušari* is largely used in majority of places and is almost the only term used there; alternative terms do appear in Drenja, Drenjski Slatinik and Trnovo on the otherwise clear western border of the area denoting the use of the term. In Vinkovci area the situation seems to be a bit more complex. With the use of alternative terms in Gradište, Rokovci, Ivankovo and Nijemci, there are also special terms used for particular groups of masks in Rokovci, Cerna, Babina Greda. The situation is even more complex because of the use of different terms for the custom attendants at the time of carnival and at *svinjokolja* time, and we find it only in the area around Vinkovci and in villages east of the Vinkovci; it seems that there the term *bušari* is more frequently used at the time of *svinjokolja*, which is the reason for the data being excluded from the map limited by the theme. Particularly interesting are the occasions of disaccord among sources regarding the data referring to the same place, and they seem to be more numerous for eastern parts of the area. Because of that and their number, because of the manner of recording, we can hardly think that it ever was due to the carelessness of the recorder, the time difference also not being over-great, with few exceptions only.<sup>79</sup> The disagreement between the researchers on the terms may lie in their multiple use in the same place; one term may have been closer to the narrator than the other one. The situation is more difficult in cases of differences in description of customs, and there were some. Here, the possibility of changing the performance in parts of the village occurring from year to year can be the reason for this difficulty, particularly if the place was located in the area abounding in different uses. Among other things this may be applied to the term *buša* in its meaning scarecrow, as it occurs even in the distant Šokci settlement in Bački Breg on the north of Bačka.

More facts on the occurrence of the terms have been cited here mainly to turn the readers' attention to some occurrences and problems. The data on the kinds of

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<sup>78</sup> See remark 15; two questionnaires had been filled in for Grubišno Polje - one for the Croats and one for the Serbs; questionnaire no. 312, for Šibovac contains brief answers for both groups of inhabitants.

<sup>79</sup> Sources more or less disagree about the data for the places: Sikirevci, Gradište, Ivankovo, Nuštar, Nijemci, Privlaka, Antin, Lovas and Ilok. The researches based on the experimental questionnaires had started in 1960 or a little before that, while all other sources are much more recent. Most of the polling and interviewing (outside questionnaires also) was made by experts or persons from the area interested in their own customs (the choice of places was left entirely to researchers). The main questionnaires for the theme and for the region do not seem to be deficient in information recorded.

carnival festivity groups of attendants, on greater or smaller participation of women, and others, could not be discussed only with reference to the use of the terms of *buše* and *bušari*; they are more widely spread. It is e.g. known that in Slavonia women take on the roles of not only nicely accoutred *handsome*, more polite, masks but also of those that are not so handsome. There are places in which almost only women are masked and that is not a new (at least not completely new) occurrence. They are then masked representing the characters that they are not - males, strangers, single, married. They are called *bušari* or they *go to bušari*. There is a feminine form of the word: *bušarice* sometimes in use but it should be stated more clearly that it is the women that dress up.<sup>80</sup> The term *buša* itself is treated as a feminine or masculine form of the word in Baranya. This occurrence may be emphasising the duality of the sex the masks represent in these areas, and whether *one and the other* sex are included or perhaps *neither*, the best explanation perhaps being *half of one and half of the other*, are the questions to be touched on, yet.<sup>81</sup> It seems that folk interpretation would prefer the last possibility as it may give rise to special behaviour as well as emphasizing erotic aspect of the matters.

The oral tradition on banishing the Turks from Mohács could figure in the answers on the contents of *buše*, the masks and scarecrows. There are such oral traditions in other places. In Nard near Valpovo, in the near vicinity of Baranya, *mačkare* represent some kind of “memory of expelling of the Turks from Slavonia when the peasants used to disguise into various animals frightening away the Turks”.<sup>82</sup> According to the oral tradition in Piškorevci things used to be a little different. “The old people used to say *the bušari originate from the Turks*.”<sup>83</sup> The appearance of *bušari*, horsemen, equipped as if they were the Turks, which was mentioned in connection with several places may be linked to the oral tradition stories. The narrations of the kind can be heard outside the space of Slavonia and Baranya, e.g. among the Serbs in Rumania by the Danube gorges. The narration goes about the ancestors masked and guarding the border against the Turks, picking up battles against them at their own sweet time and spying on them.<sup>84</sup> Much the same story appears to be true about carnival *zvončari* in Istrian Kastav area - the custom originates in people “disguising themselves in animal skins, putting on masks, hanging bells on them, taking up rods and clubs as soon as the Turks appeared in the neighbourhood. When the

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<sup>80</sup> Some of more obvious examples are listed in the text. The information for Donji Andrijevc, though, can be more enlarged on. Here *bušari* are walking around the village, and they are mainly women. They gather “in a house and dress up in *bušari*.” “Men are not letting *bušari* women pass by that easily, they are trying to take their disguises off (*Muškarci ne puste baš olako da bušarice prođu, a da ih oni makar malo ne otkriju i ne raskrinkaju*).” “On the Carnival Sunday and Monday *bušari* are walking around during the day as well. (*Na pokladnu nedjelju i pokladni ponedjeljak idu bušari i preko dana...*).” Men and children dress up only on the carnival Tuesday. (M. Markovac, 67, 68).

<sup>81</sup> On the archetype of androgyne: I. Lozica, 1997, 217-218.

<sup>82</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 1137.

<sup>83</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 629.

<sup>84</sup> B. Krstić, 26.

Turks would hear and see them, they would run away in fright.”<sup>85</sup> In some other places along the Adriatic coastal area putting on disguises at carnival time, but also playing the game with swords could have occurred in the same way. The carnival figures on the island of Lastovo are mainly the army clad characters such as they were when fighting the Turks, or, according to another version, fighting the pirates their messenger being a Turkish person. Even the famous *kumpanija* on the island of Korčula, the dance with swords, could originate from the ancient battles against the pirates.<sup>86</sup> What these traditional narrations say on the matter seems to be mostly explicitly said in the tradition story on *buše* from Moháč. The masked characters represent the dead that have arisen, not any dead, but those who had slept for a long time waiting to be awoken at the time just before the end of the world, the story that carnival time seems to be repeating all over again.

There are other kinds of stories on tradition: in Baranya they are linked to the events around Christ's tortures (“When Jesus was tortured, they dressed as *bušas*”). It has also been recorded in Topolje “that Jews masked themselves to frighten Jesus”.<sup>87</sup> The traditional stories of the kind seem to be coming from different places. In Bijela near Daruvar: “According to the storyteller a conclusion can be made that the masks are the rudiments of the Biblical themes - the remnants of the belief that apostles used to beat Jesus”.<sup>88</sup> The story from Struga near Dvor-upon-Una differs from this one, here as the story goes “the masks were put on when they were searching for Jesus to send him to his death. People wore masks to hide Jesus from the persecutors and thus save him”.<sup>89</sup> And then again, in Dubovik in west Bosnia it has been recorded that “it is believed that such ones as e.g. *čaroice* used to persecute Jesus, and the hosts used to give them something so that they would not do them any harm”.<sup>90</sup> There is also a detail on Bosnian *čaroice* which says that the Jews put on masks when requiring for Jesus to be sentenced to die. The comparison has been made with the similar story appearing in Bulgaria. There monks were against disguising: they would *put damnation* on the players who made Jesus suffer. The story-teller had forbidden his sons to join *derviši* as “they would frighten Jesus on the cross by their appearance”.<sup>91</sup> In Zagrade in the vicinity of Bar in Monte Negro, storytellers are saying that quite opposite to this, “masking remained as a memory on Christ who wore mask when Juda went to recognize him”.<sup>92</sup> So the concept about masks can be, at least in oral tradition, quite different, even controversial. We cannot even try to discover the origin of all the

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<sup>85</sup> L. Nikočević, 26; experimental questionnaire no. 158 for Marčelji near Rijeka mentions it briefly; I. Jardas, 46, has a different explanation to give here: when shepherds took the sheep onto the mountain in the spring they were *wearing masks*, so the witches would look at them and not at the sheep they could cast a spell on.

<sup>86</sup> N. Bonifačić Rožin, 1962a, 100; I. Ivančan, 1967, 12, 86.

<sup>87</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 37.

<sup>88</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 801.

<sup>89</sup> Main questionnaire no 1698.

<sup>90</sup> M. Išgum, 52.

<sup>91</sup> R. Katzarova, 98 and the mentioned, though indirect, source for Bosnia.

<sup>92</sup> Experimental questionnaire no. 90.