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CARNIVAL: A SHORT HISTORY OF CARNIVAL CUSTOMS AND THEIR SOCIAL FUNCTION

Essential information on the origins and history of Carnival is provided, together with some remarks about the changes in Carnival practice, which were caused by political changes in Croatia. The author explains the Carnival terminology, discusses the place of Carnival in the Christian calendar, and writes about ancestral masks and the legacy of the Late Antiquity in Carnival customs. He points out some features of the Carnival in general, that have sustained the custom to the present time: the attraction of mask and costume, noisy mock-rebellion, drinking, eating and the exceptional freedoms that are so great that the Carnival as the collection of characters and procedures, as well as of standardized and conventional symbols, outlives its forgotten mythological and religious messages and meanings. A distinction between the two main types of Carnival is introduced. These two types sometimes exist as two components of the same event, but rarely merge completely. The very polysemic nature and the durability of Carnival features and symbols have made it possible for Carnival to exist outside the traditional way of life, along with the constant historically conditioned changes.

Key words: Carnival, Europe, Croatia

The origin and history of Carnival and its changes and overall sense are not at all important to the participants in Carnival celebrations.¹ For them, the tradition permitting Carnival diversions is sufficient: our ancestors engaged in high jinks, so we can, too.

¹ This text is an English version of a lecture given in Mošćenička Draga on January 21, 2005 that was published in *Mošćenički zbornik* (Lozica 2006). The text makes no pretence to scholarly originality: it is a compilation (or, more precisely, a radical summarisation) of my texts about Carnival published earlier, and is largely based on the monograph *Hrvatski karnevali* [Croatian Carnivals] (Lozica 1997).

Carnival is a time for putting on masks, individually and in groups. Masking oneself and disguising oneself allows an identity change, freeing one temporarily from the burden of everyday roles. By changing your mode of dress you can achieve a change of gender, age or social status and thus introduce a state of confusion into the established order of things. Masks and Carnival freedom of behaviour are mutually conditioned – people put on masks in order to act crazily without being noticed, while facial masks cause a change in the behaviour of their wearers. The magical empty faces are only seemingly mindless – they bear layers of ancient meanings and purposes. Substitution of the face usually causes intimidation or laughter, but sometimes it seems that, even today, the mask can be in the service of superior forces or protection from them. The power of the mask attracts children, but is it not foreign to adults. In many parts of Croatia, traditional masked personages (*zvončari*, *bušari*, *didi*, *nap'hanci* and other processioners wearing animal skins and bells, *djed* and *baba*, and the like) appear every year, often in separate Carnival processions, while they are sometimes almost lost in the colourful host of contemporary, topical masquers. The majority of those ancient personages are mysteriously mute – they present themselves in movement, dance and making a noise. It is not difficult to identify in their behaviour the characteristics of ritual presentation, a certain sacral and magical seriousness with which they carry out their seemingly unbridled or lascivious assignment, which is actually laid down by tradition. They are similar in character to the Carnival puppets of *Mesopust*, *Pust*, *Poklad*, *Fašnik*, *Krnje*, or of the *Prince of Carnival*, which have diverse, often permanent individual names in various regions (for example, *Mate*, *Marko*, *Frane*, *Rade* etc.). That personage takes upon himself all the sins of the preceding years, is given a topical name in some places that lasts for only one season, while he can also be presented by a live participant who, prior to his execution (usually by being burnt) is replaced by a puppet-double. The *Pust* character in Mošćenička Draga does not even have a puppet-double; instead he cunningly saves himself by disguising himself as his own executioner. The rocket he is supposed to enter is, in fact, a cabin in which he changes his attire, and, in the end, the empty rocket burns without him.

The fire and smoke of the final Carnival pyre; the soot on the faces; the ash, flour, confetti, candies and water that the masquers sprinkle, spray and pour around on everyone; the collection of eggs and special Carnival foodstuffs; the shooting, music and noise; the foot-stamping, leaping and dance; the feigned coitus and thefts; moving objects out of their usual place and upturning vehicles, implements and tools; Carnival ploughing; teasing women, but also the poor, eccentrics, mentally-challenged persons and other marginal categories of the population; frightening children, abusing and disturbing animals – all of this also indicates the magical, ritual effects of Carnival, which have continued unnoticed even into the 21st century.

Participants in the events are unaware of the former ritual functions of their Carnival actions. They are not interested in stimulating fertility and new vegetation, or invoking protection from the forces of evil. They simply repeat the actions of their ancestors, surrendering to the pleasures that are permitted and even specified by tradition. There is no doubt: it is easier to give oneself up to the excesses of Carnival than to bear the abstinence and severity of Lent (see Baroja 1979:27-28).

The attraction and force of Carnival is not expended in muted magic and temporarily legalised vices. Carnival customs are channelled by the calendar and provide a planned political vent, an annual overall cleansing of the community, a catharsis that enables a new beginning (or, at least, the semblance of the commencement of a new annual cycle in society, in harmony with astral and vegetational rhythm).

The historical determinancy of Carnival and its ever-mocking, oppositionist and critical stance towards ruling institutions often bothers the secular powers-that-be. Unlike the Church, which has learned the wisdom of being restrained regarding Carnival issues, politicians sometimes react nervously and heavy-handedly. To them, power is of this world and their comprehension of history is basically linear: they are impatient with the cyclical idea of eternal repetition of the same, which Carnival customs (annual repetition, the rhythmicisation of everyday life) try to maintain. The cyclical conception of time as a rhythmic opening and closing of annual circles (characteristic to folk culture) is, in essence, unhistorical, creating the impression of eternity and constancy, and offering protection from the terror of history. In contrast, political power is steeped in history, it sets up a new time in a linear manner, commencing with the establishment of authority, and it aspires to progress into eternity. There have been social orders that have even legalised such concepts through attempts to introduce a new calendar (for example, at the time of the French Revolution or of Fascism in Italy). The criticism expressed during Carnival is part of folk culture, which is characterised by dichotomy (actually, by a balance) between seriousness and jokes: unlike folk culture, the "culture of gentlefolk" is deathly serious and does not allow for much "monkey business" at its own expense. I believe that the suspicions of the authorities are not completely unfounded, since Carnival buffoonery is not just ordinary recreation. According to some suppositions, the execution of the Carnival puppet is, in fact, a reminiscence of the actual human victim, the sacrifice of the king (see Baroja 1979:312). The cult act of choosing a new sovereign with the sacrifice of the old one perhaps once linked the renewal of power and the cycle of renewal in Nature (see Frazer 1951:319-330), while that ritual procedure could have, with time, transformed into entertainment – or hid itself under the inoffensive mask of entertainment.

Carnival's dabbling in politics in Croatia was particularly intensified by the growing number of motorised Carnival processions that began somewhere

from the 1970s and 1980s. Even today, the motorised processions are the nucleus of Carnival's critical cutting edge. Leaving the immediate local milieu (made possible by increased mobility), it also seeks more universal masking themes that are recognisable to the broad public. The "allegorical cart" is actually a mobile stage with "living pictures" that function more through signs, costumes and décor, and to a lesser extent through words. Verbal amplifications are left to the readers of the Carnival chronicles, verdicts and testaments, to the seasonal lawyers at the Carnival court, and to the Carnival newspapers. These are largely topical texts that are intended for one-off usage. Much remains between the lines and on the level of allusion, but not only due to fear of censure: Carnival texts allude succinctly to people and events that are known to the public. Only a spark is sufficient, a minor detail as a hint, for the crowd to burst out laughing – recounting the entire story that is familiar to everyone would be tiresome and boring. Fragmentariness and brevity are important features of Carnival texts; they contribute to the cohesive role of Carnival in the social community, while also testifying to it.

With its forcefulness and spirit, Carnival has drawn to itself many European artists (painters, composers and writers), who have employed it as a theme of or as a backdrop to their works. Croatian carnivals, too, have found a place in the works of Marulić, Držić, Nalješković, Vojnović, Krleža, Tijardović, Bukovac, Job, Hegedušić, Lovrenčić and many others. The great Croatian sculptor, Ivan Rendić, was even noted in his later years as the author of interesting Carnival puppets, which Carnival participants from Supertar foisted off on those from Split in 1927 – the puppet simply refused to burn.

Carnival has had a powerful effect on the more recent art of the West, both as a theme and by many of its characteristics and procedures. Carnival means of opposition to institutions were joined by the utilisation of the symbols and rituals of extra-European nations in the western art of the first decades of the 20th century, with avant-garde movements making a virulent attack against the eclecticism and academism of elite bourgeois art. This was effective from the artistic aspect, but it had, nonetheless, only a decorative and superficial influence in the cognitive sense – the mere adoption of forms without the desire for more profound familiarisation with one's own folk culture or that of alien civilisations.

Many studies have been, and still are, being compiled about what *Carnival*, *Carnavalesque* and *Carnivalisation* are as a process in written literature and other arts. These papers largely follow the thought of the brilliant Russian theoretician and culturologist, Mikhail M. Bakhtin, on the twofold nature of Mediaeval folk culture: on what was official and what was Carnival, on the serious and the ridiculous that existed and had a parallel effect in the awareness of the people of that time (see Bahtin 1978). Even the theory of cosmic carnivalisation as global liberation, which also had a

retroactive effect on interpretation of Carnival, was based on the thought of the Russian theoretician.

The circular conception of time and the rhythmicisation of everyday life

The rhythm of life in traditional culture is characterised by a system of feast days and the customs associated with them. From time to time, feast days interrupt the established flow of everyday life by the introduction of change into human behaviour. These departures from everyday behaviour are not disorganised and they do not threaten the established order – to the contrary, they are conditioned by tradition, and are expected and foreseen by the calendar and life situations. The system of feast days and customs is the response of the human community to one of the fundamental questions of life – the problem of time.

As Humankind sees it, Nature is eternally renewed, it never grows old and it never dies. Unlike us, mortals limited by linear time, Nature supersedes mortality by circular time and (or so it seems) by endless repetition of the astronomical and vegetative cycle. Rebellion against death is part of human nature – as an individual, the human being aspires to immortality, rejects the role of being a mere pebble in the mosaic of the world, transmitting his/her aspiration to the community. The repetitive nature of feast days, folklore and customs follows the rhythm of the astral and vegetative cycle, trying to attain at least a semblance of immortality and security in human society by introducing circular time on the model of the Nature's eternal renewal.

The changes that feast days and customs introduce into the dreariness of everyday life are emotionally charged – in their own particular way, they humanise and animate the social community, conferring anthropomorphic features upon it. Through feast days and customs, the community (similarly to the individual) expresses its sadness and pain, its joys, love, pleasures or yearnings – but also its hatred, envy, anger and animosity. The flow of the year is thus subjected to a sequence of moods – prescribed by tradition – and that sequence has been effectively repeated for centuries.

The astronomical year with its seasons and phases marked by the Sun and the Moon has served only as a foundation for the prescribed order of moods that the individual is subjected to as a member of the community to which, at first glance, even the natural elements submit themselves (see Baroja 1979:17-19). Like the calendars of many other religions, the Christian calendar, too, unfolds in harmony with that sequence. The family joys of Christmas continue on to the unbridled Carnival freedom and merry-making, then followed by the repression of Lent and the dignified sorrow of Holy Week. In contrast to the joyful Easter and the Spring and Summer

celebrations, comes the Autumn melancholy of All Hallows and All Souls followed by the St Martin's Day gaiety – and then it all starts over again.

The Croatian annual (calendar) customs are largely connected with the important dates in the Church calendar (Gavazzi 1988:9). There are, of course, many ancient components at the core of those customs that were only subsequently subjected to Christianisation (or, to a lesser degree, to Islamisation). Just like all human creations, customs are also exposed to changes and adaptations. The religious and secular ruling strata have always influenced the rhythm of everyday life and the holidays of traditional folk culture. They tried to align them with their objectives or showed their own power by concocting new traditions and rituals. We in Croatia were thus witnesses in the preceding decades to politically induced de-Christianisation and the suppression of tradition (Rihtman-Auguštin 1990; 1995:9). However, Carnival occupies a somewhat specific and separate position in all those historical processes. Unlike the majority of customs in Croatian folk culture (many of which also contain pre-Christian components), Carnival was never completely Christianised – nor did it need to be. Although it is linked by the calendar with the beginning of Lent and the moveable feast of the greatest Christian holiday, Easter, Carnival is, in fact, a step-child of Christianity. The clergy and the Church authorities have always been ambivalent in their stance towards Carnival, as towards a prodigal son: on the one hand, they condemned the noisy Carnival dissoluteness and excesses, seeing in them an embodiment of evil and the echoes of paganism – on the other, they never made serious efforts to eradicate the custom: they needed controlled mad pranks that were restricted to a certain time of the year as a counter-weight to the values of Christian life. Without sin there is no repentance and no penance – without Carnival there is no authentic Lent. Carnival served as a distorting mirror that only confirmed the real picture by caricature. Tolerated and controlled representation of chaos does not threaten the established order – to the contrary, it affirms it. The secular authorities were also aware of this – to a certain extent – after World War II, especially after the 1960s when folk culture was no longer publicly suppressed as a reactionary remnant of the feudal past. The variegation and merry-making of Carnival was not directly connected with the religious feast days – moreover, the Carnival mocking of the priesthood was welcome. All that needed to be done was to blunt the cutting-edge of social criticism, and to emphasise the secular significance of the custom and process it in the media as a harmless period of joy for children and tourists. Of course, this was not always successful – under socialism, too, Carnival skilfully played its democratic role as a smiling and effective critic of social reality.

Nor did the social changes in Croatia of the 1990s eliminate Carnival criticism. We must not forget: Carnival customs walk hand-in-hand with the historical process, their socially critical assignment continues even today.

This has been demonstrated by the most recent Croatian carnivals, during the war and after it.

A richness of terminology: fats and fasting

All the main terms used in the Croatian language for the period prior to the Easter fast (*karneval*, *poklade*, *mesopust* and *fašnik*) also contain in their meaning the essential features of the period being observed.

According to Christian tradition, the word *carnival* derives from the Latin *caro* - *carnis* = meat (in the 13th century in Germany and France). The term for the last Sunday before the Lenten fast, meatless Sunday (*dominica carnis privii*) was followed by *carne levamen* and *carnelevare* (meaning to lift away, or remove meat). *Carnevale* and/or *karneval* come about from that by metathesis (Batušić 1982:21-22). Explaining in a similar way the Italian etymological path of the same word, Petar Skok (1971) started out from the early Pisan infinitive *carnelevare* (14th-16th century) that came to be treated as a noun and originated in the Middle Latin *carnem levare* and *carnislevarium* (towards *carnisprivium*). The term was abbreviated haplogically in the 14th century into *carnevale* / *carnovale* (the *e* changing into *o* because of the labial *v*). According to Skok, the Croatian term *karneval* appeared in the Croatian towns in the 18th century as a European Italianism, but with German influence. In Dubrovnik speech, the *l* at the end of the word changes into *o* – so that *karnevaol* becomes the Dubrovnik term, *karnèvô*.

As early as in 1611, the Spaniard, Sebastián de Covarrubias, tried to establish direct Latin etymology from *carne vale* = good-bye meat. This interpretation is rejected today as being popular etymology (see Baroja 1979:34; Gavazzi 1988:13; Batušić 1982:21). Gavazzi also mentions as a (hardly likely) possibility, a link with the county of Cornwall in England.

However, the international word *carnival* also conceals two possible pagan etymological layers. One possibility is genesis from the Latin *carnem avalere* (to swallow meat – see Batušić 1982:21), while the second is from *carrus navalis* or *currus navalis* (a boat on wheels). Boats on wheels used to be part of the Spring festivities dedicated to the goddess Isis (*Isidis Navigium*) and the dissipated Roman Saturnalia, while the Saturnalia, the Dionysian rituals and other ancient Spring ceremonies were precursors of Carnival. The famous cultural historian, Jacob Burckhardt, inclined towards this interpretation, confirming it with data on the high number of wheeled boats in 14th and 15th century Italian Carnival processions (see Baroja 1979:32). In Croatia, Milovan Gavazzi and Bratoljub Klaić leaned towards this supposition (Gavazzi 1988:13; Klaić 1982:668; Batušić 1982:21). It is interesting that carts transformed into boats are also seen frequently in contemporary motorised Carnival processions in Croatia.

The term *poklade* (*pokladi*, *poklad*) also contains fasting (*posne*) and fat (*mrsne*) semantic layers. Skok's Dictionary (1971) directs the reader in the Contents Table to the verbs *klasti* and *kladem* that are no longer generally used and exist only in the Čakavian dialects, meaning to place (*metnuti*), to throw away (*vrći*) and to take out (*vaditi*) food from a serving dish and to put it on one's plate, to scoop or ladle (*teći*) (when referring to something like a thick soup) and to place or put (*deti*) (Kajkavian).

The Academy Dictionary interprets *poklade* as a "time when one crosses over from fast-free [days] to fasting", when meat is stored in the larder, in the *poklad*. However, one not only places food in the larder; one also takes it out – explaining the verb *poladiti* (also derived from *poklasti* and *klasti*), and Tomo Maretić (editor of the *Dictionary* at that time) gave a host of *fat* meanings: a) to place, to serve; b) to accumulate, to pile up, that is, to place one on the other; c) alternatively to serve with one spoon, when more than one person are eating together; d) to fill; e) to take refreshments... Surprisingly enough, Maretić overlooked Relković as a source: ".../ whenever anyone gorged himself unreasonably and vomited his drinks, then the Satyrs would point at him saying: that one has stuffed himself [*ovaj se poklade*] and they would laugh at him, because it was a source of enjoyment to them" (Relković 1895:6).

When speaking of Carnival, fasting (*posno*) is not easily separated from fat (*mrsno*).

The term *mesopust* (and its abbreviation, *pust*) belong to the Christian, *fasting* semantic layer (Batušić 1982:22), but in the second part of that compound word in Croatian, it is as though there is an inkling of dichotomy between what is *permitted* and what is forbidden or *relinquished*.

The Kajkavian term *fašnik* is of German origin – but the term for Carnivaltide in the Germanic languages is also derived dichotomously: from *fasten* = to fast and from *faseln* = to be fruitful (Batušić 1982:22). The German *Fasching* originated from the earlier term, *vastschang* or *vaschanc*, for which confirmation exists as early as from 1283, meaning "to empty the last glass before the fast"; another term *Fastnacht* (or *Fasnacht*) speaks of the night of fast or the night before the fast (Kuret 1984:60-61).

As well as the terms *karneval*, *poklade*, *mesopust* and *fašnik*, other often dialectal and local variants of the cited terms are also in use. So, in addition to *karneval* one finds *krnjeval*, *krnoval*, *karnèvô*, *karnivô*, *krneval*; besides *poklade* there is also *pokladi* and *poklad*, besides *mesopust* we have *pust* and *mesopušće*, while, in addition to *fašnik* one also encounters *fašnjak*, *fašnjek*, *fašenk*, *fašange*, *vašange*, *fašinge*, etc. Of course, there are also fat terms such as *mesojeđe* (*mesoije*, *mesoveđe*, *mesuveđe*, *mesvijeđe* and *mrsoveđa*). Sometimes the Carnival period is referred to simply – with allusion to the masks – as *maškare*, *mačkare* and the like.

The terms for the Carnival processioners are even more varied, as follows: *mačkare, mačkari, mačkaraši, maskare, maskari, maškare, maškari, maškarade, maškaraši, maškeri, maškore, maškuri, fašenki, fašenkaši, fašenjkari, fasargare, fašingi, fašnici, fašnjaci, fašnjaki, fašingari, fašjeki, fašenjaci, fašanke, fašinke, šafanjgari, šafingari, šefengari, vašange, pusti, krnjevali, karnevali, babani, djedi, didi, čarojice, čerjaci, čaraci, čorjaci, čoraci, balije, pepelnice, pesnike, pesniki* etc. (see Somek-Machala 1986). This list of names is not complete because one needs to add the names for specific types of processioners, who move in groups (*zvončari, babe, bučani, pokladari, partenjaki, bušari, buše, naphanci, baukači, gugači, maškuri, pikači, čaplje, kožuvani, rogonje* etc.), as well as names such as *krabulje, škrabulje* and others. The terms for the Carnival processioners and the events are additionally enriched by local variants.

Carnival terms sometimes denote several concepts at the same time: thus, for example, in Istria, the term *pust* is the name for the Carnival period, for the Carnival puppet and also for the "gruesome masks" type, who wear bells. The polysemic terms join the multi-layered nature of Carnival.

Carnival and the calendar

Carnival is a moveable and seemingly frivolous feast of variable duration, vaguely linked with February like feline amorousness and it is not found in printed calendars.

However, that is not quite correct: admittedly, there is no Shrove Tuesday in the Roman Catholic calendar, but you do find Ash Wednesday, with which the Lenten fast commences. As to time span, Carnival is conditioned by Lent, and it is *secularly* unambiguously bordered by the *sacral* as its contrariety. Although concealed, Carnival is still firmly rooted in the calendar, and its duration is defined precisely by the date of the greatest Christian feast, Easter.

The variable duration and indefinite nature of Carnival's date is conditioned by its place at the crossroads between two of the three cycles of the Christian liturgical year – Christmas and Easter. In other words, Easter is a moveable feast, as are all the important dates of the Easter cycle. Easter's date sets that of Whitsun (*Pentecoste*), as the fiftieth day after Easter.

The issue of setting the Easter term in the history of Christianity is explained by alignment of the Moon's (lunar) and the Sun's (solar) year. Christ was crucified on the day before Passover (Hebr. *Pesah*, the festival commemorating the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt) on Friday, the 13th day of the month of Nisan, according to the Jewish lunar calendar. The Christian feast day originally coincided with Passover (the 14th of Nisan), but, with acceptance of the reform of the Julian calendar, it began to be celebrated

on the Sunday, since Christ rose from the dead on Sunday, the 15th day of Nisan. The month of Nisan approximated to March and April and began after the Spring Equinox. Therefore, it was necessary to establish the exact date of the Equinox – a point upon which Rome and the Alexandrian astronomers could not agree. It was only after a series of negotiations that it was defined – at the Nicean Synod in 325 – that Easter would fall on the first Sunday after the full moon following the Spring Equinox, and that could be between March 22 and April 25.

However, the Benevento Synod in 1091 was important in setting the time frame of Carnival. It was at that synod that the Wednesday after The Fifty Days was selected as the commencement of the forty-day fast of Lent. In that way, the Sunday, Monday and Tuesday before Ash Wednesday became the final and most significant days of Carnival (see Kuret 1984:60).

If we have definitely established the beginning of Lent, it would seem that we also know exactly when Carnival ends. That is largely correct, but we must also bear in mind certain other factors.

Firstly, these are the differences between the religious calendars and liturgies of Western and Eastern Christianity. The Carnival masking customs are more deeply entrenched among Roman Catholics, but are also found among Orthodox Christians. It should be emphasised that – despite the astronomical stipulation of the date of Easter at the Nicean Synod – locating Easter between March 22 and April 25 holds only for the Roman Catholic Church: the Orthodox Church retained the Julian calendar, calculating the date of Easter by the Metonic cycle dating from the year 432, linked with the Julian calendar that differs today by thirteen days from the astronomical date of the Equinox. Further, the Eastern liturgy stipulates an earlier beginning for fast, on the Sunday before the western Carnival Sunday.

Then, the Carnival puppet is not burnt on Shrove Tuesday in certain Croatian regions but on Ash Wednesday, and many Carnival magical procedures have been noted to take place on Ash Wednesday (Carnival ploughing with a human team, dragging the hearth-chain through the village, the Carnival *Visitor* [the *polaženik*], song and dance for a better harvest, and the like) – which actually prolongs by one day the Carnival customs.

However, that is not the end of it: writing about Lent in Koprivnica, R. Horvat (1886) spoke of the people celebrating *Little Carnival (Mali fašnik)*, the first Lenten Thursday. That was the only day of Lent upon which meat was eaten in that area. J. Kotarski (1917:197) wrote something similar about Lobar – the remainder of the meat would be eaten on *Plump Thursday (Tosti četertek)*. More recent research has shown that that day was also called *Mali fašnik* (Rajković 1986:66). J. Lovretić and B. Jurić (1897:157) also mentioned *Greedy Thursday (Lakomi četvrtak)* in their monograph about Otok in Slavonia, this having been the day when the young people ate everything that

had been left from the Carnival feasts. However, the same term is used in Baranja for the Thursday in the week before Carnival, which is filled with magical spells (Lechner 1978:164). But in the Kastav region, *pust* penetrated more deeply into the fasting period:

In the Kastav area, the Thursday before the mid-Lenten Sunday, half way through Lent, is called *Salus* or *Mali pust* (the Small Fast-Free Day). On *Salus* you could eat meat, as much as you liked. If the pig had been too small to slaughter at Carnivaltide, they killed it for *Salus* or *Mali pust*. You could also dance on *Salus*, and at one time masked processions went through the village on the evening of that day (Jardas 1957:52).

The third Lenten Thursday with Carnival features is also known in other places in Europe and is interpreted as a permitted pause for the faithful in the middle of Lent. It is a more recent phenomenon than Carnival itself. In some places, a celebration is held by which young women repay the young men for the festivities held on Shrove Tuesday. The earliest information on Carnival in the middle of Lent date from the 15th century: on that day, running of the bulls and processions of carts were held in Rome, with fireworks and a masked ball, although it should be mentioned that there is a possible connection between these festivities and ancient agrarian rituals. The latter is supported by the appearance of the mythic personage of the *Dame Mi-Câreme* in Brittany and the similarity between certain ritual procedures in the agricultural regions of France and Slavic customs in central and north-eastern Europe (see de Sike 1995:105). According to information from Baranja, *Vrtičava srida* was the name given to the Wednesday half-way through the Lenten fast, although there is no mention of meat or masquers (Lechner 1978:165).

So much for the end of Carnival. However, the beginning is no easy matter, since there are differences of opinion on this point. The uncertainty surrounding the beginning of Carnival is noticeable in Croatia, and also throughout Europe. This is partly due to the customary equating of Carnival with the donning of masks and merry-making. So it is claimed that Carnival in Germany and part of The Netherlands actually begins on November 11, on the feast day of St Martin, forty days prior to the Winter Solstice (de Sike 1995:26). There is also confirmation of this in Croatia: the *Small Carnival* (*mali mesopust*) is mentioned in Vrbnik on the island of Krk, during the period from St Martin's to Advent, during which weddings, dances and social events were held (Gršković and Štefanić 1953:128). According to some opinions, Carnival starts with Christmas (or on December 6, the feast day of St Nicholas), once again because of the large number of masked personages seen at that time. According to others, Carnival commences at the beginning of the year or, more precisely, on January 6, on Epiphany (the Feast of the Magi or Twelfth Night, on the eve of celebration of the Orthodox Christmas). It is regarded in some areas that Carnival begins on January 17 (St

Anthony's), on February 2 (Candelmas) or February 3 (St Blaise's Day). Others believe that only the last three days are the real Carnival days. So, for example, in Varoš (in Slavonia) the three days before Ash Wednesday are called *Grand Carnival (velike poklade)*, while *Small Carnival (male poklade)* takes place a week previously (Lukić 1924:294). Of course, the most important day is the last one (Shrove Tuesday), and that is proved by the terminology: for example, the terms *fašnik* and *pust* are common names for as many as four concepts: for Shrove Tuesday, Carnivaltide, the Carnival puppet and the masked Carnival processioner.

If we were to summarise all the regional and local variants, the diverse opinions and the waywardness, we could still determine that the duration of Carnival is from January 6 until Ash Wednesday.

Ancestral masks and the heritage of Late Antiquity

Epiphany as the beginning of Carnival deserves particular attention. Under the twofold Carnival magnifying-glass we also gain an inkling into the fact that this festivity shows an integration of pagan and Christian strata that bring us closer to the issue of the origins and history of Carnival. During the Middle Ages, the feast day of Epiphany commenced the New Year: that fact can clarify what is sometimes a threefold repetition of certain customs between December 24 and January 6 (the lighting of Christmas candles and burning of the Yule log, the eating of special buns, keeping the Christmas tree intact until Twelfth Night, etc.). The New Year significance of Epiphany can also be identified in the blessing of the house on that day (noting the number of the new year with the first letter of the names of the three Magi) and in the processions of the *zvjezdari* and carol-singers (*koledari*) on their feast day (see Gavazzi 1988:211-216).

The custom of wearing masks immediately associates with Carnival, but that was not always the case. Today, too, there are two masking periods: the first period (during Winter) is at the time of the Winter Solstice, and the second is at the time of Carnival. It seems that the distribution of masking is connected with the conception of time: in human comprehension, the year was not always an integral period, but was made up of two unconnected parts, those of Summer and of Winter. Time died away completely and then was born again. The transitions between the two parts represented dangerous periods of crisis under the influence of inscrutable forces. Of course, there are no direct pieces of information from prehistorical times about that pernicious time of the vulnerability and unprotected nature of the world (*mundus patet*). What we do have are attractive ethnological and culturological interpretations (with an identifiable note of romanticism), but it should be borne in mind that they are not completely unfounded. The learned division into four annual seasons became generally accepted only in recent centuries – as late as in the 17th

century, the most popular division of the year was into Winter and Summer (see Baroja 1979:163-164). In the folklore of the Germanic and the Slavic countries, the period between Christmas and Epiphany (The Twelve Days, *Zwölfte*, *Rauchnächte*, *svjatki*, *svjatije večera*, *volčje noči*, *nekršteni dani*, *dodekahemer*) is known as a time for predicting the future, spell-casting and fortune-telling, and it was a period filled with numerous festivities in the old Roman world – always under masks. The term *Gourdeziou* (Evil Days – see de Sike 1995:46) still exists today in Brittany.

Perhaps The Twelve Days is an ancient proto Indo-European tradition, and perhaps it was brought into Modern Age folklore by Christianity as a legacy of Late Antiquity (see Gavazzi 1988:215-216; Kuret 1984:58-59). It seems to me that both claims are true. Attempts have been made to interpret the particular significance of that period by the difference between the solar and the lunar year: the twenty days added to the lunar year were considered by many peoples to be fateful and critical, and also as appropriate for fortune-telling and even changing the future (Gavazzi 1988:216).

Co-ordinating the lunar and the solar calendar in Christian civilisation ended in a lunar-solar compromise: Christmas, Epiphany, All Hallows etc. were defined as fixed feast days in the solar calendar, while the moveable feasts (Lent, Easter, Whitsuntide etc.) were fixed by the phases of the Moon. The twenty extra-temporal days were located at the beginning of the year in European calendars, this being connected with the Winter Solstice. In other cultures and epochs, these critical days were linked with the Spring Solstice, which is also regarded as the beginning of a new year. In some places, that brief period even has the significance of a pre-shaping, creating a reduced model of the coming year, which can explain the host of magical procedures (de Sike 1995:45-46). The Twelve Days is particularly interesting for the interpretation of today's Carnival customs, largely because of the way that netherworld forces act. Souls of forebears wandered around in hordes during the nights of the Twelve Days – an inkling of the traces of the raving and eerie nocturnal processions of the shades can be gained from the oral legends of many European peoples, and also in Croatian legends (the wild hunt, *chasse Hellequin* or *Maisnie Hellequin*, the processions of the souls of *Percht* and *Holda*, *kallikántsaroi*, *karakóndžule* etc.). The shades of ancestors were represented by masked members of secret male societies. As early as in the 2nd century, Tertulijan complained that the Christians were continuing to celebrate the *Saturnalia* and the *January calends*. The fathers of the Church from the time of patristics (the 4th and 5th centuries) wrote at length about the January calends, describing the processions of masked people: they were particularly scandalised by the animal masks and the men cross-dressing as women. In writings on the martyrdom of St Dacius it is stated that people went mad at the time of the January calends and followed the customs of the pagan Greeks: they were not at all bothered that they called themselves

Christians. They would put together a great procession, change their own appearance and character, take a diabolic form, dress in the skin of a he-goat and conceal their faces behind masks (see Baroja 1979:172-176).

There is no doubt that the Church wanted to Christianise the pagan tradition of the Twelve Day period. At the Tours Synod in 567, those days were proclaimed to be the "holy Twelve Days" to be prevailed over by "thought about the newly-born Saviour, who was the 'Light of the World' and who would cast out the obscurity in Nature and the dark forces, in which the pagan world believed" (Kuret 1984:58). At the Rome Synod in 743, the pope anathemised those who celebrated the January calends in the pagan manner (see Glotz 1975:41). Masked pagan souls of forebears were largely exiled from the Christmas cycle. The two separate worlds of Winter and Summer merged into the integral whole of the Christian year. The shattered army of pagan masquers was dispelled into the remaining period between Epiphany and Lent. Only traces of masking were retained in Advent (for example, *Krampus* (*Black Peter*) and *Lucia*), while remnants of Winter masking within the Twelve Day period were retained only in the non-Catholic (Orthodox Christian and Protestant) regions of Europe. So there are processions of the *čarojice* in the Dinaric regions of Croatia around Christmas time (largely among the ethnic Serbian inhabitants).

The ancient wooden masks in the Carnival time reserve were never fully eradicated – one gains the impression that the Church purposefully spared Carnival, as a necessary contrast to Lent, as a decorative enemy and as a handy storehouse of vices – a source of material for its preachers.

Even today, the borders of Carnival in Europe roughly coincide with those of ancient Rome – the brilliant Carnival in South America is simply the consequence of conquests by the Europeans. Naturally enough, Carnival in the New World did not lose its power of cultural adaptation: it melded with local cults and feasts. Even as such – both directly and indirectly – it served European missionaries as a means in Christianisation!

The origins of Carnival are usually regarded as being located in ancient Roman festivities and customs (the *Saturnalia*, *Lupercalia*, *Matronalia*, *Brumalia*, *Bacchanalia*, *Hilaria*, *Liberalia* and the *calends*), while the influence of the Dionysian cult is also mentioned (along with other earlier agrarian cults). The learned culture of the West is heir to Greek and Roman Antiquity, and is inclined to citing Latin sources. It was in that tradition that Croatian writers who mentioned Carnival customs came of age. Ancient festivals are mentioned in the Stulić's and i Mikalja's dictionaries together with the words *poklade* or *pokladi*, and we also find them in description of Croatian Carnival from the pen of Antun Karmaneo in 1712, in Relković's *Satir*, in the work of Luka Ilić Oriovčanin from 1846, in Nodilo's interpretation of Carnival at the end of the 19th century, and in many of today's papers about Carnival (Lozica 1997:30-38).

Carnival is definitely more than a mere echo of Graeco-Roman pagan customs at the time of the Winter Solstice, but it is similar to them in many aspects, which indicates a certain communality. What is in question here? Perhaps Meuli's general theory about the celebration of the return of forebears can serve as a starting-point in answering that question. The Swiss culturologist, Karl Meuli, sees the origins of masking – and of Carnival – in the festivities in which the living celebrate the return of their ancestors, that is, in the cult usage of masks. The core of that festivity is the unity of the living and the dead: people cannot exist without their forebears, since everything depends on the departed. Ancestors stand at the inception of the ruling order of the community, they are the foundation of society and the guardians of moral law. The dead represent both good and evil – they do not bring only happiness, but also sickness and death. There is a time of the year when the dead return, they emerge, revenge themselves for injustice, and demand respect and reverence, victims and recognition. They usurp authority in that strictly limited period and judge the living, while the community accepts their judgments. When it is all over, when the gods simmer down, happiness and well-being return – the world is once again cleansed of evil and sin. The cyclical return of the dead is probably most deeply entrenched in agrarian societies. That return of ancestors is also simultaneously a school – the dead transfer to the living their knowledge, power and capabilities. Their time is also a time of initiation: children are promoted into adulthood, but new dead people are sought for their kingdom (see Glotz 1975:33-43).

Meuli's theory came about as an interpretation of Europe's traditional Carnival heritage, but also of data on festivities devoted to the shades of the departed among the Greeks, Romans, Germans, early Slavs, Russians, Ukrainians, Serbians, Croatians, Romanians and Bulgarians. Similarly to all theories, Meuli's, too, is a generalisation of sorts – in other words, it is difficult to reduce only to the ancestor cult the multilayered nature of the traditional Carnival and all its historical strata. Still, the reflections that we can monitor from Late Antiquity through to the present day favour Meuli's thesis: it is not at all difficult to recognise reminiscences of cult masking as forebears in the male groups masked in animal skins, and we can still gain an inkling of the pale image of the Kingdom of the Dead in the inverting of the world at Carnivaltide, and in the bizarre masks, music, dance and behaviour. In the light of that theory, Carnival is not – or, is not only – a mere direct remnant of the Bacchanalia, Saturnalia, Lupercalia and the other feast days of Antiquity, but is connected with them by common origins and many characteristics. Confirmation of that can also be found in Croatian Carnival material (Lozica 1997:35-38). More recent research into information on sword dances and the (almost fully abandoned) customs of "electing the King" could perhaps also clarify the key link between Carnival and the

koleda, and thus be of assistance in better understanding of the pre-Christian stratum in ritual masking in Croatia (Lozica 1997:39-46; 1998:66-94).

Following the core thought of M. Eliade (expressed in various ways in almost all his works), we could seek for the common origins of Carnival and all those pagan feasts in the fundamental religious structures, which are the extra-temporal and extra-historical part of human mind. Folk culture has preserved the models of institutions and behaviour that coincide with the models in ancient societies. The personages that appear in traditional carnivals are similar to the deities of lower order, they are personifications and symbols of natural forces. They belong to a time in which *Nature* and *human history* were not hopelessly divided, a time in which Nature was not an external object of speculation, but rather a part of the dramatic existence of Human-kind (Baroja 1979:16). According to Eliade, thinking with the aid of symbols made possible cognition of life's rhythm, and of death as a regression – symbols in the mythic and ritual context revealed a host of more profound meanings. By ritual repetition of the original divine acts (preserved in myth) ancient man became a participant and contemporary of the world's creation and was set apart from profane everyday life, from the flow of time. Something of the ritual use of those symbols is also retained in contemporary Carnival.

The two faces of Carnival

One usually speaks of village (rural) and town (urban) carnivals and masquers. There is usually something of a value judgment in such a division. From one perspective, 'village' means what is old, authentic, 'ours' and domestic, while 'town' is new, artificial, foreign to national culture and false.

From another aspect, town masks are beautiful, pure and in keeping with refined taste, while those from the village are vulgar, uncivilised and squalid. Both lines of thought have something in common: they reject at least half of Croatian Carnival tradition.

If we moved the entire matter somewhat further back into the past, we could speak of three Carnivals: the village Carnival, the Carnival of the bourgeois-craftsman stratum and the Court Carnival (see Fabre 1992). And indeed: one can speak of Court carnivals in the Croatian lands, of dances held in the Rijeka fortress, of the Carnival tradition of patrician dances under masks in 18th century Split, of the refined choreographies of the feast day of St Blaise (*Vlaho*) and the wedding feasts of the Dubrovnik nobility, and of the Illyrian Carnival parties or the masked balls in Jelačić's Novi Dvori manor. All of these are Croatian carnivals.

However, in my view (from today's perspective) we could speak of two main Carnival types.

The first, seemingly most archaic (many would say "more authentic") type leaves the impression of being rural and is found largely in stock-raising regions. It is most readily identified by the group masking of males in the same (or very similar) costumes, usually made of animal skins (fleece or fur) and by the bells that they wear on their clothes (or carry in their hands, sometimes attached to wooden forked devices of various names). Only confirmed bachelors and unmarried men take part in some places, while, in others, such limitations no longer exist. They look dangerous and frightening, act through movement and dance, terrify children and chase young women (and men also), trying to sprinkle them with ash or smear them with soot.

Some other traditional masked personages often appear with the belled processioners, as follows: grandfather (*djed*) and grandmother (*baba*), bear (*medvjed*), beggar (*prosjak*), Romany (*Cigan*), the devil (*vrag*), thief (*lopov*), and barber (*brijač*), travelling salesmen (*trgovci*), priests (*popovi*), gendarmes (*žandari*), doctors (*doktori*) and the like, whose origins and age it is difficult to specify. They, too, are represented by men, even when female personages are in question. The processioners dressed in animal skins are sometimes – but not always – accompanied by a banner-bearer, musicians and well-dressed masquers (wearing either traditional costumes or specially made clothes). These handsome masquers (sometimes, once again) represent wedding guests – they can all be men dressed in the costumes of both genders, but in some places both genders really do participate in the procession. The bride in Carnival wedding processions is usually a man dressed in female clothes, while only exceptionally and in recent times can one count on gender-inversion in the case of the groom. Carnival weddings guests are not always linked with the other processioners – in some places they perform independently, while they can also be a central component of the Carnival events lasting several days, or linked with some other, non-magical elements. The described Carnival type can conditionally be called magical because of its orientation to Nature, the remnants of the magic of fertility, apotropaic magic and traces of ancestor cults that we can discern within it. By their most obvious element, processioners with bells (which belong to the stock-raising, shepherd world of the Mediterranean) could also be called a *Lupercalian* Carnival type. Elements of stock-raising magic, present as early as in the Roman Lupercalia – and also earlier, no doubt – could be described as an orientation towards ensuring two fundamental conditions of pastoral economic life: the fertility of women and of livestock (Supek-Zupan and Lozica 1984:159).

We can also add to the magical Carnival type various procedures (and beliefs linked to them) laid down by tradition within peasant communities. Today we find them largely in earlier notations or in the memories of older people – and collocutors interpret them as stimulating fertility and repelling evil.

Another type of Carnival event is more frequently found in the urban environment and is firmly linked with the idea of social order. By that very fact, we experience it as a more recent phenomenon, which is added to by its orientation towards the relation between man and society, the tendency to drama (and the verbal component of expression), improvisations and actualisations. We could call it critical, or *Saturnalian*. The features of that type are Carnival societies, wills, trials and convictions of the puppet, processions of *allegorical carts*, signs, posters and banners, Carnival newspapers, individual masking, dances under masks and feasts, and children's Carnival events.

In the region of what was once Venetian Dalmatia, that is, on the Croatian islands and in the coastal areas, we encounter male groups dressed in military uniforms. In my opinion, those armies, too, (with their direct or indirect Saturnalian origins) belong to the critical type of Carnival, although they occupy roughly the same place in Carnival customs as the belled processioners in other areas. It would seem that the Carnival soldiers are connected with the *koleda* and the almost abandoned custom of *electing the King*. Their role in dances under arms (in *moreška* sword dances and in chain dances that are not always performed in Carnival periods), and probably also in equestrian *alka* tilting in Sinj and the *ring* (*prstenac*) tournament in Barban could indicate the former actual military significance of such units.

The greatest authority in Croatian ethnology, Milovan Gavazzi, in his book *Croatian Popular Customs Throughout the Year* (*Godina dana hrvatskih narodnih običaja*) also saw bourgeois and European influence in the critical, Saturnalian type of Carnival, regretting that similar *masquerades* could be seen in many Croatian villages. He interpreted cross-dressing of men as women (and the reverse), dressing in "gentlefolk" and urban clothes, the Roman personages, people of colour and members of various civil, military and ecclesiastical callings, and animal personages and monsters – as "an imitation of urban Carnival masquerades, in a more demure or unsophisticated village form" (Gavazzi 1988:11-12). Of course, Gavazzi's book was written in the first half of the 20th century: today, when the notion of folk culture is no longer comprehended in strict opposition towards "the culture of the gentlefolk", we must not renounce our own urban traditions. The critical Carnival type has endured for years in Croatian towns and townships, and this certainly is not any recent imitation of Venice and the French Riviera! It would be comical, incorrect and irresponsible to proclaim as foreign the traditional culture of Croatian towns, and its thousand-year-long melding with the culture of village environments as a foreign influence.

One thing is sure: more recent research in Croatia has shown that the *urban* type of Carnival is not "a mere joke, farce, diversion or parody" (Gavazzi 1988:13). Its entertaining components should not be denied, but it should be said that, with its partial orientation towards the problems of the

community, such Carnival also has an important socio-critical function. What one cannot – or dare not – say out loud in everyday life appears in Carnival scenes and texts.

Still: two Carnivals do not exist. There is only one, and its two countenances – one magical, one critical – are only part of the constantly twofold nature of Carnival. By the revolving of opposites, the World is renewed and reality is compressed: Carnival contains and mixes good and evil, truth and lies, love and hatred, seriousness and jokes, tears and laughter, fear and joy, the village and the town, the rich and the poor, the rulers and the subjects, sex and death, the living and the dead, Christianity and paganism, and the shallowness and fullness of life.

Both Carnival components – the magical and the critical – are conditioned by the circular comprehension of time, typical for folk culture.

Carnival time is not only Marin Držić's time "designated by our forebears for dance, games and merriment" – Carnival time has a particular, autonomous status. Carnival's turning the world on its head is reminiscent of spiritual ploughing – the lower, suppressed layers of the mind come to the surface and become visible, making possible a more fruitful year. Similarly to an embassy that enjoys autonomous exterritorial status in a foreign land, Carnival has the autonomy of extra-temporality in its own community: the time of Carnival is a detached time, the usual, everyday rules of behaviour do not count then. However, Carnival is not chaos opposed to the order of extra-Carnival reality, Carnival is not the World upside-down. Turning the world on its head is only one of the devices of Carnival: Carnival includes within itself ritualisation of both chaos and order.

I would venture to interpret the Carnival period as a seemingly unhistorical, extra-historical period of the year. Carnival is a regular annual victory of the cyclical notion of time over the linear, historical time of the ruling order, made possible and conditioned by tradition (although only symbolically). The victory is not an actual one – it is a staged, enacted victory. Carnival freedom is strictly controlled. In fact, it is only a show of freedom, similar in many aspects to a theatre production. Just as the military exercise only acts out the war situation, so Carnival, too, acts out the diversion of national culture, without damaging the ruling structure of society. Moreover, participation in the show of the victory of chaos over the cosmos (or, more to the point: in the show of the reconciliation of chaos and the cosmos) liberates the destructive energy of the individual, alleviating social tensions. The three main Carnival themes of food, sexuality and violence (Burke 1991:151-152) enable a discharge of energy, a catharsis similar to that of the theatre: after relieving the pressure in the detached, concocted world of the show, the individual returns to reality – and Lent.

However, the term Carnival is not limited only to Carnival customs and rituals, but is sometimes used in the figurative sense – it designates a *mêlée*, high jinks, a type of human activity and behaviour characteristic to Carnival goings-on. Understood in this way, Carnival is no longer limited in time or space – it becomes a form of the human relation towards reality. In that sense, Carnival can be observed in relation to humour, to the tragic or the comical (Eco 1984). I do not incline to this type of thinking, since I believe that it holds too great a danger of generalisation. I also think that it is not wise to transplant Carnival customs into the summer, tourist season – it would be more profitable to attract visitors at the right time and develop Winter tourism. The dignity of ritual is still hidden behind the attractive masks and costumes, behind the pranks, dance and merry-making: the mysterious power of Carnival can be experienced only in the period laid down by tradition.

And now, the conclusion! Carnival is not a struggle between good and evil, and it is not only good or only evil. By expression and inversion, it reconciles all bipolar opposites and thus supersedes the gulf between good and evil. Although it contains within itself ancient magic and the formal characteristics of pre-Christian ritual events, Carnival has largely remained the ritual practice of open meaning throughout history. Christianity tolerated Carnival events "in a package", as a *simulacrum*, an edifying depiction of paganism and sin neutralised by the Lenten period that followed it. Each generation of Carnival participants tries to clarify for itself the old procedures and props of forgotten meaning, relying in so doing on tradition. It can be said that Carnival today is more oriented towards society and less towards Nature – but the cyclical conception of time (to which Carnival ritualisation belongs by its nature) tries to eradicate the gulf between the linear history of society and the cyclical eternity of Nature. That is the source of the god-like derision and desultoriness with which the Carnival chronicles monitor the evil of this world, and of the (ostensible) Carnival superiority which, from the perspective of the eternal return of the same, *sub specie aeternitatis*, can relativise all sins as *déjà vu* and seek for conciliation between all conflicts and antitheses. In order to become reconciled, all contrasts must be expressed and shown: that is why Carnival expresses both order and disorder, both good and evil – it inverts opposites and thus proves their transience. Neither good nor evil is being burnt in the bonfire of the Carnival puppet, neither order nor disorder. It is the conflict of antitheses that is burnt: in that way, ritual enables the new circle of everyday life. In practice, Carnivaltide is a time of visits and joint feasts, a time for reconciling opposing sides, and a time for strengthening cohesion and identity within the community. In the end, only the puppet burns.

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KARNEVAL: KRATKA POVIJEST I DRUŠTVENA ULOGA POKLADNIH OBIČAJA

SAŽETAK

Članak je engleska inačica predavanja održanog 21. siječnja 2005. u Mošćeničkoj Dragi i objavljenog u *Mošćeničkom zborniku* (Lozica 2006). Sadrži osnovne podatke o podrijetlu i povijesti karnevala u Europi, uz neke napomene o promjenama u karnevalskoj praksi koje su posljedica političkih promjena. Autor pojašnjava pokladno nazivlje, razmatra mjesto karnevala u kršćanskom kalendaru te piše o maskama predaka i o baštini kasne antike u pokladnim običajima. Naznačuje neke opće značajke karnevala koje su očuvale običaj do naših dana: privlačnost maske i kostima, bučnu pobunu, piće, jelo i iznimnu slobodu, što je sve održalo karneval i kao zbroj likova i postupaka i kao skup standardiziranih ili konvencionalnih simbola unatoč zaboravu mitoloških i religijskih poruka i značenja. Uvodi se podjela karnevala na dva glavna tipa. Ti su tipovi ponekad tek dvije sastavnice istoga zbivanja, ali se rijetko potpuno stapaju. Polisemička priroda i trajnost karnevalskih pojava i simbola omogućile su karneval izvan tradicijskoga načina života te njegovo kontinuirano prilagođavanje povijesnim promjenama.

Ključne riječi: karneval, Europa, Hrvatska