

## **MULTIPLE FEATURES IN THE ORION CONSTELLATION AS RECOGNIZED IN CROATIAN FOLKLORE**

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The matter of multiple star groups as denoted in Croatian folklore has been discussed. A proposal for a tripartite scheme is set: a) Harvesters i.e. Staffs seen in Orion's Belt stars, b) Small Harvesters, Small Staffs i.e. Sharecroppers stars seen in the Sword stars, possibly with those adjacent, and c) Mother, Lunch Star i.e. Behind-Staffs Star seen in Orionis.

Through symbolical and chronometrical impacts of the brightest celestial bodies, the immanent bulk of consideration had been devoted to astronomical reflections in historically documented and described illiterate human cultures. Cosmogonical and cosmological visions also have a proper place in such a complex theme. Aside from the crucial roles of the Sun, the Moon, and the Earth, less obvious images of nightly celestial bodies (stars, planets, comets, meteors, and the Milky Way) that could be seen exceptionally well on a daily basis, also found their places in religious, historical, literary, and translational notices far before the Romantic Age of folklore interest. Most ancient regards are those connected to the constellations of the Zodiacal belt, through Mesopotamian articulation also one of the oldest cultural survivals to the

known; followed by deifications of moving starry lights - the planets. Due to specific inscriptions, today we are in possession of more or less detailed insights of celestial systems used by the ancient Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. Traces of celestial schemes and namings denotations given by other ancient peoples are also known. Grimm's efforts in *Deutsche Mythologie* enriched us with numerous medieval astrononyms collected by German and other peoples, as well as contemporaneously (1835) inscribed terms. During the second half of the 19th century and afterwards, such folklore knowledge became one of the targets in ethnographic questionnaires,<sup>1</sup> and a regular part of schedules intended for various European ethnological cartographic projects.<sup>2</sup> Firstly, separate studies concerning folklore aspects in classical astronomies were published in the 19th century (Ideler 1809, Allen 1899), and the first autonomous accounts in defined sets of themes of traditional astronomy appeared during the half of the 20th century (Janković 1951, Gładyszowa 1960).<sup>3</sup> Close to the emergence of the subdisciplinary item of *archaeoastronomy*, the defining of *ethnoastronomy* was set in the sixties and seventies (Baity 1973). Names and tales about stars and meteors had found their place among 26 questions in the founding issue of the Zagreb-based *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* periodical (Kukuljević 1851:242). Shorter but more prolific questions appeared in the most important Croatian ethnological questionnaire, compiled by Antun Radić (1897:XII/1/a/1), establishing the concept of data gathered for the Academy's periodical *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* and its archive. Finally, while preparing the ethnological cartographic project *Etnološki atlas Jugoslavije*, university researchers had based a greater part of the ethnoastronomical theme in the questionnaire (19 items asked; 1967:theme 147) on the data previously published in the *Arkiv* and *Zbornik* periodicals, their own fieldwork, as well as on the available books.<sup>4</sup> Efforts were also made with ethnoastronomical

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<sup>1</sup> The methodological beginning is connected to Wilhelm Mannhardt (1831–1880), but among 25 questions (35 eventually) in his questionnaire preceding the intended edition *Monumenta mythica Germaniae* no attention was paid to ethnoastronomical data (EnR 9, 176).

<sup>2</sup> Beginning with the Polish *Atlas kultury ludowej* in 1934 (Gładyszowa 1960:9).

<sup>3</sup> See also Anthony Aveni's "Native American Astronomy", Austin 1977, and Gary Urton's "At the Crossroads of the Earth and Sky", Austin 1981.

<sup>4</sup> As will be described separately, characteristic features asked and forms of names used in the questions could support the opinion that, among published accounts, the authors of these questionnaires were not aware of the very useful book by Maria Gładyszowa (1960). Among others, the issue of multiple features as seen in the constellation of Orion was proportionally weakened by this nonreference. The year of the Wrocław publication fell within the establishing period of the *Etnološki atlas Jugoslavije* project, between 1959. (researchers appointed) and 1963. (first part of the questionnaire published), so this circumstance is perhaps understandable.

questionnaires not thematically involved with this article.<sup>5</sup> Apart from taxonomical interest, studies about related celestial personifications did appear in the Age of Romanticism, the most assertive in Natko Nodilo's well-known set of articles in the Academy's periodical *Rad* (1885–1890),<sup>6</sup> followed by interpretations, of Croatian data inclusively, focused on the lyric personified appearances (Janković 1951, and the works cited there). The first interpretation of incomplete data gathered in the *Etnološki atlas Jugoslavije* appeared in Slovenia (Matičeto 1972), and preliminary definitions of the research area involving Croatian data were suggested recently (Kale 1995).

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The mental game of organizing the starry night sky into identifiable spots and groups of bodies, variously recognized in different cultures and ages, is the reason that we globally inherited numerous sets of linked stars matched and unmatched with conventional categorization, mainly based at ancient Greek traditions.<sup>7</sup> One of the more important factors in such discrepancies probably includes visual distinctiveness of a stars observed (for example, clearly defined group of physically bound stars in the Pleiades, or the widely matching pattern of *Corona Borealis*, *Delphinus*, and also *Ursa Maior* and similarly isolated constellations) and their visibility, applicative modes in natural environments (since distinct economic and social needs at different latitudes urged that specific chronometrical devices be postulated in night sky rotation, with the example of the important settings of the Pleiades in Latin and South American historical and traditional societies),<sup>8</sup> religious and ritual influences, causes of social institutions to be respected or practices to be

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The *Atlas* gathered related answers from 2515 places in contemporary Yugoslavia and the neighbouring states inhabited by various South Slavic minorities; 1119 of the locations were settled mainly or partially by Croats. Only 3% of all the completed questionnaires have no ethnoastronomical answers, or are described as having no such knowledge (Kale 1994:113). Unpublished material is cited here with the kind permission of Professor Vitomir Belaj, D.Sc., from the Zagreb Faculty of Arts.

<sup>5</sup> Folk receptions, knowledge, and practices associated with the Moon were described by Marin Šemudvarac (1946) in his manuscript Ph.D. thesis, based on the answers to his questionnaire received from 42 dispersed Croat-inhabited villages.

<sup>6</sup> Originally published under the common heading "Religija Srba i Hrvata" [Religion of the Serbs and Croats] articles were later republished as *Stara vjera Srba i Hrvata* [Ancient Faith of the Serbs and Croats], Split: Logos, 1981.

<sup>7</sup> Borders of conventional constellations were established by the International Astronomical Union in 1930. Stars are indicated in alphabetical, numeric, and Latin alphabet order; usage of common star names instead of such identification is left to the discretion of practitioners.

<sup>8</sup> For example see the fourth chapter of the first book of Levi-Strauss' *Mythologiques*, "Well tempered astronomy"; in the Serbian translation: *Mitologike*, Beograd: Prosveta - BIGZ, 1980.

blamed, characteristic shapes of customarily used objects, inherited traditions of cultural and linguistic patterning that could be traced through related populations - and it is still almost impossible to find data where the proposed factors are not multiply mixed in a way characteristic for each culture. Analysing those differences from a conventional taxative base belongs to a narrower field of ethnoastronomical interests.<sup>9</sup>

It seems that the group of stars known as the constellation of *Orion* makes a rich combination of significant factors leading to its profound cultural reception. The constellation is usually depicted as the most impressive one that can be seen from Europe. Orion's brightest stars are the seventh and eleventh brightest in the whole sky, symmetrically arranged alongside a central asterism of three nearly equal stars closely aligned.<sup>10</sup> This is an orientation tool that no observer can miss. The celestial equator cuts the constellation in two, just across the most popular part of it - Orion's Belt. That made it, or, near the poles, a greater part of it, seasonally visible from both hemispheres.<sup>11</sup> Situated in the vicinity of the celestial road, the ecliptic, that made its way through the constellations of *Taurus* (making overlappings between the lights of the Moon, planets and Pleiades possible) and *Gemini*, and near Sirius - the brightest visible star except for the Sun, Orion was surely a part of the night sky that had always been given close human attention - either serving chronometrical or ritual needs of knowledge upon rhythmical and personified bodies, or just because of primordial amusement while watching such an ethereal assembly.<sup>12</sup>

At the imaginary level the list of constellations with traditional representations in different cultures differs from conventional patterns, beginning with integral perceptions of *Corona Borealis*, Orion is probably very close to its base. Complete traditional coverings of its stars under

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<sup>9</sup> Described more widely, characteristics of traditional cosmogony, cosmology, chronometry, contextual oral and ritual data, could also be parts of ethnoastronomical research.

<sup>10</sup> This made possible a unique phenomenon, reception as a standing human figure from both hemispheres - inverting upper and lower parts of the body; Allen quotes Sir John Herschel's notice on this point, but consequences in traditional observations are not proved (1963:308).

<sup>11</sup> Below the belt is Orion's nebula, one among several diffused sources of light that could be seen by the naked eye from the northern hemisphere. There is no proof of traditional namings of such spots (others are Andromeda's galaxy and open star clusters in *Perseus* and *Gemini*).

<sup>12</sup> Greek mythology depicted him hunting *Lepus* and "Doves" - Pleiades, with *Ursa Maior* in his distant sight, with neighbouring *Canis Maior* and *Canis Minor*, and contrapositioned *Scorpius* in eternal pursuit (Le Boeuffe 1977:129, 201). Pictorially he is opposed to the fierce *Taurus*.

adequate features are not so frequent as with others,<sup>13</sup> often to rearrange the whole feature and connecting it to the other constellations' stars nearby,<sup>14</sup> or to recognize only three stars of the Belt, or to divide the whole group into multiple sets.<sup>15</sup> As was said before, the most prominent set of stars are those in Orion's Belt ( $\xi$ - $\epsilon$ - $\delta$  *Orionis*),<sup>16</sup> which are accompanied with the Sword stars ( $\theta$ - $\iota$  *Orionis*),<sup>17</sup> triangular features of stars in the Shoulders and Head of Orion upwards ( $\alpha$ - $\gamma$ - $\lambda$  *Orionis*),<sup>18</sup> and with stars such as its right Knee and left Foot ( $\kappa$ - $\beta$  *Orionis*) that easily could be viewed together with a third star in a similar triangular feature downwards, forming a Belt ( $\kappa$ - $\beta$ - $\iota$  *Orionis*).<sup>19</sup> There is also a fainter group of

<sup>13</sup> Mostly as figures of Warrior, King, Giant, or Hunter in Near East and European traditions (Allen 1963:306–310). The characteristic shape led to a notion of ancient celestial identification with the ritual Creto-Minoan double-blade axe called labrys (Scherer 1953:188). Lithuanian tradition is described as capable of seven nonubicated Orion's star's identification as "Harvesters" (Gładyszowa 1960:37); the group of seven stars can include three Belt stars and four other main aligned stars of the Orion figure ( $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\kappa$ ).

<sup>14</sup> Brazilian Bakairi associate Orion, Sirius (in *Canis Maior*), Pleiades and Aldebaran (in *Taurus*), in the feature of a frame for draining manioka.

<sup>15</sup> See eloquent description posed by Le Boeuffle 1977:129.

<sup>16</sup> As the constellation, see: W. Gundel, *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit*, 1922., 58 and 65, cited after Le Boeuffle 1977:130. "Gdy lud mówi o Orione, to tę właśnie grupę gwiazd ma przeważnie na uwadze" (Gładyszowa 1960:34). Roman *iugula* probably denotes just this central set of stars, similarly as doubts exist about narrower and wider sense of Arabian astronom *Al Jauzah* (Allen 1963:307). Chinese *Shen* or *Tsan*, "Three side by side", probably originated from initial Belt stars denomination (Allen 1963:310). Swedish *Friggs Spin rocken* or *Frigge Rok* ("Frigg's Distaff") became *Maria rok*, *Marirok*, or Danish *Spinnrocken*, *Spinnwikel* (Allen 1963:315). As Staff in Germany it was attributed to be Jacob's, bishop's, St. Martin's, Peter's or Moses' Staff. There is abundance of triadic attributions, recognizing the Belt stars as "three men in a line" (Tlingit), "three brothers" (Australia), "three sisters" (Belorus), "three fishers" (Mikmak), "three Kings", "three Marias", "three harvesters", "three staffs" (German), etc. Hungarian tradition denotes "three Hungarian harvesters", as the Belt stars, distinctive from "three Gypsy harvesters" nonubicated. The Belt stars are named "the sharecroppers" just as are the Sword stars in other Hungarian places; so lower Orion's stars represent a wooden frame for carrying hay. Belt stars are traditionally also aligned with either  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  or  $\gamma$  *Orionis* - according to Moszyński's manuscript in Hungary and Romania. Bulgarian, Romanian and German names meaning "plough", "rake", "hoe" etc. probably denote connection between the Belt stars and some other star in Orion (Gładyszowa 1960:37).

<sup>17</sup> North Indian and Dravidian traditions denote these stars as an autonomous star group (Gładyszowa 1960:39). Also, see footnotes 16 and 19.

<sup>18</sup> Also with some denoted as *Orionis* (New Guinea, the Marshall Islands, the Caroline Islands; Gładyszowa 1960:40). Known as Babylonian "The Constellation of the King" (Allen 1963:318).

<sup>19</sup> The lower part of Orion is said to represent a Sickle in Romania; there is Silesian notice of *kosok*, a wide Sickle, seen in a feature of Orion Sword stars ( $\epsilon$ - $\theta$ - $\iota$  *Orionis*), similarly as Lusatians represent *kosa* featured by Belt stars and Sword stars together. For connecting the Belt stars and the Sword stars in South Indian, north and central

preceding stars bearing the feature of a shield in Orion's arm, arranged in a slight arc and mainly identified as numerical set of  $\pi$  1–6 stars.<sup>20</sup> This counting of the sub-groups in the Orion star group could be ended with the star  $\sigma$  *Orionis*, remarkably associated to Orion's Belt near  $\xi$  *Orionis*.<sup>21</sup>

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Different features traditionally set in Orion were most clearly described among Slavic peoples on the basis of two Polish ethnographical questionnaires used during the thirties,<sup>22</sup> and published in the state-of-the-art work by Maria Gładyszowa (1960). A number of fieldwork quotes concerning temporal orientation by observing features in Orion could be dealt with also (ibid.:99–115), but a central issue for deciphering traditionally bonded stars within Orion found its valuable comparatives among the nominal and morphological chapters (especially: ibid.:34–44). Answering the question about the names of Belt stars, ethnographers documented descriptions as following: "*Kosy, a za nimi kosyniery, kosiorze*" (south Poland), "*Kosy one są trzy, ale pod nimi są drugie trzy o wiele ciemniejsze i mniejsze, trudno ich rozeznać, ale to też są kosy*" (west Ukraine), "*Koscy - są to gwiazdy, co rządami idą, jene wprec, jene wdłuż, po trzy, po cztery, ze wschodu*" (northeastern Poland), "*Kosniki to trzy chłopcy, co rzędem stojo na niebie jeden za drugim, jakby siekli, a grabiorki to cała kupka za kośnikami wiązo*" (north Ukraine), "*Kośnicy to som trzy gwiazdy i trzy ubiycroczi*" (south Poland). South villages near Zywiec conserved traditional memory of "*kosiorze i grabacze, co idą grabić i kosić siano*", also as "*kośćowie, kosy, a za nimi idą kucharki ze*

African, Malayan, New Guinean and Australian traditions see Gładyszowa 1960:38. "The Chinese similarly knew them as a Weighingbeam, with the stars of the sword as a weight at one end" (Allen 1963:315).

<sup>20</sup> Beside  $\pi$ -set of stars, here are  $\circ$  1–2 *Orionis* and  $g$  *Orionis*. In the Romanian folk concept of four star groups inside the Orion, Belt, Sword,  $\pi$ -set of stars and the nonubicated group are called "plough", "rake", or otherwise (Gładyszowa 1960:37). Arab astronomers described them as the Persian "Crown"; the Chinese denomination is "Three Flags". Pliny mentioned them as a separate constellation, "Shield" (Allen 1963:320).

<sup>21</sup> Under the common type of "three brothers" Australian Kombinegheri are proved to denote not the Belt stars, but  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$  and  $\gamma$  *Orionis* (Gładyszowa 1960:38). There exist notes about more distinctive sub-grouping, i.e. the Chinese denomination *Fa*, "Middle-man", for stars  $\iota$ - $\eta$  *Orionis* and the fainter between them; also a group defined by stars  $\lambda$ - $\phi^1$ - $\phi^2$  in Arab, Babylonian (together with  $\alpha$  and  $\gamma$  *Orionis*), Hindu, Chinese and other traditions (Allen 1963:317–319). Denominating faint stars of the 4th and lesser visual magnitudes is documented in New Guinea, the Marshall Islands and the West Caroline Islands (Gładyszowa 1960:40). For the Latin *incolo*, the "Club" in Orion's right arm, see Le Boeuffe 1977:132.

<sup>22</sup> Questionnaire for Atlas kultury ludowej w Polsce (K. Moszyński, Krakow 1936., 3/1) assumed only Belt stars recognition, but fieldwork gathered more distinct data. There is also other ethnographic material, as well as questionnaire used by students in 1930–1939. (Gładyszowa 1960:9, 34)

śniadaniem" (with Gładyszowa's note that two stars make *kucharki*, 1960:35), and "*kosy trzy rzędem to kosiarze, a trzy ukośne do nich to znocki przynoszące im jeść*". Southeast-located villages around Sandomierz are locations of the most complex grouping documented: "*Trzy jasne gwiazdy świecące rzędem obok siebie nazywają się niesiorze, niosą one jeść w dwojczkach kosiarzom*" and "... nazywają się kosiarze, gwiazdy znajdujące się obok niesiarze, a za nimi jedna gwiazda zwana *pieskiem*". There is also a comparative Kashubian record about Orion stellar morphology, distinguishing Belt *kośnici* from *grabiarki*, only once ethnographically specified as Sword stars (all from Gładyszowa 1960:34–35). Gładyszowa warns us about this uncertain star identification, making room for opinion about Pleiades' ubication as Sharecroppers (Kolberg 1874:32), but, as she underlines, such an opinion could not be supported because of the obviously inversed order of Pleiades and Orion rising - most positively, Harvesters must precede Sharecroppers in their celestial move just as in actual labour (Gładyszowa 1960:36).

Differentiation and the order of appearance of those groups above the horizon varies. By the Ukrainian example a whole set of groups could be recognized as the Scythe, in southern Polish records as composed of Harvesters and Food-Bearers, or a wider group of Harvesters that differs in number - three and four, as the northeastern example showed, and three and two, as in the south. Dominating structure denotes distinct Harvesters followed by Sharecroppers - variantly by two Cookers, or three Food-Bearers arranged in the line angled to Harvesters. The richest example consists of Harvesters, Food-Bearers, and the Little Dog star. Unfortunately, there is only one determinant ubication: Harvesters as Belt stars, accompanied by Sharecroppers as Sword stars.

Starry processions like the one from Polish traditions can easily be related to Croatian data, which comprehend several among the rare South Slavic notes of multiple features as seen inside the whole constellation of Orion. Harvesters (*Kosci*) is a common name for Orion's Belt stars in the northern part of Croatia; another dominant term is Staffs (*Štapovi* or *Štapi*), used widely in the south of the country. Among many dialectal variants of Staffs,<sup>23</sup> there also exist those specified as the Old Woman Staffs (or: Staff)<sup>24</sup> and St. Peter's Staff (*Babini štapi, sv. Petra štap*). The

<sup>23</sup> Represented with 18 forms in Croatian data, with most often dialectal alternation *Šćapi* (south Croatia and deep Bosnian hinterland), also with interesting anthroponymical form *Štapnjari* (region of Posavina). In Istria there is synonymous from *Palice*. According to this set of variants, Croatian lexicographer gives *Štapac* as translation for whole constellation of Orion (probably of Dalmatian origin, Parčić 1901:1001). This forms represented the terms for Croatian Biblical translations, also.

<sup>24</sup> Staffs, also when explicitly attributed to Old Woman, make up the middle celestial part of the tripartite oral tradition binding Pleiades (as *Vlašići*, Little Vlach's

latter terms and the most common namings do not occur simultaneously, so identification for each term as Belt stars could be supposed. Similar suppositions could be made for a great deal of the numerous distinct variants of both dominant forms.<sup>25</sup> Most often, the articulation of a two-set Harvesters' stars is a descriptive diminutive *Mali kosci* or *Mali štapovi/štap* added to their greater counterparts, then affirmed as *Veliki kosci* or *Veliki štapovi/štapi*.<sup>26</sup> When paired with one unspecified Harvesters's star group, another feature is called *Grabljevice* stars,<sup>27</sup> i.e. closely linguistically relative to its probable Polish situational analogue *grabiarci*. This semantic matching of a Sharecroppers' scheme<sup>28</sup> is also characteristic for the next documented articulation of the Harvesters' celestial companions, namely *Kupioći*.<sup>29</sup> A form derived from *Štapi* was recorded along with situational explanations: *Zàštapi*, a word expressing - "behind the Staffs".<sup>30</sup> Finally,

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brothers, bride-thieves), Orion's Belt stars (as Staff), and a nonubicated revenger familiar with the bride. The later could be orally traced as Old Woman or Old Man, and possibly ubicated as Sirius. This etiological tale represents the most complex among Croatian and neighbouring South Slavic traditions tied to night sky objects. The theme will be issue of the author's forthcoming article.

<sup>25</sup> The second dominant term, Sharecroppers, is represented in Croatian data with 8 variants. Aside of those terms there are numerous autonomous namings. The interesting nonubicated term *Strážari* (Guards), depicted as a group of three stars, seem to fit the place of Orion's Belt, but it is not in simultaneous alignment with possible other star features inside the Orion constellation (13 notations in all in the *Atlas* project, from the Istrian, Primorje, Lika, Bosanska Krajina, Banovina, Kordun, and Posavina regions).

<sup>26</sup> For example, in M. Lang's "Narodni život i običaji" [Folk-Life and Customs], *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena*, Zagreb 1914., 19:219. The Serbian lexicographer depicts *Štapci* as "pojas u zvjezdanom jatu Orionu; kakve četiri zvijezde, koje stoje jedna prema drugoj kao štapi u predi" (Karadžić 1898:875), i.e. four stars arranged as Loom's staffs - two by two. The variants *Štapci* (together with the dialectal forms *Šćapci* and *Ščapci*) are also registered as Croatian data in the *Atlas* archive, and we are not certain about the precise origin of Karadžić's note because of dispersion of his numerous folklore descriptions. Janković proposed ubication of  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta$ ,  $\gamma$  and  $\delta$  *Orionis* (1951:146).

Other proposed ubications comprehend Belt stars as Big Staffs, and Sword stars as Small Staffs (Maleš 1933, according to Janković 1951:146). In the same book, the Macedonian star naming of *Nišajne*, made of double star triplet, is cited; Janković ubicates them as the same Belt and Sword stars (ibid.).

<sup>27</sup> "Zvijezde manje od *Kosaca*, iza njih" [Stars smaller than Harvesters, beyond them]; an answer in *Etnološki atlas Jugoslavije* from Balaban near Samobor (signature 1273).

<sup>28</sup> Harvesters are followed either by Haycroppers or the strict Haydrainers, the latter according to Valjavec 1867:349–350 (cited in Matičetov 1972:69).

<sup>29</sup> Vukasović, M.: *Nazivi životinjah, bilinah, rudah, zvjezdah i inih stvari*. Arhiv Etnološkog zavoda HAZU, sign. 24, page 25 [Names of animals, plants, ores, stars, and other things, manuscript in the Ethnological Institute's archive in the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts, Zagreb].

<sup>30</sup> Pašičina in Dalmatia, *Atlas* archive signature 2092. Ethnographic record from western Bosnia's Serbs depicts *Težacice* stars (Salary Earners) as a double triplet, most likely



the most numerous set of features is to be found in the description by Matija Valjavec, as cited in Matičetov's valuable work: "*Zraven koscev so kose, mati in ti, ki sušijo seno*" (Valjavec 1867:349–350, according to Matičetov 1972:69). *Kose, Kosa, Kosi, Kosići, Kosaruše* stars are really documented terms in the *Atlas* archive questionnaires, but one could doubt simultaneous Harvesters and Scythes (they usually occur in different settlements for the same stars denominated). Haydreiners' stars pose additional semantic detail, as well as sole star specification (here as the Mother) - an issue which is yet to be completed.<sup>31</sup> Data gathered in the *Atlas* archive in Zagreb offers two kinds of quantitative explanation of Belt stars. The first kind is a measure for all stars in the group: most often 3, but also 6 and various other descriptions (5, 4, 7,...; in a small number of examples). The second kind of answers describe multiple star sets. There are infrequent enumerations like "three groups made of three stars each", "two groups made of three stars each", "four groups made of two stars each", and others. Together with number estimates like "three or four", "five to six", "six to seven", "four to six", and the like, there are more than twenty different forms of answers documented.

At the current state of research, distinct multiple features traditionally recognized in Orion are completed with notions of the sole star associated to the Harvesters, previously posed as Mother (Valjavec 1867:349–350). Northern Croatian records gave us the notion of the star *Ručarica*, "Lunch Star", "*jedna zvijezda pred Koscima naziva se Ručarica, ona Koscima nosi ručak*".<sup>32</sup> Other singular names associated with Belt stars are *Zaštapnica*, "*prva zvijezda iza Štapa*",<sup>33</sup> also selfpictured as the fourth lined star in the set of the Harvesters' stars,<sup>34</sup> and *Zaštapnjača*, "*uz Štape*".<sup>35</sup> Lexicographers from the same southern Dalmatian area included *Zaštepnic*,<sup>36</sup> probably from an identical manuscript that conserved a dialectal alternation of *Zaščepnica*, which is "*zvijezda velika koja ide za*

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as the Belt and associated stars; Donji Tiškovac near Srb in Croatia, *Atlas* archive sign. 1544.

<sup>31</sup> Valjavec's record was published in 1867 in, what is today, a barely accessible issue of *Slovenski glasnik* from Celovec (Klagenfurt, Austria), and here we have to rely upon Matičetov's description, including that of the original drawing (Matičetov 1972:69).

<sup>32</sup> "One star before Harvesters is called the Lunch Star, she is bearing lunch to Harvesters", Samarica in the Moslavina region, *Atlas* archive sign. 465.

<sup>33</sup> "The first star behind the Staffs"; Bibinje near Zadar, *Atlas* archive sign. 1894.

<sup>34</sup> Škabrnje near Zadar, *Atlas* archive sign. 1336.

<sup>35</sup> "Near the Staffs"; Nunić in the Bukovica region, *Atlas* archive sign. 963.

<sup>36</sup> Identifying the star as Sirius (Parčić 1901:1165).

šćapim".<sup>37</sup> A northern Croatian record of nonubicated *Zakosnjak* is probably closely related.<sup>38</sup>

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All the terms described are closest to fit a two-set mode. It consists of: **a)** Big Harvesters/Harvesters, and following **b)** Small Harvesters/Sharecroppers, or **a)** Big Staffs/Staffs and its **b)** Small Staffs/Behind-Staffs stars. We cannot be decisive about the third set based on Scythes taking a separate share in it, as Valjavec described, because this is a common alternate naming of Harvesters - and *Zakosnjak* is the star feature related to *Kose* just as *Zaštapnica* is to *Štapi*. If that tentative proposal proved to be true, with Scythes as the simultaneous and nonalternate feature next to Harvesters, the Haydrainer stars would be promoted from their almost certain second position in a double-set of stars to be the third subsequent star group in the Orion constellational shape.

It is more likely, that we can base a speculation about the semantic nature of the sole star, accompanying to the Harvesters as Mother, or the Lunch star, to the Staffs as Behind-Staffs star, and to Scythes as Behind-Scythe stars. Comparative Polish evidence about a sole star denomination, describing the Little Dog star as rising after the Sharecroppers' stars, is a positional example isolated among its depicted southern fieldwork counterparts - and the only Polish one (Gładyszowa 1960:35). Regular Croatian recordings of this star in close connection with the first star group allow us to suppose its orderly place just after them.<sup>39</sup>

Ubication of the Harvesters and the Staffs as the Orion Belt's stars is unquestioned; the fact of their first rising among Orion star groups leads us to presuppose only lower positions for the following features. Inside a wider group of stars imaginarily aligned to shape Orion's posture we can search under the celestial equator for other features. So those most likely could be the group of Sword stars, the pair  $\kappa$ - $\beta$  *Orionis*, as well as both groups perceived as one - primarily made up of the three brightest stars included ( $\kappa$ - $\iota$ - $\beta$  *Orionis*). If looking outside the constellation, stars in the *Lepus* beneath it, or shiny Sirius could be the first to be assumed. Still it is conceivable that Sirius has no part in this arrangement, because of its

<sup>37</sup> "Big star going after the Staffs"; a folklore manuscript by Mihovil Pavlinović, used in the Academy's Vocabulary (*Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, Zagreb: JAZU, 1975.; XXII:463).

<sup>38</sup> Derived from *Kose* in a similar manner to the *Zaštapnica*-derivation of *Štapi*; from a poem by Antun Kanižlić (1863:13), probably characteristic for western Slavonian tradition.

<sup>39</sup> Gładyszowa proposed the Little Dog star as  $\beta$  or  $\kappa$  *Orionis*, brighter stars but remote from The Belt star. This ubication seems to fit the Polish narrative account of a dog coming after the previous two star-groups. (See the Sandomierz region ethnographic account in the text above.)

probable belonging to a chain of another features aligned from both sides of the Staffs.<sup>40</sup> The order of the Staffs and the Harvester stars conform sufficiently (double-star set accompanied with the sole star in both variants), for us to suppose noninclusion of Sirius for Harvesters-articulation, too. And the faint *Lepus* is a very uncommon star group in traditional namings, leaving little room for such an ubication.

Lexicographic ubication of a sole star as Sirius, based on ethnographic notice of "a big star",<sup>41</sup> is constelated to "3+1" star group described by cartographic accounts - where the first three mean Belt stars. It is possible that another lexicographic item, describing four Belt stars, does not deal with the ubication already proposed, or this "3+1" tied alignment, but with the basic belt stars and the subsequent star set. Ubication of the four-component Staffs group proposed ( $\alpha$ - $\beta$ - $\gamma$ - $\kappa$  *Orionis*) is based on numeric description.<sup>42</sup> Comparing Polish, Lusatian, Hungarian, and Romanian material also,<sup>43</sup> we can cautiously assume existence of at least one named group of stars under the Belt stars, consisting either of two or three stars. Possible sole star ubication could be  $\sigma$  *Orionis*, quite close to the Belt stars.

Up to this point, it could be stated conclusively that the constellation of Orion hides a detailed traditional study of shapes and movements. Arrangement of celestial immortals included into this bright procession across the nocturnal meadow, unnoticed so far in Croatian ethnology, had made a complex setting that can be compared in the same tradition only with the tale of *Vlašići* bride-thieves, and, to the some extent, with the tale about *Kumova slama* denomination of *Via Lactea*. Tales of Orion features are utilitarian, as a temporal device, and as the organisational lecture on collective countryside labour. They are also easily depicted lyrically. It is not here where we could trace the faintest night sky object as being traditionally marked.<sup>44</sup> Still, just as in that sensitive expression, here we have witnessed selective care for naming and spatial ordering. Both the complex oral namings of stars, underlined by fable in another example, are assembled here in the "winter" part of the night sky. Culminating at the south in the winter evenings, constellations here embraced are also high marks for temporal orientation during autumn and spring nights throughout the time till early summer mornings. So we can think about

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<sup>40</sup> See footnote 24.

<sup>41</sup> See footnote 37.

<sup>42</sup> See footnote 26.

<sup>43</sup> See footnote 19.

<sup>44</sup> The faintest named star in Croatian and neighbouring traditions is 80 *Ursa Maioris*, astronomically also known as Alcor.

who were the first - the celestial Sharecroppers, or their early-awakening earthling counterparts.

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## MNOGOSTRUKI OSOBITOSTI ZVIJEŽDA ORION U HRVATSKOM FOLKLORU

### SAŽETAK

Autor raspravlja o raznovrsnim/mnogostrukim osobitostima zviježđa Orion kako su bile prepoznate u hrvatskome folkloru, te, u skladu s time, i kako su bile zabilježene u starijoj hrvatskoj etnografiji.

U uvodu daje kraći osvrt na razvoj etnoastronomije - znanstvene discipline koja se bavi proučavanjem "narodnih znanja o nebeskim tijelima". Naglašava da se ona definira tek šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina ovoga stoljeća, premda se prva pitanja relevantna za ovo područje istraživanja pojavljuju u etnografskim upitnicama još u prošleme stoljeću.

Potom analizira nazivlje zviježđa u nekih ostalih slavenskih i neslavenskih naroda, te ga uspoređuje s hrvatskim. Na kraju na temelju hrvatske građe nudi prijedloge sheme zviježđa Orion.

Autor iskorištava etnografsku građu koja je dijelom objavljena (primjerice u *Zbornicima za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena*), ali, još važnije, iskorištava i dosad neobjavljenu, a vrlo staru i vrijednu hrvatsku etnografsku građu (primjerice rukopisne zbirke Arhiva Etnološkoga zavoda HAZU, te podatke iz Upitnica Etnološkoga atlasa Jugoslavije). Za komparativnu analizu konzultira relevantnu hrvatsku i inozemnu literaturu.