

Mirila – nematerijalna kulturna baština / *Mirila* – Intangible Cultural Heritage

28.05.2013. – 07.07.2013.

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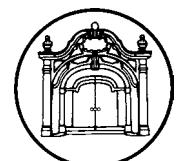
Osiguranje izložaka / Insurance of exhibits: Croatia osiguranje d.d.

Izložba je ostvarena uz finansijsku potporu Ministarstva kulture RH, Gradskog ureda za obrazovanje, kulturu i šport Grada Zagreba, Galerije Klovićevi dvori, Hrvatskog društva likovnih umjetnika i Turističke zajednice Općine Starigrad Paklenica / The exhibition has been realised with the financial support of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, the Zagreb City Office of Education, Culture and Sports, the Klovićevi dvori Gallery, the Croatian Association of Artists and the Tourist Board of the Starigrad Paklenica Municipality.

Zahvaljujemo ustanovama koje su nam omogućile posudbu materijala i pomogle u realizaciji izložbe: Hrvatska radiotelevizija, Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Institut za GIS, Samoborski muzej, te pojedincima: Duji Bušjeti, Šimi Gaziću, Marjani Marasović, Ivanu Mataku i Ljerki Višnar. / We thank the institutions that enabled us to borrow material for the exhibition: Croatian Radio Television, Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research, GIS Institute, Samobor Museum, and individuals for lending works, and for providing advice and help in mounting the exhibition.

mirila

NEMATERIJALNA KULTURNANA BAŠTINA
INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE



Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Jezuitski trg 4, Zagreb

28. svibnja - 7. srpnja 2013.

Kako vidim mirila

Radoslav Katičić

Mirila su čudo! A ja do prije koju godinu nisam ni znao za njih. I nikoga to ne bi smjelo čuditi jer se kraj mirila, tamo gdje su postavljena u kamenitom krajoliku, a u drugom ih nema, može proći, a da ih se i ne primijeti. To su velebni kameni spomenici, ali su sasvim po ljudskoj mjeri, i to doslovno. Bitna sastavnica mirila dva su krupna kamena od kojih se jedan postavlja položenomu pokojniku povrh glave, a drugi pod noge. Pokojnik je tako izmjerен. To nam i kazuje ikavska riječ *mirilo*. Imućniji rodovi izgrađuju mirila i dalje, povezuju oba kama tankim kamenim zidićima s obiju strana pokojnikova tijela. Tako ograđeno mirilo djeluje kao ležište, mjesto gdje leži pokojnik. Upravo zbog toga je važno naglasiti da na mirilu nitko ne leži, pokojnik tamo ne ostaje. Kad ga izmjere i postave dva kamena, podižu ga i nose dalje, do crkve i groblja i tamo ga pokapaju u pravi grob. Tamo i ostaje počivati, ali njegovu rodu važno je mirilo, a ne grob. Grobu na groblju kod crkve pridaju slabu pozornost. A oni koji nose pokojnika na pogrebu, ne smiju stati i spustiti ga nigdje, nego samo na mjestu gdje se podižu mirila. Ono je za svako selište i za svaki rod čvrsto određeno.

Kako god su po ljudskoj mjeri, mirila su ipak izvanredno monumentalna. Kad se nauči razabirati ih u kamenom krajoliku, doimaju se kao silni spomenici. Njihovi kameni često ostaju neobrađeni, ali na uzglavnom se urezaju i simbolični ornamenti. Oni su do danas ostali vrlo tajanstveni. Predstavljaju pravu semiotičku zagonetku pa etnolozima i kulturnim antropolozima - taj dvojni naziv postao je kao neka vrlo suvremena mantra – treba poželjeti dobar uspjeh pri njezinu odgonetanju. Do sada je izostao. Koliko sam upućen u to, nisu stigli daleko. No, ti likovi i te šare stvaraju na kamenjaru s mirilima vrlo zanimljivo i poticajno ozračje. Kao da čujemo kako nam taj kamen govori, a ne razabiremo što.

Poznajem samo mirila iz kamenjara s primorske strane južnog Velebita. No, ona se u vrlo varijabilnim oblicima nalaze, koliko sam naučio, od sjevernoga Velebita kod Vratnika ponad Senja, pa do Bukovice i Ravnih kotara u dubljem zaleđu Zadra. Postavljaju ih i Hrvati i Srbi, ali samo potomci nomadskih pastira, pravih Vlaha, koji su se doselili u 16. i u 17. stoljeću, za turskih ratova, dolazeći s Turcima iz dubina kopnenoga Balkana. Postavljaju ih, dakle, samo ljudi romanskoga, a ne južnoslavenskog podrijetla. Neki od njih još i danas broje svoje ovce rumunjski. Čuo sam to sam u selu Marasovići, pred ulazom u Veliku Paklenicu, a prenijeli su mi da je tako i na susjednom kopnu, s druge strane kanala, kod Ražanca. Ima toga onđe i na drugim mjestima.

S mirilima stoje u nekoj vezi i počivala. To su mjesta određena za odlaganje tereta i odmor na mučnom putu po kamenjaru. Odlaganje pokojnika na mjesto gdje se podiže mirilo i odmor onih koji ga nose znači isto. Tradicija mirila i počivala mnogostruko se prepleće. No, u okvirima svojega ograničenog poznavanja literature nisam našao da bi etnolozi doista riješili i razjasnili pitanje tog odnosa. No bilo je vrlo zanimljivo naići na svjedočanstvo koje nas vodi u duboku davninu.

U legendi o splitskoj katedrali pripovijeda se kako su izbjegli Salonitanci poslije osvojenja i razorenja njihova grada kad su se iz zbjegova s otoka Brača vratili na kopno i

nastanili u utvrđenoj Dioklecijanovoj palači, te je tako nastao grad Split, iz napuštene i poharane Salone prenijeli u svoju novu katedralu sarkofage s moćima svetih mučenika Dujma i Staša. Kretali su se u velikom strahu od *Hrvata, svojih neprijatelja*, kako stoji u hrvatskoj verziji te legende. Kretali su se stoga vrlo brzo. Ali napokon su im sarkofazi toliko otežali da su morali stati, odložiti ih i odmoriti se. Na tom je mjestu tada provrelo vrelo. Uspomenu o tome čuva do danas crkvica Dujmovača, podignuta tamo blizu sjeverne splitske luke. U blizini su i ostatci Dioklecijanova vodovoda koji se dobro vide iz vlaka kad dolazi u Split. Iz srednjovjekovne povelje o imanjima benediktinaca s Gospina otoka u Solinu, kojima ih je obdarila hrvatska kraljica Jelena, zna se da je onuda tekla najstarija granica između splitskoga i hrvatskoga teritorija. Ostatci rimskoga vodovoda u srednjem vijeku, kada se zaboravila njihova prvotna namjena, zvali su se suhi most. A taj se u poveljama spominje kao južna međa posjeda benediktinaca s Gospina otoka. Kraljica pak nije benediktincima na Gospinu otoku mogla darivati splitsku, nego samo svoju, hrvatsku zemlju. Time legenda kao da dobiva i osvjetljenje historičnosti. Oni koji su nosili sarkofage s mučeničkim moćima odmorili su se tek kad su stigli na carski teritorij, na splitsku zemlju, i kad se nisu više trebali bojati *Hrvata, svojih neprijatelja*. Ali se u toj legendarnoj predaji može gledati i vrlo rano svjedočanstvo o počivalima, mjestima gdje se odmaraju oni koji nose tijelo pokojnika. A najraniji Splićani koji su se naselili u Dioklecijanovoj palači i prenosili moći svetih Dujma i Staša iz ruševina Salone u svoju katedralu, na temelju čega je papa Ivan X. godine 925. priznao splitskoj crkvi metropolitansku vlast nad svom Dalmacijom i Hrvatskom, od Jadrankog mora do Drave, ti su Splićani bili Romani. Običaj mirila i počivala pokazuje nam se u svjetlu pripovijedanja te splitske legende kao drevna romanska sastavnica naše tradicijske kulture. Od toga taj običaj sigurno ne postaje manje zanimljiv.

Dugo je trebalo i da shvatim što su mirila i što ona znače ljudima koji ih postavljaju. Meni je to objasnila Mira Trošelj na velikoj skupini mirila u šumi ponad Ljubotića. Mirilo je počivalište pokojne duše. Tek na njem se ona konačno rastavlja od tijela. Ono se počeka u grobu, a duša ostaje na mirilu i tamo miruje umirena obredima koji se po predaji tamo obave. Naziv mirilo mogao bi se dakle izvoditi i od mira koji duša tamo umirena nalazi. Tek tada bi naglasak te riječi morao biti dug, a ne kratak kako se čuje u izgovoru.

Korijeni tradicije mirila očito su pretkršćanski. Istaknuti austrijski slavist Georg Holzer, po majci podrijetlom Hrvat iz Gradišća, u šumi je ponad Ljubotića oštroumno primijetio: "Kada se nosi pokojnik od kuće do groba, tek kod mirila počinje kršćanstvo." Tomu potpuno odgovara i držanje Crkve prema tom običaju. Katolički župnik mu se ne opire, ali ga ignorira. Dočekuje pogrebnu povorku na groblju i tamo kod crkve obavlja sprovod po svojim liturgijskim propisima. Pravoslavni svećenik dočekuje pogrebnu povorku kod mirila u punom ornatu i kad se postavi mirilo i obave tradicionalni obredi na njem, prati povorku do groblja i tamo prema svojim liturgijskim propisima obavlja ukop.

Na mirilima u šumi ponad Ljubotića video sam na pokojem mirilu plastične lampice kakve palimo na grobovima svojih pokojnika. Rekao sam to Mirjani Trošelj, a ona mi je odvratila da to uopće ne pripada tradiciji mirila. To joj vjerujem jer ona tu tradiciju dobro poznaje, rasla je u njoj. Ali te grobljanske lampice koje su se protiv tradicije naše na mirilima, a ja ih tamo vidi, sasvim nedvojbeno dokazuju da je kult pokojnih duša na njima živ još i danas. Nije sasvim ugasnuo.

How I Look on *Mirila*

Radoslav Katičić

Mirila are a miracle! And until a year or two ago I did not even know that they existed. This should not surprise anyone, because one can pass *mirila*, nestling in their rocky landscape, and this is the only kind of landscape they exist in, without even noticing them. They are superlative stone memorials, but made to the measure of man, even literally. Their essential component is two large stones, one of them placed at the head of the lying-down deceased person, the other at the feet. And so the dead body is measured. The word *mirilo* in the *ikavian* dialect, meaning measuring-place, shows their purpose. Wealthier families added further construction to the *mirilo*, linking the two stones with thin stone walls on either side of the deceased's body. A *mirilo* thus enclosed seems like a place for the deceased to lie in. This is why it is important to say that no one lies in the *mirilo*, the dead body does not remain there. After being measured and the two stones placed where they belong, it is lifted and carried on, to the church and graveyard where it is buried in a real grave. This is where the deceased remains, but for his family it is the *mirilo* that is important, not the grave. They do not pay much attention to the grave on the church graveyard. And the bearers of the body at the funeral may not stop and put it down anywhere but on the *mirila* site. This site is strictly given for each village and for each family.

Although made to human measure, the *mirila* are nevertheless extremely monumental. When one learns to make them out in the rocky landscape, they seem like mighty monuments. Their stones often remain rough, but symbolical ornaments are carved on the headstone. These are still very mysterious. They represent a real semiotic enigma so we should wish ethnologists and cultural anthropologists – that double name has become something like a very contemporary mantra – good luck in decoding them. So far this has not happened. To the best of my knowledge, they have not got far. However, these figures and patterns create a very interesting and stimulating atmosphere on the rocky *mirila* sites. As if we can hear the stone talking to us, but we do not understand what it is saying.

I only know the *mirila* among the rocks on the sea side of south Velebit. However, I learned that they are found in very variable forms from the north end of Velebit at Vratnik above Senj, to Bukovica and Ravnici in the deeper hinterland of Zadar. They are known by Croats and Serbs, but only those who are the descendants of nomadic shepherds, real Vlachs, who moved here in the 16th and 17th centuries during the Turkish wars, coming with the Turks from the depths of the Balkan landmass. They are, therefore, constructed only by people of Romanic, not of South Slav origin. Some of them still count their sheep in Romanian. I heard them do so in Marasovići village in front of the entrance to Velika Paklenica, and I was told that it is the same on the other side of the channel, at Ražanci. It is practiced there, and in other places.

There is a kind of connection between *mirila* (measuring places) and *počivala* (resting places). The latter are reserved for putting down one's burden and resting during a difficult trip over the rocks. Setting the deceased down in the place where the *mirilo* is to

be made, and a rest taken by his bearers mean the same. The traditions of *mirila* and *počivala* are closely interwoven. However, within my limited knowledge of literature I did not find that ethnologists have really managed to solve and explain that relationship. Nevertheless, it was very interesting to find evidence leading to the most ancient past.

The legend of Split Cathedral tells how the refugee Salonitans, after their city had been conquered and destroyed, and after they had returned from the shelter they had taken on the island of Brač, returned to the mainland and settled the fortified Diocletian's Palace. That is how Split had developed. They moved sarcophagi with the relics of the holy martyrs Dujam and Staš from the deserted and sacked Salona to their new cathedral. In doing so, they moved in great fear of the *Croats, their enemies*, as the Croatian version of the legends tells. So they went very fast. But finally the sarcophagi grew too heavy for them to carry and they had to stop, put them down and take a rest. When they did so, a spring opened up in that place. Its memory is still kept in the small church Dujmovača, which stands near the north Split harbour. Nearby too are the remains of Diocletian's aqueduct, which can be seen well from the train running to Split. A medieval charter about the estates of the Benedictines from Gospin otok in Solin, granted to them by Croatian queen Jelena, tells that this is the place of the oldest border between the Split and Croatian territory. In the Middle Ages, when its original use had been forgotten, the remains of the Roman aqueduct were called the dry bridge. Charters mention it as the southern boundary of the Benedictine estates belonging to Gospin otok. The Queen could obviously not have granted to the Benedictines land that belonged to Split, but only her own, Croatian land. Thus the legend seems to throw a light on history. The people carrying the sarcophagi holding the martyrs took a rest only after they had reached Roman territory, Split land, and when they had no more need to fear the *Croats, their enemies*. This legend can also be looked on as very early testimony of resting places, places where the bearers of the deceased rest. The oldest inhabitants of Split, who had moved into Diocletian's Palace and brought the relics of St Dujam and Staš from the ruins of Salona to their cathedral, on the basis of which Pope John X in 925 recognised the metropolitan authority of the Split Church over all Dalmatia and Croatia, from the Adriatic Sea to the river Drava, these inhabitants of Split were a Romanised population. In the light of this Split legend, the custom of *mirila* and *počivala* shows itself as the ancient Roman component of our traditional culture. This certainly does not make the custom any less interesting.

It took me a long time to understand what *mirila* are and what they mean to the people who make them. This was explained to me by Mirjana Trošelj on a large *mirila* site in a wood above Ljubotić. A *mirilo* is the resting place of a departed soul. It is not until it reaches the *mirilo* that it is finally separated from the body. The body is buried in a grave, and the soul remains on the *mirilo* and finds its peace there, satisfied after the rites have been performed there according to tradition. The word *mirilo* could thus also be derived from the word *mir* (peace), which the soul finds there as it rests in peace. However, if this were so the accent on the word should be long, not the short accent that is heard in speech.

The roots of the *mirilo* tradition are obviously pre-Christian. The prominent Austrian Slavist Georg Holzer, through his mother by origin a Croat from Burgenland, discerningly commented in the wood above Ljubotić: "When the deceased is carried from home to grave, it is only at the *mirilo* that Christianity begins." This corresponds completely with the Church's attitude to that custom. The Roman Catholic parish priest does not oppose it, but ignores it. He greets the funeral procession on the graveyard and there, in the church, conducts the funeral under his liturgical precepts. The Orthodox priest greets the funeral procession at the *mirilo* in full vestments and they carry out the traditional rite there, he accompanies the procession to the graveyard and conducts the burial there, according to his liturgical precepts.

On the *mirila* site in the wood above Ljubotić, on some *mirila* I saw plastic lanterns of the kind we light on the graves of our departed. I commented on this to Mirjana Trošelj, and she answered that this does not belong to the *mirila* tradition at all. I believe her, because she knows the tradition well, she grew up in it. But these grave lanterns, which burn on the *mirila* contrary to tradition, where I saw them, undoubtedly prove that the cult of the departed souls on the *mirila* still lives today. It has not been completely extinguished.



Tošo Dabac, Skupina staraca-pjevača. / Group of Old Men/Singers. kat. br. 58

Uvod

Tomo Vinšćak

Ono što je Olimp Grcima, Kailas Tibetancima, Triglav Slovencima, to je Velebit Hrvatima. Velebit je najduža planina dinarskog sustava. Pruža se oko 150 km u smjeru sjeverozapad – jugoistok, zahvaćajući tri hrvatske pokrajine, Liku, Dalmaciju i Hrvatsko primorje. Najveći pašnjaci nalaze se na primorskoj strani iznad 1000 m n/m, a najbolja paša iznad 1400 m. Tu je trava najbolja ljeti dok u Primorju vlada suša. Takvi odnosi u godišnjem rasporedu pašnjačke vegetacije na Velebitu prisili su stanovništvo Hrvatskog primorja i Velebitskog podgorja da ih slijede sa svojim stadima ovaca i koza. Tako je čovjek slijedeći stada kroz vrlo nepristupačan teren pronašao prohodne putove koji su korišteni još od mlađega kamenog doba.

O tome postoje pisani zapisi i dokumenti iz druge polovice 19. stoljeća, a za 20. stoljeće, uz pisanu građu, postoje i kazivači koji žive na tom području.

Do početka 20. stoljeća postojale su četiri struje stočarskih kretanja preko Velebita.

Prvu struju predstavljao je *izdig* Primoraca na nadgorje sjevernog i srednjeg Velebita, gdje su u visini *poda* imali sezonska staništa kao etapna selišta. Dolaskom ljeta *izdizali* su stoku u planinu gdje su u zoni *nadgorja* imali ljetne pastirske *stanove*, a potom su se ponovno spuštali u podgorje ili izravno u svoja matična domaćinstva.

Druga struja odnosila se na ljetne *izdige* stočara iz Like na Velebit. Planinsko stočarstvo nije im bilo glavno zanimanje već poljodjelstvo. Svoja stada *izdizali* su na planinu kako bi zaštitili usjeve u sezoni dozrijevanja.

Treću struju činili su odlasci ličkih stada na zimovanje u sjevernu Dalmaciju. Tijekom 19. stoljeća lički stočari imali su dva godišnja kretanja. U proljeće i jesen boravili su u Lici, ljeti na Velebitu, a zimu su provodili u toplojem priobalju. Odlazak stočara iz ličkih sela na velebitske pašnjake te na zimovanje u priobalje prestao je početkom 20. stoljeća. *Četvrta* struju činila su transhumantna kretanja stočara iz Bukovice i Ravnih kotara na pašnjake južnog Velebita.

Od spomenutih stočarskih struja do početka 21. stoljeća uspjeli su se održati prezici prve i četvrte struje. Budući da ljetni *izdig* Primoraca i Podgoraca te transhumantna kretanja stočara iz Bukovice na velebitske pašnjake ljeti i na dalmatinske zimi pripadaju različitim kulturnim tradicijama, u izložbenom postavu bit će prikazane sličnosti i razlike u načinu života te postupanja sa stokom.

Izdig Primoraca i Podgoraca na ljetne *stanove*, obrada zemlje i glavna uloga žene u stočarstvu pokazuju bitne razlike prema bukovičkim transhumantnim stočarima kod kojih je *strugovođa* uvijek muškarac i nema obradive zemlje. Etapni *izdig* Primoraca povezuje se sa sličnim modelom u Alpama kao i u Pirenejima. Glavnu ulogu žene na planinskom *stanu* dovodi se u vezu s plemenom Liburna koje je obitavalo na tom području i uz koje se veže matrijarhat. Transhumantna kretanja stočara iz Bukovice pripadaju staroj stočarskoj tradiciji poznatoj na Pirenejima, Apeninima, Karpatima, Kavkazu, Prednjoj Aziji, Škotskoj i Balkanu gdje su se još i danas dobro održala. Na cijelom području Velebitskog podgorja do početka Domovinskog rata 1991. na ljetne

stanove izlazilo je dvadesetak obitelji sa svojim stadima i to iz sela: Lukovo Šugarje, Kruščica, Poljci, Šibuljina, Milovci, Marasovići, Seline, Jesenice, Zaton i Nekići. U Bukovici su tada bile četiri obitelji koje su se bavile transhumantnim načinom stočarenja: Jurjevići, Brevulji i Vukići iz Kruševa te Ležaje iz sela Ležaje kraj Zelengrada.

Pripreme za odlazak na Velebit

U selima oko Obrovca i šire po Bukovici pripreme za odlazak u planinu počinjale su već u proljeće, a najkasnije do Josipova (19. ožujka). Nekada se toga dana birao *starješina* ili *strugovođa* koji bi predvodio stado i pastire tijekom boravka na Velebitu. Prije odlaska na Velebit trebalo je obaviti nekoliko važnih poslova, primjerice, šišanje ili *strižnja* ovaca i to do blagdana sv. Ante (13. lipnja). Zanimljiv je bio i posao uvijanja rogova mladom ovnu, poznat pod nazivom *vilašenje*. Postupak se izvodi tako da se mladom ovnu buši rupica iznad korijena roga, kroz rupicu se provlači žica koja se čvrsto omota oko roga, čime se postizalo da rogovi poprime oblik spirale. *Vilašenje* traje dok se ovan ne ojalovi jer onda rog prestaje rasti. Često se *vilaši* ovan prethodnik ili *zvonar*; svaki je *vilaš* ponos stočara. Da bi stočni podmladak bio što bolji, za priplod se odabiru najbolji ovnovi i jarnici, a ostali se kastriraju, *jalove* ili *utucavaju* drvenim *batom* za *utucanj*. (Kastriranje domaćih životinja *utucavanjem* vrlo je stara tradicija, a potvrde o tome nalazimo već u Bibliji.) Da bi ih se lakše razlikovalo, ovcama se običavalo stavljati *bilik* ili *senjal*. Nekada se *biližilo* posebnim *gvožđem* kojim se probijao znak na uhu, a danas se jednostavno škarama ili nožem odreže trokutni vrh uha ili se uho zareže ravno ili u obliku trokuta na prednjem ili stražnjem dijelu.

Odlazak na Velebit (izdig, pojavak i prtljanje)

Tradicijom određeni dan za odlazak u planinu je blagdan sv. Antuna (13. lipnja). Stada polaze iz svojih sela oko Zrmanje i Bukovice prema planinskim pašnjacima na južnom Velebitu. Glavno okupljalište bilo je na Bravaru, potom se zajednički kretalo u planinu cestom preko Tulovih greda do Malog Alana. Odatle se odlazilo stazom do Dušice ili dalje do Svetog brda, Vaganjskog vrha i ispod Badnja do Velikog Javornika. Prvog dana poslije Sv. Antuna iz sjenica i torova izgone se ovce, janjci i jalovčad predvođeni ovnovima zvonarima. *Zvono* ili *klepka* visi oko vrata obešeno o drveni *teljig*. Zvono se nikada ne stavlja na ovcu jer postoji izreka: "Sačuvaj te, Bože, od ovce zvonarice i žene gospodarice." Ispred i sa strane stada idu pastiri radi njegova suzbijanja. Pri izlasku iz torova domaćica škropi stado blagoslovljrenom vodom.

Boravak na Velebitu

Obitelji Brevulj i Jurjevići iz Kruševa sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća posjedovali su stada s više od 1000 grla ovaca. *Stan Brevulja*, smješten na rubu pašnjaka i bukove šume, sastojao se od dvije kolibice i torna za ovce. Veća koliba je bila skromne konstrukcije od greda pokrivenih sindrom ili *šimlom*. Manja koliba, zvana *bajtika* ili *kućara*, služila je za spavanje *planinki* (*kuharica*). Konstrukcija ležajeva za spavanje prekrivena biljcima sastojala se od drvenog okvira postavljenog na tlu u koje se stavlja sijeno. Takvi ležajevi zovu se *pražčići*. Pokraj kolibe nalazio se *tor* za ovce, ograđen kolcima opletenima granjem i trnjem što štiti stado od vukova. Na kolac, koji bi stršio iz ograde *tora*, pastiri bi nataklki goveđu lubanju kao zaštitu od *zlih sila* i drugih opasnosti.

Na čelu *kumpanijske* organizacije nalazio se *starješina*,iza njega isticali su se *glavni čobani* sa svojih desetak *pomoćnika* koji su ih morali slušati. Radni dan pastira na *katunu* počinje u ranu zoru. Prvi je posao da se na *strugi*¹ pomuzu ovce u posebnu posudu zvanu *dizva*, a danas su to uglav-

nom posude od plastike i lima tvorničke izrade. Zanimljiv je bio običaj dovođenja ovaca na *solila* da se naližu soli. Sol bi se stavljala na kamene ploče, na pet ovaca bilo je dovoljno ponijeti kilogram soli. Za zaštitu od vukova velebitski pastiri su obično sa sobom nosili lovačke ili vojničke puške, a ako se dogodi da ovcu ugrize zmija, pastir bi posebnom iglom *čevaldušom* probušio mjesto ugriza i iscjedio otrov. Pastir sa sobom nosi i pastirski štap, čiji je kraj zavinut u obliku kuke kojim hvata ovce za nogu. Ako ovca slomi nogu, pastir će je namjestiti i imobilizirati pomoću dvije dašdice zvane *dlage*, *blage* ili *vlage*, koje se skidaju nakon četrnaest dana. Na Velebitu postoje dvije vrste pasa čuvara: prvi se zovu *planinari*, i njihov je zadatak da stado čuvaju na okupu, a drugu vrstu čine *vučari* koji ga čuvaju od vukova. Vučar se hrani posebnom hranom a i koža mu se soli kako bi *učvrsnula*. Kad su pastiri boravili daleko od svojih koliba, za zaštitu od kiše koristili su se posebnim zaklonom napravljenim od kore jelova drveta u visini/dužini čovjeka; zaklon je bio u obliku cijevi koju bi polegli na zemlju i privezali konopcem za što čvrsto te se u nju sklonili.

Mlijeko su pastiri kuhalili tako što bi na vatri ugrijali posebnu vrstu kamena te ga ugrijana stavili u drveni sud s mlijekom, a kruh su pekli na otvorenom ognjištu pomoću metalne *pekve*. *Pekva* je danas u upotrebi kod svih velebitskih pastira jer je ona nezamjenjiv predmet za pečenje kruha. Uz brašno kao osnovnu namirnicu potrebno je imati sol za ljude i stoku, grah, krumpir, kavu, šećer i rakiju. Uz to svakodnevno dolaze mlijeko, sir i drugi mlječni proizvodi. Mesom se pastiri omrse samo onda kad se ozlijedi koja ovca ili janje. Osoljena janjeća mješina služila je za nošenje vode ili za čuvanje sira - poznatog *mišnog sira*. Preostala *surutka* od izrade sira služi i za dobivanje *urde* ili *vrerde* i to dodavanjem *jamuže*, tj. svježeg mlijeka. U planini se *kiselo mlijeko* tuče u *stapu* radi dobivanja *masla*. Od skuhanog se pak mlijeka skuplja *skorup*, stvrdnuta tanka masna kora, na kojem se hrana kuha i peče. Jedan od omiljenih mlječnih proizvoda je i *basa* koja se dobiva tako da se *uzvari varenika* te ohladi i ukišeli. Kao napitak nekada se pravila *bikla* tako da se pomiješa hladna *varenika* s dobrim vinom. Danas se na Velebitu mlijeko sve manje prerađuje a sve više daje janjcima kako bi bili što deblij.

Stado se u sumrak vraća u tor koji se sastoji od dva dijela. Ulaz u prednji dio je *broćanica* na kojoj se broji stado po povratku s dnevne paše. Prolaz u drugi dio u kojem stado boravi je *struga* na kojoj se ovce mazu. Pastiri svaku ovcu u svom stадu poznavaju po imenu, a ona odražavaju njihove karakteristike, primjerice: ovca bijele glave je *bika*, crne glave - *gara*, crnog runa - *laja*, bijele glave s crnim krugovima oko očiju - *vranoka*, ona koja se dvaput ojanjila - *blizna* itd. Zajednička crta svih velebitskih stočara je velika ljubav prema njihovim ovcama. Odijelo današnjih pastira, i muških i ženskih, u potpunosti je tvorničke izrade.

Na pašnjaku Marasovac nekada je bilo toliko pastira i pastirica da se plesalo u dva kola. A od igara, najradije su se igrali *krivanja* ili *švinkanja*. Za tu igru služili su prikladni štapovi zvani *krive*, te od komada drveta izrađena lopta veličine jajeta, tzv. *prasica*. Na



Toka Bušljeta, Kruškovac
Javna ustanova Nacionalni park
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zaravnjenom terenu u središtu igrališta iskopala bi se jedna veća i oko nje nekoliko manjih rupa, odnosno, za jednu manje od broja igrača. Igrači bi se poredali oko veće rupe sa zataknutim štapovima u manjima. Smisao igre je u tome da igrač bez male rupe svojom *krivom* ugura tzv. *prasicu* u veliku rupu, dok ga ostali u tome sprječavaju. Poznata je bila i igra *gredanja* u kojoj bi se poredala tri poveća, nejednaka kama koja su igrači morali gađati sitnjim kamenjem. Igrač s najmanje pogodaka za kaznu je morao pobjednika nositi na leđima oko postavljenoga kamenja. Uz navedene igre, pastiri su se igrali i *bućanja* s pločastim vaspencima koje su odbacivali u dalj poput diska. Zatim su se igrali *klisanja*, gdje se kratki drveni štapić odbacivao u dalj jačim prutom. Na suprotnoj strani igrališta stajali su igrači koji su odbačene *klisove* nastojali uhvatiti.

Jedini dan kada se pastiri na Velebitu okupljaju je Velika Gospa (15. kolovoza). Tada se pred crkvom u Velikom Rujnu okupe stanovnici podvelebitskih sela i pastiri s južnog Velebita. Pokraj crkve nalazi se starokršćanski stočarski žrtvenik.

Ako bi stočarima s Javornika i Oglavinovca ponestalo hrane, oni bi na sedlu Buljmi iznad Velike Paklenice zapalili u sumrak tri velike vatre, što je bio dogovoren znak ukućanima u Kruševu da žurno donesu hranu u planinu.

Prije povratka s velebitskih pašnjaka, uoči blagdana Male Gospe, 8. rujna, trebalo je stado obojiti zemljom crljenicom te ispeći dovoljno kruha i spremiti stvari za dugo očekivani put kući.

Povratak s Velebita

Kad je sve bilo spremno za polazak, pastiri zatvore vrata *katuna* te sa stodom, uz pratnju pasa, polaze prema Bukovici. Razlog povratka najčešće je izbjegavanje kišnog vremena i strah pastira da se *njihovi janjci ne zaprljaju od blata*. Brevulji iz Oglavinovca i Ležaje sa Štirovca kretali su prvo do Libinja i tu bi zanoćili. Drugog bi se dana, preko Dušice i Tulovih greda, spustili do raskrižja Bravar kraj Obrovca.

Za razdiobu stoke i mlječnih proizvoda služili su se posebnim pomagalom zvanim *ravaš* ili *raboš* koji se sastojao od dvije dašćice duge oko 10 cm, nastale cijepanjem komada drva. Gospodarov dio zvao se *matica*, a pastirov *pola*, a na njih bi se urezale (*ravašile*) identične crte koje bi označavale određeni broj onoga što kome pripada. Usaporebom *matice* i *pole* moglo se utvrditi koliko je stado pojedinog vlasnika ili koliko mu pripada sira, koliko je dužan dati brašna i soli itd.

Kad je *lučenje* završeno, umorna stada kreću svojim selima raštrkanima po Bukovici.

Introduction

Tomo Vinšćak

To the Croats, Velebit means what Mount Olympus means to the Greeks, Kailash to the Tibetans, or Triglav to the Slovenians. Velebit is the longest mountain of the Dinaric system. It stretches for about 150 km in the north-west south-east direction through three Croatian regions: Lika, Dalmatia and Hrvatsko primorje. The largest pastures lie on the coastal side above 1,000 metres, and the best pasturage is above 1,400 metres. This is where the grass is the best in summer, when there is drought on the coast. This annual distribution of pastures on Velebit forced the population of the coastal area and foothill to follow it with their flocks of sheep and goats. Following herds of wild animals in prehistoric times, hunters discovered and traced routes through very inaccessible terrain. When people began to tame wild animals in the late Stone Age, they used these routes for their sheep and goat herds. There are written records and documents from the second half of the 19th century, and for the 20th century written material is supplemented by the telling of people who live in the region.

Until the beginning of the 20th century there were four directions of seasonal migration on Velebit:

The first was the seasonal raising of the coastal herds to the sub-mountain zone of north and central Velebit, where there were seasonal dwellings used in this stage of their migrations. When summer came they drove the herds higher up the mountain where they had summer dwellings. After that they descended back to the foothills or directly to their permanent homes.

The second migration was the summer raising of Lika herds to Velebit. The main occupation of the Lika population was not raising livestock but tilling the land, and they drove their herds to Velebit to protect their crops in the ripening season.

The third migration was driving herds from Lika to overwinter in north Dalmatia. In the 19th century Lika shepherds had two annual movements. They spent spring and autumn in Lika, summer on Velebit, and winter in warm coastal areas. The migrations of herds from Lika to the Velebit pastures and to the coast in winter stopped at the beginning of the 20th century.

The fourth migration was transhumance from Bukovica and Ravni kotari to the pastures of south Velebit.

Of all these, remains of the first and the fourth migration still survive at the beginning of the 21st century. Since the summer raise from the coast and foothills and the transhumance in Bukovica to summer pastures on Velebit and winter ones in Dalmatia belong to different cultural traditions, the exhibition will show the similarities and differences in the way of life and stock keeping.

The raising of the Primorje and Podgorje population to the summer sheepsteads, tilling the land and the major role of women in work with the livestock differ fundamentally from the customs of the Bukovica transhumance herders, where the elder (*strugovoda*) is always a man, and there is no cultivable land. The raising of the Primorje population

in stages is similar to what is done in the Alps and the Pyrenees. The main role women play in the mountains is thought to be connected with the Illyrian Liburni tribe, which lived in that region and which had a matriarchal society. The Bukovica transhumance belongs to the old pasturage tradition known in the Pyrenees, Apennines, Carpathians, Caucasus, Asia Minor, Scotland and the Balkans, where it is still practiced. Until the beginning of the Homeland War in 1991 about twenty families went to summer sheepsteads with their herds from the entire Velebit Prigorje region, from the following villages: Lukovo-Šugarje, Kruščica, Poljci, Šibuljina, Milovci, Marasovići, Seline, Jesenice, Zaton and Nekići. In Bukovica four families practiced transhumance herding at that time: the Jurjevići, Brevulji and Vukići from Kruševo, and the Ležaje from Ležaje village near Zelengrad.

Preparations for going up Velebit

In the villages around Obrovac and in Bukovica preparations for going up the mountain began in spring, at the latest by St Joseph's (19 March). Sometimes the elder (*starješina* or *strugovođa*) was elected on this day, and he would be in charge of the herd and the shepherds during their stay on Velebit. One of the more important jobs before going up the mountain was shearing the sheep, on St Anthony's (13 June). Another interesting custom was training the horns of a young ram to grow spirally, known as *vilašenje*. This was done by drilling a small hole above the root of the horn, drawing a wire through the hole and tightly winding it around the horn to make it grow in a spiral shape. The procedure lasted until the ram was gelded, because then the horn stopped growing. The horns of the bellweather were often spiralled, and every such wether was the shepherd's pride. To increase the quality of the livestock, the finest rams and goat bucks were chosen for mating, and the rest were castrated with a wooden gelding mallet. Gelding livestock by malleting is a very old tradition, of which we find confirmation in the Bible. Sheep were usually marked to make them easier to tell apart. This was done with a special piece of iron used to make a hole in the ear. Today scissors or knife is used to simply cut off the triangular tip of the ear or make a straight or triangular cut on the front or back side of the ear.

Going to Velebit - raising

The traditional day for going up the mountain is St Anthony's (13 June). The flocks start out from their villages around the river Zrmanja and Bukovica to the highland pastures of south Velebit. The main assembly point is on Bravar, then they continue together along the mountain road across Tulove Grede to Mali Halan. From there they take the drovers' road to Dušice or further to Sv. Brdo, Vaganski vrh and under Badanj to Veliki Javornik. On the first day after St Anthony's sheep, lambs and wethers are driven out of the pens led by rams with a bell hanging around their neck. The bell is never placed on an ewe and there is an expression: "The Lord preserve you from a bell-ewe and a wife shrew." The shepherds walk in front and at the sides of the flock to keep it in order. As the sheep leave the pen, the mistress of the house sprinkles them with holy water.



The stay on Velebit

In the 1970s the Brevulj family and the Jurjevići from Kruševo had herds of over 1000 head. The Brevulj sheepstead, situated where the pastures meet the beech forest, had two huts and a sheep pen. The larger hut was a modest structure made of beams and covered with wooden shingle. The smaller hut, known as *bajtca* or *kućara*, was where the women cooks slept. The beds were made of a wooden frame placed on the ground and filled with hay, and were called *pražčići*. Beside the hut was the sheep pen surrounded by a wattle fence made of posts and interwoven branches and thorns to protect the herd from wolves. A cow's skull on a pole jutted from the fence, placed there by the shepherds to protect them from evil forces and other danger.

At the head of the shepherds was the elder, then came the principal shepherds, then a dozen or so assistants who had to obey them. The shepherds' workday began at dawn. The first job was to milk the ewes on the *struga*¹ into a special wooden dish called a *dživa*, today this is usually made of plastic or factory-made metal. An interesting custom was bringing the sheep to the saltlick. The salt would be placed on stone slabs, and the shepherds had to take one kilo of salt per five sheep up the mountain. The Velebit shepherds usually carried hunting or army guns for protection from wolves. If a sheep was bitten by a snake, the shepherd pierced the bite with a special pin called a

Boja Baričević mete skorup pred stanom. / Boja Baričević making skorup in Front of Dwelling.
Javna ustanova Nacionalni park Paklenica / Public Institution "Paklenica National Park" arhiva / archives

¹ *Struga*; a word of Balkan origin, a milking place for sheep in the pen.



Radivoj Simonović, Paklenica, kat. br. 66

čevalduša and drained out the poison. The shepherd also had a crook, which he used to catch sheep by the leg. If a sheep broke a leg, the shepherd set the fracture and immobilised the leg with two splints called *dlage*, *blage* or *vlage*, which were taken off after a fortnight. There were two kinds of dogs on Velebit. The first were called mountain dogs and their job was to keep the herd together. The second were wolf dogs, which protected the sheep from wolves. The wolf dogs got special food and their skin was salted to make it tougher. When the shepherds were far from their huts, they protected themselves from the rain with special man-sized shelters made of fir bark in the shape of a pipe, tied with a rope and laid on the ground.

Shepherds used to boil milk by heating a special stone in the fire and throwing it hot into a wooden pot full of milk. On the mountain bread is baked on an open hearth under a metal baking lid (*pekva*). This is still used by all Velebit shepherds because it is irreplaceable for baking bread. Besides flour they need salt for themselves and the animals, beans, potatoes, coffee, sugar and brandy (*rakija*). This food is accompanied daily with milk, cheese and other dairy products. They only eat meat when a sheep or lamb is injured. Salted lamb skin was used to carry water, or it was filled with cheese to get the well-known *mišni sir*. The whey that remains after making cheese can be used to get *urda* or *vurda* by adding fresh milk. Butter is also made in the mountain, by churning milk. So is *skorup*, made from the skin that hardens on the surface of boiled milk, and it is used for boiling and roasting food. One of the favourite dairy products is

basa, obtained by boiling milk, cooling it and letting it sour. A drink called *bikla* used to be made by mixing cold milk with good wine. Today less milk is processed on Velebit because it is given to the lambs to fatten them.

In the evening the sheep return to the pen, which consists of two parts. The entrance in the front part is the counting area in which the sheep are always counted after returning from pasture. The shepherds knew every sheep in their herd by name. Sheep were named after certain characteristics, for example: a white-headed sheep - *bika*, a black-headed sheep - *gara*, a black sheep - *laja*, a sheep with a white head and black circles around the eyes - *vranoka*, one that lambed twice - *blizna*, and so on. All Velebit shepherds share great love for their sheep.

Today shepherds, both men and women, wear factory-made clothes. In the old days

there used to be so many shepherds and shepherdesses on Marasovac pasture that they could make two circles in the wheel dance (*kolo*). Their favourite game was *kriwanje* or *švinkanje*. For this they used curved staves called *krive*, and they made an egg-sized wooden ball, a *prasica*. On a flat surface in the centre of the playing ground they would dig a large hole surrounded by several smaller ones, one less than the number of players. The players would stand around the larger hole with their staves placed in the smaller holes. The purpose of the game was for the player without a small hole to push the ball into the large hole with his stick, while the others tried to prevent him from doing so. Another game was *gredanja*, in which three large unequal stones were placed in a row. The players had to hit the three stones with small stones. The player with the fewest hits had, as punishment, to carry the winner on his back around the large stones. The shepherds also played *bučanje* with limestone slabs, which they threw as far as they could like a disk. They played *klisanje*, in which a short wooden stick was thrown far with a stronger stick. On the other side of the playing ground stood players who tried to catch the thrown sticks.

The only day when all the shepherds on Velebit gathered together was on the holiday of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August). Then the inhabitants of the villages at the foot of Velebit and the shepherds all gathered in front of the church in Veliko Ruđno. There is an Early Christian animal sacrificial beside the church.

If the shepherds from Javornik and Oglavinovac ran out of food, they lit three large bonfires on Buljma saddle above Velika Paklenica in the evening, which was a sign to their families in Kušovo to bring food into the mountain urgently. Before returning from the Velebit pastures the herd had to be coloured with red earth. As the holiday of the Nativity of the Virgin (8 September) approached, it was necessary to bake sufficient quantities of bread and get things ready for the long-awaited return home.

The return from Velebit

On the day before the Nativity of the Virgin, on 7 September, preparations were made to return home. When everything was ready the gate of the sheepstead was closed and the herd accompanied by the shepherds and dogs started for Bukovica. The reason for returning was usually bad weather and the shepherds' fear that their lambs would get dirty in the mud. The Brevulji from Oglavinovac and the Ležaje from Štirovac first went to Libinj and spent the night there. On the second day, crossing Dušica and Tulove Grede, they descended to the Bravar junction near Obrovac. To separate the livestock and the dairy products belonging to particular owners, people used a special aid called a *rovaš* or *raboš*. It consisted of two little boards about 10 cm long, made by cutting one piece of wood lengthwise. The master's part was called *matica* and the shepherd's *pola*. A certain number of identical lines were cut into the *matica* and *pola*. By comparing the two, the number of head in the herd of a certain owner could be determined, or how much cheese belonged to him, how much flour and salt he must give. When the separation (*lučenje*) was done, the tired herds went to their own villages scattered throughout Bukovica.



V. Cvitišić, Seljak i seljanka. / A Peasant Man and Woman. kat. br. 57



M. Hećimović, Pastir u pastirskom stanu. / Shepherd in a Mountain Dwelling. kat. br. 60



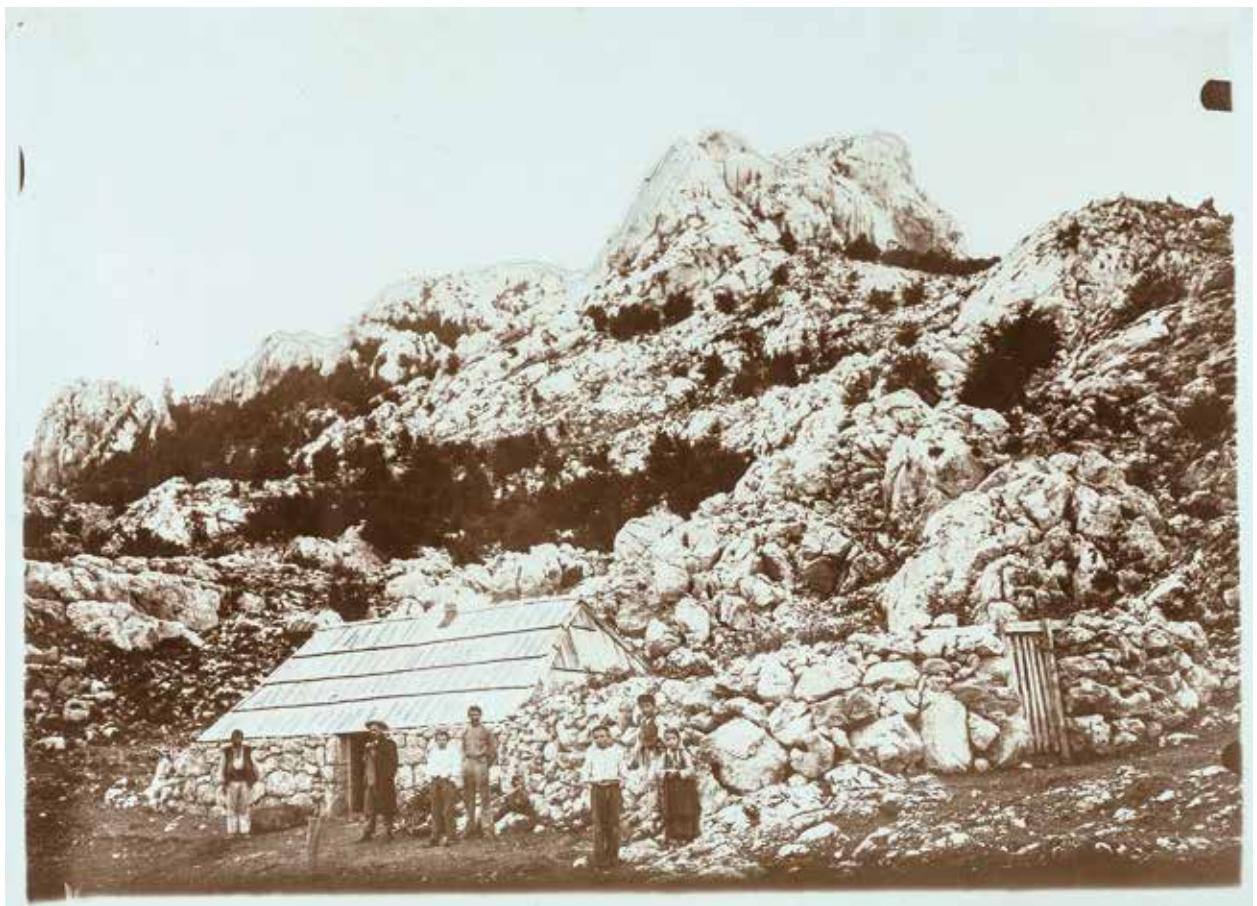
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M. Hećimović, Vrata tora. / Gate to a Sheep Pen. kat. br. 61



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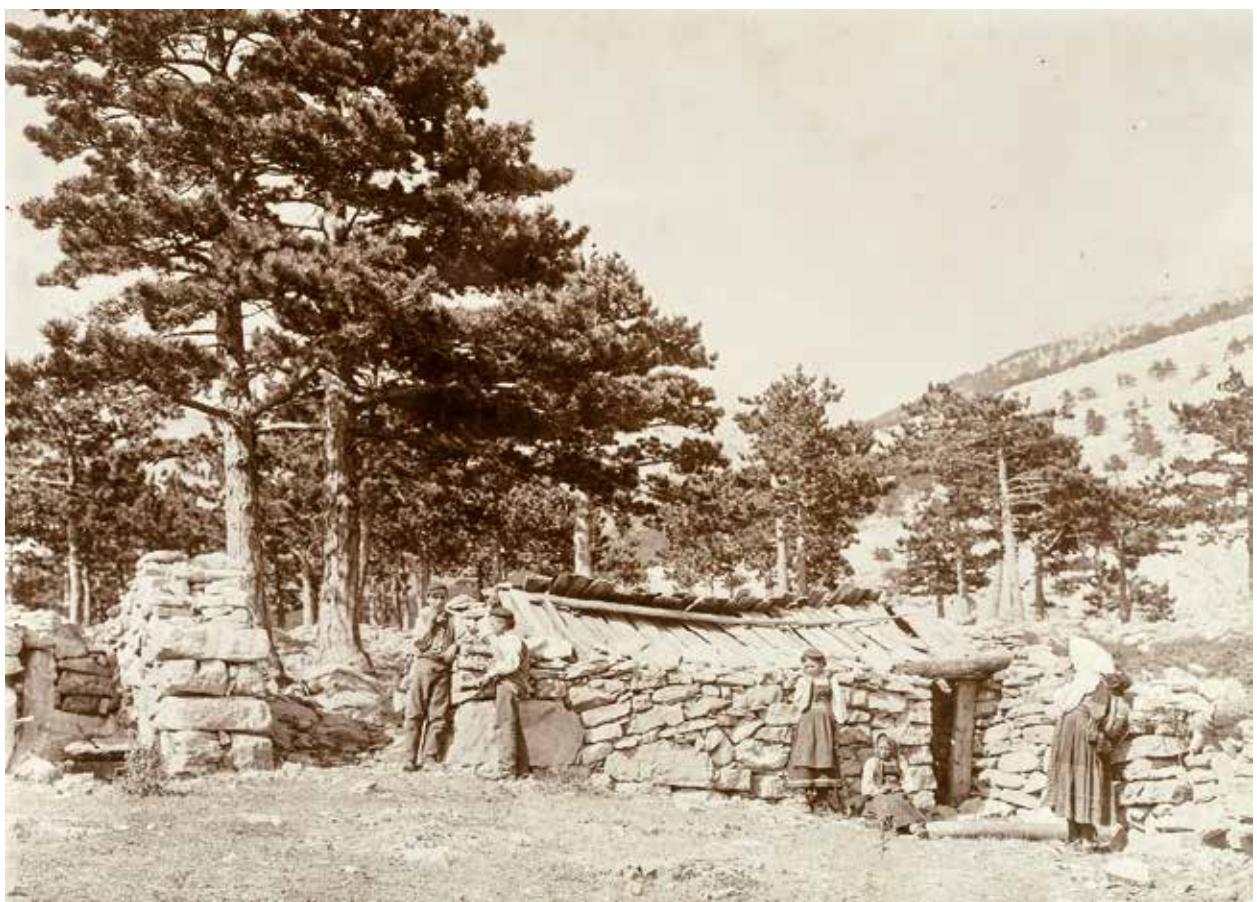
M. Hećimović, Ovan nakolan i dječak. / A Boy and an Ox. kat. br. 59



Radivoj Simonović, *Vukića stan*, 1907. / *Vukića Dwelling*. 1907 kat. br. 67



Radivoj Simonović, *Sinokos (sjenokos) pred Brizovcem.* / *Hayfield at Brizovac*. kat. br. 69



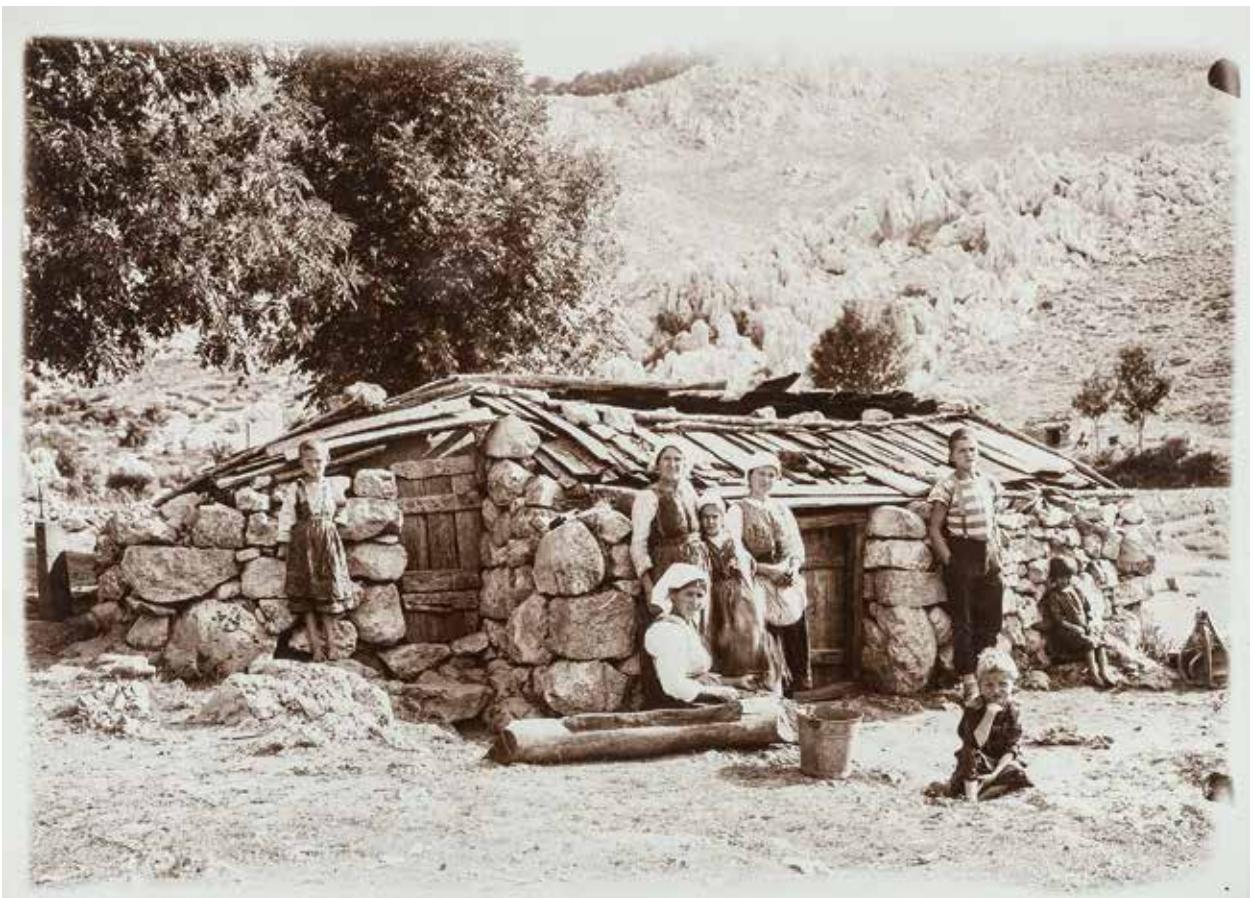
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Radivoj Simonović, *Stan među borovima u Velikom Rujnu.* / *Mountain Dwelling among the Pines in Veliko Rujno*. 1907 kat. br. 71



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Radivoj Simonović, *Mirovo*, 1932. kat. br. 65



Radivoj Simonović, *Stan Baričević*. / *Baričević Dwelling*, kat. br. 70

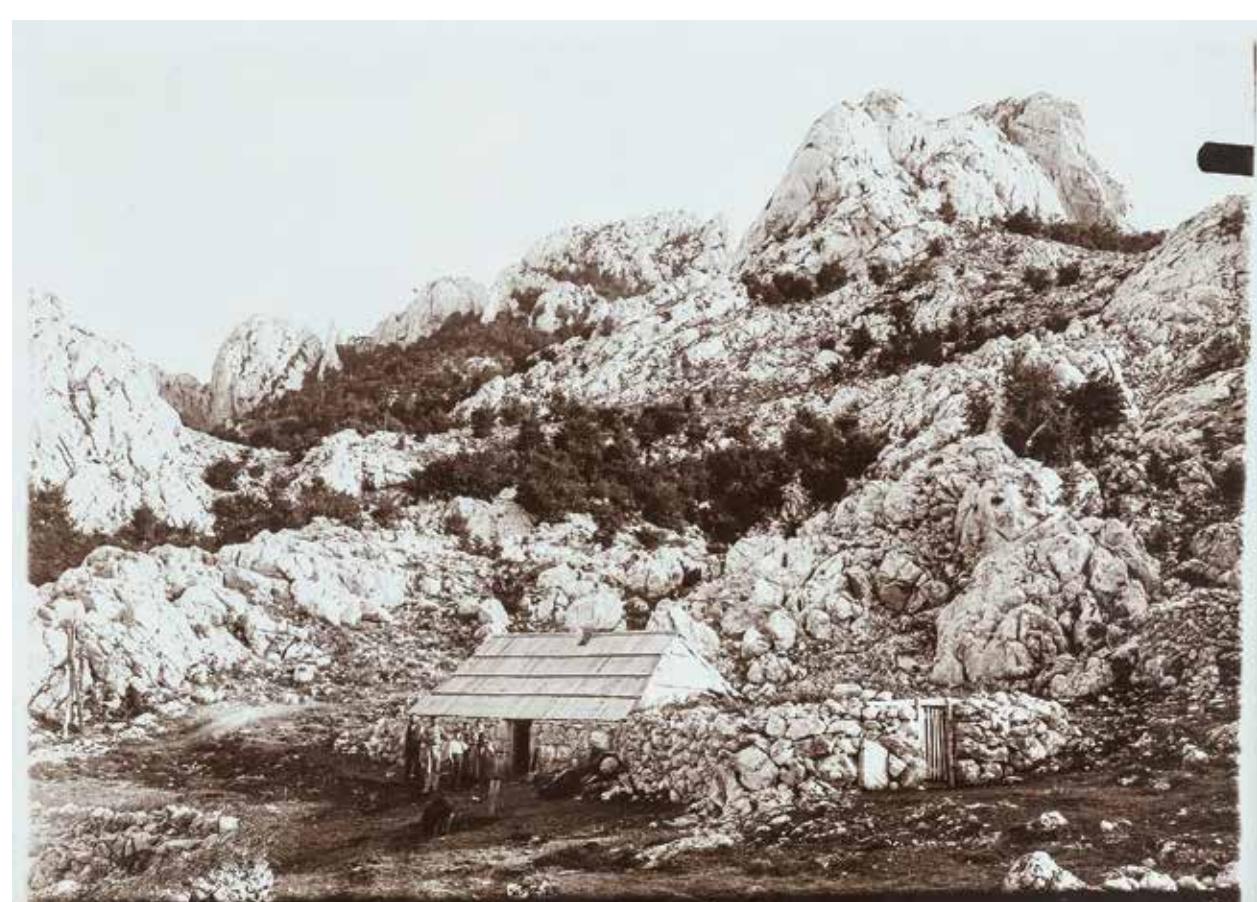


Radivoj Simonović, *Stan pod Vrhpragom*. / *Mountain Dwelling under Vrhpraga*, kat. br. 72



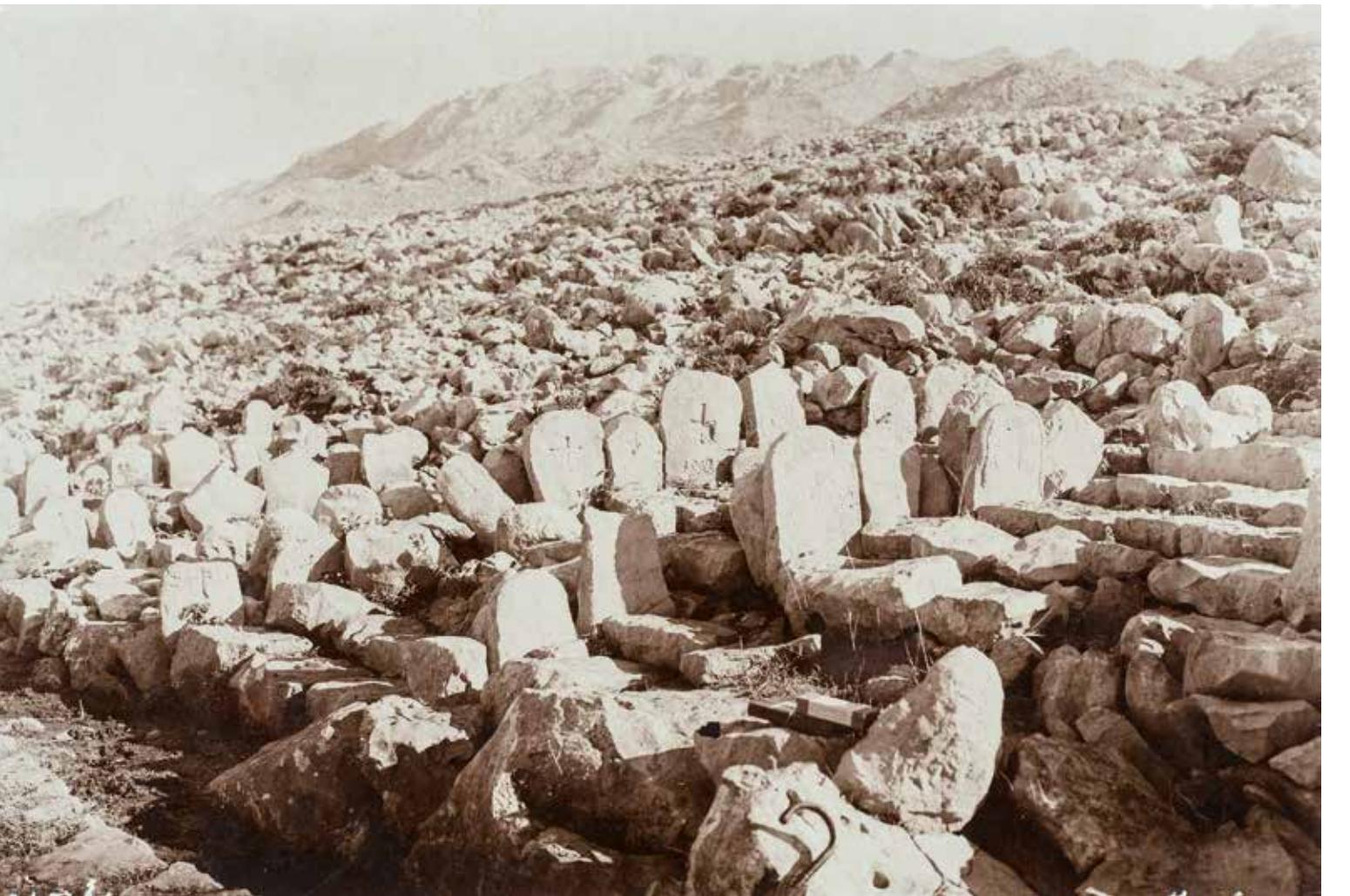
24

Radivoj Simonović, *Prosenjak*, kat. br. 68



25

Radivoj Simonović, *Pred Stapinom*. / *In Front of Stapina*, kat. br. 67



Radivoj Simonović, Starigradska mirila, Mirila Starigrad. kat. br. 64.

Mirila - nematerijalna kulturna baština

Mario Katić

Ministarstvo kulture Republike Hrvatske na svojim web stranicama pri definiranju pojma nematerijalne kulturne baštine navodi da „pojam nematerijalne kulturne baštine obuhvaća: praksu, izraze, znanja, vještine, kao i instrumente, predmete, rukotvorine i kulturne prostore koji su povezani s time, a koje zajednice, skupine i u nekim slučajevima pojedinci, prihvataju kao dio svoje kulturne baštine“.¹ U spomenutu nematerijalnu kulturnu baštinu 27. prosinca 2007. uvršteni su i „posmrtni običaji vezani uz mirila ili počivala“.² Prema istom Rješenju utvrđen je sustav mjera zaštite koji obuhvaća: osiguranje dostupnosti javnosti, poticanje zajednice čija je baština da se s njom identificira, popularizacija i promocija dobra, poticanje prenošenja u izvornim sredinama, multidisciplinarno istraživanje, zaštita od nestajanja i uništenja itd. Do ovoga Rješenja dovele su godine truda i rada pojedinaca koji su, evidentirajući lokalitete mirila, javno govorili o potrebi njihove zaštite, pokušavajući sprječiti njihovo kontinuirano uništenje na gotovo svim lokalitetima. Sukladno tomu, svojim radom i zalaganjem ističe se Mirjana Trošelj, koja je među prvima počela prikupljati informacije o ovim običajima. Glede zalaganja za zaštitu mirila i niz drugih suhozidnih gradnji vrijedi istaknuti rad Aleksandre Faber, dok se u očuvanju lokaliteta i njihova prezentiranja kao dijela kulturne baštine istaknuo lokalni entuzijast Šime Gazić. Unatoč njihovu radu i trudu tek 2006., uključivanjem Ministarstva kulture Republike Hrvatske - Konzervatorskog odjela u Zadru (Lepa Petri) te Turističke zajednice Starigrad-Paklenica (Marjana Marasović), mirila su dobila status preventivno zaštićena kulturnog dobra. Pomoću turističkog projekta uključivanja kulturne baštine u turističku ponudu podvelebitskog područja, mirila su „uspjela“, djelovanjem spomenutih pojedinaca, postati nematerijalna kulturna baština Republike Hrvatske.

Iako od 2007. mirila imaju svojstvo nematerijalnog kulturnog dobra, njihova zaštita u praksi nije bila uvijek odgovarajuća, a što se pokazalo pri probijanju trase plinovoda prema Zadru i to preko područja Bukovice, kada su uništeni neki lokaliteti. Dosadašnje iskustvo pokazuje učinkovitu zaštitu na područjima gdje su mirila turistički prezentirana i gdje su djelovanjem turističke zajednice postala prepoznatljiva, kako na lokalnoj, tako i na nacionalnoj razini.

¹ <http://www.min-kultura.hr/default.aspx?id=3639>

² Prema Rješenju Ministarstva kulture RH od 27. prosinca 2007.



sl. / Fig. 12

Pogrebni ritual na mirilima, tv dokumentarac
(Vlatka Vorkapić, Sin noći, brat sna, HRT, 2007.)

Funeral rite on a mirila, TV documentary,
(Vlatka Vorkapić, Son of Night, Brother of Dreams, HRT, 2007)

Mirila - Part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage

Mario Katić

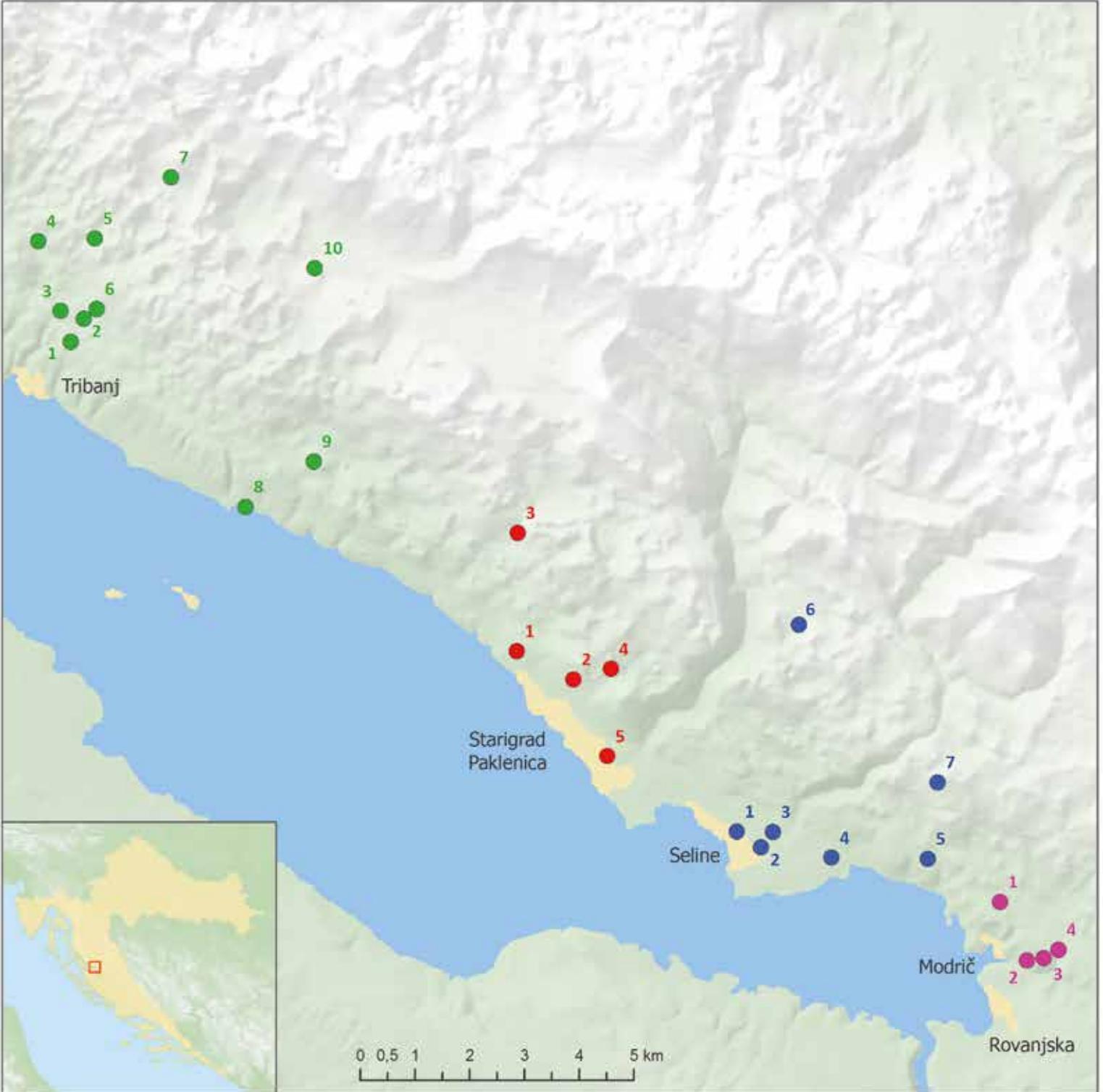
The Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia, on its web page, defines the intangible cultural heritage as follows: "The intangible cultural heritage means the practices, expressions, representations, skills - as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith - that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals accept as part of their cultural heritage."¹ On 27 December 2007 "funerary customs connected with *mirila* or *počivala*" were included in the intangible cultural heritage.² Under the same decision a system of protection measures was established, which includes: securing public access, encouraging the communities of origin to identify with the customs by popularising and promoting them, encouraging their transmitting from generation to generation in the communities of origin, multidisciplinary research and protection from disappearance and destruction. Until this decision was brought individuals devoted many years of work to evidencing *mirila* localities, publicly speaking and writing about the need for their protection, and trying to prevent continual destruction on almost all the localities in which they exist. Especially outstanding are the work and efforts of Mirjana Trošelj, one of the first to begin collecting information about this custom. We must also emphasise the work of Aleksandra Faber in protecting the *mirila* and other drystone structures, and that of the local enthusiast Šime Gazić on preserving the localities and presenting them as part of the cultural heritage. All the same, it was not until 2006, when the Zadar Conservation Department, the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia (Lepa Petri) and the Starigrad-Paklenica Tourist Association (Marjana Marasović) became involved, that *mirila* got the status of a preventively protected cultural asset. With the help of a tourist project that focused on including the cultural heritage of the Velebit foothills in the tourist offer, *mirila* "succeeded", through the work of the individuals mentioned above, in becoming part of the intangible cultural heritage of the Republic of Croatia.

Although *mirila* have enjoyed the status of an intangible cultural asset since 2007, in practice their protection has not always been effective, as shown when the gas pipeline to Zadar was dug across the Bukovica area, destroying some localities. Experience has shown that protection is effective in the places where *mirila* have been touristically presented and where the efforts of the tourist association have made them recognisable both on the local, and on the national level.

¹ <http://www.min-kultura.hr/default.aspx?id=3639>

² By the decision of the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia of 27 December 2007.

Topografija mirila južnog Velebita



- Mirila Tribnja
 - 1 Sirno selo
 - 2 Korita
 - 3 Kruščica-Među klancim
 - 4 Rastovci
 - 5 Renjovac
 - 6 Krčevine
 - 7 Bili Sinokos
 - 8 Kozjača
 - 9 Tribanjska draga
 - 10 Piskoviti brig

- Mirila Starigrada-Paklenice
 - 1 Zapadnjari
 - 2 Nad Kruškovicem
 - 3 Kosa Dobrošelska
 - 4 Opuvani dolac
 - 5 Glavčice

- Mirila Selina
 - 1 Samardžići
 - 2 Poljarice-Bržine
 - 3 Pod Jukića
 - 4 Sige Kneževića
 - 5 Kosa Magaška
 - 6 Grabove doline
 - 7 Pleće

- Mirila Modriča
 - 1 Nad ogradama Stanića i Kneževića
 - 2 Modrič 1
 - 3 Modrič 2
 - 4 Modrič 3

Mirila - spomenici dušama

Mirjana Trošelj

Mirilima se nazivaju suhozidni kameni spomenici ruralne umjetnosti kojima se obilježavalo mjesto posljednjega pokojnikova *upočivanja* na zemlji i posljednjeg oprštanja sa suncem, prije nego li bude pokopan na groblju. Na njima se živa duša odvaja od tijela da bi se vezala za kamen *mirila* i onda preselila na drugi svijet, nakon što se pokojniku *uzela mira*, tj. izmjerila dužina tijela pomoću dva kamena. Jedan se postavio uz glavu, a drugi uz noge pa je pokojnika ta *kamena mjera* personificirala za *trajan spomen*. Značajna su kulturno-povijesna i umjetnička baština koja nam govori o tradicijskom svjetonazoru i duhovnom životu velebitskoga gorštaka do sredine 20. st.

Građena su kraj puta (sl. 1.) kojim se svakodnevno prolazilo, često na pola puta od naselja na Velebitu do groblja na moru, na posebno odabranom mjestu koje simbolizira putovanje duše iz ovostranog u onostrani svijet. Stoga predstavljaju granična mjesta između ta dva svijeta. Duša *namirena mirilom* dobila je svoje sigurno stanište koje živi posebno štuju, dok će tijelo u grobu postati *zemlja*, a sam grob u *komoracu* (groblju) izgubiti svaki smisao (Trošelj, 2010., 64.).¹

Ovaj posmrtni običaj povezan je s vjerovanjem u zagrobeni život duše koja luta, a *mirilo* je zadržava u njezinim granicama. Izgrađeno *mirilo* pomaže zadovoljenoj duši da nađe svoje mjesto odakle će lakše poletiti na drugi svijet, a kada se bude vraćala, vratit će se na svoje *mirilo*, ne ometajući žive. Prepoznat će ga po svojoj mjeri i *šarama* (ukrasima) na uzglavnoj, douzglavnoj i uznožnoj kamenoj ploči (sl. 2-4.).

Etimološki *mirilo/a* u lokalnom govornom idiomu proizlazi od glagola *miriti*, *uzeti miru* pokojniku, što znači mjeriti mu dužinu tijela – života, ali i *namiriti* (zadovoljiti) njegovu dušu. Na tim mjerama, nakon pokopa na groblju, duši se u suhozidnoj tehnici gradilo *mirilo*. Na mjesto kamenih mjera postavile su se klesarski oblikovane uzglavna i uznožna ploča, a *podnica* - prostor između njih popločio bi se položenim pločama (sl. 16.). Tako je *mirilo* dobilo oblik stvarnoga groba kakav se mogao vidjeti do sredine 20. st. na grobljima duž Velebitskoga podgorja. Sustavnijim istraživanjima, od druge polovice 20. st., utvrđeno je da su najočuvanija i najzanimljivija *mirila* na području op-

¹ Mirjana Trošelj, Natpsi i likovni prikazi na velebitskim mirilima, Mirila - kulturni fenomen, *Studia mythologica Slavica*, 4., Ljubljana, 2010., str. 63.-93.



sl. / Fig. 1

Mirila Rastovci

foto: Lepa Petri



sl. / Fig. 2 -3
Mirila Opuvani Dolac
foto: Lepa Petri



ćine Starigrad-Paklenica gdje ih je, na 26 lokaliteta, registrirano oko 1500. Ta se brojka danas, zbog masovne gradnje vikendica te širenja i gradnje putova i cesta, smanjila, osobito onih koja su bliže moru (Zapadnjari, Glavčice, Pod Jukića, Sige Kneževića, Modrič 1., Modrič 2.).

Mirila su rasprostranjena na području Dinarida: na Velebitu, Ravnim kotarima, Bukovici i Dalmatinskoj zagori. U Ravnim kotarima, Bukovici i Dalmatinskoj zagori nazivaju se još i *mjerila, počivala i počivaljke*. Prelaze li granicu Hrvatske svojim kamenim arhitektonskim oblikom, zasad još nije utvrđeno, međutim, u običajnoj dimenziji obilježavanje mjesta *počivanja* zabilježeno je na širem europskom prostoru (Katić, 2012., 128.-130.).² Gradilo ih je stočarsko selilačko stanovništvo spomenutih krajeva koje se kretalo sa svojim *blagom* (stodom) od zimskih staništa jadranskog zaleđa do ljetnih planinskih viših i visokih predjela *poda* i *vršina*. Na južnom Velebitu, na području općine Starigrad-Paklenica, bila su u funkciji do šezdesetih godina 20. st. Predstavljaju rijekost u umjetničkom oblikovanju i ukrašavanju. Nakon sanacije i zaštite, 2007., pokazala su se iznimnim kulturnim fenomenom ruralne spomeničke baštine, kako u klešarskoj vještini i oblikovanju različitih tipova, prema uzglavnoj i uznožnoj ploči, tako i u ornamentalno-simboličkom ukrašavanju. U ostalim spomenutim područjima rano im se gubi funkcija, a uglavnom i materijalni trag, osim u Bukovici i Ravnim kotarima gdje se običaj i danas provodi, najčešće kod pravoslavnog stanovništva. Orijentirana su zapad - istok i sjeveroistok - jugozapad, poredana u nizu, prema obiteljskom (*rodov*-

² Katić, Mario, Prilog istraživanju običaja obilježavanja mjesto odmaranja s pokojnikom, *Studio mythologica Slavica*, 15., Ljubljana, 2012., str. 117.-133.

sl. / Fig. 4
Mirila Sirno Selo
foto: Lepa Petri



sl. / Fig. 5
Mirila Krčevine



sl. / Fig. 6
Mirila Kozjača

skom) mjestu na *mirilima* (sl. 14.-15.). Smještena su u krajobrazu Velebita koji prirodno naglašava simboliku prijelaza duše iz svijeta živih u svjet mrtvih. Izabrani prostor dobiva sve oznake sakralnoga. Najčešće su to *kose* (prijevoji), raskrižja, klanci, *brizine*, doci, čistine kamenjara, ponegdje u blizini pretpovijesnih *gromila*, gradina, lokava, dra- ga, jaruga i minijaturnih kapelica s pogledom na okolicu, skladno uklopljena u velebitski krajobraz. Orientirana su prema izlazećem suncu u bilo kojem solsticiju, ovisno o nadnevku pokojnikove smrti. Na tim odabranim mjestima najprije *grane* sunce s kojim se pokojnik opršta. Simboličan prijelaz duše na takvom položaju upotpunjaju i simboli uklesani na uzglavnoj, douzglavnoj i uznožnoj ploči.

Način života planinskih stočara nije se bitno mijenjao od pretpovijesti do 20. st., bez obzira na njihovu etničku i vjersku pripadnost. Na Velebitu se, do sredine 20. st., odvijao identično kod katoličkog i pravoslavnog stanovništva. Živjelo se u sličnim ekonomskim i prirodnim uvjetima, daleko od civilizacije i urbane sredine. Budući da se živjelo od *blaga*, ponekad je briga o njemu bila primarnija od vlastitog života. Osim toga *i blago kao čovjek ima dušu. Zoron ranon dok sunce rosu ne popije, duše naših pokojnih s dušama janjaca pasu* (Faber, 1995., 163.).³ Jesu li te okolnosti uvjetovale da se u našem jadranskom zaleđu javio poseban odnos prema smrti? Na to pitanje odgovorit će osebujan pogrebski ritual, prvi put otkriven i zabilježen na Velebitu početkom 20. st. Sustavna istraživanja započela su sedamdesetih godina 20. st. kada običaj više nije bio u funkciji⁴.

Iz prvih zapisa planinara – *velebitaša*⁵ i informacija kazivača doznamo da se pokojnika s planine nosilo na nosilima omotana u *cunju* (ponjavu) te svezana užetom oko nosila da ne sklizne *niza stranu*. Glava pokojnika na nosilima bila je na zapadu (lice gleda u izlazeće sunce), a noge naprijed, prema istoku. Spust je do mjesnoga groblja ponekad trajao tri do pet sati. Na tom dugom i teškom putu nosači nisu smjeli stati i otpočinuti, nego su se izmjnjivali u hodu do prvog i jedinog stajališta – *mirila*. Na njima su pokojnika prvi i posljednji put položili na zemlju da bi se izveo ritual mjerena tijela - života (str. 26.). *Uzimanje mire* s dva kamena za koja će se duša trajno vezati govori o sakralnom kontekstu *mirila*. S druge strane, *mirilo* svojim oblikom personificira pokojnika i njegov fizički identitet (Katić, 2011., 139.).⁶ Ritual je trajao oko petnaestak minuta, dovoljno da se duša veže s kamenom, što joj je omogućavalo siguran i brzi prelazak na drugi svijet.

Južnovelebitska predaja ističe da na *mirilima* ne *počiva* (odmara) pogrebna povorka, nego samo pokojnik nad kojim se provodi ritualno-religijski obred. Počivanje živih imalo je drugi kontekst, a odnosilo se uglavnom na žene koje su nosile brjeme pa su se na Počivalima odmarale odnosno počivale. Ta počivala postala su to-

³ Faber, Aleksandra, Život velebitskog stočara i njegov odnos prema smrti (Razmatranja uz mirila), *Senjski zbornik*, god. 22., Senj, 1995., str. 157.-170.

⁴ Vidjeti: Glavičić, Ante, Mirila i počivala na Velebitu (I.), *Senjski zbornik*, god. 8., 1980., str. 197.-210., i Mirjana Trošelj, Ukrasi i simboli na južnovelebitskim mirilima na području Starigrada -Paklenice (I. dio), *Senjski zbornik*, god. 9., 1981./82., str. 115.-148.

⁵ Vidjeti: Mirjana Trošelj, Prilog istraživanju velebitskih mirila, *Senjski zbornik*, god. 19., Senj, 1992., str. 69.-72.

⁶ Katić, M., Kamen i duša (Perunovo kopljje), *Studia mythologica Slavica*, 4, Ljubljana, 2011., str. 133.-145.

ponimom, a ponegdje su u blizini mirila, primjerice Kosa dobrosekska, Opuvani dolac i Pleće.

Oko *mirila* su u zimskom razdoblju pastiri napasali svoje *blago*. Često su kraj njih zastajali i prisjećali se *izmirenih duša*. Žene su izgovarale neku vrstu molitve: *Žive duše, mrtva tila, laka vam zemљa bila. Žive naše duše blagosvljene bile, neka vas sunce žarko prati, u miru Božjem počivale. Mrtvi naši dobar dan, sretno vaše upočivanje, Bog vas pomilova.*⁷

Važnost obreda mjerena pokojnika proizlazi iz vjerovanja da je duša *koliko' tilo* – život. *Izmireno tilo je izmirena duša.*⁸ Koliko je tijelo, toliko je i duša, što bi značilo da je istovjetna s njim. Drugim riječima, duša ima pokojnikovo tjelesno obliće i veličinu pa se ritual mjerena tijela zapravo odnosi na mjerjenje duše, koja će se vezati s kamenom (Katić, 2011., 143.).⁹

Smatra se da je osnovna funkcija *mirila* u ritualno-religijskom kontekstu da simboliziraju granicu između dva svijeta (ovostranog i onostranog), dakle između živih i mrtvih. Pomoću obreda mjerena zatvaraju granicu koju je pokojnikova *živa* duša prešla, da se više ne vraća među žive (Katić, 2011., 137.).¹⁰ *Mirilom* je duši određeno mjesto za koje će se trajno vezati i na kojem će boraviti kada se bude vraćala iz onostranoga. S druge strane, njime su zaštićeni i živi jer su s drugu stranu granice koju duša više u svom lutjanju ne može prelaziti. Drugim riječima, apotropejski se odnose i prema živima i prema mrtvima. U sakralno-religioznom kontekstu *mirilo* više nije bio običan kamen, nego simboličan, *sveti kamen*, koji se nije smjelo gaziti i devastirati. Stoga je kod mlađe populacije izazivao strahopoštovanje.

Mirila su tradicionalno građena u suhozidnoj tehnici, a čine ih *uzglavnica* i *uznožnica*, koje su povezane popločenom *podnicom*. Stanovitom broju *mirila* iz sedamdesetih godina 20. st., na lokalitetu Među klancin i Rastovci na Ljubotiću, *podnice* su cementirane. Oblikovanje i gradnju izvodili su majstori – *zidari*. Prema zanatskoj vještini klesanja razlikuju se dva tipa izrade: prvi podrazumijeva precizno dotjerane unutarnje i vanjske plohe kamena, pogotovo unutarnje na koje se uklesavao natpis ili reljefni ukras, a drugi, potpuno rustičnu obradu s neznatnim klesarskim intervencijama. Iz predaje se doznaće da je *zidanje mirila* ovisilo o platežnoj moći obitelji ili cijelog roda kojem je pokojnik pripadao. O tome je ovisilo i vrijeme izrade: imućniji su ga gradili petnaestak do mjesec dana poslije pokopa, a siromašniji nakon nekoliko mjeseci do godine. Prema obliku *uzglavnice* i *uznožnice* mogu se razvrstati u nekoliko tipova: 1. lučno-zaobljeni, 2. dvoslivni – „sljemenjak“ (trokutasta vrha, kao krov na dvije vode), 3. dvoslivni ravnog vrha, 4. pravokutni, 5. kvadratni i 6. amorfni.

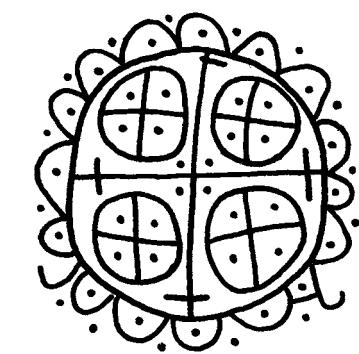
Natpsi imaju sve oznake kršćanske ruralne sepulkclarne epigrafije: kratki su, lapidarni, uklesani na uzglavnici, često u profilaciji, a donose bitne podatke o pokojniku (sl. 5.-6.). Većina ih je izvedena nespretno, rustično, najvjerojatnije bez ikakvog predloška, sa zrcalnim slovima ili slovima koja su *pobjegla* s plohe, a samo manji broj je *stručnije* urezan. Može ih se razvrstati u nekoliko skupina: 1. natpsi koji sadrže samo inicijale pokojnika

⁷ Jović, Pera, Starigrad-Paklenica, 1975.

⁸ Poljak, Slavka, Tribanj, 1988.

⁹ Katić, Mario, nav. dj.

¹⁰ Katić, Mario, nav. dj.



sl. / Fig. 7 - 9

Mirila Opuvani dolac



i znak križa i ponegdje godinu smrti, 2. natpsi koji sadrže samo godinu smrti sa ili bez znaka križa, 3. natpsi koji sadrže ime i prezime ili samo ime, znak križa i godinu smrti, rjeđe i godinu rođenja i pripadnost jednom članu obitelji (ocu ili mužu), s kraticama: DN(dana), R(ođen/a) i U(mra/mrla), 4. natpsi prošireni vjerskim i drugim formulama u izvornom govornom idiomu: *Boga/Bogje pomilova, umra/umrla, upočiva, uspomeni*. Često su u kombinaciji na jednom natpisu arapske i rimske brojke u oznaci dana smrti. Osnovna zadaća natpisa bila je sačuvati uspomenu u povijesnom kontekstu 19. i 20. st., kada se u Podgorju pojavljuju opismenjeni majstori koji više nisu bili upućeni u tradicionalnu ornamentiku i njezino značenje.

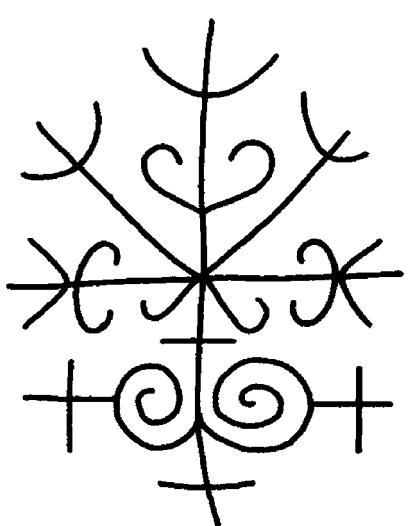
Ornamentalni likovni prikazi na *uzglavnici*, rjeđe na *douzglavnici* i *uznožnici*, plitko uklesani u prilično dotrajalom reljefu, mogli bi imati sve naznake astralne eshatologije, u smislu vjerovanja u dioništvo besmrtnе duše sa svemirom, poznatih religijskih strujanja od pretpovijesnog doba, antike i srednjeg vijeka do 20. st. Premda se u kontekstu 20. st. značenje motiva posve izgubilo i zaboravilo, *to su samo nika šare da bi mirilo bilo lipše i da bi duša bila zadovoljnija*, ipak bi poneki mogli odražavati simboliku solarne teologije kao i njihovi prauzori (ranosrednjovjekovni ili još stariji, pretpovijesni i antički). To su u prvom redu astralni motivi: solarni križ i zvijezda, dva svemirsko-solarna simbola božanskog i vječnog. Pokojnik na *mirilu* s glavom na zapadu i pogledom duše prema izlazećem suncu s kojim se opraća, zalog je za njezin vječni život u svemiru. Stilizirani ornamenti predstavljaju simboličke, dekorativne i antropomorfne motive i vjerojatno predočavaju oblike mišljenja i vjerovanja velebitskoga gorštaka izrečene ideogramskim jezikom, a koji istodobno prenose poruke o pokojnikovoj duši i njezinu zagrobnom životu u određenom povijesnom kontekstu. Većina simbola, osim običnog križa, modificirana je u odnosu na svoj eventualni primarni izvor i značenje, primjerice, zaobljena svastika (četverokuka). Najrašireniji religijski motiv je križ, a javlja se u obliku običnog križa, antropomorfnog i teomorfnog (raširenih ruku) u izrazitoj stilizaciji. Drugoj, *arhaičnoj* skupini križeva pripadaju, već istaknuti, solarni križ, osmerokraka zvijezda, svastika, četverolisna rozeta, pentagram, trozub i razgranati križ sa spiralama, kosim križem i modificiranom svastikom. Dva osamljena motiva jesu otvorena šaka s križem izvijenih krakova na Opuvanom docu i motiv stilizirana stabla na Renjovcu (Reljovcu). U treću skupinu uvršteni su nedefinirani motivi, primjerice na lokalitetu Pod Jukića. Kompozicija dekoriranih motiva na unutarnjoj plohi *uzglavnice* je simetrična, primjerice solarni *latičasti* križ na Opuvanom docu, Glavčicama i Kosi dobroselskoj gotovo je istovjetan tradicijskom čipkastom vezu (sl. 7. - 28.). Na užem geografskom prostoru nalazimo analogue motive na folklornoj građi, bosansko-hercegovačkoj tetovaži i stećcima, srednjovjekovnim nadgrobnim spomenicima.¹¹

O postanju *mirila* govore nam natpsi i arhivska građa. Natpsi na velebitskim *mirilima*, datirani u 19. i 20. st., govore o njihovoj mlađoj kulturnoj tradiciji. Stariji natpsi koji bi ih potvrđivali i u 18. st. nisu sačuvani. Andrej Pleterski u svojim istraživanjima uvrstio je jednu *uzglavnicu* na mirilima Među klancin na Ljubotiću, s vrlo dotrajalim reljefom, u 18. st. Kronološka analiza je pokazala da *mirilo spada med tri najstarejša in je veskakor*

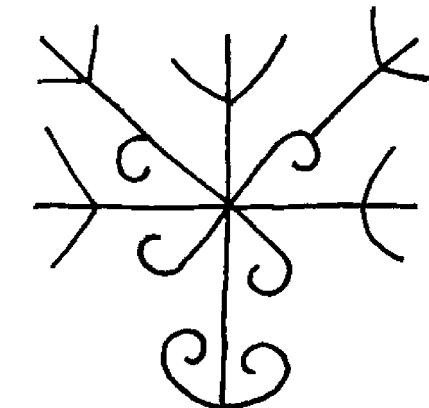
¹¹ Mirjana Trošelj, O mogućim analogijama nekih ukrasnih motiva na mirilima, Priopćenje održano na znanstvenom skupu *Vilinska vrata*, 5. listopada 2012., u Lovincu (u tisku)

nastalo oko leta 1700. (Pleterški, 2010., 146.).¹² Prije četrdeset godina registrirana je mlađa *uzglavnica* iz 18. st., s površinom i već tada dotrajalim urezom godine smrti - 1782., na mirilima Glavčice, ali nakon njihova izmještenja, 1980., izgubio joj se trag; najvjerojatnije je uzidana u cementni zid jedne dvorišne ograde kraj *mirila*. Njihovu starijem datiranju na Velebitu išle bi u prilog povijesne okolnosti od druge polovice 17. st. i tijekom 18. st. kada su, nakon Kandijskog rata, mletačke vlasti naseljavale prostor Starigrada-Paklenice novim stanovništvom iz Ravnih kotara i Bukovice, a to je većim dijelom isto stanovništvo koje i danas nastanjuje južnovelebitsko Podgorje (Rogić, 1969., 105.).¹³

Najstariji dokumentirani zapis o *mirilima* u Ravnim kotarima nalazimo u mletačkim arhivskim dokumentima u Zadarskom arhivu, u ugovoru o razgraničenju između mletačke i turske vlasti na zadarskom prostoru, nakon Ciparskog rata u 16. st. (1576.). *Mirila* se spominju na tri mjesta kao granični međaši između Mlečana i Turaka. Granica je prelazila *cucagliza mirila* (Kukaljića *mirila*) između današnjeg Kuklja i crkve sv. Martina (Pridraga). Kukalj je bilo utvrđeno selo koje se spominje i u 15. st. pa je vjerojatno da su *mirila* i tada postojala na tom području. I danas su u Kuklju poznata *mirila*, ali se ne zna pouzdano jesu li na istom položaju kao u 16. st. Od Kukaljića *mirila* granica je išla dalje prema Paljuvu kod Novigrada. Sjeverozapadna granica je prolazila od Dobre vode (sela Bašćica, Lovinac i Rupalj blizu Posedarja) do *mirila* (ne spominje se čijih), pa do Benkovića/Brankovića posjeda (Anzulović, 1998., 61.-62., 77.).¹⁴ Istraživanja arhivske građe bit će od presudnog značenja za utvrđivanje povijesti ove jedinstvene i značajne kulturno-povijesne i umjetničke baštine u Hrvatskoj, koja nije samo nematerijalna, nego i materijalna – kamena, osobito na Velebitu, a to se ne bi smjelo zanemariti, jer je duša povezana s kamenom.



sl. / Fig. 10 - 11
Mirila Opuvani dolac



sl. / Fig. 12 - 13
Mirila Opuvani dolac

¹² Pleterški, Andrej, Mirila – kulturni fenomen, Prostor, običaji i spremembe na mirilih Kruščice in Korit, *Studia mythologica Slavica*, 3., Ljubljana, 2010., str.127.-151.

¹³ Rogić, Pavle, Porijeklo stanovnika velebitskih naselja (u: Poljak, Ž., i suradnici, Velebit), PSH, Zagreb, 1969., str. 101.-112.

¹⁴ Anzulović, Ivna, Razgraničenje između mletačke i turske vlasti na zadarskom prostoru 1576., nakon Ciparskog rata, *Zadarška smotra*, MH Zadar, god. XLVII., br. 1. – 3., 1998., str. 53.-151.



sl. / Fig. 14-15
Mirila Opuvani Dolac
foto: Lepa Petri



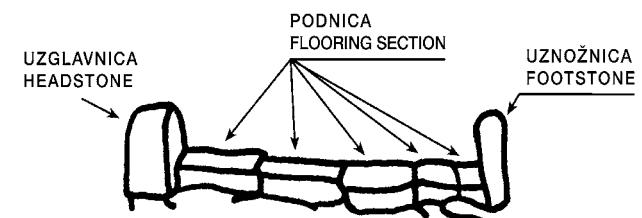
The Mirilo - A Memorial for the Soul

Mirjana Trošelj

A *mirilo*, a measure, is a drystone, rural, art memorial that used to mark the site where a dead person was *set down* on the ground for the last time to take leave of the Sun, before being buried in a graveyard. This is the place where the *living soul* parts from the body, is joined to the *mirilo* and moves to the other world, after the deceased's *measure* has been taken, i.e., the length of his or her body measured with the help of two stones, one placed at the head and the other at the feet. This stone measure is the deceased's personification in *everlasting memory*. The *mirilo* is an important part of the cultural, historical and art heritage and tells us about the traditional world view and spiritual life of the Velebit highlander before the middle of the 20th century.

Mirila are built beside frequented paths (Figs 1), often halfway between the mountain settlement and the graveyard on the coast, on a specially chosen place which is a symbolic manifestation of the soul's journey from this world to that. They therefore represent the boundary between these two worlds. The soul measured with a *mirilo* got its safe *habitat*, a place that the living deeply respected, while the body in the grave turned to *earth*, and the grave in the graveyard lost any meaning (Trošelj 2010:64).¹ This funeral custom is linked to belief in the afterlife of the soul, which wanders around prevented by the *mirilo* from crossing the boundary in its wandering. The *mirilo* helped the measured soul to find its home, which helped it to *fly* to the other world, and when it returned, it would return to its *mirilo* without disturbing the living. It would *recognise* its own *mirilo* from its measurements and the decorations on the stone slabs placed at the head and the feet (Fig. 2-3).

Etymologically the word *mirilo/a*, in the local speech idiom, comes from the verbs meaning *measure*, *take the measure of* (*miriti, uzeti miru*) the deceased, which means to measure his or her body length, *life*, with the help of two stones, and to measure and satisfy (*namiriti*) the soul. On the basis of the measurement, a *mirilo* was built for the soul in the drystone technique after the deceased had been interred on the graveyard. A headstone and footstone with carved decorations were placed on the sites of the measuring stones, and the space between them was paved with slabs (Fig. 16). Thus the *mirilo* got the architectural appearance of a real grave like those that could be seen up to the mid-20th century on graveyards in the Velebit foothills. Systematic research from the second half of the 20th century showed that the best-preserved and most interesting *mirila* are on the territory of the Starigrad-Paklenica municipality. Twenty-six sites with about 1500 *mirila* have been registered. There are fewer of them today because of the mass construction of summer houses, and the widening and building of roads, especially on sites nearer the sea (Zapadnjari, Glavčice, Pod Jukića, Sige Kneževića, Modrič 1, Modrič 2).



sl. / Fig. 16

Nazivlje pojedinih ploča mirila
Terminology of the stone slabs mirila

¹ See: Trošelj, Mirjana. "Natpisi i likovni prikazi na velebitskim mirilima, Mirila - kulturni fenomen" (Inscriptions and Art on Velebit *mirila*, *Mirila* – A Cultural Phenomenon), *Studia Mithologica Slavica Supplementum 4*, Ljubljana, 2010, pp. 63-93.

Mirila are widespread in the Dinaric Alps: on Velebit, in Ravni kotari, Bukovica and the Dalmatian Hinterland. In Ravni kotari, Bukovica and the Dalmatian Hinterland they are also called *mjerila*, *počivala* and *počivaljke* (resting places). It has not yet been established whether similar ones, architecturally designed in stone, can also be found across the border of Croatia, but the custom marking the place where the dead are laid down has been recorded throughout Europe (Katić 2012:128-130).² In Croatia *mirila* were built by the migratory herding population of the Velebit region, which moved with their herds from winter settlements in the Adriatic hinterland to the summer sub-mountain and mountain zones. They were made until the 1960s on south Velebit, in the Starigrad-Paklenica municipality, and are a rare example of artistic design and ornamental decoration. After their conservation and protection in 2007, they were presented as an outstanding cultural phenomenon of the memorial rural heritage, both because of the skilled carving and their different types depending on the shapes of the headstones and footstones, and because of their ornamental and symbolic decoration. In the other regions mentioned they went out of use early, in most cases material trace of them was also lost, except in Bukovica and Ravni Kotari where the custom still lives, mostly practiced by the Orthodox population. They are oriented from west to east or north-east to south-west and arranged in rows one beside the other, according

to the position belonging to the family (clan) on the site (Figs 5-6). The magnificent Velebit landscape around them is a natural accent for the symbolism of the soul's transition from the world of the living to the world of the dead, and the locations have all the marks of a holy site. Usually they developed on saddles, crossroads, meadows, glades, clearings in the rockland, sometimes near prehistoric stone-mounds, castles, pools, gullies and miniature chapels with a view of the surroundings, harmoniously blending into the Velebit landscape. They are oriented according to the rising sun in either solstice, depending on the deceased's date of death. On these chosen places the sun, to which the deceased is saying goodbye for the last time, rises first. The symbolical transition of the soul on this site is complemented by the symbols carved on the headstone, footstone and first paving stone of the bed.

The shepherds' way of life in the mountain has not changed essentially from prehistory to the 20th century, regardless of ethnicity and religion. Until the mid-20th century the life of the Roman Catholic and Orthodox population on Velebit was identical. People lived under the same economic and natural conditions, far from civilisation and towns. Since their livelihood depended on their livestock, sometimes care for the animals took precedence over their own lives. Besides, *the sheep, like man, have a soul. In the early dawn, before the sun drinks up the dew, the souls of our departed graze together with the souls of lambs* (Faber 1995:163).³ Is this why a special attitude to death appeared in the Adriatic hinterland? A special funeral ritual, first discovered and recorded on Velebit in the early 20th century, can help answer this question. Systematic re-

² M. Katić, "Prilog istraživanju običaja obilježavanja mjesta odmaranja s pokojnikom" (A Contribution to Research into the Custom of Marking the Resting Place with the Deceased), *Studia mythologica slavica* XV, Ljubljana, 2012 (117-133)

³ A. Faber, "Život velebitskog stocara i njegov odnos prema smrti (Razmatranja uz mirila)" (The Life of the Velebit Shepherd and his Attitude to Death /Thoughts Alongside the Mirila/), *Senjski zbornik*, year 22, Senj, 1995 (157 - 170)

search began in the 1970s, when the custom was no longer practiced.⁴ The first records made by Velebit mountain climbers⁵ and reports by tellers show that the shrouded body of the deceased was carried down from the mountain tied to a stretcher with a rope, to prevent it from sliding off while negotiating the steep paths. The deceased's head on the stretcher was on the west, he faced and looked at the rising sun, and his feet were forward, turned to the east. The descent to the local graveyard sometimes lasted three to five hours. On this long and difficult journey the bearers were not allowed to stop and rest, but replaced one another as they walked to the first and only stop – the *mirilo*. There the deceased was placed on the ground for the first and only time for the ritual of measuring the body – the *life* (pag. 26). The religious context of the *mirilo*, to which the soul would lastingly be joined, can be seen from the custom of *taking the measure* with two stones. On the other hand, in its shape the *mirilo* personifies the deceased and his or her physical identity (Katić 2011:139).⁶ The ritual lasted for about fifteen minutes, enough for the soul to be joined with the stone, which provided it with a sure and quick transition to the other world.

According to tradition on south Velebit, it is not the funeral procession that rests at the *mirilo*, but only the deceased over whom the ritual and religious rite is carried out. The living rested in another context, which mostly referred to the women who carried bundles on their backs, and they rested at the *počivalo* (resting-place). This kind of *počivalo* became a place name, and sometimes it was close to the *mirilo*, for example at Kosa Dobroselska, Opuvani dolac and Pleće.

Shepherds let their sheep graze around the *mirila* in winter. Often they stopped beside them and remembered the measured souls. The women used to say a kind of prayer: *Living souls, dead bodies, may the earth you rest in be light. Living souls, may you be blessed, may the burning sun follow you, may you rest in the peace of the Lord. Good day to you, our departed, may you rest happy, may God have mercy on you.*⁷

The importance of the rite of measuring the deceased comes from the belief that the soul is *life – just like the body. When the body has been measured, so has the soul.*⁸ The size of the body is the size of the soul, which means that they are the same. In other words, the soul has the same physical shape and size as the deceased's body, so the ritual of measuring the body in fact means measuring the soul, which will be joined to the stone (Katić 2011:143).⁹

It is thought that the basic ritual and religious function of the *mirilo* is that it symbolises the boundary between two worlds, the world of the living and the world of the dead. The measuring ritual helps close the boundary which the deceased person's living soul crosses, never to return among the living again (Katić 2011:137).¹⁰ The *mirilo* determines the place to which the soul will permanently link itself and in which it will stay when it returns from the other world.

⁴ See: A. Glavičić, "Mirila i počivala na Velebitu(I)" (*Mirila and počivala on Velebit /1/*), *Senjski zbornik*, year. VIII – 1980, and M. Trošelj, "Ukrasi i simboli na južnovelebitskim mirilima na području Starigrada-Paklenice (I. dio)" (*Decorations and Symbols on mirila on Southern Velebit on the Territory of Starigrad-Paklenica /part 1/*), *Senjski zbornik*, ear. IX – 1981 – 1982.

⁵ See: M. Trošelj, "Prilog istraživanju velebitskih mirila" (A Contribution to Research into Velebit *mirila*), *Senjski zbornik*, 19, Senj, 1992.

⁶ M. Katić, "Kamen i duša (Perunovo koplje)" (Stone and Soul /The Lance of Perun/), *Studia mythologica slavica*, 4, Ljubljana, 2011 (133 - 145)

⁷ Pera Jović, Starigrad-Paklenica, 1975.

⁸ Slavka Poljak, Tribanj, 1988.

⁹ M. Katić, *op. cit.*

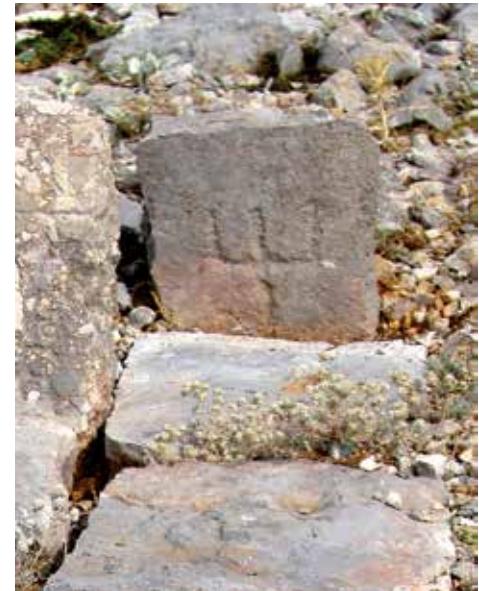
¹⁰ M. Katić, *op. cit.*



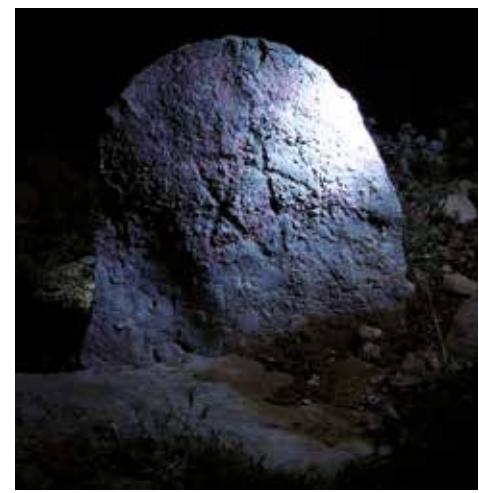
sl. / Fig. 14
Mirila Nad Kruškovcem



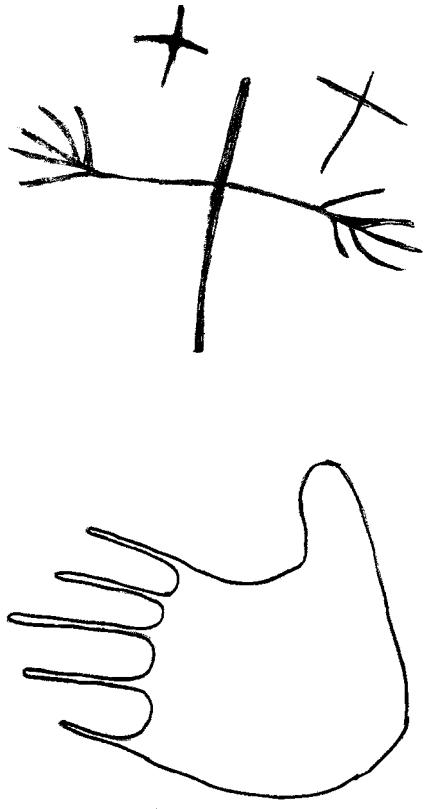
sl. / Fig. 15
Mirila Rastovci



sl. / Fig. 16
Mirila Korita



sl. / Fig. 17
Mirila Opuvani Dolac
foto: Andrej Pleterski



sl. / Fig. 18 - 19
Mirila Opuvani Dolac

On the other hand, it is also protection for the living, because they are on the other side of the boundary that the soul can no longer cross during its wanderings. In other words, it has an apotropaic meaning both for the living and for the dead. In the ritual and religious context, the *mirilo* is no longer an ordinary stone but a symbolical, holy stone, which must not be trodden on or devastated. They caused fear and awe among the younger population.

Mirila were traditionally built in the drystone technique, and consisted of a headstone and foot-stone connected with a paved bed. Several more-recent ones from the 1970s have cement beds, on the Među klancin and Rastovci on Ljubotić sites. They were designed and built by master masons, and can be divided in two types based on the skill of the carving. In the first the inner and outer surfaces of the stone slabs are carefully carved, especially the inner sides that have an inscription or decoration in relief. The second type is completely rustic work with insignificant carving. Tradition says that *building the mirilo* depended on the prosperity of the family or the whole *clan* that the deceased belonged to. This also affected the time when it was made: wealthier people built it a fortnight to a month after the funeral, poorer ones several months to a year after. According to how the top of the headstone and footstone is shaped, we divide them in several types: 1. arched – curved, 2. pitched with two sloping surfaces meeting in a ridge – gabled, 3. two cut-off sides and a flat top, 4. rectangular, 5. square and 6. amorphous.

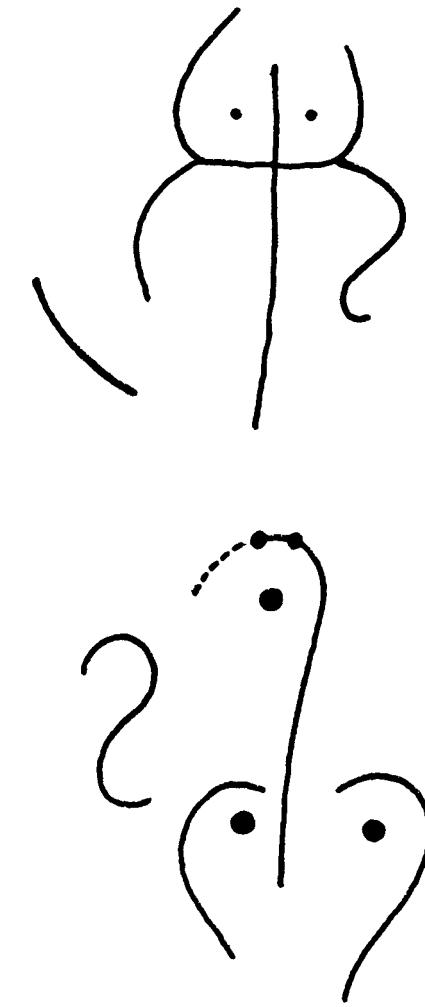
The inscriptions have all the marks of Christian rural sepulchral epigraphy: they are short, extremely lapidary, carved on the headstone, often with decorations, and they bring the essential information about the deceased. Most of them are clumsy, rustic, probably made without a template, with mirror letters or letters that “run off” the surface, and only a small number are more “professionally” carved. They may be classified in several groups: 1. inscriptions that show only the initials of the deceased and a cross and sometimes the year of death, 2. inscriptions that show only the year of death with or without a cross, 3. inscriptions that show the name and surname or only the name, a cross and the year of death, more rarely also the year of birth and attachment to a family member (father or husband), with the abbreviations: DN(day), R(born) and U(died), 4. inscriptions that include religious and other formulae in the vernacular: *Boga/Bogje pomilova, umra/umrla, upočiva, uspomeni* (God have mercy, died, rests, to the memory). Often Arabic and Roman numerals are combined in one inscription to mark the day of death. The basic task of the inscription was to preserve the memory of the deceased in the historical context of the 19th and 20th centuries, when literate master craftsmen appeared in Podgorje who no longer knew the traditional ornamentation and its symbolical meaning.

Ornamental figural presentations on the headstone, more rarely on the first stone of the bed and the footstone, carved in a shallow and rather worn out relief, might show all the marks of astral eschatology, belief that the immortal soul is part of the universe. They belong to religious currents known from prehistory, Antiquity and the Middle Ages to the 20th century. Although the symbolism of the motifs was completely lost and forgotten by the 20th century, and *they are just some patterns to make the mirilo more beautiful and give the soul greater satisfaction*, nevertheless some of them might reflect the symbolism of the solar theology found on their ancient models (early-medieval or even older, dating from prehistory or antiquity). These are in the first place astral motifs: the sun cross and star, two solar symbols of the divine and eternal. The deceased placed on the *mirilo*, with head to the west and the soul looking at the rising sun from which he is taking his leave, is a pledge for the soul's eternal life in the universe. Stylised ornaments represent symbolic, decorative and anthropomorphic motifs and probably show the way in which the Velebit highlander thought and what he believed in, expressed in the symbolic language of

ideograms that in a particular historical context carry messages about the deceased's soul and its afterlife. Most of the symbols, except for the ordinary cross, have been modified with respect to what was probably their primary source and meaning, for example, the swastika with volutes. The most widespread religious motif is the cross, and it appears as an ordinary cross, an anthropomorphic and “theomorphic” cross (with outspread arms) in a very stylised form. A second group of “archaic” crosses includes, besides the sun cross already mentioned, the eight-pointed star, swastika, quatrefoil rosette, pentagram, trident and branching cross with spirals, slanted cross and modified swastika. Two single motifs show an open hand and a cross with curved arms on Opuvani dolac, and a stylised tree on Renjovac (Reljovac). A third group includes undefined motifs of the Pod Jukića type. The composition of the ornamental motifs on the inner side of the headstones is symmetrical, for example the solar flower-shaped cross on Opuvani dolac, Glavčice and Kosa Dobroselska, almost identical to traditional lace (Figs 7-28). We find analogous motifs in the closer geographic region: on folklore material, Bosnian and Herzegovinian tattoos and medieval tombstones known as *stecči*.¹¹

The origin of *mirila* can be seen from the inscriptions and from archive material. The 19th and 20th century inscriptions on Velebit *mirila* show they are a more recent cultural tradition. Older inscriptions, confirming their existence in the 18th century, too, have not been found. Andrej Pleterski dated a headstone among the *mirila* of Među klancin – Ljubotić, with a very worn out inscription, in the 18th century. Chronological analysis showed that *this mirilo is one of the three oldest and was made in about 1700* (Pleterski 2010:146).¹² Forty years ago a newer 18th century headstone was registered among the *mirila* of Glavčica, its surface already worn and with the incised year of death 1782, but all trace of it was lost after the relocation of these *mirila* in 1980; it was probably built into the cement wall made beside the site. That there had been older ones on Velebit, too, is supported by historical events from the second half of the 17th and the 18th century, when after the Cretan (Candian) War the Venetian authorities settled people from Ravnici and Bukovica in the Starigrad-Paklenica area, and this is the population that mostly still inhabits the foothills of South Velebit today (Rogić 1969:105).¹³

The oldest document mentioning *mirila* in Ravnici is among the Venetian archive documents in the Zadar Archive. It is an agreement about the boundary line between the Venetian and Ottoman authorities in the Zadar region after the War of Cyprus in the 16th century (1576). *Mirila* are mentioned in three places as the boundary between the Venetians and the Ottomans. The border crossed *cucagliza mirila* (Kukaljića *mirila*) between today's Kukalj and St Martin's church (Pridraga). Kukalj was a fortified village also mentioned in the 15th century, so *mirila* probably existed there at that time, as well. There are *mirila* in Kukalj today, but it is not certain whether they are in the same place as they were in the 16th century. From Kukaljića *mirila* the border continued to Paljuv at Novigrad. The north-west border went from Dobra voda (the villages Baščica, Lovinac and Rupalj near Posedarje) to the *mirila* (no mention is made



sl. / Fig. 20 - 21
Mirila Pod Jukića

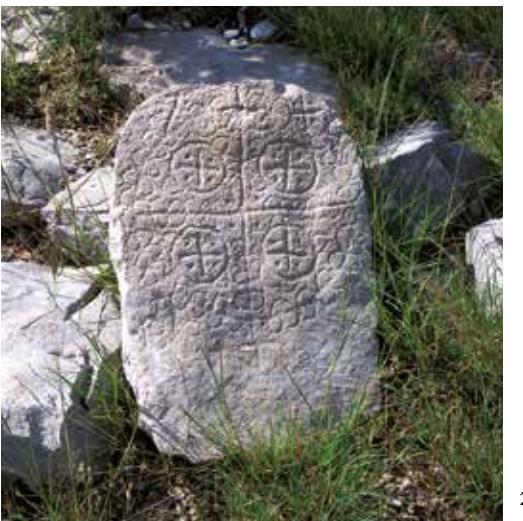
¹¹ M. Trošelj, O mogućim analogijama nekih ukrasnih motiva na mirilima, Priopćenje održano na znastvenom skupu Vilinska vrata 5.10. 2012. u Lovincu - Lika (On Possible Analogies to some Decorative Motifs on *mirila*, Paper at the Vilinska vrata symposium, 5 Oct. 2012, held in Lovinac in Lika) (in print)

¹² A. Pleterski, "Mirila-kulturni fenomen, Prostor, običaji in spremembe na mirilih Kruščice in Korit" (*Mirila – A Cultural Phenomenon*), *Studia mythologica slavica*, 3, Ljubljana, 2010 (127 - 151)

¹³ P. Rogić, "Porijeklo stanovnika velebitskih naselja" (u Ž. Poljak i suradnici, *Velebit*) (Origin of the Inhabitants of the Velebit Settlements /In Ž. Poljak et al., *Velebit*/), PSH, Zagreb, 1969 (101 - 112)



22



sl. / Fig. 22 - 23

Mirila Opuvani Dolac

sl. / Fig. 24

Mirila Zapadnjari

23



24



44

of whose), then to Benković/Branković (Anzulović 1998:61-62, 77).¹⁴ Archive research will be of crucial importance for establishing the history of this in many ways unique and important part of the cultural, historical and art heritage in Croatia, which is not only intangible but also tangible, made of stone, especially on Velebit, and this should not be neglected because the soul is joined to the stone.

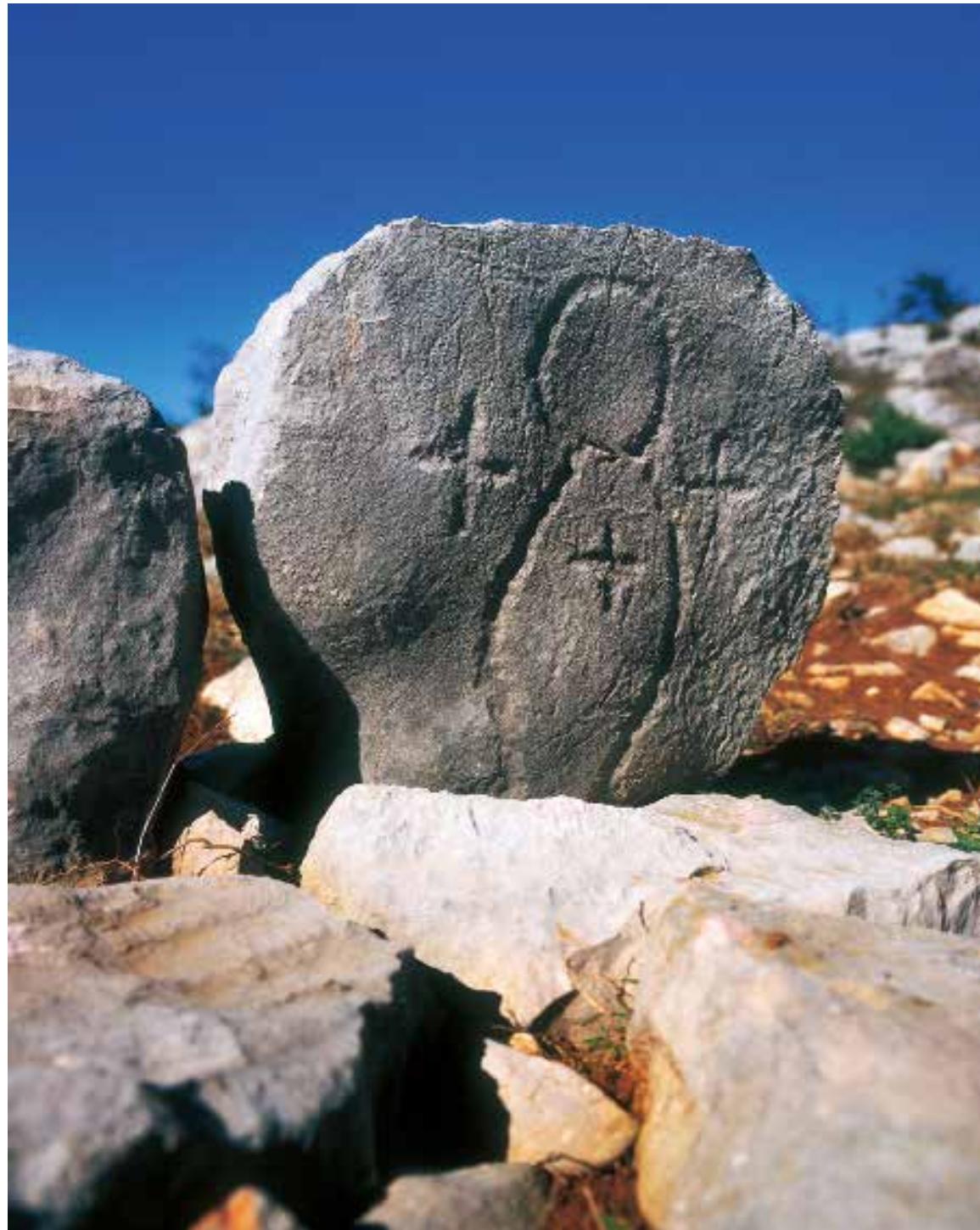
¹⁴ I. Anzulović, "Razgraničenje između mletačke i turske vlasti na zadarskom prostoru 1576., nakon Ciparskog rata" (Delimitation Between the Venetian and Ottoman Authorities in the Zadar Region in 1576 , after the War of Cyprus), *Zadarska smotra*, MH Zadar, year XLVII, no. 1 – 3, 1998 (53 - 151)



Nad Kruškovcem



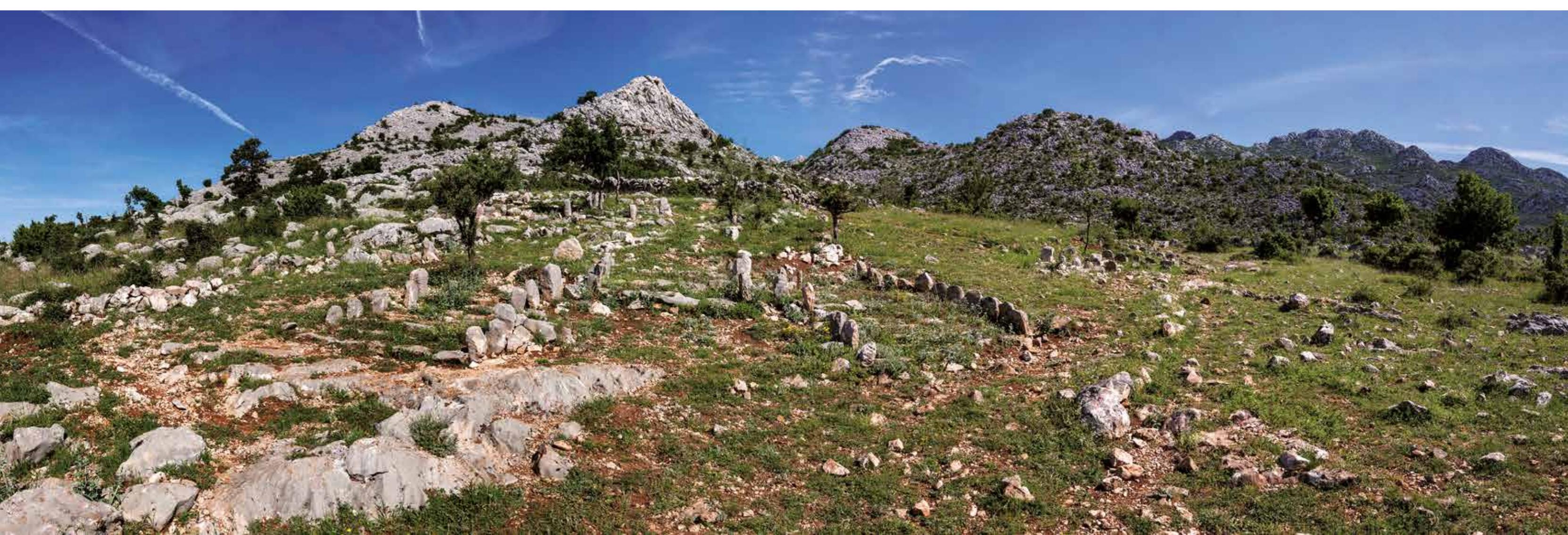
Nad Kruškovcem



Nad Kruškovcem



Nad Kruškovcem



Opuvani dolac



Opuvani dolac



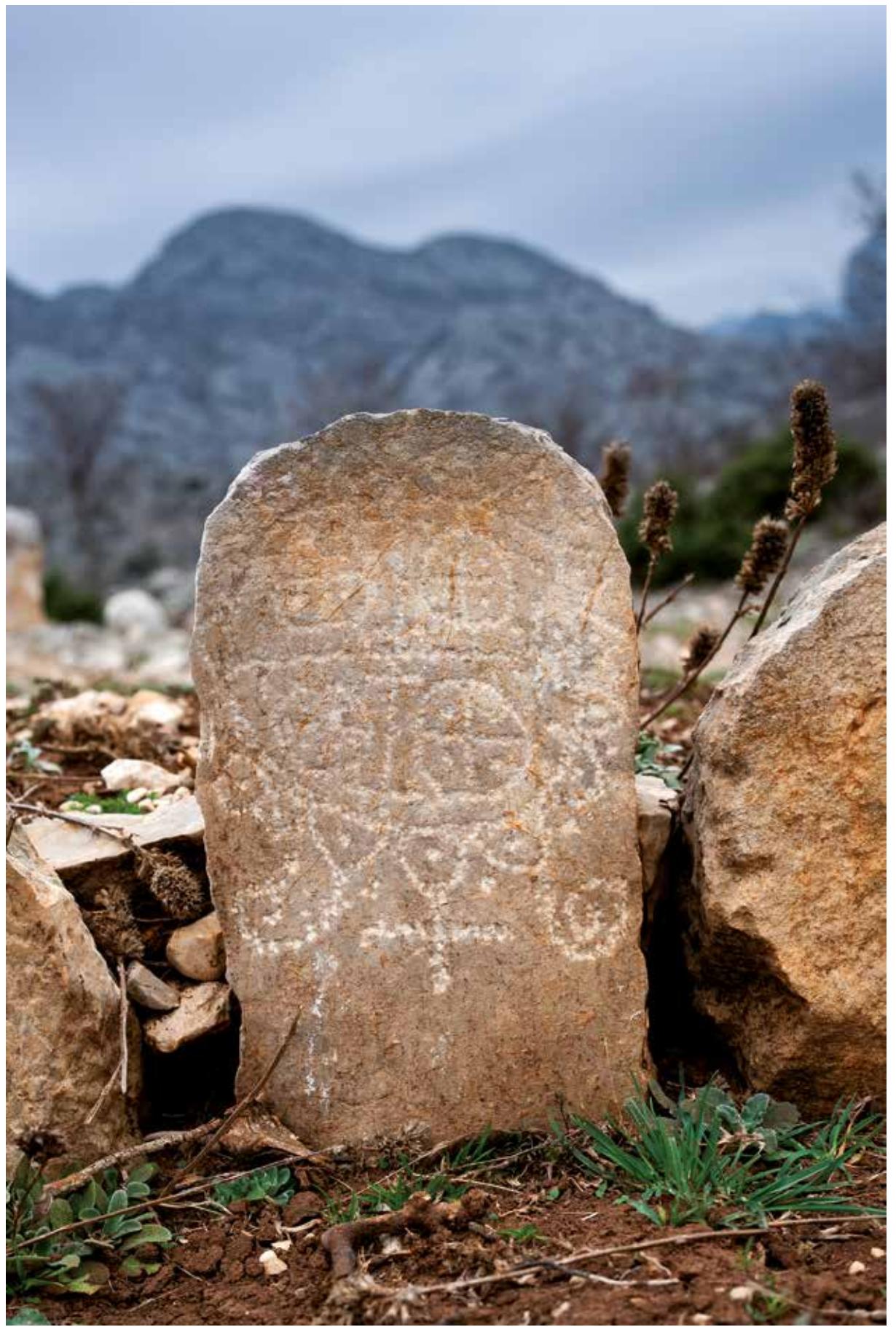
Opuvani dolac



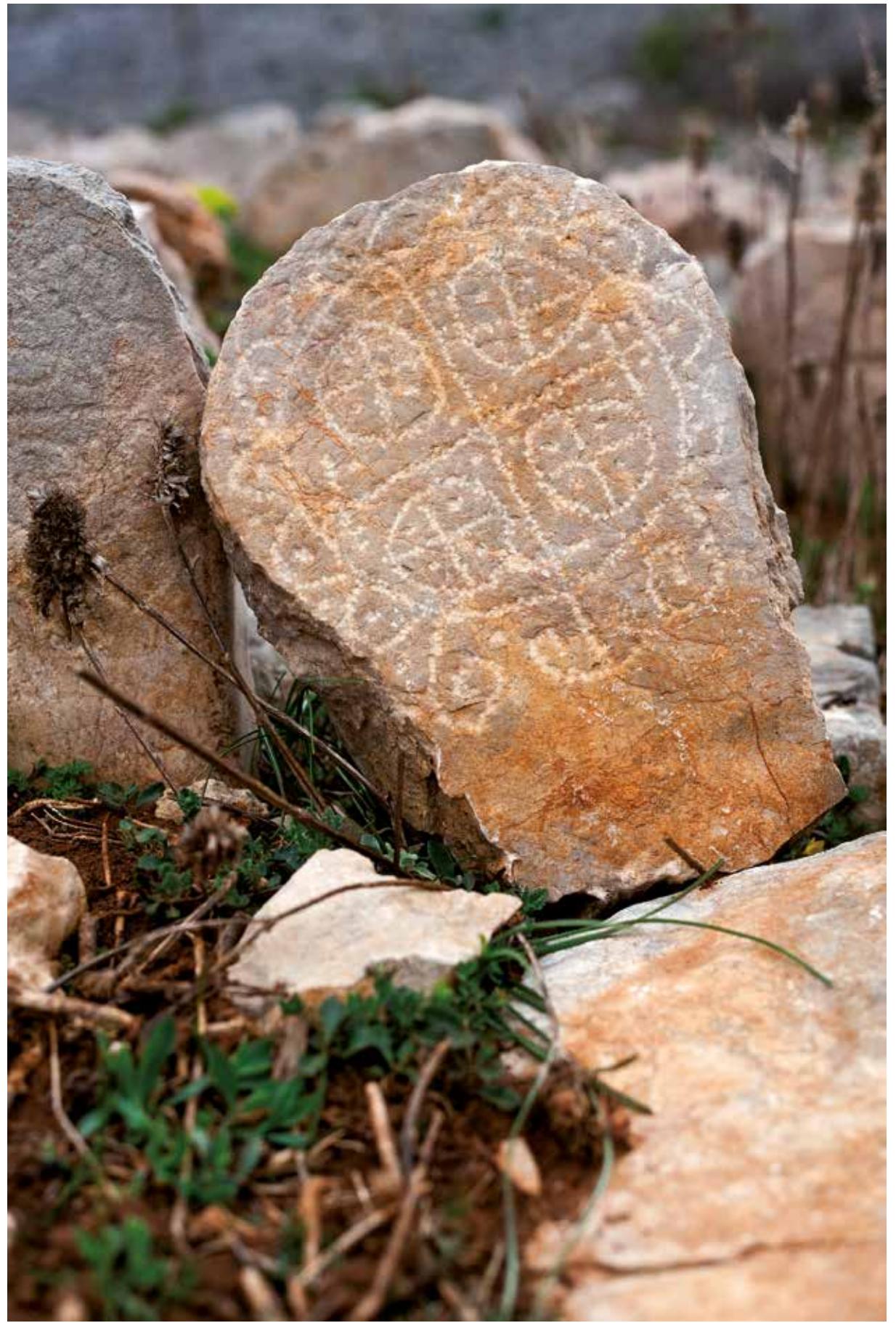
Opuvani dolac



Opuvani dolac



Opuvani dolac



Opuvani dolac



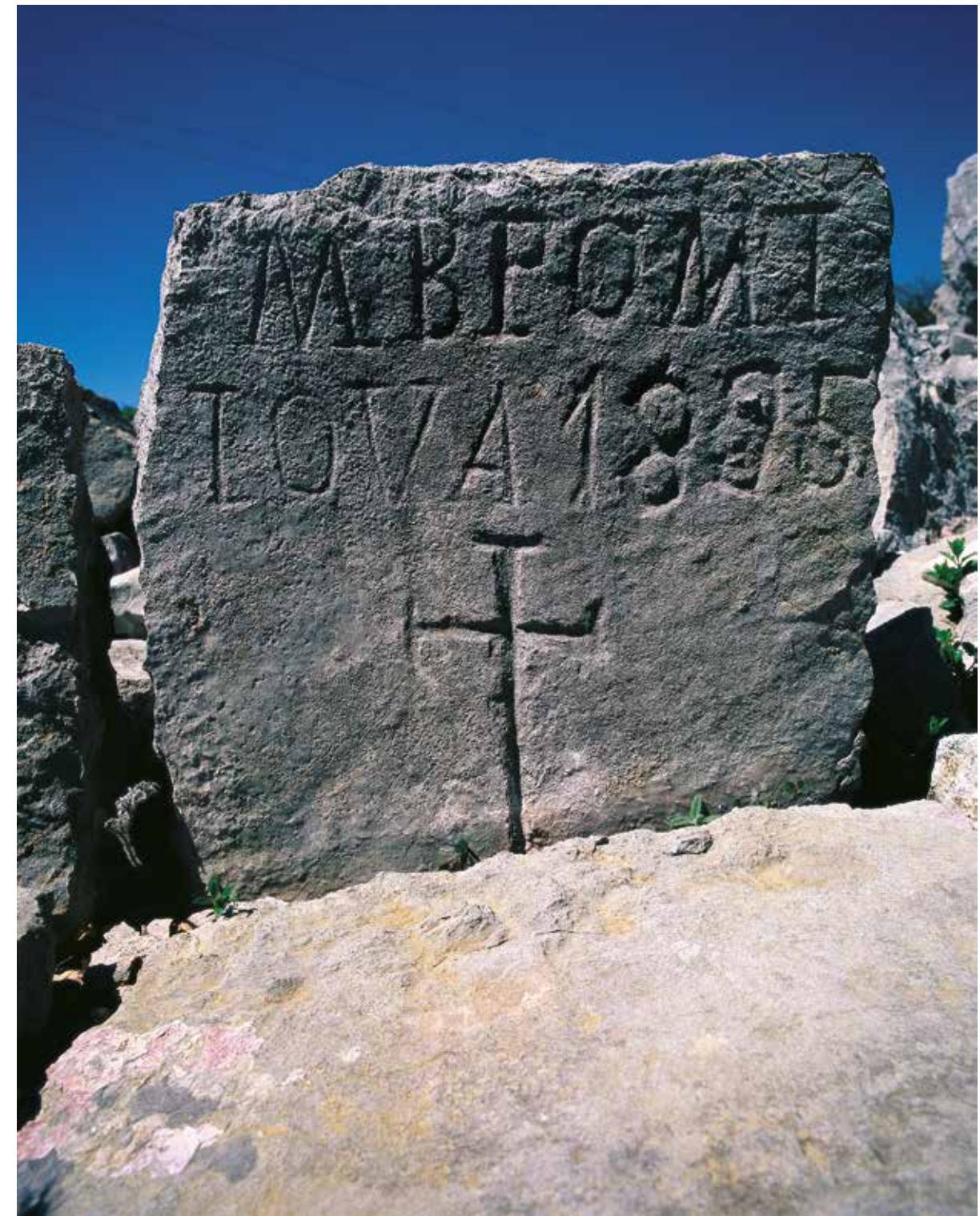
Medu klancin



Krčevine



Korita



Korita



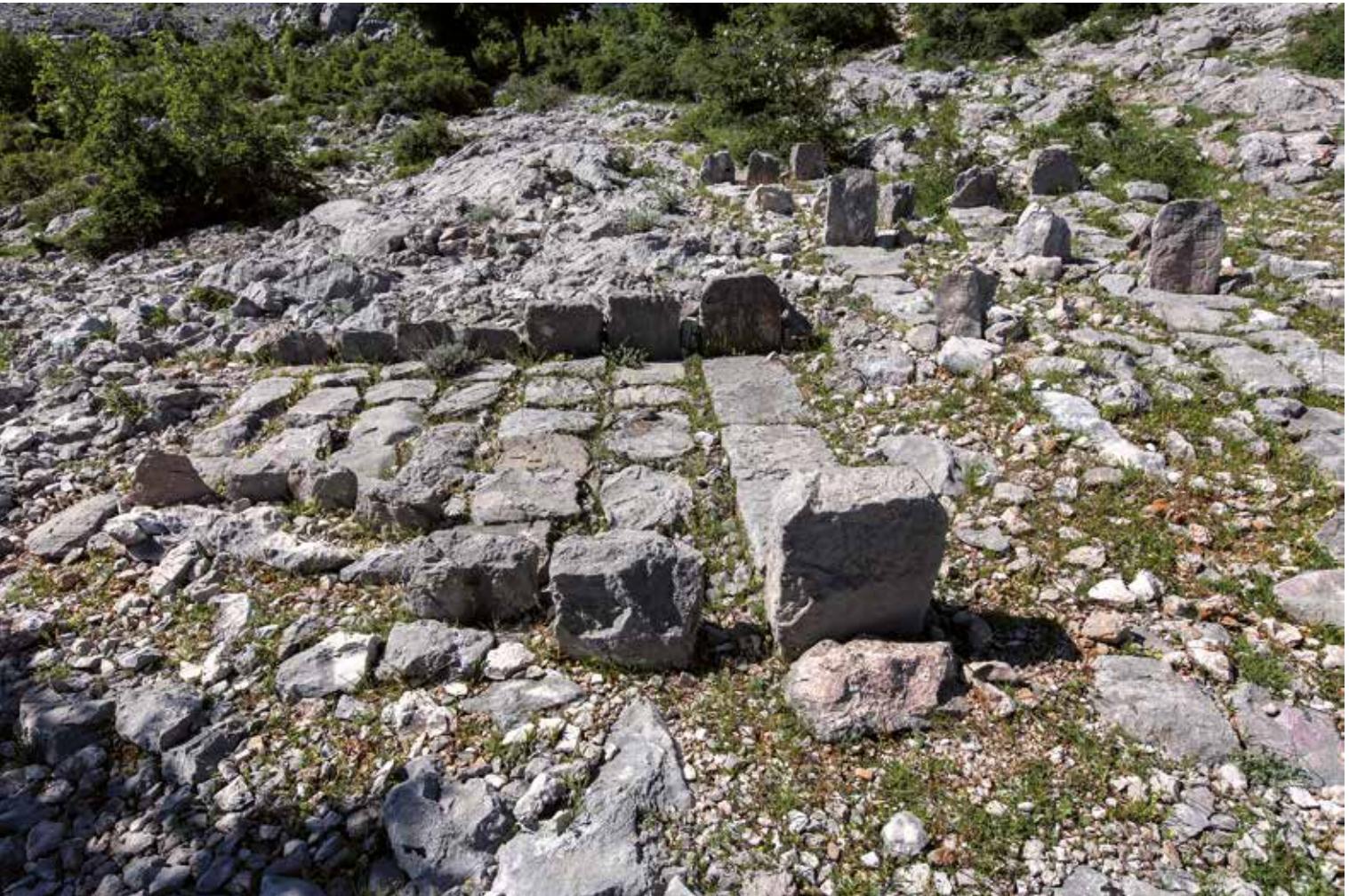
Rastovci



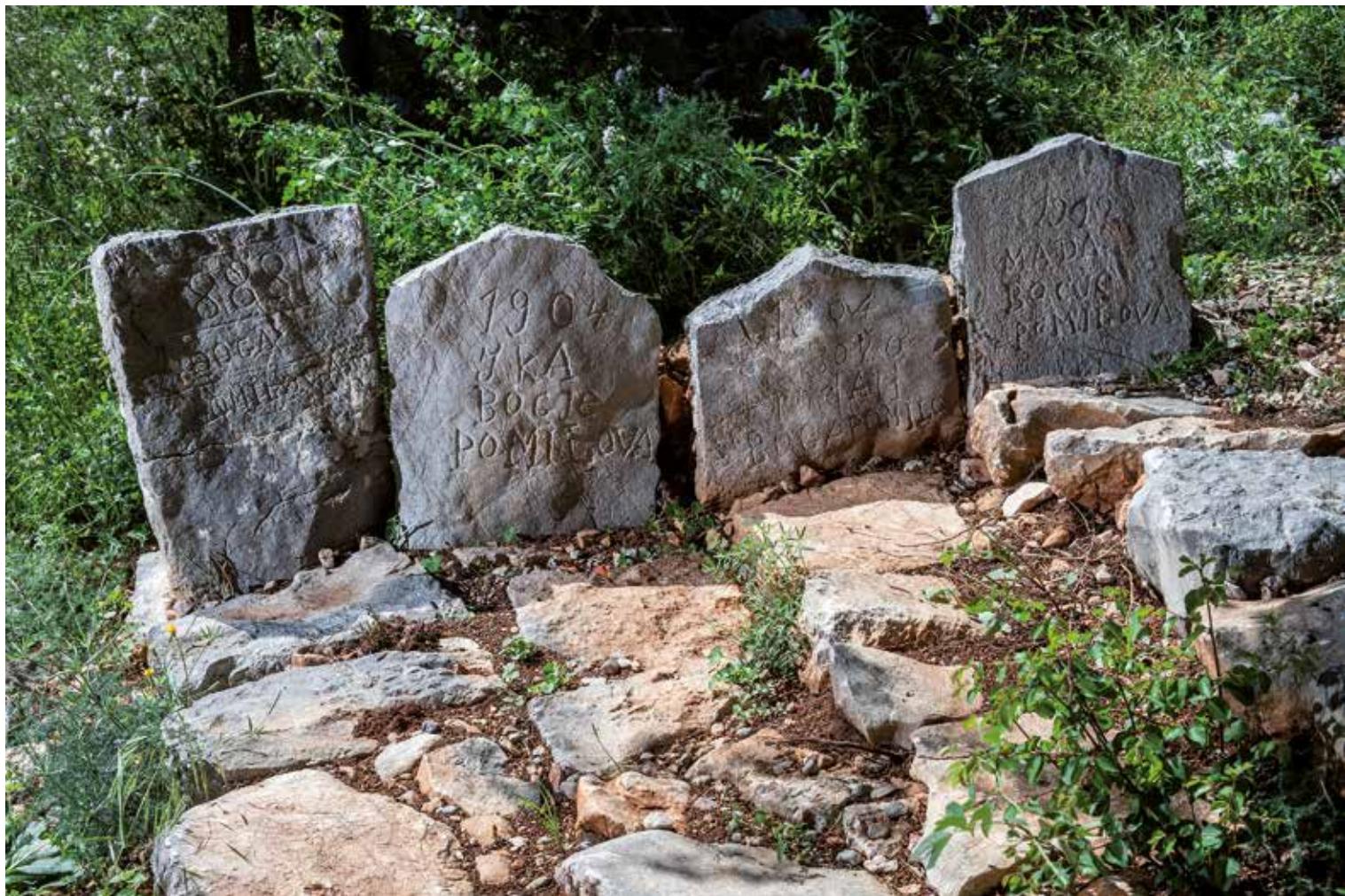
Rastovci



Rastovci



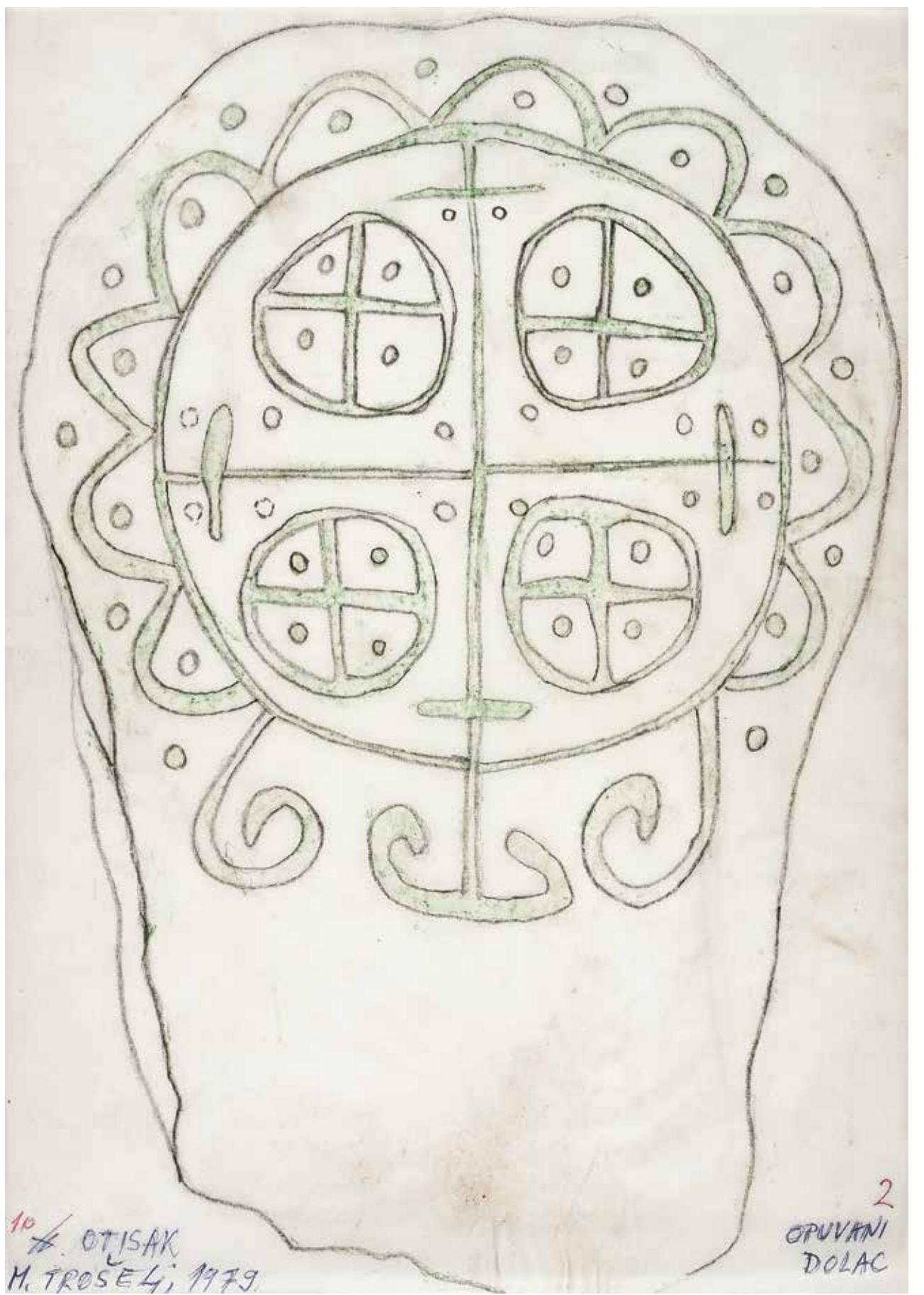
Sirno Selo



Kozjača



Mirjana Trošelj, Nad Kruškovcem, kat. br. 15



Mirjana Trošelj, Opuvani dolac, kat. br. 17



Krešimir Rončević, Arheološki crtež prema izravnom otisku / Archaeological drawing after print



Krešimir Rončević, Arheološki crtež prema izravnom otisku / Archaeological drawing after print

Bukovica i Ravni kotari

Mario Katić

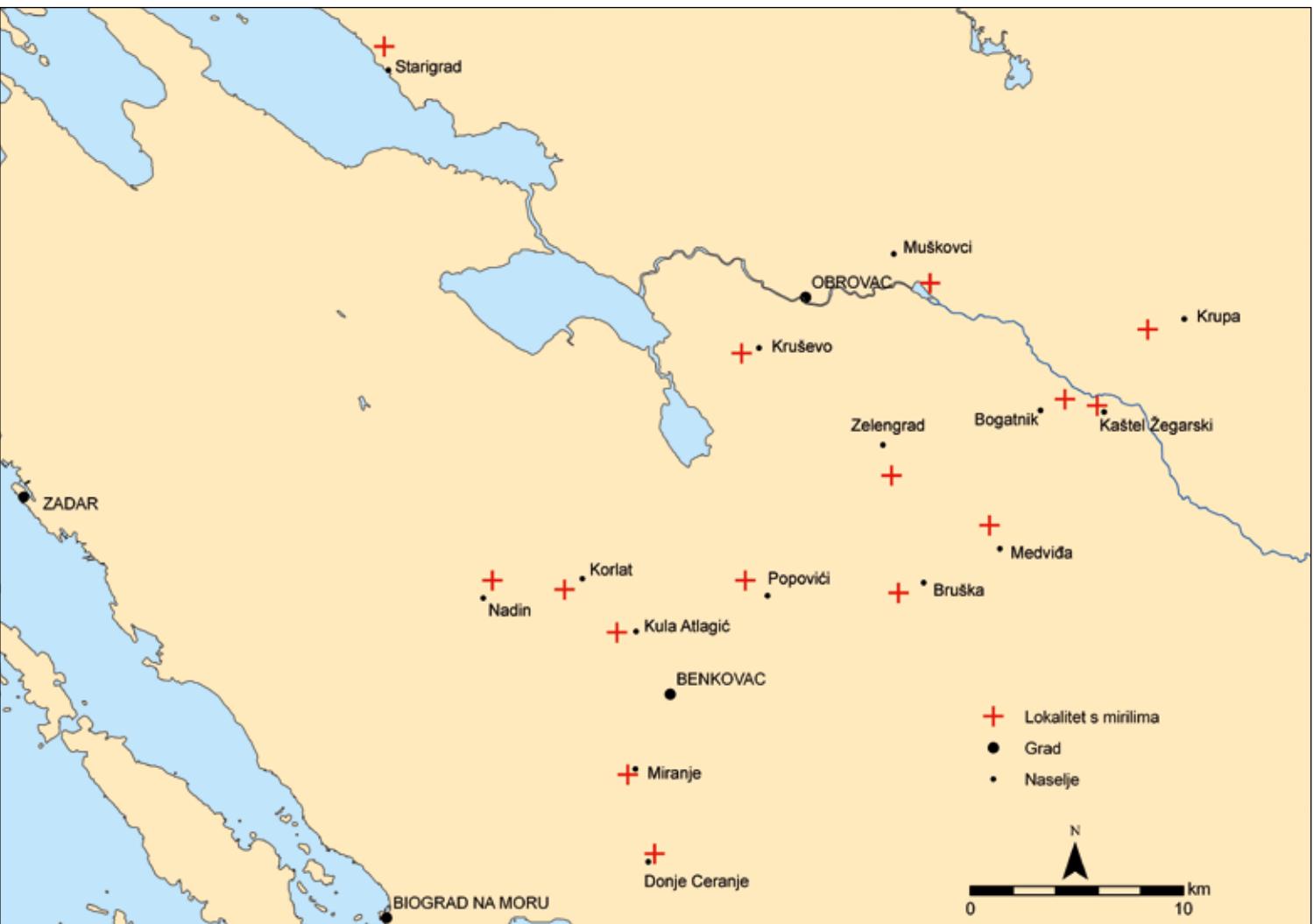
Na području Bukovice i Ravnih kotara od 2011. provode se sustavna terenska istraživanja lokaliteta na kojima su se *gradile* ili se još uvijek *grade počivaljke/mjerila*. Istraživanja i prezentirana građa rezultat su projekta *Mirila: svjedoci tradicije*, financiranog od Ministarstva kulture RH te Zadarske županije. Nositelj programa je Zavičajni muzej Pučkog otvorenog učilišta Obrovac (Marina Jurjević), a suautori i sudionici projekta su Lepa Petri (Ministarstvo kulture RH, Konzervatorski odjel Zadar), Marin Ćurković (Zavičajni muzej Benkovac) te Mario Katić (Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za etnologiju i kulturnu antropologiju).

Na tom području poznato je nekoliko inačica naziva za običaj obilježavanja mjesta *odmaranja* s pokojnikom - *počivaljke, mjerila, mirilo, počivala* (Katić, 2012.).¹ No, uz to što se razlikuju po nazivima, razlikuju se i po samoj praksi obilježavanja. Jedna od bitnih odrednica pojedine prakse je konfesionalna. Stanovništvo ovoga područja je etnokonfesionalna mješavina katolika (Hrvata) i pravoslavaca (Srba), no bez obzira na tu podjelu običaj je karakterističan za obje etnokonfesionalne zajednice. Jedina razlika u svezi s tim jest da su katolici, gotovo na svim lokalitetima, prestali obilježavati mjesto odmaranja s pokojnikom. Odustajanje od ovoga običaja dogodilo se uglavnom nakon Drugoga svjetskog rata, iako postoje iznimke gdje je običaj obilježavanja bio prisutan sve do osamdesetih godina 20. st. Jedini zasad poznati lokalitet na kojem se katolici još uvijek *odmaraju* s pokojnikom prije dolaska na groblje jest selo Korlat kod Benkovca. S druge strane, pravoslavci se ovoga područja još uvijek zaustavljaju na većini lokaliteta - na *počivaljkama* te nastavljaju tradiciju *gradeći počivaljke* za pokojnika.

Ova praksa može se promatrati i s geografskog aspekta u kojem glavnu odrednicu čini geografsko-kulturna podjela područja na Bukovicu i Ravne kotare. Kako je čovjek svoju tradicijsku kulturu djelomično prilagođavao okolišu u kojem živi, a djelomično i okolišu sebi, tako je i način običaja *gradnje počivaljki* ovisan o toj geografskoj podjeli. Naime, na području Ravnih kotara najčešće postoji jedno zajedničko *počivalo/mirilo* za cijelo selo: svaki pokojnik se spušta na istu suhozidnu gradnju pri čemu se kamenje, od kojih je sastavljeno *počivalo*, prevrne tako da dio koji je bio okrenut prema zemlji bude okrenut prema nebu, što se ponavlja za svakog idućeg pokojnika. Čini se kako je ključni razlog za izgradnju zajedničkog *mirila* pomanjkanje materijala - kamena. S druge strane, zbog velike količine takvog materijala na području Bukovice gotovo svaki pokojnik ima svoje *počivalo/mirilo*.

„Na području gdje je kamen gotovo jedini prirodni resurs s kojim ljudi raspolažu, logično je da će kamen biti i osnovni materijal koji će se koristiti u svakodnevnom životu“

¹ Katić, Mario. 2012., Prilog istraživanju običaja obilježavanja mjesta odmaranja s pokojnikom. *Studia mythologica Slavica*, XV., str. 117.-133.



sl. / Fig. 1

Bukovica i Ravnici kotari
Bukovica and Ravnici kotari
autor: Ante Blaće

(Katić, 2011: 133).² Valja znati kako je svaki oblik ove prakse rezultat specifičnog razvoja u različitom povijesnom i geografskom kontekstu pa jednako tako ima i specifična značenja i funkcije koje su se tijekom vremena mijenjale (Katić, 2012.).³

Počivaljke koje se danas grade za odmaranje s pokojnikom nemaju ornamentiku niti su obrađene. Čini se, promatrajući starije lokalitete koji su odavno napušteni, kako je i na području Bukovice postojala praksa klesanja križa ili drugih znakova (primjerice, pentagram), međutim, nema pokazatelja da je kamen od kojega se gradilo ikada bio posebno obrađivan. Najčešće se koristio onaj iz neposredne okoline ako je bio pogodan.

Valja naglasiti kako je pri gradnji cesta, plinske trase, vodovoda, proširivanjem groblja itd. posljednjih godina uništeno dosta lokaliteta. Lokalno stanovništvo (pogotovo katoličko) ne smatra materijalni oblik ove prakse važnim za očuvanje, niti mu danas (2013.) daje neko simboličko značenje. Pravoslavno stanovništvo, iako još uvijek koristi lokalitete i održava praksu, toj praksi također ne pridaje znatnije vjersko značenje niti ima poseban odnos prema ovim lokalitetima osim prigodom sprovoda.

Bukovica and Ravnici kotari

Mario Katić

Systematic field research of localities on which resting-places, *mirila*, were built or are still being built has been on-going in the Bukovica and Ravnici kotari areas since 2011. The research project and presentation of the material is part of the programme *Mirila: Witnesses of Tradition*, financed by the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia and the Zadar County. The programme is headed by the Regional Museum of the Obrovac Open University (Marina Jurjević), and its co-authors and participants are Lepa Petri (Zadar Conservation Department, Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Croatia), Marin Ćurković (Benkovac Regional Museum) and Mario Katić (Zadar University, Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology Department).

There are several local variants of the name for the custom of marking the resting-place of the funeral procession in the Bukovica and Ravnici kotari areas (Katić 2012).¹ Regardless of what it is called (*počivaljke*, *mjerila*, *mirilo*, *počivala*), the practice of marking it can be viewed in several ways, focusing on differences. One of the most fundamental determinants of a particular practice is confessional. The population of this region is an ethno-confessional mixture of Roman Catholics (Croatians) and Orthodox (Serbs). Despite this difference, both communities practiced the custom. The only difference from that aspect is that the Roman Catholics stopped marking the resting-place when carrying the body to the graveyard on almost all localities. They mostly gave this custom up after World War II, although there are exceptions where the custom was practiced until the 1980s. The only known locality in which Roman Catholics still "rest" with the deceased before coming to the graveyard is the village of Korlat near Benkovac. On the other hand, the Orthodox population from this region, in most localities, still builds a resting-place for the deceased without taking him out of the hearse.

The practice in these areas may also be viewed from the geographic aspect, in which the main determinant is the region's geographic and cultural division into Bukovica and Ravnici kotari. Since people partly adapted their traditional culture to the environment they lived in, and partly adapted the environment to themselves, the form the custom of building resting-places took depended on this geographic division. In Ravnici kotari there is usually one common *počivalo/mirilo* for the whole village. Each body is placed on the same drystone structure and the stones of the *mirilo* are overturned so that the side which was facing down, now faces up. This is repeated for every death. It seems that the basic reason why this is done is the lack of material – stone. On the other hand, because of the great amount of stone in the Bukovica area, each deceased usually has his own *počivalo/mirilo*.



sl. / Fig. 2

Mirilo Korlat
foto: Marina Jurjević

² Katić, Mario. 2011., Kamen i duša; u: Vinčić, Tomislav, i Pleterski, Andrej (ur.), *Perunovo kopje*, str. 133.-145.

³ Katić, Mario. 2012., Prilog istraživanju običaja obilježavanja mjesta odmaranja s pokojnikom. *Studia mythologica Slavica*, XV., str. 117.-133.

¹ Katić, Mario. 2012. "Prilog istraživanju običaja obilježavanja mjesta odmaranja s pokojnikom" (A Contribution to Research into the Custom of Marking the Place of Resting with the Deceased). *Studia Mythologica Slavica* XV, pp. 117-133.



sl. / Fig. 3
Mirila Žegar
foto: Lepa Petri

"In places where stone is practically the only natural resource at the disposal of people, it is logical that stone is the basic material used in everyday life" (Katić 2011: 133).² It must be remembered that each particular form of this practice is the result of specific development in different historical and geographic contexts, and has specific meanings and functions which changed during time (Katić 2012).³

The *mirila/počivaljke* that are built as resting with the deceased today have no ornamentation, nor is the stone dressed. It seems, observing the oldest localities that were abandoned long ago, that carving a cross or other symbolical signs (for example, the pentagram) was practiced in Bukovica, too. However, there are no indicators that the stone used for building was ever specially dressed. Usually stone found nearby was used, suitable for building the *mirilo*.

In recent years many localities have been destroyed through road construction, laying gas and water pipes, extending graveyards, and so on. The local population (especially the Roman Catholics) does not consider it important to preserve the material form of this practice nor does it today (2013) accord it any symbolical meaning. The Orthodox population, although it still uses the localities and keeps up the practice, does not accord the practice a religious meaning, either, nor does it have a particular attitude to these localities, except during a funeral.

² Katić, Mario. 2011. "Kamen i duša" (Stone and Soul). In: Vinščak, Tomislav and Andrej Pleterski, (ed), *Perunovo kopljje* (The Lance of Perun), pp. 133-145.

³ Katić, Mario. 2012. "Prilog istraživanju običaja obilježavanja mjesta odmaranja s pokojnikom" (A Contribution to Research into the Custom of Marking the Place of Resting with the Deceased). *Studia Mythologica Slavica XV*, pp. 117-133.



sl. / Fig. 4
Mirila Zelengrad
foto: Marin Čurković



sl. / Fig. 5 - 6
Mirilo Zelengrad
foto: Marina Jurjević



sl. / Fig. 7 - 8
Mirila Krupa
foto: Lepa Petri



sl. / Fig. 9
Mirila Medviđa
foto: Lepa Petri



sl. / Fig. 10
Mirila Bilišane
foto: Lepa Petri



Trasa puta Škiljići - Jurline - Mirila - Sv. Marko (Seline)

Martina Dubolnić Glavan

Još tijekom 20. stoljeća velebitsko stanovništvo živjelo je polunomadskim načinom života vezanim uz intenzivnu stočarsku djelatnost. Matična domaćinstva, zaseoci uglavnom su bili smješteni na nižim nadmorskim visinama, gdje se obično u blizini nalazila i mjesna crkva s grobljem. U proljetnim i ljetnim mjesecima stanovništvo se vodeći stoku selilo u *stanove* na višim nadmorskim visinama, u zoni *poda i nadgorja*, gdje je ostajalo do jeseni, a ovisno o vremenskim prilikama nekad i tijekom čitave godine. U slučaju smrti, pokojnik je nošen na mjesno groblje što je trajalo dulje ili kraće vrijeme, ovisno o mjestu preminuća, pa je i udaljenost *mirila* od groblja bila različita. Ako bi, dakle, člana obitelji smrt zatekla u planini, slijedio je poseban obred: pokojnik bi bio opran, presvučen u svečano odijelo, položen na krevet i pokriven platnom. Prvi čitavi dan pokojnika bi *čuvala* rodbina, a onda bi slijedile pripreme za nošenje na groblje. Pokojnika se omotana u platno polagalo na nosila i vezalo užetom te bi pogrebna povorka krenula iz zaseoka. Svaki zaseok imao je svoj običaj nošenja nosila pri čemu je pokojnik nekad nošen naprijed glavom, nekada nogama, što je vidljivo i na orientaciji uzglavnica njihovih *mirila*. Nosači nosila bi se izmjenjivali u hodu ili bi se stalo radi kraćeg odmora, ovisno o udaljenosti od crkve i težini puta. Povorka bi se zaustavila na *mirilima*, jedinom mjestu na kojem se moglo duže odmoriti pri čemu bi se nosila s pokojnikom spustila na tlo kako bi se pokojnik *izmirio* (izmjerio).

Mirila su postavljana usporedno s jedne ili obje strane puta od kuće prema groblju. Obično su smještena na zaravnjenim čistinama, uzvisinama blagog nagiba, kosama, prijevojima i kraj raskrižja. Različite su orijentacije, a glavna karakteristika im je da su paralelne s putom. *Mirilo* se izrađivalo za svakog pokojnika; ono se više nije koristilo za druge pokojnike. Na nekim lokalitetima nalaze se obiteljska *mirila* više rodova iz istog zaseoka ili više zaseoka od kojih je vodio isti put prema groblju.

Mirila na Docima pripadaju stanovnicima zaseoka Jurline (nadimak Jurnovići, Dolinari), a vjerojatno i obližnjeg zaseoka Škiljići (obitelji Dadići i Škiljići) koji su svoje preminule pokapali na groblju oko crkve sv. Marka u Selinama, nedaleko od ulaza u klanac Mala Paklenica.

Pogrebna povorka prema Primorju polazila je iz zaseoka Škiljići ili Jurline starom ugaznenom stazom kojom se, nakon 30 minuta hoda, dolazilo na Doce, zaravnjeni travnati predio podno Grabovih dolina, gdje je bilo raskrižje putova. Zapadna staza vodila je strmim i zavojitim putom prema Anića kuku, u klancu Velika Paklenica, dok je ona prema jugu jednim odvojkom položenje staze vodila ka planinskom zaseoku Jasenar, a drugim prema Selinama u Primorju.

Mirila stanovnika zaseoka Škiljići i Jurline u Docima smještena su nedaleko od raskrižja uz sjevernu (desnu) stranu puta. Danas su većinom zarasla u raslinje i teže se

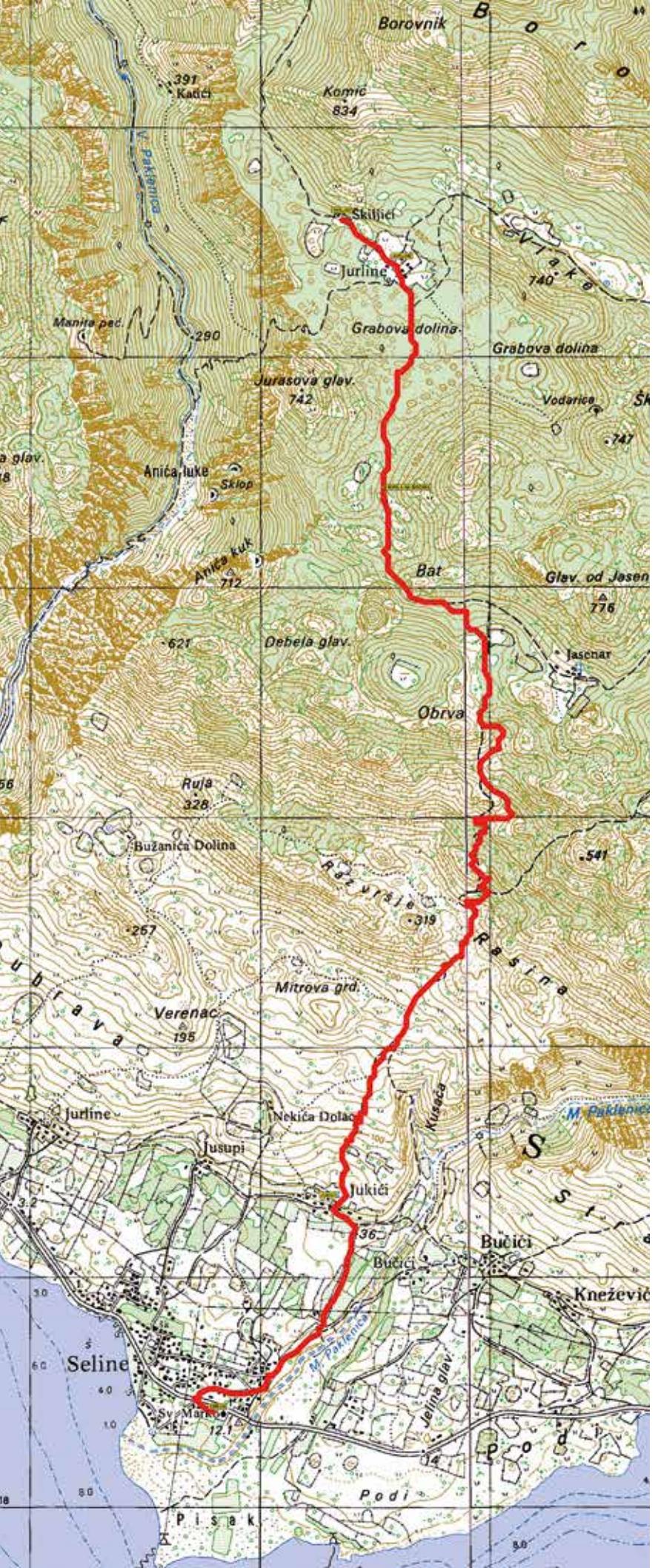


sl. / Fig. 1

Zaseok Jurline

Jurline Hamlet

foto: Martina Dubolnić Glavan



uočavaju. Na terenu su vidljive četiri skupine od oko tridesetak *mirila*. Nekoć ih je zasigurno bilo i više, ali su do danas uništena djelovanjem raslinja, atmosferalija i životinja. Pojedina su vrlo dobro očuvana, s čitljivim ukrasima i natpisima, dok su neka gotovo potpuno zarasla u raslinje i prekrivena zemljom, s plitkim i izlizanim ukrasima i natpisima.

Sva vidljiva *mirila* su paralelna međusobno i s putom te položena u smjeru sjever – jug. Uzglavnice i uznožnice su pretežno obrađene, polukružnog oblika, dok je manji broj onih pravokutnog oblika. Uzglavnice se pretežno nalaze na sjevernoj strani, prema čemu se može zaključiti da su pokojnici bili nošeni okrenuti nogama prema crkvi. Na pojedinima su još uvijek sačuvani uklesani motivi križa ili kombinacija više križeva, inicijali imena, prezimena (J. J., J. A.) i godina smrti pokojnika (1891., 1931.).

Nakon mirenja pokojnika pogrebna povorka nastavljala je kretanje položenom stazom prema jugu između vrhova Bat i Debela glava kojom se nakon pola sata hoda dolazilo pred dolinu zaseoka Jasenar. Na tom mjestu put se odvajao prema jugu strmom stazom koja je na mjestima još uvek vrlo dobro izgrađena i podzidana u suhozid od krupnog kamenja. Strma, vijugava staza vodila je s istočnu stranu vrha Obrva, između užvišenja Rasina i Razvršje, preko predjela Bilig do Mitrove gradine. Uz Mitrovu gradinu strmi put postupno prelazi u neznatno položeniju ugaženu stazu kojom se za dvadesetak minuta hoda dolazilo do zaseoka Jukići, smještena uz plodnu zaravan nekadašnjeg utoka Male Paklenice u more. Sa zapadne strane njezina toka povorka se iz zaseoka Jukići kretala putom do groblja oko crkve sv. Marka u Selinama. Od planinskih zaseoka Škiljići i Jurline do crkve s grobljem, nedaleko od morske obale, pogrebna povorka je za 2,5 do 3 sata hoda, prelazila visinsku razliku od oko 600 m. U crkvi se služila sveta misa, nakon čega se pokojnika pokapalo na groblju. Izradi *mirila* se pristupalo nakon pogreba ili nekoliko dana kasnije. Ona su čuvala uspomenu na pokojnike: mještani su ih se, prolazeći pokraj *mirila*, svakodnevno prisjećali.

The Škiljići - Jurline - *mirila*

- St Mark's Church (Seline) Route

Martina Dubolnić Glavan

In the last century the Velebit populace still lived a semi-nomadic life tied to intensive herding. Their permanent homes were in hamlets usually located at lower altitudes near the sea, with the local church and graveyard. In the spring and summer months the people and livestock moved to dwellings at higher altitudes in the sub-mountain and mountain zones where they stayed until autumn, and depending on the weather, sometimes all the year round. When a family member died he or she was carried a long or short way to the graveyard, depending on the place of death, so the distance between the *mirilo* and the graveyard differed.

If a family member died in the mountain there was a special ritual: the deceased was bathed and dressed in formal clothing, laid on a bed and covered with a sheet. For a whole day the family held a wake beside the deceased, after which preparations were made to carry the body to the graveyard. The deceased was shrouded in a sheet and placed on a stretcher, and then the funeral procession departed from the mountain home. Each hamlet had its own custom for carrying the stretcher, and the deceased was sometimes carried head forward, and sometimes feet forward, which is also reflected in the orientation of the *mirilo* headstone. While carrying the stretcher the bearers replaced one another as they walked, or stopped for a short rest, depending on the distance to the church and the roughness of the route. The procession stopped at the *mirilo*, the only place where they could take a longer rest and lay the stretcher on the ground so that the deceased's measure could be taken.

The *mirila* were placed in parallel rows on one or on both sides of the path from the dwelling to the graveyard. They were usually located on flat clearings, gentle slopes, mountain plateaus, saddles and crossroads. A separate *mirilo* was made for each person and it was not used again for others. In some places there are groups of family *mirila* belonging to several clans from the same or several hamlets, whose route took them to the same graveyard.

The *mirila* on Doci under Grabove doline belong to the inhabitants of the Jurline hamlet (their nickname is Jurnovići, Dolinari), and probably also to the nearby hamlet of Škiljići (the Dadić and Škiljić families), who buried their dead on the graveyard at St Mark's church in Seline, not far from the entrance to the Mala Paklenica gorge.

The funeral procession started off from Škiljići or Jurline along an old, well-trodden path to the coast and after about 30 minutes' walk it reached Doci, a flat grassy area under Grabove doline, where there was a crossroads. The steep, winding, westward path led to Anića kuk in the Velika Paklenica gorge, while the southward path was



sl. / Fig. 2

Mirila na Doci

foto: Martina Dubolnić Glavan

flatter, with one branch leading to the mountain hamlet of Jasenar and the other to Seline on the coast.

The Škiljići and Jurline *mirila* are on the flat grassland of the Doci area not far from the crossroads beside the north (right) side of the path. Today they are mostly overgrown and are difficult to make out from it. There are four groups of *mirila*, of about thirty each. There had certainly been more earlier, but they were destroyed by vegetation, climate and animals. Some are very well preserved with easily discernible decorations and inscriptions, while others are almost completely overgrown and covered with earth, and have shallow and worn decorations and inscriptions.



sl. / Fig. 3

Crkva sv. Marka, Seline
St. Mark's Church, Seline
foto: Martina Dubolnić Glavan

After the deceased was measured the funeral procession continued southward along the flatter path leading between the peaks of Bat and Debela glava, and after half an hour's walk it reached the entrance to the valley of Jasenar hamlet. Here a route branches southward down a steep path which is in places still very well built and supported in drystone made of large stones. This steep, winding path leads along the eastern side of Obrva peak, between Rasina and Razvršje plateaus, across Bilig to Mitrova gradina. At Mitrova gradina the steep path gradually levels out and after about 20 minutes' walk leads to Jukići hamlet located beside the fertile plateau of the former mouth of the Mala Paklenica stream. From Jukići the procession moved down the path along the west side of the Mala Paklenica to the graveyard at St Mark's church in Seline. During the approximately 2.5 to 3 hours walk from the mountain hamlets of Škiljići and Jurline to the church and graveyard nor far from the seashore, the funeral procession covered a height difference of about 600 m. Then mass was held in the church, after which the deceased was buried on the graveyard. The *mirilo* was made after the funeral or several days later. The *mirila* held living memory of the deceased because people passed along the paths besides them every day and remembered their dead.

Stara vjera velebitskih Podgoraca, uklesana u kamen

Andrej Pleterski

Na mirilištu naselja Kruščica, na lokaciji *Među klancin* u Tribnju (velebitsko Podgorje), najveća je koncentracija *mirila* s natpisnim pločama na dosad poznatim mirilištima. Izdvajaju se dvije ploče koje pripadaju mirilima MK56 i MK21 (oznake prema izdanju: Pleterski 2010, 137–148). One nisu važne samo zato što je riječ o najstarijem i najmlađem natpisu na mirilima, nego još više zbog bogatog sadržaja koji se odnosi na staru vjeru u okviru koje se razvio običaj gradnje mirila. Simptomatično je što još uvijek ne nalazimo opise tih običaja u crkvenim pisanim izvorima, što o njima postoje samo folklorni zapisi iz 20. i 21. stoljeća. Jednostavno, čini se kao da je riječ o svojevrsnoj javnoj tajni, koju znaju svi mještani, ali se o njoj ne govoriti. Zato nije iznenadujuće što su spomenute ploče pune slikovnih, brojčanih i abecednih simbola, razumljivih svima koji su bili upoznati s pojedinostima stare vjere i istovremeno nerazumljivih onima koje te pojedinosti nisu znali. Krenemo li od premise da ispred sebe imamo natpis koji su kipari sastavili kao zagonetku, u kojoj isti znakovi istodobno imaju različita značenja, otvaraju se brojne mogućnosti. Tumačenje koje slijedi temelji se na trenutnom poznavanju starog vjerovanja i predstavlja jednu od mogućih interpretacija. Međutim, time, zbog simboličkog bogatstva obaju natpisa, njihovo značenje nikako nije iscrpljeno. Vjerujem da natpsi prikazuju više no što u ovom trenutku razumijemo. Prije svega, svjestan sam da je bitno što je autor želio reći, a ne moje razumijevanje njegovih namjera. Međutim, kako su me moji iskusniji kolege nekoć uopzorili, da bi se mogla započeti diskusija bolja je ikakva interpretacija nego nikakva, stoga predstavljam prve rezultate.

Mlađe *mirilo*, kako kaže natpis, pripada Ivanu Trošelju. Na lijevoj strani starije uzglavnice uklesano je slovo T. Budući da u Tribnju postoji samo sedam prezimena, a samo Trošelj počinje na T, očito i T starijeg mirila znači Trošelj. Stoga se i duga ravna crta na desnoj strani starijeg natpisa čita kao I, inicial imena Ivan. Udaljenost između dva *mirila* je samo 5 m što, također, ukazuje da je riječ o pripadniku iste obitelji. To odgovara lokalnoj predaji po kojoj je u svakoj generaciji obitelji Trošelj uvijek jedan sin bio Ivan. Muškarci su glasili za odlične, prirodno nadarene zidare, graditelje koji su znali raditi s kamenom i drvom (informacija: Mira Trošelj). Stoga će daljnje tumačenje graditi na pretpostavci da se u obitelji, iz generacije u generaciju, nisu prenosila samo obrtnička nego i bitna duhovna znanja. Ako je ta pretpostavka točna, možemo između dvaju natpisa očekivati određene sličnosti, koje se ne odnose samo na ime i prezime pokojnika.

Uzglavnica starijeg mirla MK56 izrađena je od lokalnog kamenja, površina s uklesanim znakovima je neobrađena, dok je kod mlađeg mirila MK21 od dovezenog kamenja, a natpis je na umjetno obrađenoj površini. Natpis mirila MK56 sastavljen je od slova, brojeva i drugih znakova koji su, zbog starosti, već prilično izbrisani i teško vidljivi (sl. 1). No, nema sumnje da je riječ o različitim simbolima. Suprotno tomu, natpis na mirilu MK21 je oskudan, formalan, s uobičajenim podacima: ime, prezime, godina rođenja, godina smrti. Ti podaci raspoređeni su pokraj prenaglašenog latinskog križa. Slova, brojke i križ obojani su crnom bojom zbog čega se prilično ističu naspram bijele podloge kamenja (sl. 2). To je dnevni pogled na natpis. Približimo li mu se noću i osvjetlimo ga, uočit ćemo zanimljive detalje koje dnevna svjetlost i sugestivna crna boja na slovi-



sl. / Fig. 2

Mirilo MK21 podne, natpis.
Mirilo MK21, noon, inscription.

sl. / Fig. 1

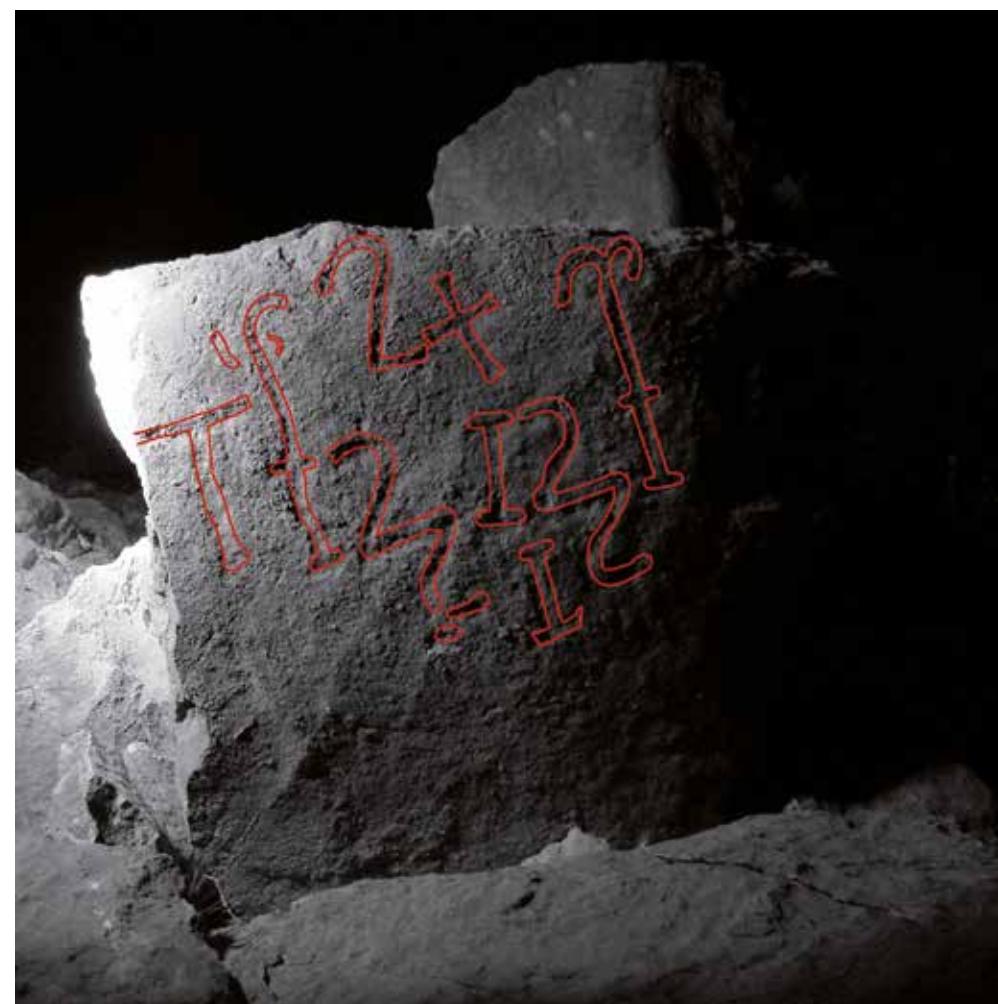
Mirilo MK56, natpis.
Mirilo MK56, inscription.

sl. / Fig. 3

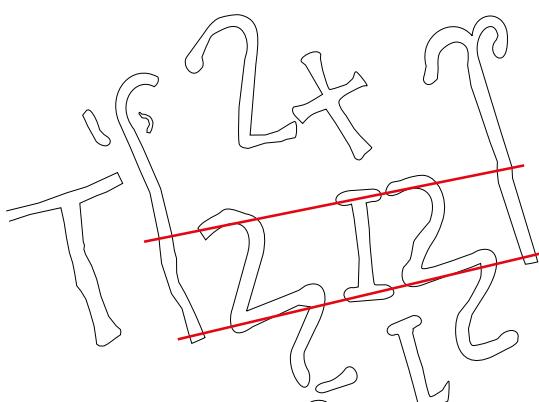
"Greške" u natpisu MK21
"Mistakes" in the inscription on MK21.

sl. / Fig. 4

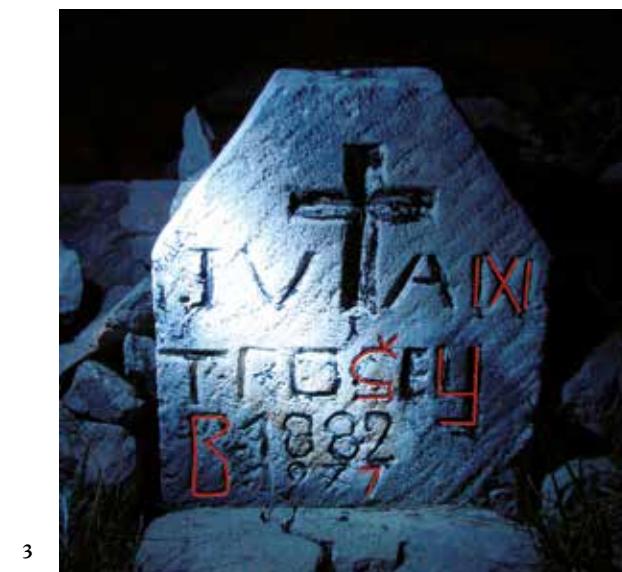
Natpis MK56. Tri kozmičke razine i kruženje
kozmičke vode.
Inscription on MK56. Three cosmic levels and
the circling of the cosmic waters.



1



0 10 cm



3

ma i brojkama prikrivaju, preusmjeravajući pozornost. Sada postaju jasni oni dijelovi natpisa koji se čine kao klesareve greške ili bar nespretnosti (sl. 3). To su: popravljeni N, iznimno neujednačen i ubogi Š, L i J se dodiruju, iako ima dovoljno prostora da to nije bilo nužno, spojeni R i U i posljednji broj 1 napisan vodoravnom umjesto kosom crtom. Mirilo je izradio pokojnikov sin Ivan (sada također pokojni). S obzirom na znanu spretnost Trošeljevih, potpuno je nevjerojatno da mu je, na toliko mjesata, pisanje izmaklo kontroli. Puno je vjerojatnije da „greške“ skrivaju neki sadržaj i time omogućavaju, prema pravilima anagrama, različita čitanja.

Struktura kozmosa

Prema starim predodžbama svijet je trodijelan: gornji svijet, središnji svijet gdje žive ljudi i donji svijet, podzemlje, u kojem teku vode. Vode na istoku teku prema gore i na nebu se prelijevaju u nebesku rijeku. Na zapadu, kroz otvor, prodiru u podzemlje gdje pod našim nogama nastavljaju prema istoku. Tako kruže.

Prikaz na mirilu MK56 možemo, pomoću uklesanih poprečnih crta, rasčlaniti na tri razine (sl. 4). Donja je vodena, što pokazuje zrcalnost znakova. Volute na vrhu dugačke desne crte možemo objasniti kao izvor nebeske rijeke, što nije rijedak motiv u Dalmaciji (sl. 5). Na lijevoj strani prepoznajemo glavu zmije, s rošćićem svojstvenim poskoku i otvorenim ustima koja proždiru ono što se spušta s neba. Gore, na sredini je znak koji prepoznajemo kao latinski križ i koji natpisu daje kršćanski izgled. Znak je izrazito nakošen, što ukazuje na kretanje od izvora na desnoj do otvora na lijevoj strani. Takvo je kretanje sunca od istoka prema zapadu. Međutim, čini se da postoji još jedno skrivenje značenje. Možda je, zapravo, riječ o ligaturi IT. Križ, istovremeno i slovo T, javlja se na obližnjim mirilima Krčevine u imenu KATA (sl. 6). I, ako je riječ o inicijalima IT na nebu, i zato što imamo IT također u srednjoj, zemaljskoj razini, tomu se može dodati neuobičajen oblik najnižeg znaka (sl. 7). I njega, zbog nejednakosti poprečnih crta, možemo objasniti kao ligaturu IT koja, gledano zemaljskim očima, stoji na glavi jer je to podzemni svijet. Značenje tog trostrukog zapisa inicijala IT (Ivan Trošelj) bio bi: kao što vode kozmosa nose sunce koje se uvijek prikazuje, ali i nestaje, tako će biti i s dušom Ivana Trošelja koja će se ponovno roditi u svijetu živih.

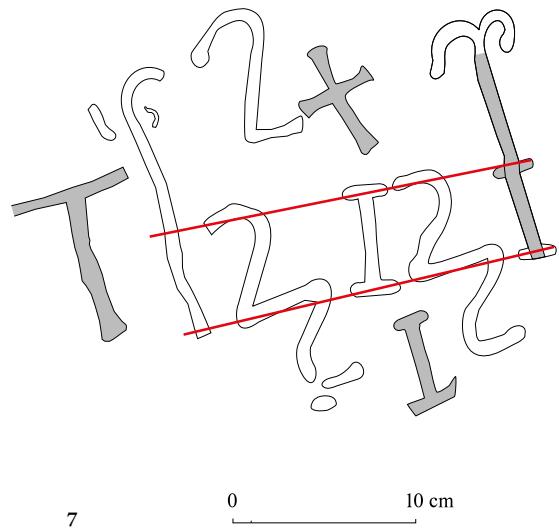
Razni Indoeuropljani znaju za troglave mitske likove. Pisac Ebo, sredinom 12. st., opisuje život bamberškog biskupa Otona kome su svećenici u Szczecinu (Poljska) rekli zašto bog Triglav ima tri glave: *ideo summum deum tria habere capita, quoniam tria procuraret regna, id est celi terre et inferni.* - Najviši bog (Triglav) ima zato tri glave jer upravlja trima kraljevstvima, to jest nebeskim, zemaljskim i podzemnim (prijevod R. Katičić).

Na brojnim mirilima uklesan je trozub koji prema mišljenju mještana predstavlja trostvo. Trozube imaju već i najstarija mirila Krušcice, a posljednji su bili uklesani najkasnije u drugoj polovici 19. st, nakon čega motiv izlazi iz uporabe. Drugi oblik prikazivanja trojnog jedinstva najverovatnije je bio trokutasti kamen (sl. 8). Natpis mirila MK56 ima arapske i rimske brojke. Posljednjima su zapisane jedinice. Ako ih tumačimo samo kao ravne crte, u kombinaciji s vodoravnim crtama, prikaze nam se trozub (sl. 9).

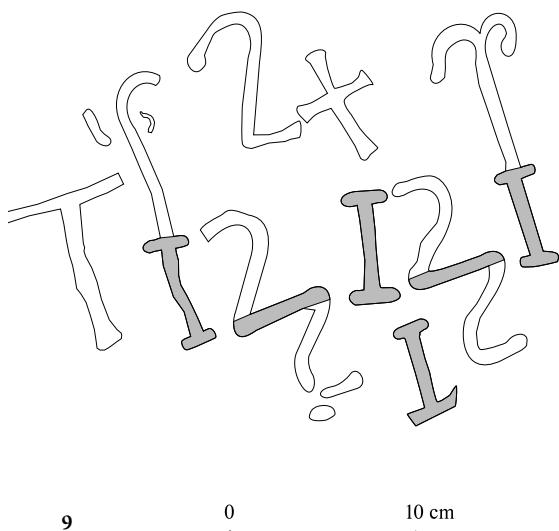


sl. / Fig. 5

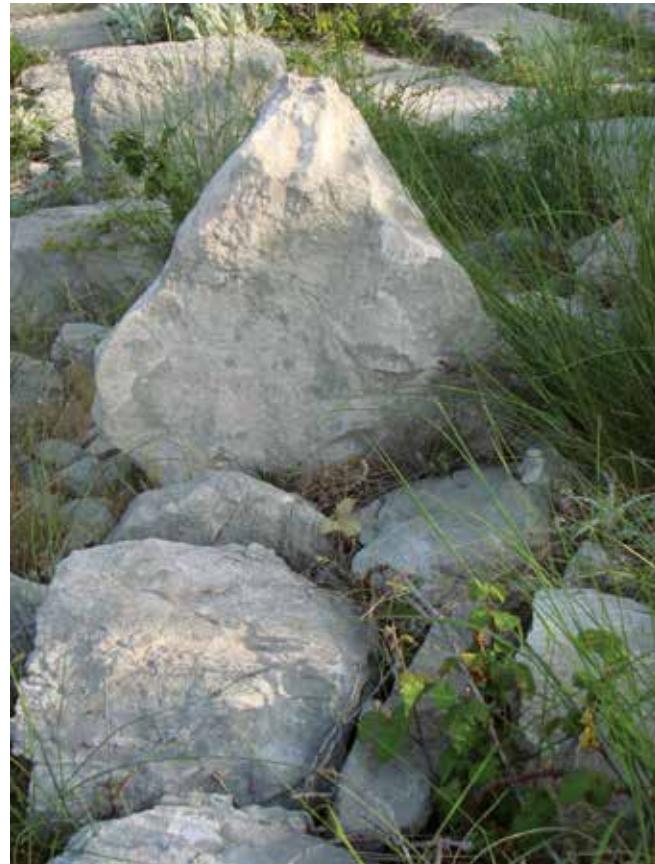
Žrnovnica kod Splita. Sv. Mihovil,
relief iznad ulaza.
Žrnovnica near Split. St Michael's,
relief above the entrance.



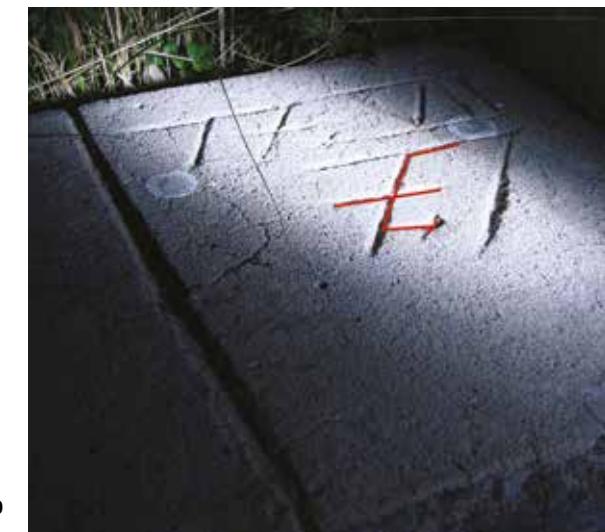
7



9



8



10

sl. / Fig. 7

Natpis MK56. Tri inicijala TI.
Inscription on MK56. Three initials TI.

sl. / Fig. 8

Mirila Kruščice. Mirilo MK26,
trokutni kamen kod glave.
Mirila of Kruščica. Mirilo MK26,
triangular headstone.

sl. / Fig. 9

Natpis MK56, trozub.
Inscription on MK56, trident.

sl. / Fig. 10

Natpis MK21. Datum smrti i trozub.
Inscription on MK21. Date of death and trident.

Natpisna ploča mirila MK21 nema trozuba. Noćno razgledavanje, ipak, ponovo donosi iznenađenje. Na podnožju betonske „postelje“ mirila vidimo urezan datum smrti, ali je na godini (19)71, između 7 i 1 dodana crta, koja ovdje nikako ne pripada. „Greška“ poprima smisao upravo ako ta sedmica također prikazuje trozub (sl. 10).

I kada ustanovimo da upravo „greške“ tog mirila zapisuju skrivena značenja, otvaraju se neke daljnje znakovne kombinacije koje bi moglo biti skriveni zapis. Spajanje R i U u B potpuno je očito. Ako je to istina, onda i L i J nisu spojeni zbog nespretnosti, nego najvjerojatnije oponašaju malo G (kombinacija malih i velikih, te tiskanih i pisanih slova višestruko se ponavlja na mirilima). Dodamo li samo još srednji O iz prezimena, dobit ćemo riječ BOG (sl. 11). Nakon toga možemo i neobično Š, jako naglašenog gornjeg dijela i posve zakržljalog donjeg, čitati kao G. Početak donjeg reda tada glasi TROG. I ako nastavimo dalje, u smjeru kruženja kozmičkih voda pružaju se još L, A i V (sl. 12), što čini TROGLAV. Ili u kombinaciji s prijašnjim čitanjem i trozubom: BOG TROGLAV.

Brojevi (sl. 13)

Natpis mirila MK56 ima četiri rimska I i više arapskih brojeva. Ako poprečnu crtu na I tumačimo kao da ima vrijednost jedinice, upadljivo je ponavljanje 1 i 7: 17171717. Možemo ih rastaviti na 17 17 17 17 (sl. 14). Može se čitati u svim smjerovima. Broj 17 pojavljuje se i zbrojimo li, jednostavno, sve brojke na natpisu: $(1 \times 2) + (4 \times 1) + (4 \times 7) = 34 = 2 \times 17$. Popis mogućih matematičkih i simboličnih značenja broja 17 bio bi dug više stranica. Ovdje navodim samo dvije zanimljivosti. Prema *Knjizi ravnoteža*, alkemičara i sufija Jâbira ibn Hayyâna, broj 17 osnova je teorije ravnoteža; u Italiji je 17 nesretan broj jer anagram rimskog 17 - XVII glasi VIXI, „živio sam“, dakle preneseno, „mrtav sam“.

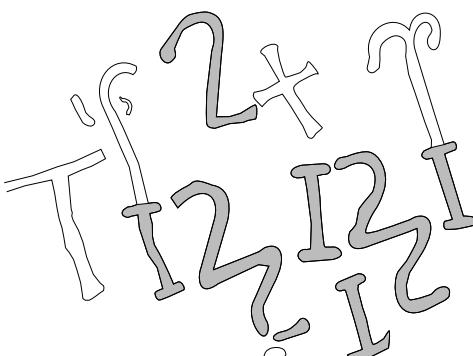
Ipak, treba priznati da sedmice ideoograma možemo čitati i kao dvojke, što otvara niz različitih čitanja, u kojim su sedmice, kao i dvojke, uspravne ili okrenute naglavačke te u različitim rasporedima 22, 77, 27, 72 (sl. 15), 121212 (sl. 16). Možemo ih rastaviti na 12 12 12. To bi moglo objasniti izdvojeno 2 na vrhu ideoograma. Odlučimo li se za simetrično čitanje, dobit ćemo datum zimskog solsticija 12 21 (sl. 17) koji uzima u obzir i opća orijentacija mirila.

Na mirilu MK21 vidimo da je „ispravljeni“ N sastavljen od IXI (sl. 18). Dodamo li tomu i slovo V iz imena, čitamo VIXI, u anagramu XVII ili 17, isti elementi koje smo imali na mirilu MK56. Oba natpisa stoga poručuju da je Ivan Trošelj umro. Međutim, „ispravljeni“ N nudi još mogućnosti. Pogled na I ukazuje da bi ime Ivan trebalo čitati i s desna na lijevo, dakle NAVI. I nastavljamo u sljedeći red s „nespretnima“ L i J kao G, dobivamo GE. Za gramatički ispravan oblik 3. lica konjunktiva prezenta latinskog glagola *navigare* sada nam nedostaje samo T, što je, naravno, početak prezimena (sl. 19). Izražava se htijenje: *neka plovi* - isto kao križ, odnosno IT, koji plovi po nebeskim vodama, kako nam kazuje mirilo MK56. Vjerojatna veza riječi je sljedeća: [Ivan Trošelj] VIXI, [Ivan Trošelj] NAVIGET. Isto tako, mirilo MK21 izjednačava pokojnika sa suncem, onaj koji umre (VIXI) i ponovo se rodi te zaplovi nebom (NAVIGET).



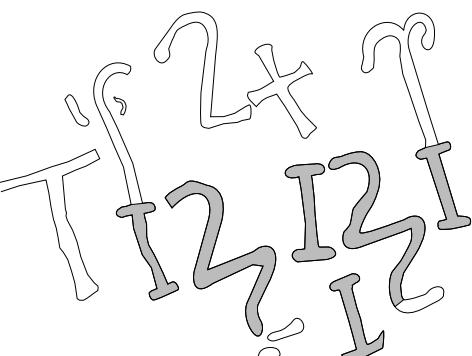
sl. / Fig. 6

Mirila Krčevine. Križ, istodobno i T u imenu Kata.
Mirila of Krčevina. Cross, also the T in the name Kata.



sl. / Fig. 13
Natpis MK56. Brojke.
Inscription on MK56. Numbers.

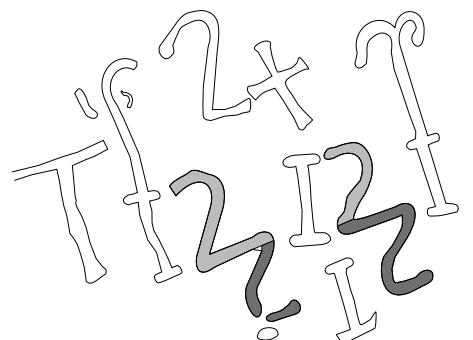
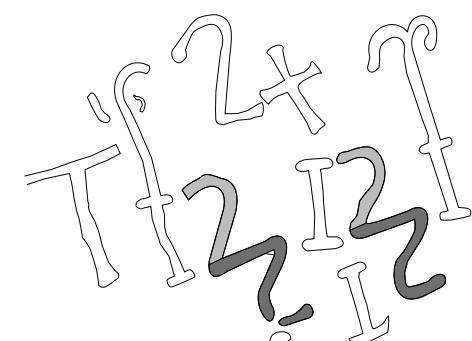
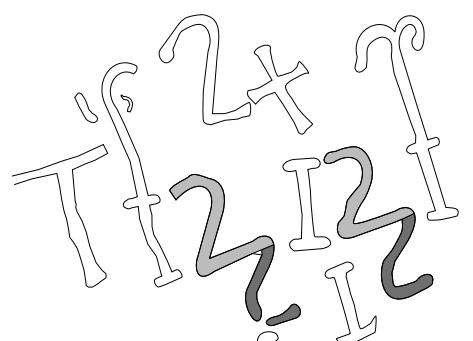
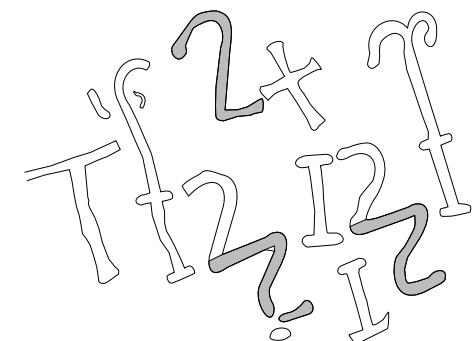
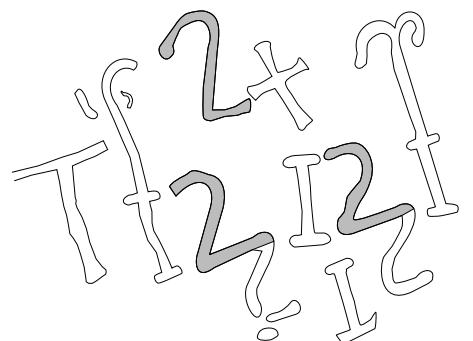
13 0 10 cm



14 0 10 cm

sl. / Fig. 14
Natpis MK56.
Ponavljanje broja 17.
Inscription on MK56.
Repeating the number 17.

sl. / Fig. 15
Natpis MK56.
Različite kombinacije brojeva.
Inscription on MK56.
Various combinations of numbers.



15 0 10 cm

Kako Podgorjani znaju latinske riječi, ako ih nisu učili u školi? Zanemarimo li mogućnost da je nešto latinskih riječi usvojio svatko tko je išao u crkvu, znanje primitivnog latinskog očuvalo se i kroz generacije. Podgorci i danas broje ovce na tom jeziku (informacija Mira Trošelj).

Graditeljstvo

Istraživanja ranosrednjovjekovne arhitekture u Dalmaciji pokazala su važnost broja 17 u graditeljstvu. Prvi je na nju ukazao Mladen Pejaković, a dokazali su je Željko Peković i Ante Milošević kod modularne analize crkve Sv. Spasa na Cetini. U kvadratu sa stranicom od 12 stopa, dijagonalna iznosi skoro točno 17 stopa. Zapravo je 16,97 stopa, što je tako mala razlika da su je tadašnji graditelji odlučili zanemariti. S polumjerom kružnice dužine 17 rimskih stopa moguće je sastaviti graditeljski nacrt po kojem je bio izgrađen Sv. Spas (Milošević, Peković 2009, 248–255).

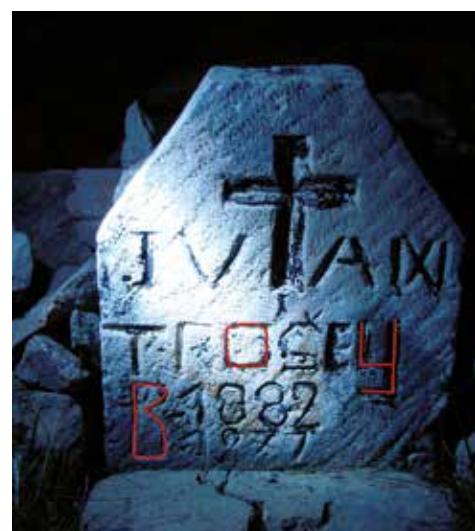
Saznajemo li time i značenje brojeva 12 i 17 na natpisnom kamenu mirila MK56? Postoje stvarne indicije za potvrdu ove teze. Okomite i vodoravne crte natpisa postavljene su tako da stvaraju privid pravokutnika (sl. 20). Njegova je osnovica jednakog duga kao i udaljenost između vrha križa i donjeg kraja najnižeg znaka, nebeskog i podzemnog IT-a (pogledaj gore). Pri tome vodoravna crta siječe okomicu kod $1/3$ visine i dijeli ju na dva dijela koji imaju omjere $1/3 : 2/3$, što je jednakom omjerima koje ima prelomljena prostorna os obaju mirilišta (sl. 21). Tako definiramo kvadrat čija je dijagonalna jednaka širini cijelog natpisa i iznosi 1 rimsku stopu, *pes romanus*. Danas je širina natpisa od dužine rimske stope (296,20 mm) kraća par milimetara, a najvjerojatnije je pri klesanju slova T odletio rub ploče. Dakle, planirana širina bila je potpuno pravilna. Natpis, stoga, nema samo algebarsku već i geometrijsku poruku.

Uzmemo li sada kao množitelj broj 2, i s njim pomnožimo 17, dobijemo 34, što je isti broj koji smo dobili zbrajanjem svih brojeva. Govori li nam natpis da obratimo pozornost na kvadrat sa stranicom 34 rimske stope? To znači kvadrat sa stranicom od 10,07 m, a to je pak veličina kvadrata na kojem leže najstarija mirila Kruščice (sl. 22). Ako je ovo podudaranje namjerno, onda je natpisna ploča ujedno i plan izgradnje mirilišta.

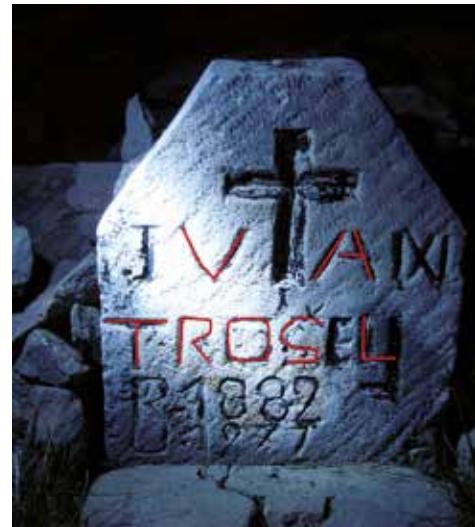
Čine li nam se gornja objašnjenja moguća i natpis položimo na nacrt mirilišta, naći ćemo pojašnjenje položaja prvih mirila nastalih izvan zacrtanog kvadrata (sl. 23). Njihov položaj nalazi se na mjestu slova T izvan kvadrata natpisa. Ako je to mjesto dobro za slovo T, dobro je i za mirila. Pojašnjen je izdvojen položaj mirila MK29, MK61, MK62, ali i manjih mirila na sjeveroistočnoj strani. Križ na natpisu stoji u prostoru puta, znači gibanja, susjedno mirilu Ivana Trošelja, što je u skladu s gornjim objašnjenjima tog znaka. Dakle, natpis su upotrebljavali i kao likovni nacrt mirilišta. To nije bilo teško jer ga se još uvijek može vidjeti svaki dan.

Kako su se suvremenici mogli ravnati po nacrtu? Vrlo je vjerojatno da je barem nekolicini ideja nacrta bila znana. Uz to, svoje su znanje mogli obnoviti svaki put kada su prošli pored natpisnog kamena.

Tražimo li sadržajne paralele između natpisa obaju mirila (MK56 in MK21), tada i neuobičajeni 1, mirila MK21 koji po svemu oponaša 7, postane smislen (sl. 18). Stoji ispod 2 i s njim čini 27. Uz to, dobijemo i par 12 i 17, koji kao i 27, sadrži i ideoigram prvog Ivana.



sl. / Fig. 11
Natpis MK56. Natpis BOG.
Inscription on MK56.
Inscription BOG (GOD).



sl. / Fig. 12
Natpis MK56. Natpis TROGLAV.
Inscription on MK56.
Inscription TROGLAV (THREE-HEADED).

Broj 27 simbolično je iznimno moćan jer predstavlja čarobnu formulu **3 x 9**. Pozivanje 27 dana sideričnog mjeseca je urok koji su upotrebljavali i za to da se vrate oni koji su otišli. Naime, radi se o dužini mjeseca koja se ne mijeri mjesecim mijenjama, već „kretanjem“ mjeseca po horizontu. Nakon 27 dana mjesec koji svaki dan izlazi i zalazi drugdje se vrati na staro mjesto. Tako kao što umire i oživljava mjesec, tako kao što se vraća, tako nek se vrate pokojni, odnosno putnici.

Datum smrti

Ideogram mirila MK56 možda sadrži i godinu smrti 1717 i još precizniji datum 7. 17. (sl. 24). Kronološka analiza mirilišta pokazala je da mirilo pripada među tri najstarija i svakako je nastalo oko 1700. godine. U obzir bi došla i 1712. godina. Jesu li u donjem, okrenutom dijelu natpisa doista dan i mjesec smrti, vjerojatno je, ali ne i nužno. I tu je više mogućih čitanja: uz 7. 17. još 21. 2., 2. 12., pa čak i 7. 12. Bilo bi logično da je jedan od navedenih datuma i točan datum smrti ili barem toliko približan da je autor došao na ideju kako prigodne prikladne brojke uključiti u zapis. Je li pri tom neku od njih prepravio, ne znamo.

Po svemu navedenom, više se datum smrti Ivana Trošelja 1717 7. 17. na nadgrobniku ne čini nužno jednoznačan. Odstranimo li iz datuma 1 i 7, odnosno 17, koji se u natpisu ponavlja, dobijemo datum 17. 7. 71. I najmlađe mirilo MK21 na mirilištu, isto tako, pripada Ivanu Trošelju koji je umro - 17. 7. 71 što je urezano u beton "postelje" (sl. 10). Slučajnost?! S matematičkog gledišta to je jako mala mogućnost. Razlog se mora tražiti u kulturi, odnosno svjesnom utjecaju na podudaranje datuma. Barem u obiteljskoj predaji 17. srpanj 1971. pravi je datum smrti Ivana Trošelja (informacija: Mira Trošelj).

Strukturalne veze između natpisa mirila MK56 i MK21 prilično su uvjerljive i pokazuju stara znanja obitelji Trošelj. Tim znanjima pripadnici obitelji nisu organizirali samo svoj život, nego i život svoje zajednice. Zato se najmanje prvi Ivan Trošelj prikazuje i kao svojevrsni kolega starih rimskih svećenika *Pontifex-a*.

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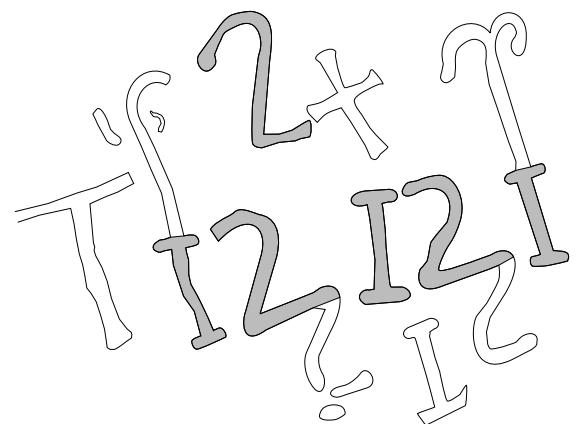
The Old Faith of the People of Podgorje under Velebit, Carved in Stone

Andrej Pleterski

The site of the *mirila* that belong to the village of Kruščica lies on the *Među klancin* locality in Tribanj (in Podgorje, the region of the Velebit foothills). It has the greatest concentration of inscribed *mirila* known so far. Especially outstanding are two stone slabs belonging to the *mirila* MK56 and MK21 (marked according to the book: Pleterski 2010, 137–148). Their importance lies not only in the fact that their inscriptions are the oldest and newest on the site, but even more in the rich content of the inscriptions that refers to the old faith under whose wing the custom of building *mirila* developed. It is symptomatic that written church sources still have no descriptions of this custom, and that the only existing folklore records about them date from the 20th and the 21st century. Their existence seems like a kind of open secret, one that everybody knows about but does not talk of. Thus it is not surprising that the slabs mentioned above are full of picture, number and letter symbols which anyone who knew the details of the old faith could understand, but no one unacquainted with these details could grasp. Many possibilities open up if we assume that we are dealing with inscriptions that their sculptors wrote as an encryption, in which the same signs can have different meanings depending on the context in which they are approached. The interpretation that follows is based on current knowledge of the old faith and represents only one possible reading. It does not in any way exhaust the meaning of either of the two inscriptions, whose symbolical wealth is very great. I believe that the inscriptions show more than we can at this moment understand. Moreover, I am aware that it is what their author wanted to say that is essential, not my understanding of his intentions. Nevertheless, as my more experienced colleagues once told me, for a discussion even to begin any interpretation is better than none, so I present the first results.

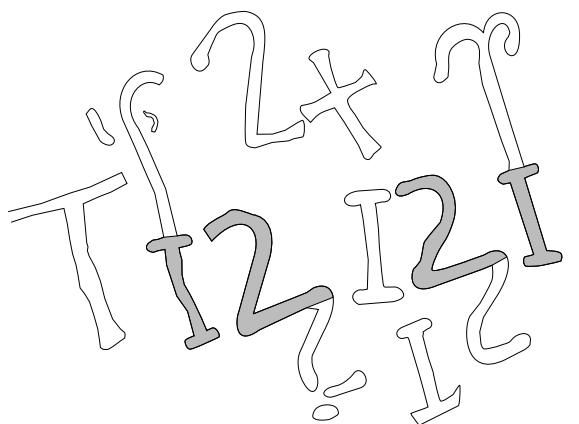
The newer *mirilo*, as the inscription shows, belongs to Ivan Trošelj. The left side of the older headstone has the carved letter *T*. As there are only seven surnames in Tribanj, and only Trošelj begins with the letter *T*, obviously the *T* on the older *mirilo* also means Trošelj. Thus the long straight line on the right side of the older inscription is read as *I*, the initial of the name Ivan. The two *mirila* are only 5 m apart, which also indicates members of the same family. This corresponds with the local tradition whereby one son in every generation of the Trošelj family was always called Ivan. The men of the family were known as excellent, naturally gifted masons who were experts in working with stone and wood (information supplied by Mira Trošelj). Thus my further interpretation will be grounded on the assumption that it was not only skill in craftsmanship that was carried down in families from generation to generation, but also essential knowledge of a spiritual nature. If this assumption is right, we can expect certain similarities between the two inscriptions that go beyond the name and surname of the deceased.

The headstone of the older *mirilo* MK56 was made of local stone and the surface with the carved signs was not dressed, while in the case of the newer *mirilo* MK21 the stone was imported and the inscription was made on an artificially smoothed surface. The inscription on *mirilo* MK56 consists of letters, numbers and other signs which are,



16

0 10 cm

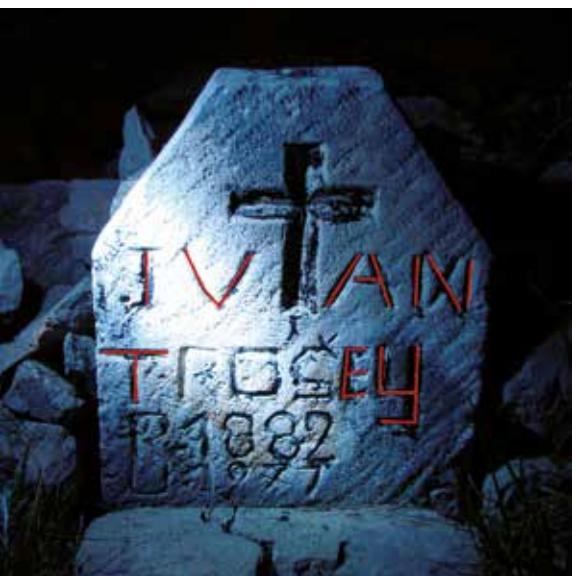


17

0 10 cm



18



19

sl. / Fig. 16

Natpis MK56. Ponavljanje broja 12.
Inscription on MK56. Repeating the number 12.

sl. / Fig. 17

Natpis MK56. datum zimskog solsticija.
Inscription on MK56. Date of the winter solstice.

sl. / Fig. 18

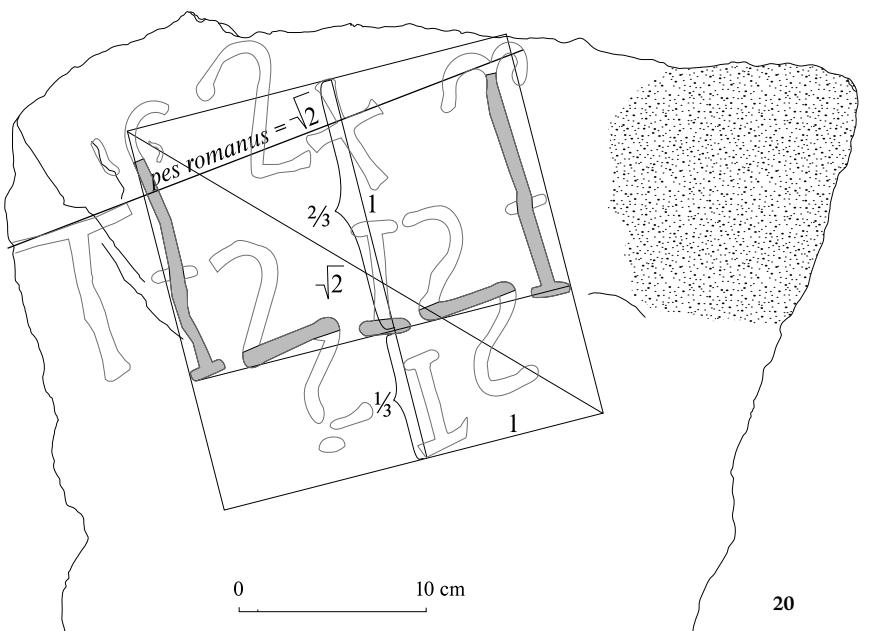
Natpis MK21. Natpis VIXI i brojevi 12, 17, 27.
Inscription on MK21. Inscription VIXI and the numbers 12, 17, 27.

sl. / Fig. 19

Natpis MK521. Natpis NAVIGET.
Inscription on MK521. Inscription NAVIGET.

sl. / Fig. 20

Natpis MK56. Kvadrat i dužina rimske stope.
Inscription on MK56. Square and length of Roman foot.



20

because of their age, already rather worn and difficult to make out (Fig. 1). However, there is no doubt that the symbols differ. On the other hand, the inscription on *mirilo* MK21 is sparse, formal, and contains the usual data: name, surname, year of birth, year of death. These data are distributed beside an overemphasised Latin cross. The letters, numbers and cross are painted black, so they stand out strongly against the white background of the stone (Fig. 2). This is what the inscription looks like by day. However, if we look at it at night and illuminated, we notice interesting details which the daylight and the strong black paint on the letters and numbers conceal by drawing attention to themselves. We can make out parts of the inscription that seem like the stone mason's mistakes or at least clumsiness (Fig. 3). These are: the repaired N, the very irregular and sparse Š, the mutually touching L and J although there is enough room not to make this necessary, the joined R and U, and the last number 1 written with a horizontal top line instead of with a slanting one. The *mirilo* was made by the deceased's son Ivan (now deceased, as well). Considering the great carving skill of the Trošelj men, it is completely unconvincing that the writing went out of control in so many places. It is much more probable that the "mistakes" hide some kind of meaning and thus enable, by applying the rules for the creation of anagrams, different readings.

The structure of the universe

According to the old understanding, the world is threefold: the upper world, the middle world where people live, and the subterranean underworld, where the waters run. In the east the waters run upward and, reaching the sky, pour into the celestial river. In the west they sink down through a hole and enter the underworld, where they continue eastward under our feet. Thus they flow in a circle.

Using the carved transversal lines, we can divide the scene on *mirilo* MK56 in three levels (Fig. 4). The bottom level is water, as shown by the mirror images of the signs. The scrolls on top of the long line on the right can be explained as the source of the celestial river, which is not a rare motif in Dalmatia (Fig. 5). On the left side we recognise the head of a snake, with a horn like on a nose-horned viper (*vipera ammodytes*) and an open mouth that is swallowing what descends from the sky. In the top level, in the middle, is a sign we recognise as a Latin cross, which gives the inscription a Christian appearance. The sign is visibly slanted, which indicates movement from the source on the right to the opening on the left side. This is like the movement of the sun from east to west. However, there may be another meaning, even more hidden. It may, in fact, be the ligature *IT*. A cross, at the same time also representing the letter *T*, appears on the nearby *mirila* of Krčevina in the name *KATA* (Fig. 6). And, if these are indeed the initials *IT* in the sky, and because we also have *IT* in the middle, earthly level, we may add to this the unusual shape of the lowest sign (Fig. 7). It, too, because of the unequal transversal lines, can be interpreted as the ligature *IT* which, seen with earthly eyes, is inverted because this is the underworld. The meaning of this triple appearance of the initials *IT* (Ivan Trošelj) would be: as the cosmic waters carry the sun, which always appears but also disappears, so it shall be with the soul of Ivan Trošelj, which will be reborn in the world of the living.

Various Indo-European peoples had three-headed mythical beings. In the middle of the 12th century, the writer Ebo described the life of Bishop Otto of Bamberg, who was told by the priests in Szczecin (Poland) why the god Triglav¹ had three heads: *ideo summum deum tria habere capita, quoniam tria procuraret regna, id est celi terre et inferni.* – The supreme god (Triglav) has three heads because he rules three realms, celestial, earthly and infernal.

Many *mirila* have a carved trident which the local population see as a representation of the trinity. The oldest *mirila* in Kruščica have tridents, and the last were carved no later than in the second half of the 19th century, after which this motif was no longer used. Another way of showing triple unity was probably the triangular stone (Fig. 8). The inscription on *mirilo* MK56 has Arabic and Roman numbers. The latter were used to write the *ones*. If we interpret them as straight lines, in combination with the horizontal lines, we get a trident (Fig. 9).

The inscribed slab of *mirilo* MK21 has no trident. However, the night view again brings a surprise. On the concrete “bed” of the *mirilo* we see the carved date of death, but a line was added between the 7 and the 1 in the year (19)71 that by no means belongs here. The “mistake” makes sense if this *seven* also shows a trident (Fig. 10).

Having seen that it is the “mistakes” on this *mirilo* that show hidden meanings, there are some further combinations of signs that could also be a hidden entry. The *R* and *U* joined into a *B* is completely obvious. If this is so, then the *L* and *J* have not been joined because of clumsiness, but probably to imitate the lower case *G* (the combination of lower case and upper case, and printed and handwritten letters is repeated on many *mirila*). If we add to this the middle *O* from the surname, we will get the word *BOG* (Fig. 11).² We can also read the unusual letter *Š*, with a greatly emphasised upper part and completely miniature bottom part, as *G*. The beginning of the bottom row is then read as *TROG*. If we continue, in the direction of the circling cosmic waters, we then have *L*, *A* and *V* (Fig. 12), which makes *TROGLAV*. Or, in combination with the earlier reading and the trident: *BOG TROGLAV*.

Numbers (Fig. 13)

The inscription on *mirilo* MK56 has four Roman number *I*'s and several Arabic numbers. If we interpret the transversal line on the letter *I* as giving a Roman *one*, we have a striking repetition of 1s and 7s: 17171717. We can divide this into 17 17 17 17 (Fig. 14). This can be read in all directions. Number 17 also appears if we simply add up all the numbers in the inscription: $(1 \times 2) + (4 \times 1) + (4 \times 7) = 34 = 2 \times 17$. It would take several pages to list all the possible mathematical and symbolical meanings of the number 17. Here I give only two interesting points. According to the *Book of Balance* by the alchemist and Sufi Jâbirâ ibn Hayyâna, number 17 is the basis of the theory of balance; in Italy 17 is an unlucky number because an anagram of the Roman 17 - XVII - is *VIXI*, “I lived”, therefore, figuratively, “I am dead”.

¹ Triglav, Troglav means “three-headed” – translator’s note.

² GOD – translator’s note.

We could also read the *sevens* in the ideogram as *twos*, which opens up many different readings in which the *sevens*, and also the *twos*, are upright or turned upside-down and in various combinations: 22, 77, 27, 72 (Fig. 15), 121212 (Fig. 16). We can divide them as 12 12 12. This could explain the separate 2 at the top of the ideogram. If we decide on a symmetrical reading, we get the date of the winter solstice 12 21 (Fig. 17), which is also reflected in the general orientation of the *mirila*.

On *mirilo* MK21 we see that the “corrected” *N* is composed of *IXI* (Fig. 18). If we add to this the letter *V* from the name, we read *VIXI*, an anagram of *XVII* or 17, the same elements that we had on *mirilo* MK56. Both the inscriptions, therefore, say that Ivan Trošelj died. However, the “corrected” *N* offers more options. Its *H* view suggests that the name Ivan should be read from right to left, as *NAVI*. And if we continue into the following row, reading the “clumsy” *L* and *J* as *G*, we get *GE*. All that is still needed for the grammatically correct form of the 3rd person of the present subjunctive mood of the Latin verb *navigare* is a *T*, which is, of course, the beginning of the surname (Fig. 19). This expresses a desire: *may he sail* – just like the cross and the *IT* are sailing on the celestial waters on *mirilo* MK56. The probable links between the words is the following: [Ivan Trošelj] *VIXI*, [Ivan Trošelj] *NAVIGET*. *Mirilo* MK21 also equalises the deceased with the sun, he who dies (*VIXI*) is born again and sails the sky (*NAVIGET*).

How do the people of Podgorje know Latin words if they did not learn them at school? Putting aside that everyone who went to church learned several Latin words, the knowledge of primitive Latin has also passed down from generation to generation. The people of Podgorje still count sheep in that language (information supplied by Mira Trošelj).

Architecture

Research into the early medieval architecture of Dalmatia showed the importance of the number 17 in architecture. Mladen Pejaković was the first to suggest this, and Željko Peković and Ante Milošević proved it in the modular analysis of the church of St Saviour on the Cetina. In a square whose side is 12 feet, the diagonal is almost exactly 17 feet. It is actually 16. 97 feet, which is a negligible difference that the architects of that time decided to ignore. Using a circle whose radius is 17 Roman feet, it is possible to compose the architectural design according to which St Saviour was built (Milošević, Peković 2009, 248–255).

Does this show the significance of the numbers 12 and 17 on the inscription stone of *mirilo* MK56, too? There are real indications that confirm this hypothesis. The vertical and horizontal lines of the inscription are placed to create the illusion of a square (Fig. 20). Its side equals the distance from the top of the cross to the bottom of the lowest sign, from the top of the celestial level to the bottom of the underground *IT* (see above). Furthermore, the horizontal line crosses the vertical line at 1/3 of its height and divides it in two parts of 1/3 : 2/3, which is the same as the ratios on the broken spatial axes of the two *mirila* locations (Fig. 21). This defines a square whose diagonal equals the width of the entire inscription and its length is 1 Roman foot, *pes romanus*. Today the width of the inscription is several millimetres shorter than the length of a Roman foot (296.20 mm), and the edge of the slab was probably damaged when the letter *T* was carved. However, the planned width was completely regular. Thus the inscription does not have only an algebraic but also a geometric message.

sl. / Fig. 21

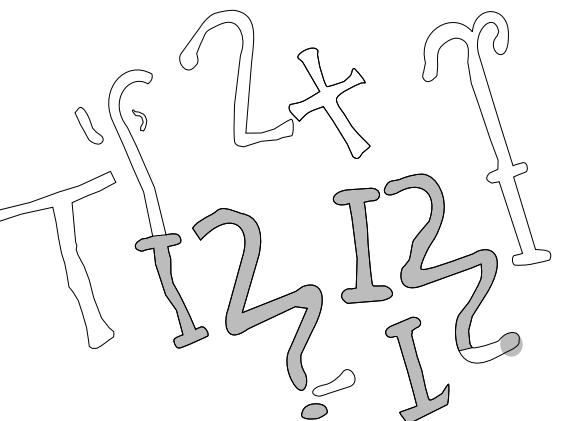
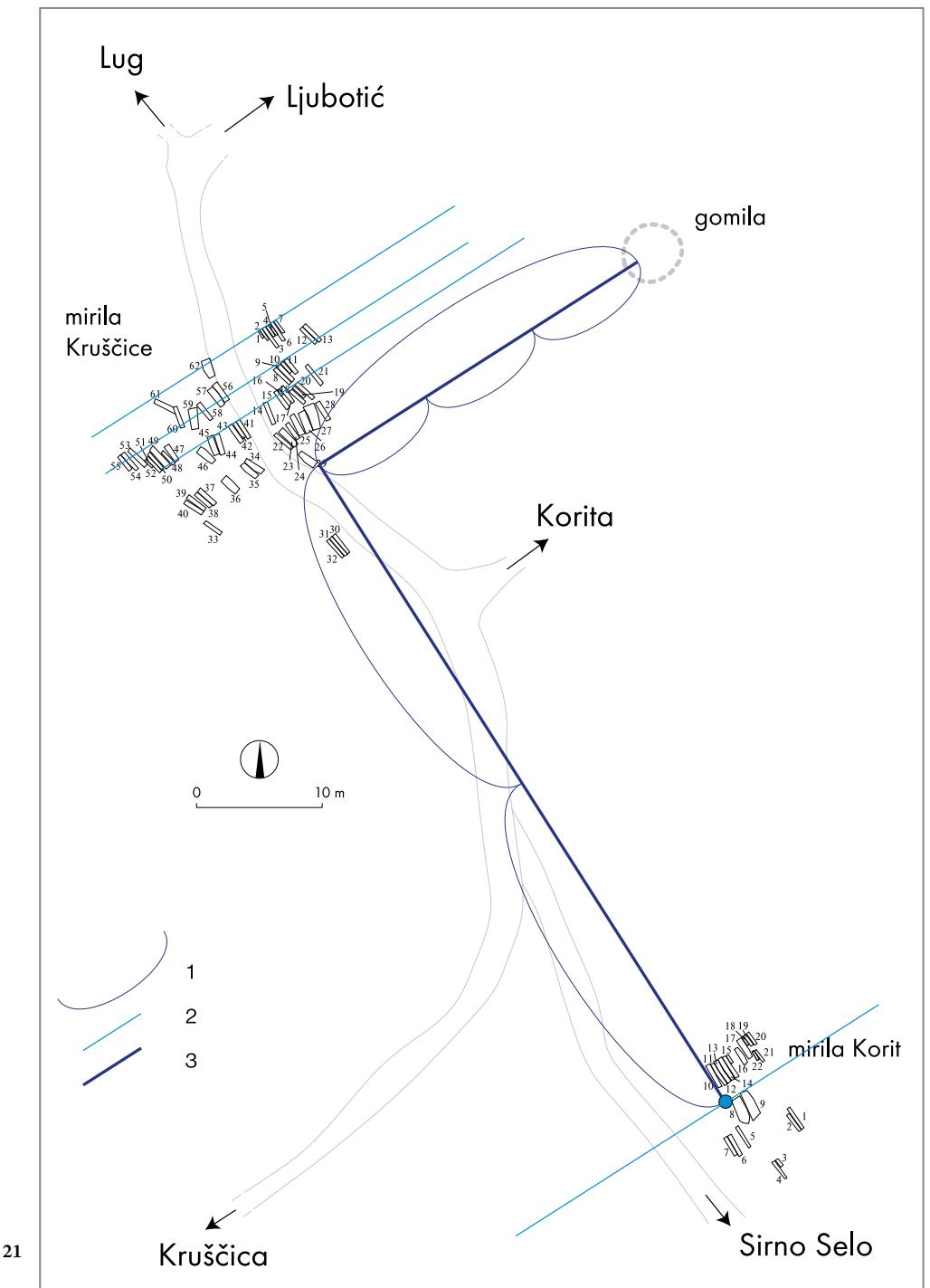
Mirila Kruščice i Korita.

Osnove prostornog uređenja.
1 – mjerna jedinica,
2 – smjer niza mirila,
3 – mjerna linija.Mirila of Kruščica and Korito.
Basics of spatial plan.1 – measuring unit,
2 – direction of a row of *mirila*,
3 – measuring line.

sl. / Fig. 24

Natpis MK56. Datum smrti.

Inscription on MK56. Date of death.



If we multiply 17 by 2, we get 34, which is what we got by adding up all the numbers. Does the inscription tell us to pay attention to a square whose side is 34 Roman feet? This means a square of 10.08 m, which is the size of the square within which the oldest *mirila* in Kruščica were made (Fig. 22). If this correspondence is intentional, then the inscription slab also contains the plan for laying out the *mirila* site.

If we find the above explanations plausible, and place the inscription on top of the plan of the *mirila* site, we find a reason for the position of the first *mirila* that were made outside the square (Fig. 23). They were made in the same place as the letter *T* outside the inscription square. If this position is fitting for the letter *T*, it is also fitting for the *mirila*. This explains the detached position of *mirila* MK29, MK61, MK62, and also of the smaller *mirila* on the north-eastern side. The cross on the inscription coincides with the position of the path, i.e. of movement, which is right beside the *mirilo* of Ivan Trošelj. This agrees with the above explanations of that sign. Therefore, people also used the inscription as a graphic plan of the *mirilia* site. This was not difficult, because it can still be seen every day.

How could contemporaries follow the plan? Very probably at least some of them knew the idea behind it. Besides, they could refresh their knowledge every time they passed beside the inscribed stone.

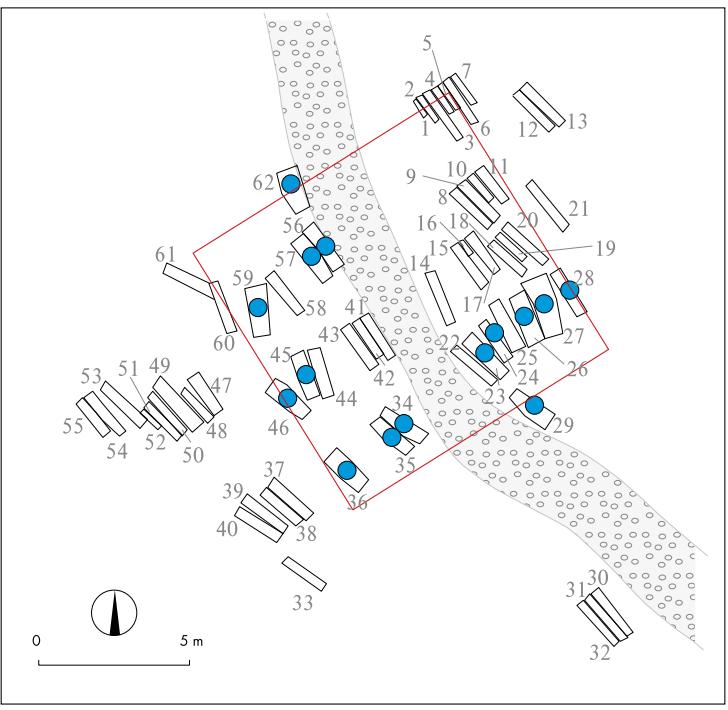
If we seek for parallels in the content of the inscriptions on the two *mirila* (MK56 and MK21), then the unusual number 1 on *mirilo* MK21, which is a complete imitation of number 7, begins to make sense (Fig. 18). It stands under the 2 and together they make 27. Additionally, we get the pairs 12 and 17, which, like 27, are also contained in the ideogram of the first Ivan.

Number 27 has extremely powerful symbolism because it represents the magic formula **3 x 9**. Invoking the 27 days of the sidereal month is a spell which was also used to bring back the dead. It is the length of the month not measured by the phases of the moon but by the “movement” of the moon on the horizon. After 27 days the moon, which rises and sets in a different place every day, comes back to the original place. Thus, as the moon dies and revives, as it returns, so let those who have died, travellers, return.

Date of death

The ideogram on *mirilo* MK56 may also show the year of death 1717, and an even more precise date, 7. 17. (Fig. 24). A chronological analysis of the *mirila* site showed that this *mirilo* is one of the three oldest and was certainly made in about 1700. The year 1712 is another possibility. It is probable, but not certain, that the bottom, upside-down part of the inscription shows the day and month of death. Here, too, there are several possible readings: besides 7. 17, it could also be 21. 2, 2. 12, and even 7. 12. It would be logical for one of these to be the exact date of death, or at least close enough to give the author the idea of including the apt numbers in the inscription. We do not know whether, in doing so, he changed any of them.

All this suggests that Ivan Trošelj's date of death on the headstone, 1717 7. 17, is not necessarily clearly defined. If we remove the 1 and the 7 from the date, i.e. the 17, which is repeated in the inscription, we get the date 17. 7. 71. The newest *mirilo* on the site,



22

sl. / Fig. 22

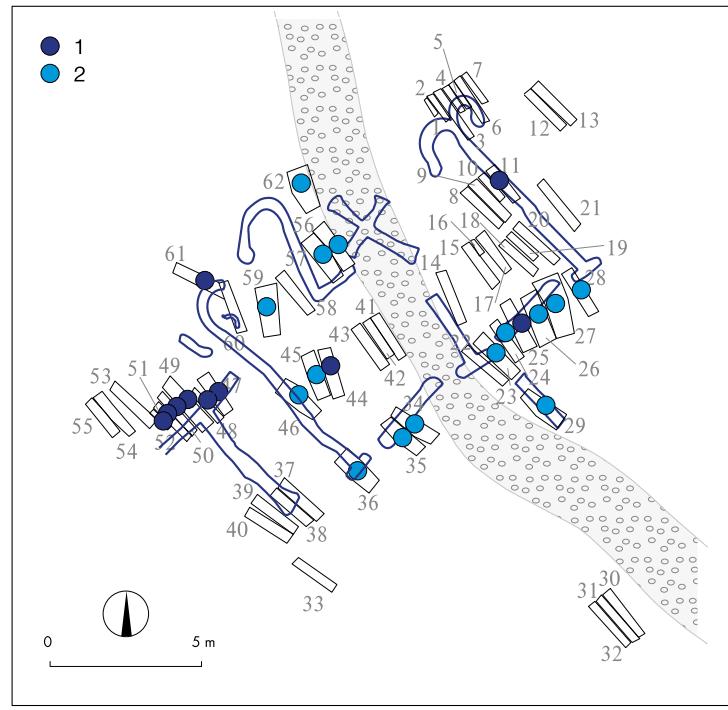
Mirila Kruščice. Kvadrat 10 x 10 m i mirila nastala do 1789.

Mirila of Kruščica. Square of 10 x 10 m and the mirila made before 1789.

sl. / Fig. 23

Mirila Kruščice. Ideogram natpisa MK56 i starija mirila. 1 – mirila nastala poslije 1789. i do 1818., 2 – mirila nastala do 1789.

Mirila of Kruščica. Ideogram of inscription on MK56 and older mirila. 1 – mirila made between 1789 and 1818, 2 – mirila made before 1789.



23

MK21, belongs to an Ivan Trošelj who died on 17. 7. 71, which is carved in the concrete of the "bed" (Fig. 10). Coincidence?! Mathematically, the possibility is very small. The reason should be sought in culture, i.e. in the conscious intent for the dates to coincide. According to family tradition, Ivan Trošelj died on 17 July 1971 (information supplied by Mira Trošelj).

The structural links between the inscriptions on the *mirila* MK56 and MK21 are rather convincing and show the old knowledge of the Trošelj family. The family members did not organise only their own lives around this knowledge, but also the life of their community. This is why the first Ivan Trošelj, at least, can also be looked on as a kind of colleague of the old Roman priests, *pontiffs*.

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Mirila, sjećanje i zaborav

Josip Zanki

U svom istraživanju *Kulture zaborava* Sanja Potkonjak i Tomislav Pletenac tvrde kako se društveni fenomeni poput "mode sjećanja" ne iscrpljuju samo u preoblikovanju sadašnjosti, već su podjednako zahtjevni prema prošlosti¹. Upravo na primjeru mirila možemo pratiti preoblikovanje prošlosti kako bi se utjecalo na djelomično brisanje običaja ili njegovo pretvaranje u folklornu matricu. Brisanje *mirila* iz kolektivnog pamćenja provodilo se sustavno. Većina je sudionika ovog rituala polazila od samo njima znane činjenice kako je u slučaju mirila riječ o ostatku hereze ili narodnom praznovjerju. Primjeri nestajanja spomenika i običaja *mirila* poznati su svim istraživačima što je i dokumentirano iskazima samih kazivača o lokalitetima kojih više nema. Ono što je možda nepoznato jest moguća teorijska (dogmatska) osnova koja je proizvela uzroke što će dovesti do činjenice *zaborava*.

Guy Debord smatra kako su religije, proizašle iz judaizma, zapravo apstraktna univerzalna priznjava irreverzibilnog vremena, koje je demokratično i otvoreno svima, ali samo u domeni iluzornog vrijeme je usmjereni ka jednom jedinom završnom događaju: "Carstvo Božje je blizu" i premda su izrasle na tlu povijesti u njemu pustivši korijenje i danas su radikalno suprotstavljene povijesti². Upravo je u *mirilima* dogma o nepovratnom vremenu, koje sigurno vodi prema Božjem kraljevstvu, našla svoju pseudoheretičnu antiteznu. Prema vjerovanjima velebitskih pastira duše se na mirila vraćaju kako bi se odmarale u društvu svojega stada; čemu onda dolazak kraljevstva Božjeg u budućnosti, ako su duše u cikličkom procesu odmaranja (napuštanja neba da bi bile na zemlji), a *mirilo* im služi da bi se što prije vinule u nebo. Konceptacija vječnoga života i uskrsnuća mrtvih biva očito potpuno suprotna samom ritualu *mirila*.

U Republici Hrvatskoj religiju od devedesetih godina 20. stoljeća zahvatio je proces pretvorbe u konzumerističku matricu koju je Debord jasno definirao: *Spektakularna tehnologija nije razvijala religiozne mitove u koje su ljudi projektirali svoje otuđene moći; ona ih je samo spustila na zemlju. Lažni raj, koji je nekada bio potpuna negacija zemaljskog života, više se ne projektira u nebesa; on je ugrađen u sam taj život.*² Upravo je iluzija lažnoga raja dovela do raspada tradicijskih oblika religioznosti onih koji su prihvaćali narodne običaje bez obzira na njihovu moguću rodnovjernu i starovjernu podlogu, assimiliujući ih s vremenom u pučku (katoličku) pobožnost.

U društvu spektakla religija se svodi na korporativnu matricu, istovjetnu drugim lažima koje možemo čuti u televizijskim reklamama. Tako čujemo promidžbene poruke o novim kreditima, besplatnim tarifama mobilnih operatera, tabletama protiv prehlade i karizmaticima koji služe mise u velesajamskim dvoranama... Takva matrica ne pozna otvorenost i toleranciju tradicijskog kršćanstva. Ciklički proces odmaranja duša vojnicima nove religije predstavlja strano tijelo koje treba determinirati.

¹ Potkonjak, Sanja, Pletenac, Tomislav, Grad i ideologija: *Kultura zaborava* na primjeru grada Siska. *Studia ethnologica Croatica*, 19., 2007., 171.-198.

² Debord, Guy, *Društvo spektakla*, Porodična biblioteka, Beograd, 2006.



sl. / Fig. 1

Josip Zanki, *Tijelo na mirilima / Dead body on the mirila*, 2009
kat. br 37

Iako su *mirila* dio njihova naslijeda, stanovnici Podgore i Ravnih kotara žive otuđeni od vlastite baštine. Sva su podvelebitska naselja *brendirana* u turističkoj ponudi avan-turističkog turizma. Uz cestu su koja vodi prema Ljubotiću postavljeni drveni putokazi prema mjestima *mirila*. Na lokalitetima se nalaze panoi s tekstovima i legendama, a poučna je staza postala nezaobilazni dio turističke ponude. No, u takvom se modelu sela događa povijesni hod u ništavilo. Većina mještana Starigrada ili Selina potomci su nekadašnjih stanovnika Velebita, no mnogi se od njih nikada nisu na njega popeli. Oni pripadaju novom seljaštvu, onome koje se razlikuje od starog po *sljedbeništvu dogme* i vojnicima *iluzije Božjeg vremena*. Simbolika planine Velebit, kao mitskog utočišta i pro-stora slobode, zato nestaje povlačeći se pred artificijelnim običajima instant civilizacije uvjerene da je informatizacijom i komunikacijom svuda umrežena.

Pokušamo li donijeti zaključak o ulozi kulture zaborava u povijesti *mirila*, upast ćemo u zamke interpretacije. Pogledavši modele tumačenja uviđamo da su dva teksta imala veliko značenje u povijesti hermeneutike³, a to su Rimsko pravo i Sveti pismo. Upravo je tumačenje ovoga drugoga uzrokovalo kulturu zaborava koja je prvi korak do potpunog brisanja naslijeda u konzumerističkom svijetu.

Ono što se u svim promidžbenim materijalima, posvećenima *mirilima*, nastoji izbjegći jest prečesto spominjanje pretkršćanskog podrijetla samog fenomena, ali i pojma smrti. Međutim, upravo je fizička smrt ta zbog koje su *mirila* nastala i trajala u vremenu, da bi napokon i nestala u trenutku mijenjanja odnosa prema njoj. Smrt je od pedesetih godina naovamo postajala drukčija, a rituali i obredi vezani uz nju - globalni, s ponekom natruhom lokalnog ili nacionalnog folklora.

Koncept smrti naslanja se na odnos prema tijelu, bolesti i vremenu. Michel Foucault zaključuje: *Death is therefore multiple, and dispersed in time: it is not that absolute, privileged point at which time stops and moves back; like disease itself, it has a teeming presence that analysis may divide into time and space.*⁴ Ta se rastezljivost i prostornost smrti razvila u dogmu zapadne medicine zbog koje se danas umire u prigodnim ustanovama smrti – bolnicama, a mjeru nam tamo uzimaju jedino patolozi. Ukop i mjesto ukopa postaju dio kastinskog statusa. Smrt je postala tražen i unosan proizvod omeđen zakonima tržišnog natjecanja. Postali smo ovisnici o brizi svemoguće znanosti, potpuno uvjereni u mogućnost neuništivosti fizičkog tijela iz lažnog pozitivističkog uvida da nam je baš ono jedno jedino. U svemu tome nismo ni primijetili kako smo otuđeni od dva najvažnija trenutka nas samih: trenutka rađanja i trenutka smrti. Ono što ih povezuje jest dah: trenutak prvog udaha i trenutak posljednjeg izdaha. Na *mirilima* se udah nalazi u kamenu što gleda prema sumraku zapada, a izdah u onome što teži vječnome istoku.

³ Connerton, Paul, *Kako se društva sjećaju*, Antibarbarus, Zagreb, 2004.

⁴ Foucault, Michel, *The Birth of the Clinic*, Routledge, London, 2003.

Mirila, Remembrance and Oblivion

Josip Zanki



sl. / Fig. 2

Josip Zanki, Mirilo nad Jasenarom / Mirilo above Jasenar, 2009
kat. br. 36

Sanja Potkonjak and Tomislav Pletenac, in their research paper *Kulture zaborava* (Cultures of Oblivion), say that social phenomena, like the “fashion of remembrance”, are not only exhausted in the transformation of the present, but are just as demanding of the past.¹ It is on the example of *mirila* that we can follow the transformation of the past, which led to the partial erasing of the custom or turning it into a matrix of folklore. *Mirila* were erased from the collective memory systematically. Most of the participants started from the fact, known only to themselves, that *mirila* were a remnant of heresy or folk superstition. All researchers know about examples of the disappearance of the memorials and of the *mirila* custom, and in their statements tellers document them in localities that no longer exist. What we may not know is the possible theoretic (dogmatic) foundation that led to evil spells and to the fact of oblivion.

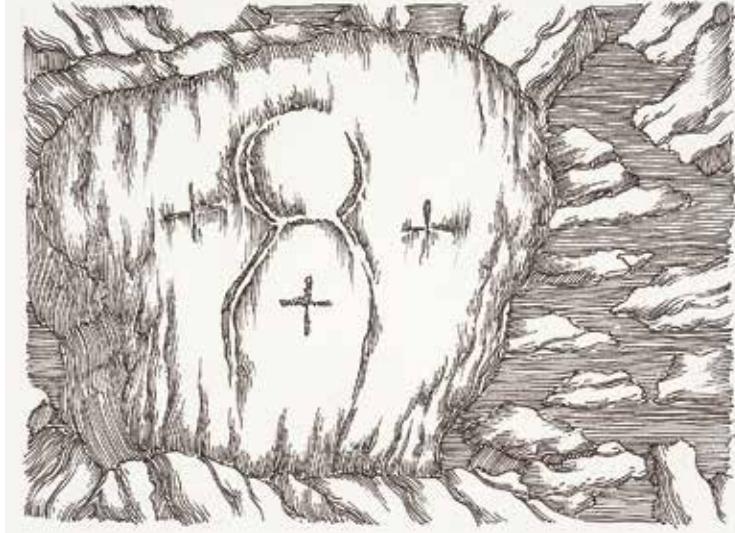
Guy Debord considers that the religions which evolved out of Judaism were abstract universal acknowledgments of an irreversible time that had become democratized and open to all, but only in the realm of illusion. Time is totally oriented toward a single final event: “The Kingdom of God is soon to come.” These religions were rooted in the soil of history, but they remained radically opposed to history.² It is the dogma of irreversible time, which unquestionably leads to the Kingdom of God, that found its pseudoheretic antithesis in the *mirila*. Velebit shepherds believe that souls return to the *mirila* to rest in the company of their herd, so what is the need for a future Kingdom of God if souls are in a cyclical process of rest (they leave heaven to be on earth) and use the *mirila* to fly up into heaven as quickly as possible. The concepts of eternal life and resurrection of the dead are obviously in complete contradiction with the *mirila* ritual.

From the nineties religion in the Republic of Croatia was caught up in a process of transformation into a consumerist matrix, which Debord clearly defined: “Spectacular technology did not develop religious myths in which people projected their alienated powers; it only brought them down to earth. The false paradise, which used to be the complete negation of earthly life, is no longer projected into heaven: it is built into this life.”² It is this illusion of false paradise that led to the disintegration of traditional forms of devotion among people who had accepted folk customs despite their possible foundation in tribal and ancient religion, and in time assimilated them into folk (Roman Catholic) devotion.

In the spectacular society religion is reduced to no more than a corporative matrix, identical to the other lies served in television commercials. We hear advertising messages about free loans, free tariffs of mobile operators, anti-cold pills and charismatics who preach in fairground halls or in Bosanska Posavina. This matrix knows nothing

1 Potkonjak, Sanja and Tomislav Pletenac. 2007. “Grad i ideologija” (Town and Ideology): Kultura zaborava na primjeru grada Siska (The Culture of Oblivion on the Example of the Town of Sisak). *Stud. ethnol. Croat.*, vol. 19, (171-198)

2 Debord, Guy. 2006. *Društvo spektakla* (La société du spectacle). Belgrade: Porodična biblioteka

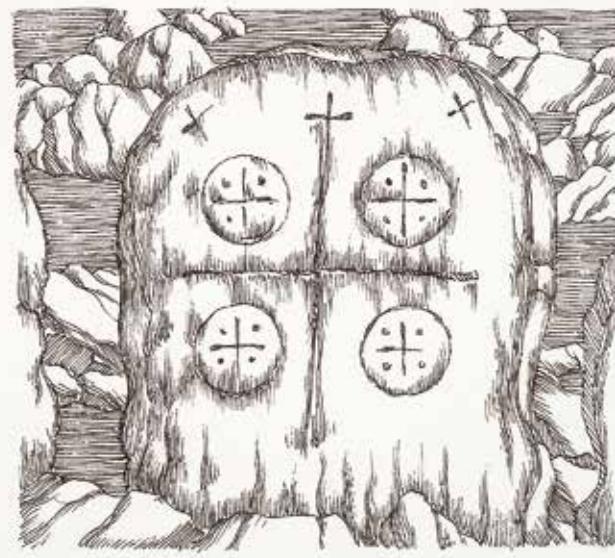


sl. / Fig. 3

Josip Zanki, Mirilo Krškovac, 2007.
kat. br. 35

sl. / Fig. 4

Josip Zanki, Mirilo Opuvani Dolac, 2007.
kat. br. 34



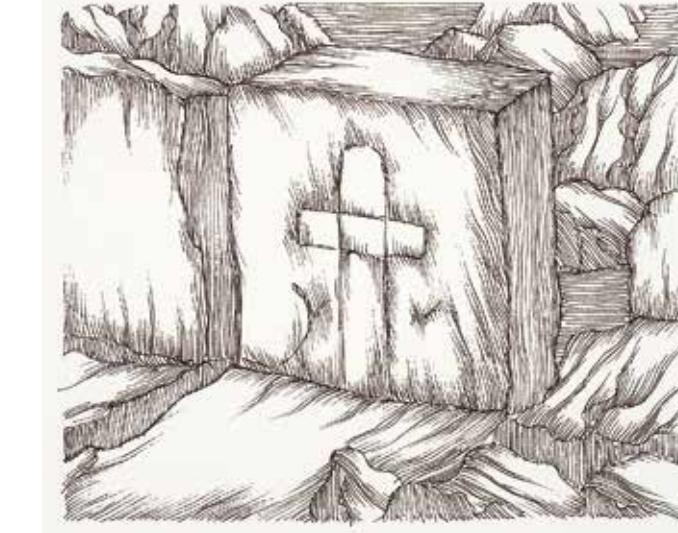
about the openness and tolerance of Christianity. For the soldiers of the new religion the cyclical process of rest for the soul is a foreign concept that is yet to be defined.

Although *mirila* are part of their own heritage, the inhabitants of Podgora and Ravnici live lives alienated from their inheritance. All the settlements on the Velebit foothills are branded as part of the offer of adventure tourism. The Ljubotić road has wooden road signs pointing to *mirila* sites. The localities themselves have information panels with texts and legends, and the educational path has become an inevitable part of the tourist offer. This model of the village leads to a historical passage into nothingness. Most of the people in Starigrad or Seline are the descendants of the former inhabitants of Velebit. Many of them have never climbed the mountain. They belong to the new peasants, who differ from those of old times because they *belong to the dogma* and are soldiers of the *illusion of God's time*. Thus the symbolism of Mount Velebit, as a mythical haven and a place of freedom, is disappearing, in retreat before the artificial customs of the instant civilisation convinced that information technology and communication have networked it everywhere.

An attempt to bring a final conclusion about the role played by the culture of oblivion in the history of *mirila* leave us ensnared in traps of interpretation. Models of interpretation show that two texts have great importance in the history of hermeneutics,³ Roman Law and the Holy Scriptures. It is the interpretation of the latter that led to the culture of oblivion, which is the first step towards completely erasing the heritage in the world of consumerism.

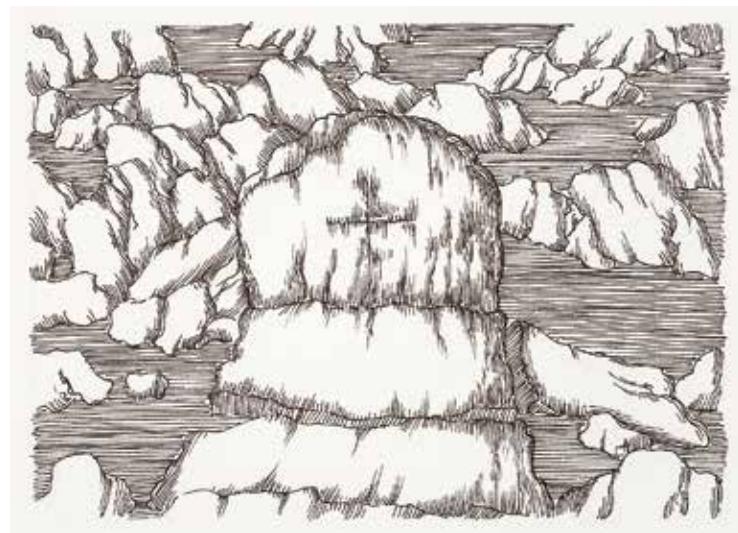
What all the promotion material about *mirila* tries to avoid is frequent mention of their pre-Christian origin, and the concept of death. However, physical death is why the *mirila* were made and why they continued to last in time, and finally disappeared

³ Connerton, Paul. 2004. *Kako se društva sjećaju* (How Societies Remember). Zagreb: Antibarbarus



at the moment when the attitude to death changed. After the 1950s death became different, and the rituals and customs connected to it global, with some scattering of local or national folklore.

The concept of death rests on the relationship to the body, illness and time. According to Michel Foucault: "Death is therefore multiple, and dispersed in time: it is not that absolute, privileged point at which time stops and moves back; like disease itself, it has a teeming presence that analysis may divide into time and space."⁴ This elasticity and spatiality of death developed into a dogma of western medicine because of which today people die in appropriate death institutions – hospitals, where there are only pathologists to measure them. Burial and place of burial have become part of a caste status. Death has become a sought after and profitable product restricted by the laws of market competition. We have become addicted to the care of omnipotent science, completely convinced of the possibility that the physical body is indestructible because of our false positivistic view that it is the only one we have. In all of this we never even noticed that we have become alienated from the two most important moments within ourselves, the moment of birth and the moment of death. What connects these two moments is breath, the moment when we first breathe in and the moment when we for the last time breathe out. On *mirila* the breathing in is in the stone that looks to the sunset in the west, and the breathing out in the one which aspires to the eternal east.



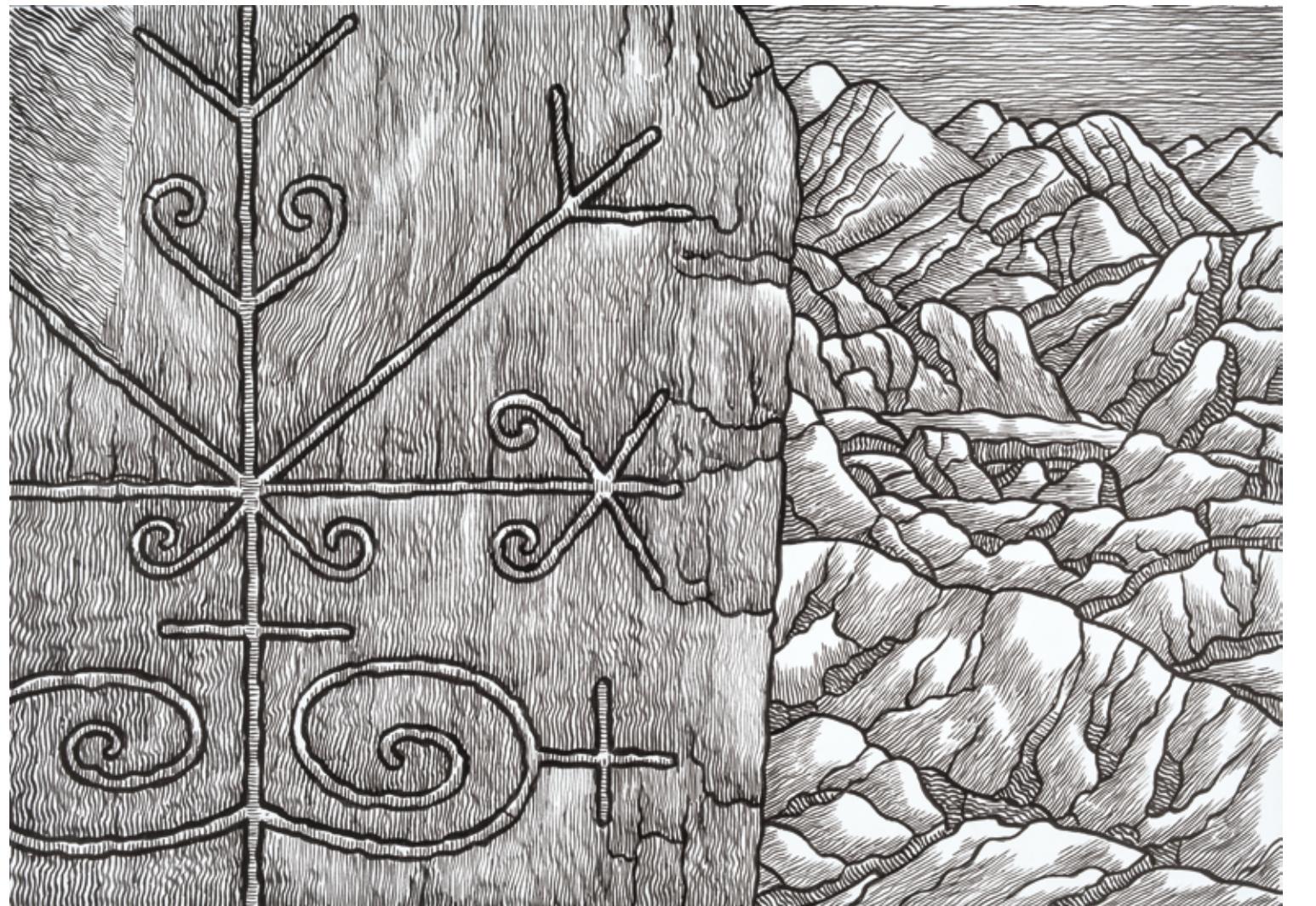
sl. / Fig. 5

Josip Zanki, Mirilo Ljubotić, 2007.
kat. br. 32

sl. / Fig. 6

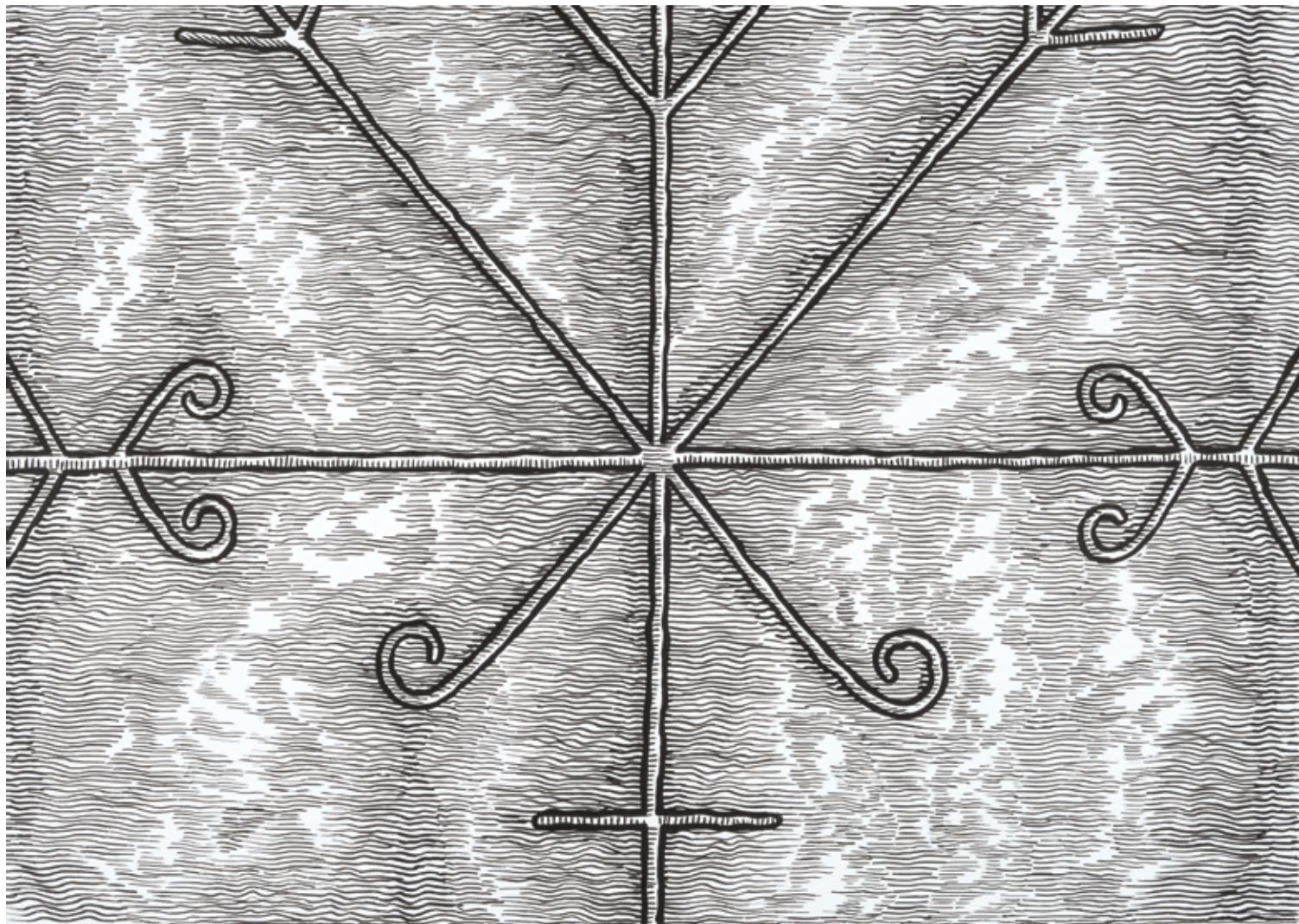
Josip Zanki, Mirilo Ljubotić II, 2007.
kat. br. 33

⁴ Foucault, Michel. 2003. *The Birth of the Clinic*. London: Rutledge



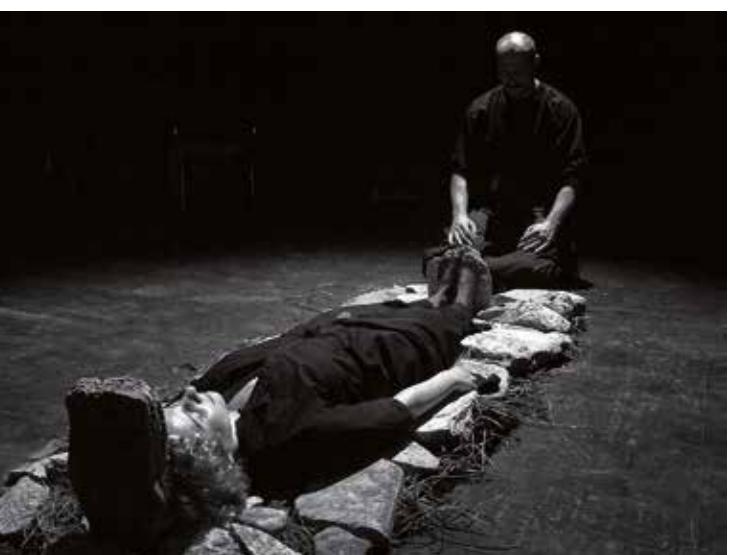
sl. / Fig. 7

Josip Zanki, Mirilo razgranati križ III / Mirilo branching cross III, 2011
kat. br. 44



sl. / Fig. 8

Josip Zanki, Mirilo detalj ornamenta N / Mirilo detail of ornament N, 2011
kat. br. 41



sl. / Fig. 9 - 12

Bojan Gagić, Josip Zanki, Performans mirilo / Mirilo performance, 2001. - 2013.

kat. br 77

Katalog / Catalogue

ORIGINALI

1. Uzglavnica s motivom svastike, Ljubotić, Rastovci, kamen, plitki reljef , 520x340x150mm
2. Uzglavnica s antropomorfnim solarnim križem, Ljubotić, Rastovci, kamen, plitki reljef, 430x200x100mm
3. Uzglavnica s antropomorfnim križem i trozubima, Ljubotić, Rastovci, kamen, plitki reljef, 360x190x100mm
4. Uzglavnica s motivom trozuba, Ljubotić, Korita, kamen, plitki reljef, 370x215x100 mm
5. Uzglavnica s natpisom *Pilip boga pomilova*, Tribanj Šibuljina, Kozjača, kamen, plitki reljef, 580x310x180mm
6. Uzglavnica s motivom antropomorfnog križa, Starigrad, Zapadnjari, kamen, plitki reljef, 450x360x160mm
7. Uzglavnica s antropomorfnim likom, Starigrad, Zapadnjari, kamen, plitki reljef, 495x280x120 mm
8. Uzglavnica sa stiliziranim antropomorfnim likom, Starigrad, Nad Kruškovcem, kamen, plitki reljef, 500x400x200 mm
9. Uzglavnica s motivom solarnog križa, Starigrad, Opuvani dolac, kamen, plitki reljef, 450x360x160mm
10. Uzglavnica s motivom razgranatog križa sa spiralama i trozubima, Starigrad, Opuvani dolac, kamen, plitki reljef, 300x200x120 mm

IZRAVNI OTISCI PO LOKALITETIMA

11. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Mirila Zapadnjari, 1977., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
12. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Kosa dobroselska, 1978., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
13. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica mirila na Kosi dobroselskoj, 1978., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
14. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Kosa dobroselska, 1978., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
15. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Nad Kruškovcem, 1979., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
16. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Opuvani dolac, 1979., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
17. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Opuvani dolac, 1979., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
18. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Opuvani dolac, 1979., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
19. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Opuvani dolac, 1979., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
20. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Opuvani dolac, 1979., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
21. Mirjana Trošelj, douzglavnica i uzglavnica, Opuvani dolac, 1982., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
22. Mirjana Trošelj, douzglavnica, Opuvani dolac, 1988., donji dio olovke na paus papiru

ORIGINAL

1. Headstone with swastika motif, Ljubotić, Rastovci, stone, shallow relief, 520x340x150mm
 2. Headstone with anthropomorphic sun cross, Ljubotić, Rastovci, stone, shallow relief, 430x200x100mm
 3. Headstone with anthropomorphic cross and tridents, Ljubotić, Rastovci, stone, shallow relief, 360x190x100mm
 4. Headstone with trident motif, Ljubotić, Korita, stone, shallow relief, 370x215x100 mm
 5. Headstone with inscription *Pilip God bless him*, Tribanj Šibuljina, Kozjača, stone, shallow relief, 580x310x180mm
 6. Headstone with motif of anthropomorphic cross, Starigrad, Zapadnjari, stone, shallow relief, 450x360x160mm
 7. Headstone with anthropomorphic figure, Starigrad, Zapadnjari, stone, shallow relief, 495x280x120 mm
 8. Headstone with stylised anthropomorphic figure, Starigrad, Nad Kruškovcem, stone, shallow relief, 500x400x200 mm
 9. Headstone with sun cross motif, Starigrad, Opuvani dolac, stone, shallow relief, 450x360x160mm
 10. Headstone with branching cross and tridents motif, Starigrad, Opuvani dolac, stone, shallow relief, 300x200x120 mm
11. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Mirila Zapadnjari, 1977, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 12. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Kosa Dobroselska, 1978, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 13. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Kosa Dobroselska, 1978, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 14. Mirjana Trošelj, *mirilo* headstone on Kosa Dobroselska, 1978, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 15. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Nad Kruškovcem, 1979, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 16. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Opuvani Dolac, 1979, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 17. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Opuvani Dolac, 1979, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 18. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Opuvani Dolac, 1979, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 19. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Opuvani Dolac, 1979, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 20. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Opuvani Dolac, 1979, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 21. Mirjana Trošelj, first bed stone and headstone, Opuvani Dolac, 1982, pencil bottom on tracing paper
 22. Mirjana Trošelj, first bed stone, Opuvani Dolac, 1988, pencil bottom on tracing paper

23. Mirjana Trošelj, douzglavnica, Nad Kruškovcem, 1988., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
24. Mirjana Trošelj, douzglavnica, Opuvani dolac, 1988., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
25. Mirjana Trošelj, uzglavnica, Opuvani dolac, 1998., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
26. Mirjana Trošelj, douzglavnica 1., Opuvani dolac, 2010., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
27. Mirjana Trošelj, douzglavnica 1., Opuvani dolac, 2010., donji dio olovke na paus papiru
- Svi otisci dimenzija su 280x220 mm, osim otiska s lokaliteta Nad Kruškovcem iz 1979., 420x297 mm.*

REPLIKE I INSCENACIJA MIRILA

28. Siniša Reberski, replika obiteljskog mirila, 2012., kamen, plitki reljef, 500x400x200mm

CRTEŽI

29. Josip Zanki, Sveti brdo i Vlaški grad..., 2005., crtež tušem, 500x500 mm
30. Josip Zanki, Četiri mirila s križem na Ljubotiću, 2006., crtež tušem, 500x620 mm
31. Josip Zanki, Zavrata..., 2006., crtež tušem, 500x620 mm
32. Josip Zanki, Mirilo Ljubotić, 2007., crtež tušem, 230x305 mm
33. Josip Zanki, Mirilo Ljubotić II., 2007., crtež tušem, 230x305 mm
34. Josip Zanki, Mirilo Opuvani dolac, 2007., crtež tušem, 230x305 mm
35. Josip Zanki, Mirilo Kruškovac, 2007., crtež tušem, 230x305 mm
36. Josip Zanki, Mirilo nad Jasenarom, 2009., crtež tušem, 500x617 mm
37. Josip Zanki, Tijelo na mirilima, 2009., crtež tušem, 500x599 mm
38. Josip Zanki, Mirila kod Ljubotića, 2009., crtež tušem, 500x620 mm
39. Josip Zanki, Mirila Kruškovac II., 2011., crtež tušem, 298 x420 mm
40. Josip Zanki, Mirila Kruškovac - zvijezde, I., 2011., crtež tušem, 298 x420 mm
41. Josip Zanki, Mirilo, detalj ornamenta N, 2011., crtež tušem, 298 x420 mm
42. Josip Zanki, Mirilo, spirala N, II., 2011., crtež tušem, 298 x420 mm
43. Josip Zanki, Mirilo Ljubotić, I.-V., 2011., crtež tušem, 298 x420 mm
44. Josip Zanki, Mirilo, razgranati križ, III., 2011., crtež tušem, 298 x420 mm

23. Mirjana Trošelj, first bed stone, Nad Kruškovcem, 1988., pencil bottom on tracing paper
24. Mirjana Trošelj, first bed stone, Opuvani Dolac, 1988., pencil bottom on tracing paper
25. Mirjana Trošelj, headstone, Opuvani Dolac, 1998., pencil bottom on tracing paper
26. Mirjana Trošelj, first bed stone 1 a), Opuvani Dolac, 2010., pencil bottom on tracing paper
27. Mirjana Trošelj, first bed stone 1 b), Opuvani Dolac, 2010., pencil bottom on tracing paper
- All the prints are 280x220 mm, except Nad Kruškovcem from 1979, 420x297 mm.*

MIRILA REPLICAS AND RECONSTRUCTIONS

28. Siniša Reberski replica of family mirilo, 2012, stone, shallow relief, 500x400x200mm

DRAWINGS

29. Josip Zanki, Sveti brdo and Vlaški grad..., 2005, drawing in indian ink, 500x500 mm
30. Josip Zanki, four mirila with a cross on Ljubotić, 2006, drawing in indian ink, 500x620 mm
31. Josip Zanki, Zavrata..., 2006, drawing in indian ink, 500x620 mm
32. Josip Zanki, Ljubotić mirilo, 2007, drawing in indian ink, 230x305 mm
33. Josip Zanki, Ljubotić mirilo II, 2007, drawing in indian ink, 230x305 mm
34. Josip Zanki, Opuvani Dolac mirilo, 2007, drawing in indian ink, 230x305 mm
35. Josip Zanki, Kruškovac mirilo, 2007, drawing in indian ink, 230x305 mm
36. Josip Zanki, mirilo above Jasenar, 2009, drawing in indian ink, 500x617 mm
37. Josip Zanki, dead body on the mirila, 2009, drawing in indian ink, 500x599 mm
38. Josip Zanki, mirila at Ljubotić, 2009, drawing in indian ink, 500x620 mm
39. Josip Zanki, Kruškovac mirila, II, 2011, drawing in indian ink, 298 x420 mm
40. Josip Zanki, Kruškovac mirila - stars, I, 2011, drawing in indian ink, 298 x420 mm
41. Josip Zanki, mirilo, detail of ornament N, 2011, drawing in indian ink, 298 x420 mm
42. Josip Zanki, mirilo, spiral N II, 2011, drawing in indian ink, 298 x420 mm
43. Josip Zanki, Ljubotić mirilo I-V, 2011, drawing in indian ink, 298 x420 mm
44. Josip Zanki, mirilo, branching cross III, 2011, drawing in indian ink, 298 x420 mm

ARHEOLOŠKI CRTEŽI PREMA IZRAVNIM OTISCIMA

- 45.-56. Krešimir Rončević, 2013., akvarel, 280x220 mm

ARHIVSKA GRAĐA I FOTOGRAFIJE

57. V. Cvitišić, Seljak i seljanka. Velebit, foto 1157, vl. Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Zagreb
58. T. Dabac, Skupina staraca pjevača, Velebit: Ličko Lešće, foto 1528, vl. Institut za etnologiju i folkloristiku, Zagreb
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Nakladnik / Publisher

Galerija Klovićevi dvori, Jezuitski trg 4, Zagreb

Za nakladnika / For the publisher

Marina Viculin

Urednica / Editor

Koraljka Jurčec Kos

Tekstovi / Texts

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Mario Katić

Andrej Pleterski

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Mira Čurić

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Marin Ćurković

Martina Dubolnić Glavan

Marina Jurjević

Lepa Petri

Andrej Pleterski

Petar i Josip Strmečki

Mirjana Trošelj

Tisk / Printed by

Kerschoffset d.o.o., Zagreb

Naklada / Printing run

500

ISBN 978-953-271-071-7

CIP zapis dostupan u računalnome katalogu Nacionalne i sveučilišne knjižnice u Zagrebu pod brojem 843857. /

CIP entry accessible in the computer catalogue of the National and University Library in Zagreb under number 843857.