

Balkan folk colour language : significance of colour in Balkan folklore: marriage [sic] and burial / Mony Almalech.

Almalekh, Moni, 1954-

Sofia : St. Kliment Ohridski University Press, 1996, c1995.

<https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015047459204>



Creative Commons Attribution

http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#cc-by-4.0

This work is protected by copyright law (which includes certain exceptions to the rights of the copyright holder that users may make, such as fair use where applicable under U.S. law) but made available under a Creative Commons Attribution license. You must attribute this work in the manner specified by the author or licensor (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work). For details, see the full license deed at <http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/>.



MONY ALMALECH

**BALKAN FOLK
COLOUR LANGUAGE**



57233

BALKAN FOLK COLOUR LANGUAGE



Generated on 2023-09-27 19:37 GMT / <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015047459204>
Creative Commons Attribution / http://www.hathitrust.org/access_use#cc-by-4.0

M O N Y A L M A L E C H

BALKAN FOLK COLOUR LANGUAGE

**SIGNIFICANCE OF COLOUR IN BALKAN FOLKLORE:
MARIAGE AND BURIAL**

**St Kliment Ohridski University Press
Sofia • 1996**

Fr1
2766
A2
A46
1996

© Mony Almalech, 1995
© Krasimira Mihailova – cover design
c/o Sofia University Press “St. Kliment Ohridski”,
Sofia 1113, bul. “Tsarigradsko chouse” 125, bl. 4
Printed in Bulgaria
ISBN 954-07-0823-0

Grad
Exch
SOFIA
12/22/98
30856875

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION -----	9
MYSTIC-RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION OF THE TRADITIONAL COLOUR SIGN AND OTHER FACTORS-----	10
RELIGIOUS-SOCIAL IDEOLOGY OF THE MARRIAGE CUSTOM: ORDER-----	30
ORDER IN THE BURIAL RITUAL -----	35
MARRIAGE CUSTOMS -----	39
THE VEIL OF THE BRIDE -----	39
THE WEDDING FLAG -----	52
COLOURS AND SEXES-----	61
THE SHOES OF THE BRIDE -----	65
AMBIGUITY OF THE RED SANDALS (SHOES) AS A SYMBOL --	71
SYNONYMY OF THE MEANING BETWEEN THE YELLOW SHOES AND HERMES' GOLDEN SANDALS -----	71
THE "GOLDEN APPLE" -----	73
THE APPLE AND THE BURIAL -----	78
BALKAN COLOUR LANGUAGE? -----	80
ROMANIAN "WEDDING OF THE DEAD" IN "MIORITZA" -----	82
BULGARIAN MARRIAGE -----	83
BALKAN COLOUR LANGUAGE-----	85
CHARM FOR MARRIAGE -----	86

BURIAL CUSTOMS -----	89
THE BURIAL AS INITIATION -----	89
COLOUR OF THE MOURNERS' CLOTHES -----	91
THE CLOTHES OF THE DECEASED -----	100
CONCLUSION -----	109
COMPARISON BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND BURIAL -----	109
APPENDIX -----	113
MEANINGS OF RED COLOUR IN BULGARIAN FOLKLORE (CUSTOMS) -----	114
RED COLOUR SYMBOLS IN BULGARIAN LITERATURE -----	120
COMPARISON WITHIN A BULGARIAN FRAMEWORK (CUSTOMS — SONGS — NOVELS) -----	126
UNIVERSAL MEANINGS OF THE COLOUR RED -----	129
COMPARISON BETWEEN BULGARIAN LITERATURE AND NDEMBU RITUALS -----	132
BIBLIOGRAPHY -----	135
INDEX -----	140

האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM



The Department of Russian and Slavic Studies

1.1.1995.

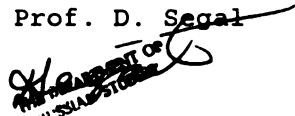
To Whom it May Concern

Dr. Moni Almalech was employed by the department of Slavic Studies of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem for two years as a research associate.

During this time he was engaged in a research project on a semantic of color in the folk cultures of the Balkans.

As his research director I can testify to the high quality of his research. Dr. Moni Almalech proved himself to be a capable and very competent worker.

Prof. D. Segal


DEPARTMENT OF
RUSSIAN AND SLAVIC STUDIES

Chairman of the Department

INTRODUCTION

Twenty years ago, as a student, I became aware of the coloursign system of some of the leading Bulgarian writers in their works, enhancing further their characters. The system is ambiguous, complex, contradictory, with its own identity and numerous features. I was deeply impressed by the similarity of meanings in South Africa described by V. Turner. Briefly I would like to quote V. Turner's theoretical basis. [Turner, 1986, p. 175] His books and articles encouraged me to keep my interest on this subject fresh all these years: "C. S. Jung has suggested that a symbol is "alive" insofar as those who employ it are not fully aware of its significance (1949 : 602). "A symbol is pregnant with meaning [...]" Jung is, of course, discussing symbols in connection with his hypothesis about the existence of a "collective unconscious" and "archetypes". It is because his symbols dip deep into the collective unconscious and because their appearance stirs inherited memories of archetypal forms that they are "alive". Without accepting Jung's views about archetypes we are nevertheless prepared to accept that Ndembu symbols may well affect the unconscious layers of the psyche. But we must distinguish the meaning it possesses for the preconscious psyche. In the later case the subject is capable not only of bringing to consciousness and listing the situationally manifest senses of a ritual symbol, but also many of its situationally latent senses." [Turner, 1979, p. 175]

The ritual colour symbol has its "logic" in the human's psyche, but it has also its philosophy in the secret religious-mystical notions and concepts. And that is valid for pagan and monotheistic religions. J. Wheelwright's remark, that "Jung has referred to the unconscious as synonymous with God" [Wheelwright, 1987, p. 408] is the case in point.

MYSTIC-RELIGIOUS MOTIVATION OF THE TRADITIONAL COLOUR SIGH AND OTHER FACTORS

We start our journey towards the dark world — that of secret mystical-religious knowledge, myths and dreams — with the whole variety of factors and sources from the symbol, (as transmitted by dreams and the subconscious to reality), to the sociality and aesthetics of folk customs. We should stress here that namely this knowledge of symbolic systems was lost some three hundred years ago. This is the conclusion of the Indian philosopher, K. Coomaraswamy, who wrote, “Symbolism is ‘the area of thinking in images’ — an art now lost to civilised man, notably in the last three hundred years.” [Coomaraswamy, 1935, pp. 83, 169] and further on the Indian philosopher, J. Cirlot [Cirlot, 1982, p. XXIX], who also noted an important point: “However, this loss — as anthropology and psychoanalysis have shown — is limited to consciousness and not to the ‘unconscious’, which, to compensate, is perhaps now overloaded with symbolic material.”

The soul of man and its struggle with matter to reach its divine sources are part of the essence of religious systems. Symbols are part of the transition of this process, symbols stand for the soul versus the human body. The memory of the divine past of the soul, its pre-human place, time, and form is expressed in latent forms of dreams, in mystical notions, myths and mysteries. The similarity of dreams and myths is also mentioned by the same J. Cirlot [Cirlot, 1982]: “*Onierocritic symbols*, then, are not strictly different from mythical, religious, lyrical, or primitive symbols.”

Colour symbols as pure, meaningful substance also belong to the same area. This is the region where the soul its striving for perfection and unity with sources of Divinity.

We shall go to this area of the transformation of an ideal — the realm of ideas and concepts of matter, and material objects — we shall try to reconstruct a common strata of folk knowledge preserved in the use of colours as meaningful symbol. At the same time, we should not forget the ornamental status of colours in human life and reality. This

dual position and role of colours may be one of the reasons why small traces of ancient primitive colour symbols are preserved to this day. No doubt, these traces have aesthetic value, power and influence. The social markings of traditional festive costumes compared to everyday costumes bring this out. The comparison has been made by P. Bogatyrev [Bogatyrev, 1971], who mentions the use of the everyday traditional costume as a basis for the festive ones and their social function, for example, the wealth of the participants. As an expression of the Deity – Creator, colours go beyond their ornamental state; they are an element within human reality. In the last century a lot of authors [Knight, 1876; Portal, 1957; Crawley, 1927], quoting different original sources of religion and mythology, tried to prove that there is universality in the meanings of the symbols of the various religious systems, based upon human psychology. What all of these systems have in common is that the Creator is invisible. The creator is the ideal character. However the features of the Deity are conveyed in material terms, material symbols are part of its being. For example, the ancient colourfulness of the bridal costume is replaced today by a “uniform” white all over the Balkans, and not only in the Balkans. Modern times easily provide society with mass production – the multi-coloured bridal costume message has been replaced by one colour. The meanings of a multi-coloured costume are lost. At the same time, this white “uniform” for many nations and religions, is not empty of a meaning – it is a declaration of virginity, purity (of body and spirit), promise, and desire for a future family life full of the same basic individual moral precepts.

In primitive societies and cultures, customs and mysteries were determined and directed by initiated persons, who applied the rules of transformation expressing the infinity of the Deity to the finity of the material world, therefore in order to understand Marriage and Burial customs we should examine them (in that order). Not ignoring the entire information space of customs i. e. various physical action – washing the dead, lament songs, marriage dances and songs, and the use of a number of plants. We find in all these actions different instances of the presence of colour – from the colour of the plants to colours mentioned in the songs. Hence the term “Folklore context” generally stands for [ben Amos, 1982]. In other words, the unity of the “Folk context” consists of **information space**. Colours are part of folk

information space and here the information carried by colour symbols appears at different levels — vision, sound (**parole** in the songs). The important goal here is to recognise the purely auxiliary use of colour — as is the case with the uses of herbs in burial rites in ancient Greece: above all for the odour effect, as well as an auxiliary colour impact, as something largely auxiliary, i. e. — from the purely symbolic applications of the colours. The pure colour symbol is a material expression of the invisible Deity — the Creator; it is a mystical, religious, material substance with an independent meaning, a symbol of a notion, of an idea. An example of such independent functioning of the colour symbol is the red of the bride's veil, with the clear and very popular understanding that, especially for that part of the outfit (the veil), the red colour has a protective function and meaning ensuring the successful reproducing of the species. The compound symbol — the red veil — is a perfect example of the duality of the colour symbols and signs: the material of the colour as an ornamental element in a daily context, and at the same time, the mystical-religious-mythical pure symbol-power of the red colour to preserve material matter. We should like to cite J. Cirlot again to show how the symbol red could be interpreted:

If we take any 'symbol' — for example, the sword, or the colour red — and analyze its structure, we shall see that it can be split up into both its real and its symbolic components. First, we find the object in itself, in isolation; in the second place, we find the object linked to its utilitarian function, to its concrete or factual reality in the three-dimensional world — directly, in the case of the sword, or indirectly, giving colour, for example to a cloak, in the case of the colour red; in the third place, we find what enables the object to be considered as a symbol: that structure which we have termed 'symbolic function', or the dynamic tendency of the object to link up with its corresponding equivalents in all analogous series, nevertheless principally tending to show the particular metaphysical meaning. In this symbolic meaning and the general meaning, the latter being frequently ambivalent and charged with allusions whose variety, however, is never chaotic, for it is marshalled along the co-ordinate line of a 'common rhythm'.

Thus, the sword, iron, fire, the colour red, the god Mars, the rocky mountain, are all interrelated because they are oriented along one 'symbolic line'. They all imply the longing for 'spiritual determination and physical annihilation' which is the profoundest meaning of their functions; but in addition, they are joined together – they beckon to each other, one might say – by virtue of the inner affinity that binds all these phenomena, which are, in truth, concomitants of one essential cosmic modality.

In consequence, apart from this network of relations linking up every kind of object (physical, metaphysical, mental, real and unreal in so far as they have 'psychological reality'), the symbolic order is established by general correlation between the material and the spiritual (the visible and the invisible) and by the unfolding of their meanings. These components, which account for the 'mode of being' of the object, may be complementary or disparate; in the case of the latter an ambivalent symbol is produced. [Cirlot, 1982, XXXIII–XXXIV]

There are several points we can draw from this quotation, namely the duality of the colour symbol – as a purely mystical sign and as the real substance of the three dimensional world alike; the presence of a cosmic 'common rhythm' between different kinds of symbols. Relations in objects – 'physical, metaphysical, mental, real and unreal', are related to 'psychological reality'. A 'symbolic order' exists, 'established by a general correlation between the material and the spiritual (the visible and invisible)'. Hence the ambiguity of this symbol. This general picture, stemming from J. Cirlot, supports my own main concept of secret mystical knowledge, which has strongly influenced folk practices. At the same time, we should recall that lore by itself is a common domain and influenced alike by common people. J. Cirlot also mentioned the concept of order as a notion – 'symbolic order'. In the case of folklore, "order" acquires another meaning and condition because of the complexity of the actions and symbols. In the marriage and burial customs it is nor the pure 'symbolic order'. but what we can call a 'complex, compound symbolic order'. Order by itself should be a very basic concept. E. Gombrich [Gombrich, 1979, p. 177], in his printed lectures, **The Sense of Order**, gives the main description of the significance of order in human and animal

survival in the world. Further on the sense of order in ornamental art is examined. In his mention of the role of colour as an ornamental factor, he states: "Colour, like scale, can influence the effect of any order making the elements more or less conspicuous through contrast or brightness. But apart from these and other variables which operate on the objective response of the eye, the visual effect of any design must also depend on such factors as familiarity of taste."

We should add familiarity and taste by themselves, when we go back to the area of folklore. That is the influence of factors of our human world, beyond any 'cosmic order'.

When we speak of the folklore context, which is a basic and popular concept, we should emphasise the order of actions. Accordingly, we want to demonstrate our incorporation of Gombrich's note: "[...] our sense of order must serve in the business of survival; it allows the organism to discover deviations from order, departures from the norm, which is somehow encoded in the nervous system. We are only now beginning to understand the degree to which our visual orientation in space also depends on such norms." [Gombrich, 1979, 36—32]

As we search for colour symbols in marriage and burial customs, we should not overlook the compound character of practices — which are norms consisting of colours used as ornaments and independent symbols of the 'cosmic order', as well as translations in our world of some divinity, of ideal pre-human states. Colours have their aesthetic and social weight. Finally, they are used in the frames of art design and personal taste. The order in customs consists of visual information and language (the songs), which make up the traditional information space.

Following the national features of colour information space of marriage and burial customs, we shall try to prove that the first to introduce the concept of the order of customs, based it on human capabilities for sensing and human psychology, resulting in universal colour symbols and uses with a given purpose. Small national differences are accommodated by the universal symbolism.

In the analysis of order in these customs, we must not overlook the fact that it maintains social and psychological standards in life. It would be a major omission not to bear in mind the mystical-religious

significance underlying this main order. For example, all taboo elements in the marriage custom which oblige the bride and the groom to be separated for periods of time are an expression of the social and religious notion that intercourse is something dangerous to man, something unclean, because of its sinful character, separating the soul from its divine sources. Evil forces — demons — also must be isolated as much as possible from the new, intimate, and sexual unity to ensure the successful reproduction of a sophisticated process of creation of new flesh inspired with the substance of a new soul. In that sense, taboo periods are defence techniques at the spiritual level of humanity, not merely social-sexual prohibitions. The colour symbol of such taboo periods, on the other hand is an indication of the level of symbolic — colour, marking the taboo process which are subject of a study as part of the folklore context.

Above all we should examine religious-mystical ideology of the different Balkan peoples and nations, before turning to the analysis of folk order. The most ancient information we have is about the Greeks. Unfortunately there are no systematic data on this extremely ancient civilisation on the Balkans; some of the oldest gold treasures in the world — Varna, dated at 6500 B. C. belong to it. The oldest gold burial collection shows evidence as to the level of this part of Europe, named “Old Europe” by Maria Gimbutas [Gimbutas, 1989], that could have kept the sources of many Middle Eastern myths, religions, and secret knowledge.

Thus the meaning of the colours falls into three levels — “Langue divine”, “Langue sacree”, and “Langue profane” by F. Portal [Portal, 1957, 35—49] which is a classification reflecting the understanding of the transformation of the invisible into the visible, the absolute Divine to the mundane. The Platonic idea (followed by the Gnostic) for levelled refraction of the archi-god-Creator into world of man is much more sophisticated and supposes more than three tiers of meanings of the colours as independent substance — signs. The three-tier classification of Portal is influenced by the Christian idea of the direct presence of the Father-God in our world by Joshua (Jesus Christ) his only son. Kabbalah (in Pre & Post Platonic times), the knowledge of the Jewish sect from the Old Testament, no doubt, was connected with the meanings of the colours. If we look at the practical results of the Alexandrian school of Kabbalah (3rd century A. C.) — the occult

books — we must note the descriptions of the meanings of the colours and the jewel stones. [Kambul, 1991] Unfortunately, we can not find in surviving sources of the theory of Kabbalah any motivation for the meanings of the colours given in occultism. Often we learn that the sources of this knowledge came from Alexandria, in ancient times, or in the Hermetic Isumrud book. For example, the Jewish point of view about the colour black was:

Within the most hidden recess a dark flame issued from the mystery of eyn sof, the Infinite, like a fog forming in unformed — enclosed in the ring of that sphere, neither white nor black, neither red nor green, of no colour whatsoever. Only after this flame began to assume size and dimension, did it produce radiant colours. From the innermost centre of the flame sprang forth a well out of which colours issued and spread upon everything beneath, hidden in mysterious hiddenness of eyn sof ["without end"]. [The Zohar, 1984, p. 707]

We shall see later how similar this Jewish secret knowledge is to the Islamic point of view.

If we turn to the Jewish sect of the Essenes, the Kumran scriptures and all serious information about this sect [Ginsburg, 1864], we shall also be in the position of uninitiated, outside viewers. We just know that this highest level of the Levitic way of life had a special relation to the colour white, which was the colour of the initiated members of the sect.

In any case, the three-tier classification of the meaning of the colours supposes a Divine concept; a Divine element is quoted from different ancient scriptures but not by the supreme-Creator himself. What we have before us is only the mundane world, its limitations.

And in turning to our last hope — ancient Greek mysteries — to find the notion for the colours as magical — independent substance, we shall once more be disappointed:

The teachers of the faith which superseded them [the classical authors] have been too zealous to expose their deformities, without giving due credit and consideration to their essential merits. It has nevertheless been a matter of astonishment for us that the men of superior mind should adore deities that are represented as

drunken and adulterous, and admit extravagant stories and scandalous adventures among their religious dogmas. [Knight, 1876, p. 14]

We have then only one clear description of the religious-mystical ideology for our object — the colours — in the commentary to Islam:

The Seven Colours. *Traditionally, the palette of **haft rang**, or seven colours, dominates the conception of colour. White, black, and sandalwood, viewed as the first group of three colours, complement red, yellow, green, and blue, viewed as the second grouping of four colours. Together they numerically constitute the super grouping of seven colours. This numerical distinction is critical for understanding the traditional colour system. Objects or concepts taken in isolation are a diverse to the Islamic view. Each phenomenon is viewed as part of a greater totality to which, for the sake of intellectual clarity, numerical or geometrical characteristics are assigned. Thus a totality is evoked which is larger and more significant than any of its parts.*

The System of Three Colours. *Three as number, and as a triangle in geometry, reflects the fundamental concept of spirit, soul, and body, which makes up all creation. Viewed alternatively as the three motions of the spirit, it evokes the acts of descent, ascent, and horizontal expansion which, respectively, exhibits passive, active, and neutral qualities.*

White is the integration of all colours, pure and unstained. In its unmanifested state, it is the colour of Pure Light before individualisation, before the One became the many. Light, symbolically viewed as white, descends from the sun and symbolises Unity.

As it is through white that colour is made manifest, so through black it remains hidden, "hidden by its very brightness". Black is "a bright light in dark day", as only through luminous black can one find the hidden aspects of the Divine. This perception comes through the black of the pupil which, as the centre of the eye, is symbolically the veil to both internal and external vision. Black is the annihilation of self, prerequisite to reintegration. It is the cloak, of the Ka'bah, the mystery of Being, the light of Majesty, and the colour of the Divine.

Sandalwood is the colour of the earth, void of colour (az rang khali). It is the neutral base upon which nature (the system of four colours) and polar qualities of black and white act. Symbolically, sandalwood is man in the microscale, earth in the macroscale, iism to the artisan, the neutral plane to the geometrician, and the floor to the architect.

The System of Four Colours. Four as a number, and as a square in geometry, reflects the conceptual configuration of the Universal Soul, manifested as the active qualities of nature (hot, cold, wet, dry) and the passive qualities of matter (fire, water, air, and earth). The quadrants of the day, the quarters of the moon, the four seasons, and the four divisions of man's temporal life are secondary reflections of this system.

In vision, the primary colours are red, yellow, green, and blue. These four colours correspond to the four qualities of the Universal Nature and the four elements of matter. Nature, the active agent towards matter, initiates the temporal creative process and determines the rhythms of the inner (batim) and the outer (zahir) aspects of all being. Through the system of the four colours, man establishes sensible correspondences with the various aspects of this inherent energy of nature that is continuously in search of a state of equilibrium analogous to its primordial state of order.

Red develops an association with fire, exhibiting the paired natural qualities of heat and dryness. It expresses the vital spirit – active, expansive, and insoluble. Cyclically, it is morning, spring, and childhood. The complement of red is green, which exhibits the opposite qualities. Yellow is air, hot and wet. Its qualities are contemplative, active, expansive, and soluble. It stands for noon, summer, and youth. It complements blue, which represents earth, cold and dry. The inferior soul, passive, contractive, and insoluble are the qualities of blue, which symbolically represents the end of the cycles, for it is night, winter and old age. Viewed as a movement through the four quadrants of a circle, the descending and ascending motions of these colours describe a full circle: the end of one cycle only signals the beginning of another.

Green is viewed in Islam as the superior of the four colours because it embodies all of the others. Yellow and blue join to form the balanced mixture of green, and its after-image is red. Green is hope, fertility, and eternity with its two inherent dimensions of past (blue) and future (yellow), and its opposite, the present, seen as red.

Alchemy and Colour

Through the science of alchemy, man associates himself with the temporal creative process. Alchemy has a twofold aspect. On the one hand, it is the science of the transformation of the soul of man; on the other, through the traditional arts and crafts, it is a science concerned with the essences and processes of nature.

Traditional man participates in the creative process through the process of the transmutation of matter, the taking back of matter to its state as "hidden gold", as it were. The miniaturist or glazer of tiles participates in the alchemical process physically as well as spiritually. His choice of colour symbolises a particular state of consciousness. In the same way, the mystic seeks the transformation of his soul. The method is one of reaching a state of purity and then internalising it. Colours become an orientation for the mystic, the means by which he judges his level of realisation. He is beyond time, only the world of colour provides for his direction and orientation. After a rigorous discipline, he achieves a balance, and through the alchemical methods of expansion, contraction, fixation, and solution, his soul is transformed.

Order in the Colour of Nature

The purposeful use of colour where otherwise chaos might exist in the mind of the beholder. [Ardelan, Bakhtiar, 1973, 49—60]

This long quote is something common to us. It seems that the secret Islamic knowledge was the last word of the vogue, sprung from the Alexandrian school, gathered from Egyptian, Jewish and Platonic traditions. We already stressed the religious strategy of the use of colours in Islamic tradition because we all know that in Islamic art, colour is a full, complete word of the language of art. Colour has the

status of a meaningful sign in the culture. And the sources of this point are marked as a strategy in the notes of the authors on Alchemy in Islam: "Alchemy in the Islamic tradition is basically a cosmological science of Alexandrian origin and a branch of the Hermetic tradition." [Ardelan, Bakhtiar, 1973, p. 134]

Medieval alchemy in Europe has the same Alexandrian sources and ideology: "Dorn, in *Physica* (1661), alludes to the relationships between the worker and his research when he asserts, 'You will never make Oneness out of Otherness until you yourself have become Oneness.' Oneness was achieved by annihilating the desire for what is different or transitory and by fixing the mind upon what is 'higher' and eternal. Famous indeed is the maxim of the alchemists: *Aurum nostrum non est aurum vulgi*. This assertion — that their gold is not ordinary gold — seems to indicate that their symbolism excluded the material reality of the symbol, in favour of the spiritual." [Cirlot, 1982, XXVIII—XXIX]

Not only Islam borrowed some very important elements from the Jewish mystic tradition, but the roots of European Middle Ages alchemy can be found there as well. We mentioned above, the notion of the spirit nature of gold. It will be no surprise if we find seven kinds of gold in the Jewish root:

Finally, it is necessary to speak of the different amalgamations of gold which, according to a Talmudic tradition, are of seven kinds.

The question arises why gold, the most valuable metal in our world, is considered to be on a lower sphere than silver, which represents Grace. Zohar answers this question with a remarkable meditation, behind which seems to be a mystical concept of the alchemists' transformation of metals into gold. The pure mystical gold is here considered as superior to silver and as belonging to the Sefira of Binah, which is the absolute fear of God. "And that is gold that shines and flashes in the eyes, so that when it appears in the world, from whoever acquires it and hides (sic!) it within, appears a stream of all the other kinds of gold. It is only when it changes from that (highest point, but not specifically named) into blue, black and red colours that it belongs to the sphere of rigorous Severity. True gold, however, belongs to joy and has its

place therein, where from the absolute fear of God joy arises and climbs. Silver is below, according to the mystery of the right arm (the quality of grace), for the highest mystical head is of gold, as stated in Daniel 2 : 38: "You are the head of gold."[...] But when the silver becomes perfect, it is then contained in gold. It is in this way that (in its completion) silver becomes gold and its place is perfect. Copper also arises out of gold which is degraded, and that is the left arm on the vision of Daniel: "The left thigh is blue and the right is purple red that is included in the left." The superior mystical gold, however, is a hidden secret and is therefore called in the Bible (I Kings 6 : 20) "hidden gold which the earthly eye cannot perceive whereas it can perceive inferior gold. [Sholem, 1979, 108—109]

We shall miss something important and interesting if we do not represent here the Jewish Kabbalah roots of the secret knowledge in later religions and phenomena. This will give us the link between the latest vogue of the Alexandrian school — Islam — and one of its basic roots.

Jewish colour symbolism is divided, just as it is in quoted sources of Islam, into independent systems and at the same time systems of three, four and seven colours linked together.

Three Colours:

Seen from the point of view of the colour symbolism the last sefirah has three aspects. It is the union of all colours — and above all, of course, of those three (red, white and green) which we have found in the second triad. It is the blackness (the black par excellence), the lack of light that gains colour only from the interruption of other lights; but it is also often the blue which we have found already in the biblical cult symbolism. The blue thread in the ritual fringes (tsitsith) is always interpreted as the proof of the divine presence, the Shekhinah, in the tenth sefirah. However, it is also considered as the dark light from which derives the splendour of all others and which seemingly forms a throne above which they hover. For the author of the Zohar and for other Kabbalists, the purplish blue of the tekheleth (the blue thread in the ritual fringes) has the same meaning as the purple proper,

Argaman. But when the latter is mentioned, the definition of colours which shine in it is more precise.

Already in the book Bahir the tekheleth in the tsitsith is described in a parable as a sign which should distinguish the guardian of the King's garden, in which there are thirty-two paths. However, this garden is just the last sefirah, or the mystic princess, in which are gathered "the thirty-two paths of wisdom," the basic powers or laws of all creation [...] That blue signifies that "this garden belongs to the King and his daughter the Shekhinah, and that He made its paths." The guardian, i. e. he who keeps the Torah, can show the king's seal, the blue thread, at any time. But the "King's garden" is also, in another symbolism, the deep blue "Sea of Sophia into which flow all thirty-two roads of the higher powers."

The Spanish Kabbalists have another, persistent, symbol of the tenth sefirah: the apple, which unites in its freshness the three basic colours, white, red and green or, to be precise, shines in them. Thus this sefirah shows the powers of the second triad of the sefiroth, which act through it, and whose representation by these three colours we have already discussed." [Sholem, 1979, 65–66, part III]

From this quotation we can see that God's infinity appears on the ambiguity reflected in the human mind — there is an ambiguity of the colour representers (signs) for one object — the tenth *sephira*. The tenth *sephira* is: (1) "Union of all other colours — and above all, of course, of those three (red, white and green)"; (2) "It is the blackness (*the black par excellence*), the black light that gains colour only from the interruption of other lights"; (3) [...] but it is also often the blue [...]" [Sholem, 1971, p. 65]

The idea that the "union of all other colours — and above all, of course, of those three (red, white and green)" is not a circumstance of accidental similarity: "Traditionally, the palette of *Haft rang* or seven colours dominates the conception of colour [...] **The System of Three Colours.** [...] White is the integration of all colours, pure and unstained. [...] As it is through white that colour is made manifest, so through black it remains hidden. [...] It is the cloak of the *Ka'bah*, the mystery of Being, [the black], the light of Majesty, and colour of the

divine. [...] Sandalwood is the colour of the earth. [...] It is the neutral base upon which nature (the system of four colours) and polar qualities of black and white act.” [Ardelan, Bakhtiar, 1973, p. 51]

Jewish System of Four Colours:

[...] an affirmation of the most recent stratum of the Zohar, in which the verse: “They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever” (Daniel 12 : 3) is interpreted as referring to the letters which teach the understanding of the Torah. The letters are the outer robes of the still completely hidden Torah “which expresses itself in them, and they are” woven out of “all the colours of light – white, red, green and black – and they divide into many colour interplays.” [...] The Torah, as the revelation of the Creator, which actively penetrates all cosmos, participates in the colour schemes in the creation itself. No wonder then that the four above-mentioned colours are identical with those which, according to the old midrash were shown to Moses on Mount Sinai as heavenly lights and prototypes of the Tabernacle, since the Tabernacle represents a likeness of the cosmos itself. This link is confirmed by Moses de Leon, who based on this very midrash his discussion of the four colours, which appear also in several paragraphs of the Zohar. He sees in them symbols of the interaction of two sefiroth: Tiferet and Malkhuth; according to all Spanish Kabbalist, these sefiroth are represented by the ancient signs of the, respectively, luminous and dark mirrors in which the prophets, according to their rank, perceive God. Those mirrors reflected all colours. Moses saw them in their union, like a shining mirror, as four kinds of unearthly splendour, all the other prophets only in the “dark mirror” of the last sefirah. [Sholem, 1971, 67–68]

According to the different conceptions, the four colours of the Jewish Kabbalists are white, red, green and black, but the Islamic point of view sees red, yellow, green and blue as the system of four colours.

The Jewish attachment to the seven-colour system is because of the rainbow symbol. The appearance in the Torah of the bow symbolises the convention between God and his creatures:

Genesis 9 : 11–17 deals with the rainbow when God, after Noah's flood, promises that never again will a flood come to destroy the earth. The rainbow is established as a physical symbol of the Covenant "between Him and all living creatures for all future generations." "I set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be a sign of the Covenant between me and the earth. When I bring clouds over the earth and the bow is seen in the clouds, I will remember my Covenant which is between me and you and every living creature of all flesh, and the waters shall never again become a flood to destroy all flesh." [...] [Sholem, 1971, p. 88]

This is the version of the Hebrew text. It is very important here, in the midst of all these quotes, to remember that the *Tanach* (the Old Testament) is a book of abstract thought and notions, not of concrete images. Therefore the colours as part of the image are considered as a feature of pagan culture and its cults. That specificity of the Jewish religion is reiterated by G. Sholem in his valuable booklet. Commenting on the essence of the Kabbalah writings, it must be stressed that the text of the Old Testament does not link any of the quotations concerning colour, with God. The Kabbalah is a series of meditations on the text of the Old Testament, and attempts to discover the mysteries hidden behind the literary text.

The symbolism of the rainbow, nature's most evident colour sign, is much more complicated and has been often and extensively meditated on by the Kabbalists. Since the interplay of the basic colours in this phenomenon had been established already in the Bible as a symbol of the covenant between God and His Creation, it was of course automatically placed in the various connections in which the Kabbalists were interpreting the covenant symbol. [...] This regards also the [appearance of the] colours, in which the union of the nether world takes place according to the union of the upper one. And as the hidden invisible colours become one on the upper world, as do also the white, red and green in the [visible] rainbow below, as the symbol of the nether unity." Neither do the later Kabbalists fail to link this rainbow symbolism with the harmonies of future redemption.

*Another line of colour symbolism was followed by Joseph Gikatilla (ca. 1300), probable author of an anonymous *Mysterium**

of the Colours according to their Kind, which has survived in a Munich manuscript. Its importance lies in the emphasis it puts, in a noteworthy context, on the symbolism of nature. He considers the highest sefirah, "Kether" (Crocun) to be the unmixed and unchangeable White, the "absolute mercy" of Divinity, which stands above all the syntheses and which therefore establishes the domination of white in the Atonement Day rites. On the other hand, the same white in the sefirah Khokhmah contains already an element of darkness; for all sefiroth except the highest one have now two aspects, an obverse and a reverse, the latter taken over by darkness. This darkness appears in the beginning only as red mixed with the white. This would agree with the theory that we must look for the primary origin of God's judging power in this very sefirah. In the next sefirah this red becomes prevalent: the whole sefirah appears to be red, tending white. However, when the white and red of these two sefiroth "become interwoven" with a lot of blue, the result is green and this, according to the author, is the reason why in nature green is the main colour: because it represents the action of the sefirah of Grace, Hessed: the freely outpouring generously giving power of God in the visible creation. "Earth's robe" is not white, but green. When nature wilts in autumn, because the severity takes over and "the channels are interrupted" through which the created world communicates with its sources in the world of sefiroth, the leaves fall and the plants wilt; but the dew conveys to them still some of the white power, which comes down from the very top, though only in drops. Of course some channels never break down, and therefore we have evergreen trees and bushes. As in the Khokhmah appears for the first time the moment of creation and demise, of "to be and not to be" in the dialectics; just so all nature's various shades of green derive their strength from the influence of Khokhmah on this sefirah of creative and generous grace or love (Hessed). On the other hand, the next sefirah, the stern judgement, takes its power from the red of the sefirah Binah and therefore becomes an absolute red, as seen in the burning fire. Whereas the fire destroys, "all things" — says the author — "exist through the Green." From now on the progress assumes the well-known symbolism of Tifereth as purple, which contains white, black,

blue, green, yellow and red. These colours are rendered active by the next two sefirot and in the ninth one from the rainbow. The last sefirah is again pure blue and represents the community of Israel in its historical and metaphysical forms.

We have now seen how the Kabbalist found even in the world of colours a reflection of the various powers and aspects of the Divine. Of course, similar representations of the worlds of God's throne and the Merkabah — which stand below the sefirot and are already creations — are repeated in all possible variations. This is particularly true in the Zohar's descriptions of the seven "palaces of light" which lie below the last sefirah. Here there are many shades of the colour gamut which continue also in the imaginative descriptions of the heavenly and earthly paradises; and the author of the Zohar revels particularly in these descriptions. The very Names of God and their single letters shine in these spheres in all possible configurations and colour interplays, a motif which influences even the expressions of the so-called "practical Kabbalists" concerning meditation and magic practices, since the Names of God have either an imaginary or real effect only when represented and considered in the right colours, as transmitted by oral tradition. [Sholem, 1971, 70—73]

After this long quote we wish to stress once again — that the Kabbalah commentaries are full of images and colours, which are not those of the *Tanach*. In some ways the Kabbalah, taken by itself, is forbidden, because attempts to dissect the Old Testament and reconstruct in it, the hidden intents of the human mind, are regarded as a sin. The sin is in the impossibility for the humans to be the same creators as God.

What we wished to show is that Islam has borrowed some important parts from Jewish mystic tradition, although there remain some differences.

If we use F. Portal's terms [Portal, 1957, 35—49] (Divine, Sacred and Profane Levels of the Colour Language), the image from the Jewish Kabbalah is "Divine". The sacral level is application of the divine level to the religious objects — churches, priestly dress, etc. The profane level is the common people's understanding of the previous two levels. In Islam the black and the white — in the system of Three

Colours — are two expressions of the Divine. The sandalwood colour is symbol of the earth. In Islam, as represented in our sources, one colour can be a sign for things of very different character, which are expressions of God; the red is “fire, exhibiting paired natural qualities of heat and dryness”; “vital spirit — active, expansive, and insoluble; and cyclically, it is morning, spring and childhood”. (See the previous complete quote, including information for the other colours.) G. Sholem concludes that Zohar was written in the 13th century. Nevertheless, now having a much clearer knowledge of the mystical-religious content of ancient, primitive cults, we want to emphasise that in folk customs the same point is taken — that every element is of a high symbolic state and all elements are interrelated: the ritual breads, the water (after the first intercourse, the washing of the dead, the washing after burial), the fire, the plants, the colours of the clothes (of the deceased, of the mourners, of the bride), the colours of the flag, the text of the songs, taboo elements, etc. Purely social factors, such as the price of the bride, the richness of the costumes, etc., all unfold along with the forming of the information space.

Now we can go further into the order of the customs, in an attempt to reconstruct the colour symbols and the levels. But, before commencing a description of the order, we must outline the scope of our interest and point to some additional problems of special interest to us.

We should not examine the colour presence of the ritual breads, because of a regular appearance and the independent and clear meaning of that colour symbol, together with a third, graphic representation. Ritual breads are a regular part of marriage negotiations, the premarital period and the wedding day, and are an obligatory part of the burial banquet.

Ornamental figures on the costume during the marriage ceremony will not be discussed because of the infinity of that independent language, where a major part is played by geometry, monotony and other factors, as was shown by E. Gombrich in his lectures, **The Sense of the Order**. In a wide range of literature on ornamental elements, the explanation why one and the same motif funetrous in two different colours (red or blue) — and could give us a basis for analysis is absent.

We face considerable difficulties with the different descriptions of the rituals owing to methodological differences: not every author shared the idea of equal weight for every single element. Hence

frequently the description was unsatisfactory owing to the omission of the emphasis of the mentioned elements.

The very basic and famous problem of the primordial place in psychology of red, white and black, mirrored in a wide number of primitive cultures, merits our special attention (Sahlins, M. — **Colours and Cultures**; Durbin, M. — **Basic Terms — Off-colour?**; Turner, V. — **The Forest of the Symbols**; Berlin, B. and Kay, P. — **Basic Colour Terms**; Vizbitcka, A., and others). We shall search the universality of the meanings, but in the pre-Indo-European culture, from 6000—3500 B. C., M. Gimbutas gives meanings only of these three colours in the straight opposite meaning: black = fertility, which is not equal to sexuality; white = death; red = the colour of life. [Sahlins, 1976, 2—21]

Water as a symbol of passage and purifying, will only be mentioned as an important element in both marriage and burial customs (Herzfeld, M. — **Performative Categories and Symbols of Passage in Rural Greece**). [Herzfeld, 1981, 371—374; Ortner, 1973, 49—63]

The related question about the purity of the body, soul and spirit will only be mentioned (Ortner, S. — **Sherpa Purity**). [Ortner, 1973, 49—63]

The problem of hiding the bride and the groom before marriage is on the same universal level. [Hutchinson, 1897]

A synchronic approach in the description of customs at the turn of the century is suitable as at that period, the order of customs included extensive colour symbolism of traditional character.

Only for the Greeks do we have any pre-Christian data. Therefore, for Greek civilisation should be approached diachronically. [Alexiou, 1974, pp. 5, 8, 17, 27; Garland, 1985, 24—26, 139; Garland, 1990; Ferguson, 1989, 127—128; Treggiari, 1985, 163—169; Treggiari, 1991, p. 31; Hutchinson, 1897, 175—184; Huntington, Metcalf, 1979; Sanders, 1962, 170—175; Freidt, 1963; Ioannou, 1984; Francis, 1919; Evans, Abrachams, 1964; Just, 1989; Just, 1991, 32—33]

Based on data from many sources, we shall build up a kind of “ideal” marriage or burial, similiary to the applied by G. Kligman. [Kligman, 1988, p. 77]

Where necessary, the mystical meanings of the plants in our search for an independent or additional meaning of the colours will be noted. [Lehner, 1990; Cirlot, 1981]

After describing certain common features of the order of different practices in the Balkans, traced will be the specific Balkan features in

these basic customs among the Slavs (Eastern and Western), Celts, and the Germans for the period of the turn of the century. Some colour features and differences exist on that direction. [Sadovnikov, 1980, 240—242; Kozirev, 1912, 75—94; Gimbutas, 1971; Uspenski, 1898, 80—104; Duchinski, 1897, 501—522; Pogodin, 1895, 90—97; Green, 1986, p. 126]

Therefore we selected some permanent elements of costumes with an emphasis, standing for the essential meaning of the custom — the veil of the bride, the “golden apple”, the so called wedding flag, the shoes of the bride, the colour of the clothes of the mourners and the clothes of the deceased.

RELIGIOUS-SOCIAL IDEOLOGY OF THE MARRIAGE CUSTOM: ORDER

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Biblical culture, which approaches sexual intercourse as a sinful act, was laid upon the pagan notions of the Balkans. That predestined marriage as a passage: the state of bodily and spiritual purity is left, which leads elements of mourning — for the bride especially because of her leaving the household. The sinful character of the new unit must also be protected from the demons, which gives a sense of pre-bridal taboo, separating the newly wedded. There are a series of actions against demons and sinfulness within the family — the social — sexual unit, which is also linked to desire and obligation to produce progeny to insure successful child birth. Hence, the common Balkan practice when the bride enters her new home for the first time, a small boy enters with her in order to express the magical essence of this act. The end of the passage — entry into a ritually impure life — as marked by ritual washing, or taking pure water from the village spring (with a variety of uses).

This is the main picture of religious notions related to marriage. Beyond it, is a very strong social element — marriage was in the first place a social contract, depending on the wealth or poverty of one of the sides. The usual state of things was for the relatives to negotiate regardless of the personal desire or preferences of the future bride or groom. The social factor was the main reason for uniting the couple. Romance as a reason for marriage was the exception.

Briefly, we can draw the structure of the marriage consisting of three parts:

- Negotiating for agreement and specifying the dowry.
- Setting the day of the marriage and celebrate of the agreement.
- The day or week after the first night of marriage.

We stressed the understanding of the intercourse as sinful because in ancient Greece this perception did not exist:

Pseudo-Lukian's observation that 'women are so filthy that you need a bath after sleeping with them' does not of course imply the need for ritual purification and is unlikely to be representative of the majority view. [Garland, 1990, p. 27]

On the same page, Garland mentioned the obligatory ritual purification, "which required both the man and the woman to squat over burning incense and to take a bath the morning after love-making", practised by the Babylonians. One of the sources of purgatory in Sherpa's understanding is that, "All sexual intercourse is polluting directly to the parties involved." [Ortner, 1973, p. 50] We can continue with the common understanding of sexual intercourse as polluting, even though it was not for the ancient Greeks. We stress this moment because of its importance for correctly understanding its dual character — it is sinful, a polluting factor on the one hand; on the other hand it is, very often, the meaning for the existence of marriage, in order to continue the clan and genus. This dual character reflects the symbolic strategy of the founders of the customs and the symbols by themselves (as a result of this strategy) — on the one hand, the purifying elements such as the water (ritually taking pure water from the spring), and on the other hand, the symbolic preserving and protecting as the meaning of the colour red in the Bulgarian bride's veil, the taboo element (hiding the bride before the marriage day, because of demons and punishments for sins in regard to all future necessary intercourse, and the meeting of the bride with a little boy at the doors of her new home to wish her success in her main, maternal function).

Regarding that order, we are reminded of the practice of announcing publicly the virginity of the bride, and in this practice the colours play an important enough role — the long, white shirt stained with a spot of blood was hung in a well-seen place, on the fence or on the wall of the house.

The strictly social part — negotiations for agreement by the bride's family and the price of the dowry — is not missed, but in any case is much more lacking in symbols, including colour participation in the symbols. The second and third parts are much more strongly included in the religious-mystical element of the reproducing of the genus takes

place. That is why we have a very sophisticated symbolic language during these periods.

The wedding day and the bride's costume are of special interest and we want to give some examples here.

The element of sadness because of leaving the state of purity, of virginity, is equally emphasised in the practices of long-standing in Transylvanian villages in Communist Romania. The tradition, which was retained, caused the village to flourish, if we are to believe the author of the research — G. Kligman. [Kligman, 1988, 82—83]

The lament for the bride takes place on the morning before the church ceremony and is mainly expressed by the text of the songs, which we shall not quote here. The conclusion of the author is clear: "This verse, [...] parallels couplets common to funeral laments." [Kligman, 1988, p. 96]

The meaning of the compound symbol, so called wedding flag, should be described further on.

Another very interesting example is the diachronical analysis of the colour message of the bride's costume. At the turn of the century, out of the wide variation and richness of ornaments, in Greece the basic colour text was red, white, gold and green. (It must be kept in mind that, at the same time, the colour text of the Bulgarian bridal costume was the same and that this Balkan colour language was also known in Romania, as shown in our analysis of the extremely popular folk poem, "Mioritza".) It is curious how in modern times, the traditional colour texts have been transmitted to something new, also common in form and in context. In that direction we have a perfect example, which illustrates, from our point of view, in explicit form and manner, the passage from the traditional colour text to the modern one.

Only in one region — Eleusis — the substitution of the red by the black was attempted, a transition of a new colour text and expression. From our point of view, it failed both then and today, as black was already specified as a symbol for burial. Furthermore, Tatiana Ioannou has noted that the attempt was made during a period when, in all other districts of Greece, red still played its role in the marriage custom. The following description will give an idea of these extreme phenomena:

The bridal and festival jackets were also made from white cloth, hand-woven of the best wool. The [...] sleeves were embroidered with white and black cotton thread from the should down [...] Later the bridal and festival jacket was made from dark blue or black cloth, decorated with heavy, gold thread. [See the famous equality between the blue and black colours, shown by Turner — 1966, p. 48]

A Decorated portion of the shoulder of the wedding dress was made only with gold thread.

The most recent style of jacket, was made from black or dark red velvet and embroidered with gold thread.

They wore lower sleeves, supported by the jacket, embroidered red with a variety of thread colours [...]

The embroidered dickey was at first worn on the top of the white chemise with its (meridzi), since the older type of chemise was closed [...] During the earliest period, the dickey was made from white, hand-woven cotton, then later from cotton fabric decorated with lace and most recently from silk trimmed with lace and white silk, hand embroidery. Brides sewed row after row of coins, gifts of the bridegroom and relatives onto the dickey.

Eighty years ago, the mantel was the same for both wedding and festival ceremonies. The material of the mantel, was woven by the women with white, spun wool, clipped from the best sheep [...] The mantel was decorated with black band which was finely spun, folded then twisted into thick threads and sewn in straight rows, one next to the other, with white cotton thread, stitching. The opening and the arm holes were finished with black bands of the mantel from wealthy women sewed horizontal rows of small silver coins from the neck downward, Later the loops were replaced with woven black material. The black band's embroideries have different nails [...] In time the black cloth, especially the wedding and festival dresses, was replaced with heavy woollen. Later the whole mantel was made from white and black sewn together from five individual pieces plus lining. This mantel was decorated by hand or on a tension frame with embroidery of several colours of silk thread mixed with gold, and was worn by women under forty." [...]

"The aprons, striped and of several colours [...] Every braid had three cloth ornaments [...] with a proportional number of metal and silver ornaments.

Added were red silk tassels, covered with gold or silver thread [...]

The kerchief which held the fez [...] was made of velvet or silk embroidered with gold thread.

About a century ago the head shawl (βολα) was made of white, woven cotton about three meters long and with peculiar embroidery [...]. The same shawl (βολα) was also used as a veil, a bride wearing it for the first time on her wedding day and afterwards only for holidays. Women with two or more children never wore a shawl with embroideries but, instead, chose a silk one." [Ioannou, 1984, 81–85]

ORDER IN THE BURIAL RITUAL

Death is a cause for the passage custom. The acceptance that the human has a soul projects the essence of this custom. The passage of the soul from the shell of the body to another, soul-spirit place is the strategy for the set of practices and beliefs of the relatives and the world of the deceased. In every religion this passage is not an easy thing and the soul and the body of the deceased needs the care and support of relatives and religious institutions. At the same time, the living relatives practice a series of symbolic acts to hide from demons and death as a power existing in their house.

In religious notions, death is imagined as travelling to a world of a different character. So, the deceased must be prepared for this long road. Death and the dead body are sources of ritual and health pollution, nor only in the Balkans, but everywhere — for the sherps, for example. [Ortner, 1973, p. 51] And water and/or fire are purifying symbols and instruments. Because of the passage, death ceremonies include lamentation and mourning periods and symbolic actions and practices, involving the colours at burial banquets and a period of grief and mourning. We can describe the order briefly as follows:

1. Acceptance of forgiveness by the dying person by relatives or asking for forgiveness from them. When the dying person is in his/her right mind he/she asks to be forgiven; when he/she is not in mind it is given in a parole way. (Similarly, the passage from the household of the newly — wedded to the new unit — requires the same act of acceptance of forgiveness and forgiving.)

2. After the moment of death, a series of sets follows, namely: (a) purifying the body by washing and cleaning; (b) dressing the body in ritual best holiday or festive traditional costume — a new outfit or wedding attire if the deceased is newly — married or a young unmarried person; (c) showing respect for the dead by such actions as magical practices to avoid becoming a vampire; (d) lamenting and mourning via songs, religious-mystical acts, and dressing the relatives in mourning clothes.

3. The burial procession and burying of the body include: (a) Employees of religious institutions who officiate in the process of presenting the soul to the other world, with prayers in the home of the deceased, at the temple, and the cemetery; (b) a burial procession to the temple and to the cemetery; (c) forming the grave as the last home of the deceased; (d) religious and pagan protective practices against vampirization of the deceased.

4. Post-burial acts: burial banquets and purification of the relatives and the house by water and/or fire symbols.

Colours play an important part in the burial custom. In modern times, the predominance of black as a sign of mourning is absolute. In any case, in the history of cultures there is a concurrence of black and white as a sign of mourning. In ancient Greece, various magistrates published their own laws prohibiting or ordering the use of white or black or variations between them. [Garland, 1985, p. 28] H. Vakarelski informs us that the old Slavic burial custom has associated a mourning spirit and social state with the colour white, whereas in this century black has won significance. [Vakarelski, 1990, 154–156] The explanation of these basic colours (colour absence, if we want to be precise) as a symbol of mourning, is dependent on the mystical religious strategy. In any case, these colours have a dual function. For black: on the one hand it seems to be a support, in solidarity of the states of the under-world (the world of the dead), where it is dark, without any light; on the other hand, the wearing of black has, undoubtedly, an effect of defending the relatives from the power of death and demons. We can term this process “a reflection” or “mirror effect”. Vakarelski stresses that the essence of compound symbols and practices of support for the dead, use by the same symbols for hiding from death. [Vakarelski, 1990, p. 157]

We want to stress here two examples which are exceptions to the mainstream of using black or white as symbols for mourning and also as a protective mirror instrument. The examples are the use of red as the mourning colour and for the clothes of the dead body. Red is the colour of mourning in Madagascar. [Huntington, Metcalf, 1974, p. 45]

In the Spartan order, the body is buried in red clothes. [Alexiou, 1974, p. 17]

We suppose that we can explain these uses with the help of one Bulgarian example. Vakarelski points out a practice in one region in

southern Bulgaria, in the Rodopa Mountain (incidentally old Bulgarian morphology and phonetics have retained the features of the dialect in this district — an exception among Bulgarian dialects), where the relatives of the deceased put red threads, as long as the height of all members of the family, in the coffin. With the help of this symbol, the soul of the deceased will go by itself and be lonely in the other world. [Vakarelski, 1990, p. 121]

We can divide this compound symbol into two elements. The length of the thread equal to the height of the living relatives is an icon, a sign of the flesh of the living. The red is an obvious symbol of life on this world. The third element of the compound is the thread itself as an icon — a link between two places or two subjects/objects. This use of red as a symbol of human life leads to the subconscious memory of the Balkan population for the symbolism of red as a life symbol at the times of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic civilisation, as M. Gimbutas commented. [Gimbutas, 1989, p. 324] In the dictionary of symbols at the end of her book, red is given the meaning of “symbol of life”. There is no doubt that the red in the Rodopa example is connected to much later images, for example, the old Greek image of the colour of blood as a symbol of life, as projected in burial sacrifices or in the planting of a red flower on a grave — understood as a symbolic way of getting the dead back to the world of light and life. [Garland, 1990, p. 36]

The use of red as the colour of mourning in Madagascar may be connected with such a point of view. And the “scarlet robe” of the dead Spartans may be a desire to stress a kind of honour and spiritual immortality.

The popular use of white mourning clothes should explicitly announce the concept of the mourners supporting the deceased. The use of the colour always connected with paradise, the white of the clothes can be a guarantee that the soul of the deceased will indeed arrive in paradise. This is the way to support the deceased. At the same time, the duality is maintained in that the white also stands for the purity of the mourners.

We conclude this outline on the associations with colour and burial, the role of the colour of the clothes from the Islamic point of view. In Islam, the green-blue mixture is an instrument for keeping away Evil Eye. This information is taken from F. Davis, who recounts

that the wife of the deceased wore “green” clothes after death came into the house. [Davis, 1986, p. 727] Granquist describes a death in the Jordan Valley [Granquist, 1965, 58–63], giving a complete explanation of the clothes of the dead body. The clothes are new and their colours are green and white. Here we can go back to the cited Islamic mystical notion about the colour green.

The fact that the clothes of the deceased are always new, of festive character, is universal. The wearing of a white scarf by older adults and marriage attire by newly-married and the understanding of death as the end of a long road or a returning to the most important element of humanity — the pure state of the divine spirit.

Plants have a universal role in burial customs. Sometimes they mark an effect of odour, sometimes they are used to place the body of deceased in a state of comfort, sometimes as a mythological sign for the presence of death in the house, and sometimes as a symbol of respect — a last farewell — bow in reverence to the body and the spirit of the deceased. In any case, the colour of the plants, green, is a part of the compound symbol and usually has an additional character. The greenery in the groom’s flag in the Romanian symbol, as we saw in the description of G. Kligman, has an independent, but not additional character. The greenery in the Bulgarian bride’s costume and in the Bulgarian bouquet has the same status as an independent symbol.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

THE VEIL OF THE BRIDE

The function of the veil is very obvious and clear — to protect and to hide the bride from bad forces and an evil eye. On one hand the colour of the veil is an additional element to the main function, on the other hand, this colour once more enhances its main function. It should support, by its own substance power, the main function of the veil. Therefore, the colour of the veil, from that second point of view, is an independent feature of the marriage rite, it should express the colour as a substance having its own meaning and power.

This is born out by the following:

Bulgaria — At the turn of the century the veil all over the Bulgarian ethnographical areas was red. After the marriage is consummated for the first time, the veil is substituted with a kerchief that is white in colour. We note this because the veil is an important part of the whole attire which protects and adorns the head of the bride. After the marriage, a woman's head attire is substituted from the bridal veil to a maiden-marriage compound one.

During the marriage, the bride is still with momin prochelnik (maiden-marriage compound attire) with a wreath of yellow flowers, with sweet basil and green box-tree. Above prochelnik of the head, the kum (the best man, sponsor) casts over the red veil, and above it he puts the wedding wreath of flowers and above that, two sticks also with flowers. This act the sponsor does in the church.

On Monday, the bride is unveiled. The sponsor with the stick takes the red veil and casts the nevestin prochelnik (bride, woman's attire) over the bride also with semi-rounded form with

diameter 50–60 centimetres at the front side. It is adorned on the front with dry sweet basil and green box-tree, fresh flowers. To this attire are added some bouquets. A woman's kerchief is attached to the back.

These marriage adornments are gradually dying out, but this attire is worn for an obligatory one week. [Mihailova, 1981, 52–54; Ivanova, 1984; Veleva, 1993, 80–140; Gentchev, 1993; Hutchinson, 1897, 189–190; Garnett, 1890–91, 193–195]

Serbia and other Slaves from the former Yugoslavia: it is curious that in the large number of sources and materials about Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and Slovenia, there is no description of the colour of the bride's veil. [Bosich, 1913, 137–156; Hutchinson, 1897, 193–195; Filipović, 1958, 156–157; Denton, 1866; Lodge, 1941; Filipović, 1954, 359–374; Kemp, 1935; Troyanovich, 1905, 169–198]

But we find the same practice: to substitute the veil by a woman's compound adorn, concluding the typical for a woman's kerchief. Again without any one description of the colour: "In some villages the bride is wearing the bride's veil for three days after the marriage, but there are places she substitutes the veil with a kerchief the day after the marriage." [Miloslavlevich, 1913, p. 183]

Apparently, until such a described colour is found, it could be considered that the south Slaves commonly used the red for the bride's veil throughout last century. This hypothesis is based on the wide use and sign state of the red in the Ukrainian weddings:

[...] if the bride, before entering the wedding chamber, admits her sin (unvirginity), everything is limited only not singing 'good songs' and missing red colour [...] Generally the meaning of the red colour in that case seems to be the same not only for the Slavs and Aryan tribes, but also for all people on the Earth. The merry and stimulation effect of the red dye, makes it a permanent epithet of the sun. Everywhere, from the most ancient tribes to the contemporary primitive tribes, red means fertility and reproducing sources of nature. [Volkov, 1890, p. 228]

Volkov's view supports the possibility to expect that the bride's veil of all south Slavs was red.

GREECE:

If we take a look at the ethnographic albums for Greece, we can find that the most popular colour of the veil was red. [Ioannou, 1984] Regretfully in the various texts from different sources there was no data on the colour of the veil. However, we had the luck to find research about ancient Greece and Rome. The single description of old-Greek marriage that, can be used, is that of a poem:

“[...] many curved bands of gold and purple robes and intricate playthings, countless silver cups and ivory [...]” [Lefkovitz, Mauren, 1982, p. 6]

The facts about Rome are much more clear:

The bride's toilette was part of the festivities for the women of the family. The dress prescribed by the antiquarians was a woollen tunic woven on an archaic upright loom (tunica recta) fastened by a girdle (cingulum) knitted with a complicated 'Herculean' knot (which the bridegroom would have to untie). On her feet she wore orange slippers (lutei socci). Her hair was parted and plaited into six braids. For a spear should be used the Hasta caelibras. The hair style was fastened with woollen fillets and crowned with a garland and then a flame coloured veil. This flammeum is undoubtedly archaic, since it was also the daily ceremonial garment of the wife of the priest of Jupiter. It continued as one of the main symbols and components of the wedding ceremony routinely mentioned by many authors. [Dana, 1919, p. 14]

We shall give some details about the ancient veil, because we want to stress the function of the veil as a protective piece of clothing:

It must not be associated with the veil worn by the bride today, for it was not an accessory part of the bridal costume, but a robe in itself which covered the whole figure from head to foot. [Dana, 1919, p. 14]

The second garment which was essential to the completion of a woman's dress, at least when she appeared in public, was the κρήδεμνον or καλύπτρη, which served both as cloak and veil. It was probably put on over the shoulders like a shawl, without being folded, in such a way that it could be drawn over the head without

difficulty and across the face, serving as veil. [...] that is was worn over the head is clear from Odyssey, v., 229, where Calypso puts on her φᾶρος; κεφαλῇ δ' ἐρυπερθε καλύπτρην, [...] and over her head a veil [...].' From the constant use of the epithets λιπαρός and λαμπρός, 'shining' or 'bright', we may infer that the κρήδεμνον, was usually made out of linen and in summer, at least, it was probably a fine, light garment, possibly even semitransparent. [Abrachams, 1964, 34–35]

It was by far the most important and noticeable portion of the wedding attire by reason of the size and colour. [Treggiari, 1991, p. 169]

There is no doubt that the veil was one of the main features of the wedding, as mentioned also by S. Treggiari:

Tacitus lists the routine components of a formal wedding twice. In the mock wedding of Nero and Pythagoras they are the veil, the auspices, dowry, the marriage bed and nuptial torches, Juvenal on the same event, selects for the mention, the veil, the lectus genialis decked in purple, dowry, espies and witnesses. [Treggiari, 1991, p. 169]

From these quotations on the basic part of the veil in the weddings, the preserving-hidden function of that garment, the whiteness of the everyday veil and the redness of the marriage are obvious attributes. Dana claims:

On the ancient marriage veil, exclusive of the Roman, there is no direct evidence, though Wachsmith believes that the ancient Greek veil was of reddish hue. But a true parallel may be found in the modern Greek custom, in accordance with which the bride wears a flame coloured, gold fringed veil. [Dana, 1919, p. 15]

According to Homer, Hera was also adorned with something very close to the shine of fire:

Only once is yellow mentioned, and this is the case of 'saffron robed dawn'. The veil of Hera, that was 'Bright as the sun', might have been yellow-gold." [Abrachams, 1964, p. 37–38]

Moreover: the commentator of M. Dana gives the opportunity to decode the mystical-religious basis of the colour of the veil preferred in the human mind:

In the marriage ceremony fire played part second only to that of flammeum, and number of passages of literature would substantiate the view that the two were connected in thought and that yellow was the chromatic symbol of fire. [Dana, 1919, p. 15]

We should have in our mind that fact that during all centuries after Rome the psychological basis of that mystical opinion continued. Red was used as a symbol of the strength of the fire, which purifies and gives life with its warmness. We should notice that the Romans were more precise, keeping to the reddish-yellow *flammeum* as the colour symbol of the fire.

Fire as a cultivated element of the nature appears very often during the marriage custom; at the period of negotiations, at the moment of entering the new house by the bride — at these important parts of the ceremony is started anew in the hearth. This practice is common for all south Slavs [Ivanova, 1984, p. 30]. Here we should notice the existence of fire as a variously loaded symbol. The hearth as a sign for the cultured space — the home, as well as an element of warmness of human relations, necessary for building of the family, especially a patriarchal one. Before the marriage, in the negotiation period, members of the groom's family visit the house of the bride. A woman rakes the fire in the fireplace and accompanies it with the words of an old charm: "As this fire is burning — so to burn our bachelor for your maiden" [Ivanova, 1984, p. 30]. The author, R. Ivanova, claims that: "to rake up the fire in the fireplace is a wide and common practice" [Ivanova, 1984, p. 30].

After the church ceremony, the bride enters the house of the groom, and many rites take place. Two of them are: "The racking of the fire in the hearth by the bride" [Ivanova, 1984, p. 30] and "The Passing of an infant boy before the hearth to the bride". [Ivanova, 1984, p. 120] The Serbs have the absolute same practices: "When the bride enters the new house she stays at the front of the fire place and says, 'As the smoke of this fire is curling, may the happiness be curled from this house'." [Hutchinson, 1897, p. 226] It is the same in Switzerland: "So much is the shouldering dreaded that in the

Obwalden the young wife and her companion poke the fire fiercely to make it blaze, and then kneel down to pray for good fortune while the wreath is burning". [Hutchinson, 1897, p. 157]

In the climate conditions of Mediterranean Rome they did something similar was performed: "Still at the entrance, she was offered fire (another torch) and water, *aquae et ignis communicatto*, as these elements are essential to human life, most obviously cooking and washing. It has deep roots in the Roman idea of home and rights between citizens, host and guest, and family members." [Treggiari, 1991, p. 169]

All these widely distributed practices, show the importance of the fire as part of the cultural realia, the home, during the marriage.

We can distinguish two different levels or areas of fire functioning in the cultural context: the first is the hearth as a symbol of the house in opposition to the non-culture fire, and the second is the colour red (among the Romans red-gold *flammeum*) as a chromatical symbol of the fire.

The pre-Christian sources of that belief of knowledge are categorised in that respect. In Serbia the sponsor goes over the ritual bread with incense three times not the priest: "He is censuring three times above the ritual bread and the candle [...]" [Miloslavlevich, 1913]

In a Bulgarian heroic folk song the sultan gives an order that forbids Bulgarians, slaves of the Turkish empire, to "build churches and to wear red". The mystical hero, Kral Marko, wears red (red jacket – "*chervena alma*") [Collected Bulgarian Folksongs, 1990, p. 90] as a free man. The importance of the red as a symbol of normal and free life is stressed in that song. We can translate the order of the Turkish sultan as a ban to practice the cultural fire in the life of the Bulgarians. Such a sophisticated order shows complete acceptance by the Muslim Turks of the secret knowledge and pure understanding that such ordinary use of the colour red not only stands for freedom, but for life. Here we find the basis and facts for the universality of the meaning of the colour red in the Balkans. The equal emphasis on the temple (the church) and on the colour red demonstrates convincingly the importance of the colour red related as a complex symbol of life keeping power – as a symbol of the culture fire.

In that context it should not be a surprise that the Turkish Muslim bride wears a red veil: "Virtually everything she wore was ornamented.

Her fine white tulle shirt was worked with tiny gold spangles and pearls, her *salvar* (trousers) with ribbons and surma. The *entary* (a dress) she wore over this was a handsome deep red or sometimes purple-velvet, heavily embroidered in gold or silver and, in a family of high rank, with pearls. Pearls and *surma* decorated her calfskin boots. A single-strand necklace, called *akarsu* (flowing water) and made up of precious stones, hang about her neck, and earrings of jewel clusters were fastened to her ears. Bracelets dangled at her wrists, rings, usually with large single stones, shone on her fingers. The front of her *entary* sparkled with gems.

Her hair was elaborately braided in eight or ten small braids that hung down her back, and each braid was plaited with *Tel* strands of silver or gold tinsel. At the end of the braid both hair and *Tel* were released in a tuft. In each temple a lock of hair was left to curl. Her bridal veil was of crimson tulle worked with silver or gold thread and hung long over her *entary*. Long streamers of *tel* descended from the edge of her veil at her temples. On her head over the veil were fastened the bridal aigrette of finely cut glass in whatever colour she chose and diamonds in a setting called *divanhane vivisi*. This last consisted of an elliptical gold cup, like the end of a fine egg, into which small diamonds were set as if nailed. Finally, the decoration that gave the day its name, *yuz yazzisi*, took place. The bride's face was whitened and rouged and gold dust, spangles and even diamonds were affixed to her forehead, cheeks and chin." [Davis, 1986, p. 90]

We have the whole description of the costume, because we want to mention the similarity between the costume of the Bulgarian bride and the Turkish costume. However it may appear surprising the Bulgarian bride's costume demonstrates a unity of a red-white. The veil is also red. The colour message in the Bulgarian costume has four colours: white, red, gold and green. The colours of the Turkish bride's costume are: white, red and gold (from the total ornamenting).

The universality of the colour language will be discussed in details after the description of the wedding flags from the Balkans, when more information on that topic is gathered. One more reason is the further study of differences between the Muslim bride's costume in Turkey and Albania.

ALBANIA:

They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief, sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head [...] One of the bridegroom's relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. The white veil was removed and a yellow flowered silk one was substituted.

The greatest moment had now come. We were to see her face.
[Durham, 1979, p. 74]

The data is from a book published in 1928 and it was not quite sure about the original colour of this first (white) veil at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Neither can we establish the meaning of the yellow of the second veil, which precedes the "greatest moment" — when the face of a Muslim bride is revealed. It could be a cultural influence from ancient Rome to neighbour Albania. It could be a transformation of the fire symbolism from *flammeum* not to red, but to yellow, keeping in mind that at the moment of substitution we have the red "screen" and the yellow veil together in one compound symbol and action. To show the face of a Muslim bride seems to be a modification of the common Muslim practice, influenced by the cultural surroundings.

The element of substitution we can observed in two cases — replacing the white veil with a yellow one in the Albanian Muslim marriage, and the substitution of the red Slavonic veil by a white kerchief after the first night. These cases are essentially different. In the first case, the veil is replaced by another veil during the ceremony. In the second case, the veil is substituted by a kerchief after the ceremony. The white kerchief is a sign that the woman who wears it is married. The married woman uses the white kerchief in everyday life. Also Roman women wore white robes serving as a veil in everyday life. The Slavs and the ancient Greeks believed that a woman without a kerchief, or veil, is a very bad sign, " [...] for the house, for the family, for the children. A woman with uncovered hair is equal to a naked woman." [Marinov, 1993, p. 220]

In Slovakia the white kerchief was the regular sign for the matrimonial state of a woman: "In Hornácko [...] the kerchief nowadays worn among the younger women is usually the "Turkish-

print” (*turecký šátek*), red and flowered. The older women wear so-called “Leipzig” kerchiefs (*lipské šátky*), white with “scattered” brown leaves and coloured flower. The Leipzig kerchiefs are beginning to disappear. The older women wear blue and yellow printed kerchiefs, home-dyed [...] [Bogatyrev, 1971, p. 70]

In summer single girls went bare-headed on Sunday afternoons, with three ribbons in their braids. In winter they tied white kerchiefs around their heads, just like the married women [...] [Bogatyrev, 1971, p. 70] A red kerchief worn by married women is mentioned by Bogatyrev as a “special red kerchief”: “In some places, over the pad around which they wound their hair, they used to wear a special red *kerchief na talíř* (in the form of a dish) tied behind the ears. Quite a bit of hair was thus visible over the forehead and temples.” [Bogatyrev, 1971, p. 72]

That means the usual basic colour for the married woman also in Slovakia was the white. The red was “a special” case. Also we should recall, the fact that an “woman whose hair is uncovered is equal to her being naked.” And the kerchief for maidens was based on red and “flowered” pattern.

The use of a white cover for the hair for daily purposes (a kerchief veil) was seen as an attribute of the married woman showing the taboo element that is placed over the body of the married woman, especially on her head. The white colour is a popular and ancient symbol of purity.

We can link the whiteness of the modern veil all over the Balkans with this understanding of the white colour, however the last century it still was red. Not only the Balkan people have used red as the colour of the veil and colour of the bride’s dress. We can site a number of examples:

For Druses:

At Druse marriage the bride was hidden in a long red veil, which is removed by the groom in the bridal chamber.
[Hutchinson, 1897, 82—83]

For the Germans:

The Thuringian bride is clothed in black, with a gorgeous display of coins and chains. On her head she wears tall, tower like

scarlet covering, round which circles of myrtle or rosemary.
[Hutchinson, 1897, p. 228]

We shall not discuss here in details circumstance that Thuringian bride's dress is black instead of the customary red bride's costume. At the same time the similarity of the colour phrase is amazing. From Thuringia: red, gold or silver — from the coins; green — from greenery. From Bulgaria: a red dress, veil and apron, white shirt, gold — from the coins, green — from greenery. From Turkey: white shirt, red dress, golden ornamentation on every piece of clothing. From Greece: a red veil, white woollen tunic (the data on Rome), metal garland which shines, greenery everywhere during the ceremony.

In the Introduction we showed only one case, in Greece [Ioannou, 1984, 84—85], when the red colour of the bride's costume was replaced by the black. Here we have the second example: in Thuringia the white colour is also missing instead there is a "tower like scarlet covering" of the head. At the same time, red is still the most popular colour for wedding custom.

For the Armenians:

"The bride's dress is very curious, her whole figure is enveloped in crimson silk, a silver plate resting on her head. Also a large pair of cardboard wings, covered with feathers, are fastened on to her head." [Hutchinson, 1897, 82—83]

There is also red, a shiny silver colour, white feathers and no doubt, no marriage without flowers which means green. In ancient Rome, ritual significance was given to the greenery: "The houses of the bride and bridegroom would have the doorway and vestibule garlanded with green boughs and flowers, the facade decorated with hangings." [Treggiari, 1985, p. 163]

And the case with Sefardi Jews:

"These dresses were usually made of dark red, blue or purple velvet [...]". [Juhacz, 1990, p. 221]

There is no good reason for the substitution of the red colour — the colour of life-giving and protective colour with black. In any case from old Greek times, black was associated with the darkness, night, and death; "Horace depicts death with black wings [...] daughter of the night and sister of the sleep. Death is related [...] to the range of colours from black, through the earth coloured shades, to green." [Garland, 1985, p. 178]

Both isolated cases of substitution (in Thuringia and in Greece), of red with black are evidence of a process that was underway in the 19th century in the consciousness of the people of European-Mediterranean civilisations. This process was a general change of the acceptance of colours in antiquity as language code. Red changed its status in the context of colour's basic terms. White completely replaced red in clothes and the veil — in Christian, Muslim and Jewish interpretation.

The "role" of black in the practice of covering the hands of the Turkish bride with henna is quite notable for the universal acceptance of that colour in the context of the marriage: "The bride is allowed to repose until the henna is considered to have stained her skin to the requisite hue of a ruddy orange, when it is washed off. If left too long, it turns black, which is considered an evil augury for her wedded life." [Garnett, 1891, p. 487]

There is one more opinion for the function of the veil: "Sight as a method of contagion in primitive science and the idea coincides with the psychological aversion to see dangerous things with the sexual shyness and timidity. In the customs noticed we can distinguish the feeling that it is dangerous to the bride for her husband's eyes to be upon her and the feeling of bashfulness in her which induces her neither to see him not to be seen by him." [Crawley, 1927, p. 330] Crawley's opinion can be accepted as part of the most general idea of the protective power of the (red) veil. But if one wishes to hide, night is the best way and place, i. e., the black colour offers the most successful way of concealment. Nevertheless even in Thuringia, the head covering remains red. Black is associated the death, darkness and under world, but not as a protective colour for the body.

From our point of view the veil has a wider meaning than that to keep the bride from the eyes of the husband or to protect the bride from her own shyness. This wider meaning is to preserve her from the much more powerful and unknown forces of evil. This is the greatest mystery in the marriage colour code built up in positive direction, aimed at preserving the woman's place as the person that gives life to the future child, but nothing more. It was no simple thing to instil a soul in the new piece of flesh. From that point of view marriage is a complex of magic designed to achieve this goal. The magic rites for the mother and for the child that take place after child birth constitute a form of more complex magic.

Obviously positive protective magic of the marriage complex is beyond space and custom and are focused on the future.

It is essential to mention the veil as a head attribute. The head is the object of customs throughout the burial rites, which destroy what has been done at marriage; the widow cut her hair or left it uncovered, or scratched her face with her own nails. The face was expected to stream with blood and tears. There are no veils, no golden embroideries, no festive wreath or crown (except in a case of death of a newly married woman or a maiden). Practices related to the death rituals are the reverse practices related to the marriage rites. The detailed comparison of the two customs in will be dealt within a chapter further on. It is obvious that what has been performed at the marriage ritual is destroyed during the burial ritual. The display of grief in the customs is not only simple grief.

Here colours are fewer and very often we meet the occult phenomena of the interpretation of the meaning. The power of the colours is positive, negative and neutral. Nevertheless the phenomena rises from the life itself: "*Cone Vestes* are frequently mentioned by Latin poets, chiefly Horace, Tibulus and Propertius. From them we learn that they were chiefly worn by *Heterae* and were of transparent texture. Sometimes they were purple and had gold threads, interwoven or embroidered." [Abrachams, 1964, p. 78]

The function of the colours is much more universal than the nature and the substance of natural languages. Therefore colours are elements of a language much stronger affecting the area of psychology, or the subconsciousness. The philosophy of colour languages, mystical religious secret knowledge and notions — gives us more complex levels "divine", "sacred" and "profane" language. In folklore, especially in the marriage, we can very clearly distinguish the positive features of magic, including the colours.

The philosophy of the colour language (mystical religions notions) provoke priestly defined feelings and senses. This colour language is characterised by its ambiguity — something familiar in nature language. On the other hand in natural language we lack the positive, negative, neutral forms — they are expressed through other lexemes. In colour language, negative, positive and neutral stand for the same lexema, which could assume some 16 meanings, similar to the

ambiguity of a lexema of language. The neutral, positive and negative is clear from the context of practices and the ritual as a whole.

In fact ambiguity in colour language combines the ambiguity of natural language and feeling and senses with negative, positive and neutral shades. Colour language operates with tens of words; natural language operates with tens of thousands. And this explains why one "word" from the colour language has so many shades of meaning and less precision in its notion.

THE WEDDING FLAG

We have collected data on the occurrence of the so-called wedding flag from Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Croatia, Greece and Romania. This practice is obvious. The fact that it has been preserved in the non-Muslim areas of the Balkans is quite significant. Why has it preserved for so long, over such wide areas and among so many cultures? We will examine these issues after a review of the data.

BULGARIA

Radost Ivanova, following the point of view of V. Toporov [Toporov, 1989], gives us the best answer: "There is no doubt that the wedding flag, like the wedding tree and other attributes, are ritual variants of the sophisticated space model of the world cosmic tree. As V. Toporov mentioned, the world cosmic tree is an image of a universal concept, defined for a long time as the model of the world, the human collectives of the New and Ancient Worlds [...] The semiosis of the wedding tree is actually a process of its identification with the world tree." [Ivanova, 1992, p. 107]

According to Toporov, Ivanova differentiates between the horizontal and vertical structure of the wedding flag. The vertical structure is made up of a lower part (the bearer, representing the tree roots, is here a connection with the roots of the family), a middle part — the pole and the cloth of the flag, and the upper part — the greenery and the apple adorning the top of the pole. The horizontal structure, "which is most clearly expressed in connection with the middle part of the world tree — its trunk — is imaged in the cloth of the flag and its colour." [Ivanova, 1992, p. 108]

We are interested in the message conveyed by the colour of the wedding flag and shall concern ourselves with the horizontal structure and Ivanova's conclusions regarding the meaning of the colour of the cloth in the flag.

The wedding flag has a “square form and combines the colours red and white. These, together with the form, define the flag as an attribute of the marriage, and more specifically — an attribute of the wedding procession.” [Ivanova, 1992, p. 112]

We accept the theoretical point, made by Ivanova, and her explanations for the sources of the flag’s colours: “For the bride the red colour is connected with the upper half of her body (the red veil, red dress, red fur coat, etc.), and the white is connected with the lower half of the body (the white apron). For the groom the order is reversed: The white colour predominates in the upper half of his body (white shirt, white towel), and red in the lower part — the red belt. In many regions of Bulgaria the belt or pieces of the belt are used for picking up the flag. Clearly, the colour characteristics of the flag are based on certain articles of clothing and their colours. These come from the lower part of the body and more specifically, they cover the genitalia of the young people. The wedding flag is actually made from parts of the clothing covering the genitalia — the apron and the belt. Afterwards, the custom is an illustration of a reversal of the values — the upper part of the men’s and women’s clothes and their corresponding colours assume a lower position in the flag and vice versa. The unity of the red belt and white apron on the top of the flag repeat the ambivalence of the marriage clothing. This unity stands for the family. Here, ‘the family’ is taken to mean a reproductive power, a symbol of fertility.” [Ivanova, 1992, 112—113]

At the conclusion of the marriage ceremony the flag is taken apart and the object with their features once again assume their primary semantic value: the white colour resumes its place as symbol of masculinity, of familiar matters, of the celestial, etc. The red once more symbolises femininity, the mysterious and unknown, the earthly characteristics of the woman, earthy, etc. [Ivanova, 1992, p. 113]

A number of statements and conclusions, here are convincing, namely:

— The wedding flag is a ritual symbol of the world tree. This is the only way we can describe and explain its meaning, in line with V. Toporov’s thinking.

- The flag's colours are part of the horizontal structure of this model of the world tree.
- These colours take their meaning from their functions in the man's belt and the woman's apron.
- The colours of the belt and the apron have become independent, highly abstract symbols.
- Objects such as the belt and the apron are raised to the top of the flag and we observe a reversal of values — the lower parts of the clothing now become the upper parts of the flag.
- The red and the white symbolise ritual undressing by the couple.
- "The red colour has become a sign of the masculinity and aggressiveness. White has become a sign of things sublime in the woman — also of fertility and subservience to the authority of the man." [Ivanova, 1992, p. 115]
- Red and white, as symbols of fertility, depict the family as a reproductive power.

While completely accepting Toporov's theoretical point and Ivanova's conclusions, we should draw attention to a controversial problem — white is usually a symbol of masculinity and the red is usually a symbol of femininity. Ivanova retains the very famous list of meanings of red, white, and black, given by V. Turner. [Turner, 1970, 66–70] Here Turner actually states that red is connected with femininity and the white with masculinity. However in the same book Turner declares: "There is no fixed correlation between the colours and the sexes. Colour symbolism is not consistently sex-linked, although red and white may be situationally specified to represent the opposition of the sexes." [Turner, 1970, p. 61]

We can say that the meanings from Turner's famous list are important, being description of primitive colour language. The pattern of colour meanings of the wedding flag can be "situationally specified", where the "opposition of the sexes" is very well explained by reversing the values and by object dependence of the colours. Here the opposition is not only between the sexes, but between the more sublime and the more earthly features of the sexes.

The wedding flag is a compound model and symbol "of the world tree, of the family tree, of the bride and groom, at one and the same time." [Ivanova, 1992, p. 115]

All these conclusions are only relevant to the horizontal structure of the wedding flag. This does not mean that we have ignored the existence of the vertical structure. We mention this once again because of the complex meaning of the wedding flag in both structures.

Kligman's description of and commentary on the Romanian wedding flag allows us once again to recall both structures.

ROMANIA

The wedding formally begins with the cusutul and jocul steagului, the Sewing and Dance of the Groom's Flag. This takes place on the evening before the church ceremony or, more often, on Saturday evening [...] On the designated evening, the flag bearer sees to it that the groom's peers assemble to sew the flag, which is attached to a pole approximately two meters in length. It is said that formerly, while tending sheep in the mountains, young men used to delicately carve poles for their sweethearts spinning forks which were later used for their wedding flag. Today a plain pole is used, which is layered with baticuri (scarves) provided by female friends, as are embroidered handkerchiefs and necklaces that are placed over the scarves. The scarves must be black, white, green and red. Black is the colour of the groom's hat and also invokes the presence of the dead; white is the colour of the bride's gown and symbolises her virginity and the sacredness of the sexual union; green represents growth and the freshness of nature, and red, burning love. The scarves are sewn together only with red thread, because dragoste înfocată (inflamed love) creates the blinding power of marriage. On either side of the pole, handkerchiefs and necklaces add to the "richness" of the flag. A mirror may be discreetly positioned to keep away evil spirits. A length of fresh greenery is sewn along the side of the pole covering the place where the scarves are attached. The greenery (which is also twined into the bride's braids) forms the flag's "crown". (The crown is kept until the arrival of the couple's firstborn; then it is boiled and placed in the first bath water so that the child will be norocos, or have good luck). Small bells that jingle as the flag bearer "dances" the flag, or a strand of lights that twinkle, may also be secured to the flag's crown [...] This is becoming an increasingly popular custom [...] [Kligman, 1988, p. 83]

Two remarkable features of the Romanian flag are obvious at first glance:

1. Ancestral links is expressed in the horizontal structure by a black scarf. The vertical sign for the same meaning is the same as in the Bulgarian wedding flag — the bearer should be a relative of the groom. The Romanian variation represents one more sign, a third one, with the same meaning — the black hat of the groom. From a colour point of view we have two black objects — the scarf and the groom's black hat, which "invokes the presence of the dead", as claimed by G. Kligman.

2. The level of abstraction in the Romanian case is stronger than in the Bulgarian one. There are two reasons for this: Above all, Kligman never noted that the colour of the scarves is object-dependent. They are just scarves, not pieces of a man's belt or a woman's apron. Secondly, we see that a black scarf can denote both the human (bearer) and the pole (the actual flag). The ability to express by means of colours, an element of the vertical structure, where that element consists of both a human and the flag, indicates a high level of abstraction, which is accepted as valuable in the social life.

Let us return to Bulgaria for a moment, to compare the death wedding flag, which is made in the country in the event of the death of an unmarried or newly-married person. This flag is "distinguished from the real wedding flag only by the black colour of the cloth, which is a black scarf." [Gentchev, 1993, p. 230]

The difference is obvious and striking:

— In the Romanian wedding flag, the black scarf is in the context of white, red and green scarves.

— The black scarf in Romania "invokes the presence of the family's dead ancestors."

— The Bulgarian death wedding flag has only one scarf.

— The meaning of this scarf is actually "this unmarried person took the long, hard way to reach the world of the dead." It can also mean marriage to death. The truth is that we cannot differentiate between them to determine the dominant one. They function as a single unit.

Returning to Toporov's idea of vertical and horizontal structures, the problem seems to become more simple: We recall from the Romanian wedding flag that a colour element of the horizontal structure may assume one of the meanings of the vertical structure.

The interpretation of the vertical structure has a universal connection to the vertical structure — the bearer is related to the groom in Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania, Greece, Montenegro, Macedonia and Croatia. This analysis allows interpretation of the meaning of the black scarf of the Bulgarian death wedding flag as “going to the world of the dead, where family ties are rooted. But there are also many other things — known and unknown there. The meaning here is a broader one than that of the black scarf in the Romanian wedding flag, where the interpretation is “a link with one’s ancestors.

The facts given by Ivanova on object dependency of red and white cloths on the flag leads on to the assumption that in the death wedding flag the level of abstraction is higher, because in ancient Greek sources, the black colour carried a connotation of death. It is very clear that in this case, the meanings of fertility and the family as reproducing powers are missing. Generally, it is a marriage with death and all its characteristics.

As mentioned above, the white and the red are symbols of life. We can also recall the contradictory fact that mourners in Bulgarian villages in the 19th century wore white. Thus this fact seems to divert us from our goal — to find and prove the universality of colour meanings. Here we are obliged to remember the description of primitive colour language from Turner’s famous list and that the situation can influence contextually the meanings. We should also remember that Bulgarian culture is rooted in two sources — proto-Bulgarian (originating from Central Asia) and Slavonic. The proto-Bulgarian calendar is exactly the same as the Chinese and Japanese ones. In Japan, the colour worn by those in mourning is white, expressing the common idea that death returns the soul to her better state in the world of the sources of the soul. Expressions of mourning by means of a black colour is an innovation of the southern Slavs. Before the 19th century they mourned by turning their clothes inside-out. [Vakarelski, 1990, pp. 44, 150—155] It is quite doubtful whether they expressed mourning by means of colour at all.

Kligman claims that “white is the colour of the bride’s gown and symbolises her virginity and the sacredness of the sexual union.” [Kligman, 1988, p.16] This statement corresponds perfectly with Ivanova’s assertion that white is a symbol of the exalted attributes of the woman.

It is obvious that the red in the Romanian wedding flag symbolises not only “inflamed love” (*dragoste înfocată*) but also the man’s baser characteristics, such as aggressiveness.

The Romanian flag emphasises meaning much more richly. The accents are found in both the horizontal and the vertical structure. For example, the black scarf repeats the “invocation of the dead” from the universal expression — bearer from the kin — pole. The green scarf represents the “growth and freshness of nature”, also universally expressed by the greenery on the flag.

It would be a major omission not to accept the meanings of the colours as given by Kligman. There is no doubt that she found them by questioning the local populations, the people still practicing the customs. Now we can note the fact that the meanings have been preserved as social symbols, a code in public life and group relationships. Red is “inflamed love”, and white — “sacredness of the sexual union; black — “invokes the presence of dead relatives” and green — “growth and freshness of nature”. Only one meaning still symbolises a feature of the person — the white remains a symbol of the “virginity” of the bride.

The explanation of that tendency can be found in two directions. The first is the highly abstract nature of the wedding flag. Scarves are not object-dependent as in Bulgaria. It is very easy to forget the private dimension of the meanings of the colours, at so high a level of abstraction. The second reason is that we operate with data from the second half of this century. Kligman conducted her research in an old Transylvanian village in Communist Romania. If we are to believe her, it was survival of traditions which caused the village to flourish.

We are reminded of the opinion of the Indian philosopher Coomaraswamy, that the ancient secret mystical knowledge was lost three hundred years ago: “symbolism is ‘the idea of thinking in images’ — an art now lost to civilized man, notably in the last three hundred years.” [Coomaraswamy, 1935] It is obvious that long-standing secret mystical knowledge with such a long tradition has led to a loss of the private dimension of the meaning. What has remained today are only traces — while symbolising both bridal virginity and the sacredness of the sexual union. We can reconstruct meanings: the green as symbol of “human growth and freshness”, “freshness of human fertility”; the red — as symbol of the “flesh and blood”, “the

groom's earthier features"; and black — "death of the bachelor period".

GREECE

We have only one description of the Greek wedding flag: "There, a white flag adorned with apples and sweet herbs, is hoisted [...] the flag-bearer puts the flag on the bride's roof." [Sanders, 1962, 170—171]

The white colour as well as the single colour remind us of the black scarf in the Bulgarian death wedding flag. We can clearly see the ambiguity of that sign. What we know of the white in the wedding flag is that it represents feminine virginity and enveloping characteristics. We know also that the male is represented by red. If red is missing here, it means the white colour should also represent him. In other words, the white colour in this case, simply has a wider or even different connotation. Kligman's commentaries give an indication of what the white may mean — "the sacredness of the sexual union."

We are led to conclude that the white colour of the Greek wedding flag means its purity, "sacredness" of the sexual union, as a declaration and as a wish for the future. The fact, exclusively Greek, that the flag was put on the roof of the bride's house should be interpreted as an announcement that such an event is taking place there, at that time.

Toporov's idea of a horizontal structure allows us to conclude that a different connotation was given to that part of the Greek wedding flag compared to the Bulgarian and Romanian ones. The Greek wedding flag has a much more general meaning, whose features do not non-differentiate between the man and the woman through different colours. The Greek flag denotes the unification of the newly-weds.

SERBIA, MONTENEGRO, MACEDONIA, CROATIA

Considerable data exists for these peoples, however there is no single description of the colour content of the cloth of the flag. We can be sure about the fact — the practice of making a wedding flag is wide-spread in these areas.

TURKEY AND ALBANIA

The Balkan Muslims have never accepted a wedding flag as part of their marriage ceremonies.

According to the above mentioned data, the wedding flag is a custom rooted in pre-Christian times. The fact that the Ukrainians have such a custom [Volkov, 1890, p. 229], while at the same time, Islam never adopting it, emphasises the pre-Christian sources of the custom.

COLOURS AND SEXES

We wish here to emphasise the contradictory nature of the problem of “no fixed correlation between the colours and the sexes” — V. Turner claims. The white cloth of the flag used in the Romanian custom, known as “Căluș”, very well suits that point of view. Căluș is a spring rite expressing the idea of man’s fertility, power and magic. The active magicians participating, are all exclusively men. They must perform a series of rituals while the celebration progresses. The main elements in both the flag and the celebration itself, are the garlic and the wormwood, and also the flag. The space orientation play an important role in the secret of preparation of the flag. The rituals also contain many dances and much humor. The goal is to protect people with the help of the flag and the healing plants (garlic and wormwood). The ritual is a negation of the bad powers, symbolised by wood nymphs, the so called *rusalii*. These feminine creatures are believed to have evil powers, leading to the death of humans.

The horizontal part of the flag structure is described thus: “Enough pieces of garlic and wormwood to equal the number of Călușary, musicians, and *stregarul* are tied to the top of the flag with white cloth. [...] 2. The *vătaf* measures the height of each Călușar with one continuous piece of red thread which is then tied around the white cloth to hold it in place.” [Kligman, 1981, p. 17]

This variant of the world tree model will be used to detail the features of the wedding flag as a model of the world tree.

The white cloth wraps up the plants, which are equal in number to the participants. This complex symbol leads us to an image of the procreative power of the male participants enveloped by the white magic power. The white wedding flag does not wrap anything. It is free to wave open in the wind. The image of free and successful union of the newly-weds is forced. We can expand this by accepting that Greek use of the white flag symbolising the union of both families — the bride’s and the groom’s.

In the Căluș flag we have the “continuous” red thread with which the Vătaf “measures the height of each Călușar”. This is an obvious sign of the united flesh-and blood power of the participants.

Inside the white cloth green healing plants are placed, equal to the number of participants. Outside the white cloth is the red thread with the height of the participants is marked. The vitality of the Călușar group is magically fixed in this symbol. Inside and outside the white cloth, green and red are united. I believe the image here is that of the white cloth cover ensuring the carnal power of the participants just as the sky covers the earth.

The Căluș flag has a different meaning compared to that of the wedding flag. Its interpretation in the horizontal structure stems from the different nature of the custom, and different goal. The essence here is protection against evil forces in nature, regarded as feminine. Therefore the three colours symbolise one sex — the male. The different colours are signs of the man’s different characteristics. The white symbolises his divine and lofty nature; the green — is a depiction of both his exalted and earthly features; the red symbolises the carnal and more corrupt parts of the masculine nature. All these meanings are found in the horizontal part of this model of the world tree. The vertical structure is outside our interest here, but it is also significant.

Here we would like to stress some actions of testing and at the same time drawing the power of space and the universe:

3. The Călușari recite their oath while holding the flagpole horizontally. Next, the vătaf or the mute holds the pole diagonally at approximately a forty-five degree angle, while the Călușari, moving counter-clockwise, walk or jump over the opposite end three times. The flag is then raised.

4. The flag is held vertically by the vătaf or the stregar while the mute holds his sword against and perpendicular to the flag. The Călușari, moving counter-clockwise, then walk under his sword three times. The flag and sword are then, in turn, held for the mute and the vătaf as well.

5. After walking under and over the flag three times, the Călușari lie face down in a line. The vătaf or the mute takes the flag and, moving from right to left, jumps over each of the

Călușari three times. While he does so, he may touch each of them on the back with his right foot.

6. *In some cases, after having walked under the flag three times, the Călușari then crouch down in a row. Beginning with the vâtaf, they jump over each other in succession, three times. Mihai Pop has suggested that this signifies their solidarity, based on the principle of "one for all and all for one" [Pop, 1975, p. 23] [...]*

7. *The Călușari hold the flagpole horizontally, then, using their free hands, they cross their sticks with the mute's sword. [Kligman, 1981, 17–18]*

Cosmic powers are absorbed by counter actions, the purpose of which is to reinforce the complex symbol of masculine power and unity symbolised by the colours.

In general, we can say that the white colour of the cloth in Căluș flags have a different meaning from that of the white scarf or the white cloth of wedding flags. In Căluș, the white functions are equal according to the primitive meaning in V. Turner's list. In the wedding flags the primitive meanings are converted, becoming a symbol of feminine characteristics.

The existence of different models of the world-tree, which are based on similar objects — the flag — (with similar structure — vertical and horizontal) proves the strength of the world-tree in the human mind. It also substantiates the pre-Christian sources of that strength.

The different meanings of the white (in the Greek flag it is a symbol of sexual and social union, in the Romanian and Bulgarian flags it denotes the sublime features of the woman, in the Căluș flag — symbol of the Turner's Ndembu primitive level — masculine features) prove, in Balkan countries, what Turner said: "colour symbolism is not sex-linked, although red and white may be situationally specified to represent the opposition of the sexes."

We have proved that red and white can be used for expressing the opposition of the most sublime and also the earthly features of one and the same sex.

We also showed that one sex can be symbolised by three colours — in Căluș.

This analysis allows us to take a wider look at the world of colour symbolism, originally formed in pre-Christian times, and based on

secret mystical notions and images. These mystical notions and images have a powerful effect at the subconscious level. It gives an opportunity to rediscover some of the grammar facts of the colour language.

This analysis also proves the very strong connection of the colour sign system with the context and/or the main significance and goals of a ritual or custom (remember the dual connotations of the Căluș and Rusalii customs). We can say that the colour sign system serves THE CONTEXT OF THE CONTEXT. This concept brings forth the idea of cosmic order and use of instincts and secret knowledge in order to attain survival.

Speaking of the goals for our survival, we still believe that the colour sign system has the feature of universality, and that this universality serves THE CONTEXT OF THE CONTEXT, which does not offer an explanation for ambiguity, the homonymy and synonymy.

We can compare the dependency of the context and goals of a custom with the term “pragmatics” in modern linguistics. These pragmatics are delineated by certain boundaries — black can be used in the Romanian wedding flag but it remains connected with the death.

THE SHOES OF THE BRIDE

Marriage is a custom of passage. After the ceremony, the newly-married couple together walk along the path of their social and sexual life; family life is seen as a common image following a road. Therefore it is natural for the bride's shoes to have their role in the custom. In traditional marriages in the Balkans, the groom's family gives the bride new shoes. No doubt, this act has the status of a custom.

GREECE

The bride's shoes, given by the bridegroom, are [...]
[Hutchinson, 1897, p. 179]

ALBANIA

The festivities begin on a Thursday with the sending of the dunti by the bridegroom. This is a decorated box containing gifts to the bride of various articles of dress and ornamentation, including boots and shoes of yellow leather embroidered with gold [...] [Garnett, 1981, p. 249]

MACEDONIA

The bridegroom's man (the vlam) puts both her shoes and her girdle on the bride. [Hutchinson, 1897, p. 184]

The importance of this single, particular element of the bride's attire can be seen elsewhere in Europe:

SWITZERLAND

In some places, the bride; in others, the brides-maid and the best man, receive new shoes as a gift from the bridegroom. [Hutchinson, p. 263]

The sophisticated laws of the Ottoman Empire were not unaware of the colours prohibited for the shoes of different citizens: "A similar restriction applied with regard to shoes, which were yellow for Muslims and dark or black for Jews. A source from the end of the eighteenth century puts it thus: "Besides the turban, the Muslims are distinguished from other inhabitants of the Empire by the colour of their shoes: they all wear yellow leather shoes, except for the *ulema* who adopts the dark blue colour [...] All non-Muslims wear black shoes." [Juhacz, 1990, 120—171]

The prohibition to wear a certain colour presents an opportunity to clarify the colours considered by the Ottoman Turks as a sign of power and freedom. We recall that in a Bulgarian folk song, the Sultan did not allow non-Muslims to wear red clothes. Here, yellow is the forbidden colour for the shoes of non-Muslims. If we add the famous rule for the holy colour — green: — "They forbade the Jewish woman to wear any green garment, to use fabric metal thread, or to wear gowns made of expensive furs." [Juhacz, 1990, 120—171] — the colour picture of the Empire is clear.

From this data on Turkish decrees it is clear that the secret knowledge possessed by the Muslims, which we mentioned, was the last word of the vogue in the Alexandrian Cabbala school and was the basis of those state decrees. Shoe colour was also important from that point of view. The preference of yellow for Muslims is notable. But what is more interesting — the same colour was a popular for bridal shoes in ancient Greece and Rome. According to the following data, we can even claim that bridal shoes are universally yellow.

Ancient Greece and Rome: "Hymen, the god of love and marriage, is pictured wearing the '*luteus socci*'. Now the use of the *soccus* was in general confined to women and comic actors. Since Hymen can have no connection with comic actors, we must consequently interpret his use of the *soccus* as indicative of the marriage ceremony, and as assigned to him in his role of the bride. Again we have, with reference to the bride, the expressions '*fulgentem plantam*' and '*aureolos pedes*', both doubtlets containing the same idea of colour. But in Seneca we find the line: '*luteo plantas cohibente socco*', with reference to the wife of Hercules, and with no apparent idea of the marriage custom. The use of yellow was confined almost entirely to women, says Pliny, and other garments of that colour were commonly worn by them at all

times, it is not improbable that yellow shoes also were common articles of dress, and such a connection may serve only to convince us of the truth of Pliny's statement. Cupid, dressed in a yellow tunic, flits hither and thither about the head of Catullus' sweetheart, Lesbia." [Dana, 1919, p. 15]

We cannot agree with M. Dana's conclusion, because of the data from two other sources: "We learn from Aristophanes that shoes were cleaned with blacking made of pitch and applied with a sponge; they were usually black, except when the leather was allowed to retain its natural colour." [Abrachams, 1964, p. 117]

"Many varieties of shoes or boots are mentioned by Pollux and other ancient writers. We read of αρβύλαι άρβυλιδες, a cheap kind of boot worn on journeys βλανταί, light sandals with latchets, called also κονιπόδες, from the fact that they allowed the feet to get covered with dust; έυμαρίδες, Persian slippers of yellow kid; Περσικαί, cheap white shoes worn by women especially by hetairae; Λακωνικαί, distinguished by their red colour — these were probably the same as the Αμυκλαί mentioned by Theocritus. One of the archaic statues of women in the Acropolis Museum at Athens wears red shoes. Wood was sometimes used for sandals. Pollux tells us that Κρουπέξια were a special kind of wooden sandal used for dancing, and that Phedias represented Athene Parthenos wearing Τυρρηνικά, sandals with high rectangular wooden soles and gold latchets.

Other shoes are too numerous to mention, and cannot be identified with certainty." [Abrachams, 1964, 118—119]

To equalize Rome and ancient Greece is a mistake, but in any case the differences are not great. Obviously in Rome, the bride's wedding shoes were yellow: "On her feet she wore orange slippers, *lutei socci*", claims S. Treggiari. [Treggiari, 1985, p. 163] The religion common to both, and the secret knowledge and images of that religion, should be the same for Greece as they are for Rome.

The fact that M. Dana translates "*lutei socci*" as "shoes", and Treggiari calls them "slippers" is not of great importance, because the term and the Latin words are the same. Dana's and Treggiari's sources are the same: For Treggiari — Cat. 61.9—10. For M. Dana — Cat. 61.5—10 *Ov. Met.* 10.1. f: "*croceo velatus amictu [...] digreditur [...] Hymenaeus.*" *Epist.* 21.192: "*(Hymenaeus) [...] trahitur multo splendida palla croco.*"; Suet. *Cal.* 52: "*soccus muliebris*; See Ellis'

note on Cat. 10; Cat. 68.71; Cat. 61.167; Phaed. 332; Blumner, *op. cit.*, 125; Plin. *N. H.* 21.46: *Lutei video honorem antiquissimum in nuptialibus flammeis totum feminis concessum.*"; Cat. 68.133–4.

The common source is Cat. 61.9–10 (61.9–10 for Treggiari and 61.5–10 for M. Dana).

In any case, Pliny's statement is in no doubt about the flammeum as a colour of women's dress. But the Greek information for Greece is also not in doubt.

From this data, it is clear that the everyday colour of the ancient Greek shoes (sandals) was not yellow, but black, natural coloured leather, white, and in some cases — red. The yellow, red or white footwear were used for special occasions.

The single item for ancient Greece is: "[...] the bride is admonished by her husband to adjure rouge or power, false or dyed hair, and high heeled shoes, for if she manages well, she will not need artificial aids to beauty [...]" [Evans, 1964, p. 78]

For eighteenth-century Greece, we noted that the laws in the Ottoman Empire only allowed the black of shoes colour for non-Muslims.

ALBANIA

[...] including boots and shoes of yellow leather, embroidered with gold", was the first information, given here at the very beginning. The second is: "The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. [Durham, 1979, p. 197]

BULGARIA

In a folk song dedicated to the spring "Lazar" feast, when the unmarried girls of the villages play, sing and exhibit themselves in full marriage costume, the text informs us that the bride enters the new house, wearing "yellow slippers." [Kaufman, 1993]

This information is useful, not only because of Prof. N. Kaufman's editing of that record, but also because the "Lazar" custom is a perfect source for conclusions regarding the marriage costume.

For Romania we have no data.

The universality of the bridal practice of wearing yellow footwear is obvious from the following data from Ukraine: In a Ukrainian wedding song, the text compares the bride to a bird — "an owl is hurrying home alone from the village; she alights under the icon; she has red slippers. — Do not make a noise. Do not frighten her. Let our bird have some bread and salt, let her get accustomed, and do not make her fly back home." [Volkov, 1890, p. 214]

This poetic information is very important for the interpretation of the meaning of the yellow (red) slippers (shoes).

The use of *flammeum* for the veil by, that the ancient Romans used, was already mentioned in the section dealing with the bridal veil. The same source — M. Dana — speaks about the bride's yellow shoes — *luteus socci*. The colour *flammeum* was the colour of the aurora, a mixture of red and yellow, sometimes reflecting red and sometimes yellow. We should interpret the colour of the slippers (shoes) by the same logic — yellow and/or red, even orange (according to Treggiari) are symbols of fire, giving life, symbols of cultivated fire.

The universality and existence of that image in the human mind, of the colour of the bride's footgear is supported by the following information about Switzerland: "An important role in the wedding functions is played by the 'yellow woman', or *gelbe frau* [so named from the story of Ostara and the yellow slippers], mistress of ceremonies, often the godmother of the bride. She may be seen in Lucerne walking at the head of the women guests, bearing a basket filled with kerchiefs for distribution amongst the party. In return for these she receives, like the Tyrolese *Ehrenmutter*, the money presents destined for the bridal pair at the inn where the feast takes place [...] In Baumgarten the 'yellow woman' has to perform a delicate office. During the wedding feast she wipes from the bride's eyes, the tears which every well-trained decorous maiden should shed at the prospect of leaving her parents' home." [Hutchinson, 1897, p. 226]

All this information enables us to confirm the idea that the bride's yellow (red, orange) footwear is a symbol of cultivated fire which brings life. The Swiss "yellow woman" adds to that image a new

semantic component: The yellow (red) colour symbolizes the feminine root, the line of motherhood. The mother as a secure, earthly, warm and hospitable place and object for the future child.

If we recall that the shoes are a gift from the groom or the groom's family, we should interpret the compound symbol as a promise, expectation and a propitiation for the future of the social and sexual unit, ensuring the turning and of the bride into a good mother.

This is a universally occurring image in the subconscious. This image clashes with real life. In the Ottoman Empire non-muslim were essentially discriminated against — they were allowed (to experience) the support of a symbol standing for the transition from bridehood to motherhood.

AMBIGUITY OF THE RED SANDALS (SHOES) AS A SYMBOL

The approximate equality between the shoes and sandals in the ancient Greek world is mentioned in the dictionaries referring us from the word "shoe" to the word "sandals". The wedding *lutei socci* do not have the same symbolic meaning as the magic sandals of Hermes, which were of gold: "HERMES. When he stole the oxen of Apollo, he put on sandals so that his footprints could not be distinguished. (Hom. *Hymn. in Merc.* 125; Diod. I. 16). His golden sandals carried him across land and sea with the rapidity of the wind. The sandals were later represented as winged." [Bell, 1982, p. 207]

There are other obvious features of Hermes' golden sandals aside from those of the bride's wedding footwear. The sandals of this god have magic features, such as nullifying the weight of the person wearing them, and giving him/her magic, superhuman speed of travel. The yellow wedding footwear act in the opposite sense, with the colour symbolizing the earthly bonds of motherhood. Motherhood elicits an atmosphere of stability as opposed to the flying dynamic movement of Hermes.

SYNONYMY OF THE MEANING BETWEEN THE YELLOW SHOES AND HERMES' GOLDEN SANDALS

Yellow has always led us to the notion that it represents the ideas and meanings of gold, and this question arises again in the case of the bride's yellow footwear. If we accept the idea that this yellow is a development of the ancient *flammeus* (you recall that M. Dana called it yellow, while S. Treggiari says it is orange), we can preserve the meaning of the colour. In the shoes, the compound meaning combines hospitality and warmth of motherhood, as protection of motherhood. This second meaning comes from the notion of cultivated fire.

All the unnatural, magic features of Hermes' sandals serve to preserve and protect him from danger. So one and the same meaning, based on different sources, can be seen in both objects.

The second common meaning comes from another source. From M. Gimbutas [Gimbutas, 1982] we learn that the Mother Goddess was the main cult object in Old Europe. The term "Old Europe" encompasses the Balkans and parts of contemporary Italy. Gimbutas analysis includes the period around 6500 B. C. In the yellow shoes of the bride we can also see gold as symbolizing the goddess — with the attributes of the mother, a remnant of that most ancient cult of the Mother Goddess. The gold of Hermes' sandals should express the god-like nature of the unnatural features of the sandals. If we accept this point of view, the yellow of the bride's shoes and the gold sandals of Hermes should be seen as one common, golden symbol.

THE "GOLDEN APPLE"

The "golden apple" is a symbol appearing is represented among the south Slavs rural marriage and among the fathers of that practice — the Greeks. This symbol drew our attention, because it stands for an unnatural colour of the apples, and because the symbol is wide spread on the Balkans.

There is no doubt about the Greek sources of the golden apple. The golden apple appears frequently in the Greek mythology and always with similar meaning:

GREECE

ACONTIUS wrote on an apple a vow of marriage to him by Cydippe, who read aloud the vow while sacrificing at the altar of Artemis at Delos. She was thus forced to marry him (Ov. Her. 20, 21).

APHRODITE. The apple was sacred to her.

ATALANTA (ATALANTE) was a virgin huntress. One of her suitors, Meilanion (or Hippomenes), raced with her in order to gain her hand in marriage and dropped, one after another, three golden apples, which Atalanta stopped to pick up. This delay caused her to lose the race, and she was forced to take the winner as her husband.

ATLAS was represented in certain sculptural works as holding in his hands the golden apples of the Hesperides.

ERIS was the goddess of discord, who threw the apple onto the assembly of the gods. Inscribed "for the fairest" it was claimed by Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite. The judgement of Paris in favour of Aphrodite led indirectly to the Trojan War.

HERA. *On her marriage to Zeus, Gaea gave her a tree with golden apples, which was watched by the Hesperides in the garden of Hera at the foot of Mt. Atlas (Apollod. 2.5.11).*

HERACLES. *The eleventh labour of Heracles was bringing back the apples of the Hesperides. These apples had been received by Hera at her wedding, and she has entrusted them to the keeping of the Hesperides and the dragon Ladon in a garden at the foot of Mt. Atlas in the country of the Hyperboreans. When Heracles brought the apples back, Eurystheus made him a present of them, but Heracles dedicated them to Athena, who later restored them to their former place.*

LADON *was the dragon which helped guard the apples of the Hesperides.*

MELUS, *son of Cinyras and companion of Adonis, hanged himself when Adonis died. He was metamorphosed by Aphrodite into an apple.*

NEMESIS. *The Rhamnusian statue of Nemesis, goddess of retribution, bore in its left hand a branch of an apple tree.*

PARIS. *In works of art he is represented with an apple in his hand. The fatal apple thrown by Eris was given to him to judge which of the goddesses — Athena, Hera, or Aphrodite — was the fairest. [Bell, 1982, 9—10]*

The meaning of the apple as symbol is rooted back in the archetype of the human notions related to that symbol. The secret knowledge in the Jewish mystic tradition made an emphasis on the apple:

*The various kinds of apple trees which can bear also separately red, white or green apples, form all together the "apple field", which mainly the book of Zohar and the poetry of the Kabbalists made into a widely known and particularly popular symbol of the **Shekhinah**; since in this image the receptivity of the field as a female symbol is united with the activity which, dialectically speaking, is contained even in the receptivity and produces the various powers of the "apple". [Sholem, 1971, 108—109]*

The seven meanings of the gold colour according the Jewish mystic tradition have already been mentioned. [Sholem, 1979, 108—109] Here we dwell on the “roundness” of the apple according the same tradition:

This last pointedly suggests again that the basket represents fertility and that the rape of Kore ends the fruits of the earth. She takes a cock to Hades with her, promise of returning crops, but her capture means the end of the fruits of that year. The full calathus must then, both inherently and from its context, mean full fruition and, in funerary art, the full fruition of personal immortality. It is interesting that on Roman sarcophagi centuries later the capture of Persephone meant the spilling of the basket.

While the baskets themselves are pagan, to represent them as being filled with bread must be presumed to reflect some Jewish usage of bread, or of bread in baskets. The baskets seem to sanctify the bread they contain and to indicate its “value”.

The natural conclusion one draws from the Jewish “round objects,” accordingly — a conclusion we should at once come to in any other religion — is that corresponding to the symbol there was in actual bread or cake in Judaism the eating of which brought divine life or salvation. This salvation, by analogy, would have consisted in escape from the body, or sharing in divine nature, in terms of a bread which was Light, or in terms of astral or solar mysticism. In any case the bread would have brought life here and in the life to come, since that seems to have been the meaning of the symbol for both pagans and Christians. With this would harmonise the frequent other appearances of the “round object”, those on tombs — where it corresponds to the similar object on Christian tombs — within wreaths, and under the mystic table at Dura. [Goodenough, 1964, 79—83]

Though ignoring the differences between Greek and Jewish cultures, and the difference between volume and flat objects, and accordingly the use of the “golden apple”, we can say that the apple as symbol contains the meanings “to bring divine life” and “salvation” for the family as reproducing unite. These meanings can be classified as archetype level meanings. Other meanings as love, fertility, life are very popular in the notions of the rural people at the Balkans. In

addition the coins on the apple are the price for the bride, which is very common and a social meaning of the “golden apple”.

Further on are cited some examples from the popular practice of the “golden apple”:

BULGARIA

When the husband's house is situated at some distance from that of his father-in-law, the party that conducts the bride is led by one of the guests carrying a standard on which is placed an apple — symbol of love and maternity. [Hutchinson, 1897, p. 189]

Ivanova cites occasions when an apple adorned with coins is hoisted on the wedding flag. [Ivanova, 1984, p. 62] The same information is cited by L. Mikov. [Mikov, 1991, 31—32]

GREECE

The white flag, adorned with apples and sweet herb is hoisted. [Sanders, 1962, 170—171]

CROATIA

Identical information by Mila Bosich for the Croatsians.

SERBIA

The apple is usually [...] without any adornment. The groom carry the apple to the house of the “staroikine” waped in pure linen or cotton kerchief into the palm of his hand. When he arrives at the house of the “staroiri” he takes out “rakia” and the apple and he invited by the “stroki” to eat and drink. [Miloslavlevich, 1913, p. 180]

Similar information we have from S. Miatovich. [Miatovich, 1919, 45—46]

MACEDONIA

The bridegroom's father presents to the bride's father an apple full of gold coins with the request for the daughter's hand. [Lodge, 1941, p. 195]

For Romania we have no data on the presence of the “golden apple” at the marriage. The Muslims in Albania and Turkey also do not use that symbol. This fact can be explained with the later arrival of that population on the Balkans. The Early Greek influence had been already been established and only from earlier days borrowed neighbours that practice from the Greeks.

If we add to the old Jewish meanings of the “round objects” “to bring divine life” and “salvation”, gold as “symbol of the moral purity, united with the immortality, the divine sources, the glory and eternity”, according Averintcev [Averintcev, 1973, p. 51], we shall have the complete picture of the meaning of the “golden apple”. This meaning is mixture of archetypal universalism and secret knowledge.

The Balkan sources of that practice among the south Slavs is obviously the following:

Gibbon was unaware that not only Russian tsars, but Balkan peasants, gave apples to their brides, and have never ceased to do so. In my time the Golden Apple in Montenegro was usually an orange. But that was modern innovation. A generation ago the apple was made golden by sticking a ducat or other gold coin in it and represented the bride-price; and as the bridegroom never chose his bride, but had to accept the choice of the heads of his family, it was his father who gave the girl the apple. [Durham, 1979, p. 239]

F. Volkov in his describing the Ukrainian marriage gives no information about any apple used there. [Volkov, 1890, p. 224]

THE APPLE AND THE BURIAL

The apple is used not only during the marriage, but in the funeral rite.

ROMANIA

*When you leave the yard,
Leave your longing there for me,
So an apple tree may grow.
The little tree will produce apples
So that we will not forget you.*

Apples are symbols of love. The productivity of the apple tree reproduces the regenerative cycle between death and life and symbolically denies the death of the deceased whom it commemorates. Without memorials, traces of the deceased are erased from cultural memory. It is in the interest of the living to keep the dead, and therefore themselves, eternally alive. [Kligman, 1988, p. 196]

MONTENEGRO

Apples were thrown in, and the grave covered and filled with earth [Durham, 1979, p. 221]

*Golden apples belong to marriage; green ones to funerals, death, and grief. In the ballad of *The Death of the Mother of the Jugovitche's*, a raven drops the dead son's hand into the mother's lap and she murmurs: "O my hand! O my green apple! Where didst thou grow? Where wert thou cut off?"*

Green apples were, and probably still are, laid in graves in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, and North Albania. In one of Lazar Lazarevitch's popular tales, *Na Bunaru*, an unhappy bride cries to her sister-in-law: "O Petrija, my heart! I wish I could die. Thou shalt bury me. Put plenty of sweet basil with me; bite an apple, and put it into my coffin."

I heard of green apples thrown into Montenegrin graves. In the Herzegovina apples and oranges are tied upon grave crosses, "to look pretty," and "it is our custom." No other explanation could be obtained. But probably they originally were intended to placate or please the spirits. Can they be connected with the pomegranate of Proserpina, and designed, therefore, to keep the ghost quiet in Hades?

At Thethi Shala, in North Albania, I saw a child's funeral. When the Franciscan had read the burial service a weeping woman stepped forward and laid three green apples in the little grave. The Franciscan told her this was not necessary and she reluctantly removed them." [Durham, 1979, p. 240]

The green colour of the apple in the grave of a child is obvious symbol of the pagan notion that the life of the humans is like the life of the plants — the green symbolises the early death. However apples are also thrown in the grave of adults. In order to explain the custom we have to get back to the quote for the Romanian mourning song and the comment of G. Kligman. We need also to recall the quote for the old Jewish understanding of the round objects as "bringing divine life" and "salvation" and to stress on the archetype essence of that notion, which obviously was given as the reason for throwing apples into the graves of the deceased.

Comparing the bridal and the funeral use of the apple we have to mark the role of the colour/s as part of an compound symbol. The meaning of the gold and green is obviously connected with the form and fertility of the apple, but on other hand the colour is an independent symbol, which can change the rite use of an apple.

BALKAN COLOUR LANGUAGE?

We mentioned the importance of artefact dependency on the 7 meanings of the colour, but the opposite approach should not be ignored. From literature we know, that A. A. Trophimov's point of view is clearest. He believes the colour of a mythical notion is not defined by the figurative object, but by the semantisation of this object. [Trophimov, 1974, 103—104] He states also, that the colour is not simply an attribute of the notion for the features of the ornament, but also a symbol or archi-image for eternal concepts. Very similar is the point view of M. I. Shahnarovitch [Trophimov, 1974, 103—104], who showed that in primitive cultures rituals of the "holy marriage" between the sky and the earth are marked with colours.

We support G. Mihailova's idea that the Bulgarian marriage bouquet (green, gold, white and red) is the colour model for the Bulgarian costumes [Mihailova, 1981, p. 80] which demonstrates the possibility to prove the structure relations in a colour sign system. We can also conclude, that the meanings of the colours in Bulgarian marriage custom are very ancient.

Here we will represent the meaning of four colours as G. Mihailova collected them in her paper. The meanings we demonstrate are not included here.

The Bulgarian folklorist G. Mihailova gives the follow meanings of the colours used in the Bulgarian marriage custom [Mihailova, 1981, 52—84]:

I. Green — fertility power, life force, immortality, abstract notion of the life (according V. V. Ivanov, V. V. Toporov [Ivanov, Toporov, 1965, p. 99] and Eisenshtein [Eisenshtein, 1976, p. 19])

II. Gold

1. Divinity (according V. Propp [Propp, 1946, p. 194]), golden objects ensure long life and immortality.

2. The sacred meaning of the golden colour (according S. S. Averintzev [Averintzev, 1973, p. 46, 49])

3. Material wealth — depending on artefact — gold coins.

4. Symbol of the sun and light as brilliance, glory as brilliance (according S. S. Averintzev [Averintzev, 1973, p. 47]).

5. Symbol of virginity and moral purity, charity (according S. Averintzev [Averintzev, 1973, p. 51] and V. Propp [Propp, 1946, p. 264]).

All these meanings are connected, according all authors, with the features of the gold as metal — i. e. meanings depend on artefacts.

III. White.

1. Semantic shade of the gold as a colour. G. Mihailova follows S. Averintzev's [Averintzev, 1973, p. 50] point-view.

2. Symbol of masculinity — according V. Ivanov and V. Toporov [Ivanov, Toporov, 1965, 138—140] and Bulgarian uses in that sense.

3. Ritual purity — according V. Ivanov, V. Toporov. [Ivanov, Toporov, 1965, 138—140]

IV. Red.

1. Preservation — very common Bulgarian use.

2. Fertility — connected with “the Great mother earth” (according V. Toporov [Toporov, 1965, 138—140] and A. Trophimov [Trophimov, 1974, 71—98])

3. Femininity — according Bulgarian uses and V. Turner [Turner, 1967, p. 78], V. Ivanov, V. Toporov [Ivanov, Toporov, 1965, 138—140], A. Trophimov. [Trophimov, 1974, p. 103]

4. Ritual un purity — V. Turner [Turner, 1967, p. 78], V. Ivanov, V. Toporov. [Ivanov, Toporov, 1965, 138—140]

ROMANIAN "WEDDING OF THE DEAD" IN "MIORITZA"

The folk poem "Mioritza" was very popular in Romania. The text represents death as a mythical marriage; "The lamb warns its young shepherd that his companions, jealous of his flocks and his dogs, have decided to kill him. But instead of defending himself, the shepherd-boy addresses the lamb and tells it his last wishes. He asks it to say that he is to be buried in his own fold, so that he will be near to his sheep and can hear his dogs. He also asks it to put three shepherds pipes at the head of his grave. When the wind blows it will play on them, and his sheep will gather around and weep tears of blood. But above all he asks it to say nothing of his murder; it must say that he has married, and that at the wedding a shooting star fell, that the moon and the sun held his wedding crown, that the great mountains were his priests and the beech trees his witnesses. But if it sees an old mother in tears, looking for a "proud shepherd", it must tell her only that he has married "the peerless queen, the bride of the world, in a beautiful country, a corner of paradise"; but it must not tell of the falling star or the sun and the moon holding his crown or the great mountains or the beech trees." [Eliade, 1972, p. 226]

If we take Bulgarian colours and their meaning as a basis for comparison, we can see, that the colours in "Mioritza" are the same. The description is given by skilled M. Eliade and the colour elements are permanent in all examples, but the artefact dependency and the meaning of the colours are not exactly the same. There is no artefact connection at all, because the symbolism is nature-mythical.

We observe complete colour imitation bounded with imitation the great positive ideas of the Bulgarian colour massage, which seem to be common for the Balkans.

BULGARIAN MARRIAGE

We can represent the meanings of the colours in the Bulgarian marriage ceremony as follows:

I. Green.

1. Modal-wishing level — wishes for fertility, life force and immortality are made.

2. Narrative function (if the wedding is between healthy, strong people).

II. Gold.

1. Modal-wishing level — wishes to the couple of the concepts of this colour and metal are represented.

2. Narrative — for richness, if the bride and the groom are really rich and wealthy.

3. Narrative in material sense — about the virginity of the bride.

III. White.

1. Modal-wishing level — wishes to the couple for ideas this colour stands for.

2. Narrative — for masculinity

3. Narrative for ritual purity.

4. Narrative for body and spirit innocence.

IV. Red.

1. Causative — the common protective meaning for the reproduction of the family, of the genus.

2. Narrative about the symbol of femininity, connected with “the great mother earth”.

3. Narrative for ritual impurity of the bride.

Semantics of colours in “Mioritza” are:

I. Green — The modal-wishing missing level. Saving the “archi-image for eternal concepts” — the object by itself is a big tree and evergreen mountains. No artefact dependency, but nature-mystical object dependency. Anyway the meaning of this “archi-image for eternal concepts” is life, immortality of life.

II. Gold — Modal-wishing level missing. The main picture for “archi-images for eternal concepts” — preserved in the sum as a

mythical object. Nature mythical dependency. No wealth, but symbol of the sun, and light as brilliance, glory as brilliance.

III. White — Modal — wishing level missing, because of the mythical nature dependency. Narrative for innocence. No narrative for masculinity, because of the mythical dependency. Ritual purity.

IV. Red. If the philosophy of the symbolism for the previous three colours is saved, the meaning of red is a break with this way of representation. The mythical nature dependency for red gives out sorrow, grieving for death. The causative function of the red, came from a preserved meaning does not appear here at all. There is no narrative meaning for femininity and for ritual un purity. Narrative meaning for sorrow.

The results of some research Portal [Portal, 1957, 95—141] and Turner [Turner, 1967, 77—78] and our observations show, that red can be a symbol of bad and of good forces alike. This feature of the red in sign systems is used in “Mioritza”.

This colour picture clearly underlies a familiar colour language. The colour sign system is working on the subconsciousness. It was obvious for the shepherd that the mothers heart and folk knowledge would easily find the lie. Hence the text and the colour message: A colour picture has been transformed from four colours into white — a single coloured one. The description of the marriage is represented by very main picture, very positive — “a corner of the paradise”. In some sense this positive description is true, out of the fact, that marriage is in paradise.

BALKAN COLOUR LANGUAGE

The represent of death as marriage is well-known in Balkan burial rituals from ancient Greece — when the deceased is a young person the wedding clothes are dressed for the last journey. [Alexiou, 1974, pp. 5, 27] It is amazing that, red elements in Bulgaria such as the red thread of the bouquet [Mihailova, 1981] is missing.

Hence the colours of Bulgarian wedding of the dead are the same as in “Mioritza”; green, white and gold. The red is missing in Bulgaria and in “Mioritza” it is a symbolised narrative of grief.

We can conclude, that the author/authors of “Mioritza” also sent the information for the story from the level of colour sign system, to the level, where “the colour is symbol of archi-image for eternal notions”. It is obvious that the meanings of the colours during the Bulgarian marriage ceremony were well-known to the author of the Romanian folk poem. Unfortunately at present we have no information about the colours of the Romanian marriage custom. We can only suppose, that they were the same four colours.

In “Mioritza” we even observe the interplay with these symbols of universal primitive culture knowledge; saving the true meanings (main ideas) for green, gold, white and breaking the positive meaning of the red in fact an exchange of artefact dependency to nature mythical dependency. These two differences of a colour message in Bulgarian custom are the reason to think about the lie in the message. Moreover an educated persons is given a new, one-coloured message, which conveys the concept of Paradise through the white colour.

All this shows real talent and instinctive knowledge of the Balkan language of the colour sign folk system. We can conclude that before the contemporary loss of this sign system or its transformation of the knowledge common uses of the colours in folk culture which existed in the Balkans.

CHARM FOR MARRIAGE

The position with of the Cult of Mandragora is different. It was a cult towards a plant, believed to bring love and marriage. Green, white and red occur, however not gold. These colours are nothing else but colours of objects. No symbolism can be traced in this cult. M. Eliade retells the cult of Mandragora as follows: "The old wise woman" take some food with them when they set out: eggs, blessed in the church, a cake made from puff paste, stuffed cabbage, brandy, wine, and so on. A week before hand the mandragora is "destined"; that is, a mandragora plant is sought out and a red ribbon tied to it, so that it can be more easy found on the morning of the gathering. As soon as they reach the wood the women go straight to it; "they must not search." Then the earth is dug up, the plant is uprooted and laid on the ground. The food that has been brought is set around it. The "wise women" eat and drink, "embrace and caress one another." Finally they begin talking about the person for whom the mandragora is intended and about the effect it is to produce [...] success in business, consideration in the village, more milk from particular cows, and so forth.

When two girls go to gather mandragora they embrace and caress each other, saying:

*Mandragora, Mandragora,
Marry me after a month [...]* [Eliade, 1972, p. 205]

M. Eliade explains the purpose of this cult: "It can arrange marriage; it can make cows give more milk; it has a beneficial effect on business affairs, it increases wealth, and, in general brings prosperity, harmony, and so on. The magical properties of the mandragora can also be turned against another person [...]" [Eliade, 1972, p. 204]

It is very difficult for us to find any symbolic meaning in the green colour of the plant, tied with red ribbon, or in the colours of the coins put in or around the plant, or the whiteness of the naked bodies, dancing. May be, because " The plant must be paid, otherwise it

produces no effect. Girls are made to it in exchange for its root: salt, bread, sugar, wine and so on. The mandragora is personified: "Great lady", "empress", "Good Mother." [Eliade, 1972, p. 224]

Probably, if we compare the whole context we would reduce the colours to quite different ranks, in an hierarchy of values, with coloured pictures. However the whiteness of the salt, the bread, the sugar are obvious imitation of the marriage ritual, were out of our interest. The purities of the soil that this plant needs, the names of the plant, associated with the brilliance of the queens are also not suited for the organising of colour symbolism. The colour is not used as signs. The main conclusion is that the colour level of "causation" is not used in magic, in charm practice for causing marriage in Romania.

It is essential to note that colour language is not observed in "The Cult of Mandragora". On the other hand, if we use our imagination we could prove, that even in here there is something more; if the colour is taken as an adequate sign of the dual nature of the plant mandragora — "the mandragora is the herb of life and death". [Eliade, 1972, p. 225] Then we have the following picture: red colour is the sign for the dual, opposite nature of the plant; green for the colour of the plant; white for the colour of the salt and sugar put in the place of uprooted plant; the gold colour for some of the small coins that paid to the plant.

However — the uprooted plant was marked by a red ribbon during the previous night when it was "destined" to be taken. The red function is also dual — 1. red as marker like a road sign; 2. red as sign for the dual, possible dangerous, nature of mandragora.

In any case the message conveyed by the four colours is a compound expression. This could also be seen as a mixture of levels — for red as a symbol of the nature of the herb is at the sign level of a cosmic order, a spiritual level not the concrete green, white of eventually gold.

Who can say where the truth lies, if "The technique of digging it is stranger and more complex than that of any other herb, even those that are essential in sorcery of folk medicine. Only the mysterious operations performed in digging mandragora clearly preserve very ancient rites". [Eliade, 1972, p. 204] Who knows...

In fact we began with the Trophimov's point of view, that the colour of a mythical notion is not defined by the figurative

semantisation of this figurative object. The case of mandragora can be successfully placed in this context. Seen from Trophimov's point of view we find a Balkan colour language in customs, charms and folk poems, expressed in one and the same colour message in three folk genres: Bulgarian marriage, "Mioritza" and the Cult of Mandragora. And this is a convincing point of view.

BURIAL CUSTOMS

THE BURIAL AS INITIATION

The clothes for the burial of a deceased person are influenced by the essence of the death passage. Just as initiation practices are rites of passage, death too, is an initiation into a new condition — that of entering once again into the pre-birth state. It is there, in that perfect world, that the souls are collected, and getting back to it is not easy, therefore both the body and the soul of the deceased need support. Passage from human form to pure soul is like undergoing initiation to a higher level.

As in initiation ceremonies, where the subject dresses festively, so should the burial clothes of the deceased have a festive character. The authors studied are unanimous on this point. E. Goodenough informs us that the practice for dressing the deceased for burial was thus:

Another process of Egyptian worship in Rome likewise puts the priests in white garments. We know that the changing of robes had long been a highly important matter in Egyptian religion. Even in the age-old Pyramid texts we read "O, N., take thy garment of light, take thy veil upon thee, clothe thyself with the eye of Horus [...] that it may gain thy respect among the gods. [...] This is a sound garment which Horus has made for his father, Osiris."

In the much later Book of the Dead the garment is said directly to have saving power: "Destroy ye [all] the evil which belongeth unto Amen-hetep by means of this garment of purity. Hold [ye] him guiltless, then, for ever and ever, and destroy ye [all] the evil which belongeth unto him." This "garment of purity" would seem to come to the corpse especially at burial. In the mysteries of Isis in Roman times, Apuleius tells us, the young men in the

processions wore robes that were "snowy and festal," probably the Greek himation. The initiates in general wore linen garments, candore puro luminosi "pure shining white." It is the shining, light effect that was the real meaning of the garments. Lucius himself got a "crude linen robe" to enter the mysteries, but emerged with twelve stoles and in a religious dress. The dress consisted of a fine linen garb covered with embroidered flowers, and a chlamys that hung down his back embroidered with beasts, dragons, and griffins. So clothed, crowned with a royal crown, and carrying a torch, he has adorned "like the sun". This made him initiated only into the religion of Isis: he had still to go on into Osiris himself. The text does not say that he got the linen robe as culmination of the second initiation, but this is implied in that the priest of Osiris who visited him to encourage his coming into the higher state was thus attired. [Goodenough, 1964, 143—144]

Much information is gained from the comparative study made by H. Vakarelski. There we learn that "the festive clothing of the deceased is wide-spread not only in Bulgaria. The Serbs and the Croats prepare new shirts for burial before the death. [...] Except for Serbs Croats and Lujitians, wedding attire is put away and kept, to be used again in death, in Poland, Estonia and France." [Vakarelski, 1990, p. 63] Vakarelski also states that, "the essence of compound symbols and practices support the deceased, and by that, the same symbols are used for hiding the mourners from death." [Vakarelski, 1990, p. 157]

For Muslims and Christians in Albania from the last century onward, the situation has been the same as it was in ancient Egypt: "The corpse, [...] Christian or Muslim, [...] is dressed in its best clothes." [Garnett, 1891, p. 253]

The following information, given for Greece and Romania, indicates that the clothes of both the corpse and the mourners are of a festive nature.

COLOUR OF THE MOURNERS' CLOTHES

As we saw from Vakarelski, the colour of the clothes supports the deceased on the one hand and at the same time, hides the mourners from death on the other. The supporting role played by the mourners is similar to that of the priest in ancient Egyptian rites of worship, where "the white garments are used to gain the respect of the gods." The term "role" here corresponds to what L. Danforth has said: "The relationship between the three *dramatis personae* (the corpse, the soul and the mourners) who move on their journey through these rites, are also considered." [Danforth, 1982, p. 33] Stated in this way, the question becomes much clearer: What should the colour of the mourners' clothes be, to command respect among the gods?

The situation today throughout the Balkans, shows overwhelming preference for black as the colour of mourning. [Vakarelski, 1990, p. 156; Gurnizov, 1986, p. 19; Gentchev, 1993, 220—223; Durham, 1979, 218—220; Garnett, 1891, vol. II, p. 265; Karadgich, 1969, p. 99] Material from the last century shows that, among the Slavs, the mourning state was very often, and even mainly, signalled by the white colour. "Wearing the clothes turned inside out, together with a white kerchief are typical of the Rodopa, Trakia and other districts. [...] In Poland, the women do not wash or comb themselves and the maidens do not wear kerchiefs and leave their hair unplaited. In some districts, white can sometimes be seen as the mourning colour.

White is much more widely represented among the Lujitians. [...] According to D. Zelenin, all the Eastern Slavs wear to express mourning." [Vakarelski, 1990, 153—154]

Vakarelski has drawn upon an extensive bibliography to present his data.

The practice of turning the clothes inside out is a very old one, having been used in ancient Greece. Among the southern Slavs, it has completely replaced the use of colour as an expression of mourning. Very often, the customs are a mixture, such as in ancient Greece, where, as noted above, it was used, together with the **white mourning colour**.

Vakarelski shows that turning the clothes inside out is part of the practice of scratching the face with the fingernails and cutting of the hair [Vakarelski, 1990, 153–154]. These practices are rooted in ancient sources: M. Alexiou gives us this description from ancient Greece: “[...] She is shown with hair loose or newly-shorn, with one or both shoulders bared.” [Alexiou, 1974, p. 8] M. Durham has witnessed the following: “The younger daughter, a very beautiful woman, had ripped her face from forehead to chin with her nails; teeming with blood and sodden with tears, she was an appalling sight.” [Durham, 1979, p. 219]

We have had the good fortune to be able to compare the lamentation ritual in semiotic opposition to the marriage customs. During the mourning rites, the mourner torments his/her body with destructive actions, but there is very strong evidence that lament among the Slavs was not marked by any special colour. It is found in the description of the ritual Ukrainian lament during the marriage ceremony: “[...] the mother of the bride, dressed in a fur coat turned inside-out [...] comes out to meet the groom [...]” [Volkov, 1891, p. 199]

We can suppose from the above, that this lamentation ritual, used as part of the marriage ceremony, represents the roots of the mourning custom.

This ancient form of lamentation among the Slavs stems from the primitive way in which clothes and textiles were produced. V. Sedov tells us that from the sixth to the ninth centuries, there is no solid data as to the colours used. What is certain is that the principal materials were linen, cotton and hemp. It is obvious that their colour was white or bright, making the natural colour of these materials not especially festive, but rather something in everyday use. Thus, the way to express mourning was in the use of the absence of colour. In more ancient times, the situation in Greece was quite different. The colour context of the white (bright) or black (dark) clothes was different: “From the numerous references scattered up and down through extant literature, it appears that the favourite colours were purple, red and yellow. Pollux gives us a list of the colours most commonly used. It includes green (βατραχίς) and grey (κίλλον, ὀνάγρινον), in addition to the others above-mentioned, but strangely enough, no mention is made of blue. The word κυάνεος, “dark blue”, is seldom, if ever, applied to garments, yet it is scarcely likely that the colour was unknown to the Greeks.” [Abrachams, 1964, 100–101] As far as colour, is concerned

saffron seems to have been a favourite with women, together with red. Men wore white, as is especially mentioned by Theophrastes. These white garments were frequently cleaned by a fuller, their spotlessness being a test of good breeding. Workmen and field labourers wore grey or brown." [Evans, 1964, p. 61] If we add the data quoted in the chapter dealing with the bridal veil, where we saw that red-yellow was the colour of the veil covering the body and head, then the colour context of the ancient Greek dress becomes quite clear. There, the use of white (light) colour must be very significant. But as shall be seen, the mourners' clothes can also be dark (black). The data on this issue is thus:

Literary sources suggest that the colour of the was much more important than the form; it certainly was much more often mentioned as marking an occasion of dignity or of sanctity. Yet, although the colour is usually called leukos and translated "white", I am not at all sure that that translation is always right. To be sure, the word is used of snow, but it also describes the colour of grey dust; it means white hair but also silver hair; it is used as "white" gold, or gold mixed with silver, which was probably pale yellow. It also means bright or shining, and so can be used of the sun, light, aether, the shining surface of glassy water, and even a "clear" voice and a happy day. The opposite is melas, black or dark or dull. When a garment is called leukos, accordingly, we know that it was of a light, bright colour, but not at all that it was what we would now call white. The sacred "white line" garments, for example, were probably a light yellow. Mayer thinks the light colour (which he discusses always as white) actually had its primary value in its being apotropaic, but this his evidence by no means supports. A piece of leukos cloth was said by Plato to be a most suitable votive gift to the gods, where the "light" cloth is definitely contrasted with a dyed cloth and would seem to mean a cloth of the natural colour of the wool or linen. The shroud of the chief man of Plato's ideal state must also be "light", presumably in the same sense as in the other passage. The proximity of the statements suggests that the colour symbolism was much the same in both cases, and that the "lightness" expressed

divine character, a character into which the deceased leader of the community presumably had come.

This conclusion is much strengthened by a passage in Plutarch, in which I keep the "white" of Rose's translation:

Q. Why do the women, when in mourning, wear white dresses and white kerchiefs?

A. (a) Do they, as the Magi are said to do, take sides against Death and darkness by this action, and assimilate themselves to light and brightness? (b) Or do they consider that as the body of the dead is dressed in white, so the relatives should be? They adorn the body in this manner because they cannot do so to the soul, which they desire to dismiss bright and clean, as one that has now come victorious from a great and complex struggle. (c) Or is frugal simplicity most becoming on such occasions, while dyed garments are some of them expensive, some, mere vanities? For we may say of black, just as truly as of purple, "These be cheating garments and cheating colours." Naturally black (wool) is really dyed, not by art but by nature, being mixed with a preponderance of dusty matter. Only natural white therefore is pure and unmixed, neither stained nor imitable by dyes; it is therefore peculiarly fitting to the dead at burial. For a dead man is become simple, unmixed, pure, in short freed from the ingrained dye of the body. In Argos, Socrates records, they wore white garments, washed in water, when in mourning.

The undyed sheep's wool would certainly not be white in our sense, but by its lightness it represented life as against the darkness of death; the lightness of a soul that had finished the agon of this life, about which we have had such frequent occasions to speak; the purity of one free from contamination with the body — that is — moral purity as it was considered in all Platonic tradition. The newly clothed priests and those who worshipped at the shrine of Asclepius at Pergamum, those who worshipped at Priene and Andania, all wore "white" garments, as did mourners in the procession of Aratus and mourners of the third century before Christ at Gambreion and of Iulis in Keos of the fifth century.

The reader should not misunderstand what I have said about the meaning of leukos: the Egyptian portraits so commonly show really white dress that apparently the Egyptians wanted a costume as near as possible to what we would call white. The Pompeian paintings give the same impression. But any light colour would do for contrast with dark clothing. We have seen that the white of Lucius' costume of initiation was candore puro luminosi, which seemed to make of his dress an adaptation of the "robe of light" of earlier Egypt". [Goodenough, 1964, 165—167]

Goodenough has based his research on a great number of sources too numerous to be quoted again here. Those interested can find the literature in Vol. IX of his capital work. The same can be said of the previous long quote from the same author, describing the colour of Egyptian clothing.

As became clear from the Plutarch quote, many questions were left open regarding the significance of the colours, and they remain so today. It is also clear that Plutarch was not privy to any secret religious knowledge, and one could, perhaps, suppose that this secret, mystic-religious knowledge has its origins very far back, even before Plutarch's time.

There is much additional data to confirm what was found in that quote: "From the third century B. C., there is a law from Gambreion, in Asia Minor, which [...] specifies that the dress worn by women at funerals should be dark, not the usual white, and that it should not be torn." [Alexiou, 1974, 16—17] It seems that J. Ferguson used the same material as M. Alexiou, because he states: "Third-century legislation from Gambreion in Asia Minor laid down the proper wear for mourners — white or dark for men, dark for women, and forbade the rending of clothes (LSAM No. 16)." [Ferguson, 1989, p. 128]

Dark (black) was in common use for mourners, but not the usual and obviously more ancient white (light), as can be seen from the following information: "Polux tells us that for mourning, the Greeks wore φαῖδὸν καὶ μέλαν ἀλλήλοις ἔγγυς, grey and black, very like each other. From this, we learn that φαῖδός was a very dark colour, probably grey or dun." [Abrachams, 1964, p. 101]

S. Treggiari firmly nails down the information that black was the colour used by Roman mourners: "The basic pattern of a decent

ceremony was that friends and relatives, wearing black, followed the bier to the place of cremation or burial.” [Treggiari, 1991, p. 489]

In 19th-century Greece, dominance of the black colour is complete. “Mourning worn by Greeks of both sexes is of a most austere character. Ornaments are rigidly set aside and all articles of dress are of the plainest black materials, cotton or woollen, and made in the most simple fashion possible. In some districts, the Greeks, on the death of a near relative, send all their wardrobes, not excepting under-linen and pocket handkerchiefs, to the dyers, the result, as may be supposed, being funereal in the extreme. Women too, frequently cut off their hair at the death of their husbands and buried it with them; men, on the other hand, allowed their beards to grow as a sign of sorrow.” [Garnett, 1891, vol. II, p. 99] L. Danforth, observing rural Greece in the present century, mentioned: “For the next five years, Irini wore black. She never had a chance to put on the red shoes she had bought a week before Eleni’s death.” [Danforth, 1982, p. 14]

This quote reminds us of one feature of the festive character of the mourner’s clothes. It is not an entirely merry festivity, but marks the mourner’s role as support for the deceased, while at the same time, hiding from death. Therefore, the trend, first seen in ancient Greece, of replacing the white (light) shining colour by black (dark), is an obvious sign that concern for the safety of the mourner’s body and the security of his/her soul have now come to be regarded as something very important. The fact that Irini, in mourning, did not wear the red shoes, which, as we showed, were a sign of marriage, or other nuptial holiday, is one more piece of evidence in that direction.

At the same time, an ancient practice retained in Christian frameworks, concerns the head of the mourner, just as it was in ancient Greece and Rome: “Formal mourning involved [...] abstention from religious and social festivities, and wearing of dark clothes. Men might grow their beards and women their hair.” [Treggiari, 1991, p. 493] (and women cut their hair).

Moving out of the main stream, where lamentation is conveyed either in black or in white, we find other material which always seems to prove that when we have a sign (language) system, there are always exceptions of the rule — for instance, “the Athenian *lecythi*, of which some fine specimens can be seen in the British Museum (3rd Vase Room, case F 41 and 42). The colours of the garments are very well

preserved and can be easily made out. From them, it is clear that very brilliant colours were often worn by the relations of a deceased person at times when we should expect to find black or neutral tints. In fact, I believe that on the whole series of these white *lecythi*, of which some thousands exist in the museums of Europe, only a very few of the figures of mourners appear dressed in black." [Evans, 1964, p. 62]

It is possible to comment here without undue fear of being mistaken, that very often, in those ancient times, it was more the desire of the mourner to demonstrate his wealth in preparation for that last voyage, than to express his feelings of lament for the present deceased. This explains the ban by law quoted here limiting lavish and clothes at the funeral ceremony, as well as defining the colour of the clothes. We should also add J. Ferguson's comment on the law from the third century B. C., where he says "dark, not the usual white." He may be right, but the law-maker should also have borne in mind the "brilliant colours" so often demonstrated at funerals.

For Turkish Muslims, the situation was different than for those in 19th-century Albania, where we already quoted Garnett's note that the colour of mourning for both Moslems and Christians was black. The Turkish tradition remained to wear green: "Everyone ran to be properly dressed to accompany the corpse. The married women covered themselves in green." [Davis, 1986, p. 272] We should add here that perhaps the exact colour was blue-green, which is a constant feature of the doors and windows, which are always painted thus. It is believed that this colour prevents The Evil One from seeing what goes on behind any opening painted in this way. The protective function is again obvious. At the same time, Davis has also clearly used the phrase "properly dressed to accompany the corpse."

The so-called green is the colour (together with white) in which a corpse is clothed in the Jordan River Valley. The newly-risen Middle-eastern extremist groups, the *Hammās* and the *Hizb'Ulla* use red, yellow and orange to express lament. These colours obviously correspond with their extremist and "kamikaze" activities and philosophy based on their understanding of what they read in the Koran. However, they do not use the ancient "green" colour, which hides the mourners from The Evil, yet at the same time allows them to "accompany the corpse."

Our review here of the existing data shows that the usual choice of colour for a mourner's clothes was neutral — either black or white. This is in accordance with the widespread understanding that a colour has the power to protect the mourner from Death and at the same time, allows him to express his support of the deceased. The same religious and philosophical point and a belief in the possibility that there is meaning in colour, brings the Moslems to the use of green (green-blue) for lamentation. Lament can also be expressed by turning inside-out of the clothes, as was done in the Slavic tribes. We make this comment because the everyday colours of their clothes were white (light) or dark (black), depending on the natural colours of the materials used, since they had no knowledge of dyeing technology.

One example, from Albania, illustrates a combining of the way of expressing lament: "The chief mourners cut their hair short, turn their coats inside-out so that the fur lining is seen, and lay aside all their ornaments. The nieces of the deceased allow their hair to hang loose for some months, or cut off a lock and wear on their heads a black kerchief. [...] The grief of the women finds expression in giving to their dwelling the most dismal and funereal appearance, by painting black either the whole of the outside of the house, or the shutters only." [Garnett, 1891, vol. II, p. 265]

The Romanian example presents a picture of the most common way of showing lament: "All dress in black — the colour of death — or in other sombre colours. Moreover, female relatives leave their hair unbraided; men remain unshaven, and men and boys go bareheaded. It is said that leaving the hair unbraided, unshaven or uncovered helps to eliminate obstacles in the path of the deceased. Simultaneously, living kin, because they are closely related to the deceased, are temporally marked as out of culture, in a more natural body state. In this way, members of the community know that there is a death in a family. It is to be remembered that status changes are physically marked also during weddings. The braiding of the bride's hair is a symbol of her status as a married woman. The inversion of the braiding symbolism in these rites of passage is noteworthy: "Braiding the hair creates relations; unbraiding it aids in their severance." [Kligman, 1988, 171—172]

The author is here stressing the significance of colour, in that it conveys information, and in addition, indicates the mourning status to the rest of society.

The choice, by the recently-formed, militant, terror-oriented Muslim groups (*Hammas, Hizb'Ulla*), of warm colours (red, yellow, orange) as a manifestation of mourning, is also a manifestation of their philosophy. The fact that a militant society, such as that of Sparta, chose to bury its dead in a military cloak also informs us that the legendary Spartan lawgiver, Lykourgos, allowed "the dead to be buried in a single scarlet robe [...]" [Alexiou, 1974, p. 17] That is to say, that use by the extremist, warlike groups or societies, of the red colour for burial or mourning clothes, symbolises their rejection of a more regular society and its regular philosophy and perception of the language of colours. This phenomenon was found in extremist, militant groups or societies, which deflect the common language of colour.

THE CLOTHES OF THE DECEASED

It was the task of the mourners to support the deceased while hiding themselves from death. The deceased was accepted as a traveller, traversing the distance between the human, fleshly dimension and the spiritual, ethereal dimensions of the soul. It is obvious that the body remains behind and that the soul makes that long, arduous journey. Therefore, the corpse was to be dressed in its best clothes. The soul, at the end of its journey, reaches either paradise or Hades — but at all events, a world devoid of human bodies. This belief is so widespread that we have no need to present quotes as proof of our contentions. It should, however, be noted that, in Albania, whose population is believed to be the most ancient in the Balkan region, this same belief is the accepted one: “The Albanian belief in a soul journey may be [...]” [Durham, 1979, p. 226]

Therefore, in Albania, “the body is usually dressed in the best clothes.” [Durham, 1879, p. 227] The same situation exists all over the Balkans, according to the well-argued bibliographical review by H. Vakarelski. [1990, p. 63] Many other authors claim the same for Serbia — S. Miloslavlevich, R. French, O. Lodge, L. Garnett in her extensive, two-volume research work, *The Women of Turkey and Their Folklore*, and G. Kligman in her book on Romania. [Bosich, 1992, 137–156; Miloslavlevich, 1913, 133–185; Hutchinson, 1897, 193–195; Durham, 1979, p. 206; Vakarelski, 1990; Gurnizov, 1986; Filipović, 1958, 156–157; Denton, 1868; Lodge, 1941; Filipović, 1954, 359–374; Kemp, 1935; Troyanovich, 1905, 169–198; Georgevich, 1917, 36–51.]

We began this study comparing the deceased to a person being initiated into the mysteries of the rites of passage. The initiated one (the deceased) was to be dressed in appropriate festive (“his best”) clothing. We offer further a detailed analysis of the mysteries of the rites of passage.

In ancient Greece, “the usual, but by no means only, colour of the shroud was white. The law of Ioulis on Keos, dated in the second half of the fifth century B. C., stipulated ‘white *hymatia*’ (cloaks), and Artemidoros refers to the custom of carrying out the dead in white garments. The funeral ordinance of the *Labyad phratry*, on the other hand, dated ca. 400 B. C., decreed that the *chlaine* or mantle (i. e. *epiblema*) should be *phaotos*, a colour somewhere between white and black. Judging from representations on *Attic lekythoi*, it is likely that in Athens, a greater degree of variety was permitted than in some parts of Greece.” [Garland, 1985, p. 24]

According to the information presented by J. Ferguson, the body was “dressed in white, sometimes in wedding clothes (Peek 1238, 3).” [Ferguson, 1989, p. 127]

Lefkowitz and Mauren claim that “the dead shall be buried as follows: in three or fewer white cloths — i. e. a spread, a shroud and a coverlet — the three, not over a hundred drachmas.” [Lefkowitz, Mauren, 1982, p. 35]

Alexiou tells us about a Byzantine funeral in the middle ages: “The body was then dressed in a white winding sheet (σάβανον), corresponding to the Homeric φᾶρος, and in unworn clothes, sometimes rich gold and purple, sometimes in full wedding attire.” [Alexiou, 1974, p. 27]

In 19th century Greece, “a clean mattress and bed-linen are spread on a long table and the dead person, dressed in his holiday garments, is laid out on it...” [Garnett, 1891, vol. II, p. 90]

Here is another picture from rural Greece, this time in the twentieth century: “After death, the body is washed and then dressed in new clothes, which many elderly villagers have ready in anticipation of their death. [...] The deceased is then covered up to the waist with a white shroud. [...] The female relatives of the deceased put on the black clothes and black kerchief of mourning, changing their own clothes as they changed the clothes of the deceased a short time earlier.” [Danforth, 1982, p. 99]

What is remarkable is the constancy of dressing the deceased in new unworn, festive wedding clothes, kept ready in anticipation of death.

As the data presented here shows, the element of the white colour has still remained constant for twenty-five centuries. Both in the

middle ages and still today, it is in the form of a shroud. The idea is clear — throughout all the centuries, the white colour gives us the image of something which can “gain the respect” of God, just as it did in ancient Egypt, when the prevailing religion was not monotheistic. In Greece, this is the normally accepted meaning of the white colour and its function in the initiation of the deceased’s soul into the world of soul-sources. The purpose of the new, or festive clothes is to present the deceased in the best light possible during the soul’s long, arduous passage, leaving the body and the world of flesh. This second image and the concept behind it can explain why, in some periods, dark colours were used and laws passed, enforcing the customs, of lament not allowing the funeral to become fashion show.

The fact that in the Spartan military culture, red clothing was preferred for burying the deceased, stirs the recollection that the modern, militant Islamic sects, such as *Hammas* and *Hizb’Ulla* who have also chosen this colour to display lament. It is obvious that death, in such warrior philosophies is given the connotation of awards and glory, while support from the mourners is interpreted as an exhortation: “Follow the example of this death! Avenge this death with the death of the enemy!”

We can claim that both lines of thought — the non-militant image of the power and the role of the white colour, and the role of the red colour in warrior groups, are universal. The old Jewish image of the white colour in the initiation passage again gives the same picture in another culture: “A pious Jew will be clothed in that robe when he is buried ‘so that he may appear white before God’ ” [Goodenough, 1964, p. 173]

In this connection, the white colour of the mourner’s clothes — the so-called “white mourning” seems to have been replaced quite successfully by the black, because the light (white) had failed to hide the mourners from the powers of death. There is one more suggestion to be made on this particular item: The human culture has collectively built up an image whereby the white colour makes it possible for someone to be represented “before God”, but the funeral rite is not the proper moment for the mourners to do this. They are sending the deceased to do this for them.

The description of rural customs in Greece quoted above, holds good for all other Christian citizens of the Balkans. In Serbia, “In the

grave, he is covered with a shroud". [Karadgich, 1969, p. 97] In Bulgaria, there is a local variation, with the shroud being decorated: "They cover him with a shroud; in the middle of the shroud is knitted or sewn a cross of cloth, tortile by untied red, blue and green threads, and in the middle of the cross is sewn a tassel made of threads of the same colour." [Gurnizov, 1986, p. 18] The cross and the red-blue-green tassel obviously manifest the Christian belief that Christ himself is giving succour and life in that world after the death which has taken place in this world.

Unfortunately, we are lacking in data on Turkish-Moslem burial tradition, and will therefore use the information given us by H. Granquist, regarding the burial clothes for Moslems living in the River Jordan Valley:

Everyone who died should be given a shroud. [...] To give someone dying in poverty his death clothes is considered a good deed for which a reward – ajer, a reward from Heaven – may be expected.

People may even prepare grave clothes for themselves while still living. [...]

Men's Grave Clothes

Long white garment or shirt, thob abyad, also called the robe of justice or right (eousness), thob il-haqq.

Green garment, shirt or kaftan, thob akhdar or, saye khadra, similar in shape, to cover the white one.

Girdle, zunnar.

White cap, taqiye beda.

Thin white muslin cloth, shash abyad, folded like a turban around the cap.

Apron or loin cloth, wazret il-ghusl, placed beneath the body before washing, after which it is removed.

Trousers, il-bas. There are contradictory statements in this respect: used, not used.

Winding-sheet, white, called il-darj or kafan.

From this a strip of about two inches wide is ripped along the top, for a head band, and along the end, for a foot band. A third strip is ripped lengthwise to the middle. This strip has a special name. It is called the girdle of death, ihzam il-'aya or shdad il-

'aya or the girdle of dust, *ihzam il-ghabba*. In the grave, the top strip is untied, but not those tied round waist and feet.

As no coffins are used, the winding sheet replaces a coffin. The word *kafan* is used for the winding sheet but also for the complete set of grave clothes.

Women's Grave Clothes

A white and green shirt or garment, *thob il-haqq* and *thob akhdar*, or *saye khadra*.

Girdle, *zunnar*

Piece of green material lined with white used as a hood, *wuqa*. All women, unmarried and married, wear such a hood in the future life. Coins, cheap ones, are attached to the hood over the forehead and the nose. Thus among those of the Qais party but not among those of the Yemen party.

Green veil, called *burqu'*, for all females, like the one used by Egyptian women. The veil is attached to the hood so as to cover the face of the deceased woman. Openings are made for the eyes. A peasant woman does not wear a veil, except as a bride and in the grave.

Head kerchief, of thin material, called the kerchief of truth, of justice, or of right (eousness), *khirqat il-haqq*; or the kerchief of dust, *khirqat il-turabi*.

Aprons or loin cloths, white. Two are required. One, *wazret il-ghusl*, to be removed after the washing process, and one belonging to the grave clothes. The latter is called the apron of justice or right (eousness), *wazret il-haqq*.

Trousers of white material called trousers of eternity, *sirwal il-akhre*, or trousers of dust, *sirwal il-turabi*. [...]

Winding sheet, *darj* or *kafan*, the same for men. [...]

The grave clothes are green and white.

Green is the Muslim colour, the colour of life, in this connection the colour of death. Green is also the colour of innocence. When ALYA used the expression 'my father's house is green', she meant to say that the honour of the family was blameless.

As mentioned above, white grave clothes are called garments of righteousness (li. truth or justice), of eternity or after-life, of the end and of dust.

The grave clothes must be made of new material.” [Granquist, 1965, 58—63]

This information should be treated with great respect, because the facts given are original and because we are treated to an insight of how colours are used in Islam, where “the colour of the garment was much more important than the form.” [Goodenough, 1964, p. 165] White is the colour of righteousness; green is the “colour of life, in this connection, the colour of death.” We must add that green, in the Islamic understanding, means everything: “Green is hope, fertility and eternity with its two inherent dimensions of past (blue) and future (yellow), and its opposite, the present, seen as red. [...] Green is seen in Islam as the superior of the four colours, because it embodies all the others.” [Ardelan, 1973, p. 51] We have seen that the colour of mourning in Turkey was also Green. As quoted above, their conception of that colour is the reason for such widespread use of it among them. It is the same reason that makes this colour the instrument for preserving humans from the eye of The Evil One. The all-embracing meaning of the green colour in Islam makes it also the colour of the burial clothing, where the goal is to protect the deceased in their arduous, testing encounters on the road to God. In ancient Egypt, the goal of the white colour was to represent the deceased as “righteous”, bringing them close enough to be able to “gain respect” before God. The same significance was placed upon the white shroud in Christian funerals in the Balkans, and, as was seen, in pagan Greece as well.

If one adds the age-old universal tradition that the clothes should be new or festive, the picture becomes complete. The practice of dressing the dead is universal, and the colours of the clothes play an important role, according to their significance in a given religious culture. What is so striking is the complete universality, aside from any differences of the religions, of the significance of the white colour when it pertains to the clothing for the deceased. In this aspect, however, there is one very interesting exception, and that is when the deceased is not married. In this case, we have another universal

phenomenon — the burial clothes are the dead person's wedding costume: "Thus, the deceased, who is about to be married in death, is dressed in wedding attire; brides — living or dead — wear white. The bridesmaid is also dressed appropriately for her role. The other participants who "celebrate" this wedding, however, are mourners; accordingly they are dressed in black funeral clothes. Although the flag bearer carries a flag, the symbol of the wedding, it is made of the black scarves of married women, the symbols of death, instead of the brightly-coloured scarves of the unmarried girls." [Kligman, 1988, 220—221] This foregoing description of a twentieth-century Romanian burial indicates white as the clothes of the bride. In examples presented by G. Mihailova, of a traditional Bulgarian burial, the bride is in her folk costume. Small differences indicate death — "The red thread is missing on the bouquet as well, because it is not tied down on the body of the deceased." [Mihailova, 1981, p. 67]

The existence of the same black wedding flag in the Bulgarian funeral of an unmarried person was mentioned in the chapter on the so-called wedding flag. The missing "brightly coloured scarves of unmarried girls" is the same in both traditions. The missing red thread from such an important symbol as the Bulgarian bridal bouquet also serves to indicate, in a symbolic way, the absence of a marriage in life, but yet signifies marriage in death.

The black colour of the wedding flag and the missing red threads on the bouquets in Bulgaria and Romania all remind us of the role of the colour context in funerals. The clothes of the deceased and the mourners are the two main themes in a symphony of colours, but the red thread and the black on a marriage symbol also has independent significance. Colour can transmit many different messages: In ancient Greece, "customs observed in Athens while the corpse still lay in the house during *prothesis* included placing a bowl of water (*ardanion*) brought from outside the house so that the visitors could purify themselves upon entering and leaving; hanging a cypress branch, or alternatively a lock of hair, on the door (possibly merely to serve as a warning that a corpse lay within); placing *lekythoi* around the bed of the deceased (perhaps intended as purification of both living and dead alike)" [Garland, 1985, p. 45]. "Eggs were at all times placed in graves; the survival of the modern Easter egg may serve to remind us of the egg as a symbol of life beyond death. Personal possessions are buried

with their owners, especially toys with children. Mirrors and strigils are found. Curiously, nor very much jewellery has appeared, though there is some clay imitation jewellery. Pottery is frequent and graves of the classical period have as their most characteristic offering, the white ground oil flasks, known generically as *lekythoi*. They are covered with a white slip, and show allegorical scenes, often representing the power of Death [...] These were obviously made [...] to contain the oil which the deceased would need for light, food and cleanliness in the afterlife" [Ferguson, 1989, p. 127]. The examples are numerous and can be quoted endlessly, but one more example, this time from nineteenth-century Greece, will suffice: "[...] fresh flowers and green branches and three large wax tapers, arranged at the foot, are kept burning the night through" [Garnett, 1890, vol. I, p. 91].

Most noteworthy here, is the presence of a number of other semiotic items such as the egg, the pottery and the warning cypress branch. From these latter examples, it is clear that the message transmitted by the colour of the clothes is a combination of both the colour and the main, semiotically-significant context. Examples have been given above, of some of the phenomena of the main context. In addition, there are many local practices which include colour symbolism. In an interesting example from the Rodopa mountain district in Bulgaria, Vakarelski tells us that the relatives of the deceased put a red thread, as long as the combined height of all the members of the family, into the coffin. With the help of that symbol, the deceased will not walk alone and lonely onto the other world. [Vakarelski, 1990, p. 121]

We can divide this compound symbol into three elements. The length of the thread equal to the height of the living relatives is an icon, a sign of the flesh of the living. The red is an obvious symbol of life of this world. The third part of the compound is the thread itself as an icon of the connection between two places or two subjects/objects. This use of red as a symbol of human life leads to the subconscious memory of the Balkan population for the symbolism of red as a life symbol at the times of the Paleolithic and Neolithic civilisations, as M. Gimbutas [Gimbutas, 1989] commented. In Gimbutas' dictionary [1989, p. 324] of symbols at the end red is given the meaning of 'symbol of life'. There is no doubt that the red in the **Rodopa** example is connected with much later images, for example,

the old Greek image of the colour of blood as a symbol of life, as projected in burial sacrifices of in the planting of a red flower on a grave — understood as a symbolic way of getting the dead back to the world of light and life. [Garland, 1989, p. 36]

We can conclude that, according to religious mystic knowledge, the strict adherence to colour codes in dressing the deceased for burial, expresses the imagery and intentions of the people preparing the body for burial. Colour is of great importance, since it is perceived as a helpful element, supporting the dead on the road to the world of souls; it also represents the deceased before the face of God (gods) as a righteous person, or attempts to “gain the respect” before God (gods). The colour can be white and/or green and the clothes should be festive or new.

The policy dictating the dress of mourners includes the notion that they should support the deceased and hide from the power of Death. The colour for this purpose, going back to ancient times, was white. Black has now substituted for the white in that function.

There are some very interesting exceptions, such as the non-colour marking the mourner (turning the clothes inside out) and red as the colour, both for mourning and for the dead person’s clothes. We have seen here, that red is used in this way by militant tribes or groups, where war is perceived to have an especially high social value and even be a goal in itself.

We now have a basis for drawing some important conclusions. We have found that there are a number colour languages. We have also found at least one fact, one proof, that a universal language indicates white as the colour of the clothes. The language developed over the years and the mourning dress changed from white to black. The use of red for dressing the corpse or for the mourners’ clothes means the use of a different colour language. The language of secret knowledge in religion differs from the spontaneous use of colour in society and social relations.

We also indicated the importance of the fact that the colour of the clothes of the deceased and of the mourners functions in a colour context and plays a major role in the semiotic context of the funeral custom.

CONCLUSION

COMPARISON BETWEEN MARRIAGE AND BURIAL

The comparison between marriage and burial can be done from different points of view, strategy of the order of the practices and colours. G. Kligman has expressed the main characteristics of that relationship: "The relationship between marriage and death thus is paradoxical, characterised by opposition and identity, difference and likeness [...]" [Kligman, 1988, p. 219]

The death ritual is organised to represent initiation of the soul of the dead to the ideal world of souls. This understanding results in colour use. In ancient times — in Greece, Egypt and in the Jewish custom the white was the colour of the clothes of the corpse. This colour was used to help the soul to pass the way from life to death with the belief that this colour expressed the feature "purity" of the soul. In such a sense it helped to propitiate God (the Gods).

Nevertheless in ancient Greece white was substituted by black. Black was the colour of the clothes of the corpse in ancient Greece. In 19th century all over the Balkans the most important feature of the clothes of the dead was not a colour but the requirement that they were new. It is paradox that in pagan, ancient Greece, the image for death as a road was based of that practice. What is important here from the colour point is the colour of the clothes of the mourners. In ancient Greece, Egypt, and Jewish culture, whiteness, brightness of such clothes was the strategy. The meaning is the same as at the clothes of the dead. In ancient Greece they began to substitute white with black, dark clothes. All over the Balkans in 19th century the clothes of the mourners were black. This colour was used and is still used as a colour concealing the body from the mourners from the

strength of death, and on the other hand expressing the solidarity of the family members with the entering the soul of the dead into the world of the souls, which is not righteous, while it is dark. In the Introduction we gave an interesting example from a region of Bulgaria where the support of the entire family was expressed by putting red threads in the coffin — the number of threads matched the number of the members of a family, the length — the height of the members of the living family.

This example shows the strategy of the custom and of the use of the colours.

The only one use of the black during marriage is a case of death of unmarried youth. We showed the universality of that use in the chapter for the so called wedding flag. The substitution of the red or all other colours on the wedding flag during that ceremony by the black is a marker for death.

In the 19th century red was the colour for the bridal veil, bridal shoes, and many other parts of the clothes of the bride. The red is used with meaning of preserving the body of the bride from evil. We can connect the protective power of red in that custom with the secret knowledge understanding. We can even observe this in the ancient Jewish “divine” colour language, demonstrated by G. Sholem. [Sholem, 1979, p. 108]

The red during the marriage is a universal phenomena — it is used for the colour of the veil in ancient Greece and Rome, by the Muslims and Christians in 19th century. The same colour was also used as a symbol of the fertility of the woman and the earth, a symbol of the lower features of the feminine nature. R. Ivanova [Ivanova, 1992] showed that in the practice of so called wedding flag red can change the popular meaning of symbol of the lower features of the woman, and express motherhood and life standing for the strength of women and earth.

The red colour, according the philosophy of the military societies, is used in burials only in social groups as those in ancient Greece as well as in contemporary Islamic groups as “Hammas”. The burial use of red represents their understanding of death as a motive for bloody vendetta for that death. It also includes the venerable status of the soul of the dead.

These examples show the “paradoxical [...] opposition and identity” in the “relationship between the marriage and the death”.

When we compare death with marriage we can find actions with semiotic and pragmatics of the magic meanings. During the marriage different red objects are attached to the body of the bride. Here we observe the formation of red preserving strata. At a funeral what we find is the destruction of protective strata as a whole, including red strata. This destruction is achieved through various acts: the ritual shaving of the groom. The groom has ritual shaving — men mourners do not shave. The groom goes through a ritual cutting of his hair at the barber; men mourners do not cut their hair. The ritual washing of the bride and the groom is replaced by non-washing by the mourners. We can conclude that all magic slides which were placed on the bodies of the new-married are like to be destroyed among the mourners during the funeral rite. The head has a special place in that ritual opposition; shaving — not shaving; washing — not washing; combing the hair of the bride — cutting of hair of the women-mourners.

We can conclude that during the marriage a structure of preserving clothes, colours and acts is formed. The ritual of the funeral contains acts which symbolically destroy that structure. From the point of colour mystical religious secret knowledge has the same strategy — protection of the bride and bridegroom or the deceased and mourner from evil powers and the power of death. This protection in both Customs is achieved through different colours. Throughout a wedding red has a protective function; at a funeral black is the protective colour for mourners. In ancient Greek and Jewish tradition as well as in Egypt white was used to gain respect before God. White colour made the deceased righteous, bringing them close enough to be able to “gain respect” before God. In the 19th century what prevails is the ancient Greek idea of death as a long road. Hence the clothes of the deceased must be new or/and festive. White appears in the colour of the Christian Shroud.

Nineteenth century red on the bride was replaced by the white in 20 century. However much a paradox the meaning of the bride’s white clothes is very similar to the white of the clothes of the deceased and mourners in ancient Greece, Egypt, as well as according to Jewish custom. It is a request to gain purity, it is a demonstration of purity presenting the body and soul before God at its best. In both cases it

guaranties a continuation of life — in its social forms and in its spirit, in the world of the soul. From that point of view the archetype understanding of the meanings of white are the same, however appearing at different times in burial and marriage customs. The different uses are a projection of a different philosophy of the respective customs. The strategy of the use of colours in both cases is identical and protection of the soul and body of people.

All these uses of colours and acts are as the matter of fact the pragmatics of the colour language, which is a part of the pragmatics of the customs. The pragmatics of the colours constitute the unity of the meanings of the colours and strategy and the order of a custom. The symbolic acts of shaving-non-shaving etc. also are part of the pragmatics of the custom where its philosophy and goals dictate acts and order.

We illustrate some of the different relations between the marriage and burial as opposition, identity, differences and likeness.

The complete rules of the pragmatics of the customs need special research including the whole context — colours, action, songs. Here we just open the door of an archetype, sometimes a universal world of the pragmatics of colours as language. The pragmatics sometimes also suppose independent and dependent uses of one colour according to the context and if we have in our mind the complete context, a independent meaning and use of a colour can be sufficiently dependent.

APPENDIX

The comparison of Ndembu-Bulgarian novels-Bulgarian customs-Bulgarian songs can be represented graphically as follows:

1. TOTAL UNIVERSAL MEANING OF THE COLOUR RED
Symbol of woman/femininity

+	+	+	+
Bulgarian customs	Bulgarian songs	Bulgarian contemporary literature	Ndembu rituals

2. UNIVERSAL MEANING OF THE COLOUR RED
Punishment and Attaining of Purity

-	+	+	+
Bulgarian customs	Bulgarian songs	Bulgarian contemporary literature	Ndembu rituals

3. PARTIAL UNIVERSAL MEANINGS
only in Contemporary Bulgarian Literature and Ndembu Rituals

- A. murder of human beings
- B. hunting
- C. death

UNIVERSAL FEATURE OF NDEMBU AND BULGARIAN
Colour Sign Systems – Oppositions of Meanings

+	+	+	+
Bulgarian customs	Bulgarian songs	Bulgarian contemporary literature	Ndembu rituals

MEANINGS OF RED COLOUR IN BULGARIAN FOLKLORE (CUSTOMS)

This is the place to outline briefly our knowledge of colours in Balkan folklore. Therefore we chose the use of red colour in different Bulgarian customs and in the context of historical and heroic Bulgarian folk-songs.

The data on Bulgarian customs are drawn on G. Mihailova [Mihailova, 1981, 52—84; Mikov, 1980, 350—449; Marinov, 1978, Vol. I, p. 484].

Bulgarian novels represent the contemporary possibilities of Bulgarian subconscious to reproduce a (primitive) colour sign system in the framework of modern literature. We chose that object as an example of a well organized system and not the chaos of nature.

A comparison of Bulgarian folklore — Bulgarian novels — Ndembu customs will show very interesting pictures from different periods and places, from all over the world and the use of colour language in different cultures.

CHRISTIAN PASHA

This custom consists of many practices. Very basic and common is the painting of eggs. Some are red and some are multicoloured, including colour patterns.

The first egg that a hen lays on Great Thursday (before Good Friday) must be painted red. This first red-coloured egg is kept in the home, placed at the base on an icon of Virgin Mary, the Mother of Christ. This egg serves as protection against summer storms and hail, thus preserving the grain for harvest.

This same egg may also be used in the building of a new house. In earlier Balkan times the shadow of a man/woman or even a live man/woman was buried under the foundation of a building or bridge. To bury the egg (instead of a man/woman) means to express reverence to a dead member of the family building the house.

The shells of the eaten red eggs are scattered in the yard of the house or stuck on the walls of the cowshed with the red part visible. This is done to protect the domestic animals and plants from snakes, fleas or illness. The red coloured shells can also be buried in the soil of the field to preserve the plants.

Red-coloured water left from painting the eggs is thrown into the river of the village. Here the purpose is to strengthen the preserving power of red with the help of water, which is an attribute of baptizing.

For Christian Pasha many special types of bread are made with eggs, both with white and red coloured eggs. The number of red eggs is equal to the number of women in the family and the number of white eggs is equal to the number of men in the family. Nowhere in literature is it mentioned that red eggs are part of Jewish customs as is the case with Christian Pasha.

During the Christian Pasha a woman puts red eggs on a red cloth which she has placed on the ground in the yard. Then she calls the children and sings a short song, "Dear children, be strong and in good health as are these red eggs."

THE PRACTICE OF "BOWING" (BULG. POKLON)

After the Christian Pasha people from the village carry red eggs to the shepherds as a expression of wishes for health to shepherds and their flocks.

THE DAY OF THE MIDWIFE (IN JANUARY) (BULG. BABINDEN)

Here we find the so-called "redding" of the children. An old woman who usually helps mothers in child delivery takes a red thread

and puts its inside Bulgarian shoes (made of leather) with wishes for good health.

THE DAY OF MICE (THE END OF OCTOBER) AND THE DAY OF WOLVES (IN THE MIDDLE OF NOVEMBER)

On these fundamentally pagan holidays, a woman spreads red clay on the floor. She does this to close the eyes of mice and wolves so that they will not see the food stored from the autumn harvest.

There is another pagan custom which forbids the practice of "bowing" Red eggs should **not** be carried to the shepherds because they will cause them to go blind. Here the red egg is taken as a symbol of the sun which can be too strong and does not have a protective role. However the life-giving power of the sun is symbolically appropriate when the shells of red-coloured eggs are thrown into the yard to warm the soil, i. e. the Christian Pasha custom.

WEDDING

Red colour served as a protecting power in this custom.

CHRISTMAS

Certain features can be noted in the Bulgarian celebration of Christmas. For example, here is a game, an imitation of a wedding. The wedding bouquet and clothes (with modification for the winter) are the core elements. The semantics of the predominance of red is still its preserving qualities.

THE DAY OF YOUNG GIRLS

This is a spring day when young girls dress up in wedding-like clothes to practice at being a bride.

SUMMARY OF BULGARIAN CUSTOMS

- preservation;
- a symbol of women;
- a symbol of the soil/earth;
- a pagan symbol of the sun with ambivalent meaning of the same feature — heat of the sun as a good or evil power.

MEANINGS OF RED IN BULGARIAN HISTORICAL AND HEROIC SONGS

Folk songs are also a source of information and object of information. Many kinds of songs exist however those we chose in order to trace the red colour were historical and heroic songs. We selected an example for all from the book “Davash li davash Balkandji Iovo”, where we find the following meanings

- Punishment
- Health, beauty
- Power and Freedom
- Preservation

PUNISHMENT

In the Ottoman Empire young boys of the enslaved Christian population from the Balkans including young boys from Bulgaria were taken from their mothers by Turks and trained and educated to become Jannisseries — a special corps in the service of the Sultan. Later some were sent back to their own villages to rule them. Sometimes however, one of these men would marry a Bulgarian woman. There is a motif (in a song) where such a man, unawares married his own sister. Nature reacts, partly from pagan and partly from Christian influence. The moon and a river become red — the word used is “blood”.

This is a recurring theme in Bulgarian historical and heroic songs reflecting the loss of independence in 1396 up to the restoration of the Bulgarian state in 1878. The moon, the morning star etc. were symbolized by blood.

HEALTH, BEAUTY

In two songs Bulgarian women, forced to accept Islam, grieve as they look upon Bulgarian Christian women whose health, beauty and happiness (in being free) is reflected in their red and white cheeks.

RED CLOTHES AND VARIOUS ARTEFACTS AS A SIGN OF POWER AND THE SENSE OF FREEDOM

Bulgarian boys, taken from their families and converted to Islam, known as Jannisaries, wore a red hat, red saddle and red umbrella as the most prominent aspects of identification.

In a song Bulgarians, Christians were prohibited in wearing red clothes and building churches. However the legendary Marko did not

accept the Sultan's ban. He deliberately wore some red clothes to show that he was free.

The meaning of red clothes, unlike previous specific meanings (protection/reproduction, as in wedding attire), under Ottoman dominion took on the significance of power and freedom. Therefore, Bulgarians who were not free could not practice their own customs of dressing, where red was so prominent. A similar ban is described by Juhacz, in the chapter on the Shoes of the Bride.

ORDINARY USES OF THE COLOUR RED

Without special meanings (red wine, red blood, red bridal veil).

PRESERVATION

Well known from marriage, preservation is a recurring theme in Bulgarian folk songs, with various versions where a young mother is taken captive by the Turks. She asks a cradle from her red apron in a tree or places the baby under a red vine. In both instances she prays to Nature to raise her baby. In the Bulgarian language/the cultural paradigm, the expression "red grape" is never used. For all different kinds of grapes, reference is made only to "black" or "white". Therefore the use of "red grapes" has a special significance, not only poetical. Furthermore, usually, several colours would be used to describe the natural setting, however in this motif **only** the colour red is evident. Thus, the significance of the red stands out in contrast to the lack of other colours. The one exception is in the beginning of the songs where the colour is a constant epithet to the forest (the noun phrase "the green forest"). In Bulgarian folk tradition there arose during the times of Turkish yoke a place of refuge — the forest in the mountain. The forest, a giver of life and freedom, takes on the evergreen epithet in songs, contrary to the natural, seasonal change of colours.

RED COLOUR SYMBOLS IN BULGARIAN LITERATURE

We can look on folk costume, folk music, poetry as forms of a manifestation of the arts. In modern Bulgarian novels we have established a colour symbolism depending on the context. This symbolism we established in the study of Emilian Stanev's novels, where the colour sign system is particularly evident, especially in historical novels. Symbolism of the colour red is found in the contexts related to the power of the king and the aristocracy, the Devil, heresy, expression of love, punishment, guilt, blood and violence, woman/femininity, anger, hunting, death etc. Our attention is focused on studies of the novels of Emilian Stanev. The colour-sign system is markedly evident in his novels, especially in his historical novels. Not all novels, Bulgarian or not make use of this colour-sign system. This paper does not undertake to relate the presence of such a colour-sign system to the overall quality or popularity of the novel.

Other famous Bulgarian authors have also been subject of a study, for example, Dimitar Talev (3 volumes) and Victor Paskoff. The colour sign-system was found in these writings, which date from the beginnings of the 50ties to the end of the 80ties. These authors, particularly Stanev and Talev, who wrote while Bulgaria was under Communist control, looked back to the past for the wealth of meaning and links to Bulgaria's spirit and tradition.

MEANINGS OF RED IN THE HISTORICAL NOVEL "ANTICHRIST" BY EMILIAN STANEV

The setting of this novel is the early years of Turkish rule (about 1385—1410). What follows are excerpts from the novel (noun phrases and occasionally quoted sentences) which describe heroes and situations:

DESCRIPTION OF THE KING'S CAPITAL CITY, THE KING, AND THE ROYAL FAMILY:

red roofs of the towers; the Archangel Michael with a flaming sword, (part of the palace gates); King John-Alexander stepped on the red carpet; the King and the Queen [...] in their crimson cloaks [...]; the King [...] holds the "akakia" (a little red bag containing soil, symbol of the King's power); [...] big [...] pink-cheeked face of the king; [...] crimson, yellow, blue, and violet rays of light from stained-glass windows fell upon the faces of the people and the floor and walls of the hall [...] ; the red slipper of the King [...];

[...] dressed in a red jacket; John-Alexander [...] pink-cheeked [...]; her (the king's little daughter) on a crimson stretcher; [...] cloak with [...] rubies; a young (the King's eldest son) with crimson Boots; [...] (the King's eldest daughter) was pink-cheeked.

It is important to note that 95% of all words used for colour describe the King (crimson, ruby, pink-cheeked(, moreover red is usually featured alone. One of the two exceptions, as was noted, were the four coloured lights which fell upon the faces, floor, and walls. The author has quantitatively emphasized only the colour red from the multicolored reality of the surroundings and attire of the king and his family. Thus, the colour red is a constant symbol of royal power.

DESCRIPTION OF EVIL:

During the Pasha [...] a red light from an icon lamp glowed in the temple – "I thought that the devil was preparing to do some magic"; in red darkness, with his white clothes, the patriarch was seen.

After an internal dialogue with the devil, the main character :

"I dreamed that [...] my body is [...] pink [...]"

Attire of the leader of the heretics and description of his heresy: *strong man in red cassock; the speech of a red priest; red beard.*

Here again, among multicoloured descriptions of heretics living in the mountains, when the leader is mentioned, the colour red is used. From a colour-sign point of view this is very important because in the subconscious of the reader the philosophy of the heretics remains in connection with the speeches of this "*red priest*". If the philosophy of these heretics were that "in the beginning" of the world was not God,

but Satan, it becomes obvious that, in this case, the red colour is a sign of evil power.

FEELINGS OF LOVE

"I (a child) wrote it (Love poetry) with ink and red paint." She (the King's daughter) *read it and blushed; [...] his son blushed.*

PUNISHMENT

In the court of judgement against the heretics — *tables with red covers; [...] on the table in the middle of the court area [...] flames from the Venetian icon lamp [...] like a red heart* ("blood red heart" in the original Bulgarian text). In this example we have a concentration of red-On red.; *Keleko* (a heretic) *was heard under the red light* ("blood light" in the original Bulgarian text) *of the icon lamp; "Thoughts like this tortured me* (the main character, the defendant) *before going to the red tables"; the Crucifix of Jesus on the wall looked on fire from the light of the Venetian icon lamp.* Obviously the use of the colour red in court is indicative of fires in hell, as punishment for sins and as a colour representing Judgement.

The jailer [...] puns me (the principal character, the accused heretic) *on a red cloth* (symbol of guilt).

On nights like this the flame (from the fireplace) *is scarlet* (after the death of a sinful monk who is presumed to have gone to Hell).

SIGN OF FORTHCOMING SIEGE

The sky was on fire in scarlet sunsets; no rain, the crickets played and talked about the bad future — the camp (of the Turks) *was lit by Torches* (before the last attack on the capital).

A SYMBOL OF WOMANHOOD (FEMININITY)

"I (the principal character, who is seriously ill) *still remember the red slippers of women"; When he* (the father of the principal character, a painter) *began to paint an angel or the Virgin* (an icon), *he always began by painting the same natural face of a beautiful woman. Then he undid her true beauty and her pink-cheeked, sweet face.*

**MEANINGS OF RED IN IVAN KONDAREV, A NOVEL
BY EMILIAN STANEV**

ANGER

Kostadin (one of the principal characters) flushed with anger and [...]; [...] flushed with anger, Kostadin got himself ready for a fight with his brother [...]

[...] his flushed face [...] expressed so much contempt [...]; Kostadin, angry with Kondareff, made a fresh, red wound in the horse's back.

FEELINGS OF LOVE

[...] he (Kostadin who went to "buy" a carpet from his future wife) took a stack of bank notes and blushing from embarrassment, did not know where to put them (the bank notes) [...]; he blushed, sensing the touch of her breasts [...]; he saw her beautiful legs and blushed; in the bedroom (on the first night) the shades of red colours were playing in the darkness of the room [...]

HUNTING

[...] rifle sling made an abrasion on his neck [...]; Kostadin flushed, his chest exposed, as he was sitting between Yanaky and the Moskovetza and was joking; his hunting trousers were stained with blood.

Obviously Kostadin the hunter is constantly pictured by signs of human and animal blood.

[...] (in a prophetic dream prior to Kostadin's death) the moon shone with copper light [...]; (in the same dream) the bull tucked in its legs and fell to the earth – its horns shone copper-red.

SWEEPING HISTORICAL CHANGES

A left wing uprising in 1923 followed after a mutiny in the Bulgarian army in 1918, against a right-wing Government and establishment.

[...] light red glow lit up the surroundings [...]; from behind the hollow the red tongue of the fire protruded; A cricket, as if made happy by the gentle crimson on the wall, actively and noisily began to play, and its tender voice burst into the soul of Kostadin, inundating him with horror and pain; on the whitewashed wall [...] flashed the red-coloured reflection of the fire.

These events were accompanied by great violence and suffering.

MEANINGS OF RED IN "THE LEGEND OF SYBIN, PRINCE OF PRES LAV"

Red as a colour describes two oppositions: a martyr and Satan. The colour occurs in the description of the eyes of a deer that has been killed:

They were bloodshot, full of horror, entreaty and hatred — eyes of a martyr and Satan.

POWER OF THE DEVIL

Satan fell away from God's Throne in the seventh heaven, down to the fiery bottomless pit [...] That angered the Ruler (who) deprived the archangel of his luminous visage and the face of Satan became as red as sulphurous iron.

BLOOD

It was Monday, the day when the widows' white dresses were smeared with virgin blood and displayed; hung on fences;

The Prince had shed this red and warm liquid with which Satan had filled up every living body.

Red as an attribute of the King's power and also the aristocracy:

[...] the scarlet jacket of the landlord's daughter [...]; [...] crimson boots of the King [...]; red carpet, which was spread from the altar to the entrance, was revealed under the legs of noble women [...]; (it seemed as if) his naked legs (of a heretic) did not tread upon the red carpet [...]; [...] the red beard of the King [...]; his red hunting jacket became scarlet (Sybin's jacket, the principal character); [...] hunter with red clothes and a landlord's hat (Sybin) [...]; behind a dark cherry-coloured dress her (Kalomela, the principle female character) her breasts were more attractive. [It should be noted here, that the main colour for Sybin is black and that of Kalomela white]

FEELINGS OF LOVE

Her (Kalomela's) face blushed and she bowed her head [...] (because of the dark glance of Sybin). The scene: Sybin is watching Kalomela, not through a glass window, but through a stretched pig's bladder:

[...] ran rosy films [...]; (in the same situation) [...] the tripod tangled her dress and raised it up for a moment and then the prince saw her slender feet, dressed in red socks [...] he remembered how blushed her face had been when she lowered her eyes because of his glances.

Objects around Sybin *[...] the well-formed silver candlestick mixed its light with red (light) coming from the icon lamp [...]; She (Sybin's mother) sat down at the table and a pink reflection arose over her black kerchief [...]; blue and red Byzantine flags [...]; saddles of red Moroccan leather [...];*

SUMMARY FOR BULGARIAN NOVELS

The following meanings of the colour red were established in modern Bulgarian literature.

- A sign of the king's power, a sign of noble birth
- A symbol of women
- A symbol of anger
- A symbol of hunting
- A symbol of death

COMPARISON WITHIN A BULGARIAN FRAMEWORK (CUSTOMS – SONGS – NOVELS)

Bulgarian customs evolved over a period of at least 10 centuries. The historical and heroic songs were produced from the 15th to the 19th century. The three contemporary modern novels examined here were written between 1950—1975. Red as a sign has characterized the Bulgarian consciousness and subconscious for a period of over 10 centuries. Shifts in the meaning of the colour appear in the following way:

SYMBOL OF WOMANHOOD

This is the only meaning occurring in earliest customs toms as well as in modern literature. And seems to be missing for a period in the middle, during Ottoman rule. Why? Red for this period was also a symbol of freedom. The wearing of red clothes and building of churches was forbidden. At the same time, even under these circumstances, red as a symbol of womanhood is hinted in the example of Bulgarian women under Islam meeting Bulgarian Christian women and noting their white skin and red cheeks. Thus the meaning of red as a symbol of womanhood, even if suppressed, retained a Bulgarian subconscious's which surfaces in modern literature. In this reappearance we can observe an even more developed symbolism which in fact resembles the primitive, universal meanings of the colour red.

Examples: womanhood (femininity); the number of eggs in the special Pasha bread had to be equal to the number of women in the household. Likewise, in modern literature the main character, in a state of semi-consciousness, saw the red slippers of women. The character's father, when painting an icon, always began by painting the face of a beautiful, pink-cheeked woman; women's blood: brides white

dresses were smeared with virgin blood and hung on fences. Here we have a primitive depiction of red as a sign of women's blood which does not occur in folklore.

PUNISHMENT

In contemporary literature some submeanings of the colour appear in the context of punishment. One of them in sweeping historical changes, is absolutely equal to the meaning of red in historical and heroic songs (15th-19th century). All these historical changes take place at a time of violence, death, and blood. In songs, where nature reacts to the sins due to enslavement by the Turks, the moon the morning star, and the rivers become "blood". In modern literature the forthcoming siege (or uprising) are re [presented] by "fire", "scarlet", "crimson", "red-coloured reflections of the fire". The stress is on the redness of the substance of fire. In Bulgarian customs we have two uses of the colour red as a symbol of excessive heat :in the pagan view of red shells of the Pasha eggs, as if pieces of the sun can warm the winter soil; the red of the Pasha eggs, as a symbol of the killing rays of the sun, can blind sheep and shepherds. We can see that in customs, other than the similarity of what the colour red symbolized, there is no meaning of punishment.

ANTONYMY IN CUSTOMS

A pagan symbol of the sun with ambivalent meaning of the same feature — the scorching sun as a good or evil power is found in the practice of red Pasha eggs. Hence we can conclude that a Bulgarian consciousness and subconscious of new meanings for the color red appeared during the period of Ottoman rule, becoming the sign for punishment, freedom. The pressure of oppression on the Bulgarian colour-sign system is obvious in the consciousness and subconscious of Bulgarians. At the same time the earlier, basic meaning of protection, reproduction was retained, but continued its existence

under special circumstances within an oppressed position : when a young mother is taken captive by the Turks she leaves her baby to be raised by nature or the woods. The bush where she leaves her baby is described as described the symbol of red leaves. However the notion of "punishment" in songs is in opposition to the earlier meaning of preservation. Another representative example of the colour red as a sign of oppositions comes from modern literature, namely the sentence: "[...] they (the eyes of the deer that has been killed) were bloodshot, full of horror, entreaty and hatred — the eyes of a martyr and Satan".

Ambivalent meaning of the colour red is a feature of the colour-sign system. Ambiguity of meaning is also a feature of the colour-sign system. Manifestations of ambiguity are found in all different meanings presented.



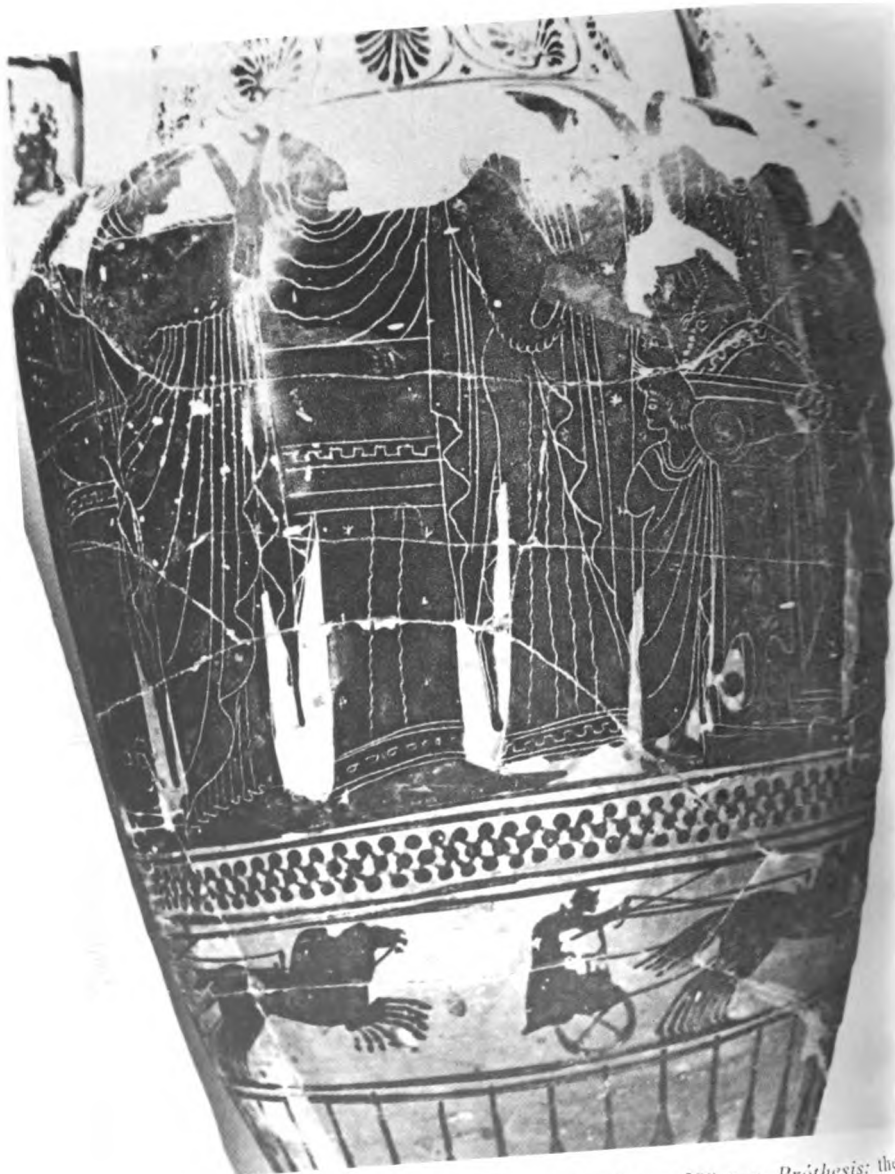
The festive costumes of Helys region, Romania



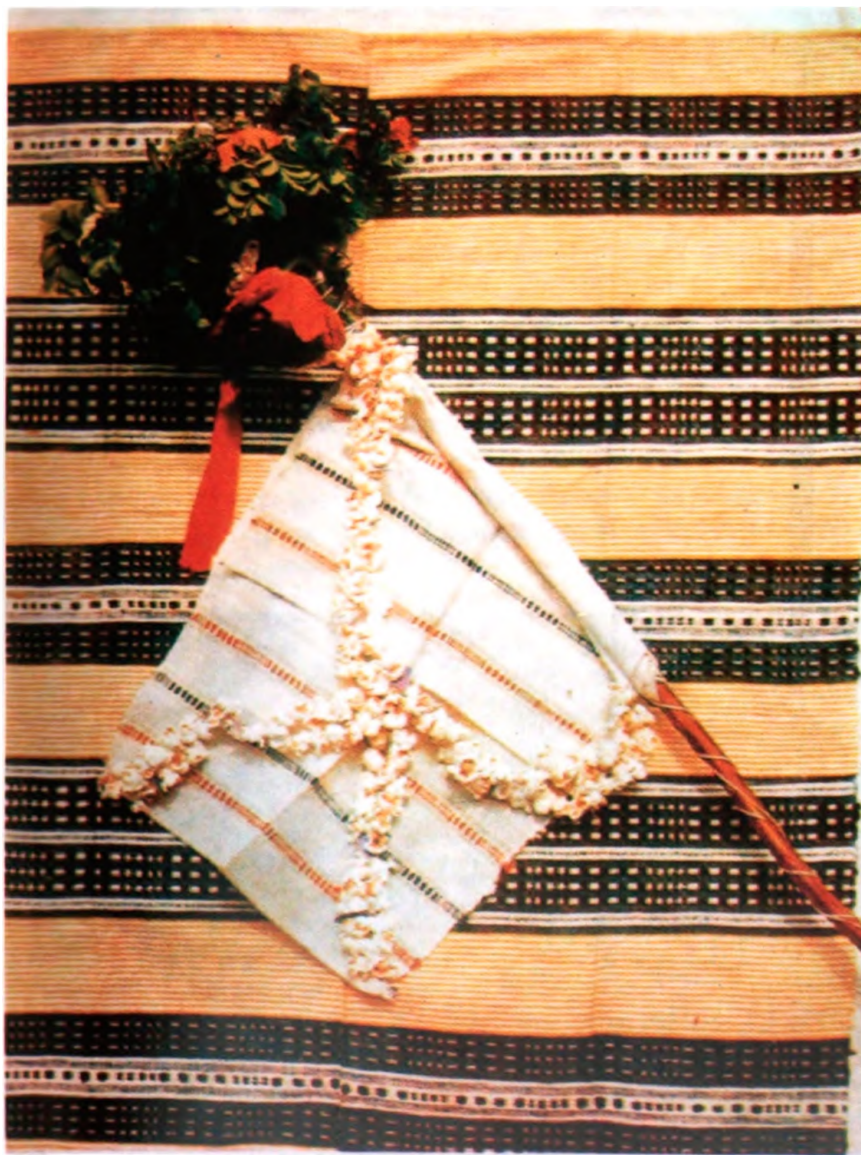
Marriage participants from Veliko Turnovo, Northern Bulgaria, 1981



Bride from Blagoevgrad, Western Bulgaria, the 20-th century.



Black-figure *loutrophóros* amphora by the Sappho painter, c. 500 B.C. *Próthesis*: the dead man is laid out on a bier, his head resting on a pillow. A child is standing at the head. To the left are six mourning women in varying attitudes of lamentation, the first with her right hand on the dead man's head, the others with their left hands to their heads and their right arms outstretched.



Wedding flag from Haskovo district, Southern Bulgaria, the 20-th century.



Wedding flag from Haskovo district, Southern Bulgaria, the 20-th century.





Călușar from Dolj district, Romania

Marriage costume from Dolj district, Romania



Bride from Varna district, Eastern Bulgaria, the 20-th century.

Generation no 2023-09-27 19:37 GMT



The practice of putting on the veil of the bride, Gabrovo district, Central Bulgaria, the 20-th century.



Wedding flag from Vidin district, Western Bulgaria, the 20-th century.



Bride from Ivailovgrad district, Southern Bulgaria, 1981

Burial banquet from Trakia region, Southern Bulgaria, 1981



Costume of married women from Cociuba Mîca, district, Romania



Marriage participants from Dobrudja region, Northern Bulgaria, the 20-th century.



Wedding flag from Kurdjali district, Southern Bulgaria, the 20-th century.



Bride from Haskovo district, Southern Bulgaria, the 20-th century.



Three women lament at the tomb, which is covered with fresh flowers, after the burial. The bereaved widow is at the head of the tomb, and two relatives on the left.



Burial banquet from the beginning of 20-th century.

UNIVERSAL MEANINGS OF THE COLOUR RED

The following list of meanings for the colour red are given by V. Turner [Turner 1970, 70—71] in his research of the customs of the Ndembu tribe in Africa:

“Red things (yuma yachinan), says informants, are of blood (mashi) or of red clay (ng’ula).” There are different categories (yichidi) of blood. These are:

1. the blood of animals (mashi atunyama or mashi anyama) [this stands for huntmanship (wabinda or wuyang’a), also for meat (mbiji)];

2. the blood of parturition, of mothers (mashi alusemu amama);

3. the blood of all women (mashi awambanda ejima) [i. e., menstrual blood (mbayi or kanyanda)];

4. the blood of murder or stabbing or killing (mashi awubanji hela kutapana) [the blood shed at circumcision comes under this heading as does the red decoration in the rites to purify a homicide or the slayer of a lion, leopard, or buffalo];

5. the blood of witchcraft or sorcery (mashi awuloji) [for Ndembu witchcraft sorcery is necrophageous and in antiwitchcraft rites red stands for the blood exposed to such feast]

“Red things belong to two categories; they are both for good and ill; (these) are combined (Yuma yachinana yakundama kuyedi, yelanikuwaha nukutama, yadibomba).”

This statement well expresses the ambivalence of the red symbolism.

6. “Red things have power (yikweti g’ovu); blood is power, for a man, an animal, an insect or a bird must have blood, or it will die. Wooden figurines (nkishi) ave no blood ad hence cannot breathe, speak, sing laugh, or chat together — they are only carvings in wood. But if the figurines used by sorcerers (aloi) are given blood, they can move about and kill people.”

7. "*Semen (mateela) is white (lucky, pure) good blood (mashi atooka amawahi). If it is red or black, there is no begetting (neyi achinana kusema nehi).*

Red semen is ineffective or impotent (azeka), it cannot penetrate fully (ku-dita)." [Turner, 1970, 70—71]

Here we shall compare the meanings of the colour red in the Bulgarian complete colour-sign system to the meanings of the colour red in the primitive culture of the Ndembu.

Comparison between meanings of red in Bulgarian folklore Ndembu rituals.

Common meanings (universal): red as a symbol of women (femininity)

This is the one and only common meaning between primitive Ndembu rituals and Bulgarian customs and songs. What is outstanding is the that red can be a sign of ritual impurity. The *Martenitsa* in Bulgarian customs, connected with 1st of March is made by women (not girls, not old women), just because of the ritual impurity of adult women. If a girl touches the colour red on the 1s of March, it is regarded as a preparation to enter the age of ritual impurity. An old woman who makes a *Martenitsa* is preparing for life after death. Thus the Bulgarian meaning of the colour red in the practical rites around the 1st of March are absolutely the same as in Ndembu primitive rituals — the red is a symbol, connected with menstrual blood.

The 1st of March is a special Bulgarian custom with any analogy in Slavic culture, as it is beyond Christian rituals. March is a female month in the consciousness of Bulgarians. There was a special myth about "Grandmother Martha" connected with the changeable spring weather typical for March in Bulgaria and the inconstant character of this old woman, living in the forest.

The Ndembu-Bulgarian comparison can offer one main conclusion: that the colour red in Bulgarian customs prior to the adoption of Christianity (a thousand years ago) has assumed completely different meanings from the colour red in Ndembu rituals. The first reason for this conclusion is that only one common meaning was found. The differences of meanings represent the mapping in a colour-sign system of different points of view about people-and people, and people-and

nature, i. e. various secret mystical-religious knowledge of Bulgarians and Ndembu people. The most popular meaning of the colour red in Bulgarian customs is its preserving power.

In addition to these main conclusions we can add that red is also a symbol of masculinity in Ndembu rituals. There is a number of ritual contexts where red is associated with masculinity. On the other hand, the author came upon at least an equal number of ritual occasions where white represented masculinity and red femininity. There is no fixed correlation between the colours and the sexes. Colour symbolism is not consistently linked with sex concepts, although red and white may be situationally specified to represent the opposition of the sexes. [Turner 1970, p. 61]

COMPARISON BETWEEN BULGARIAN LITERATURE AND NDEMBU RITUALS

NDEMBU RITUALS

There has been a growing interest in the comparison of various folklore. Today contemporary novelists show an interest in primitive meanings of red from regions outstanding from one another at great distances and their cultures as is the case with the Ndembu.

Red as a symbol of femininity is totally universal, as is evidenced in Bulgarian customs, song, contemporary Bulgarian literature and in Ndembu rituals.

“NEW” MEANINGS IN BULGARIAN LITERATURE

These meanings are new if we compare them to Bulgarian traditional meanings. However, if we compare them to the primitive Ndembu meanings of the colour red, we should note how close they are, i. e. in a sense they are universal. This is interesting, even strange result. Here are the example:

SYMBOL OF BLOOD

Red as a sign for human blood in the context that Sybin — the character cited, killed many people and animals. It is identical to the meanings as “the blood or murder [...] killing” and “blood of animals”.

HUNTING FROM BULGARIAN LITERATURE

Hunting from Bulgarian literature is identical to Ndembu “blood of animals [...], also for meat”.

SYMBOL OF PUNISHMENT

This meaning can be compared to that described by Turner as follows: “[...] the blood shed at circumcision comes under the this heading as does red decoration in rites to purify a homicide or slayer of a lion, leopard, or buffalo.” [Turner, 1970, 71] In Bulgarian literature we have red decoration in the court: the clothes put on the guilty heretic at the moment of his execution; in the context of the death of a sinner; the redness of a natural object at the time of cruel historical changes resulting perhaps from passed sins. The punishment is all done to purify the agents and the objects of crimes or sins.

RED AS POWER

Red is the colour of the special robes of the leader of Bulgarian heretics. This meaning can be related to the Ndembu understanding “red things have power.” We can also interpret this red robe as a symbol of self-confidence of the heretics, feeling that they represent a religion which has been purified. Also here we could consider the part about purification after murder.

SYMBOL OF DEATH

This meaning can be connected with the meaning of the Ndembu “blood of murder”. In Bulgarian literature fire is the real object which symbolizes death. In Ndembu tradition blood is the object related to death. We can conclude that the colour red may symbolize death, out of material dependency.

SOME MARKED MEANINGS OF THE COLOUR RED IN BULGARIAN LITERATURE

SYMBOL OF LIFE

The meanings of the colour red, anger, and some of the examples of feelings of love designate the power of life.

THE DEVIL'S POWER

Descriptions of the Devil's power cannot be compared to Ndembu primitive culture due to the absence of the category "Devil" (in the Jewish and Christian sense) in Ndembu culture. A comparison is possible, but this would be beyond a real cultural meaning.

AMBIVALENCE OF RED SYMBOLISM

The Bulgarian and Ndembu colour-sign systems have a very important feature in common: ambivalence of the red symbolism. Red has been shown as a symbol of death, as well as of life. Turner asserts the same thing: "Red things belong to two categories; they act both for good and ill [...] [Turner, 1970, 71] This statement well expresses the ambivalence of the red symbolism.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abrachams, E.**, 1964: Ancient Greek Dress. — In: Ancient Greek Dress. Argonaut Inc. Publishers, Chicago.
- Alexiou, M.**, 1974: The Ritual Lament in Greek Tradition. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Amos, Dan Ben**, 1982: Folklore in Context. South Asian Publishers, New Delhi—Madras.
- Ardelan, N., L. Bakhtiar**, 1973: The Science of Unity. University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London.
- Averintzev, A.**, 1973: Zoloto v sisteme simbolov rannovizantiiskoi kulturi (The Gold in the System of Symbols in early-Byzantine culture). — In: Vizantia, iujnie slaviani i drevnaia Rus, Zapadnai Evropa (Byzantium, South Slavs, ancient Rus, Western Europe), Moskva.
- Bell, R.**, 1982: Dictionary of Classical Mythology. ABC CLIO, Oxford, England, Santa Barbara, California.
- Berlin, B., P. Kay**, 1969: Basic Colour Terms. Their Universality and Evolution, Berkely, California. University of California Press Xi 178.
- Bogatyrev, P.**, 1971: The Functions of Folk Costume in Moravian Slovakia. Mouton, The Hague, Paris.
- Bosich, M.**, 1992: enitbeni običaji Šokaca Hrvata u Bochkoi (Marriage Customs of the Croats in Bochkoi). Izdajc Vojvodanski muzej u Novom Sadu.
- Čaikowâ, E.**, 1956: Pohrebné zvykoslovie Horehronia. — SIN, IV, 290—305.
- Cirlot, J.**, 1982: Dictionary of Symbols. Philosophical Library, New York, 1962, reprinted 1967, 1971, 1974, 1976, 1978.
- Collected Bulgarian Folk Songs — “Davash li, davash Bulkandgi Jovo”, 1989, Sofia.
- Coomaraswamy**, 1935: Elements of Buddhist Ichonography. Cambridge, Mass (The quote is according to Cirlot, J. A Dictionary of Symbols. Philosophical Library, New York, 1981, p. XXIX).
- Crawley, R.**, 1927: The Mystic Rose. A Study of Primitive Marriage and Primitive Thought in its Bearing on Marriage. Bini and Liveright Publishers, New York.
- Dana, M.**, 1919: The Ritual Significance of Yellow Among Romans. Ph. D Dissertation thesis. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

- Danforth, L.**, 1982: *The Death. Rituals in Rural Greece*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey.
- Davis, F.**, 1986: *The Ottoman Lady*. Greenwood Press, New York, Westport, Connecticut, London.
- Denton, W.**, 1941: *Serbia and Serbians*. London, Bell and Daldy, 1 ed. 1868.
- Dobrowolska, A.**, 1948: *Strój ludowy na Łużycach*. Krakow.
- Duchinski, N.**, 1897: *Svadebnie obriadi v Olgopolskom uezde, Podolskoi gub.* (Marriage Customs in Olgoploski uezd, Podolska gubernia). — In: *Zivaja starina*, Vol. VI, Petersburg.
- Durbin, M.**, 1979: *Basic Terms — Off-colour?*. — In: *Semiotica*. Mouton & Co., New York Publishers, The Hague, Vol. 6.
- Durham, M.**, 1979: *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*. Reprint of the 1928 ed., Allen & Unwin, London.
- Eisenshtein**, 1976: — In: Ivanov, V. *Ocherki po istorii semiotiti v SSSR* (Essay for history of semiotics in USSR). Moskva.
- Eliade, M.**, 1972: *Zalmoxis*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Evans, M.**, 1964: *Chapters on Greek Dress*. — In: *Ancient Greek Dress*. Argonaut Inc. Publishers, Chicago.
- Evans, M., E. Abrachams**, 1964: *Ancient Greek Dress*. Argonaut Publishers Chicago.
- Ferguson, J.**, 1989: *Among the Gods*. Routhledge, London and New York.
- Filipović, M.**, 1954: *Folk Religion Among the Orthodox Population in Eastern Yugoslavia*. — In: *Harvard Slavic Studies*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press.
- Filipović, M.**, 1958: *Vicarious Paternity Among the Serbs and Chroats*. — *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, Vol. 14, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- Freidl, E.**, 1963: *Vaslika. A Village in Modern Greece*. Holt, Rinehart, Art. Winston, New York.
- Garland, R.**, 1985: *The Greek Way of Death*. Duckworht, London.
- Garland, R.**, 1990: *The Greek Way of Life. From Conception to Old Age*. Duckworth, London.
- Garnett, L.**, 1890: *The Women of Turkey and their Folklore*. David Nutt, vol. I. London.
- Garnett, L.**, 1891: *The Women of Turkey and their Folklore*. David Nutt, vol. II. London.
- Gentchev, S.**, 1993: *Semeini Obichai I Obredi (Family Customs and Practices)*. — In: *Sofiiski Krai (Sofia District)*. BAN, Sofia.
- Georgevich, T.**, 1917: *Serbian Habits and Customs*. Folklore, Vol. 28, The Folklore Society, London.
- Gimbutas, M.**, 1982: *The Goddesses and Gods of Old Europe*. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

- Gimbutas, M.**, 1989: *The Language of the Goddesses*. Thames and Hudson, London.
- Gimbutas, M.**, 1971: *The Slavs*. Praeger, New York.
- Ginsburg, C.**, 1864: *The Essenes. Their History and Doctrines*, London.
- Gombrich, E.**, 1979: *The Sense of Order*. Phiadon Press, Hegate House, Oxford.
- Goodenough, E.**, 1964: *Jewish Symbols in the Greece-Roman Period*. Vol. 9. Pantheon Books, published by Bolingen Foundation, New York, Toronto.
- Granquist, H.**, 1965: *Muslim Death and Burial*. — In: *Cemmentationes Humanarum Litterarum*, Tomus, XXXIV № 1–2, Helsinki, Helsingfors.
- Green, M.**, 1986: *The Gods of the Celts*. Alan Sutton, Gloucester, Barkeley and Noble Books Iowa, New Jersey.
- Gurnizov, V.**, 1986: *Veshti I Prostranstvo v pogrebalnite obredi ot Michailovgradsko (Objects and Space in the Burial Customs from Michailovgrad District)*. — In: *Bulgarski Folklor*, 3, BAN, Sofia.
- Herzfeld, M.**, 1981: *Performative Categories and Symbols of Passage in Rural Greece*. — In: *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 94.
- Huntington, R., P. Metcalf**, 1979: *Celebration of Death*. Cambridge. University Press, London, New York, Melbourne.
- Hutchinson, H.**, 1897: *Marriage Customs of Many Lands*. Seeley and Co., London.
- Ioannou, T.**, 1984: *The Greek Folk Costume "Melissa"*. Publishing House, Athens.
- Ivanov, V., V. Toporov**, 1965: *Slavianskie iazikovie modeliruiushchie sustemi (Slavs Language Model Systems)*, Moskva.
- Ivanova, R.**, 1984: *Bulgarskata Folklorna Svatba (The Bulgarian Folklore Marriage)*. BAN, Sofia.
- Ivanova, R.**, 1992: *Weiß — Grün — Rot*. — In: *Znakog*, Vol. 4, IFISS, An International Yearbook of Slavic Semiotics, Bochum.
- Juhacz, E.**, 1990: *Mariage*. — In: *Seffardi Jews in the Ottoman Empire*. The Israel Musaeum, Jerusalem, New York.
- Just, R.**, 1989: *Women in Athenian Law and Life*. Routledge, London and New York.
- Kambul, F.**, 1991: *The Numbers, Key to the Mystery of the Destiny*. Sofia; translation in Bulgarian.
- Karadgich, V.**, 1969: *Crna Gora i Boka Kotorska*. Nolit, Belgrad.
- Kaufman, N.**, audio cassette, editor 1993: *The Mystery of Bulgarian Voices*. Gega New, Sofia, Bulgaria.
- Kemp, P.**, 1935: *Healing Ritual Studies in the Technique and Tradition of the Southern Slavs*. Faber and Faber Ltd., London.

- Kligman, G.**, 1981: Căluș. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, London.
- Kligman, G.**, 1981: The Wedding of the Dead. University of California Press, Berkely, Los Angeles, London.
- Knight, R. P.**, 1876: The Symbolic Language of Ancient Art and Mythology. New York.
- Knjivnost 1890: (Collected for Folklore, Science and Literature), Sofia.
- Kozirev, N.**, 1912: Svadebnie obriadi v Ostrovskom uezde (Marriage Customs and Practices in Ostrovskom Uezde, Pskovskoi Gubernii, in Russian). — In: Zivaja Starina, Vol. 21.
- Lefkowitz, M., B. Mauren**, 1982: Women's Life in Greece and Rome. Duckworth, London.
- Lehner, E. and J.** 1990: Folklore and Symbolism of Flowers and Plants. Tudor Publishing House, New York.
- Lodge, O.**, 1941: Peasant Life in Yugoslavia. London.
- Marinov, D.**, 1993: Narodni viarvania, religia, narodni obichai (People's Belief, Religion, People's Customs.) Reprint of the 1914 ed., BAN, Sofia.
- Miatovich, S.**, 1919: — In: Obitchae srpskog naroda (Customs of Serbians).
- Mihailova, G.**, 1981: Kostumut v bulgarskata obrednost (The Custume in Bulgarian rituals). — In: Obredi i obreden folklor (Customs and custom folklore). BAN, Sofia.
- Mikov, L.**, 1982: Pisani iaitza v Bulgaria. Sofia.
- Mikov, L.**, 1985: Purvomartenska obrednost. Sofia.
- Mikov, L.**, 1990: Bulgarski velikdenski obreden folklor. BAN, Sofia.
- Mikov, L.**, 1991: Plastitchni simvoli na svetovnoto durvo v svatbenata i pogrebalnata obrednost u bulgarite (Yielding symbols of the world tree within the marriage and burial Bulgarian customs). — In: Bulgarska etnografia (Bulgarian Ethnography), BAN, I.
- Miloslavlevich, S.**, 1913: Grada za Srpske Narodne Obichae (Structure of the Serbian's People's Customs). — In: Obichai Srbskogo Naroda (Customs of the Serbian People). Beograd.
- Ortner, S.**, 1975: Sherpa Purity. — In: American Anthropologist, Vol. 75, 1973 (3).
- Pogodin, N.**, 1895: Otcherk litovskih svadebnih oracii (Essay on Lithuanian Marriage Oracii). — In: Zivaja Starina, Vol. IV. Petersburg.
- Portal, F.**, 1957: Des couleurs symboliques. Editions de la Maisnie. Reprinted from the 1857 edition Paris, Treuttel et Wurtz Libraries.
- Propp, V.**, 1946: Istoricheskie korni volshebnoi skazki (Historical Roots of the Fantastic Tale). Leningrad.
- Sadovnikov, D.**, 1980: Zagadki Ruskogo Naroda (The Secrets of the Russian People). Moskva.
- Sahlins, M.**, 1976: Colours and Cultures. — In: Semiotica, Vol. 16. Mouton & Co., New York Publishers, The Hague.

- Sanders, F.**, 1962: Rainbow on the Rock. Haifa University, Microfilm Z-5, 4 (1952—1959), EH I Greece EH I.
- Shnevais, E.**, 1929: Glavni elementi samrtnich obichai kod Srba i Hruvata (Main Elements of the Burial Customs of the Serbs and of the Croats). Gl., SND, 2.
- Sholem, G.**, 1979: Colours and Their Symbolism in Jewish Tradition and Mysticism. Hebrew University — Jerusalem, N BM 526 S36 in the Hacofim University Library.
- Toporov, V.**, 1989: Derevo jizni (The Tree of Life). — In: Mifi narodov mira (Myths of the People of the World), Moskva.
- Tregliari, S.**, 1985: Roman Marriage. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- Tregliari, S.**, 1991: Divorce Roman Style. Clarendon Press, Cambera.
- Trophimov, A.**, 1974: Tzvet v chuvashkoi vishivke (The Colour in Embroidery of the Chuvashes). — In: Tchuvashkoe izkustvo (Chuvash Art), Bip. 3. Cheboksari.
- Troyanovich, S.**, 1905: Manners and Customs. — In: Servia of the Servians. William Heinemann, London.
- Turner, V.**, 1966: Classification in Ndemby Ritual. — In: Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion. Tavistock Publishers.
- Turner, V.**, 1967: The Forest of Symbols. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, London.
- Turner, V.**, 1970: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, London.
- Turner, V.**, 1979: Revelation and Divination in Ndembu Ritual. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, London.
- Turner, V.**, 1986: The Anthropology of Performance. PAJ Publications, New York.
- Uspenski, M.**, 1898: Marinchelskaia Svadba (The marriage in Marincelsk). — In: Zivaja starina, Vol. III. Petersburg.
- Vakarelski, H.**, 1990: Bulgarski Pogrebalni Obitchai (Bulgarian Burial Customs). BAN, Sofia.
- Veleva, M.**, 1993: Traditionals folk costumes. — In: Sofiiski Krai (Sofia District). BAN, Sofia.
- Viezbecka, A.**, 1990: The Meaning of the Colour Terms; Semantics, Culture, and Cognition. — In: Cognitive Linguistics. Vol. 1—1. Mouton de Gruyter, Berlin, New York.
- Volkov, F.**, 1890: Svatbarski Obichai na Slavianskite Narodi (Marriage Customs of the Slavs). — In: Sbornik Narodni Umotvorenia, Nauka i Knijovnost (Collected for Folklore, Science and Literature of the People). IV. Sofia.
- Vovk, T.**, 1889: Materiali do ukrainsko-ruskoi etnografii (Material of Ukrainian-Russian Ethnography). Vol. I. Kiev.
- Wheelwright, J.**, 1987: Old Age and Death, In: Betwixt & Between, Patterns of Masculine and Feminine Initiation, Open Court La Salle, Illinois.
- Zohar, 1984: The Book of Radiance (Kabbalah). — In: The other Bible. Harper & Row, Publishers, San Francisco, Cambridge, Sydney.**

INDEX

A

Abrachams, E. 28, 42, 50, 67,
92, 95, 135, 136

Acontius 73

Adonis 74

aigrette, bridal 45

ajer 103

akarsu 45

Albania 45, 46, 60, 65, 68, 77-
79, 90, 97, 98, 100

Albanian muslim marriage
46, 77

Albanian best clothes in
burial 97, 100

alchemy & colours 19, 20

Alexandria 16

Alexandrian school of
Kabbalah 15, 19, 21, 66

Alexiou, M. 28, 36, 85, 92, 95,
99, 101, 135

Amos, Dan Ben 11, 135

Aphrodites 73, 74

Apollo 71

Apollodorus 74

apple 22, 29, 59, 73-79
green apple as symbol 52,
74, 78, 79
apples placed in grave 79

apron 34, 48, 53, 54, 56, 103,
104, 119

archetypes 9, 74, 75, 79, 112,

ardanian (bowl of water before
the house) 106

Ardelan, M. 19, 20, 23, 105,
135

Argaman 22

Argos 94

Aristophanese 67

Armenians 48

Artemidoros 101

Artemis 73

Aryan tribes

red in Aryan tribes 40

Asclepius

shrine of Asclepius at
Priene at Andania 94

Asia

Asia Minor 95

Central Asia 94

Atalanta (Atalante) 73

Athena, Athene (Parthenos)
67, 73, 74

Athens 67, 101, 106, 133

Atlas 74

golden apples of the
Hesperides 73

Atonement Day rites
white in Atonement Day
rites 25

Averintcev, A. 77, 81, 135

Az rang khali (devoid of
colour) 18

B

Bahir 22

Bakhtiar, L. 19, 20, 23, 135

basket, symbol of fertility 69,
75

batikuri 65

batim 18

Bell, R. 71, 74, 135

Berlin 28

Binah 20, 25

black 16–18, 20–23, 25, 26, 28,
32, 36, 47–49, 56–59, 64,
66, 67, 91–98, 101, 102,
106, 108–111, 119, 125, 130

black in Islam 26

psychology of black 28

black bands on mantel 32,
33, 36, 95

colour of death 48, 49, 59

black – connotation of
death in ancient Greece 48,
57, 68

black shoes of non-muslims
66, 68

black shoes in ancient
Greece 67, 68, 96

blue 17–23, 25–27, 33, 47, 48,
92, 103, 105, 121, 125

blue in Islam 23, 37

dark blue shoes of Ulema
66

Bogatyrev, P. 11, 47, 135

bola (gr.) 34

Bosich, M. 40, 76, 100, 135

bouquet

bridal bouquet 106, 116

bouquet in Bulgarian
marriage 38, 40, 80, 85, 106

bridal veil 12, 17, 29, 31, 34,
39–49, 53, 69, 93, 110, 119

brides costume 33, 38, 77, 126
brides costume foot gear in
Switzerland 65

Bulgaria 37, 39, 48, 52, 53, 56–
58, 68, 76, 85, 90, 103, 106,
107, 110, 118, 120, 130

burial rites 12, 50

burqu (green veil) 104

Byzantium (funeral of Midle
Ages) 101

C

Calathus 75

calfskin boots 45

căluș, spring rite in Romania
61–64, 138

călușary 61–63

Calypso 42

Catullus 67, 137

Celts 29

chlaine (epiblema) 101

chlamys 90

cingulum 41

Cirlot, J. 10, 12, 13, 20, 28,
 135
 cloak 12, 17, 22, 41, 99, 101,
 121
 colour 9–19, 21–29, 31–37, 39,
 40, 45, 47–50, 52–54, 56–
 59, 61–63, 66, 69, 71, 79,
 80, 82–87, 91–98, 101, 103,
 105–112, 114, 119–121, 130,
 131, 135, 136, 138, 139
 colour symbolism 21, 24,
 28, 54, 58, 63, 82, 87
 colour sign systems 9, 64,
 80, 84, 85, 113, 114, 120,
 127, 128, 130, 134
 colour languages 26, 32, 45,
 50, 51, 54, 64, 80–82, 84–
 88, 99, 108, 110, 112, 114
 colour as a sign of power &
 freedom 64, 117, 119
 colours in Islam 17, 19
 the system of three colours
 17, 21, 22, 26, 28
 colour symbol 9–15, 27
 the system of four colours
 17, 18, 21, 23
 the system of seven colours
 17, 21, 23
 colour of Jewish Kabbalists
 16, 24, 25, 75
 colour from an Islamic
 point of view 16, 17, 19, 23,
 37, 104, 105
 cone vestes 50
 Coomaraswamy, K. 10, 58, 135
 costume 11, 27, 29, 32, 35, 41,
 45, 68, 69, 80, 95, 106, 120,
 135, 137, 139
 bride's costume 32, 38, 45, 48
 costume of Turkish muslims 45

Crawley, R. 11, 49, 135
 Croatia 40, 52, 57, 59, 76
 Cupid
 Cupid dressed in yellow
 tunic 67
 cusutul 55

D

Dana, M. 41–43, 67–69, 71,
 135
 Danforth, L. 91, 96, 101, 136
 darj 103, 104
 dark, darkness 10, 16, 17, 21,
 23, 25, 33, 36, 48, 49, 66,
 92–98, 102, 109, 110, 121,
 123, 125
 Davis, F. 37, 38, 45, 97, 136
 death 28, 35, 36, 38, 48–50, 56,
 57, 61, 64, 78, 79, 82, 84,
 85, 87, 89–91, 94, 96, 98,
 100–111, 113, 120, 122, 123,
 125, 127, 130, 133, 134,
 136, 137, 139
 death & ancestors 56, 57
 death wedding flag 56, 57,
 59
 death Turkish burial
 practices 103
 ballad of death of the
 Mother of Jugovitches 78
 Delos 73
 demons 15, 30, 31, 35, 36
 Denton, W. 40, 100, 136
 dickey 33
 Divanhane vivisi 45
 Dorn 20

dragoste înfocată 55, 58
Druses 47
Duchinski N. 29, 136
dunti (gift box) 65
Durbin, M. 28, 136
Durham, M. 46, 58, 77-79, 91,
92, 100, 136

E

eggs 86, 114-116, 126, 127
eggs placed in graves 106
Egypt 90, 95, 102, 105, 109, 111
Ehrenmutter 69
Eisenshtein 80, 136
Eleusis 32
Eliade, M. 82, 86, 87, 136
entary 45
epiblema 101
Eris 73, 74
Essenes 16, 137
Evans, M. 28, 68, 93, 97, 136
evil eye 37, 39
eyn sof 16

F

Ferguson, J. 28, 95, 97, 101,
107, 136
festive costume 11, 33, 35
Filipović, M. 40, 100, 136
fire in marriage custom 43, 44
flammeum 41, 43, 44, 46, 68,
69, 71
folklore context 11, 14, 15, 135

Francis, M. 28
Freidt, E. 28

G

Gambreion, Asia Minor 94, 95
law of Gambreion 95
Garland, R. 28, 31, 36, 37, 48,
101, 106, 108, 136
garlic 61
Garnett, L. 40, 49, 65, 90, 91,
96-98, 100, 101, 107, 136
gelbe frau 69
Gentchev, S. 40, 56, 91, 136
Germans 29, 47
Gimbutas, M. 15, 28, 29, 37,
72, 107, 136, 137
Ginsburg, C. 16, 137
gold 15, 19-21, 32-34, 42, 45,
48, 65, 67, 68, 71, 72, 75-
77, 79-81, 83, 85-87, 93,
101, 135
amalgamations of gold 20
gold in thread 33, 34, 45, 50
gold or silver tassels 34
gold & purple robes 41
gold spanles & pearls 45
golden apple 29, 73-79
Gombrich, E. 13, 14, 27, 137
Goodenough, E. 75, 89, 90, 95,
102, 105, 137
Granquist, H. 38, 103, 105, 137
Greece 28, 32, 48, 52, 57, 59,
65, 68, 73, 76, 90, 96, 101,
102, 105, 107, 136, 137, 139
ancient Greece 12, 30, 36,
41, 66-68, 85, 91, 92, 96,

101, 102, 106, 109–111, 138
 view on intercourse in
 Greece *30*
 bridal and festive jackets in
 Greece *33*
 law on use of white or black
95, 97
 red colour in bride's *41*
 green *16–19, 21–26, 32, 37–40,*
45, 48, 55, 58, 62, 79, 80,
83, 85–87, 92, 97, 98, 103–
105, 107, 108, 119
 green forbidden to Jewish
 women in Ottoman Empire
66
 green apple *74, 78*
 green apple in funerals *78*
 green apple in graves in
 Montenegro *79*
 green holy colour *66*
 green in weddings *56*
 green colour of mourning
97
 Green, M. *29, 137*
 grey *92, 93, 95*
 Gurnizov, V. *91, 100, 103, 137*

H

Hades *75, 79, 100*
 haft rang *17, 22*
 hair, braiding of in mourning
98
 Hammas *97, 98, 102*
 Hasta caelibras *41*
 hearth *43, 44*
 henna *49*
 practice of covering hands
 of the bride with henna *49*

Hera *42, 73, 74*
 Heracles, Hercules *66, 74*
 Herculean knot *41*
 Hermes *71, 72*
 Hermetic Isumrud book *16*
 Herzfeld, M. *28, 137*
 Hesperides *73, 74*
 Hessed, sefirah of Grace *25*
 heterae *50*
 himation *90*
 Hizb'Ulla *97, 99, 102*
 "Holy Marriage" *80*
 Homer *42*
 Horace *48, 50*
 Horus *89*
 Horňačko *46*
 Huntington, R. *28, 36, 137*
 Hutchinson, H. *28, 40, 43, 44,*
47, 48, 65, 69, 76, 100, 137
 Hymen *66*
 Hyperboreans *74*

I

il-bas *103*
 independent meaning of colour
12, 27, 28, 112
 Ioannou, T. *28, 32, 34, 41, 48,*
137
 Islam *17, 19–21, 26, 27, 37,*
60, 105, 118, 126
 colours in Islam *17, 19*
 Iulis
 law of Iulis in Keos *94*
 Ivanov, V. *80, 81, 136, 137*

Ivanova, R. 40, 43, 52–54, 57,
76, 110, 137
ivory 41

J

Jewish 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 23,
24, 26, 49, 66, 75, 77, 79,
102, 109–111, 115, 134, 137,
139
Jewish system of four
Colours 23
Jewish mystic tradition 20,
26, 74, 75
Jews 66
Seffardi Jews 48, 137
jocul steaguli 55
Jordan Valley 97, 103
death in Jordan Valley 38
Joshua (Jesus Christ) 15
Juhacz, E. 48, 66, 119, 137
Jung, C. 9
Jung “collective uncon-
sciousness” archetypes et
set. 9
Jupiter 41
Just, R. 28, 137
Juvenal 42

K

Ka'bah 17, 22
Kabbalah 15, 16, 24, 26, 139
Jewish roots of Kabbalah 21
the Kabbalah symbolism in
the rainbow 24–26
Kambul, F. 16, 137
Karadgich, V. 91, 103, 137

Kaufman, N. 68
Kay, P. 28, 135
Kemp, P. 40, 100, 137
Keos 94, 101
kerchief 34, 40, 46, 47, 69, 76,
91, 94, 104
white kerchief 39, 46, 47, 91
Leipzig kerchief (lipské
šátky) 47
blue and yellow printed
kerchief 47
red kerchief 47
black kerchief 98, 101, 125
Turkish print kerchief
(turecký šátek) 46

Kether 25
khirqat il-haqq 104
khirqat il-turabi 104
Khokhmah, sefirah 25
Kligman, G. 28, 32, 38, 55–59,
61, 63, 78, 79, 98, 100, 106,
109, 138
Knight, R. 11, 17, 138
Kozirev, N. 29, 138
kum 39
Kumran 16

L

“light”, lightness 17, 21–23, 26,
36, 37, 55, 67, 75, 81, 84,
89, 90, 93–96, 102, 107,
108, 1221, 122–125
Labyad phratry
funeral ordinance of
Labyad phratry 101
Ladon 74

lament songs 11
 Langue divine 15
 Langue profane 15
 Langue sacree 15
 Lazar Lazarrevitch 78
 lectus genialis 42
 Lefkovitz, M. 41, 101, 138
 Lehner E., & J. 28, 138,
 lekythoi 101, 106, 107
 Leon, Moese de 23
 Lesbia 67
 leukos ("white") 93, 95
 lipské šátky (Leipzig kerchief)
 47
 lock of hair on door 45, 106
 Lodge, O. 40, 76, 100, 138
 Lucius (white costume of
 initiation) 90, 95
 Lujitians 90, 91
 lutei socci 41, 67, 71
 Lykourgos 99

M

"Mioritza" 32, 82, 83–85, 88
 Macedonia 52, 57, 59, 65, 76
 Madagascar 36, 37
 Magi 94
 magic sandals of Hermes 71,
 72
 Malkhuth 23
 mandragora 86–88
 mandragora, personified
 ("Great Lady", "Empress",
 "Good Mother") 87

mantel
 mantel decorated with black
 bands 32, 33, 36, 95
 Marinov, D. 46, 114, 138
 Marko, Kral 44, 118
 marriage ceremony 27, 32, 43,
 46, 48, 53, 55, 65, 66, 83,
 85, 92, 96, 110
 the ideal of marriage
 ceremony 28
 marriage ceremony dance
 11
 Mauren, F. 41, 101, 138
 Meilanion (or Hipomeness),
 suitor 73
 melas 93
 Melus, son of Cinyras,
 companion of Adonis 74
 meridzi 33
 Merkabah 26
 Metcalf, R. 28, 36, 137
 midrash 23
 Mihailova, G. 40, 80, 81, 85,
 106, 114, 138
 Mikov, L. 76, 114, 138
 Miloslavlevich, S. 40, 44, 76,
 100, 138
 Montenegro 40, 52, 57, 59, 77–
 79
 Moses 23
 Mother Goddess 72
 Mysteries in Greece 16
 Mysterium of the Colours 24

N

- Ndembu symbols 9, 63
- Nemesis 74
- Nero
 - mock wedding of Nero 42

O

- Odyssey 42
- old Slavic burial custom 36
- onierocritic symbols 10
- orange 49, 69, 71, 77, 79, 97, 99
 - orange slippers in Rome 41, 67
- order 13–15, 19, 27–31, 36, 44, 64, 73, 75, 79, 109, 112
 - symbolic order 13
 - sense of order 14, 27, 137
 - cosmic order 14, 67, 87
 - folk order 15
 - order of burial ritual 35–38
- Ortner, S. 28, 31, 35, 138
- Osiris 89, 90
- Ostara & the yellow slippers 69
- Ottoman Empire 66, 68, 70, 118, 137

P

- Paris 73, 74
- parole 12, 35
- Pergamum 94
- Persephone 75
- phaotos, colour between white and black 101
- Phedias 67

plants 11, 25, 27, 28, 38, 61, 62, 79, 115, 138

Plato 93

Pliny 66–68

Plutarch 94, 96

Pogodin 29, 138

Pollux 67, 92

pomegranate of Proserpina 79

Pop, M. 63

Portal, F. 11, 15, 26, 84, 138

prochelnik

 momin prochelnik 39

 nevestin prochelnik 39

Propertius 50

Propp, V. 80, 81, 138

Proserpina 79

prothesis 106

Pseudo-Lukian 31

purple 21, 25, 41, 42, 45, 48, 50, 92, 94, 101

Pythagoras 42

R

- red 12, 13, 16–28, 31–34, 36, 37, 39–49, 53–59, 61–63, 66–71, 74, 80, 81, 83–87, 92, 93, 96, 97, 99, 102, 103, 105–108, 110, 111, 113, 114–134
 - complement red 17, 18
 - red in the bride's veil 12, 31, 40, 45
 - red tassels 34
 - red colour of mourning in Madagascar 36, 37
 - red threads in coffin 37, 107, 110

red as symbol of human like 37
 red in Ukraining wedding 40
 red ribbon tied to mandragora 86, 87
 red colour of burial clothes
 Rodopa Mountains 37, 91, 107
 Romania 32, 52, 55-58, 69, 77, 78, 82, 87, 90, 100, 106
 Romans 43, 44, 69, 135
 Rome 41, 43, 44, 46, 48, 66, 67, 89, 96, 110, 138
 round objects
 Jewish round objects 75, 77, 79
 "roundness" of apple 75
 ruddy orange 49
 rusalii 61, 64

S

Sadovnikov, D. 29, 138
 saffron 42, 93
 salvar 45
 sandals 67, 68, 71, 77
 sandalwood 17, 18, 23, 27
 Sanders, F. 28, 59, 76, 139
 saye khadra (green kaftan to cover white one scarf) 103, 104
 scarlet 48, 122, 125, 127
 scarlet robe 37, 99
 Sefira of Binah (absolute fear of God) 20
 sefiroth 22, 23, 25, 26

Seneca 66
 Serbia 40, 44, 52, 57, 59, 76, 78, 100, 102, 136
 Serbs 43, 90, 136, 139
 Shahnarovitch, M. 80
 shash abyad (thin cloth folded like a Turban around the cap) 103
 Shekhinah 21, 22, 74
 shoes 29, 65, 66-72, 96, 110, 116, 119
 Sholem, G. 21-24, 26, 27, 74, 75, 110, 139
 shroud 93, 101-103, 105, 111
 silver 20, 21, 33, 34, 41, 45, 48, 93, 125
 Sinai Mount 23
 sirwal il-akhre 104
 sirwal il-turabi 104
 Slavs 29, 40, 43, 46, 57, 73, 77, 91, 92, 135, 137, 139
 slippers 41, 67-69, 121, 122, 126
 Slovakia 46, 47, 135
 soccus 66, 67
 Socrates 94
 Sparta 99
 stregarul 61
 Suetonius 67
 surma 45
 sweet basil 39, 40, 78
 Switzerland 43, 65, 69

T

- Tabernacle 23
 taboo
 elements of taboo in marriage customs 15, 27, 31
 period of taboo 15
 pre-bridal taboo 30
 Tacitus 42
 Talmudic traditions 20
 Tanach (Old Testament) 24, 26
 taqiye beda (white cap) 103
 tassels
 red silk tassels on apron 34
 tekheleth 21, 22
 tel 45
 "The old wise woman" 86
 Theocritus 67
 Theophrastes 93
 thob abyad 103
 thob akhdar 103, 104
 thob il-haqq 103, 104
 Thuringia 48, 49
 Tibulus 50
 Tifereth, Sefirah 23
 Toporov, V. 52-54, 56, 80, 82, 137, 139
 Torah 22, 23
 Treggiari, S. 28, 42, 44, 48, 67-69, 71, 95, 96, 139
 Trophimov, A. 80, 81, 87, 88, 139
 Troyanovich, T. 40, 100, 139
 tsitsith 21, 22
 tunica recta 41

- turecký šátek 46
 Turkey 45, 48, 60, 77, 100, 105, 136
 Turkish muslim bride 44, 45, 49, 97
 Turner, V. 9, 28, 33, 54, 57, 61, 63, 81, 84, 129-131, 133, 134, 139

U

- ukrainian wedding 40, 60, 69, 77
 ulema 60
 dark blue shoes of ulema 66
 Universal Soul 18
 Uspenski, M. 29, 139

V

- Vakarelski, H. 36, 37, 57, 90-92, 100, 107, 139
 vātaf 61-63
 veil 12, 17, 29, 31, 34, 39-50, 53, 69, 89, 93, 104, 110, 119
 Veleva, M. 40, 139
 Vizbitcka, A. 28
 Volkov, F. 40, 60, 69, 77, 92, 139
 votive gift 93

W

- water 18, 24, 27, 28, 30, 31, 35, 36, 44, 55, 93, 94, 115
 water as a symbol 28
 wazret il-ghusl 103, 104

wazret il-haqq 104
wedding flag 29, 32, 45, 52-64,
76, 106
Wheelwright, J. 9, 139
white 11, 16-18, 21-26, 28, 31-
34, 36-38, 42, 45-49, 53-
59, 61-63, 67, 68, 74, 76,
80, 81, 83-87, 89-98, 101-
109, 111, 112, 115, 118,
119, 121, 125, 126, 130, 131
white colour of mourning
in Japan 57
white colour of shoes in
ancient Greece 67
white in the context of white
(bright) or black (dark)
clothes 92
white the colour of initiated
essenes 16
white the colour of pure
light 22
white as apotropaic colour 93
white natural colour of
wool or linen 92-94
white in scarf of marriage
38, 63
white in kercheif 39, 46, 47, 91
white dresses 94, 101, 124

"wise woman" 61
wool 33, 41, 48, 93, 94, 96
wormwood 61
wuqa (hood) 104

Y

yellow 17-19, 23, 26, 39, 42,
43, 46, 47, 65-71, 92, 93,
97, 99, 107, 121, 135
white shoes 65-69, 71, 72
white footwear of bride in
Ukraine 69
Yemen 104
yuz yazzisi 45

Z

Zahir (aspects of all being) 18
Zeus 74
Zohar
book of Zohar 16, 20, 21,
23, 26, 27, 74, 139
zunnar (Girdle) 103, 104

Мони Алмалех

**Цветовете като знакова система в балканския фолклор –
сватба и погребение
Българска
Първо издание**

**Редактор Васил Атанасов
Художник Красмира Михайлова
Коректор Ангелина Иванова
Техн. ред. Илиян Иванов**

**Формат 60/84/16
Печ. коли 10,50 Изд. коли 9,80**

Предпеч. подгот. АПП „АЛЯ“

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



3 9015 04745 9204

Digitized by
Google

Original from
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN