



YUGOSLAV SOCIETY FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION
YSSSR Annual – Year XXII

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS ON THE BORDER

edited by
DRAGOLJUB B. ĐORĐEVIĆ
DRAGAN TODOROVIĆ
DANIJELA GAVRILOVIĆ

YUGOSLAV SOCIETY FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION
FACULTY OF MECHANICAL ENGINEERING AT THE UNIVERSITY OF NIŠ

Niš
2015

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS ON THE BORDER

YSSSR Annual – Year XXII
XXII Annual International YSSSR Conference
Cemeteries and Burial Customs on the Border

Founder

Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Niš, Serbia

Editors

Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, Niš, Serbia
Faculty of Mechanical Engineering at the University of Niš, Serbia

For the Editors

Danijela Gavrilović
Vlastimir Nikolić

Edited by

Dragoljub B. Đorđević
Dragan Todorović
Danijela Gavrilović

Reviewers

Mirko Blagojević
Žikica Simić

Computer Support and Cover Design

Darko Jovanović

Print

PUNTA, Niš

Circulation

200

ISBN

978-86-6055-068-4

Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of Eastern and Southeastern Serbia (179013)*, conducted at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

CONTENTS

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN EAST SOUTHERN EUROPE

- 1 Funeral Customs in the Border Area – Lukovo Case Study5
Ružica Cacanaska
- 2 Burial Customs in the Central and North-eastern Part of Montenegro17
Vladimir Bakrač
Ljubomir Popović
- 3 Burial Rites in the Region of Caribrod (Dimitrovgrad, Republic of Serbia)27
Valentina Vaseva
- 4 Cemeteries of Gospić (The Mirrors of Denominational,
Political and Ideological Convictions of Deaths)33
Ivan Markešić
- 5 The Orthodox Cemetery “Kolenje” in Vrelo Radobolje (Mostar)41
Ivan Cvitković
- 6 The Concept of Death on the Holy Mountain:
Funeral Rites for Monks of Hilandar47
Dragana Radisavljević Čiparizović

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN EASTERN AND SOUTH EASTERN SERBIA

- 7 Rural Cemeteries on the Territory of The Municipality of Veliko Gradište57
Milovan Vuković
Andon Kostadinović
- 8 Cemetery – Sacred Place
The Custom of Burying in Golubac and Environment71
Vladan Petrović
- 9 Cemeteries and Burial Customs in Majdanpek Municipality83
Danijela Voza
- 10 Burial Customs and Cemeteries in the Borderlands of Eastern Serbia:
Tekija (Kladovo)93
Vesna Trifunović
- 11 The Rajac Cemetery and Burial Customs in Timočka Krajina 103
Branislav Žikić
Miloš Jovanović
Miloš Tasić
- 12 The Old Cemetery in Zaječar: Socio-cultural Reading113
Dejan Krstić

13	Funeral Customs in Beli Potok near Knjaževac	133
	<i>Lela Milošević Radulović</i>	
14	Burial Culture of Roma from the City of Pirot	147
	<i>Dragan Todorović</i>	
15	The Cemetery and Burial Customs in Babušnica	165
	<i>Danijela Gavrilović</i> <i>Marija Marković</i>	
16	A Contribution to the Interpretation of Burial Customs and Cemeteries in the Dimitrovgrad Municipality	177
	<i>Jasmina Petrović</i> <i>Zoran M. Jovanović</i>	
17	On the Border between Life and Death – Cemetery in the Kalna (Crna Trava)	195
	<i>Suzana Marković Krstić</i>	
18	Cemeteries and Funeral Practices in Bosilegrad	207
	<i>Neven Obradović</i> <i>Marija Jovanović</i>	
19	Culture of Remembrance and Culture of Burying in Trgovište (Municipality of Trgovište)	221
	<i>Danijela Zdravković</i>	
20	Burial Culture of Albanians in Veliki Trnovac (Bujanovac)	235
	<i>Danijela Zdravković</i> <i>Dragan Todorović</i>	
21	Đorgovci – Cemetery and Burial Customs (Preševo)	247
	<i>Dragoljub B. Đorđević</i>	
	Abstracts	261
	Procedures	275
	Index of Names	283
	Notes on the Contributors and Editors	285

<p>WE ARE THANKFUL FOR THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SERBIA AND TO THE ADMINISTRATION FOR COOPERATION WITH CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF SERBIA</p>
--

FUNERAL CUSTOMS IN THE BORDER AREA – LUKOVO CASE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Religion is a complex and multidimensional category which integrates the religious beliefs and numerous and specific practical actions which appropriately describe the profile of the relevant religious community (Berger 1960, Hamilton 1994, Casanova 1994). The religious life of a community, besides the fixed established doctrinal foundation, shaped in the religious conscience, is made of many customs, rituals, celebrations, ceremonies which are determined as religious practice, which are essentially inspired by the faith (Davie 2000, Hervieu-Léger 2000). However, it may happen that certain forms of joint actions in the community gain a character of folk customs, which are sometimes more or less disassociated from the religious basis and gradually modified during the time. The long practice, different localities and ambiances leave their mark on the religious practice (for example, certain customs often gain pagan features). A part of the folk customs which are repeatedly practiced for a long period of time, gradually turn into a tradition. The traditional forms significantly contribute to the development of the specific identity of the relevant community, reflecting its uniqueness. There are numerous legends which are interwoven with the tradition and which speak about the significance they have for the relevant community.

The subject matter of this paper is a single segment of the religious practice which refers to the specter of funeral customs and rituals, that is, practices. This topic will be researched on the territory of Lukovo Village which belongs to the Drimkol region.

The reason I chose this topic to make a case study on the funeral customs in Lukovo was exactly its location in the border line (near the border with Albania), as well as the base of information contained both in the historical records and documents and the media articles. However, what distinguishes Lukovo is the existence of the specific practice which has been kept and cherished through the long tradition. The specificity refers to the fact that certain customs are preserved in their more traditional form, but certainly there are also practices which are literally common for all regions in Macedonia, that is, for the major part of Orthodox population.

METODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The draft for the research of the set research questions is determined as a case study. The main research questions which direct the preparation of this case study are as follows: 1. What are the characteristics of the location of the cemetery in Lukovo?; 2. What are the elementary funeral customs of the population of Lukovo and what is the meaning of those customs? and 3. What is the perception of the respondents regarding the question of changing the funeral practices in Lukovo?

For the preparation of this case study I used data from secondary sources (ethnological notes and records, documents, statistical data, reports, articles), as well as data collected by using semi-structured interview, face to face, by telephone and e-mail either with the inhabitants of the village of Lukovo or persons who originate from Lukovo. There are seven interviews made in total (four face to face inter-

views, one telephone interview and two e-mail interviews) in the period between April 20, and May 10, 2015. A significant fund of data was collected through e-research which was realized in the period between April 10 and May 15, 2015.

BASIC INFORMATION – LUKOVO

Lukovo is located in the mountain pass between Shar Planina and Korab, along the borderline with Albania, in the area called Dolen or Debarski Drimkol, on the eastern slopes of Rujnica Mountain. Lukovo is a mountain village, located above the regional road Debar-Struga. Lukovo has been an autonomous municipality until 2004, but later it was annexed to the Municipality of Struga.

Lukovo is well-known by the numerous Orthodox churches, specific architecture, beautiful nature, building contractors who have worked all over the world, fish ponds... Lukovo is located by the famous ancient road Via Ignatia. In particular periods of time, due to the increased terror by the Turks who had utilized the road, the inhabitants of this region moved away from the road, to the mountainous terrains, and they founded Gorno (Upper) Lukovo. As the risk of the terror was reduced, the inhabitants have increasingly settled in the area near the road. In that way the village of Lukovo was established as Gorno (Upper) and Dolno (Lower) Lukovo, and occasionally the name Staro selo (Old Village) is also used. Gorno (Upper) Lukovo is only 2-3 km away from Dolno (Lower) Lukovo. There are no houses built in that section. Filipovic describes Lukovo as a village of moderately dispersed type consisting of 136 housings and 138 families. Dolno (Lower) Lukovo is divided in Gorna (Upper) and Dolna (Lower) maala (neighborhoods). According to the locals, Gjurgjovden (George's Day) and Golema Bogorodica (the Virgin Mary) were the village feasts *from time immemorial*, and each family had its own feast called Slava.

Today there are several families living in Gorno (Upper) Lukovo, while, according to the local population, there are approximately 250 inhabitants in Dolno (Lower) Lukovo. According to the 2002 Census there were 447 inhabitants in total in the village of Lukovo. However, the increase of the migration wave clearly marks the recent history of this village, indicating the increase of the number of abandoned houses and dwellings. A part of the population migrated to Struga and its neighboring villages, as well as in foreign countries. Since long time ago Lukovo is considered to be a region which inhabitants go to work away from their native place. According to the historical data, these inhabitants began to go to work abroad at the end of the 18th century. However, as the time was passing, the destination of the fortune seekers was changing. Important economic industry for Lukovo is cattle breeding, as well as agriculture, fishing etc. There are few economic facilities located in this area, but a number of them were shut down during the transition period and later. Therefore, the inhabitants of Lukovo are forced to migrate to the neighboring larger places seeking for employment on a daily basis.

There are six Orthodox churches in Lukovo.¹ The larger villages in the Drimkol region usually have had several churches, respectively, and they were predominantly built on locations which were believed to have a special significance and symbolism. There are many legends about the building of each church. There are three churches in Gorno (Upper) Lukovo, and another three churches in Dolno (Lower) Lukovo.

The cemeteries were usually located in the church yards. Depending on the settling of the area, whether in Gorno (Upper) or Dolno (Lower) Lukovo, the loca-

¹ A part of the material collected during the e-research indicates that there are seven churches in Lukovo. However, at this moment there are six Orthodox churches in Lukovo.

tion of the cemeteries was also occasionally changed. In fact, we are talking about concentration of the cemeteries in the churches which are located nearer to the dwellings of the inhabitants of Lukovo. It is also characteristic for Lukovo that the graves of every family were known. In the recent period, according to the inhabitants of Lukovo, most of the funerals are performed at the cemetery in the yard of the church Sveti Atanasij. Occasionally there are cases of deceased persons who used to live out of Lukovo and because of the high funeral costs in their residence places they were buried in Lukovo, but sometimes there is a symbolism in that practice – to come back in the place of their origin. There are also funerals of people who have emigrated to the United States and Australia.

The church *Sveti Vrači Kuzmo and Damjan* is located in Gorno (Upper) Lukovo. According to the inhabitants, this church was built five or six centuries ago. At a time, this church was also a cathedral, but the migration of the population had its impact. In this church were buried the deceased members of the following families (which have also lived in Dolno (Lower) Lukovo): Baloski, Gjurgjinovski, Velkoski, Mojsoski, Jovcheski, Jancheski, Madzoski, Leskaroski. The intensification of the migration of the inhabitants of Lukovo has also resulted in changing the locations of the cemeteries. In Gorno (Upper) Lukovo there is a church *Sveta Velikomachenica Varvara*,² in which yard were located the tombs of the families both from Gorno (Upper) Lukovo and Dolno (Lower) Lukovo: Gjonevski, Vidicevski, Velikiceski. The church *Sveti Apostol i Evangelist Luka* is also located in Gorno (Upper) Lukovo. Few years ago a new church was built on the site of the previous small church. According to the legends, the village was positioned on the site where the church was built. This small church, according to the inhabitants, was built many centuries ago. The inhabitants also said that the icon of Saint Luke has been brought from another church in the present church. Later on the local inhabitants have moved that icon in the central church which was the oldest and largest one. For no inexplicable reasons, after a certain period of time, the icon was found again in this site, where the small church is located today. After a short period of time the inhabitants of Lukovo have decided to build this small church in that location. There is no cemetery in this church yard.

Nowadays almost all deceased inhabitants of the village of Lukovo are buried in the cemetery which is located in the yard of the church *Sveti Atanasie Veliki*. But earlier, there were located the family tombs of Madzovci, Kolovci, Shuminovci, Vidicevci and Petanovci. Filipovic quotes in his notes that at the place where the church Sv. Atanasie Veliki is now located, there were only graves and *vakavski dabje* (banned oaks). That place was named *Tanasovden* in which the fairs were held. However, when the inhabitants of Lukovo noticed some unusual phenomena (signs) such as flame erupting from the ground, they decided to build a church on that exact spot. The church was built more than 130 years ago. The famous icon painter Avram Dichev has accomplished his last work exactly in this church in Lukovo, in 1894.³

Funerals were also performed on the opposite side of Lukovo, on the slopes which were erecting above Drim River, in the yard of the church *Sveti Velikomace-nik Gjorgjija*. That side of the yard was sunny and warmer and usually during the

² According to the records of Filipovic, the church is built in the period from 1931-35. At the location of the previous wooden chapel, there are funeral parcels of a number of families from Gorno and Dolno Lukovo.

³ †EXHIBITON OF ICONS OF SAINT NAUM OF OHRID IN THE ICON PAINTING OF THE EPARCHY OF DEBAR AND KICHEVO FROM THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY, 06 October, 2010, <http://www.dke.org.mk/index.php/231-xviii-xix> (Accessed on 02. 05. 2015).

winter time the cattle was held there. Namely, during the winter periods, when the level of water of the Drim River was increased, it was impossible to pass from one to another bank. That is the reason why the population living on that side was forced to bury the deceased persons in the yard of this church. Their number was relatively small. The church *Sveti Velikomacenic Gjorgjija* has been renovated about ten years ago.⁴

The church *Sveti Nikola* in the village of Lukovo was dedicated on 6 August 2011. There is no cemetery in the yard of this church. However, according to the inhabitants of Lukovo, the deceased children who were not baptized were buried on the land where the church would be later built.

FUNERAL CUSTOMS

The funeral customs encircle practices which are performed in the period “from the moment of death until the moment of burial ... as well as the entire ritual complex related to death“ (Malinov 2002, 294). In fact „...on the occasion of death, a series of rituals and customs are performed concerning digging the grave, day of death, day of burial, in the home, in the church, at the cemetery, as well as afterwards – during the memorial services, daily visits to the grave within 40 days, six months, one year etc.“ (Milanov Risteski 1999, 72–79).

This paper makes a division of the funeral customs related to the preparation of the deceased for his/her funeral, the practices during the funeral and the customs regarding the period immediately after the funeral (and later).⁵ The funeral customs, generally speaking, based on the conversations with the inhabitants, and according to the image of the older and newer cemeteries, were gradually changing depending on the families of the deceased, their family traditions, and the influence of the closer and further surrounding. This paper presents a general framework of the funeral customs, and has no intention to elaborate each activity in more details. In fact, we are trying to describe the very process of funeral.

However, we should also take into account the notion that the funeral rituals “include special rituals having magical effect, intended to satisfy the deceased for the last time, that is, to make possible for the deceased to take with him/her everything he/she will need in afterworld“ (Olevska 1999, 135–143), but they are not separately analyzed in this paper.

Customs Related to the Preparation of the Deceased for Funeral

The ringing of the church bells announces that a person from the village has passed away. The preparations of the deceased for his/her funeral begin immediately after his/her death is stated. First of all, the deceased is bathed and dressed. (Rusik, unpublished work)

The bathing of the deceased is performed while his/her body is still warm so it can be dressed. The clothes are usually new and they are put on for the first time.

⁴ According to the inhabitants, once upon a time some children from this village had lit a fire near the church. The fire spread out and the church which was mostly built of wood was burnt. Today, after the renovation of the church, two families (Balalovski and Gjurgjinovski) are obligated to bring food and wine every Gjurgjovden (George's Day) for the feast table. Let us mention that Gjurgjovden is the celebration day of the village of Lukovo. Although the Balovski Family brings food and wine, it does not sit at the table which is initially set. The Gjuginovski Family brings food only for their family and consumes it on the second table. The Balovski Family can eat at the second table only if there is food remained.

⁵ The exhibit is made according to many statements of the local inhabitants, which were collected several times. „The story“ is also composed by using a number of internet sources.

In case of a sudden death, the deceased is clothed in his/her most recent clothes. After the deceased is bathed (and in case of a male, after his shaving), he/she is dressed. Often, the older members of the family previously prepare clothes for such occasion and usually they charge their close relatives with preparing them after they pass away. Some of them even assign persons who will prepare the round bread. It is usual in this phase of preparation of the deceased to leave the jewelry he/she wore during their life.

After the deceased is prepared, he/she will be laid on a bed with his/her head turned toward the sunrise. A candle or icon lamp is lit by him/her which is burning all the time while the deceased is at home. After that, the same candle or icon lamp is lit in the church and on the grave of the deceased.

The person who prepares the bread in the house of the deceased is usually the person who is very close to the family of the deceased and it should be older person. For his/her efforts, the members of the family of the deceased in the name of the whole house usually donate him/her with a kind of a “present”, such as a piece of clothes or a towel. During the ceremony in which the body of the deceased is exposed to the mourners, the visitors who come to express their condolence light a candle next to the head of the deceased and donate some money. That money is usually collected. Until recently that money was used to pay the funeral expenses, but today is usually left to the church. We are talking about relatively small amount of money. (Rusik, unpublished work)

The visitors to the home of the deceased are usually served drinks, such as coffee, juices, brandy and wine. In the evening a dinner is served at the home of the deceased. The dinner is usually prepared by the close family members in the honor of the deceased, as the last dinner before the funeral.

Deathwatch is performed during the night at the home of the deceased, by the family members and close relatives.

Before the priest visits the home of the deceased prior to the funeral, certain rituals which are suggested by the older women in the family are performed. Those rituals are related to the preparation of the round bread, serving the drinks and beverages, preparation of the bed on which the deceased lies, the funeral etc.

After the priest visits the home of the deceased, he continues the funeral ceremonies from carrying the deceased out of his/her home, taking him/her to the church, his/her burial and the memorial services. The members of the family usually are consulted in this phase and they plan the funeral (for example, the person that will carry the cross and the coffin, what will be placed in the coffin, the issues regarding the preparation of the grave). Recently, according to the inhabitants of Lukovo, before the deceased is carried out of his/her home, a number of items which have some symbolism and which will serve him/her in the afterworld are placed in his/her coffin. The mourners also leave some amount of money in the coffin.

When entering the home of the deceased, the priest lights incense. After the priest sings the requiem for the deceased, the deceased is prepared and carried out of his/her home. At that time the road bread which is baked in the home of the deceased, the cooked wheat and the wine are celebrated next to the grave and then shared with the attendees of the funeral.

Customs During the Funeral of the Deceased

The funeral is usually performed within 24 hours after the death. The exact time of the performance of the funeral depends on the time of death. The night after the death, the deceased is kept in his/her home, within his/her family. The funeral is performed the next day.

The ringing of the church bells announces the beginning of the funeral.

Before the funeral begins, the person who will carry the cross will be designated, usually among the remote friends, neighbors, and that person should be preferably older. The coffin is taken out usually by present people who are not the closest members of the family. Before the deceased is carried out of his/her home, the priest sings the requiem for him/her, first of all, in his/her home, then at the moment of carrying him/her out, at the first crossroad, in front of the church, in the church and on the grave.

The service in honor of the deceased ends and the people present at the funeral say goodbye to the deceased for the last time. After this, the body is carried to the grave where the priest sings the requiem again and the body is laid in the grave. After the grave is covered with soil, the priest sings the requiem for the deceased one more time.

Earlier, the grave was usually dug by the closer members of the family, but nowadays at least one member of the family should be present. The grave is dug the day before the funeral. The persons who dug the grave also cover the grave with soil, but in a symbolic manner they are also assisted by all of the people present at the funeral. All of the present people should throw a handful of soil while saying the words "Rest in peace!" (Rusik, unpublished work).

The cross is placed on the side where the head of deceased is, and a towel is tied over the cross. The wooden cross marks the grave, usually until the gravestone is built; however, very often this wooden cross stays for a longer period of time. Usually there is a candlestick next to the cross in which candles are lit during each visit to the grave.

There is a certain practice when a part of the deceased people in Lukovo are exhumed and transferred, recently, to the graves in the yard of the church Sveti Atanasij. The deceased which were buried in several graves in the church in Gorno (Upper) Lukovo were exhumed and transferred to the grave parcels of their families in the church of Sveti Atanasij because of practical reasons. The exhumations are predominantly performed when the spouse passes away in order both spouses to be buried in the same grave, on the same spot, which will symbolically mean that they will be also together in the afterworld. The exhumation may happen even ten years after the last funeral. The exhumed remains are put next to the coffin of the deceased. After the bones of the spouse are exhumed, they are usually put in white bag and during the funeral they are put over the coffin, in the part where the legs of the deceased are supposed to be. After the exhumation, each of the present people lights two candles, because it is a funeral of two deceased people. The bones of the exhumed deceased are buried next to the legs of the deceased, over the coffin.

After the funeral, the people present at the funeral have a lunch which is usually organized in the dining room of the church. The lunch is prepared by a cook and served mainly by the younger members of the family of the deceased. The lunch is served either on one or three tables (the number of tables should be odd). If the funeral is organized in a fasting day, accordingly the lunch is meatless. When the lunch is served beside the grave, initially the food is put next to the cross, which should symbolize that the deceased will be fed up in the afterworld.

Usually presents are shared to the persons who carry the coffin, dig the grave, and carry the cross as well as to the person who prepares the round bread for the deceased. When the close relatives and friends visit the home of the deceased and light candles, they bring some presents (towels, socks, cigarettes, food) which are later shared among those who are part of the procession.

The close members of the family are usually in mourning. They are in mourning until 40 days, year or some other memorial service has expired. The close male members of the family are not shaving and they wearing black clothes within 40 days. In some cases the mourning is extended. There are examples when a young member of the family passes away, then the other members are in mourning an extended period of time (Rusik, unpublished work).

Customs After the Funeral of the Deceased

The day after the funeral, the closest relatives and friends or the members of the family perform the ritual of awakening. Namely, one member of the family, with a lit candle in his/her hands, spins flaming straw around the grave, and nails are nailed on the edges of the grave. After this rite the food which remained is put on the table. The mourners leave the grave early in the morning, after the sunrise.

After the funeral the members of the family visit the grave every day within the next seven days and they bring candles and food. Every day during the first 40 days the members of the family visit the grave of the deceased and light a candle. After that, they visit the grave and light candles in special occasions (Rusik, unpublished work).

After the funeral is over, the priest visits the home of the deceased in order to bless water and burn incense. These rituals are practiced in order to restore *the health and progress* of the family.

During the memorial services, candles are bought from the church and lit on the grave.

In Lukovo the family of the deceased organizes *kulban*, which means that a rooster is slaughtered and a food is prepared on the occasion of 40 days commemoration. But, if the 40th day is a fasting day, then *kulban* is organized for another commemoration.

Different Customs for Celebrating the Memory of the Deceased

The memorial is erected within 40 days.⁶ If the spouse has passed away, then usually a tomb for both of them is built. A picture is put on the memorial and after the death of the other spouse, only the year of death is added.

The collective form of the funeral is also noticeable in the traditional commemorative days of the deceased persons (memorial services, Saturdays, etc.) (Olevska 1999, 135).

If the days for the Memorial services for nine days, 40 days, six months and one year, are holidays, then these services are postponed even for several days.

After the funeral and awakening, 7- day memorial service is performed. On this memorial service a lunch is served to the attendees. This memorial service can be performed either by a priest, or the family of the deceased (Русик, unpublished work).

On the occasion of the 40-day memorial service it is obligatory to invite a priest who should sing the requiem on the grave and after that, the lunch table. The priest also sings the requiem on the occasion of other commemorations. The grave of the deceased is visited every Sunday and every holiday.

On the occasion of the commemorative services of the death of a member of the family, the lunch is usually served in the home of the deceased, after the visit of the grave. A priest sings requiems on the grave three times a year, during the souls' days. During the major religious holidays the graves of the close relatives and friends

⁶ During the visit of the cemeteries, the variety of monuments can be noticed which is a result of the different periods of their construction

are visited and food is shared among the present people while the deceased persons are named. On the occasion of All Souls's Day there is a table with food arranged in the yard of the church Sveti Atanasij and the attendees have a lunch together.

Usually, when the relatives and close friends visit the grave they bring food and they leave over the grave. When somebody goes to a church, he/she usually visits the graves of his/her close relatives who are buried in the church yards..

INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

Based on the processing of the collected empirical material the key moments are distinguished which are related to the performance of the funeral of the deceased inhabitants of Lukovo. The additional comparative analysis, especially of the neighboring villages, would separate some features which would characterize this village.

According to the statements of the respondents, the customs which are practiced during the funerals are customs which are characteristic for the Drimkol region. However, some of the respondents note that there are minor *deviations* from one to another village. Some of the respondents also point out the slow changing of some funeral customs. So, some particular customs are still practiced, but most of them take on formal feature. It is also characteristic that the emphasis is placed on the practical moment during the practicing of the funeral customs. All the respondents pointed out that the changes of the funeral customs can be seen by comparing them with the funeral customs practiced in the neighboring villages within the Drimkol region, adding that the borderline has relatively minor or has no importance for them at all.

LITERATURE

- Berger, P. *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion*. Anchor Books, 1990.
- Bryman, A. *Social Research Methods*. Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Cacanaska, R. *Public Religion in Macedonia*. Skopje: Law University, 2010.
- Casanova, H. *Public Religions in the Modern World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.
- Davie, G. *Religion in Modern Europe. Mutation of Memories*. Zagreb: Golden marketing/Tehnička knjiga, 2005.
- Filipovic, Mil. S. *Drimkol of Debar*. Skopje: Printing House South Serbia, 1939.
- Hamilton, M. *The Sociology of Religion*, London: Routledge, 1994.
- Hervieu-Leger, D. *Religion as a Chain of Memory*. Rutgers University Press, 2000.
- Malinov Z. „Symbolism of the Funeral Custom in Macedonians”. *Specter* 39-40 (2002).
- Milanov Risteski, D. *Funeral Customs and Rituals in Mariovo and Meglen. Macedonian Folklore XXVII*, 54 (1999).
- Olevska, R. *Traces of the Cult of Deceased in the Macedonian Religious Songs. Macedonian Folklore XXVII*, 54 (1999).
- Rusik, B. *Folk customs from Ohrid Valley and Prespa* (unpublished work, 51 pages, typed unpublished ethnographic field notes).
- Sterjovski, A. “Funeral Customs and Professional Mourners in the Peoples of the Balkans in the Foreigners' Traveling Notes: V-XIX Century”. *Attachments – Bitola Journal of the Society of Sciences and Arts*, 1984.

Web location

The Documentary Portal *Mariovo Film*, author Z. Kosteski, *Reportage for Dolni Drimkol – Lukovo (Ohrid-Struga-Drimkol Postcard – Lukovo – II part)*, <http://mariovofilm.mk/mk/content/lukovo-dolni-drimkol> (Accessed on 02 May 2015).

†EXHIBITON OF ICONS OF SAINT NAUM OF OHRID IN THE ICON PAINTING OF THE EPARCHY OF DEBAR AND KICHEVO FROM THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY, 06 October, 2010, <http://www.dke.org.mk/index.php/231-xviii-xix>, (Accessed on 02. 05. 2015).

Lukovo – Macedonia, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YCANQ7O-aj4> (Accessed on 02 April 2015).

Funeral Customs in the Border Area – Lukovo Case Study

Monasteries and Churches – Dolni Drimkol – blog, <http://dolnidrimkol.blog.com/> (Accessed on 12 May 2015).

Commission for Relations with the Religious Communities and Groups. (website) Macedonian Orthodox Church. Available from <http://www.kovz.gov.mk>. (Accessed on 27 April 2015).
Churches Lukovo, <https://www.facebook.com/crkvi.lukovo?fref=ts> (Accessed on 15 May 2015).

PHOTOGRAPHS



Lukovo – downloaded by <https://www.google.mk/maps/place/Lukovo>



Church *Sveti Kuzman i Damjan* – Lukovo



Church *Sveta Vraca* – *Kuzman i Damjan* – Gorno Lukovo, downloaded by <http://mariovofilm.mk/mk/content/lukovo>



Church *Sveti Nikola* – Lukovo, downloaded by https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1408570386055106&set=yo.100007064747933.2014.www_timeline.&type=1&theater



Church Sveta Varvara (1931) – Lukovo (16. 05. 2015)



Sveti Atanasij – Lukovo (16. 05. 2015)

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS ON THE BORDER



Church *Sveti Atanasij* – Lukovo (Pentecost 2014)

https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=1408570386055106&set=yo.100007064747933.2014.www_timeline.&type=1&theater



Church *Sveti Gorgija* – Lukovo (St George`s Date – 2014)

Vladimir Bakrač
Ljubomir Popović

BURIAL CUSTOMS IN THE CENTRAL AND NORTH-EASTERN PART OF MONTENEGRO

INTRODUCTION

The phrase that man is a being who lives on the earth in order to bury his dead people is certainly not far from the truth. Caring for the dead in different cultures is manifested in different ways, so there is a variety of ways of how living people treat and bury the dead. It is exactly this caring for the dead that produced a variety of different customs and rituals.

During the research of burial customs, we relied in our work largely on the current ethnological material that we gathered, so the description represented *conditio sine quo non*. We certainly used observation and conversation with locals of the area included by research as necessary methodological instruments. Ethnological data we obtained mainly testify that there was a variety of customs and rituals while burying the deceased. Some of these customs are still present, while large number of them disappeared. Analyzing the ethnographic material, we find that the roots of these customs go to distant past. Even Vuk S. Kardžića in the book *Montenegro and the Bay of Kotor*, which was first published in Vienna in 1849, expressed his impressions when he was returning from a trip to Montenegro and wrote: "A dead person is usually washed or bathed, men bathe men and women bathe women, then they put on them a clean shirt, adorn him with flowers and lay them; they put on men the most beautiful clothes and they put weapons around him. They cover him with a clean shroud in the grave." As we will see in the paper, the similar practice of preparing the deceased for burial is still present. We will not deal with motives, beliefs and detailed explanations why some customs were performed. Our work will be focused on the variety of customs that follow the deceased, from the moment of death to the act of burial.

As we have said, Montenegro is an area that abounds with variety of customs connected with preparation of the deceased for burial. Almost each Montenegrin tribe had different customs that were connected with the very act of burial of the deceased. Therefore, we are free to notice that there is no smaller country that has more customs connected with burial of the deceased. It best describes how much Montenegrins emphasized the importance and significance of saying goodbye to the deceased in a dignified way. Indeed, many of these customs disappeared with modernization and improvement of life conditions. In our opinion, the variety of factors is directly conditioned by a descriptive analysis of ethnological material on burial customs. We conditionally divided these factors into cultural and religious, material and geospatial. Burial customs certainly differ depending on the confessional affiliation. The burial customs are not same in the part that is dominated by Orthodox believers and in the areas dominated by population of Islamic religion. In most part of the north and north-east Montenegro, the custom is to bring brandy, coffee etc. to a funeral, in order to help the family that is affected by the tragedy. This is explained by the fact that it is geographically very inaccessible area, so it was not easy to come to the town in order to purchase all the necessary supplies for funeral of the deceased, especially if it was the winter period when a heavy snow used to fall in these areas. Therefore, we should not be surprised by the fact that in some areas people bring alcoholic beverages, coffee and often money. By analyzing the gathered mate-

rial, we find that the reading of what someone brought and with what he helped the family affected by the tragedy, was practised during the burial ceremony. In the southern part of Montenegro, where climatic and economic conditions are more favourable, the burial customs differ in relation to the north and central part of the country.

Briefly, formation of customs in Montenegro, even those of funeral character, should be considered as a result of patriarchal environment and certain closeness of family, tribe and village. The peculiarities of natural and geographical components of the area of Montenegro along with underdevelopment of the economy and the level of enlightenment of the population resulted in variety of customs of the locals from these areas. Therefore, each brotherhood or tribe has different customs that are present during burial. On the contrary, expansion of brotherhoods and tribes, their mixing and mutual connections, appearance of emigration and settlement, led to changing and mutual intermingling of customs (Spasojević 2007, 119). These processes had their own dynamics expressed during historical and geographical development of Montenegro, especially territorial expansions which followed in 1796, after 1820, 1859, 1861, 1878, and 1913. Some differences are still retained by the integration of different territorial and tribal areas, especially those with predominantly Orthodox population where the funeral customs are quite similar and identical. The process of changing the customs in relation to the way they used to be and the fact that they increasingly disappear, are present today (Spasojević 2007, 120).

GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDIED AREA

Banjani and Grahovo are located in the western part of Montenegro, as the border regions towards Herzegovina. Important roads that connect Montenegro with Bosnia and Herzegovina pass through Banjani. In a broad sense, Banjani and Grahovo belong to the region of Central Montenegro and they are in the administrative boundaries of the municipality of Nikšić. Concerning the relief, Banjani represents a part of limestone plateau with a series of vales, valleys, dales and similar forms of relief. One of the most dominant forms of relief in Grahovo is Grahovsko polje – the second largest karst field in Montenegro with an area of approximately 6, 4 km² and altitude of 690 to 780 meters. The climate in Banjani is quite favourable with average annual air temperature of about 9, 6°C and average annual precipitation of about 1600 mm (data for station Velimlje). The average annual air temperature is almost the same in Grahovo, while the average annual precipitation is higher – about 3140 mm; the highest in the area of municipality of Nikšić (Radojičić 2010, 110–111).

Banjani was inhabited since ancient times because of favourable life conditions, what is evidenced by the monuments from prehistoric, Illyrian, Roman and Slavic period. It is divided into Gornji and Donji Banjani, and it is supposed that they were named after immigrant families from the place Banjska, Kosovo (*Historical Lexicon of Montenegro* 2006, 87). After the battle of Grahovac and demarcation with Turkey, one part of Banjani became a part of Montenegro in 1859. Grahovo is mentioned as a tribe from the end of XIV century in the documents of the archive of Kotor. This area came under Turkish rule in 1465 and had an important strategic position for anti-Ottoman actions in neighbouring Herzegovina for many years, and it was annexed to Montenegro after the battle of Grahovac in 1858. (*Historical Lexicon of Montenegro* 2006, 649). In the area of the former tribe Grahovo (municipality of Grahovo existed until 1960), as well as in the area of Banjani, the outflow of population is noticeable and these areas are affected by depopulation.

As an ethnic entity Vasojevići covered an area of Lijeva Rijeka and upper basin of the river Tara in the beginning, and later expanded to the area along the upper course of Lim and old Budimlja. The area of Vasojevići is located between Komovi, Pro-

kletije and Visitor in the south, Mokra Planina, Cmiljevica and Turjak in the east, Bjelasica and Ključ in the north-west and Vjeternik in the west. Greater part of Vasojevići is located in the north-east of Montenegro. The historical and ethnical borders of the area of Vasojevići were formed in XIX century. It borders with Brtonožići and Kući in the south and with Kolašin, Morača and Rovci in the west. The area of Vasojevići today administratively belongs to the municipalities of Bijelo Polje, Berane, Andrijevica, Plav, Kolašin and Podgorica (Kićović 2001, 153–156). Ljeva Rijeka is considered as the centre of the tribe where according to tradition, after the battle of Kosovo, the progenitor of the tribe first settled with his family (Vešović 1998, 17–18).

BURIAL CUSTOMS IN CERTAIN BORDER AREAS OF MONTENEGRO

Burial customs in Banjani. The custom is that the closest relatives, best men, friends, even acquaintances and those who were good friends with the deceased hold a wake over him. When a person dies his family bathe and dress him, they put on him the most beautiful clothes he had. Today, it is a custom to put on a new suit, while in the earlier period older men and women prepared burial clothes during their life. Often it was a custom to bury the deceased dressed in Montenegrin national costume. It is one of the customs that is still practised, especially when it comes to older persons (Fig. 1). Indeed, this custom is increasingly disappearing with the modern way and conditions of life. The deceased is then placed on the table with his face turned to the east. Bathing and dressing of the deceased, except for practical significance and respect for the deceased, have also a deeper meaning: the deceased person is prepared to come out clean, not only with soul but also with body before the face of living God. Turning the deceased's face towards the east during the time he is exposed and later in the grave, is because the Sun rises in the east and light is the life. The Earth's sun is a symbol of Christ who is "the Sun of justice" (as stated in anthem), so people pray to God in the religious ceremony to "give the eternal peace to the deceased in the light of Christ's face" (Spasojević 2007, 14, 16).

It is a custom to cover the deceased with a shroud, and not to bind his arms or legs. Family and close relatives of the deceased dressed themselves in mourning, more often in the earlier period unlike today's customs, women wore all the clothes coloured in black and they covered heads with scarves (Fig. 2). In the earlier period, the custom was to wear the mourning up to a year (single mother of the deceased or sister who lost her brother, if she was not married, wore the mourning during her whole life; in case of the death of his only son or serious tragedy, father wore black shirt), while today that period is shorter. Children did not wear the mourning. It was not a custom to put a black flag on a house as a sign of mourning (Spasojević 2007, 122), as it was present in other areas. Laments were particularly present: at the bier of the deceased, during funeral procession from the house to the cemetery and at the cemetery. It is interesting that a woman restrains from lamenting over her husband, and male lamentation was not present in Banjani (Spasojević 2007, 123). Close relatives gather above the bier of the deceased, and those who come to the funeral bring a bottle of brandy, though optionally. Crying, wailing, lamentation and laments stop as the night comes. By an Orthodox interpretation, this ceased to be possible from the time of "all night services" during which the prayers were chanted and Holy Scripture was read, so that it would not disturb the service. Possibly, the reason for that was not to terrify the children and disturb those who needed rest (Spasojević 2007, 15). The custom is that during the night, a wake over the deceased is performed in a way that people do not stand but sit and they do not leave him alone for a moment. Otherwise, the custom of holding the wake over the deceased among Orthodox is quite old, and even among ancient Christians there were panachidas – "all night services" – services during the whole night and prayers for the deceased, where the prayer during "wake" for the deceased represented the prayer for the repose of

his soul. The Psalms were read for believers and monks, the Gospels for the clergy. In Montenegro, even today in some places it is a custom to read parts from the New Testament, so called John's Chapters above the deceased, especially at night (Spasojević 2007, 14).

Serving coffee, tobacco and brandy for those at the bier is usual, and the food is served on the table before the funeral because those who mourn for the deceased come from different areas and they are not able to return to the house of the deceased after the funeral because of food. From the religious standpoint, this custom dates from the period of the early church and so called Agape – love feast, when the nights were spent in singing of psalms and prayers, service of the liturgy and communion, so the food on the table was served. It was practised while giving the eternal peace to a believer, which explains later customs of panachidas and dirges that confirm a mysterious community of the dead and the alive (Spasojević 2007, 15–16). The ox was usually killed for the purpose of preparing food in case of the death of host of the house.

The grave for the deceased is usually prepared by neighbours because those who receive condolences do not prepare it. Those who dug the grave are not required to wait for the procession at the cemetery, as it is the case in some places. There is a noticeable solidarity among people in these situations. Wealthier houses had their own tombs, and those who did not have it are buried in the grave.

The funeral is not practised before the expiry of 24 hours from the time of death, and it is usually performed between 1 p.m. and 3 p.m.; never before noon or in the evening. If the priest is called, he holds a requiem in the house or at the cemetery. The deceased is carried to the cemetery with legs facing forward because, according to the religious interpretation, while walking a leg goes in front of the head, and since the deceased “goes” to eternity it is natural to put the legs forward (Spasojević 2007, 16). When the cemetery is farther from the house, the deceased is put on the place that is called the resting place. Here is an interesting custom, during that period, the head of the deceased is turned in the direction of the cemetery, and when they continue their way to the cemetery they put again the deceased's legs forward. The speeches are held at the cemetery, depending on the reputation of the deceased, and sometimes relatives say goodbye to the deceased by kissing him. Those who dug the grave, now bury the deceased. It is the custom to leave flowers, bottle of brandy, quince or apple on the grave (Fig. 3 and 4). In the earlier period in Banjani, returning to the cemetery was not practised after the first, third and seventh morning, while today the custom of returning to the cemetery after the third morning and commemoration after a year are adopted. Suicides were buried outside the cemetery in the earlier period. The religious interpretation of this act is of pedagogical character. The suicide is attack on the sanctity of own life and in healthy people it is a result of little faith, despair and disbelief in God, so the cemeteries were made in “the shadow of the church” and assigned only to Christians. The aim of the church was to act in a stimulating way on those who remain in order to protect themselves from suicide; to be buried at the cemetery is honour and blessing, while the opposite is warning to the contemporaries and descendants to protect themselves from that what degrades the human dignity (Spasojević 2007, 19–20).

In *Grahovo*, as the second selected border area from the west and south-eastern part of Montenegro, certain burial customs are similar to those from the previous area, while certain differences are also present. The custom of holding the wake over the dying person is present here, as well as bathing and preparing of the deceased that were carried out usually by members of the family and that work was carried out mostly by women. Hands of the deceased person were folded and bound on his chest and legs and jaw were also bound. The deceased was covered with sheet or a white shroud. Women wear mourning and men put a black cloth around hand, today it is a mourning badge on the lapel. Here is also present the custom that in

case of the death of the host of the house, his son puts on a black shirt and father puts on a black shirt in case of his son's death, and if the house remained without men, black flags were put on the houses and that was not the custom in Banjani. In the evening wailing, laments and lamentation stop and the deceased is covered with a sheet over his head. Those who stayed during the whole night to hold a wake over the deceased, emphasizes Spasojević, were served with tobacco, coffee and drink, and from half of the night the food was served – usually snack of cured meat and dairy products (Spasojević 2007, 143–144).

The food is prepared the next day and it is served after the funeral, otherwise, the burial is performed after at least 24 hours from the time of death and always in the afternoon. In the earlier period, the custom of burying the deceased without coffin was present, but today it is performed in coffins. According to the religious concept, burial with the coffin is a new custom. The deceased were buried without the coffins and wrapped in their dresses and burial cloths for centuries, what is the custom today among monks on Mount Athos. Pilgrims, who visited the tomb of Christ, bought the burial cloth which pictured lowering of the Christ into the grave. Burying directly in the ground is in accordance with the words from the requiem, that are of biblical origin “you are soil, to the soil you will return”¹ (Spasojević 2007, 17–18). The deceased is carried to the cemetery with legs facing forward (see picture 5). When they bring out the coffin from the house, they knock three times on the doorstep with it. This is because, according to the religious concept, faith in the Holy Trinity is the essence of Christian faith, so going of the deceased on a journey from which there is no return is also in the name of the Holy Trinity. This evokes the blessing of the Holy Trinity for the deceased and those he leaves, which symbolizes the deceased's attachment to the home after his death (Spasojević 2007, 16–17). The relatives of the deceased lower the coffin into the grave and serve brandy at the exit of the cemetery. If brandy remains in the bottle, it is left on the grave of the deceased (Fig. 3 and 4). Participation of priests in the funeral ceremony usually depended on the family of the deceased, i.e. from case to case. After the funeral, those who want go to the house of the deceased to have a meal.

Returning to the grave is usually practised after the seventh morning as well as commemoration after forty days,² and after that people go to the house of the deceased for a drink and snack. In the earlier period it was a custom that all those who come on the seventh morning bring a bottle of brandy and food, but today that custom disappeared. Also, as Spasojević (whose sources we used most frequently in this paper) emphasizes, in the earlier period the suicides and unbaptized children were buried outside the cemetery, while nowadays it is not the case (Spasojević 2007, 143–146).

¹ “By the sweat of your face you will eat bread, until you return to the ground from which you were taken; because you are dust and to the dust you will return” (Genesis 3, 19). In *Parimejnik*, in the section of Genesis that is read on Friday of the first week of Lent during evening service, is written: “...By the sweat of your face you will eat bread, until you return to the ground from which you were taken; because you are soil and to the soil you will return” (*Parimejnik* 2000, 24; translation Bishop Atanasije Jevtić).

² God rested after creation of the world on the seventh day, and Saturday as the seventh day in a week is the day when Christ reposed in the tomb, which explains the day of the dead. All Soul's Days during the year are performed on Saturdays. The commemoration after forty days is widely spread, and according to the religious concept it is the most important because on that day, according to the religious tradition, the soul goes to God on a partial and temporary judgement as a preparation for the Terrible and final judgement of God. Also, it is very important for that commemoration to be on the fortieth day, while there are some variations according to circumstances for the other commemorations (Spasojević 2007, 18–19).

Customs in Vasojevići. Holding the wake over the persons during illness and especially at the end of their lives is also the custom here. If the older person is dying, he would usually be reminded to say or recommend something to someone and to forgive people and others if he was once angry with them. When dying, it was very important in whose hands the sick person would die, usually in the hands of son, brother, father or closer relative, and the wax candle above the sick person's bed was lit at that moment (Vešović 1998, 403). Men bathe and dress the deceased men, women bathe and dress the deceased women, and they put on them the most beautiful clothes (burial clothes prepared during life in the earlier period). Some of the women binds the deceased's chin and folds his arms on his chest, while the coins are put on the deceased's eyes so that eyelids would be closed. It is a custom that men grow beard and wear black shirts for the closest member of the family for a period of forty days, while widows or sisters who lost brothers would wear the mourning during their whole life. The deceased is exposed in the open coffin with his face towards the east. Once, there was a custom in Vasojevići that the deceased was laid on the raised platform of boards at first, and later he was laid in the coffin, before going to the cemetery (Vešović 1998, 403).

The deceased is surrounded by women who cry, lament and wail, and little farther there are men (Fig. 6). Once, as a sign of great sorrow, women used to cut their hair or scratch face (mother who lost son, sister who lost brother), and in case that house remained without men, the black flag was put on the house. When approaching the deceased older men go first, then younger men and women. In this part of Montenegro, when people come to give condolences, it is a custom to bring a bottle of brandy and place it at the head of the deceased (Fig. 7). Sometimes some of the men, who have a gift, lament over the deceased (only a man) with chosen words. In the evening the deceased is covered with a shroud over his head until the morning, and crying, wailing and laments stop. The breakfast is prepared in the morning for those who were all night by the deceased. The meal is prepared before the funeral for those who came from far away, so they would not return to the deceased's house from the cemetery. If the deceased died before midnight, he can be buried tomorrow until 3 p.m.; otherwise he cannot be buried until the next day. In case they waited for some of the relatives to arrive from far away, the funeral would be performed after the expiry of 24 hours. The time of the funeral is usually from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m. Some of the closer relatives takes bottle of brandy, invites his best man, close friend or someone with whom he previously agreed and thanks him for coming. That person then takes the bottle, thanks him for the toast and holds a farewell speech.

When they bring out the deceased, some of the men turns the table on which the deceased was exposed, in order to stop further dying, as it is believed. Distant relatives or neighbours who dug the grave, wait for the procession at the cemetery, which is explained as an expression of respect for the deceased and funeral, and in order to help with the funeral (Spasojević 2007, 16, 139). At the entrance to the cemetery, they lower the coffin and then they proceed towards the grave and put the deceased next to the grave, after which someone again thanks the people who are present. They unbind the deceased's hands and chin,³ close the coffin and lower it into the grave, after which they all leave except the relatives who came from far away.

They return to the cemetery the next day and the next week (they stay there for about half an hour or little longer), after which they are all invited to come to the house of the deceased to have a meal. Commemorations after forty days, half of a year and year are rarely practised, but the money was usually given to a charity. The

³ The point of this is that the deceased does not remain bound in the grave, because a man is a being created to be free, both alive and dead. It is also a sign of faith in the immortality of man and at the same time it is a testimony that God created man not for slavery but for freedom, both in this and the other world (Spasojević 2007, 14–15).

bereaved family was careful not to sing during a year, but there were also some exceptions. In the earlier period there was a custom of so called "lamentation over the clothes", which was performed on three or four festivals after the funeral, when the deceased's suit was brought out in front of the house and men used to cry and lament over it and women used to wail. It was believed that a cat must not jump over the deceased because he would become a vampire⁴ (Spasojević 2007, 136–142). In order to describe these former customs Radoslav-Jagoš Vešović states: "Family of the deceased tells about his death, if it is not known, around all the surrounding villages, where it is important. *Penitent women* soon come from near and distant places. That coming to give condolences, i.e. crying and grieving over the deceased is called 'crying', 'grieving' or 'penitence'. After three days or in the first week after the death, those who could not come to the funeral because of distance or because they were not informed of the death, come to the deceased's house. Then they bring out the clothes, cap and weapon of the deceased and they lament and cry over it. The relatives and neighbours come again. Such visits of the house and the grave of the deceased are also called '*crying*'. In the earlier period, the lament was accompanied by 'turning' (inside out) certain clothes (men usually turned 'waistcoat' inside out, and women 'long waistcoats'), placing black flags, cutting the hair (by women), scratching the face (by men and women). This used to happen especially if the deceased was someone important" (Vešović 1998, 403–404).

CONCLUSION

On the basis of what we have emphasized in this paper, therefore, on the basis of the presented material, even though the presentation for the purposes of this paper is fragmentary in some parts, we can come to a few conclusions. First of all, Montenegro is an area that abounds with a great number of burial customs, which vary depending on the area. These customs are directly conditioned by a series of economic, religious and geographical factors. Also, we can conclude that a great number of burial customs disappeared, while a small number of burial customs is still present. No matter what kind of funeral is preferred, we can conclude from the paper that there is a certain concern of living people for the further existence of the dead, which is clearly evidenced by alcoholic drinks, cigarettes, etc. on the grave. The answer to the question why this custom is practised requires a lot of generalization; although we think that here it is about belief in life after biological death. We think that the other customs like bathing of the deceased, turning the deceased's head towards the east and similar have religious meaning and significance. In any case, the paper has the objective to prevent certain customs from falling into oblivion and to determine which of these burial customs are practised today.

REFERENCES

- Historical Lexicon of Montenegro*, book 1, 3, Daily Press-VIJESTI, Podgorica, 2006.
Kićović, M. D. *Geographical Representation of Vasojevići*, Vremekazi-Co-llected Works on Education, Science, Art and Culture, number 1, 153-168. Andrijevića, 2001.
Radojičić, B. *The Municipality of Nikšić – Nature and Social Development*. Nikšić: Faculty of Philosophy, 2010.
Spasojević, M. V. *The Funeral Customs in the Territory of Montenegro*. Podgorica: Pobjeda A. D., 2007.
Vešović, J. R. *Tribe Vasojevići*. Andrijevića and Podgorica: Publishing House „STUPOVI“ and National Library „Radosav Ljumović“ (reprint edition from 1935), 1998.

⁴ This, as well as bringing out the deceased's suit in front of the house, was recorded by the priest Bogdan Lalević and Ivan Protić in the book *Vasojevići on Montenegrin and Turkish border* from 1903 and 1905.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. The deceased dressed in Montenegrin national costume



Fig. 2. The family of the deceased dressed in black clothes with black scarves on their heads



Fig. 3. Brandy is left on the grave in Grahovo and Banjani



Fig. 4. Bottles of brandy on the grave is the custom which is still present in some places



Fig. 5. Carrying the deceased to the grave with legs facing forward



Fig. 6. Women cry and wail beside the coffin with the deceased, men are behind them

Valentina Vaseva

**BURIAL RITES IN THE REGION OF CARIBROD
(DIMITROVGRAD, REPUBLIC OF SERBIA)**

The text is written down on the basis of the surveys carried out by the author, together with Cvetan Manov from the Regional History Museum in Pernik, in the Municipality of Dimitrovgrad in Serbia in July 2004. The research comprised the villages of Gojin Do, Prtopopinci, Izatovci and Senokos. Two of the examined villages are located in the Stara Mountain area of Gornji Visok (Izatovci and Senokos); one is in the Valley of Zabrđe (Prtopopinci) and one (Gojin Do) is an almost suburban village of Dimitrovgrad (its former name was Caribrod) at 15 kilometres west of the town. The region belongs to the so-called Western provinces that the Principality of Bulgaria gave in to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine of 1919, namely those that had belonged to it for forty years. After the Congress of Berlin of 1878, Caribrod as the centre of Visočka region with its surrounding villages was added to the territory of Bulgaria and it remained part of it till November, 6, 1920. The old borderline between Serbia and Bulgaria used to be west of Dimitrovgrad, between the villages of Obrenovac and Gojin Do. Up to the Balkan wars the crossings of the border were free because, in 1905, all the then existing customs had been removed (Nikolov 1963, 29, 34). After the Treaty of Neuilly-sur-Seine, outside Bulgaria there remained 105 villages (including the ones involved in our research) as well as the town of Caribrod while twenty-five villages were divided by the new Bulgarian-Serbian state border. From 1920 to 1935 a great number of refugees from the lost territory headed for Bulgaria; estimates say between 12,000 and 15,000 people. The region embraced by our research was firstly annexed to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes which, in 1929, changed its name into the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. On the huge territory of the Kingdom, the Pirot-Caribrod region takes the most eastern part (*Bulgarians from the Western Provinces* 2010, 332–460).

Our research was carried out by the traditional ethnographic methods of collecting oral information by means of structured and semi-structures interviews relating to burial rites of the Bulgarians from the Western provinces both in their contemporary forms as in the practice in the past on the basis of older generations' recollections. Most of the examinees were people of advanced age, largely retired ones who, in their active working life, lived in some of the nearby towns (Pirot, Dimitrovgrad) or in the capital Belgrade and who, after they had retired, went back to their native villages. In a great number of the recorded stories, people remember the ways in which the burial rites of their close relatives were done, namely, those who died when they were children or youths in their native country as well as the burial rites after the downfall of the communist regime in Yugoslavia and the breakdown of the federation. All the materials are recorded by the tape recorder while the phono recordings and photographs are in the author's personal archive. The decoded paper materials are in the Scientific Archive of the IEFEM (Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Studies with Ethnographic Museum) of the BAN (Bulgarian Academy of Sciences) in Sofia. My field work in the region of Godech took place during the student ethnographic expeditions in the period from 1980 to 1984 when we examined the villages of Ginci, Brakovci, Tuden, Rajanovci, Prekste, Komštica, Lipinci, Murgaš, Be-

rende and Vasilovci as well as towns of Godech, Dragoman and Slivnica. All the materials from these expeditions about the burial rites in the regions of Godech and Dragoman I used in my work on the ph. dissertation "Similarities and Differences in the Burial Rites of Bulgarians and Romanians" defended in 1990.

The forebodings of death have largely faded from the memory of the present inhabitants of the region of Dimitrovgrad; those interviewed remember only some dreams and unusual behaviour of the dogs whose howling passes the news of the incoming death in a family. A widely spread even today in villages and towns (Pirost and Dimitrovgrad) is information about death by means of public death notices or obituaries (that we have taken a large number of photos during the field work and on other travels around the region). Older generations remember that the death notices appeared in the seventies and eighties of the twentieth century and were taken up by the villages as an urban custom. In the past they were ordered in Pirost and were glued on the places where the largest number of people usually got together such as village centre (for instance, Senokos), on the roads and on house doors. The death notices were ordered both for the funeral as well as for significant commemorations for the after-death period of a year; their official name was "necrology." In the distant past the news of someone's death was passed around through special family envoys that would make the round of cousins' homes. Yet, as our informants say, "the village is small and very quickly one learns who died"; the news spreads by word of mouth. An older woman recalled how, in the case of death, people mourned in the dooryard and in the house itself so that the neighbours would know that someone died in that household.

The burial is usually done twenty-four hours after death since the clergy are not willing to hold a funeral service before this period has expired. The burial itself is usually held in the first part of the day; the same stands for All Souls' Day when people also go to the cemeteries. The deceased usually has new clothes and shoes put on while the old clothes are burned on the twentieth day since death or given to the poor or left (newer ones) for the cousins to wear them later. Some better clothes of the deceased are buried together with him so that he would have them "on the other world." In the past this was not much while today quite a large amount of clothes in addition to bed sheets and blankets (for instance, mattress, bed sheet, rug and the like) are put in the casket. After the deceased is bathed and prepared, the body is deliberately "needle-pierced on the legs" so as to prevent it from turning into a *tenec* or vampire. This is still done by older women who know how to perform this custom. The ideas about the *tenec* have quite weakened; even older generations can remember that they have only heard about them without believing in any of this; neither do they have any personal experience about the transformed dead. Likewise, also very weakened is the memory of *novjaci* which is intertwined with the notions of vampire and devil. Before lowering the body of the deceased into the grave, the coffin has a death shroud put over it; a new nail is hammered on the coffin and then it is interred. The coffins are usually bought in Dimitrovgrad, even in the past; on the coffin itself there are four holders; this proves that no one in the region knows anything about a litter for carrying the dead. To the cemetery the coffin is carried by younger men; if the cemetery is quite far away, the transport of the dead is done by the tractor. The funeral procession obligatory stops at three places – crossroads, bridge and village fountain where the priest says a prayer. Nothing is left at these places; once the prayer is over, the procession resumes its walk to the cemetery.

The home of the deceased is visited by all cousins, friends and neighbours in order to give him their absolution. Most often the whole village comes; everyone brings flowers for the dead, homemade food, wine, Rakia and other things needed for

the funeral meal which, traditionally, takes place in the home of the deceased after the burial. In all the villages that were comprised by our research, the inhabitants remember the cases in which flowers, food or other things are sent through the newly-dead to those previously deceased who had appeared in the dreams of their closest ones; or, these were the things people had forgotten to put into their caskets at the then burials.

Once the funeral procession leaves the house, a few men and women stay at home, take the table on which the deceased was lying out of the house together with all the things that were also placed on it; they clean the house, sweep the room floor and lay the tables; they put on them plates and utensils for the funeral meal. While the body is still in the house, beneath the table is put a stone or a jug with water and besides it a nail, an axe, a hammer and other blade-like things. After the deceased's body is taken out of the house, the same is done with these objects. On the stone, placed outside, candles are lit in the first forty days after death in the case that some of the inmates are not able to go to the cemetery.

At the funeral and all more important commemorations such as the fortieth day, the half-a-year and a year's ones, the ritual bread is always made by the same woman who is chosen at the burial and who is called a "cook." Other women give her a hand while food is prepared for the funeral and other meals. The cook and other women who are close to the deceased are given gifts such as rugs, towels, clothes, stockings, and the like. Today the gifts are more plentiful and bought in the stores. It is obligatory to prepare ritual breads for the deceased: *pita* is for the dead, *krsnik* is a bread loaf in the form of cross which is given to the priest, and *kola* is cut by the priest for the health of the living. Rarely – as a memory of early childhood – have we registered the practice of making small bread loaves or *proskura* distributed to children. The funeral can be attended by children but this is not a frequent phenomenon while on the All Souls' Day the whole families together with children commemorate it. The examinees remember how often they used to observe the autumn Zadoushnitza (Dimitrovden, St. Demetrius's Day) when they were given for "the sake of God's forgiveness" all sorts of food: boiled corn, fruit, sweets and the like. The funerals were most often avoided by pregnant women as well as those newly-wed because this was considered as bad for future children. As for the deceased, special things are obligatory prepared for him such as boiled wheat and pies with all sorts of stuffing. In the fasting periods, food is beans or fried fish; at other times, it includes boiled meat, grilled things, stuffed peppers, stuffed cabbage rolls, and the like. For the deceased it is obligatory to prepare one or three sacrificial offerings, usually a lamb or sheep; the poorer ones kill chickens or a pig can do as well. When the sacrificial rite is only one, it is observed at the burial; when there are three of them, they are observed on the burial day, on the fortieth day since death and on the year's memorial.

In the region comprised by our research no fire burning around the grave is known; neither is the third day rite (*trećina*). The first memorial is done on the ninth day (*devetina*); sometimes this service is also observed on the twentieth day if this is the first time to observe memorial after burial. After the twentieth day it is already possible to plant flowers on the grave though it is a rare practice to plant a fruit-bearing or decorative tree on the grave meant as a "shadow." Important commemoration days, that many people are referring to, are done on the fortieth day (when the grave is levelled), at half-a-year and a year after death. Also, on great memorials it is obligatory to have a priest to say a prayer, regardless of the fact that today majority of these villages do not have a priest and are forced to invite a priest from another village to come and do memorial prayer. Poorer people can call the priest only once; yet his presence at the burial is obligatory. If the church representative is too busy,

he sometimes misses to stay at the funeral meal in the house of the deceased; but he usually blesses holy water and sprinkles it in the house, reads the names of the living for their good health, blesses the meal and cuts the cake for the health of the living. At the table the priest usually sits separately since people do not like to sit next to him feeling him to be an omen of death (Senokos).

In the given villages an old custom, characteristic for West Bulgaria or more precisely, for the region of Godech, is still preserved. Namely, while putting down the body into the grave, the cousins tie to children and closest persons a rope or a red thread and turn them backwards to the grave (for the region of Godech; Vaseva 1990, 235, for the region of Sofia where the closest relatives have belts tied: Genčev 1993, 225). After the coffin is lowered into the grave, all those present, throw a handful of earth into the grave. The mourners then leave the cemetery very quickly; the first ones go back home without looking back at the grave. On the way home from the funeral, mourners do not take the same road they used while coming to the funeral. Another ancient custom is preserved: the widow breaks off a green twig, takes it home, hangs it over the hearth and says the words, „How nice it is without you!“. The person closest to the deceased picks up something „greenish“ on the road – fruit or nettle, whatever, so long as it is green – and takes it home. This custom was registered by Bulgarian ethnologists in the region of Sofia – Kremikovci or Busmanci (Genčev 1993, 225). This is done in order to preserve the living from death.

In the cemeteries in the villages around Dimitrovgrad we have noticed many porcelain plates and utensils (usually spoons and forks, rarely knives), porcelain coffee cups, wine glasses and other dishes. To our question why this is done, we have been given answers that food is put in these dishes for the deceased as well as coffee, wine or Rakia, depending on what the deceased liked to have. This is done at all memorial ceremonies and soul-days on the calendar. At some places we are told that these dishes and utensils are not brought home even for washing – women wash them at the very grave with the water they bring from home and they spill over the grave as well. The spilling of wine over the grave we have not seen, only water. In some other villages we are told that the dishes are taken home, washed and again brought to the grave together with food and drinks. Firstly a candle is lit and the water is spilt; part of the food brought for the deceased is put in the plate and only then is the priest called to say a prayer. Afterwards, all the mourners are gathered at a place on the cemetery, usually at the entrance or at a central place or some special place with the stones set in a circle where the collective meal is served for the dead. Such „family stones“ are also used in the patron saint's day celebrations (Hristov 2004, 157). Each clan or family has its own stone at that very place where the relatives are sitting. All people exchange food with each other for „May God forgive...“. Some of the obtained food is eaten at the cemetery; some is taken home; the rest is given to domestic animals as well. This is not „sinful“ since this food should not be thrown away.

For the funeral not much food is taken; usually a woman carries wheat while another carries bread; a man carries a jug of wine. The same people stand at the cemetery entrance after the funeral (while in Prtopopinci there are two big stones at the entrance which are called the „gate“ that people with food stand by) and before the mourners leave the cemetery, they give them wheat, bread and wine. Of all the things taken to the cemetery only wheat is not taken back home; if it remains, it is spilt on the ground while bread and wine can be brought back. The funeral meal also includes wheat though it is not the same as that from the cemetery.

As for soul-days, there are three to observe as set by the Serbian Eastern Orthodox Church – on Saturday before Great Lent, Saturday before Pentecost and in

the autumn, on Saturday before the feast of Saint Demetrius. The greatest among them is the Demetrius (Mitros) one. Food is there in abundance; fruit, boiled corn and the like are shared by people. A great many people remember Lazar's Zadoushnitza or giving away of St. Peter's apples on St. Peter's Day or the Zadoushnitza of Great Godmother when the ripe fruits are also distributed to people. No record is there of Chereshova Zadushnitsa; neither is there practice to distribute ripe sweet cherries for the dead on the Salvation Day.

Even a glance at the burial rites in these villages has shown how close they are to the well-known practices from Western Bulgaria. Even as a memory, a great number of old customs characteristic for the region are remembered by older village inhabitants. On the other hand, Dimitrovska Zadoushnitza, characteristic for the Serbian Orthodox Church, observed in the past as well, has completely overshadowed the memories of a commemoration of the dead on the Archangel's Zadoushnitza. The only thing that the region remembers about the latter one is that it is observed by the people whose names are Archangel or Michael. But now these very names are rare and not too popular among the population of the villages included in our research. The belief is still preserved, though, that, after the soul leaves the body, it would go round the house for forty days; only then does it leave it. During these first forty days the cemetery is regularly attended every day; candles are lit and water is spilt; once a year has passed, the grave is visited every Saturday. Up to this day this is still observed by older people of the villages.

The field materials lead us to conclude that the burial rites in the examined region around Dimitrovgrad have preserved some of their conservative traits, similar to those in the region of Godech of their conservative traits - a belief in *tenec*, tying up with a red thread the cousins of the deceased, bringing a green twig to the house after the funeral and the like. Yet, at the same time, the burial rites have undergone development as well as certain changes which have emerged under the influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Of indubitable influence on the burial rites are also the burial traditions of larger Serbian towns in which some people used to live and work. This current tradition has set up a practice of leaving porcelain dishes and utensils on the graves as well as coffee cups or glasses for drinks at the places in which food and drinks are left for the deceased by the relatives visiting the grave.

REFERENCES

- „Българи от Западните покрайнини”. В М. Василева (съст.). *Българи бежанци и етнокултурни традиции XIX – XX век*. Извори за българската етнография. Том 5. 332-460. София, Академично издателство „Проф. Марин Дринов”, 2010.
- Васева, В. *Сходства и различия в погребалните обичаи на българи и румънци (края на XIX – началото на XX в.)*. Дисертация, София, 1990.
- Генчев, Ст. „Семейни обичаи и обреди”. В Гетчев, Ст., Б. Георгиева (съставители) *Софийски край, 196-233. Етнографски и езикови проучвания*. София, 1993.
- Маринков, Ј. *Стара планина. Горњи Висок (привредни потенцијал)*. Димитровград, 1996.
- Маринков, Ј. *Забрхе (природно-привредни потенцијали)*. Димитровград, 1999.
- Николов, Б. *Хронологија на по-важни събития в Димитровградско (433-1961 г.)*. Димитровград, 1963.
- Христов, П. *Общности и празници*. София, 2004.

LIST OF REFERENTIAL WORKS

- Ср. Г., мъж, роден 1946, ел. механик, с. Гоин Дол, Димитровградско, 8 юли 2004 г., записали В. Васева, Цв. Манова
- С. Г., жена, род. 1954, с. Гоин Дол, зап. В. Васева, Цв. Манова
- А. Г., жена, род. 1974, с. Гоин Дол, зап. В. Васева, Цв. Манова
- Т. Д., жена, около 60 г., с. Гоин Дол, зап. В. Васева, Цв. Манова
- Д. К., мъж, род. 1926 г., с. Пъртопопинци, 10 юли 2004 г., зап. В. Васева, Цв. Манова
- Е. К., жена, род. 1930 г., с. Пъртопопинци, зап. В. Васева, Цв. Манова
- Д. М., жена, род. 1938 г., с. Сенокос, Димитровградско, 11 юли 2004 г., зап. В. Васева, Цв. Манова
- Г. К., жена, род. 1941 г., с. Сенокос, зап. В. Васева, Цв. Манова
- Н. Г., мъж, род. 1913, с. Изатовци, Димитровградско, 9 юли 2004 г., зап. В. Васева и Цв. Манова

Ivan Markešić

CEMETERIES OF GOSPIĆ (The Mirrors of Denominational, Political and Ideological Convictions of Deaths)

INTRODUCTION

In different civilizations, people were buried in different ways and locations. In prehistoric times cemeteries were out in the open (megalithic necropolises), deserts in ancient Egypt, outside the city walls in ancient Greece, first inside and then outside the city walls (mostly along the road) in ancient Rome, and by early Christian customs (II-IV BC) cemeteries were in the catacombs, underground. In the Middle Ages burials were performed in churches and churchyards, and after difficult experiences with the plague the cemeteries were moved outside the settlements (outside the city walls) (Rebic 2002, 306).

In addition, until the beginning of the XX century cemeteries belonged to religious authorities. After that they became part of the urban units and fell under town authorities. In many cities confessional cemeteries are disappearing and being replaced by common cemeteries where the confessional, national and ideological orientation of the deceased can be determined only by their tombstone.

In this paper I will talk about the burial sites of Catholic and Orthodox faithful of the City of Gospić – the town cemetery of St. Mary Magdalene (which is also a Catholic cemetery) and the Orthodox cemetery in Jasikovac in Gospić (in addition to its Orthodox believers' tombstones the cemetery hosts tombstones and memorials to members of the National Liberation War (NOR)).

GOSPIĆ AND ITS CEMETERIES

Many Catholic cemeteries, dispersed throughout the Gospić area, speak of long centuries of Catholic community and her church hierarchy in this area (Linic 1973), while also many Orthodox cemeteries, which are found more frequently in the area of Gospić, speak of the Orthodox community that began to develop on the Lika area by the migration of Orthodox Vlachs in the period of Ottoman-Turkish conquest of Bosnia (Kovačec 1997, 655).

Today in the town of Gospić¹ there are two confessional cemeteries: Catholic Cemetery of St Mary Magdalene and the Orthodox Cemetery in Jasikovac. Their formation is related to the historical events in which both confessional communities (Catholic and Orthodox) participated.

In this sense, they are (the tombstones in them) concrete physical evidence about the origin, life and the time periods of the two communities and their church institutions in this area.

¹ As a settlement Gospić was first mentioned in 1692, when the Count Adolf of Zinzendorf from Court Chambers bought Lika and Krbava. At that time it was a village and administrative fell within the Novi. In the early 18th century in this area of Krajina's and administrative authorities started the construction of administration. Already in 1707 it is occupied and regulated by Baron Oberburg, and then around the city a agricultural village rose. However, the settlement of Gospić will begin to receive its recognizable urban contours in the late 17th, then the 18th, and especially in the 19th and 20th centuries. The city will eventually become the managerial, administrative, political, military and cultural center of Lika.

The Catholic Cemetery – City Cemetery St. Mary Magdalene

The old catholic cemetery of Gospić was located “around the current chapel of St. John (Sv. Ivan) – towards the Novčica river, why it was also called ‘Cemetery of St. Ivan Nepomuk’“. In the year 1772 it was transferred to the new location of Bužak (outside Gospić) where in 1856 a chapel was built and dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene (“Mandalina”), who is also the heavenly patroness of the City (Linic 1973, 29). This newly formed cemetery, after the chapel's blessing in June 30, 1857, will receive the name of the “Cemetery of St. Mary Magdalene”, and then “City Cemetery of St. Mary Magdalene”.

Located in the cemetery are the tombs of many prominent Gospić families, such as Asanović, Asić, Baretić, Bedeković, Blazević, Brajković, Brmbolić, Bubaš, Bušljeta, Čanić, Erega, Haas, Hećimović, Hellman, Jelinić, Krpan, Lovrić, Lukac, Mačević, Miletić, Milinković, Milinović, Nikšić, Palijan, Pavelić, Petrović, Prpić, Ratković, Rubčić, Rukavina, Starcević, Stilinović, Štimac, Tomičić, Tonković, Tutić, Valentić, Vesely, Vukelić, Vuković, Zagoda, Zastavniković, Zubčić, Mayor and others.

Located in the cemetery is also the newly built tomb of priests of the Diocese of Gospić-Senj, followed by several individual graves of Italian soldiers in front of the chapel (who died in the First World War), and a large common grave named “Homeland victims” in which the victims of Žitnica from 1935 resp. 1936 and Senj victims from 1937. were buried. In the cemetery there is a special memorial tomb, where the Croats of Žabica and Gospić rest, executed in Kaniža on April 5-6th in 1945 (12 named and 22 unknown victims). There is also a memorial tomb and a memorial plaque in the form of the Croatian coat of arms on which an inscription is written: „IN MEMORY OF CROATIAN MARTYRS. Partisans killed us in 1945. A small part of our dug up bones are buried here in 2000. Mortal, while you read this, remember at least for a moment, our innocent souls. Great God, grant us peace”.²

A special importance to this cemetery provides the family tomb of Lovro Pavelić, erected in 1907, on which stood a gravestone/sculpture “The Herzegovinian”, the work of famous Croatian sculptor Ivan Rendić (1849–1932), which was stolen in late August 2008, ten days before the holiday of Little Mary (Mala Gospa), which is celebrated on September 8. This sculpture was once named one of the most beautiful gravestones Rendić made in his long artistic career (Popović 2008).

Paradoxically, the cemetery, said Došen, “maintained its life with the old grave stelae which have adorned itself” so one can say that “the Gospićans have a cemetery that can be envied by many other towns of this size” (Došen 2009).

The Orthodox Cemetery of Jasikovac

The Orthodox cemetery is located in Jasikovac, near the center of the city of Gospić. The cemetery was used for burial of Orthodox believers and Gospić Serbs, members of the Partisan movement and the Communist Party. This is especially visible on the tombstones on which symbols of the Cross and of the five-pointed star alternate.

The gravestones in the Orthodox cemetery were built from the similar or the same material as the tombstones in the Catholic cemetery. However, what separates the Orthodox cemetery from the Catholic is a greater number of tombstones with a

² In the series partisan post-war crimes in Gospić and its surroundings, published in the “Voice of the Council“ Nikola Bićanić states that after entering the town of Gospić on April 4, 1945, the partisans “in various ways, killed more than 3500 innocent people“ and that their victims were “men and women, young men and old men, intellectuals and peasants, of all ages and professions, and among them were priests” (Bićanić 2008).

partisan five-pointed star (the Catholic cemetery has only one), and written in Cyrillic script in greater number, although in *ijekavica*.

This clearly shows that the Orthodox community in Gospić as in other areas of former Yugoslavia where the Serbian Orthodox population lived, did not consider an obstacle to bury the deceased who did not practice Orthodox faith (either members of the partisan movement, or members of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia) in its orthodox cemetery. How Gospić Orthodox were devoted to “the achievements of the national liberation struggle” is best evidenced by a concrete monument, of a modest artistic quality, built to commemorate the fallen soldiers of National Liberation, in fact built in memory of the fallen Serbs in battles with German, Ustasha and Domobran units in Gospić and in its surroundings.

In the Orthodox cemetery there are many monuments of the early 20th century which were the same size and appearance as the Catholic monuments from the same period, and even the same shape of the cross which was carved on the top of the tombstone. In this cemetery are buried some of the famous Gospić Serbian, Orthodox families, such as family Adžić, Bjegović, Knežević, Nikšić, Prodanović, Kalinić, Vitas, Vujinović, Vujnović and others families.

In the cemetery there are two tombstones inscribed with crosses, which were raised in 1889 by Nikola Tesla to his parents – mother Đuka and his father, the priest Milutin Tesla. On his mother's tombstone is written in Cyrillic script, but in *ijekavica*: “Here rests Đuka Tesla, the wife of priest Tesla *1822. +1892”. On the father's tombstone is written in Cyrillic script: “To the archpriest and priest of Gospić, Milutin Tesla *1819th + 17. IV. 1879. grateful son Nichola in 1889.”

It is interesting to note that on the back of his father's tombstone stands a statement: “to my good father” above which a cross is carved. The identical or similar sign is not found on the back of his mother's tombstone.

The Orthodox cemetery in Jasikovac was significantly damaged during the Homeland War (1991–1995). But despite the war events and their lasting memories and consequences, the city public authorities, in cooperation with the Serbian (Orthodox) returnees, should restore this cemetery and arrange for a worthy believing Orthodox service (liturgy), simply because it is an integral part of the history of Gospić, but also an integral part of its collective memory.

The Gravestones in the Cemeteries of Gospić

Looking at the gravestones in the Catholic and the Orthodox cemetery it is evident that many of the graves and tombstones are made of materials that resist atmospheric changes, primarily of stone (various types and lately mostly of marble), concrete or a mixture thereof, and, which is typical for the Catholic cemetery – metal (iron).

The tombstones as well as their shape and size testify to the time in which the deceased lived, but also to the material and spiritual culture of the place where he was buried. They also speak very eloquently about the material riches of the deceased and their family members, because from the size and quality of the material it was built from we can draw conclusions not only on the deceased's wealth but also its position in a given society.

Most of the tombstones in both cemeteries are in the form of a cross. However, in a great number of monuments the cross is engraved. Furthermore, the tombstones in the Catholic cemetery, which mark the burial sites of victims of partisan crimes after World War II. as well as victims of Chetniks crimes in the Homeland War, with the cross comes the Croatian wattle and Croatian historical coat of arms (without the crown).

The Funerary Iconography and Symbolism

On the all tombstones in both cemeteries one can find information on the first and last name of the deceased, the year of birth and death, as well as information about who raised the monument to the deceased and for what purpose. The monuments were raised mostly by descendants in gratitude to their benefactions, which the deceased have done to them in his lifetime.

Alongside the gravestones, but also on them, it is possible to find certain ornaments, mostly on the Catholic cemetery. Most often on existing gravestones in the cemetery, and with those older monuments, one can find the characters of angels as symbols of spirituality and innocence, then motives of a circle as a symbol of perfection and homogeneity, as well as paintings and sculptures of the risen Jesus and the angels that hover above it, then the figures of the Virgin Mary that are placed directly next to the existing monument and sculpture and tombstone with figures of angels who weep for the dead. Such sculptures can not be found in Orthodox cemeteries.

Also, in the Catholic and in Orthodox cemetery, both individual and family gravesites, are surrounded by a metal fence, usually with wrought or carved railings, or, as in the case of the Tesla's parents grave, with concrete pillars that are interconnected with chains.

CONCLUSION

From this brief analysis it is shown that the City cemetery of St. Mary Magdalene in Gospić is a place that holds a great number of preserved memorials to completely unknown, anonymous and many famous Gospić individuals and families, in a same way that the Orthodox cemetery in Jasikovac is a burial place of many prominent and ordinary Gospić Serbs, Orthodox Christians, and also Serb members of the partisan and communist movement.

This analysis, accompanied by an authentic author's photographs, aims to show how human life is not taking place only in the areas of real life, but also in places where the reality of death begins, and hope in the afterlife, in places where not only the mans religious but also national, ideological, cultural and social habitus is reflected. And that is shown and testified in full by these two cemeteries.

LITERATURE

- Bićanić, Nikola. „Partizanski poslijeratni zločini u Gospiću i okolici”. *Glas Koncila* 11/08, 13/08, 14/08 and 15/08, 2008.
- Došen, Antonia (2009) “Ukradena skulptura Ivana Rendića”. *Vijenac* 407 (2009).
- Došen, Antonia. “Nema traga Rendićevoj 'Hercegovki’”. *Vjesnik*, from 19. August 2009.
- Kovačec, August. “Vlasi”. U *Hrvatski leksikon*, Vol. 2. Zagreb: Naklada Leksikon d.o.o, 1997.
- Linić, Josip. Church in the past of Gospić. Gospić, Rimokatolička župa Marijina navještenja. Gospić, 1973.
- Popović, Željko. “Ukraden Rendićev kip vrijedan 100.000 eura”. *Jutarnji list* from 15. September 2008.
- Religijski leksikon*. Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod “M. Krleža”, 2002.

PHOTOGRAPHS
The Catholic Cemetery



Gospic city cemetery of S. Mary Magdalene (Foto: I. M.)



Tomb of Rubčić Family (Foto: I. M.)

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS ON THE BORDER



Tomb of Rukavina Family (Foto: I. M.)



Tomb of Pavelić Family with Rendić
"Hercegovinian" (Foto: V. Bunčić)



Memorial Plaque "Croatian martyrs" – built on 4 April 2005.
on the outer wall of the Gospić city cemetery of St. Mary Magdalene (Foto: I. M.)

The Orthodoxy Cemetery



Tomb of Prodanović Family (Foto: I. M.)



Tomb of Adžić Family (Foto: I. M.)

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS ON THE BORDER



Partisan monument in the Orthodox cemetery in the Gospić (Foto: I. M.)



Tombstones (front) they to his parents, his mother Đuka and his father, them archpriest and parish of Gospić Milutin, raised his "grateful son" Nikola Tesla in 1889. (Foto: I. M.)



The tombstone Tesla father (rear) bearing the words "his distinguished father", while the mother's monument does not like the message, "His good mother." (Foto: I. M.)

Ivan Cvitković

THE ORTHODOX CEMETERY “KOLENJE” IN VRELO RADOBOLJE (MOSTAR)

There are few religious traditions, such as Hinduism, which do not have cemeteries. Hindus burn their deceased (apart from children and ascetics), and scatter the ashes in the river. Contrary to them, Christians are buried in the ground, since – according to the religious teachings – that was the manner in which Jesus was buried. The burial of the entire body into a grave (inhumation) is a prescribed obligation not only in Christianity, but also in Judaism and Islam.

As early as the Neolithic Period, on the territory of the Balkans, the practice of burying the dead in a common place began to appear (Benac, 2012). “The dead were the first people with a permanent residence” (Šušnjić 2008, 116).

We visited a small Orthodox cemetery in Vrelo Radobolje (Mostar).

Vrelo Radobolje (*radi bolje* – work better) is a neighbourhood whose name stems from the River Radobolja whose spring is located there. From its spring to the point where it flows into the Neretva, the river is 5 km long. So, Vrelo Radobolje is situated some 5 km west of the Neretva. According to the 1991 census (there are still no latest data from the last census), the neighbourhood was populated by 250 households. The population comprises members of the Roman Catholic confession.

There are those who visit the cemetery the first time they come to a place. Why? Perhaps, the answer can be found in the inscription at the entrance of the Roman Catholic cemetery in this neighbourhood: “A cemetery is the reflection of a dwelling’s culture” (Fig. 1).

When the inhabitants, after the 1991–95 war, reorganized the cemetery, they made a path so that the hearse could reach the cemetery. They also made a path that allowed the hearse to reach the Orthodox cemetery, which is positioned right next to the Roman Catholic one.

They installed a litter bin between the cemeteries so that the relatives could dispose of wilted flowers, wreaths and the like (so that there is no rubbish in any of the cemeteries).

As seen in the photographs, the Catholic inhabitants also constructed a metal fence in the Orthodox cemetery with the inscription: “Orthodox cemetery ‘Kolenje’ Vrelo Radobolje” (Fig. 2). On both sides of the panel they put a cross which can be found in Orthodox cemeteries. Younger generations, born right before and after the last war, have found it very interesting: Where does this Orthodox cemetery come from, when there is no Orthodox population neither in the neighbourhood, nor in its vicinity?

We also took photographs of some of the older graves, so as to show the manner in which gravestones used to be made (Fig. 3). While I watched these old gravestones, a memory came to mind of the words by the writer Miljenko Jergović, from his novel *Father*: “To me, cemeteries are like documentary archives and old phone-books” (Jergović 2010, 158).

These photographs show the old gravestones of the Borozan family. The Borozans lived a couple of kilometres closer to Mostar, mostly in Bijeli Brijeg, nowadays a residential neighbourhood in the urban part of Mostar. Some of this family’s mem-

bers died during World War II, the others moved out (mainly to Serbia), while the rest of them stayed in the same place. During the last war, the majority of Serbian population left before the battles begun. Most of them went to Serbia, the others went to the Republika Srpska, and there were even those who were fed up with wars and myths, and who went abroad. This family cemetery shows how the care for gravestones is connected to the devotion of the family.

Gravestones are found in almost all societies, cultures and religions. They can be uniformed (as in Islam), or display the social status and economic power of the deceased, or their family (Fig. 4).

Pay attention to this photograph. It shows that a gravestones can bear (along with a religious symbol, first name and surname of the buried) a symbol which relates to the deceased's profession. You can see the gravestone upon which a silhouette of a person in overalls is carved, with a cap on the head and a hoe over the shoulder. Everyone would think that this is a man – and they would be wrong. This is, in fact, Anda Borozan, a deaf person who worked for the company "Parks". All Mostarians knew her by that attire, the cap that she used to wear and her hoe. The hoe is what earned her the pension from the "Parks", so she was able to erect the gravestone for her parents and herself during her lifetime. She asked for her silhouette with a hoe to be carved into the gravestone (similar to how, only a few metres away, a book is carved into the gravestone of the poet Nenad Borozan).

Thus, this is a small cemetery where the members of the Borozan family used to be buried. During the last war, several members of other families were also buried there (Kuljić, Picula, Miladin...).

Since no Orthodox priest remained in Mostar during the last war, the families asked the Catholic priest to bless the grave and perform the service (of course, this was the case of Orthodox believers). That is how, in this instance, Catholicism became the "religion of the funeral" of the Orthodox population for a while. The Catholic priest was summoned to perform the service, similar to how Shintoists in Japan invite a Buddhist monk to perform the funeral service, since Shinto priests perform services only in temples and only for kami.

A grave is a connection between the "world of the living" and the "world of the dead". It is dug on the very day of the burial.

It was exactly during the May Day holiday, when I visited Mostar and made these photographs, that I had a chance to attend a funeral. One of the Borozans, who left Mostar in the 1990s, died in Chicago and his last wish was to be buried in this cemetery where his parents and younger brother rested (Nenad Borozan – the most talented young poet in the 1970s Yugoslavia). The family contacted Marinko Glibo, who takes care of both cemeteries, to prepare the grave plot (Fig. 5). I found him in the cemetery, cutting grass with a trimmer, so that the people attending the funeral could reach the grave without problems.

The funeral was attended by several Catholic inhabitants as well, alongside my brother and me. It is known that for Catholics the bell signifies the time of the funeral procession's movement and the burial. The burial is marked by striking the clapper against only one side of the bell. The bell usually rings like that during a funeral of a local community member. The abovementioned Marinko Glibo organized that the bell on the local church rang in the "mortuary fashion" as a sign of respect for the Orthodox believer being buried in the area of the local community.

During the service, performed by the Mostar parish priest, an interesting thing occurred. The family did not bring any red wine to pour over the casket and the grave, so this man even went to the closest house and brought a glass of red wine so that the service was complete.

As flutes used to accompany the wailers, today the lowering of the casket is accompanied by the sound of the trumpet. This was what happened during this funeral as well. In addition, the funeral showed that a person is never followed by so many of his or her friends and acquaintances as during a burial.

After the funeral, the parish priest Krulj (from the family of the former archbishop of Dabrobosna Nektarije Krulj) himself kindly thanked the inhabitants for attending the burial, as well as for the care provided for that small Orthodox cemetery (it was his first time there). He asked Glibo to organize a meeting with the Roman Catholic vicar.

When the inhabitants installed the water system in the Catholic cemetery, they did the same thing in the Orthodox. The same water fountain, as the one in the Catholic cemetery, was installed in the Orthodox so that the people could wash their hands after cleaning their ancestors' graves. Only the water buckets are different in colour (Figs. 6 and 7).

Since the custom dictates that, upon leaving the cemetery, after a funeral, a glass of brandy is served, the inhabitants also made a small table for the Orthodox cemetery (Fig. 8). All of this was done without asking for either labour or money from the already few Borozans.

REFERENCES

Benac, Alojz. *Religijske predstave prastanovnika jugoslavenskih zemalja*. Sarajevo: ANU BiH, 2012.

Cvitković, Ivan. *Sociologija obreda*. Sarajevo: Narodna i univerzitetska biblioteka, 2014.

Jergović, Miljenko. *Otac*. Beograd: „Rende“, 2010.

Šušnjić, Đuro. *Nedovršeni razgovor*. Beograd: „Čigoja štampa“, 2008.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. The entrance to the Roman Catholic cemetery Kolenje



Fig. 2. The entrance to the Orthodox cemetery "Kolenje"



Fig. 3. Old gravestones



Fig. 4. A detail from a gravestone



Fig. 5. A newly-prepared grave



Fig. 6. The water fountain in the Orthodox cemetery



Fig. 7. The water fountain in the Roman Catholic cemetery



Fig. 8. The concrete table in the Orthodox cemetery

Dragana Radisavljević Ćiparizović

THE CONCEPT OF DEATH ON THE HOLY MOUNTAIN: FUNERAL RITES FOR MONKS OF HILANDAR

INSTEAD OF INTRODUCTION

“The Holy Mountain is a kingdom without a crown, a state without an army, a country without women, wealth without money, wisdom without a school, a kitchen without meat, a prayer without end, an everlasting link to Heavens, a tireless eulogy of Christ, death without regret.”

Saint Nicholas of Žiĉa

In recent years, most publications dealing with beliefs concerning the inevitable end of human life and funeral rites, outside the investigation of public religion and public religiousness¹ have been written by ethnologists and anthropologists. One of few sociologists in Serbia who undertook serious research in this area is Todor Kuljić, who, in his book *Tanatopolitika (Tanatopolitics 2014)*, dealt with the topic of the use of death for political purposes.

THE TOPIC OF THE PAPER AND DEFINING THE TERMS

This paper deals with the concept of death and funeral rites for monks of Hilandar. First, a short definition will be given for the concepts of death and (death) rites and/or rituals.² The concept of death is central to all religious teachings. Death is accompanied by funeral rites which are almost universally present in all peoples and religions. Death is individual experience (it is an individual who dies), while funeral services are collective experience – which is of especial interest to a sociologist, in the words of I. Cvitković. A rite is a symbolic act undertaken following accepted rules, serving to express religious ideas, beliefs and feelings, aimed to exert influence on the Supernatural. Most rites concern important moments or events in a person's life: rites of initiation into a religious community, rites of passage from childhood into adulthood, marriage, death and funeral. Genep calls (funeral) services *rites of passage*, separation (Genep 2005). This is the moment of separation from the deceased, who “leaves the world of the living”. In crises rites have integrative, emotional, communication and regulative functions, as well as ethical and identity building functions (Cvitković 2014, 17–20). Even in secularized Europe, over 95% funerals are accompanied by a religious service. Funeral services can be divided into three groups: 1. services performed before the burial; 2. those performed during the burial itself, and 3. those performed after the burial, which in terms of sociology, most often express the relation towards the deceased, as well as attitudes to death and afterlife (Cvitković 2014, 106).

¹ <http://www.anthroserbia.org/Publications/Details/52>;
<http://www.anthroserbia.org/Publications/Details/53>.

² Both terms are used in sociology, however, according to anthropologist Rappaport, religious rites are a subset of rituals (Cvitković 2011, 11).

Characteristics of funeral rites depend on attitudes towards death, afterlife and the deceased within the observed religious (or non-religious) tradition. They determine the manner in which the living behave towards the deceased. In order to understand burial of monks, it is necessary to take into account teachings concerning death in Christianity. They are based on faith in the immortality of the soul, resurrection of the body and their reunion in the eternal life of heavenly kingdom. Although death is defined as a separation of the soul from the body, and prayers are said for the deceased for separation/departure, Christian dogma insists on their unity and expects their reunion as the main eschatological event. Death is the consequence of ancestral sin, the last obstacle for mankind to achieve everlasting life. Christians called cemeteries *coemeteria* (bedroom, resting place), since they believed death to be sleep providing rest until the day of resurrection (Milaš 2004, 74). Such understanding of death brought about a particular attitude concerning funerals. Over the course of the first centuries of Christianity, funerals of members of Christian communities were performed as a part of liturgy (Milaš 2004, 1, 570; Milaš 2, 175). For Orthodox Christians, Liturgy is the central service in the life of the community, and both baptism and marriage were embedded in it. In this manner unity of the living and the dead was confirmed, as well as the unity of *this* and *other* world. Liturgy marked the funeral as a community rite, as opposed to later centuries when funeral assumed the character of a private act (Pavićević 2011, 211). As of the 7th and the 8th centuries, the practice of funeral liturgy remained only in monastic communities, or in the case of death of prominent individuals, which was initiated by the formalization of faith and the growth of Christian communities, especially in cities.

Mention of the dead is an integral part of the present day Orthodox Liturgy. During the part of the liturgy called *proskomidia*, particles of prosphora are offered for certain departed individuals, while the dead are generally mentioned during the Anaphora, the most solemn part of the service when the great Eucharistic prayer over the gifts is given (Šmeman 1992, 17, 59).

Orthodox Requiem Office for the Dead (Opelo) is a separate service performed over the bier of the deceased: in the home, in church and on the cemetery itself. This separation of the requiem service and the mention in the liturgy lasted for several centuries (between the 5th and the 8th century) (Pavićević 2011, 213). As for the Serbian Orthodox Church, the development of funeral services can be followed from the time of Saint Sava. *Hilandar Typicon*³ is the main source for the investigation of this problem, involving Byzantine service practice, holding liturgy before a funeral and over the course of 40 days following death. From the very beginning Christian teaching tended to bring together the living and the dead members of the community – and the Church. In addition to mentioning the dead in every liturgy, special days of prayer were also dedicated to them (*zadušnice*).⁴

³ *Hilandar Typicon* – The Code for the Monastery of Hilandar; the constitution setting out precise rules for the organization of life within the monastic community of Hilandar, the structure and organization of monastery management, prayer, diet and fast; one of the strictest codes for monastic behaviour on the Holy Mountain. The Typicon is in Old Church Slavonic language and comprises a short *Žitije* (biography) of *St. Symeon* providing an account of Symeon's arrival on the Holy Mountain and a brief account of his death. The text was produced shortly after the death of St. Symeon in 1199. http://www.pravoslavlje.net/index.php?title=Хиландарски_типик.

⁴ Several times during the year *zadušnice* (day of prayer for the dead) are observed all over the nation; every Sunday service for the dead is performed in addition to other services. However, Sunday is not the only day dedicated to the prayer for the dead, namely, all prayers at church

THE HOLY MOUNTAIN: SPECIAL STATUS

Since field research was not possible, as women are prohibited from visiting the Holy Mountain, the so called desk research was performed for collecting data from available literature, as well as for collecting photographs and data from the Internet.

In order to understand the prohibition placed on women visiting the Holy Mountain, and the limit on the number of men allowed daily to visit the holy site, it is necessary to gain knowledge and show respect of the centuries-long structure and specificities of these monasteries and the way of life of Orthodox monks.⁵ According to the Lausanne Peace Treaty signed of 1923, the Holy Mountain (Agios Oros) was recognized as a theocratic republic within the sovereignty of Greece, ruled by the Ecumenical Patriarch and monks. In 1924, the abbots of all Holy Mountain monasteries issued a charter determining for all time the hierarchy of 20 monasteries on the Holy Mountain, the number of which cannot be changed. "The Garden of the Most Holy Mother of God", as referred to by monks themselves, enjoys substantial judicial autonomy, except for criminal law jurisdiction which belongs to the Greek State. In official use on the Holy Mountain is the old, Julian calendar and Byzantine time keeping with the day beginning at sunset.⁶ Monastic life is based on vows of obedience, poverty and celibacy. Monastic 24 hours in a day are divided into three eight hour periods intended for prayer, work and rest. In addition to communal prayer, monks also perform numerous tasks assigned to them by the order of the abbot.⁷ If the Holy Mountain were completely opened to tourists, monastic days of prayer and work would become compromised.⁸ On the Holy Mountain the monastic lent, that is, abstaining from meat apart from occasional fish, lasts for eight centuries. During Lents (Christmas, Easter, St. Peter's and Virgin Mary's), food is prepared with water, without oil; meals are taken once a day, and usually consist of bread and fruit. I. Stamenković claims that building hotels and resorts in the vicinity of the Holy Mountain would be unseemly and would ultimately spell death to this state as it would lead to the dissolution of monastic communities (Stamenković 2006, 109).

HILANDAR: FUNERAL AND MONASTIC ATTITUDE TO DEATH

In 1189, the Monastery of Hilandar was donated by Emperor Alexios III to Serbian Grand Prince Stefan Nemanja, later St. Symeon, and his son Rastko (Nemanjić), later the first Serbian Archbishop Saint Sava (Fig. 1). The monastery has always been the spiritual, educational and cultural centre of Serbian people, and over the course of the last 800 years it has been the repository of cultural and spiritual treasures of Serbia and Europe. Relics and holy objects of the Christian world, its history and tradition have been created and deposited there. Sadly, eleven years ago, on 4th March 2004, numerous religious and other facilities of Hilandar were badly damaged by fire; intense works on reconstruction are under way.

concern both the living and the dead equally.
(http://www.spc.rs/sr/zadushnice_molitveno_setshanje_na_pokojne_srodnike).

⁵ See more by the author in the *Review* of the book *Religious Tourism and Orthodox Christianity* by I. Stamenković (in *Teme* 2008, No. 2, pps. 427-431).

⁶ Only in the Monastery Iviron is respected haldean time keeping with the day beginning at sunrise.

⁷ Monks work as vergers, gardeners, kitchen helps, cooks, ushers, librarians and housekeepers.

⁸ About 2 hours after midnight all monks attend a prayer at the Orthodox Cathedral Church, followed by a liturgy which lasts about 5 to 6 hours. After the sunrise they go to the refectory and partake of the Hilandar lunch which lasts 15 minutes. During the short meal, one of the monks reads aloud biographies of saints to whom the day is dedicated.

The main church, dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was erected on the foundations of the previous church, built at the time of the construction of the monastery, in the early XIV century. Among priceless treasures kept in the monastery, there stand out the Wonderworking Icon of the Most Holy Mother of God "Of the Three Hands" (Trojeručica), the Icon of the Most Holy Mother of God (Mlekopitateljica) and the abbot's baton which Saint Sava had brought from the Monastery of St. Sava the Sanctified near Jerusalem. The myth holds that on his death bed St Sava the Sanctified prophesized the arrival of a monk from the west of a noble birth and by the name of Sava, and that the icons and the abbot's baton should be put at his disposal.

For the purposes of this paper, after the main temple and the refectory, the most important is the third cult building in Hilandar. It is the Cemetery Church (Fig. 2) dedicated to the Annunciation, standing about 100 meters from the entrance of the monastery. Its age is estimated on the basis of the style of construction and of the remaining frescoes, placing it at the time of the reconstruction of Hilandar under King Milutin. It comprises two floors: the bottom one holds a crypt, or the ossuary, and the temple is in the upper (Fig. 3). In the lower part, in special pits, bones of deceased monks are kept, while five niches running along the two longer walls are lined with shelves with their skulls. This is the centuries-long method for keeping bones on the Holy Mountain. This building plays an important role in the life of the monastery since here services are held connected with the cult of the dead (Hilandar 1978, 78–80). "For monks, death is not something unexpected. Each monk is assigned his 'old man', a spiritual teacher who bestows on him knowledge and guidance, and whom he serves until death" (Deroko 1966, 13).

The Holy Mountain is the only state on the planet where no men are born, but all die. Entering the monastery is the birth on the Holy Mountain, leaving the world and entering the everlasting life, while the funeral marks the ending of this time and final presenting oneself to eternal meaning. The monks do not use the verb „to die“, but rather „to present oneself“. On the Holy Mountain death is not a cause for grief as is usual in the outer world. This is the moment of meeting with God, and a cause for dignified rejoicing. The monks bury their dead in the same way they did a thousand years ago.

In the small monastery cemetery, an existing grave, at least three years old, is dug up. The bones of the monk buried there are exhumed, cleaned from clothes, incensed and washed in white wine (Fig. 4).

The bones are then placed in the communal crypt, and the skull on the shelf with other deceased monks. Sometimes the year of the departing and the name of the monk are written on the forehead. If the unearthed bones smell of basil, it is a cause for rejoicing. The monks consider it to be a mark of sainthood and the proof that there is actually no death.

Rites performed before the funeral: The body of the deceased is *laid in state* in the coffin in the main Hilandar temple and the monks hold a *vigil*. The funeral is preceded by the *Divine Liturgy for the Departed* and the *Opelo* (Orthodox Requiem), followed by the so-called "last kiss" when the symbolic farewell is taken of the deceased (Fig. 5 and 6). Following a thousand-years-old tradition, after the service held in church, the funeral procession starts for the place of burial, chanting (Fig. 7). One of the monks holds a cross and another carries a banner (Fig. 8).

From the photographs of funerals on the Holy Mountain made available to the public on the Internet we selected the photograph taken at the funeral of the Archimandrite Moisiĵe, the abbot of Hilandar from 2010. He was the second abbot after the renewal of community life in the Holy Monastery of Hilandar. In his 63 years

of monastic life, he was renowned for his outstanding knowledge of services and the Typicon.¹⁰ During his office, in 1998, Hilandar celebrated its great jubilee – 800th anniversary of founding. Over the course of the nineties, he played the role of a spiritual leader for a whole generation of monks. The photograph was taken by Saša Žutić (Fig. 5-10).¹¹

Rites Performed during the Funeral: For centuries the monks of Athos have been buried by being laid into the ground without a coffin. The habit is sawn up and the face is covered with the klobuk (priest's flat cap with a veil) the monk wore in life. The body is then lowered into the ground, accompanied with prayer, with the head protected from earth with a couple of stones or wooden planks (Fig. 9 and 10).

The monks return to their everyday monastic life after this.

CONCLUSION

The monks of the Holy Mountain still bury their dead in the same way as they did a thousand years ago. Funeral rites (vigil, liturgy and opelo) are held according to church canons, but the monks are buried without a coffin, which is specific in comparison with monk funerals in other places. After several years, at least three, the bones are exhumed and ritually placed in a communal ossuary, and the skulls are kept with the others on a special shelf which exists in every monastery on Athos. Even when someone young dies, as was the case of the monk Atanasije, who had been a monk for less than 2 months, there is no mourning.¹² This Holy Mountain monk was young both in his actual age (36) and in his monastic capacity: he was killed while trying to help Greek firefighters put out the fire and gave his life to save others. He was buried in the same manner as the abbot. Regardless whether it is the death of an abbot or a novice monk, an old or a young man, monks do not consider death as the cause for grief but rather for dignified rejoicing because of the near meeting with God. Features of funeral rites of the Holy Mountain Monks undoubtedly depend on the attitude to death and afterlife in Orthodox Christianity.

LITERATURE

- Богдановић, Димитрије, Војислав Ј. Ђурић и Дејан Медаковић. *Хиландар*. Београд: Републички завод за заштиту споменика културе Србије и Југословенка ревија „Вук Караџић“, 1978.
- Svitković, Ivan. *Sociologija obreda*. Sarajevo: Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka Bosne i Hercegovine, 2014.
- Дероко, Александар. *Света Гора*. Београд: „Туристичка штампа“, 1966.
- Генеп, Арнолд Ван. *Обреди прелаза*. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 2005.
- Кулјић, Тодор. *Tanatopolitika*. Београд: Сјогоја штампа, 2014.
- Милаш, Никодим. *Правила православне цркве са тумачењима*, књига 1, 2. Нови Сад, Београд-Шибеник, 2004/1895.
- Павићевић, Александра. *Време (без) смрти: представе о смрти у Србији 19-21. века*. Београд: Етнографски институт САНУ, 2011.
- Радисављевић-Ђинђариновић, Драгана. „Верски туризам и православље“. *Теме* 32, 2 (2008): 427–431.
- Стаменковић, Игор. *Религиозни туризам и православље*. Нови Сад: Природно математички факултет, Департаман за географију, туризам и холтелијерство, 2006.
- Шмеман, Александар. *Литургија и живот*. Цетиње, 1992.
- http://www.svetagora.info/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=92
- <http://www.svetagora.info/index.php?Itemid=6>
- <http://www.hilandar.org/upokojio-se-iguman-hilandara-arhimandrit-mojisije/>
- http://www.hilandar.info/strana.php?strana_id=110
- <http://www.novosti.rs/ вести/насловна/репортаже.409.html:508966-Хиландар-испраћа-брата>.
- http://sr.wikipedia.org/sr/Мојсије_Жарковић.
- <https://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/1581/pg1581.html>
- <http://www.anthroserbia.org/Publications/Details/52>
- <http://www.anthroserbia.org/Publications/Details/53>
- http://www.spc.rs/sr/zadushnice_molitveno_setshanje_na_pokojne_srednike

¹⁰ http://sr.wikipedia.org/sr/Мојсије_Жарковић.

¹¹ <http://www.hilandar.org/upokojio-se-iguman-hilandara-arhimandrit-mojisije/>.

¹² <http://www.novosti.rs/вести/насловна/репортаже.409.html:508966-Хиландар-испраћа-брата>.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig.1. Hilandar, <http://www.zaduzbine-nemanjica.rs/Hilandar/o-manastiru.htm>.



Fig. 2. The Cemetery Church with the Cemetery
http://www.hilandar.info/strana.php?strana_id=110

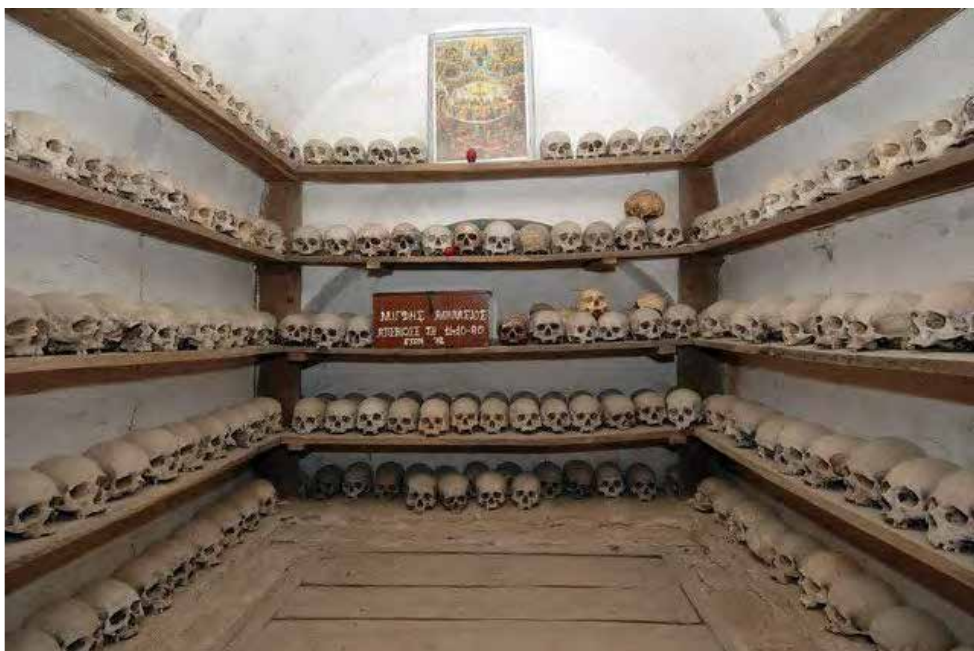


Fig. 3. The osuary in the basement of the Graveyard Church
http://www.hilandar.info/strana.php?strana_id=110



Fig. 4. Father Ilija burns incense over the holy remains of Father Damaskin
http://www.svetagora.info/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=92



Fig. 5. Opelo



Fig. 6. Last kiss



Fig. 7. Funeral procession



Fig. 8. Entering the monastery cemetery



Fig. 9. Funeral



Fig. 10. In the monastery cemetery, after the funeral

Milovan Vuković
Andon Kostadinović

RURAL CEMETERIES ON THE TERRITORY OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF VELIKO GRADIŠTE*

INTRODUCTION

During the development of civilization and culture, the phenomenon of death has always aroused curiosity – all of the known mythologies, religions, philosophies, ideologies and other systems of thought have failed to discover the secret of death (Knoblauch & Zingerle 2005, 11--30). As early as the Palaeolithic era, death appeared as a new force of life, as something sacred and special, inconceivable (Morin 2005). That is why people began to mark the places where they buried their community members with various forms of gravestones, which further paved the way for the development of the culture of dying, death, burial and mourning.

The beginnings of the burial of the dead, the choice and demarcation of a wider area (a cemetery), the marking (using a gravestone) of the place of burial (grave), and the creation and traditionalizing of various forms of (religious) relations toward these places of burial represent in the history of mankind the starting point that marks the beginning of the era in which *homo sapiens* turned into *homo religiosus* (Markešić 2010, 1).

The symbolic enclosure of early graves, at the beginning of the development of civilization, meant the protection of the dead from the living, but also secured the living from the dead. Therefore, the boundary between this and that world was taken care of closely since it represented the guarantee of certainty. If the grave is considered “the cradle of religion” (Fojerbah 1974, 33), then the relationship of people toward cemeteries can be taken as an indicator of religious feelings. When it comes to the phenomena in the culture of the modern society in Serbia, a majority of religious research results show that those feelings are not unified and profiled, moreover, they are often contradictory. For the sake of illustration, while in some places people erect masonry canopies and build their own tombs while they are still alive, elsewhere old cemeteries are completely neglected.

Death has been present as a topic in religious, mythological, philosophical, legal, economic, sociological writings, as well as literature, architecture, arts, and particularly in everyday folk customs and tradition (Barloewen 2000, 112–119). Masterpieces of art have been created in order to overcome the people’s deepest fear of fears – the fear of death. This is especially true of architecture which bears a specific “mark of human thought of and relation toward death” – cemeteries, tombs and gravestones (Markešić 2010, 1).

Contrary to theologians and philosophers, the authors of this paper observe death as a social fact, focusing on gravestones as specific moving cultural monuments which have been placed by members of a community on the burial spots of their deceased members during the history of mankind so as to serve as a reminder

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

of that person who lived in a certain period. Apart from the variables of the highest social level, the study of gravestones should bear in mind the influence of the particular context and individual characteristics.

“Taking all of this into account, it is necessary to say that the forms and inscriptions found on gravestones were determined not only by the degree of the cultural development of a community in question, but primarily by the personal standpoints of an individual and the community on the supernatural, the afterlife. Therefore, cemeteries as places of burial of dead members of a certain religious, national, political or ideological community have, indeed, become “museums under the clear sky” which house different identities of community members which, while they were alive, were not recognized by many (Markešić 2010, 1).”

Cemeteries have thus become a “true illustration of the living and the relationship of the culture toward the dead”, while gravestones are “valuable cultural additions and the image of a specific time and people” (Sršan 1996, 8).

This paper shows the general state of rural cemeteries on the territory of the Municipality of Veliko Gradište – their hygiene and maintenance, whether they are enclosed or not, the condition of graves and gravestones, etc. A detailed analysis of this sort was performed on the example of the largest village in this municipality – Topolovnik.

The old village of Topolovnik (first mentioned as early as 1467), with the population of 832 according to the latest census from 2011, is located 8 km from Veliko Gradište as the municipal centre. The population structure is dominated by Serbs (around 83%), followed by Vlachs (around 13%), Romanians (1%), Roma (1%), and the rest; for years now a couple of hundred people from this village have lived and worked in Italy (all of them in Trieste). The church of St. Sava was built in the centre of the village several years ago. The rural cemetery is located half a kilometre away from the church in the direction of Veliko Gradište – just off the left side of the primary road Požarevac-Kladovo.

GRAVESTONES AND IDENTITIES

Cemeteries offer a vast amount of information on the identity of the deceased. After every individual dies, one can form an image on “who he actually was, whom he belonged to, then what he was and what meaning he had for the community to which he belonged” (Markešić 2010, 6). Such information can be acquired by having the knowledge of: 1. rituals (rites) of the final farewell to the deceased at the cemetery, 2. material from which the gravestone is made, 3. shape of the gravestone, 4. place of burial at the cemetery, and 5. social status.

This paper considers the material aspect of the culture of remembering which can be identified at every cemetery. As far as the material from which a gravestone is made is concerned, what is important is the following: (1) type of material used to make the gravestone, (2) shape of the gravestone, and (3) size and external appearance of the gravestone (Markešić 2010, 7).

The type of material speaks of the materials used by the community members to preserve a lasting memory of their deceased member. Such materials should stand the test of time, that is, be resistant to the elements. This is why the most often used materials are stone (of all types), metal or concrete, and sometimes even specific sorts of wood.

The manner in which the gravestone material is processed allows one to create a picture of the technical and technological development of a certain society over time. And the size and the external appearance of the gravestone testify to the masterly skills of the builders – in modern times, usually monumental masons. If a community (including the lowest level – the family) believed that its member deserved a special gravestone (outside of the usual unwritten norms), or if it was wealthy enough, it would order the gravestone from the most skilled masters. Therefore, as a rule, it was insisted that the masters did not disclose the price of the agreed deal concerning the manufacturing of the gravestone. This can be confirmed by numerous examples in rural cemeteries on the territory of the Municipality of Veliko Gradište.

Based on the form of a gravestone, one can conclude to which confession the deceased belonged, that is, which ideological or some other identity. In that sense, the studied area mainly contains the cross as an indicator of one's belonging, bearing in mind the great homogeneity of the Veliko Gradište region when it comes to the national and religious belonging.

The place of burial in these rural cemeteries also shows the social status of the deceased. If this place is close to the central part of the cemetery, then it shows the status that the deceased occupied within the local community during their lifetime. The number of people attending the funeral further discloses this status.

Finally, to particularly emphasize the social renown (status) of the deceased during their lifetime, some rural cemeteries leave a special area for the burial of the most deserving individuals. It is, in fact, sufficient to see where certain people are buried, what kind of a gravestone their successors have erected and who manufactured it, to know who the deceased person actually was.

TENDENCY TOWARD MONUMENTALITY

A gravestone is not merely a symbol of social status; it is also a token of remembrance that has changed during historical eras. Honouring the statue of an emperor was characteristic for the ancient civilization, while the Christian medieval doctrine did not allow the placing of sculptures on graves – namely, all of the departed were included in the God's salvation plan. It was not until the 16th century that monumental ancient realistic sculptures started to appear again in cemeteries.

The relationship of common people toward the dead became more caring in the 17th century. The dead became increasingly important to the living, thus in the 18th century areas within towns began to be separated for cemeteries, just as in the ancient times. In line with the philosophy of the Enlightenment, after the ancient model, a difference was made between certain individuals and common people, i.e. uncrowned individuals (Kuljić 2014). The cult of genius started to overwhelm the cults of monarchs and saints, and gravestones installed for Voltaire and Lessing represented the triumph of the secular over the sacred. At the beginning of the 19th century, people in Berlin started erecting the so-called "military variants of the cult of genius" – the first non-monarch gravestones dedicated to Prussian generals.

At the dawn of the modern society, a new image of man emerged even at the cemeteries as early as in the 18th century. The new middle class in the Western Europe started coming out of anonymity at cemeteries as well, searching for an appropriate identity after death. Beginning in this century, thanks to the developments in hygiene, the population started rising, as the distance between life and death grew – the physician began to replace the priest.

In accordance with the above changes, the aesthetization of cemeteries as parks also occurred, and flowers became the new symbol of death. In the 19th century the cult of the dead, as Auguste Comte noticed (the founder of modern sociology along

with Saint-Simon), was deemed important for the integration of the living. While in the 18th century there were no cities with cemeteries, the 19th century saw a drastic change in this sense: there were no cities without cemeteries.

The most important change certainly came with the nation needing the monument as a new fighting unity. Collective self-representation requires an impressive funeral, but also a colossal monument. Every society needs the past to self-represent, and the imagination of a nation lies most significantly in the imagination of the continuity created by more or less constructed or fabricated events. It is less important that this was often the case of a rethinking or trivial fabrication of the past. What is more important is the fact that the national monument entered the wider public because nationalism required identification with the national sacrifice. The importance of the monumental tombs to the culture of remembrance when it comes to identities such as nations, can also be analyzed at the microsociological level.

Apart from the status, grave symbols also expressed a different view of the state after death. Prior to the 19th century, graves displayed the hope of the deceased that they would be resurrected, thus making the posthumous insignia in this world meaningless to them. With the creation of the modern society, the personality of the deceased has almost exclusively been presented in their worldly dimension. The civic culture of burial is, in fact, an attempt at ending the dialectic of life and death by preserving the unaltered diversity and individuality of a person even after death. Therefore, such graves, among other things, speak of a wide iconographic freedom.

Despite the fact that family gravestones serve the purpose of personal memory, they, as mentioned above, also express the vision of the otherworldly, thus representing an important segment of cultural and social history. What else do they demonstrate?

“Due to the savings of space in the 19th century, there were fewer and fewer mausoleums and chapels in the Western Europe cemeteries. The inequality of the dead was demonstrated in another way. Thus, in the second half of the 19th century, the cemeteries around the Rhine were first to display the gravestones made from the black granite from Sweden. Spatial segregation was becoming more evident in cemeteries. The graves of the rich were located around the main passages, the graves of the middle class around the secondary ones, while the poor people were buried at the outskirts, as reported by the historian Meyer-Woeller. As it seems, the weaker the faith in the otherworldly, the stronger the tendency toward monumental status self-representation of the wealthy in the more conspicuous places in cemeteries. In line with that, the connection between the place of burial, inscription and representation function of the grave becomes more evident. Even the gravestone sculptures above the graves from this period are the proof of the aristocracy of money (Kuljić 2013).”

The tendency toward the monumental status self-representation of the wealthy was also noticed during our field research on the territory of Braničevo. And as far as the entire territory of the Republic of Serbia is concerned, the first observations in this sense stem from the 1960s. Starting in that decade, the custom of building monumental tombs began to grow at the cemeteries in Serbia. Such buildings appeared more often in rural cemeteries and urban cemeteries in central Serbia. All in all, it was the case of the pattern followed by the mourners from the widest social layers, thus these building can be called folk mausoleums (Čolović 1995, 111).

A little over forty years in rural cemeteries in the vicinity of Belgrade the first expensive monumental tombs started springing up like mushrooms after the

rain. This was particularly evident in the villages of Veliki and Mali Mokri Lug. The phenomenon soon spread to such an extent that some influential media (daily and weekly newspapers) paid much attention to it, and it was even comically portrayed in the cult series of the Television of Belgrade *Kamiondžije*.

“Monumental tombs in rural cemeteries in the vicinity of Belgrade consist of an underground concrete room over a metre and a half in height which contains the caskets with the deceased. The entrance to the underground part is located in the back and separated from the aboveground room. The aboveground room has the same surface area as the underground room (from 10 to 20 m²). It is constructed in two ways, either with masonry walls or using a metal structure with glass panes. The masonry tombs are usually constructed in the manner of medieval sacred buildings (Kovačević 1985, 81).”

The aboveground room – “the eternal home” is built as a small church in the style of Serbian medieval monastery churches, but there are some that take after oriental pagodas covered by sheet metal roofs. The aboveground room is filled with various objects which are in a way connected with the deceased (their personal belongings or objects that they liked) and objects which will serve them in the “other world” – a radio, record player and records, television set, newspapers, medicine, homemade objects, pieces of furniture, tables, chairs, shelves with dishes, glasses and bottles, curtains, carpets, etc. The decoration of the aboveground room interior as a residential area has also been noticed in the cemeteries in the vicinity of Belgrade, although they are most prominent in the villages surrounding Svilajnac, Pomoravlje and eastern Serbia (Čolović 1995).

The practice of erecting such monumental tombs can, according to Čajkanović, be observed through the lens of replacing the former custom of the dead being buried in the house, which was, most probably, also practiced by “the peoples who lived in the Balkans before our arrival” (1973). Namely, it is well-known that religious customs do not disappear completely when their substitute is searched for, but only acquire a different form and content.

“When Serbs adopted Christianity, all of this continued to live, only with a Christian interpretation, and connected to certain characters from the Christian circle. Thus, we have a reason to believe that cults and traditions, which were once linked to the ancient gods, were then [...] transferred to other supernatural characters, primarily to present-day saints. Therefore, in our efforts to learn something about those old Serbian gods, we must start from the cult of the present-day saints of ours, and from the tradition that surrounds them. It is there that we can, with greatest certainty, count upon finding the remains of the ancient pantheon and the memory of it (Čajkanović 1973, 309).”

Following Čajkanović’s trail, Čolović puts forward a “challenging” hypothesis on the transformation of “the ancient animistic custom of burying people in the house” in trying to explain the custom of building monumental tombs:

“In the case that we are dealing with here, i.e. the interpretation of the contemporary custom of erecting monumental tombs in the shape and with the inventory of a residential house, it is challenging to put forward the hypothesis that interprets it as a substitute for the ancient animistic custom of burying the dead in the house. Here, this custom would appear in the form of inversion. Instead of digging the grave in the house (under the doorstep, under the hearth), here a house is built on the grave (Čolović 1995, 118).”

The fact that the construction of monumental tombs also speaks of the revitalization of old cults is further corroborated by the observation of the renowned professor Bojan Jovanović.

“Such an answer to the supposed question on the immortality of the soul, in fact, revives the traditional cult in a new mode. Erected as monuments to the dead, these tombs were built like residential houses. At that moment, their construction renewed the suppressed and already forgotten relationship toward the dead. Investing in them overstates the importance of the mark that is put at the end of life. From the perspective of this world, the setting of such a mark has the characteristics of a material sacrifice.

Overdimensioned tombs which are intended to show the spiritual loss, emphasize the material standard of the mourners. The construction of such monumental tombs is an example of the newly-composed buildings created as an amalgam of tradition and modernity. Cemeteries have become the places where small mausoleums are built in the form of kitschy death-obsessed holiday homes in which the reality of this world is used to get closer to the other world.

In that sense, a whole array of utility objects from furniture, home accessories to television and radio sets is not a desecration of the tomb but a constitution of its sacred space. By turning the tombs and chapels into holiday homes of sorts the difference between life and death is reduced. The cult on which this space is built is characterized by the syncretism of its content. Each of the elements at arm's reach was transferred from the area of immediate living usability to the new sacred reality of the tomb. The incoherence of these buildings points to a peculiar confusion of the modern man with regard to death, and his attempt to find an answer through personal improvisation and establishment of a new cult practice (Jovanović 2004, 222-223).”

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF RURAL CEMETERIES ON THE TERRITORY OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF VELIKO GRADIŠTE

Increased material capabilities of the society and individuals at the end of the 1960s and during the 1970s led to the rising temptation of megalomania, non-rational and irrational investments. The construction geometrics of residential blocks in new urban settlements cast a shadow over the material standard of the young socialist society. The newly-formed phenomena emerged from that shadow with a live pagan awareness which was given a chance to express itself more completely in the atmosphere of favourable material circumstances.

Characteristic of the Serbian traditional culture, the cult of the dead based on animistic representations is also expressed in certain modern signifying phenomena: (1) places of death by the side of the road, (2) building chapels over graves, (3) construction of masonry canopies over graves, and (4) erecting one's own gravestone during one's lifetime. The apparent peculiarity of these phenomena, particularly expressed in certain villages of the Municipality of Veliko Gradište (Ljubinja, Majilovac, Sirakovo) and less so in Topolovnik, becomes that much understandable if accepted as an answer to the deepest human questions on the relationship toward death in the context of modern culture.

If the material aspect of these buildings is considered, then they are primarily used to express the message of their builders on their own selves, on their material and social status. However, the mere interior of these tombs, furnished with the objects related to everyday life, also points to the pronounced belief in the posthumous material existence of the deceased. The notion of the living dead is hidden in the shadow of the dominant material appearance of their residence. The overempha-

sized material and social plan is employed to depict the importance of this phenomenon in modern culture. The suppressed forms of tradition appear as answers to the questions posed by the modern man in the context of his own developed material capabilities and the increased standard of living.

In the circumstances of the previous traditional pattern of culture destroyed, the crisis in a community serves to reinstate the identity factor deemed the most important in that moment. As the material condition is the most significant factor of the social status, the acquired wealth should be displayed directly on the occasion of a community member's death. The gravestone being erected is there to, in fact, confirm the success and the social status of the deceased's surviving relatives. The residence of the deceased is the incentive for their living relatives to erect a monument to their own vanity.

The idea of building monumental tombs is one of the consequences of the process of atheization in which cemeteries, by losing their previous traditional characteristics, have become convenient for expressing the notions of death. The exaggerated materiality of these buildings and the place where they are constructed represent the answer of the modern man to the questions posed by his faith on the existence of the reality beyond the border of the immediately visible and actually palpable.

Even though death allows for transformation, since the end of this life is also the beginning of the otherworldly existence, the relationship toward death does not transform life, but gives form to the notion of the living death. Death is not the cause of the ritual separation from the normal life in order to reach another reality, since the objects from a person's life are there to suppress death. The moving of the border serves the purpose of not admitting and suppressing it, and the fear of the empty space, on the other side of life, is to be overcome by filling the tomb with the objects from this world.

By transferring these objects from the everyday life to the afterlife reality people tend to prolong life. However, without an adequate ritual process which could provide a spiritual transposition to this tendency through a necessary transformation, creating the atmosphere of materialized death only stops and freezes life itself. New tombs appear under the circumstances of the exaggeration of former customs related to marking important moments in an individual's life cycle: being born, going to the army and getting married.

Figure 1 shows the appearance of an older "eternal home" built on the village cemetery in Topolovnik, in the upper part, while Figure 2 shows part of the inventory commonly found in the interior of such buildings.

In this same period, people started erecting tombs for themselves during their lives. This phenomenon, also found in the rural cemetery in Topolovnik (Fig. 3), stems from the relationship toward death, which became the subject of attention and building obsession of an individual. By preparing his eternal home, he inscribes on the stone: *I install this gravestone for myself during my own lifetime*. Sculptural and relief decorations of such gravestones, with the images of their future tenants and their visits to their own "eternal homes", represent a confrontation with the end of their own lives. The question of one's own death acquires an aspect of certainty and coming to terms with the outcome of life as an answer to the problem of the very meaning of existence.

The phenomenon of empty graves understood as an expression of the tendency to ensure the future, represents that other, darker aspect of its material realization. Namely, building holiday homes which in their dimensions and function have become a measure of the achieved social status is only one side of this tendency, at whose other end we find tombs already inhabited or awaiting the shadows of their tenants.

Arising from the obsession with and dread of death, tombs have become the altars of everyday life, a central place to which the current of common life flows. Changed and adapted to the other world, the everyday life is indirectly overshadowed by death as well. The care with which people invest their potentials into the notion of their own grave encloses an individual into inauthenticity even before their own life cycle is complete. The mist that covers the depth of human soul compressed in the idea of one's own tomb, built during one's lifetime, subjects the worldly life to a fascination with death. The obsession with the end becomes a way to live through death. Facing one's own death turns into a specific apotheosis of the buildings erected in the cemetery. This slavery to death brings people eventually to the point, as emphasized by Morin, where they experience their death before it has occurred. The constant thought of death cools the everyday life, finally leading to its complete pathological freezing.

This great crevice of death could not have been gapped by expansive science or the retreat of religion, and the new civilization has only managed, as it is believed, to further deepen and spread the pain caused by the death of a close one, the fear of one's own death and the notion of the afterlife.

In accordance with the continuous former folk tradition, signs by the road and in the street are still used to mark the places where the deceased lost their lives. Believing that the soul of the violently deceased persons is connected to that place, their relatives erect a certain sign to ensure an appropriate residence for their souls. These cenotaphs can be divided into four basic forms (wreath, cross, memorial plaque and monument) and two secondary types (memorial fountain and "pyramid"). Among the above insignia of death, of particular interest are the monuments made from vehicle parts (steering wheel, tire, gear, stick shift) and tools (hammer, wrench) (Rajković 1988).

At the very entrance to the territory of the village of Topolovnik, coming from the direction of Požarevac, there are two monuments of that type – one on the right (Fig. 4) and one on the left side (Fig. 5) of the primary road.

Specificities of the Cemetery in Topolovnik

That Topolovnik is the largest village in the Municipality of Veliko Gradište is corroborated by the fact that it has two village cemeteries – one bigger and older (in the upper part) and the other smaller and newer (in the lower part), located right by the primary road (Fig. 6). The cemetery in the upper part, or "the first *mala*", illustrates the past times which are reflected in a variety of gravestone styles – starting with plain boulders, simpler gravestones (Fig. 7), up to modern and monumental gravestones which are, most often, erecting during one's own lifetime.

The village cemetery in Topolovnik (in the upper part) unfortunately shows the general state of care toward the deceased. Despite the presence of gravestones whose installation cost a substantial amount of money, the cemetery is partially enclosed and derelict to a great extent. The state was not improved regardless of the fact that a person was employed to take care of it for a certain fee.

Bearing in mind that the village used to be much more populated, as well as the fact that the inhabitants from diaspora (mainly from Italy) are by rule buried in their native village, the capacity of the upper part cemetery has long been exceeded. Simultaneously, the local community has not been involved with the solution of this problem – for example, by purchasing land, or exchanging land allocated for the expansion of the cemetery at some other location (e.g. through the process of land consolidation). Consequently, the practice of erecting gravestones "wherever you find space" in the vicinity of the old cemetery has emerged.

Figure 8 shows a gravestone erected on the right side of the road leading toward the cemetery, some 200 m from the cemetery entrance. It is sometimes hard to reach the remote gravestones because of the unmowed grass (Figure 9). The people from Topolovnik usually buy smaller parcels of land in the vicinity of the cemetery in the upper part (up to a one are) at high prices. In any case, it is a lucrative transaction advertised in the usual manner – by using almost illegible billboards by the side of the road (Figure 10).

CONCLUSION

Analyzing the rural cemeteries on the territory of the Municipality of Veliko Gradište, as well as their gravestones with the accompanying iconography and symbols, the authors conclude that these cemeteries and gravestones are the “living” witnesses of the history of the places in question and a mirror not only of the material but also the spiritual development of those communities.

The customs of erecting gravestones in this region are accompanied by certain specific characteristics such as, above all, constructing masonry canopies over graves in some villages (Ljubinja) and erecting one’s own tomb during one’s lifetime. These, as well as other customs, can be observed from the perspective of revitalization of ancient folk customs (cults), and even through the lens of the substitution of ancient customs – for example, burials in the house.

The appearance of monumental tombs in the cemeteries of the Stig region villages (Šapine and Smoljinac) could, at first, be compared to the chapels erected in the urban cemeteries in the 19th and 20th century. However, a superficial comparison would lead to an incorrect image of the studied phenomenon. The differences in the economic, social and cultural conditions, which do not allow for an easy equalization, still do not prevent a comparison. Such a comparison, which would lead to more general findings, could only be performed after more detailed micro-level analyses have been conducted. The analysis of the phenomenon of masonry canopies in the cemeteries of the Municipality of Veliko Gradište is only one of the micro-analyses which could pave the way for a more comprehensive knowledge of this phenomenon.

The description of the rural cemetery in Topolovnik shows a lack of the phenomena observed in some other villages in the Stig region (the presence of enormous tombs). Despite the similar economic indicators – the large part of population temporarily employed abroad – which is reflected in the beautiful (many-storeyed) houses built in the previous decades, the residents of Topolovnik have not exaggerated in displaying material gratitude to the deceased in their cemetery.

REFERENCES

- Barloewen von, Constantin. *Der Tod in den Weltkulturen und Weltreligionen*. Frankfurt am Main - Leipzig, Insel Verlag, 2000.
- Čajkanović, Veselin. *Mit i religija u Srba*. Beograd, SKZ, 1973.
- Čolović, Ivan. *Jedno s drugim*. DaMaD, 1995.
- Fojerbah, Ludvig. *Predavanja o suštini religije*. Beograd, BIGZ, 1974.
- Jovanović, Bojan. Staništa za seni. *Gradina*, 39(3)(2004): 215-225.
- Knoblauch, Hubert und Zingerle, Arnold. *Thanatosozilogie. Tod, Hospiz und die Institutionalisation des Sterbens*. Berlin, Duncker & Humblot GmbH, 11-30, 2005.
- Kovačević, Ivan. Socijalno-emfatička funkcija monumentalnih grobnica. *Etnološke sveske*, VI(1985): 81-87.
- Kuljić, Todor. Odbojnost prema sirotinjskom grobu. U: *Spomenici i antispomenici – između pijeteta i identiteta* (feljton). „Danas”, 2013.
- Kuljić, Todor. *Tanatopolitika*. Čigoja, 2014.
- Markešić, Ivan. Nadgrobni spomenici – vjerni pokazatelji hrvatskoga religijskog, narodnog i ideološko-političkog identiteta. U: *Hrvatski identitet* (Horvat, R., prir.). Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 233-254, 2010.
- Morin, Edgar. *Čovjek i smrt*. Zagreb, Scarabeus-naklada, 2005.
- Sršan, Stjepan. *Osječka groblja*. Osijek, Povijesni arhiv, 1996.
- Rajković, Zorica. *Znamenje smrti*. Izdavački centar Rijeka i Zavod za istraživanje folklor, Zagreb, 1988.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. An *eternal home* at the village cemetery in the upper part of Topolovnik



Fig. 2. The interior of an *eternal home*



Fig. 3. An example of a gravestone erected during one's one lifetime



Fig. 4. A pyramid-type memorial by the side of the road



Fig. 5. A memorial plaque by the side of the road



Fig. 6. The entrance to the village cemetery in Topolovniku (the lower part)



Fig. 7. Old gravestones in the village cemetery in Topolovniku (the upper part)



Fig. 8. A gravestone erected 200 m away from the village cemetery (the upper part)



Fig. 9. Gravestones erected outside the cemetery, overgrown with weeds



Fig. 10. An advertisement selling the land for graves

Vladan Petrović

**CEMETERY – SACRED PLACE
THE CUSTOM OF BURYING IN GOLUBAC AND ENVIRONMENT***

Author:

Did ever happen that the guests on burial ceremony get drunk?

Priest Miroslav Milosevic:

*This is required! Should they eat, should they drink?!
It is observed that the richer people from Golubac during burial like to present themselves before others in material terms. The rule is to be the larger and more expensive monument and more food, especially in the Vlach villages in families that are working abroad. Paganism in the last hundred years has not decreased, even somewhere and increase.
We are still mad people!*

The research project “*Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia (179013)*” scientifically cultivated many crucial aspects of life mentioned population. In the final stage, before the completion of the scientific project, it was symbolically time to explore what happens to people after death, and they mortal and postmortal actions. Sociologists, ethnologists and other researchers know how to relate interests in these topics to get the quality of scientific findings that define and complement the identity of a nation, ethnic minorities or ethnic groups. Let me remind you how important is survey of cemeteries from the earliest stages of human community till now days at global level. For researchers who were able to “read” the cemetery, they were rich treasury of diverse information of human life. They are quiet places, but they can speak a lot. Cemeteries are phenomena that are seen as the eternal home, the gates of this and the other world, the holly places, the eternal yearbooks. Researchers who are insufficiently familiar to one nation, after in-depth analysis of its cemeteries can find the main features that adorn it.

Research in Golubac began and ended very successfully. Selection of informants-interviewed were promising success. According to the author, as an interlocutor for this topic, it was necessary to consult the local priest. The reason is more than simple, local clergy best understand their parishioners, their citizens. Clergy are deeply and unavoidably in their lives, their deepest secrets in good and evil. At each funeral clergyman is present. In small environments as Golubac, the percentage of believers is high, almost hundred percent. The high level of education of priests in combination with the previously enumerated qualities, give them the title of best interlocutor for topics about death and postmortal

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia (179013)*, carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

customs. A priest who has helped this work is father Miroslav Milosevic. He is the main and only priest in Golubac and the environment and works in the Church of St. Nicholas.

Other interlocutor was Mrs. Marija Ilic, a neighbor and friend of father Miroslav. Shee is an economic technician. The lady is in mature years, urban manners, and yet women of the people (Fig. 1).

The reason she worked as interlocutor with his father Miroslav is that the author wanted to hear the voice of the people about pagan customs and deaths and post-mortual actions. Paganism or as many sociologists of religion say "folk religiosity" in Serbia, in small communities, is deeply rooted in the consciousness of the broad masses. During the funeral, and later at the commemoration service, paganism often dominates ecclesiastical traditions. The interview was conducted by courtesy of Miroslav father in his house 21st of April 2015., on the basis of a questionnaire to explore the custom of burying (professor Dragoljub B. Djordjevic), sociologist of religion.

THE SPECIFICITY OF THE POPULATION OF THIS REGION

Vlachs speak Vlach, mother tongue, most often in their homes, and in conversation with other residents they use Serbian language. The most accurate is to say that they mostly use a mixed dialect, so-called Serbian- Vlach. 50% of the Serbian population moved to western countries to work, and Vlachs almost 100%. It is evidenced great mutual relations with the Serbian population of mixed marriages and the absence of conflict and tolerance.

EDUCATION

In a comparative analysis of the educational structure of the Serbs and Vlachs some differences can be observed. The Serbs have a higher percentage of highly educated individuals in the population of middle and older generation. In the population of high school students in their desire to continue education at a faculty Serbs and Vlachs are now completely tied.

According to census from 2012. Golubac city has 1,960 inhabitants. The population has a high percentage of homogenous Serb-dominated with 75%, then 20% Vlachs and 5% others. This is the responsibility of two factors, the first is the birth rate, negative natural growth, and the other factor is the migration to Western countries for economic reasons or to make people say "in search of bread". Equally, the number of inhabitants of the Vlach and Serbian population decrease. Golubac is proud of the excellent inter-ethnic relations which have always ruled this city and its environs. It has never been an interethnic conflict and a large number of mixed marriages testifies to the excellent co-existence of two ethnicities in Golubac. Pensioners, as a rule, always return to his native home, which is not the case with their descendants who are completely assimilated and remain forever in one of the western countries. Most of these young people gradually lose every relationship with his hometown and Serbia. Every day, they accepting western culture and suppress their own. They improve foreign language and forget Serbian. Most of them rarely return in Golubac for the holidays, with the intent to permanently stay abroad, longing for foreign citizenship to them enables existence in a foreign land.

GOLUBAC CEMETERY

It is located near the center of Golubac, at about 500 meters, with excellent asphalt road. It is on the southeastern hill which offers a beautiful view of the part of the city and the widest part of the Danube. Due to the hygienic-sanitary reasons this cemetery is located on a hill. It is believed that hills have lowest elevations gro-

undwater flow that can pollute by cemetery. The cemetery is generally in good condition. It is closed by wire, but not a whole. There are no night guards because there are no incidents. The maintenance of the cemetery takes local public utility company. It, according to the story of Marija and father Miroslav, quite correctly do their job around the cemetery maintenance. For digging graves there is an established team of people who perform it. Lately, public company, under whose jurisdiction the job of digging grave, made a decision that the family must report death to them (Fig. 2).

The cemetery is common for Serbs and Vlachs. According to father, Miroslav, a difference that can be noticed is that Vlachs have more paganism. The cemetery does not possess the church but there is a small chapel in excellent condition. In addition to the current chapel also has water, which facilitates the performance of the commemoration service (Fig. 3).

Almost every grave has a monument. All is streamlined. There are no abandoned graves and does not occur to any of the offspring leaves the grave. Arrangement of graves is different. The graves are mostly unfenced, and those fewer who have some kind of fence are enclosed with chains. The least common graves were enclosed by a metal fence, and often have canopies made of metal or wood. Interlocutors asked whether the graves have elements of kitsch, resolutely denied. There are no monuments in the form of objects that were dominant in the professions of the deceased. The only exception is the book of dark marble on the tomb of a local teacher Brana that is in line with the entire burial site from the same marble and give no impression of kitsch (Fig. 4).

At the cemetery, which is not a little, surprise that there are no grave where you can find elements of folk creativity. There are also graves of Serbs from Bosnia who excel in diversity compared to local. One would say consistency to death, and afterwards (Fig. 5).

Color prevailing on the monuments at the Golubac cemetery is black, then dark gray and light gray, and at least monuments are white. On the tombstones, on porcelain photographs we could find some funny pictures, reflecting the spirit and humor of the Serbian people (Fig. 6).

The material most commonly used for the construction of monuments and burial places is black marble. Less affluent people usually made monuments of marble without tombstones. Instead they put terrazzo stone or simply remain just a soil. In that case, descendants once or twice a year spray total herbicides against sprouting grass and other weeds. It is very noticeably existence of “competition” in raising large and expensive monuments, burial sites and even building a mini chapel (mausoleum). It is an n old tradition in Serbia, especially in provincial areas as Golubac that on monument building should not spare money. According to father Miroslav: *“locals do not complain when they do not have enough money, do not even affect the about prices.”* One of the most expensive monument on Golubac cemetery – monument as a status symbol (Figure 7).

Condition of monuments is generally well. the graves are regularly cleaning as well as roads at the cemetery. Number of monuments at a rough estimate is 2000. It is not customary to bury the deceased over the deceased who died earlier. The reason is pragmatic, because there is enough space in the cemetery, so there is no need for such rationalization during burial. As for the deceased's data on the monument and its grammatical correctness, we can say that at the cemetery Golubac all is correct.

EPITAPHS

There are on 75% tombstones, and we could say that putting epitaphs become customary ritual. On some of the many epitaphs sadness is transformed into rime (Fig. 8).

Busts on Golubac cemetery are so rare that there is a just one. It is located on the grave of some Braca Kasapin. He raised bust to his deceased son. The unfortunate young man lost his life when he was on a barge that sank in the Danube. Due to the great sadness, unhappy father did something that had not been seen before and usually the Golubac cemetery – made a bust of his son's image on his grave (Fig. 9).

The oldest monument dates from 1887 (Fig. 10). About oldest monuments father Miroslav says:

“Once a German come to me. Here in our cemetery are buried some Germans who were suffering from typhus during World War II, prisoners. They were buried after his death at the Golubac cemetery. It is interesting that I found the data and find a monument for all of them. Those monuments are located in the area where the oldest monuments are, those of stone. 1887-1888 seventeen century, and possibly earlier. The church was built on the foundations of the monastery of the Holy Virgin in 1847”.

The material is made of stone is perforated and has a form of marine sponges. The inscriptions are very difficult or completely unreadable. All of them are covered with moss and crooked. This distortion of the older monuments creates a bizarre image that is often seen in horror films.

However the reason for this is quite plain. It is not about any evil forces who blame gravestones. The main culprit is on the loose, sandy soil. In such a ground, pinned cross or monument without large concrete foundation, very quickly goes to the side. The first and oldest graves in the Golubac cemetery are located in the center. From that place cemetery has later spreading in all directions. Grave disrepair is rare, according to the father Miroslav less than 10%. For abandoned graves have explanations. The deceased with abandoned grave sites generally have no descendants. And there are living descendants, due to negligence ancestors left the graves, but it's really rare, up to 1%. The father Miroslav and Maria, to the question whether there is any specificity Golubac cemetery stands out from the rest, they say no and that it in no way not drastically different from others in the near and distant environment.

CUSTOMS

Both Serbs and Vlachs are fully respected premortal, mortal, and postmortem. Respect and regularly exaggerate. It is usually to respect seven days, 40 days, six months, a year, even Vlachs respect up to 10 years. Vlachs usually give repast to the first ten years. This is reflected in preparing the food where it simply exaggerates food.

News of the death spreads by the telephone, and the obligation is bonding of the death certificate. Transportation of the deceased is usually performed by funeral agency car. On the question of the author whether he as a priest suggested, corrected, or in any way tried to impose to church instead of pagan customs, father Miroslav, laughing fits: “So I did, but they say: *приест*, we know ours!”. They all respect the church, but also add their pagan customs”. As for fasting, parishioners respect it if the funeral falls during the fasting and eat greasy food if it falls after fasting. That no one has ever violated. The wake is performed without differences among the Serbs and Vlachs. At the wakes usually sit neighbors, family, friends, as locals say it is the way to keep the deceased. The deceased in the center of attention, and he therefore placed

on the central place on the table in a coffin. They sit along with quiet conversation until early morning hours. The aim is not leave deceased for a single moment. For those who “protect” the deceased refreshments are preparing and serving with respecting periods of fasting. In the evening of wake for all involved it is served food they dined at the table or around the deceased, or otherwise out of the table, taking the offers from households or from a responsible woman. On the menu is homemade pie or pies with meat. If the household is richer, it easier decide to purchase food products. After dinner, the cakes are served. They regularly serve alcohol during fasting.

Regarding the wake of the Serbs, there is no significant difference. The same group of people as at Vlachs sit until morning with the deceased, and then a woman who receives a candle, cense deceased. Sometimes the coffin with a deceased are closed in the evening, and sometimes in the morning before leaving the cemetery. As for the bathing of the deceased, it is a custom that is according to the rules of Serbian Orthodox Church. It is usually to clean deceased with damp towel over the body. There is a chamber of water where towel is occasionally adorned, and it is actually considered as swimming.

THE CUSTOM OF TRANSPORTING THE DECEASED TO THE GRAVEYARD

In Golubac and its surroundings, while transporting the deceased to the graveyard, the funeral procession stops on several occasions to perform certain religious acts. First of all, when the funeral procession is about to leave the home of the deceased, the funeral service is held. Then the body of the deceased is laid in the yard and the memorial service is held. There are no exceptions to this rule even if the weather is bad. When the memorial service is finished, the body of the deceased is taken to the graveyard. Along the way, the funeral procession must be stopped in three places so that the funeral service can be held again. Two out of three places are the crossroads; the third which is the last one is in front of the grave itself.

After the funeral service is held in the home of the deceased, his family members stay in the house. The body of the deceased is taken into the yard by four men accompanying the priest and the funeral procession. In the yard, the funeral service is held again and after a minute the members of family join the funeral procession and attend the funeral service. The funeral service is held only for the deceased; after the funeral the priest blesses the water for the living and family members to keep them in good health.

During the funeral, the priest is the one who perform the ceremony. Shortly before the deceased is put into the grave, each of the present throws some earth and money over the coffin.

PAGAN CUSTOMS

The typical pagan custom or how some authors would say the folk religion, involves the exaggerations in food and drink. In Golubac, the exaggeration is more typical for the Vlachs especially when we talk about the people living in villages. The best information comes from my interlocutors. Father Miroslav remembers the village near Golubac:

“I remember entering the yard...it was the Vlachs village... they give gifts to everybody. Sixteen animals... eight lambs and eight pigs. That’s their custom. Sixteen roasted animals taken to the graveyard when they inaugurated a tombstone to Dragan, named the Algerian, from Switzerland.

They called me and I came and said to them: people, what for, why all these food for?”

They said:

“That’s our custom, he well deserved it, and he made a lot of money in Switzerland, built houses to all his sons, grandsons and great-grandsons.”

About some other posthumous act, Mrs. Marija informs me:

“In the coffin you put some personal belongings of the deceased which he used frequently. That is usually a mirror, a comb, things for personal hygiene. If the deceased is a woman than you usually put things from her purse. If the deceased liked to listen to music then you also put a radio. Basically, you put the things in the coffin which were the dearest and most used by the deceased. You can also put some money into the pocket, or if the deceased was a smoker you put the cigarettes too. People who come to offer their condolences usually bring wine, or brandy, coffee, sweets or some biscuits. All this is intended for the deceased, but if you have someone who also has recently died, you buy something for that person too and put it into coffin.

The customs in Golubac are such that apart from the clod of earth which you toss over the coffin you also toss some money into the grave. The locals say that the deceased has to treat him and the others when he reaches the world of the dead.

THE WAILING AND THE WAILERS

In Golubac there are no wailers, but there are in the Vlachs villages. Those are not the women who mourn the deceased for money. It is good that the deceased is mourned properly before leaving this world. Usually only one woman, or sometimes a pair, is chosen to be a wailer, and it is usually a close relative to the deceased. The wailing is performed in Vlach language, or in some of the dialects. The wailing starts when the body of the deceased is taken out of his house, and finishes when the deceased is buried. The wailing is actually the mourning for the deceased, his life and the grief of his family. It often tells about how good person the deceased was, about his hard work and his sufferings in life, etc.

AFTER THE FUNERAL

In Golubac and the places surrounding it, after the funeral it is a custom to leave the graveyard slowly. The leader of the procession is a member of the closest family, followed by the priest. After the procession reaches the home of the deceased, the priest blesses the water for the good health of family members. Also, the meal prepared for this occasion, called “sofra” is served three times. There is a plate for the deceased at the head of the table. The food and alcohol are consumed with a big appetite. There is no music during the activities performed before and after the funeral. In the priest’s twenty-years long career the exception was the funeral of some Musa, when there was a brass band playing. Musa was a boatman, and a bohemian kind of person.

Dirge, such as the first Saturday after the funeral, or forty days or six months after the funeral, are the important dates marked in Golubac’s cemetery. Many families invite the priest to attend the marking of that dates at the cemetery. It is a common thing for all dirges to prepare food. The important dates are the seventh day after the passing of the deceased, the fortieth day, six months and a year. A tombsto-

ne for the deceased at the graveyard is built in the first year after the funeral, or in the third year since the rule is to build a tombstone only in the odd years after the funeral. This rule is a part of pagan customs and has nothing to do with the church. The closest family members as a sign of mourning wear black cloths, and then after a certain period of time which varies from 40 days to one year, they start wearing cloths of all colors. On the front wall of the house of the deceased, there is a black scarf fasten with four nails, which stays there for a year. One of the rules is to visit the grave of the deceased on Soul Saturday and to bring food and drink also. The funeral without the priest i.e. the funeral of an atheist is a very rare thing which happens in 1% of cases.

LITERATURE

- Ђорђевић, Драгољуб Б. *На коњу с лаптопом у бисагама: увод у ромолошке студије*. Нови Сад, Ниш: Прометеј, Машински факултет, 2010..
- Ђорђевић, Драгољуб Б. и Д. Тодоровић. *Јавор изнад главе: класична вера и ромско-православна сеоска гробља*. Ниш: Компенски социолошки сусрети, 1999..
- Ђорђевић, Драгољуб В. and Vladan Petrović. "Sirovari of Cakanovac". In *Religion, Religious and Folk Customs on the Border*, 219-235. Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 2012.
- Ђорђевић, Драгољуб Б., Славољуб Узуновић и Владан Петровић. *Сирово борово: социолошка генеза прешевског Цакановца*. Нови Сад, Ниш: Прометеј, Машински факултет, 2014.
- Петровић, Сретен 2014. „Ритуали, обичаји и религија.” *Етно-културолошки зборник*. Сврљиг: Етно-културолошка радионица.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. Informants, priest Miroslav Milosevic and neighbor Marija Ilic



Fig. 2. Gate of Golubac cemetery



Fig. 3. Chapel, view from the courtyard of the cemetery



Fig. 4. On the grave of the teacher dominant marble book



Fig. 5. A slightly different graves of Serb refugees from Bosnia



Fig. 6. Wit above all



Fig. 7. One of the most expensive monument on Golubac cementery – monument as a status symbol



Fig. 8. One of epitaphs on Golubac cementery



Figure 9. Bust on Golubac cemetery



Figure 10. The oldest monuments on Golubac cemetery

Danijela Voza

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN MAJDANPEK MUNICIPALITY *

INTRODUCTION

Death as a phenomenon attracts more attention and compels to think about it than the act of the birth (Radonic, 1985). It is the muse of religions, philosophies, political ideologies, arts and medical technologies. Also, it is the barometer for measuring the adequacy of social life and comparing cross-cultural death and life expectancy rates to gauge social progress. By the national homicide rates, it is possible to infer the stability of social structures and make a contrast between death rates of different social groups in order to ascertain social inequalities (www.trinity.edu). Thus, the death is a catalyst that, when put into contact with any cultural order, precipitates out the central beliefs and concerns of a people.

One of the critical moments in the life of the community is, certainly, is the death of its members. For overcoming and the dismissal, it is necessary to have a ritual. Fear of the death body, own death, the instincts of self-denial, various conflicts that at such time occur, may be threat for the basic values and the existence of the group. In communities that are unforgiving of its members, this is an opportunity for social exchange symbolic and less symbolic gestures, while farewells distinguished representatives of the open space to confirm their ideas and work, or to waiver them (Pavicevic 2009).

The death-related experiences of most industrialized societies in the early twenty-first century are markedly different from how people experienced death a century ago. In the past, death more commonly was an intimate family event and usually took place at home with family members caring for the dying person. Loved ones were most likely present when the individual passed, and young children witnessed the events surrounding the death. The loved one's body was washed by the family and prepared for burial. A local carpenter or perhaps even family members themselves constructed a coffin, and the body lay in state for viewing by family and friends in the parlor of the home. Children kept vigil with adults and sometimes slept in the room with the body. The body was later carried to the gravesite, which might be on the family's land or at a nearby cemetery. The local minister would be present to read Bible verses and say goodbye, and the coffin would be lowered and the grave covered, perhaps by relatives.

CEMETERY AS A WITNESS OF THE EXISTENCE

A cemetery or graveyard is a “spatially defined area where the remains of dead people are buried or otherwise interred” (www.wikipedia.org). The term cemetery derives from the Greek (*koimeterion*) and Latin (*coemeterium*) words for “sleeping place.” The concept is closely related to *burial ground*, *graveyard*, *churtyard*, and *necropolis*, which is Greek for “city of the dead”. Studies of cemeteries

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

in social science literature fit into two broad categories (Francaviglia 1971). The first presents architectural analysis of style, and stylistic changes, while the second approach refers to geographical aspect.

Cemeteries and graves dramatize the stratification orders of the living. The segregations of living are reaffirmed in death. In most countries, there are often different cemeteries for different ethnic and religious groups and different social classes. Even when this is not the case, different sections of a cemetery can be designated to different categories of people. To deny someone a grave among others, or individuality at death, is a way for society to express repudiation. Another strategy, common in warfare or civil conflict, is to eliminate any reminder whatsoever of the deceased.

Cemeteries have numerous social and personal functions. It is important to make a distinction between individual and societal functions of cemeteries. One of the social functions is to express basic cultural beliefs concerning death and the meaning of life. Besides disposing of bodies, communities commemorate the dead with the displaying and construction of identity that this entails. Cemeteries serve both functional and emotional purposes. They provide for disposal of corps and, far more important, provide a place where the living can communicate with the dead (Francaviglia 1971). Throughout history burial grounds have also been places where people met for different sorts of social gatherings. The individual function primarily concerns commemoration. One way to assure oneself of symbolic immortality is to buy a sizeable grave plot and construct an impressive memorial. However, the dead do not bury themselves, and a grave is as much an index of the social status of the funeral organizers as of the deceased. It could be said that the cemetery is a place where the relationship between the dead and the bereaved is established and maintained. Consolation is taken from visits to the grave, and from planting around and decorating the plot. Cemeteries are sites where family and communal loyalties are linked and reaffirmed (www.deathreference.com).

Cemeteries and graves dramatize the stratification orders of the living. The segregations of living are reaffirmed in death. In many countries, there are different cemeteries for different ethnic and religious groups and different social classes. Even when this is not the case, different sections of a cemetery can be designated to different categories of people.

The location and organization of cemeteries, the way in which they are kept, their shape and size and grave markers, reflect beliefs and notions about death and life. For example, the original meaning of cemetery as a “sleeping place” reflects the comprehension of some kind of resurrection and the diminishing frequency of crosses on grave markers reflects secularization (www.deathreference.com). Cemeteries are far more than space sectioned off and set aside for the burial of the dead. To deny someone a grave among others, or individuality at death, is a way for society to express repudiation. Another strategy, common in warfare or civil conflict, is to eliminate any reminder whatsoever of the deceased.

FUNERAL – CENTRAL RITUAL OF DEATH

Ritual is “prescribed formal behavior for occasions not given over to technological routine, having reference to beliefs in invisible beings or powers” (Turner 2008, 29) that preserve the structures of both self and society. Rituals are condensed forms of experiences, tips of icebergs of meanings and social mechanisms for transformations. These enactments of cultural belief systems go beyond mere ceremony.

While there is evidence that some animals are aware of death and even mourn their dead, humans are the only species that mark the event. This can be the si-

mple placement of the body in a shallow grave or far more elaborate rituals associated with honoring the dead that can last years. Every funeral shows the ways of how communities accept and overcome death. Funeral rituals in our traditional culture, in general, are based on certain religious content. Archaic and multilevel custom activities are especially noticeable in the customs of the life cycle, particularly in the funerals. One part of the ritual, as the activities of priests, requiem and mass at the church, are standardized rules of institutionalized religion and the other part is older, “national” religious shape.

Funerals themselves are changing and will continue to change and evolve in the future: for instance, practices such as having funeral services that are less formal, more secular, and briefer and more perfunctory —more “packaged” as it were— in the interest of the busy schedules of those who attend (Bryant 2006).

Comparing the cults related to death with other customs from the life cycle, it can be noticed that death cults went through the least changes. Reasons for this should be searched for in the complex phenomenon of death as eternal secret and inspiration of religious and magic way of thinking, as well as in the fact that atheistic ideology used to be primary anti-Christian and anti-Church, while the rituals of pagan character were not perceived as ideologically too dangerous (Pavicevic 2008). Deep folk belief in the after-life, is still reflected in sending gifts to the dead. The custom is that women bring water, fruit, candy and money, and put in the coffin next to the deceased with the loud spoken messages and sue for the dead.

The size of the grave marker could be indicator of power of males over females, adults over children and the rich over the poor. Separate ethnic cemeteries, ethnic sections in cemeteries, or ethnic symbols inscribed on grave markers, can be feature of ethnic differences. At the same time, burial and cemeteries are the best way for recognizing religious identity.

It is possible to discern at least seven different ways different groups express their ethnic identity within an ethnic cemetery or an ethnic section of a cemetery:

1. The location of the grave;
2. The position of the grave; Muslims are buried on the side facing Mecca, and Orthodox Christians are buried in an eastward position;
3. The form and shape of the grave marker; Polish Romes in Sweden use large grave memorials in black marble;
4. Symbols on the grave marker, such as a flag, an orthodox cross, or a Muslim half- moon;
5. The place of birth, which is clearly stated on the grave marker;
6. Epitaphs from the country of origin;
7. Inscriptions in a language or alphabet that differs from that of the majority (Reimers 1999).

BURIAL CUSTOMS AND RITUALS

Burial customs are depended on ethnicity, religion, and social class. Although it seems that the most important elements of the cult of the dead were observed, recorded or analyzed, there are still many elements that have not been explored. The reasons for some customs and practices did not get enough attention, could be it did not fit the theory, not seem significant enough or we simply overlooked (Trbojevic 2011). Every socio-cultural entity has its own and specific funeral customs and rituals that reflect, not only the forms of belief, but also some of the essential qualities, motives and value system as a whole. Thus, in different cultures there are different rules. There are cultures where it is usual to talk about the death during the lifetime or preparing for the moment it occurs. On the other side, there are cases when this is

some kind of taboo. Also, there are differences whether the death is going to be burned or buried, and on which way - with gifts in the graves or without them. Sometimes, day time of the burial is different. Expressing the grief could be through the loud crying, pulling and cutting hair, even scratching the body. On the contrary, there is a solemn silence and restraint. Funeral ritual can be elaborated and complex brief, but also fast.

There are many different customs connected with the cemeteries and burial. For example, it is usually for visitors to leave flowers on graves, especially on relevant anniversaries. After few weeks, these flowers are usually disposed by cemetery maintenance services in order to keep the cemetery orderly. Grass may be often planted on the grave, immediately in front of the gravestone.

A funeral usually consists of a religious service followed by a procession to the cemetery or crematory. A brief service usually takes place as the body is buried or cremated. Most funeral services are held in chapels, mortuaries (funeral homes), or in churches. Relatives and friends come to the chapel or funeral home to pay their respects to the dead and to comfort the bereaved. Wearing black is a sign of mourning is common. In some religious groups, special prayers are offered for the welfare of the soul of the deceased.

In the Serbian culture, death and the memory of the deceased were accompanied by a series of ritual ceremonies that aim to farewell the group with the deceased, express sadness and, sometimes, communicate with the otherworldly world (Trbojevic 2011). Funeral preceding magic rituals, rituals of purification and protection, escorting and burial of the deceased and the rituals related to the period after the death and burial. Unlike the Christian belief, according to which the soul after death has predestined fate (Heaven or Hell), the folk religion of Serbs believed that the soul may be in the form of a return to 'this' world. The first step in the Eastern Orthodox funeral tradition is preparing the body, which includes washing and clothing the body. Family and close friends traditionally perform this act with a priest present. It is believed that if someone dies a death that is not natural or be buried improperly (for example: without candles), his soul is not at peace and he returns as an aberrant dead. Belief in the existence and life of the soul is usually called animism. Back souls in the world of the living can occur in a desirable (memorial service) or undesirable way (aberrant deceased, vampire, howler, etc.). In order to avoid an unwelcome return, various rituals and respect the taboos related to death and the deceased, are practiced. Relationship to the deceased changed after forty days, half a year, and finally after a year, when the soul leaves the body forever (Trbojevic, 2011).

BURIAL CUSTOMS OF VLACHS

The main feature of the Vlachs ethnic community is diverse and original culture. In almost every ethnographic analysis of Vlachs, stand out great presence of the religious-magical culture elements (Voza 2012). Animistic religion such as Vlachs, cherishes the memory of the dead, believing that death is not a human immanence. This is reflected in a special kind of respect for the dead, as well as using every opportunity to mention them. Some villages do not have cemeteries, because family members are buried at home, at a place where there is a nice view of the house and property (Ivkov-Dzigurski et al. 2012). Considering this fact, the subject of this article is to present Vlach customs related to the burial.

There are many specific customs and rituals in Vlach religion. Death is an event which is the best reflection of those special features. When someone dies, the oldest woman in the family appears in front of the house, sits in its angle, so called baptism, and starts to lament painfully. Soon, other women join to her. In the next 24

hours, they usually mention all good deeds of the deceased. For this time, next to the death body guardians are interspersing. Neighbors and relatives are watching where the soul of the deceased will get out. Also, they are checking whether deceased is carefully bathed and dressed. If they are suspicious about everything was kept under control, they revive and take preventive measures. On the windows of the house were placed hawthorn twigs and stands there for six weeks in order to refuse a dead body from homesickness. Also, it is the rule that his bed stay empty in the same period. It is very important the way the deceased was placed in a coffin which necessarily should have a nice, usually white satin cover, blanket and pillow with garlic. In addition, alive put there his personal items. Member of the family, who go to the cemetery before the coffin, is lowering into the grave. In all four angles, he lights one candle and pours the wine on the land. For the Vlachs it is very important to build a monument to the deceased. Many of them do that for a lifetime in order to choose color and shape they like.

The most widespread rituals in the cult of the dead Vlachs are connected with the table equipped by special menu that meets all longing of the deceased. Thus, next to each grave there is table that is set early in the morning on the day of the feast. Then the water spills on the grave in order to deceased could wash his face and refresh. After that, he can come to the table with the help of the candlelight. Those large ceremonial feasts Vlachs mentioned to the deceased seven years after his death.

CEMETERY IN RUDNA GLAVA – THE VILLAGE IN MAJDANPEK MUNICIPALITY

Majdanpek municipality is located in the northern part of eastern Serbia and covers the area of the largest forest and mining complex eastern Serbia. Also, this is a Serbian border area. Beside Serbians, villages of this municipality are settled by members of Vlach national minority. One way for introducing with the variety of cultures and believes is to present the cemetery of one village from this area. Subject of this article is the cemetery in Rudna Glava village.

According to the census of 2002, in Rudna Glava lived 2,309 people (according to the census of 1991, there were 2,549 inhabitants). From that number, there were almost 70% of Serbs and 28% of Vlachs. Comparing the censuses from the last decades, it can be noticed that population decreases. This is scattered type of village and covers the area of 115.6 km². The most of the villagers live on their farms, high above the center. Also, village is known for the same name archeological site, the center of early prehistoric mining, which is under the protection of the Republic of Serbia.

The cemetery of this settlement, as well as cemeteries of surrounding villages, is located on the hillside which surrounds the village (Fig. 1). According to the testimonies of interviewees, main reason for this is believe that dead should have a good look at their households.

There is only one cemetery, without separation of Serbian and Vlachs graves. The church is located in the village center and there is not any in the cemetery yard. It could be said that there is old and new part of the cemetery (Fig. 2 and 3). Old part is consisted of many graves that originate from the period from the First and Second World War, without clear inscriptions (Fig. 4). Also, there are new and maintained burial monuments (Fig. 5).

Cemetery maintenance is on very low level (Fig. 6). The cemetery is neglected with many tombstones ingrown in the grass and bushes.

CONCLUSION

Funeral rites in our traditional culture are based on certain religious content. One part of the ritual, such as the activities of priests and the requiem mass in the church, are standardized rules of institutionalized religion. The other part of the product is older, "national" religious form. In order to overcome the natural givens of death, people created certain patterns of behavior within their magic-religious images, as a direct response to its appearance (Jovanović 2011).

The Vlachs of Eastern Serbia are quite closed in terms of cultural heritage, because they hardly allow those who are not Vlachs to attend their traditional rituals, especially those containing elements of magic, even speaking about this unwillingly (Ivkov-Dzigurski 2012). Magic-religious tradition, which is the important feature of the Vlach culture, is presented through the community's aspiration to persuade and propitiate the spirits of ancestors. There is no nation which is so preoccupied with the commemoration of deceased as Vlachs. Through the history, various stages and forms of the cult of death have greatly influenced the burial customs and beliefs, as well as the psyche of people.

No matter what manner of handling the deceased and prescribed rules of behavior to the bereaved and the wider community can be very different, death as a universal category and funeral ritual as general human response to a crisis situation confronting with it have led to these rites in some basic attitudes, motives, objectives and show extraordinary similarities all over the world.

LITERATURE

- Bryant, Clifton D. *The Sociology of Death and Dying*, 2006.
- Francaviglia, V. R. The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 61, 3 (1971): 501-509.
- Ivkov-Dzigurski, Andjelija, V. Babic, A. Dragin, K. Kosic, I. Blesic. The Mystery of Vlach Magic in the Rural Areas of 21st century Serbia. *Eastern European Countryside* 18 (2012): 61-83.
- Jovanović, B. *Magija srpskih obreda*. Niš: Prosveta, 2001.
- Pavicević, Aleksandra. Dani žalosti i vreme uspomena. U: *Nova srpska antropologija* 8: Antropologija smrti II-60, 2009.
- Pavicević, Aleksandra. Time With or Without Death. *Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnography SASA* LVI, 2 (2008): 23-35.
- Reimers, Eva. "Death and Identity: Graves and Funerals As Cultural Communication." *Mortality* 2 (1999): 147-166.
- Radonić, Sofija. Pristup smrti. *Etnoloske sveske* VI (1985): 73-79.
- Turner, Victor. *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play*. London: PAJ Publications, 2008.
- Trbojević, Danilo. Krajputaši u urbanim sredinama. *GEM* 75/1 (2011), 131-154.
- Voza, Danijela. 2012. Carnival Priveg – The Custom of the Vlachs in the North-eastern Serbia. In *Religion, Religious and Folk Customs on the Border*, edited by D. B. Đorđević, D. Gavrilović and D. Todorović, 179-184. Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and Faculty of Mechanical Engineering at the University of Niš.

Internet sources:

www.deathreference.com

www.trinity.edu

www.wikipedia.org

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. Panoramic view on the village from cemetery (Voza, 2015)



Fig. 2. Old part of the cemetery (Voza, 2015)



Fig. 3. New part of the cemetery (Voza, 2015)



Fig. 4a and 4b. Old burial monuments (Voza, 2015)



Fig. 5. One of the new burial monuments (Voza, 2015)



Fig. 6. Lack of cemetery maintenance (Voza, 2015)

Vesna Trifunović

BURIAL CUSTOMS AND CEMETERIES IN THE BORDERLANDS OF EASTERN SERBIA: TEKIJA (KLADOVO)*

INTRODUCTION

Conversations about death, burial customs and cemeteries among Serbs are not popular: you would talk about them only if you have to. And you also do not visit the graves just like that, in order to find the rest for the soul as Bishop Nikolai Velimirovic spoke, or comfort for a man afraid of what they do not know and of which he can not escape. And again, you go there only when you have to, or when the customs require so. In different cultures, this basic phenomenon of human existence is accompanied by a series of actions that border with magic or are the expression of church rules, with which the deceased is prepared to “enter into another life.” Regardless of the character of the accompanying actions, their essence is contained in the need of a simple man to “outlive” his own death, for a mark of his existence to remain in the world that he leaves behind, as a pledge and a promise of the continuation of life in the-unknown-that-comes-after-the-known.

Serbian culture consists of entire series of subcultures that foster various external manifestations of their separation from the dominant model of culture: these are not opposed to her, but they “prefer” to be different and to keep this diversity of theirs. Their common feature is to offer distinctive answers to many questioning facing human life – the answers arising from the unique conditions and the effects of living in a particular place and time. However, the burial customs among different socio-cultural groups within our society are not as different so we could talk about the specific “subcultures of death,” but we can talk about the varieties in the practice of ritual actions, whose number and character is prescribed by a particular religion or denomination. In this sense, we can talk about funeral practices by Christians (Orthodox, Catholic and Protestant) and other religions such as Judaism, Islam, etc. Among the various religions and churches, the funeral customs are more varied, while within the same religious entities there is a basic pattern that is practiced with certain deviations. These deviations are related to the preservation of tradition within the local culture, its relationships with other cultures and with realized cultural dynamics, expressed through the processes of enculturation and acculturation; then, with socio-economic development level of the area and its geographical aspect which refers to the belonging to the so-called center or outskirts in a given society, as well as to the subjective factors that shape the decisions of the individuals in the field of acceptance/rejection of funeral customs.

The processes of industrialization and urbanization, which began back in the sixties of the 20th century, made a strong impact on the cultural sphere, namely the cultural identity, especially in relation to religion, traditions and customs. All indicated elements of cultural identity have experienced the marginalization in the so-called “culture of socialism”, and their further collapse continued even in the so-called “culture of the new capitalism” (Sennett 2009). Rationalism prevailed over the values that came from the sphere of religion, especially Christian values (Meyer

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

2009), and reason banishes the traditions and customs from the culture of everyday life. Culture of consumerism seeks only for pleasures and avoids incentives to reflect on the essence of human life, for as long as the consumers do not meet face-to-face with the challenges outside the advertising space. One of the most important of these challenges is the encounter with death. Then the outcasts from their own tradition “recall” on the customs of their ancestors and seek to apply all the customary formulas that are required for a dignified funeral.

Funeral customs, as an expression of the experience of many past generations or the so-called “ancestral knowledge”, is assumed to be better preserved in environments that have been, in some way, put aside – in the areas belonging to the periphery. Borderlands of Eastern Serbia and Kladovo, of course, belong to the periphery of Serbian society if we look at the economic, infrastructural, demographic and other parameters. However, we should not forget that it was precisely in this area that the famous Lepen Whirl culture was born and lasted, a culture that given a number of answers to the challenges of life, including death. And since there is information connectedness between the different cultures (Bauman, 1980), it can be expected that the old knowledge is, in some mysterious way, transferred into the present, and that in the Tekija, which is located near Lepen Whirl, some ancient attitude toward death is preserved.

In an interview with Djordje Tašić from Tekija, municipality of Kladovo, we tried to figure out how the Orthodox Serb population experiences death, how it is celebrated and remembered. Empirical research meant, in addition to personal observations of the local terrain, the use instruments to collect relevant data, and for this purpose the “procedure DBDJ 2003” was used (“Procedure DBDJ 2003 for the collection of data on Roma, Roma-Orthodox and Roma-Muslim cemeteries in southeastern Serbia”), which was adapted to the characteristics of the environment under research.

ABOUT DEATH AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

Tekija is one of 23 villages in the municipality of Kladovo, with settlements deployed near the banks of the Danube and looking across to the “Romanian” side. Tekija itself is located on the shores of Lake “Djerdap 1” and relies on the Miroč mountain – it is situated 20 kilometers from Kladovo. According to the last census (2011) the village has 837 people, out of which the vast majority said that they are Serbs by ethnicity; census data shows that only a few residents identified themselves as Croats (4), Macedonians (2), Slovenians (2), Romanians (1), Slovaks (2), etc. This village, as well as the vast majority of other villages throughout Serbia and not only in the border areas, is facing with negative demographic trends – the depopulation. From the former 2000, and even 2500 inhabitants, Tekija had become more than “halved” nowadays, says the local resident Djordje Tašić:

“Tekija was left halved - out of all those people, we fell to less than a thousand souls ... And these are mostly elderly households, few children are born, and the young have left to the more developed environments. And why are you asking for the cause, it is known, it is all about the economy... for a man of today, it is not enough what Tekija has to offers, he wants to live differently, to earn more, to have a few houses in the cities, nothing can persuade the young to stay here... Down there is the water, with the mountains above us, the shipping industry is long gone, and Belgrade is far away – the young will not set up the fishing nets and live from the caught fish, like we did in our time... nor can you live from that occupation nowadays...”

According to the religious affiliation, the inhabitants of Tekija are Orthodox Christians. Old Tekija is submerged below the Djerdap Lake since the beginning of the seventies. The new village was established by the villagers near the parent one,

some 500 hundred meters away and closer to Miroč, so they can watch Djerdap's water from above and a place only known to them where their village "thrived" before the construction of the hydroelectric power plant. Between the water and the main road, and just under the village itself and to its side, a new village cemetery is settled (Fig. 1). In front of the green cemetery gate (Fig. 2) a large pine tree had grown (Fig. 3) – in the midday heat, the ripe pine cones fall off, and the muffled sound it creates upon the fall creates the illusion of warning that down there, just beyond the slope where the gravestones lie, the time is measured differently. Old rural cemetery, at which many generations of people from Tekija were buried during the several hundred years, was also flooded and lies at the bottom of the lake closer to the coast and almost under the new cemetery. The old cemetery used to be situated in the center of the village, as well as the old church "St. Nicholas" that had, before the immersion for the purposes of building the hydroelectric power plant, called upon the Orthodox population to attend the religious services for almost 300 years. Today, the same thing is conducted by the new church "St. Nicholas", which construction began at the time of Archbishop Emiliano, the Bishop of Timok eparchy.

"What I've got to tell you now is interesting to be heard further from the Tekija, here's how it was with our old church ... Because of the hydroelectric power plant, the old Tekija and the old church "St. Nicholas" had to be submerged, so only its dome was left sticking from the water; so at first, when the tourists from abroad and now former republics of the former Yugoslavia came, that was a tourist attraction for them, and everyone sought a boat in order to ride near the church dome ... So, at that time the Bishop Emilian brought about the construction of a new church, and since the money was scarce it was decided to make use of the material from the old church for a new dome – so the Timok eparchy sent builders to dismantle the dome and use this material for a new church but some higher force interfered, not allowing this action ... whenever the builders decided to dismantle the old dome, something happened – they would either get a headache, become dizzy or unable to work... At the end, one would realize that the Old Church didn't allow its dome to be dismantled, so the idea was dropped ... However, not a lot of time had passed and the filmmakers came to our village, to shoot a film, you've all probably heard of the movie *And God Created a Tavern Singer*? This really happened, of course, there was Pavle Vušić and many other well-known female singers, yes... alas, due to the needs related to the movie, the filmmakers were bothered by the church dome and had decided to perform the demolition of it, they had the permission from the government, I guess, and on September 15th (don't ask me for a year, I guess it was seventy-some...) they demolished the church dome .. What can I say, there was sure something ... last year (2014), 700 liters of rain per square meter fell for the night, half of the mountain collapsed on Tekija, water, soil, timber threatened to overwhelm the houses and the people... however, around the Old Church some sort of driftwood barrier had formed, which had focused all the rain that fell from the mountains to the other side of the village, to the water bed! Had it not been for that, who knows what would be left of Tekija, and all of that happened, again, on September 15th! As people would say, there was something to be had there... " – says Uncle Djordje.

We watch as the lake water rolls under the bridge, and Djordje Tašić continues with the story:

"You wonder how we experience death, how we address ourselves towards it? How would we ... I would like to say something about this as short as possible... those of the Orthodox faith consider to have a second life after death, and they do not mourn much for the worldly, and those who are unbelievers mourn far more for the worldly because they think that this is all there is, that after death there is only nothingness - that's the main difference."

On the question of how someone's death is announced in the village, our interlocutor replies:

“Someone from the family of the deceased goes to the churchman to say what had happened, then the church bells toll – the first three in long tones, then a pause occurs, and then only the large bell tolls twice briefly for females, and three times for men – if you listen to the church bells, they alone can tell you what is going on... afterwards, the people ask the churchman what happened and to whom, and in a short time everybody finds out... After that, it is published in the obituaries, and so ... “

About the customs that accompany the preparation of the deceased for burial Djordje says:

“There aren't any peculiar customs here, everywhere is the same, per customs by the Orthodox religion ... Family members or relatives of the deceased bathe him/her, and the deceased is not left alone for the night – a *vigil* is kept over him. What kind of water are you mentioning, there is none – only a pot with sand is put aside the deceased, in which the candles burn for his/her soul... Of course, the deceased is covered with a white sheet, his clothes are not placed next to him – if it is something new and good to wear, his family members or relatives wear it, otherwise it is disposed of or burned later... Come on, why do you mention the needles for? It is a dead man, it is enough not to leave him alone in the room, and after that a “bargain” is struck with some woman to go for 40 days, every morning, to sanctify the burial place with a censer... The memorial services are placed exactly at the day when they `meet`, after 40 days, six months and one year – after the anniversary of death, the monument is erected.”

CEMETERY IN TEKIJA

Tekija village cemetery is located on a rural plot which is about 500 meters from the center of the village, fenced and relatively well-ordered. The so-called “new” part of the cemetery is better arranged (Fig. 4), the graves are maintained, the grass is mowed and the trash is not disposed at the cemetery, but in front of the cemetery gate and occasionally burned. The old part of the cemetery, which is closer to the water (there is a retaining wall that protects the cemetery land from “undermining” and prevents the lake water to “carry” the land) is neglected (Fig. 5), with the grass that had grown over the lower tombstones. The reason for this can be found in the fact that the descendants, who would've otherwise maintained the monuments of their ancestors, no longer reside in Tekija or are too old and unable to perform such tasks.

“You're asking for Vlach cemeteries, but in this area there are no Vlach burial grounds, the Vlachs don't live here... Of course I understand Vlach language, it is similar to Romanian, but I'm not a Vlach... I understand the language, how wouldn't I when here, in Tekija, was the center for the Sip canal, built by all Danube countries, through a Swiss bank, so the load could be pulled over the Danube, but that's another story – it was decided that half the Serbs – half the Romanians shall work in this center, and so did they resided here, we hung out together, worked while it lasted, now the ship sailing is almost done for, the load is not shipped alongside the Danube like before, but I've learnt the language... and there are no Vlach cemeteries in Kladovo area“ – exclaims Djordje Tašić.

Burial sites are usually not fenced, but people have been mindful of the rational use of land so there are arranged passages (Fig. 6). Monuments are simple, mostly of onyx stone (Fig. 7), with simple inscriptions that provide basic informa-

tion: name and surname of the deceased, year of birth and death, and names and relationships of those who erected the monument (Fig. 8). On some tombstones, there are engraved images (Fig. 9). In the new part of the cemetery, there are no epitaphs on the tombstones; no busts and chapels, but also no stone crosses in the body of the monuments, which generally have a square or rectangular base. In the old part of the cemetery, the monuments are built of simpler stone materials, smaller, but with a obligatory cross shape in the upper part (Fig. 10). Monuments are made mostly by stonemasons from the side, primary from Kruševac. Đorđe Tašić tells us:

“Here, in our area, the inscriptions on the tombstones are simple, just the basics, who lies there, so, information about the deceased and the information about who raises a monument to him, nothing more, nothing further, nor is it required... and even if you wanted anything more, it would be fairly expensive... The monument to the deceased is raised on the so-called "anniversary" of death – one year after the relatives raise a monument, craftsmen stonemasons come from Kruševac to the fair in Kladovo, on the *Dormition of the Mother of God* on August 28th, so whoever is in need of their services will go to negotiate with these craftsmen, about the size, appearance and price... so there”.

The day slowly trudges along, afternoon showers were forecast and it is the right time to say goodbye to the local resident Djordje, thanking him for his good will to speak with us. He dutifully closes the green gate that divides the two worlds – one that is revealed with the earthly eyes and the unknown one, about which no one living bares witness.. Someone said: “Only we do traverse this cemetery in this heat – so many people, and yet not a soul to be found!” And the weight of the human predicament outright pressed all the present at that moment. Every man for himself was thinking about life and death, but nothing new came out of this endeavor.

CONCLUSION

Death is the only certainty in human life, an end of something he knows and a world which he does not rejoice, but which he cannot avoid either. All people eventually find each other in one place – in death. Believing people experience death in a different way, and possess a religious teaching that prepares them for that last act of human drama as the backing and support. Unbelievers “struggle” with death in different ways, and find the backing and support in worldly goods. Both, however, respect the funeral customs that are consistent with (a) the religion to which they belong by birth, and (b) the tradition to the extent that is transferred to the new generations.

In border areas in eastern Serbia, which are mainly Orthodox homogeneous areas, the influence of Orthodox religion and Serbian Orthodox Church shapes the attitude of the population toward death and respect for the customs that follow this basic phenomenon of human existence in a decisive way.

Funeral customs and cemetery in Tekija show that, in this border village in the Kladovo municipality, the Orthodox tradition is respected, and that there are virtually no elements that come from the so-called “national religion” which would follow this groundbreaking experience in the culture of daily life of local people.

REFERENCES

- Vauman, Z. *Kultura i društvo*. Beograd: Prosveta, 1980.
Ђорђевић, Д.Б. На коњу с лаптопом у бисагама. Нови Сад: Прометеј; Ниш: Машински факултет, 2010.
Mejer, T. *Identitet Evrope*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2009.
Senet, R. *Kultura novog kapitalizma*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik, 2009.
Попис становништва, станова и домаћинства. Београд: Републички завод за статис-тику, 2011.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. The village cemetery



Fig. 2. Cemetery gate



Fig. 3. A pine outside the cemetery gate



Fig. 4. New part of the cemetery



Fig. 5. Old part of the cemetery



Fig. 6. Arranged passages on the cemetery



Fig. 7. A monument made out from onyx



Fig. 8. The inscriptions on the monument



Fig. 9. The pictures on the monument



Fig. 10. The appearance of the cross on the old monument

Branimir Žikić
Miloš Jovanović
Miloš Tasić

THE RAJAC CEMETERY AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN TIMOČKA KRAJINA *

ON RAJAC

Rajac is a vine-growing, animal-farming settlement located in eastern Serbia, Timočka Krajina, the District of Bor, the municipality of Negotin. There are several accounts of how the village got its current name. According to the first, it was named after a certain duke Rajko. The second story claims that the name was given to the settlement because it was like heaven (*raj*) on earth, while the third relates to the village being founded by the people (*raja*) fleeing the Eyalet of Widdin. None of these interpretations have any historical background.

The village is located at 44° 05' 19" N latitude and 22° 33' 22" E longitude, with the elevation of 80 metres, on the left, valley side of the Timok. It is situated some 25 km south from the municipal centre of Negotin in the direction of the Bulgarian border. The area of the village is 1,291 hectares.

Rajac belongs to the older Serbian settlements (that were once displaced but later renewed). It was first mentioned during the Ottoman rule as Orašac in 1530 with 40 households, while it had only 18 houses left in 1586. The Austrian maps from the beginning of the 18th century show Rajac as an abandoned settlement. The village has a church which was built in 1870, in the place of the old church, as an Orthodox temple of the Ascension of Jesus. There are no records of the old church, thus it is not known who designed it and when it was built (Fig. 1).

The village is predominantly populated by Serbs, although there are traces of different nationalities, who live in 131 households with the average number of members of 2.10 per household (according to the 2011 census). The average age of the population is 58.0 years, i.e. 51.6 years for men and 64.0 years for women. The population has been decreasing steadily every year, and the remaining inhabitants are usually the elderly. According to the 1991 census Rajac had the population of 599, while the 2002 census recorded 436 inhabitants. The most recent, 2011 census shows that the population of the village of Rajac has dwindled to only 275 inhabitants.

The village has an elementary eight-grade school which is also attended by the children from the neighbouring villages whose schools have been closed due to the reduced number of pupils. The fact that only a decade ago the school had more than a hundred pupils, and today only around thirty, speaks volumes of the increasingly evident dying out of this village. After they finish the elementary school, the children go to Negotin or Zaječar to acquire secondary education and usually do not return to the village. Some of them pursue further education in the university, while the others look for jobs in Negotin and Zaječar, and only few of them who wish to enter the winemaking business return to Rajac to live there and produce wine. The

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

reasons for such a state are primarily economic in nature since, having in mind the general situation in agriculture, young people do not see any prospects for a decent life in the future. Rajac has been neglected for years and has turned, from a former municipal place, a settlement of winemakers whose wines were sold and awarded at oenological fairs all over Europe, into a village with a negative birth rate.

The village of Rajac today encompasses two separate physiognomic wholes: Rajac (the village) and *pivnice* (a seasonal settlement where grapes are processed and wine produced) which is located around 2 km north of the centre of the village. There are some 160 of these wine cellars and almost every household has its own (Fig. 2).

THE RAJAC CEMETERY¹

The village of Rajac has its own cemetery which also consists of two wholes, the old and the new cemetery. The old, abandoned cemetery dates back to 1780. It houses specifically shaped and unusually decorated gravestones with carved cult symbols, which categorize it as a unique monumental complex. It is located in the continuation of the *pivnice* and the network of wine cellars. Due to the inclination of the land, all of the gravestones are tilted. There are gravestones with a “cap” and those without it. It is believed that the ones with the “cap” are male gravestones and the ones without it – female (Fig. 3).

The cemetery can be traced back to the 17th and 18th century, although there are certain hypotheses that its origin can be found in the 15th century under the Turkish rule. The gravestones in this necropolis are divided into two types: arrows and crosses, and they are decorated differently – with carved and etched symbols of magical and cult contents in the shape of half-circles, circles, crescent moons, trees, snakes, triangles and crosses. These gravestones are made from the same sandstone which was also used to build the wine cellars, and they are manufactured in a rather simple technique of sandstone masonry. Shallow reliefs with traces of orange and red can be found on them. Of particular interest is the fact that some of the gravestones bear the symbol of swastika. Also, although much more rarely, certain gravestones have some vegetable ornaments with diagonally carved branches on their surfaces. Apart from the ornaments described above, the gravestones in the old cemetery bear no inscriptions, details or dates, thus it is not known who the people buried there were (Fig. 4)

The new cemetery is located in the continuation of the old one, and it contains different styles of gravestones from the ones made from carved sandstone to the marble gravestones which are popular today. Both in the old and the new cemetery, the villagers have been buried in the existing location regardless of their nationality or confession. This can easily be noticed, since the same complex contains both Christians and Muslim Roma. Only the sacred customs and rituals can be used to determine the tradition, religious orientation and nationality of the deceased. It is, indeed, a multiethnic and multiconfessional cemetery, where Serbs, Bulgarians, Vlachs, Roma and Germans are buried in the same place. There are only no Jewish gravestones, most probably because none of them have lived in Rajac (Fig. 5).

The most noticeable thing at the cemetery is the lack of luxury. There are no monumental tombs, and no excess of concrete and marble. Its simplicity merely reminds people of their departed relatives and ancestors, serving as an eternal memory for them.

¹ The data in this section are mostly taken from Драшкић (1968) and Стефановић (1965).

BURIAL CUSTOMS

When it comes to the burial customs of the Serbs, the role of the Christian (Orthodox) church is to provide comfort and support to the dying person and his or her closest family and friends. As a rule, the body of the deceased person is displayed in a casket for a day or two before the funeral. This is where the person is visited by their family, relatives and friends, and where they can say farewell to the deceased. On the very day of the funeral, the casket is closed, although some Orthodox Christians follow the practice of opening the casket so that the people present at the funeral can once again say their farewells to the deceased at the cemetery. The casket is transported by a cart or carried by several people. The funeral procession is formed and at its head one person carries the cross on the right side, while another carries wheat and wine mixed with oil on the left. Behind the cross and the wheat, usually younger people carry wreaths and flowers. After that comes the priest who sings appropriate funeral hymns. The priest is followed by the casket with the deceased, whose feet face forward. The family and relatives go behind the casket depending on how close they are to the deceased, and the whole procession is completed by the rest of the people attending the funeral. On its way from the home to the cemetery, the procession stops twice and a short prayer is read. Usually, the procession stops at a crossroad, or some other place which is somehow related to the deceased. The third prayer is read at the grave.

When the procession reaches the cemetery, the casket is placed by the grave, and the arms, legs and head are loosened up. Then the casket is closed, nailed or shut, and lowered using ropes into the grave. As customary in Rajac, the priest pours the rest of the wine and oil over the casket which has already been placed in the grave, breaks the bottle on some of the tools used to dig the grave, and takes a small clod of earth from the part that was first dug and throws it onto the casket. Everyone present also takes a clod of earth and throws it into the grave, while somewhere people also throw a couple of coins by saying: "God forgive his soul".

After returning home from the cemetery, the priest blesses the water in the room where the deceased passed away, and where they lay while still in the house. The water is blessed for the health and progress of the remaining members of the household. It is customary in some parts, when people are returning from the cemetery, that someone waits for them in the yard, where they wash their hands, take a cinder, juggle it and throw it over themselves. When the diggers arrive from the cemetery, a dinner is usually held so that the deceased's soul can rest in peace. Numerous customs are connected with that dinner. The people attending such meals are served wheat, honey and bread, roast, wine and cakes. During the course of the repast the priest performs the funeral service.

The funeral service is a prayer in which the priest prays for the peace of the deceased's soul and for the absolution of the sins that he or she had committed during lifetime. The prayers performed from the house to the cemetery are also very important.

After the funeral, the memorial service is held on the first Saturday at the deceased's house and all of the relatives are invited to it. A similar custom is observed on the fortieth day of the death of the departed. The gravestone is erected on the first anniversary of the deceased's death, and the repast is held at the cemetery, where all of the deceased's acquaintances are present as his or her family.

Vlachian Burial Customs

Timočka Krajina is well-known, among other things, for its colourful Vlachian population. Famous for their specific cultural and ethnic heritage, the Vlachs living in this border region practice an array of interesting burial customs, which to a certain extent interpenetrate their Serbian counterparts. Some of these customs are here presented in the form of a prolonged citation from Emina Jojić's paper on the Vlachian life and habits:

“Before the deceased is taken out of the house, all of the members of the household put their hands on the casket and say: “We are pulling you, do not pull us.” And when they reach the cemetery, one person from the family gets into the grave before the casket. He or she lights a single candle in all four corners and pours wine over the ground. The soul likes to hide so it goes into wood or stone. That is why it is so important for the Vlachs to erect a gravestone for the deceased. Many do it while they are still alive so as to be able to choose the shape and colour of stone to their liking. [...]

The hymns that the Vlachs sing when a person dies can be divided into funeral hymns and soul hymns. The funeral hymns provide instructions for the other world while the soul hymns give directions on how to return to this one temporarily. The Vlachian women do not cry or wail while they sing the hymns. However, the emotions provoked by the sound of their voices are incredible. The lyrics describe the essence of life and death. All of the hymns belong to *kinóíše d' duor*. Yet, the most important events in Vlachian death rituals, according to many, are the hymns for the guidance of a dead soul or *Petraktura*. [...]

The most significant worldly and blessed repast, as has been claimed for centuries by the Vlachs, is *pomana alba* or the white repast. It is prepared only once for the deceased, when the family chooses to do so and when circumstances are such that everything necessary can be bought for that occasion. And a lot of it is needed. The white repast can sometimes be organized even 20 or 30 years after someone's death. It takes place on Trinity Sunday, the greatest Vlachian holiday. The repast preparations begin 52 days before Trinity Sunday. Starting as early as Maundy Thursday, an innocent girl from the family goes to the nearby spring, every day until Trinity Sunday, and brings water from it in two new white bowls to the household which is preparing the repast. All that water is collected at the doorstep and censed with white candles each time along with the incantation: “Let this water be of service to (the name and family of the deceased).” Another innocent girl is obligated to collect flowers and herbs throughout Spring and make a ritual bouquet for this holiday. On the first day of the Trinity Sunday holiday, the Pentecost, a special bread exclusively made from purified white wheat grain is baked. It is decorated with a cross made from dough and with 44 dented pellets into which, at the repast, the same number of candles have to be inserted. One candle for each of the saints. On the first day of Trinity Sunday, many invitees come to the house in the morning. Everyone who knew and loved the deceased. It is a sin to decline the invitation to this most important repast, much greater than not coming to someone's funeral, particularly because this repast is often organized for one living member of the household as well, due to its expensive nature. A widow who organizes the repast for her departed husband will find a way to mention her own name during the ritual. The bread with the lighted candles welcomes the guests on a polished table covered with a new white tablecloth. In front of it a white bowl with white flowers is placed. Around the bowl, there are lumps of sugar and three white napkins upon which glasses containing a white mixture of sugar and water are placed. White wine and an appetizers made from eggs, cheese, semolina and other white food is served. Even the cake and all

cookies have to be crystal white and every offering has to be served in three plates simultaneously. Dishes and glasses for the guests have to be in odd numbers. The ritual begins before sunrise. Three women charged with lighting the candles do so and then bow three times in succession facing east. They kneel and kiss the ground while saying the incantation: "I pray that (the name of the deceased) be released into the lit up space." After that, they drink the sweetened water from those three glasses and help themselves to some white food for breakfast. The candles usually burn until the evening by when the ritual at the table has already finished, and the entire bread is left in such state up to the next great holiday. It is not cut or eaten, as is usually the case during other repasts. When everything is done, the girl, the waterbearer, takes the water to the neighbouring houses, and the last pot is emptied at the spring from which the water was taken in the first place. To prove that the water has been taken and poured back into the spring, she places three *marturije*, small buns, and dried, carved pumpkin with three candles stuck in it in the spring. [...]

The holiday of all the dead is Maundy Thursday before Easter. On this day the Vlachs organize the *Žoj mare* repast. The most important Soul Saturdays observed by the Vlachian people are the ones before Easter, Trinity Sunday and St. Demetrius' Day. However, the Vlachs have another type of memorial service that they call *Moši*. Even though there are no real explanations to why they are divided in such a way, ethnologists have noted that the Vlachs observe *moši de grušai* where yoghurt is taken to the departed for the memorial service, *moši de fraži*, when a cake with strawberries onto which onion and garlic are placed is baked and dedicated to the deceased, and *moši d pipčij* or aspic repast which is organized on the Saturday before Lent. All of these repasts are intended for stillborn babies as well. A child that could not have been baptized is as a rule named Jovan or Jovana, depending on the sex (Jojić 2006, 28–31)."

Stories from the Gravestones

While older gravestones still represent an unexplored enigma, each of the newer ones tells a story about its tenant. Beginning with the three sandstone gravestones from 1885, which stand proudly next to one another and tell us how three friends: Mija Milošević, aged 27, Petar Marković, aged 29, and Stanojlo Cvetković, aged 23, lost their lives together on 12 February 1885 when a rock under which they were working fell and killed them. At the time of the accident they were, most probably, working in the quarry drawing sandstone that was used to build wine cellars and, ironically, their gravestones as well (Fig. 6).

Newer gravestones are also made from sandstone, however, monumental masons tried to display their mastery by carving various ornaments, i.e. Orthodox symbols, into the surface of the processed stone. Inscriptions on gravestones are carved in Cyrillic with almost illegible handwriting and numerous grammatical errors. One of the most conspicuous things is how words are divided into new lines, with often just a single letter continuing the word in the next line.

The gravestone for a certain Nola Jotić, erected by his wife Noka in 1918, is very interesting as well because it says that Noka erected the gravestone for her husband Nola but also her son Živojin who died on 24 August 1914 at Čevrntija aged 25 as a soldier of the 3rd company, the 3rd battalion, the 13th infantry regiment of the first call-up. It is a gravestone for both father and son.

The gravestones erected after 1900 bear inscriptions with much more legible and literate contents. On the other hand, the gravestones erected after World War II have much more simplified inscriptions. The gravestones contain the most basic details (first name and surname, date of death and name/s of the person/s erecting the gravestone), but what can also be seen are groups of several gravestones in a single

spot enclosed with a metal fence made from cast iron. The gravestones inside the fence mark a single household – less often the entire family. (Figure 7)

The cemetery is poorly maintained, there are many fallen and tilted gravestones, and the entire cemetery is overgrown with weeds. People take care of it only before Soul Saturdays, when they come to the cemetery and perform memorial service for their departed. However, bearing in mind that there are fewer and fewer people living in the village, this is understandable. The majority of the inhabitants of Rajac live in Negotin and Zaječar, and they usually come to the village at the weekends, thus they do not have enough time to regularly look after the cemetery while they are in the village.

Taking into account the fact that Rajac wine cellars and the old Rajac cemetery are placed under protection by UNESCO as cultural monuments of the people, there is still hope that the cemetery will be cleaned so as to display its full value. However, knowing that this whole region has a negative birth rate, and that the population is dwindling in all villages, particularly in Rajac, these important monuments of times past and the life and death that the people of various nationalities and religious beliefs experience together need to be preserved much better than they are being now (Fig. 8).

Finally, one cannot write about these companions of people without remembering the words of Tihomir Stanojević (1972, 69):

“Village gravestones have stood all over Krajina and crumbled for centuries. Who knows the number of those destroyed by people’s negligence, even consciously, so as to build new objects, as was the case in the village of Rajac. How many of them did not stand the test of time, and how many still await the same test unprotected. Another piece of history is on its way to disappear, and we have not even managed to understand the language of those stone monuments!”

LITERATURE

- Драшкић, М. “Култни симболи у рајачкој некрополи”. *Развитак* 6 (1968).
- Јојић, Е. *Власи: Живот, обичаји, магија*, 2006. Retrieved from <http://www.vitovnica.com/vlasi.pdf>, last accessed on 10 June 2015.
- Станојевић, Т. *Неготин и Крајина*, књига 1. Неготин: Историјски архив Крајине, Кључа и Пореча, 1972.
- Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia. Census of population, households and dwellings in the Republic of Serbia – Age and sex: Data by settlements. Belgrade: 2011.
- Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia. Census of population, households and dwellings in the Republic of Serbia – Comparative overview of the number of population in 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2002, 2011: Data by settlements. Belgrade: 2011.
- Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia. (2011). Census of population, households and dwellings in the Republic of Serbia – Households according to the number of members: Data by settlements. Belgrade: 2011.
- Стефановић, Д. “Сеоски надгробни споменици у Крајини”. *Развитак* 4–5 (1965).

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. The Rajac church (B. Žikić)



Fig. 2. Rajac wine cellars (www.rajackepivnice.com)



Fig. 3. The old cemetery (www.rajackepivnice.com)



Fig. 4. Ornaments and decorations (www.rajackepivnice.com)



Fig. 5. Newer gravestones (B. Žikić)



Fig. 6. Three gravestones for three friends (www.rajackepivnice.com)



Fig. 7. The gravestone of Živko Perić from 1908 (B. Žikić)



Fig. 8. Dilapidated gravestones (www.rajackepivnice.com)

Dejan Krstić

THE OLD CEMETERY IN ZAJECAR: SOCIO-CULTURAL READING*

“And cemeteries, as long as they exist, will be so expressive! It is not true that cemeteries keep silent.”

Ljubisa Rajkovic Koželjac
(Rajkovic 2011, 8)

The town of Zajecar is located on an extraordinary place – in a green, fruitful and sunny valley, enveloped by hillsides and meadows, where two rivers merge and roads from all four sides of the world intersect. Therefore, traces of life from the earliest times, more precisely from the Neolithic period until today were found here (Лаловић 1981, 69, 74, 75, 79, 80–81, 82; Вељковић 2005, 21; learnt informally). And where there is life, there is also death. There are graves at various locations in the town. At a site called Pisura, which is a suburb of Zajecar, an Iron Age necropolis was found years ago. During reconstruction works in Milenko Brkovic Crni Street and in Svetozar Markovic Street Roman and Byzantine graves were found, and medieval graves were found in Nikole Pasica Street (Лаловић 1981, 80–81, 82). The hill of Beli Breg that encompasses Zajecar on the northern side is full of graves, apparently from different times (the latest are those from the end of the 2nd World War) (learnt informally). Although it's not strictly related to the very location of Zajecar, it should be mentioned as a curiosity that not far from the town once there were mausoleums of a Roman emperor Galerius and his mother Romula (on the location of a previous prehistoric Thracian cemetery) The mausoleums lay on the Magura hill, in the area of a suburban village of Zvezdan, a few kilometers far from the town, with the hill having a magnificent view of the valley where Zajecar is today (Живић 2003, 18–21; Поповић 2011; learnt informally).

Zajecar was first mentioned in a Turkish census in 1466, as a small village of eight houses (Бојанић Лукач 1973, 38; Вељковић 2005, 21), although there were several small villages on its current location at the time and later (Вељковић 2005, 22, 24–25). According to information provided by an Austrian spy in 1784 Zajecar had 150 Christian homes and one Turkish khan (caravanserai) (Покорни 1971, 67), and about the same number of homes at the time of liberation from the Turkish authorities in 1833 (Симић 1930, 34). Until the liberation Zajecar was a village, and after these territories had been added to the Principality of Serbia it was chosen to be administrative, ecclesiastical, educational and military center of eastern Serbia, i.e. the region of Timočka Krajina, because of its geographical position. In 1834 it was declared to be a town. According to a census conducted in that year, it had 1,439 inhabitants (Димитријевић 2000, 7). Two cemeteries that used to be on the locations of today's park at the 'Two brothers' (the then western periphery, and now near the town centre) and today's Cou-

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

nty Court's parking lot (the then north-eastern part of the town, and now the town's centre) as well as another cemetery built later at the foot of the Kraljevica, (a hill that encompasses the town from the south) probably date back to the times of the Turks when Zajecar was still a rural settlement (Вельковић 2005, 37). The liberation from the Turks came in 1833, after an uprising and a battle with the Turks when 123 rebels died and were buried in barrens north of the then settlement. This place was used later as a cattle market and is currently used as a green market (Симић 1930, 50) near the town centre. Besides, in 1835, the obor-knez of the nahiye of Crna Reka and the administrator of Crna Reka Court Sima Nikolic was buried as a prominent citizen on the right of the choir in Zajecar Cathedral which is near the town centre (Симић 1930, 52).

Very soon after it was declared to be a town, in the mid-nineteenth century, Zajecar became an urban settlement. The number of its inhabitants expanded through natural increase and immigration. According to 1863's census, it had 3567 inhabitants (Димитријевић 2000, 15). With urbanization, on its eastern side, a town's cemetery developed (exact year is, unfortunately, unknown). Since then, the deceased from Zajecar have been buried there. In the troubled times of the 2nd World War people were buried outside the cemetery as well: a German military cemetery on the hill of Kraljevica (with no visible signs today), many of the above-mentioned unidentified graves from the end of the 2nd World War on the hill of Beli Breg (according to informal sayings, the hill seems to have been held by the Chetniks when the town was liberated by the partisans and the Red Army), as well as mass graves of the victims of communist terror after the 2nd World War at the foot of the Kraljevica hill (in the early 90's of the 20th century a wooden cross was placed there as a marker). According to some sayings, during this period a number of people were also buried in the courtyard of the former prison in the town center where they were killed. (learnt informally) However, the town of Zajecar and its people seem to share their destinies with the town cemetery. Because of not enough space for further burials, after a few years of preparations in 2010 a the New cemetery was built. It is located a few kilometers east of the town, near the highway that leads to the Vrska Cuka border-crossing; therefore the town cemetery is now referred to as the Old cemetery. But since many citizens of Zajecar have family crypts and rent burial places, and because graves are offered on sale if grave care fees are not paid, the cemetery is still very much in use.

Cemeteries, although dedicated to the dead, in fact, represent the socio-cultural facts, which help us understand a way of living in certain periods. The Old cemetery in Zajecar is a 150 year-old witness of the town's past and the past is a foundation on which the town's present lies. The cemetery can also help us understand current social developments in Zajecar. This paper is an attempt to 'read' socio-cultural past and present of the town of Zajecar on the basis of this cemetery.

As a person who was born and live in the town, I have been connected with the cemetery for a very long time. I have attended many funerals of my friends and acquaintances; members of my family and my relatives were buried there and I occasionally visit them on Soul Saturdays¹. As an ethnologist and a researcher of Zajecar's past I have also dealt with it for several times. However, for the purposes of this paper I visited it on May 20, 2015, studied it more carefully and also made a series of photographs.

Regardless of 150 years of its constant use, in the Old cemetery one can still see (although rare) traces of its early stages, when the Balkan traditional culture was dominant in the town. Namely, until recently, in its north-western part, probably the oldest part of the cemetery, one could see rare tombstones similar to those that can be

¹ In Eastern Orthodox Church, Soul Saturdays are days of prayer for the dead. Unlike All Soul's Day in Roman catholic Church, there are four Soul Saturdays during a year

found in the cemeteries of the surrounding villages. These tombstones were mostly products of so called 'stonemasonry school of Krajina' (Fig. 1) and they can be largely seen in old cemeteries in the region of Negotinska Krajina and in eastern, marginal parts of the area of Crna Reka (the region of Bor and Zajecar) that adjoins the Krajina. (Стефановић 1965; Драшковић 1968; Станојевић 1972, 67-69, 80-81; Стојановић и др. 1972, 10, 11; Дудић 1995, 234, 284-286, 297-299, 338-339, 346-347, 396, 437, 443, 446, 456; Archives of the National Museum; learnt informally). Papers that deal with this school don't give precise information about the origin of the stones the school used, places where the tombstones were made and the craftsmen who maintained this style. What is certain is that the school's origin was in the region of Negotinska Krajina and that they used the same stone that was excavated until recently in the villages of Vidrovac and Mokranje near Negotin (Стефановић 1965, 80) However, when visiting the cemetery for the purposes of this paper, I found only a few old crosses. It seems that the others have been removed from the cemetery, and that is probably due to re-selling and reusing of grave plots or the reconstruction of the graveyard which is in progress at the moment. Beside these tombstones that are the products of the school from Krajina, typical of the areas north of Zajecar towards Negotin, I found tombstones that were the products of a 'stonemasonry school from Zorunovac', and were dominant in the areas south of Zajecar towards Knjazevac. The center of this school is in the village of Zorunovac near Knjazevac, with many stonemasonry workshops which made objects of sandstone excavated in the area of this village (Баришић 1997, 177; 1999, 173; Тимок 1955; 2004). The appearance of the two types of tombstones as well as many other ethno-cultural phenomena show that Zajecar was an intersecting point of ethno-cultural influences from all four corners of the world (the nearest surrounding of Zajecar is where different migrating currents have intersected for several centuries).

Regarding older stage of the Old cemetery it was once noted that after it had been established, the remains of 123 rebels who died in 1833 were transferred there from the site of today's marketplace. After the transfer, the serving of the Office was introduced and now it is served every year on the day they died, i.e. May 1st (Julian calendar). (Симић 1930, 50) In 1898, on this place, in the old part of the cemetery, on the right of the main entrance to the cemetery, the municipality of Zajecar erected a smaller tombstone, which was restored in 1926. The words engraved on this monument read:

*123 HEROES OF THE TIMOCKA KRAJINA
IN THE MEMORY OF PROUD FIGHTERS WHO SACRIFICED
AND DIED KNIGHTLY FOR SERBIAN PEOPLE AND THEIR FATHERLAND
IN 1833
LEAD BY
STANISAV JOVANOVIĆ FROM PLANINICA
MUNICIPALITY OF ZAJECAR DEDICATES
THIS HUMBLE TOMBSTONE IN 1898*

A. I. A. Bertoto Restored in 1926 by The Pres.[ident] M.[ilan] Miljkovic.

Under the influence of Western European culture, which was initially accepted in the towns and then in the villages, at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, stonemasons from Zorunovac started to carve tombstones of different patterns using their special sandstone – stylized slabs with a cross on top (Fig. 2) and a four-sided pillars with pyramidal ending. They have inscriptions with typical stylized cyrillic alphabet. These tombstones, the products of stonemasons from Zorunovac, can be seen on the Old cemetery, mostly damaged or in remains, given the fact that the

stone from Zorunovac is of poor quality. However, in this period, as a part of the growing cultural influence from the Western Europe, stonemasonry workshops of the Western European-type appeared in urban centers. There, various tombstones were made of imported stone and terrazzo concrete. And the forms were more diverse, but four-sided pillar-like tombstones with a pyramidal tip still prevailed. In the corners of bigger and better tombstones stonemasons began to engrave their signatures as a sort of advertizing, from Belgrade, Zemun, Nis and Zajecar.

Apart from being witnesses of a great civilization transition from Balkan to Western-European culture, these tombstones turn the Old cemetery in Zajecar into a source *par excellence* in studying the town's past. That is because they contain, according to Western-European principles, many textual information as well as photographs of the deceased. The tombstones can be considered as first-order historical sources. For example, they contain evidences of the effects important historical events (such as the 1st World War) had on Zajecar. In the photographs on the tombstones, one can see concrete persons, their ranks, places and years of their deaths. For example, there is an inscription on a tombstone, below a photograph of a soldier on his horse:

*Here lies
Sreten J. Simic
a teacher in school
and a reserve cav.[alry] Lieutenant born in Zajecar
in 1885 and died gloriously as an adjutant
of the Morav.[ska] division on the hill of Vrapcije brdo
in 1914 defending his Fatherland
This tombstone raised by his parents
Stana and Jovan Simic, a merchant
his wife Dana and his son Zoran*

On another tombstone (Fig. 3) below a photograph of a young man an inscription reads:

*Jovan – Jovce
P. Nikolic
mechanical technician
reserve
s.[ub] lieutenant
born on April 13, 1891 in
Zajecar - died in the battle
near Pristina and buried
near the Church in Pristina
on November 9, 1915.
Left us to mourn for him
eternally
This tombstone raised by
grieving parents
Jelena and Petar Nikolic
From Planinica
In October 1920, Zajecar*

This inscription shows that this tombstone, in fact, indicates a so-called "empty tomb". Such tombstones are usually built in the memory of those whose bodies either have never been found or have been buried far from their loved. These tombstones

are visited on anniversaries, Soul Saturdays and other religious holidays, when people light candles, bring flowers and leave offerings.

The 1st World War brought a significant change in the Old Cemetery in Zaječar. During the liberation of the town in 1918, 85 French soldiers (some of them were Muslims from French colonies in North Africa) died in battles. All were buried together at the edge of the cemetery. Soon after the war, the part where they were buried was arranged, the cemetery was encircled with a trench and graves were redecorated. A cross or a Muslim tombstone was placed on each of 85 graves, depending on the religion. Personal information about the dead was written on each tombstone, but, as we can see from a report, as early as in 1920, the data were either washed down by rain or faded, and even then one could not distinguish between the graves. During the socialist era, the French cemetery was much neglected. Nobody took care of it, and a 1989 report said that most of tombstones had either been broken or collapsed. In addition to this, the French cemetery was used for a dozen new burials. Its fence's posts were broken with no wire between them. In 1988, regarding the 70th anniversary of the end of the 1st World War, the liberation of Zaječar and the death of these soldiers, the National Museum in Zaječar and the Association of veterans of the People's Liberation War from Zaječar addressed some state political organizations with an appeal to set the cemetery in order. A plan of restoration was made and through the political organizations and Bureau for the preservation of cultural heritage necessary money was provided. In 1989, the French cemetery (which had been encompassed by civil tombs due to the outspreading of the town cemetery) was tidied up: the ground was leveled, fencing posts linked with metal tubes were set, tombs made later were removed, the whole place was covered with greenery, new grave markers were cast, a new chain entrance gate was made, a bronze plaque was placed on a pedestal and had an inscription in Serbian and French reading:

*HERE LIE FRENCH SOLDIERS
THAT DIED IN THE FIRST WORLD WAR 1918
THE CEMETERY WAS RENOVATED IN 1989.*

In 1989, an opening ceremony, attended by high French officials and military officers, was held (Archive of the National Museum). Since then, delegations consisting of Serbian and French officials have laid wreaths at this cemetery (learnt informally).

The French cemetery was also restored in 2008, on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of the liberation of Zaječar in the 1st World War. A stone arch over the entrance was made, with an inscription (with the French flag) in French and Serbian: *FRENCH MILITARY CEMETERY*. Just behind the entrance a larger bronze plaque with an inscription was put on a concrete pedestal. The inscription in Serbian and French was in the upper part of the plaque and was the same as the one on the plaque of 1989 indicating that the cemetery had been rearranged in 2008. Below the inscription there is a list of soldiers' names in French and further below a list of units they belonged. On either side of the gate an information board was placed, in French on the right and in Serbian on the left. The boards contained photographs and text about the war history of the units the dead soldiers were from (Fig. 4).

After the 1st World War a significant change in the Old cemetery took place. Milan Miljkovic, a legendary, most famous mayor of Zaječar, who held that position from 1920 to 1926, implemented several modernizing projects that concerned public utilities, urban and real-estate development. The projects were Western European urban development-spirited and they have had permanent effect to this town. One of his endeavors was the renovation of the town's cemetery. It involved the displacement of

some tombstones, which was opposed by citizens. An article, published in the *Health tender*, a Belgrade newspaper, titled *The dead reorganized by the mayor*:

The Mayor of the town of Zajecar has begun modernizing his town, meeting higher hygienic and aesthetic standards.

Indeed, he covered the roads with good cobblestones, eliminating the dust. Now they have good water, so the typhus has been eradicated. They also have public shower rooms. And in order to make a huge 'lungs' of the town, apart from a small park in the town, he planted a vast number of conifers on a nearby hill of Kraljevica. The trees are divided by paths and in a few years it is going to be a beautiful park. From that place, a view to the town and its surrounding is magnificent.

But in front of the park there is an untidy town's cemetery, with a wooden chapel.

And he came up with an idea of organizing the dead.

So he got down on business. Everyone opposed it, especially women. But he eventually succeeded; he relocated some of old graves, spread the earth from new graves around the cemetery (even over empty graves) so as to level the ground. The paths to the graves were built, and so was a new chapel.

Now the cemetery looks like a beautiful, new park. Women no longer object and find the cemetery a much better organized place to stay, even though some remains of their beloved had to be moved.

Frankly speaking, the mayor succeeded in organizing the dead, although it is still difficult to do today. But, whether he will be able to organize the living people, it is yet to be seen (Чувар здравља 1923).

Another report says that the relocation of the graves appeared to be a huge problem because nobody wanted to dig out the bones, fearing that the relatives of the dead would consider such action as a desecration and therefore condemn the diggers. After painstaking bargains and haggles, for a lot of money, local Gypsies agreed to do the work. (Антић et al. 2013, 153)

As it is seen from the above newspaper article, the renovation of the cemetery included the construction of a new chapel, so called Cemetery church. It is in use even today, with a stone plaque that reads:

*This temple of St. 40 Martyrs
Built in 1921 and consecrated on March 22/9 1924
by Emilijan the Bishop of the Timok Diocese
with the efforts of the mayor of Zajecar
Mr. Milan Miljkovic
And with donations of
Valka and Najdan Jovanovic
Tavern owner*

The consecration of this church was reported in Annals of the Timok Diocese journal, in an article titled *The consecration of the Cemetery church in Zajecar*:

The only town in our Diocese with a chapel in the middle of its cemetery which also serves as a church is Zajecar. With the efforts of its diligent mayor, in terms of its modern organization Zajecar has been marching forward, taking giant steps. Beside arranging the street network and beautifying streets, creating parks, building the town hall and an electric power plant, the municipality of Zajecar has taken care of its cemetery – a holy 'settlement' of its an-cestors. After it had been drawn out of the pre-1st World

War disorder and arranged nicely in the western style, a small, but nice little church was built. It was dedicated to St. 40 martyrs, and consecrated on June 8, 1924 by H[is] G[race] Bishop Emilijan with the participation of the whole local clergy. The consecration was attended by many citizens. First the church was consecrated and the Hierarchical Divine Liturgy was served and then the Bishop gave a sermon praising the mayor's initiatives and thanked the citizens for understanding the need for having a sacred place such as cemetery. He invited them to help their town get a new church that will suit the town's modern appearance and cultural development (Летопис Тимочке епархије 1925).

Memorial services have been held in this church since 1924 by priests with the attendance of the families of the deceased. The bodies of the deceased are brought to the church first, and are buried after the service. Between the World wars and during the 2nd World war the church was probably used for lying in repose, when bodies of deceased were lain uncovered while relatives and friends lit candles as a sign of respect. Between the World Wars the Church's Patron Saint's Day was celebrated here which was reported in the Annals of the Timok Diocese, in an article titled *The celebration of the Patron Saint's Day of the Cemetery church*:

In this ye[ar] of 1930 as well, The church of St. 40 Martyrs at Zajecar cemetery is celebrating its Patron Saints. In the eve of the Day, a vigil was performed, and the next day a Hierarchical Divine Liturgy was performed when His Grace Emilijan gave his sermon. After the Liturgy, ritual bread was cut, with the Municipality officials and other citizens attending the rite. Then, refreshments were served by the church administration and several toasts were raised to the King, the Bishop, the church administration and others (Летопис Тимочке епархије 1930).

Below the plaque with above mentioned inscription about the building and the consecration of the church there is another plaque with an inscription saying that this church was demolished during the 2nd World war, probably during some military operation and was renovated only after 25 years:

IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER AND SON AND ST. SPIRIT
THIS CHURCH OF ST. 40 MARTYRS
WAS BUILT IN 1922
DEMOLISHED IN THE 2ND WORLD WAR
RENOVATED IN 1968/69
DURING
HIS HOLINESS SERBIAN PATRIARCH
GERMAN
WITH BLESSINGS OF HIS GRACE THE BISHOP OF TIMOK
EMILIJAN
AND WITH DONATIONS FROM
THE FAITHFUL OF ZAJECAR, IN SUMMER
MARCH 22/9 1969 AD.

Although this church is intensively used, its facade is now quite dilapidated and untidy (Fig. 5).

In the beginning of the 20th century Zajecar was a structured urban community with its prominent families and distinguished citizens. Their biographies have been integrated deeply into economic, cultural, urban, architectural and other development of Zajecar, and therefore in its spirit and identity. Crypts and expensive tombstones

made of black marble, mostly four-sided pillars with pyramidal top reveal higher and rich urban class and its life. There are crypts or single graves of famous families: Lalovic, Miladinovic, Rajkovic, Stajkovic, Lesendrenac, Nedeljkovic, Dikovic, Zdravkovic, Milosevic, Lilic, Savic, Ninic, Petkovic and others. Socialism stopped the economic progress of these families (many of them left Zajecar), so many crypts' conditions have deteriorated. The graves of prominent urban families in Zajecar, their crypts and tombstones, with pictures and facts are unique cultural-historical heritage of Zajecar. For example, in the central part of the cemetery, beside the Cemetery church, there is a black marble tombstone which marks the crypt of above mentioned mayor Milan Miljkovic's family. Also, in the central part of the cemetery there is a tombstone with a bust of Jota Pasic, a merchant and a prominent Radical, the uncle of Serbian statesman-Nikola Pasic (who was born in Zajecar). In the north-western part of the cemetery, for example, one can see Marinko Stanojevic's grave and tombstone, a teacher and the principal of Grammar school in Zajecar, a distinguished researcher of Zajecar and the region of Timocka Krajina's past, the author of many significant dialectological, folkloristic, anthropo-geographical, ethnological, historiographical and other works, a prominent public, cultural and political figure. Stevan Veljkovic (also buried in this cemetery), a publicist and a famous researcher of Zajecar's past used the facts from Zajecar's Old cemetery for his books where he presented the genealogy of above mentioned prominent families (Вельковић 2002, 2012). However, the information that this cemetery offers for further research of Zajecar's past have been barely used.

People in Zajecar are not aware of the need for respecting the graves of the prominent town's families as important cultural heritage and object vital for Zajecar's identity. As far as I know, I was the only one who has made any efforts with regard to this, and they concerned Marinko Stanojevic. In 2004, on the 55th anniversary of Stanojevic's death, as the president of the Homeland society of the Timocani-Torlaci I initiated and organized a visit to his grave (he was born in the village of Jakovac, near Knjazevac, in a region called Timok, whose inhabitants are called the Torlaks). A five-member delegation lit candles on his grave, remembered his work, and I lay a wreath reading *To Marinko Stanojevic, grateful Torlaks* on his grave. This event made local electronic and print media pay their attention to the works of this outstanding man. (Торлак 2004) Since Marinko Stanojevic didn't have any children, I used this opportunity to check if grave care fees had been paid. I did this because grave plots are re-sold if the account is not settled (which means total elimination of previous grave by the new owner of the plot). In case the fees hadn't been paid I intended to pay them myself or suggest that any of cultural institutions in Zajecar should do the same. However, his heirs regularly paid the fees. In 2009, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary of his death I also initiated lying of wreaths on his grave. They were laid by the representatives of the National Museum in Zajecar, Grammar School in Zajecar, the 'Timocka Krajina' Historical Archive in Zajecar and the Homeland society of the Timoćani-Torlaci. The event was attended by twenty students from Grammar school in Zajecar. After laying the wreaths, I held a lecture on the life and work of Marinko Stanojevic. (Торлак 2009a, 2009b).

After the 1st World War a vast number of Russian immigrants, White Army soldiers, and Bolshevik regime opponents loyal to the Russian Empire fled to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians. Zajecar is one of Serbian towns that received a greater number of immigrants. As educated people, they had a huge and unforgettable impact on already developed urban community working as teachers in Zajecar Grammar school, doctors, architects and priests, even as painters or musicians. There is a section of Zajecar's cemetery where Russian immigrants' (Vasiutin, Milidiev, Kuznetsov, Baev) graves are grouped and it is recognized by 'Russian cross'-like tombstones

on a few of the graves. For example, Anatolij Bajev, a painter, a significant figure in the history of local painting, some works of whose are kept in the National Museum in Zajecar and in the Homeland Museum in Knjazevac, was buried here. Given the huge influence of Russian immigrants on the history of Zajecar, their graves should be also treated and preserved as cultural and historical heritage. Unfortunately, this is not the case. So, in 2015, a grave plot of a Russian immigrant Nikolay Vasiutin happened to be sold and a Miodrag Stojanovic was buried there. But what's good in this story is that the family of the late Stojanovic showed considerable understanding (there are other similar examples in the cemetery) and kept the present Vasiutin's tombstone, adding another plaque with the information about their deceased.

I have also participated in an episode related to the graves of Russian emigrants in Zajecar. In 2007, the owner of a travel agency in Belgrade, which deals with Russian tourists exclusively, called the National Museum in Zajecar and informed it of the arrival of one of his clients from Russia who wanted to find the grave of his ancestor. I took care of the reception which included finding the grave of Viktor Vasiljevic Milidijev, (the Russian Emperor's doctor and a teacher in Grammar school in Zajecar), tidying up his grave and other neighboring graves of Russian immigrants. Besides, I was to organize a visit to his grave by his great-grandson Alexander Vladimirovich Smirnov, a physician and the head of health department in Ryazan region and his family. The visit of the descendants from faraway Russia to the grave of their ancestor was an emotionally charged event and an extraordinary experience (Нова тимочка ревија 2007).

Among the tombstones dating before the 2nd World War, except for those which are a historical source, there are tombstones that are considered as an ethnological source. For example, many of them have photographs of the deceased showing the urban dressing style of that time. Beside photographs of people in outfits of the Western European type, there are a number of photographs of women in oriental civil suit (with „libada“²). That is because, unlike men, older women preserved this way of dressing until the 2nd World War and, in some cases, longer than that. Besides, many tombstones carry information about the occupation of the deceased (for example, sort of craftsmanship), so the cemetery is a good source for studying the craftsmanship in Zajecar.

As for the development of the Old cemetery's infrastructure, another detail should be mentioned. In 1946, Stevan Rajkovic, an industrialist, one of the richest and most respected people in Zajecar, built a building near the Cemetery church where refreshments used to be served after Office of the Dead was performed. It was built in the memory of his only son Borislav who died in 1938. It had tables and chairs for attendees at the Office, so food wasn't brought to the graves. Even though this took place immediately after the 2nd World War, because of the civil class the founder belonged to, the religious aspects of the act and the style in which it was built, this building can be considered as a result of the pre-War, urban culture (Вељковић 2012, 134-135). The building has lost its original purpose (although people still call it 'chapel'), so today it is used for lying in repose, when acquaintances and friends light candles before the deceased are carried to the Cemetery church for memorial service (Fig. 6). It is to assume that its purpose changed after the Cemetery church had been demolished during the 2nd World War.

A number of people were executed by the German occupation authorities during the 2nd World War in Zajecar. They were buried in a collective grave at the then town cemetery (today the Old cemetery). During the liberation of Zajecar in 1944, a

² A typical oriental garment.

number of soldiers of the Soviet Red Army were killed. They were also buried in this cemetery, in its eastern part, in two long rows. Over a decade and a half after the 2nd World War, these parts of the cemetery were neglected, unfenced and unmarked. The steering Committee of the Association of veterans of the People's Liberation War of Serbia formed an expert committee which visited this place and gave its opinion. As for the Grave of Red Army soldiers in Zajecar, the Committee suggested: „There is a need for grouping the bones in a collective grave and making a common tombstone“. As for the Grave of executed patriots in Zajecar, as they called it, they suggested: „This grave should be rearranged and marked with an appropriate monument“.

In 1961, according to architectural plans made by Radisav Živkovic, an architect from Zajecar, a mausoleum was built near the south-western part of the cemetery. Above the mausoleum, there is a roofed, white-marble four-pillar structure with a five-pointed star on top. The mausoleum is encircled with a park. The remains of the executed patriots were later transferred into the mausoleum as well as the remains of other partisans that had been buried in different places in the municipality of Zajecar and neighbouring municipalities. The remains of 20 people were exhumed and transferred, with the remains of one more person added a few years later – 21 in total. Here lie the remains of Ljubica Radosavljevic, Ljubomir Nesic, Milenko Brkovic Crni, Djordje Simeonovic and Petar Radovanovic. These were the most prominent members of the partisan movement, decorated with the Order of National Hero and some streets and schools in Zajecar still bear their names. In 1962, according to the same architect's plans, the mausoleum was enlarged. The remains of Red Army soldiers on the territories of the entire region of Timocka Krajina, i.e. Zajecar, Boljevac, Knjazevac, Bor, Negotin and Kladovo were exhumed and transferred to the mausoleum. The total of 1266 Red Army soldiers were buried here, including 105 whose remains were exhumed from the Grave of the Red Army soldiers killed in Zajecar (Fig. 7) (Archives of the National Museum).

On the western side of the mausoleum there is a slab with an inscription:

*TO FALLEN FIGHTERS
IN PEOPLE'S LIBERATION WAR
AND VICTIMS OF FASCIST TERROR
1941-1945*

On the opposite, eastern side, an inscription reads:

*TO THE SOLDIERS AND OFFICERS
OF HEROIC RED ARMY
FALLEN IN SEPTEMBER AND
OCTOBER IN 1944
ALLIES IN STRUGGLES
AGAINST THE FASCIST
AGGRESSOR.
A THOUSAND AND TWO HUNDRED SIXTY SIX
INTERRED*

On anniversaries related to the 2nd World War, Zajecar town officials, the representatives of the Association of veterans of the People's Liberation War from Zajecar, together with the representatives of the Russian Federation (in recent times also of Azerbaijan, since Red Army had Azerbaijan people) (learnt informally) still lay wreaths at this place.

After the 2nd World War, during the socialist industrialization, having become a regional center, Zajecar turned into a heart of regional industry. From the 50's to the 80's of the 20th century, it drew a mass of rural population not only from its surroundings but from the whole east and southeast Serbia, even some people from other parts of Yugoslavia. On one hand, this resulted in the drastic increase in the number of the town's inhabitants, and on the other hand this affected a complex and diverse structure of the population in terms of ethno-culture and ethnicity. Of course, these changes affected the Old cemetery. It is a good source for demographic studies, more precisely the studies of migration at the time of industrialization. That is an important issue, which has barely tackled so far. For example, at the cemetery, one can find surnames whose origins are in the village of Veliki Izvor. Its inhabitants were partly native inhabitants of Zajecar (Vatovic, Valovic, Colovic, Kalcic, Kamenkovic...), then typical Vlach surnames (Firovic, Ducic, Jonovic, Cobotovic...), and also distinctive surnames of Bulgarian settlers from the area of Dimitrovgrad and Bosilegrad (Angelov, Simonov, Anakijev, Zarev, Iliev, Tosev, Djosev, Todorov...). Years ago, as a mining area, the region of Timocka Krajina was inhabited by Slovenians (who founded their own Association) so Slovenian surnames (Romih, Sustersic, Sustar, Kozelj, Kovacic, Poglajen...) can be seen on the cemetery, as well. In Zajecar, there are some Montenegrins whose surnames can be also found at the Old cemetery (Rubezic, Babovic, Vujcic, Vojvodic...). One of the most unusual tombstones and "maybe the most beautiful tombstone in Zajecar cemetery" (in Ljubisa Rajkovic Koželjac's opinion) is the one of Rade Miljanov Vujcic, a Montenegrin (1923-1982), a LL.M, who is wearing an officer's uniform with epaulets in his tombstone's photograph. The tombstone was made of white karst stone excavated in the village of Dolovi, Rade's birth place. On its top there is a half-spread wings bronze eagle with an epitaph on its front:

*Oh, Dolovi, my dear village,
the stone of yours
is my greatest treasure.*
(see also: Rajkovic 2011, 67)

But regardless of diverse ethno-cultural and ethnic structure of the population, burial practice in Zajecar is rather consistent. The body of a deceased is carried to the 'chapel' from home or from the hospital morgue (if he died in the hospital) two or three hours before the funeral and lies in repose. The head is looking westward, with a wooden cross set next to the head. The cross with the name and years of birth and death will be later set on the grave. In front of the cross there is a receptacle with sand used for candle lighting. Crosses, coffins and other items needed for burials are purchased in funeral stores. Rarely, if the deceased was a communist, a wooden plate with the name and years of birth and death is set. In the 'chapel' there is room for three deceased simultaneously, but even two deceased at a time are not likely. Depending on the wishes of the family, the coffins may be sometimes open or not. People come with candles, light them and stick them in the sand-filled receptacle saying "May God rest his soul". Closest relatives bring flowers and wreaths they buy in the funeral stores near the cemetery. After lighting the candles, they express their condolences shaking hands with family members of the deceased who stand around the coffin. Then they leave the 'chapel' and wait for the funeral in front of it. When the funeral begins the young take the wreaths and flowers. The priest enters the 'chapel' and begins the Office. Then he leaves the 'chapel', with a close relative carrying the cross, while other close relatives carry the coffin behind him. The coffin is brought into the Cemetery church where Office, attended by the family, is performed. In case the deceased was a commu-

nist, the coffin is not brought into the church and the Office is not performed. Then, a cortege is formed: first the young with flowers followed by the priest, then the coffin on a trolley, then family and other closest relatives and finally the others. They go to the grave where the coffin is interred by gravediggers with the priest chanting shortly. Sometimes a farewell speech is given. The others approach the grave and throw a handful of earth into it saying: "May God rest his soul". The gravediggers then fill the grave with earth and set the cross above the head of the deceased. The flowers and wreaths are placed on the grave, and if they are many, they are hung on a wooden structure (Fig. 8). When the grave has been filled, the family invite the attendees for refreshments either at home or at a rented room (opened a few years ago, for this purpose) near the cemetery. Only close relatives and friends accept the invitation. At the exit of the cemetery, at its gate, women offer drinks, boiled wheat and sweets. The attendees first cross themselves, then take a little food and drink and pour a little drink as a sign of prayer for the soul of the deceased.

This conformity of burial customs does not mean that members of certain ethno-cultural or ethnic groups do not have their particularities. Here is an unusual example in my experience. In 1998, my paternal grandmother died in less than two months after her husband, my paternal grandfather died. Female relatives and neighbours (they come from Zaglavak, a part of the mountain of Stara planina, where my paternal ancestors are from) that took care of the funeral suggested that something should be done if two people die during one year, in order to prevent further dying. In such case, they make a dummy as a replacement for the third person, which is put in the grave of the latter deceased. Alternatively, a hen or a doll can be used. Given that I studied post-funeral customs in the village of Osljane in the region of Timok (Krcun 2003) where my maternal ancestors are from (and was familiar with their customs) I suggested that a ragged doll be made. It was named Stojan³ and was put in a cardboard shoe box and later, during my grandma's funeral put in the grave. A small cross was placed between my grandparents' crosses and was dedicated to imaginary deceased Stojan. During next year, candles were lit to his memory, too.

Tombstones are set on the graves few days before the six-month commemoration, or more often, before the annual one. The forms of tombstones are different (the stonemasons offer a wide range of products), usually made of gray marble with parts of white marble, but there are also of black- and red-marble tombstones. Earlier, in the 50's and the 60's of the 20th century, cheap terrazzo concrete tombstones were quite often, but they are rare today. The tombstones are usually only with the names and surnames of the deceased, the years of birth and death and the names of those who have purchased them. However, epitaphs appear here and there, as a western culture-influenced phenomenon. They are usually seen on a tombstone of a young or a child whose death was exceptionally stressful. The epitaphs from this cemetery, as well as from other cemeteries in the areas of Zajecar and Knjazevac have been collected, edited and published in a book by Ljubisa Rajkovic Koželjac titled „Stone-turned tears“. According to him, all the epitaphs from Zajecar cemetery are from the second half of the 20th century and most of them are stereotypical and amateur, even though there are those with a certain literary value. Grammatical errors in some epitaphs show that the settlers are from the areas south of Zajecar, where so-called Timočko-Prizrenski speech is in use (Rajkovic 2011, 33-73). In some places, there are also busts of the deceased. Many have no artistic value, but there are those that can be considered as work of art. All busts in the Old cemetery have been filed in the Archives of the National

³ The roots of Stojan and Stop are similar.

Museum in Zajecar by Leposava Milovanovic (learnt informally), an art historian, with me as a photographer.

At the graves, apart from the tombstones, there are also wooden crosses that remain there until they disintegrate and other items used for ritual performances when graves are visited. Most of the tombstones include marble vases which are used for flowers (otherwise, flowers are placed over the graves). At many graves, next to the tombstone, there is a closed receptacle for lighting candles (otherwise candles are lit at the tombstone, either in front or behind it). At many tombstones, at new ones especially, there is a small table used for refreshments (Fig. 9). Namely, on commemoration days during one year after death (the first next Saturday, 40 days, six months, annual commemorations...), on spring and winter Soul Saturdays (summer and autumn Soul Saturdays are not observed in this area) and on major holidays people bring not only candles and flowers, but food as well. Traditionally, in some cases, the food is placed over the grave, whereas some people use above mentioned small tables (they usually fix enameled cover of a stove to a metal frame that serves as legs). On that occasion, food is censured (many tombstones have earthen censers made by local potters) and then visitors eat some food. Some of the food is left at the tombstone. Rarely, there are benches near the graves where people sit during the visit. On Soul Saturdays the Old cemetery is crowded, a stream of people heading towards it, with lots of cars parked around. After people leave the cemetery, Gypsies come with huge bags for the food left on the graves.

Post 2nd World War Zajecar has got, just as before, its distinguished citizens. Thus, among many others, one can find the graves of Stevan Veljkovic and Zarko Milosevic, important cultural workers, journalists, researchers and chroniclers of the past, prominent people from Zajecar, who died not so long ago. At the end of the 80's of the 20th century the land next to the cemetery, just behind the mausoleum, was allotted for the Alley of distinguished revolutionaries and prominent communist politicians. In a way, this Alley was to be merged with the mausoleum where partisans and Red Army soldiers were buried. But, in this place there are only a few people who belonged to this circle and who died until the 2000's. Among them is Živan Vasiljevic-Marko's grave. Vasiljevic (1920-2007) was a partisan veteran, one of the most prominent political figures of the eastern Serbia in the times of socialism, a man who was on many important posts at the local, Serbian and Yugoslav level (for example, he was the President of the Serbian Parliament twice). A small number of graves of people from this circle are due to the break-up of Yugoslavia in the early 90's of the 20th century. So it was not clear who was supposed to be buried here. Here are Aleksandar Kamenkovic's grave and the graves of several managers of public utility companies. Kamenkovic (1943-2007) was a former mayor and a respected physician. These people were the members of the Socialist party of Serbia and were ruling authorities in the town during the 90's of the 20th century. Here are also the graves of local people who died in the wars during the 90's. Here is, for example, Sasa Mladenovic's grave (1970-1991), with the words on his tombstone reading:

*He died 10.11.1991. in Vukovar.
Forever in the hearts of loved ones.*

Zoran Curovic Cuki's tombstone bears these words:

b. 1956, d 1992 in Brcko.

Words on Mile Djenadija's grave read (1948-2001):

*Gave his life for freedom
of his fatherland on March 7, 2001
when he was brutally murdered by Shiptar⁴
terrorist forces, near Presevo*

There is also a grave of one of military commanders of the garrison in Zajecar, who died in 2008.

What makes this Ally different from other parts of the cemetery is the fact that the graves are not densely grouped but are a little distant from each other. Meanwhile, the plot allotted for this ally has been surrounded by the graves of common people whose graves are equally grouped as all other graves.

With the increase in population of Zajecar, the Old cemetery has been more and more filled. First, in the 80's of the 20th century it spread eastwards until the bypass road that goes through the periphery of Zajecar. Then in the 90's of the 20th century the empty space on the south side (between the cemetery and the overpass at the entrance of Zajecar from Knjazevac) was slowly filled. At the beginning of the 2000's it was said that a new cemetery would be built, but this plan was implemented very slowly, so it was opened only in 2010. During the 2000's the space around the Alley of distinguished revolutionaries and other empty space were filled. As early as 2000's the available plots ran out so some people were buried even on paths between graves, which drastically disturbed the order in the cemetery established by Milan Miljkovic's efforts and perseverance.

It is obvious that the management of cemetery-related issues hasn't met the challenges. Decorating the graves was left to families of the deceased. The graves that nobody visits have been completely neglected. The space between the graves is not taken care of, either. Except larger areas, other ones are mostly unpaved, covered with grass which is often not mowed. The 'chapel' and the Cemetery church have been also neglected. The cemetery has developed without any plans, without any signs of awareness of its cultural and historical importance and the need of protecting some of its parts and individual graves. That is why it is largely ruined. The reselling of grave plots whose care fees have not been paid is one of the the biggest problems. Because the re-sold grave plots may include graves of prominent people from Zajecar or members of prominent Zajecar's families as well as important evidence of cultural, political and social history of the town in general. For many years the Old cemetery has been managed by "Hygiene", a public utility company, but its attitude towards the Old cemetery is only the reflection of both local community and Serbian people in general. It is, therefore, the attitude of political structures that create reality to their own cultural-historical heritage.

The reselling of graves with unsettled accounts, regardless of their owners, induced another development related to the cemetery: namely, Gypsies (who work in Western Europe, mainly in Austria) are buying houses built on expensive locations in Zajecar in large numbers or land where they build houses with kitch details. Similarly, they buy crypts or several adjoined graves at once in the oldest part of the Old cemetery (with the most important tombstones from the pre-War period) removing the original tombstones and setting their ones (Fig. 10). A Gypsy family has built its new, mostly kitch crypt, in the part of the cemetery where there is majority of old built crypts from pre-War period. The crypt is completely in disharmony with the surroundings (moreover, it is near the French cemetery, next to the path that leads to it.).

⁴ Shiptar = the name for Albanians living in Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia.

The importance of the Old cemetery for people in terms of economy should be considered. First, it provides jobs for people in “Hygiene” public utility company – gravediggers and shop assistants in the funeral store of the company, located at the entrance of the cemetery. Then, there are other private funeral shops (“Wreath”, “Paradise” and “Concordia”), which bring profit to their owners and provide jobs for their employees. A family from Zajecar has sold candles and flowers on a stall at the entrance for years and a few years ago they opened a room for serving refreshments after memorial services. Besides, next to the cemetery there are a few stonemasonry workshops (“Goran” and “Boki”) where their works are exhibited to potential customers.

Most recent development concerning the Old cemetery is its renovation which has been in progress, with substantial money allotted by local authorities for that purpose. Namely, in 2014 the authorities announced the renovation which includes building a new fence and nine new fountains, reconstruction of the parking lot near the cemetery, paving the paths, introducing illumination and video monitoring and allotting a space for the Alley of distinguished citizens (probably behind the mausoleum) (Timocke novine 2014). At the time of the visit to the cemetery, on May 20, 2015, the fence around the cemetery and parking lot in front of it had been finished as well as a part of the paths, but the work had stopped. However, Vuksan Cerovic, an investigative journalist from Zajecar, in an article published in “Tabloid”, a Belgrade magazine, claimed that a misuse of public funds was going on, supporting his claims with plenty of evidence (Tabloid 2015). Therefore, the resting place of deceased citizens can also be used as a possibility for earning.

All these changes at the Old cemetery are the reflection of certain social conditions in the history of Zajecar. The current renovation is certainly going to have these times’ effect on the Old cemetery. However, the biggest problem – reselling and reuse of old graves has not been resolved yet. So, regardless of its deteriorated state, the next key step in its development should include raising the awareness of its cultural-historical value, respecting that value and serious work in protection of the heritage it preserves.

REFERENCES

- Антић, Сузана, Јелица Илић, Нина Погарчић, 2013. *Зајечар : Чудесна прича: Из живота у Зајечару 1466-2006*. Зајечар: Народни музеј.
- Бојанић Лукач, Бојана, 1973. „Фрагменти збирног пописа Видинског санџака из 1466. године“. *Мешовита грађа*, 2, 3-77, Београд: Историјски институт.
- Баришић, Ранко 1997. „Занати у Књажевцу“. *Гласник Етнографског музеја у Београду*, 61, 135-196, Београд.
- Баришић, Ранко 1999. „Занати у Књажевцу“. У: *Књажевац и околина*, ур. Петар Влаховић, 131-192, Београд: Етнографски музеј.
- Вељковић, Стеван, 2002. *Из старог Зајечара : Родови и породице; Грађевине и радови*. Зајечар: Народни музеј, Културно-просветна заједница.
- Вељковић, Стеван, 2005. *Топоними и називи улица Зајечара*. Зајечар: Народни музеј.
- Вељковић, Стеван, 2012. *Из старог Зајечара*. Зајечар: Народни музеј, Матична библиотека „Светозар Марковић“, Историјски архив „Тимочка крајина“, Центар за културу.
- Димитријевић, Бора, 2000. „Предговор“. У: *Попис становништва вароши Зајечар из 1863. године*, пр. Бора Димитријевић. 5-36. Зајечар: Историјски архив „Тимочка крајина“.
- Драшковић, Мирослав, 1968. „Култни симболи у рајачкој некрополи“. *Развитак*, 6/1968, 62-67, Зајечар.
- Дудић, Никола, 1995. *Стара гробља и надгробни белези у Србији*. Београд: Републички завод за заштиту споменика културе, Просвета.
- Живић, Маја, 2003. *Romuliana : Галеријева царска палата*. Зајечар: Народни музеј.
- Крстић, Дејан, 2003. „Обичаји и веровања везани за смрт у селу Опшљане“, *Развитак*, 213-214, 147-168. Зајечар.
- Лаловић, Анка, 1981. „Археолошка налазишта у општини Зајечар“. *Развитак*, 2/1981, 70-85, Зајечар.
- Покорни, Франц Ксавер, 1971. „Војно-географски опис источне Србије“, *Развитак*, 1/1971, 63-72, Зајечар.
- Popović, Ivana, 2011. „Sacred-funerary complex at Magura“. In: *Felix Romuliana – Gamzigrad*, ed. Ivana Popović. 141-158. Belgrade: Institute of archaeology, Institute for theological research, Serbian orthodox church.

- Рајковић, Љубиша Кожељац, 2011. *Суза скамењена : о епитафима са неких тимочких гробаља*. Минићево: Завичајно друштво Тимочана-Торлака.
- Симић, Стојан Цока, 1930. „Мемоари Стојана Симића“, пр. Маринко Станојевић. *Зборник прилога за познавање Тимочке Крајине*, II, 26-58, Београд
- Станојевић, Тихомир, 1972. *Неготин и Крајина од првих трагова до 1858. године*, Неготин: Заједница културе Скупштине општине, Новинска установа „Тимок“ Зајечар.
- Стефановић, Душан, 1965. „Сеоски надгробни споменици у Крајини“, *Развитак*, 4-5/1965, 80-85, Зајечар.
- Стојановић, Драгослава, Гордана Живковић и Србислав Ђуровић, *Народна уметност Тимочке Крајине*, Неготин, Зајечар, Бор: Народни музеји.

ARTICLES IN NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

- Летопис Тимочке епархије 1925, *Освећење Гробљанске цркве у Зајечару*, 3, Зајечар, 109.
- Летопис Тимочке епархије 1930, *Слава Гробљанске цркве*, 8, Зајечар, 88.
- Нова тимочка ревија 2007, Драган Митић, *Кад крв вуче читав век*, 236, Зајечар, 15. јул, 19-21.
- Tabloid 2015. Vuksan Cerović, Skadar na Војани „Маћера за ревалјке“, 32 (338), Beograd, 4. jun, 29.
- Тимок 1955. Б. Н. Зоруновачка „мелодија“, 52/1955, Зајечар, 31. децембар, 3.
- Тимок 2004. Драгић Ђорђевић. *Каменорезаца нема више*, 3046, Зајечар, 3. децембар, 8.
- Тимочке новине 2014, *Старо гробље и поновот рући*, 3, Зајечар, 3. April, 22-23
- Торлак 2004. Дејан Крстић, *Обележена годишњица смрти Маринка Станојевића*, 2, Минићево, 1. мај, 2.
- Торлак 2009а. Дејан Крстић, *60 година од смрти Маринка Станојевића*, 16, Минићево, 1. април, 3.
- Торлак 2009б. Дејан Крстић, *Изложба о Маринку Станојевићу*, 17, Минићево, 1. јун, 4.
- Чувар здравља 1923. *Уредио мртваце*, 26, Београд, 10. септембар, 406.

OTHER SOURCES

- Archives of the National museum Zajecar.
Learnt in formally by living and working in Zajecar

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. One of the rare old tombstones from the “stonemasonry school of Krajina”



Fig. 2. One of the tombstones from the “stonemasonry school of from Zorunovac” of latter types



Fig. 3. The pillar-like tombstone at the “empty grave” of Jovan Nikolic who died in the 1st World War



Fig. 4. The French cemetery



Fig. 5. The Cemetery church



Fig. 6. The “chapel” for lying in repose



Fig. 7. The mausoleum of Red Army soldiers and local partisans



Fig. 8. A new tombstone with more wreaths with plastic and real flowers



Fig. 9. Typical modern tombstones with the small table for ritual food



Fig. 10. One of the latest Gypsy tombstones in the oldest part of the cemetery

FUNERAL CUSTOMS IN BELI POTOK NEAR KNJAŽEVAC*

INTRODUCTION

According to T. Đorđević, customs are provisions acquired by experience and habits, which correspond to the general needs of a community and manage the entire life and work of a society, so that they enter the permanent use and become necessary. „When a society in this way fully immerses itself in its habits, when it constantly uses them to live and work, then they cease to be habits, and become customs“ (Đorđević 1930, 22). Customs as traditional patterns of behaviour govern the life in a traditional community in terms of strengthening its solidarity, but also confirming its peculiarities. From the earliest times, customs have fulfilled one of its more important roles – preserving the identity of a people.

The most represented and best known customs are the customs of the life cycle. The life cycle of customs is the sum of many rituals that are being transformed over time. In addition, new forms of rituals appear in accordance with modern conditions of life, and with a desire to preserve recognizable traditions. The cycle of customs related to birth, marriage and death has a remarkable existential importance for humankind and it preoccupies all generations, especially in the initial and final stage of life. The transition rituals accompany the rotation of life cycles of individuals, „the transition from one stage to another, from one role to another or from one social status to another, thereby combining cultural experiences with human biological destiny: birth, reproduction and death“ (Majerhof 1986, 18).

According to S. Zečević and V. Čajkanović one of the most important cults among the Slavs comprises death customs. Most of the rituals and practices of the folk religion of Serbs are related to death and the realm of the dead.¹

Based on interviews with villagers² and the methods of observation with participation (2012–2015), this paper presents the characteristics of funeral rituals in Beli Potok near Knjaževac in the past and the present, and the mechanisms by which they are transmitted and maintained.

The funeral ritual consists of a set of religious rituals and magical practices. M. Prošić Dvornić states that the funeral ritual as „a complex of prescribed, established by tradition and at the level of the community generally accepted forms of symbolic behaviour represent a system of elaborate patterns of action and responses provided by culture to the various needs and problems caused by death. Therefore, every socio-cultural entity has its own specific funeral cycle customs and rituals that

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

¹ See: D. Bandić, V. Čajkanović, S. Zečević, S. Kulišić, S. Trojanović.

² Primarily with Hristifor Vasiljić, a great connoisseur of folk customs (born in 1927 in Beli Potok). The paper presents a part of the in-depth interview that the author conducted with Hristifor in 2012. The whole interview is published in the paper “The story of Hristifor Vasiljić from Beli Potok: forgetting the times past”, *People of the Borderlands talk*. Vranje: Teacher-Training Faculty, 2014.

reflect not only the forms of belief, on which the ritual is based, but also some of the essential characteristics, motives and values of the system as a whole“ (1982, 41). In every culture there are rules concerning whether one can talk about death or is such a thing a taboo, whether the body is burned or buried after death, what is put in the grave, how long the period of mourning lasts, how grief is manifested, and so on. However, the manner of handling the deceased may differ within one culture, regardless of the current regulatory norms for the members of the family, the mourners and the community. There is a difference in the behaviour of people depending on their personal understanding of the concept of death and of their relationship to the deceased. Regardless of certain differences in the personal approach, there is a general model of funeral rituals in this area which will be discussed below.

ABOUT BELI POTOK

The village of Beli Potok³ belongs to the municipality of Knjaževac, situated in eastern Serbia along the border with the Republic of Bulgaria, in an area that is geographically and historically known as the Timok region. It is located on the left bank of the river Svrljig Timok, 18 km away from Knjaževac, at an altitude of 670 to 678 meters. Due to negative demographic trends, (massive migration of the young and middle-aged population into cities) there has been a transformation of the structure of rural households in the direction of the decline of the average number of family members and the rise of elderly and single-person households. The village has a population of only 168 inhabitants⁴. The most numerous inhabitants among the residents are elderly people, farmers and pensioners. In the village live Serbs and one Roma family. The village is 18 km away from the municipal centre, and there have been no bus services for years. The main road through the village is made of asphalt (2.3 km), and the rest is covered with macadam. There are no schools and the church (*The Holy Birth of the Virgin Mary*) had been empty and deserted for years after World War II, until the late nineties when its renovation was started. However, the priest comes only once a year (on September 21st, when the whole village celebrates the *Virgin Mary*). The village hall (built in 1948) is also closed.

It used to be different: the seat of the agricultural cooperative „Cerje“ was in the village hall and it had a purchase station where villagers could sell cattle and all kinds of agricultural products; there were herbs, dog roses, mushrooms and snails for purchase; two shops had various goods to offer; yellow and white cheese was traditionally produced and cherry orchard (60 hectares) was very fruitful as well. However, as the demographic processes of depopulation and aging of population manifested in continuous reduction of the labour force potential, there was less milk and other agricultural products, so that the cooperative ceased to exist in 2006. Since then the village has been in decay. There is one privately owned shop in the village at the moment and a health care facility which is open only one day a week. There are neither cultural institutions, nor any other associations. The villagers are mainly engaged in cattle breeding, fruit growing and bee-keeping and left to themselves. Few young people, who stayed in the village, or returned from the city, have no certain future ahead of them.

Although these are the indicators of the numbness of life, the villagers keep from forgetting everything that was good by fostering traditional customs. Year after year they celebrate *Christmas*, *Easter* and patron saints: *St. Nicholas*, *St. Cosmas and*

³ See the extended version of the text about Beli Potok in: Milošević Radulović and Stjepanović Zaharijevski 2012.

⁴ Data taken from the official site of the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (<http://webrzs.statserb.sr.gov.rs>).

Damian (magicians), *St. John*, *St. Michael the Archangel* and *St. Mrata*. The whole village celebrates the *Ascension Day* (the date varies, depending on the date of *Easter*) and the *Virgin Mary* (September 21st), and on the White Carnival the villagers light holy fire (*Olalija*).

PECULIARITIES OF FUNERAL RITUALS IN BELI POTOK

The funeral ritual is not only a personal but also a collective event in which relatives, neighbours and friends participate. It consists of activities that take place in an established order with the aim of channelling the feeling of pain, hopelessness and fear. When death occurs church bells and lamentation inform that someone died. According to the type of ringing the deceased can be identified – whether it is a man (three breaks during ringing), a woman (two breaks during ringing), or a memorial service (forty days, six months, one year; without breaks during ringing). Then, a group of “assistants” is formed to carry out the necessary activities and help the mourners (relatives, neighbours, friends). Anyone who enters the house says „God forgive“ and help themselves to some brandy, juice or coffee. The residents of Beli Potok do not remember the last time someone called a priest for burial or confession of a person before death. The village has a church, but the priest comes only once a year (on September 21), when the whole village celebrates the *Virgin Mary*.

Hristifor Vasilijić describes how it used to be in Beli Potok:

„When someone died a candle was immediately lit to illuminate the deceased's path to the other world. Neighbours and family members of the deceased bathed and dressed him in new clothes. They put him on the table which was covered, and his head was on the west side as required. Over the deceased a cover was placed. The people who came lit candles and placed them in a pot with sand or wheat. This pot stood near the deceased's head. People brought flowers and some foods – beans, flour, fruit... The hands of the deceased were crossed on his belt. Only the following day people made a casket. The boards were common, and there weren't any on the bottom, only some sticks. Oakum was always put in the casket, and some red thread over the deceased. Under the hands of the deceased wheat and corn were drawn so that the deceased would not 'carry them away' with him. Someone always sat by the deceased's side, paying special attention that a cat didn't enter the room and jump over the deceased's body because it was believed that then he would become a vampire. One wasn't even supposed to pass anything over the deceased's body, and some woven cloth was put in the casket. A pin was inserted into the deceased's arm so that he would not become a vampire. There were vampires back then, I don't know. A large candle burned by the deceased for some time and then it was extinguished because it had to be taken to the cemetery for forty days. It was supposed to burn completely by the fortieth day. The decision was immediately made on which women would cook, which one would knead dough and which men would dig the grave. Both the deceased's hand and feet were tied in red thread. Before lowering him to the grave, the person who tied him would untie him – usually a relative, and the thread would remain there by the deceased's side. Although some people would take it with them. The prepared food was taken to the cemetery in pots. Everything that was prepared in the house was served, and in the evening people went from house to house and invited others to dinner. The closest relatives were the only ones invited. They came and brought small candles. When they finished eating lentil soup or chicken soup (depending on whether it was a fat or a lean day) the candles were lit and everyone stood up while the candles burned. Brandy and wine were served, but in smaller quantities, not like today. The first Saturday after the funeral was when people went to the cemetery.

Food was also taken, everything that they had people took with them, and in the evening dinner was served again. Up to the fortieth day after the funeral, people went to the cemetery every Sunday. Memorial services were held on the fortieth day, six months and one year. People didn't go on the second or third anniversary like they do today. On the fortieth day, small candles were lit – 40 of them. Previously, people held one or two candles, and then someone collected them and blew them out and they were kept to cure diseases – for *zasipi*. People went to the cemetery up to a year for every religious holiday. There were cases when a mother and a child died. Then two crosses were placed. People went to the cemetery for as many days as the child had when it died, and no longer than that. If it lived only ten days, people would go the cemetery for only ten days. That's how it used to be. They would make a small casket. If a young man died, then the girl whom he loved and who was intended to marry him would place a gift for him in the casket and vice versa, if a girl died. The deceased were transported on an oxcart, and oxen were covered with red rugs. If it snowed, the deceased was transported on a small sled pulled by men. *Dušeme* (the lower boards in a wooden cart used to transport the deceased) were turned the other way around on the way back home. The customs were respected so that the deceased didn't turn into a vampire and halt the progress of the other families."

Fear of vampires was great. A correct interpretation is not known, but Petar Vlahović, ethnologist and anthropologist, states:

„The fear of vampirism among the people was relatively great. Certain magical practices were performed for that reason. It was normal to use a candle to singe all of the hair on the deceased's body. It was believed that a person could not turn into a vampire after that. Some practices had an even greater application, such as cutting off a deceased's toe, then cutting their soles, severing the sinews below the knee or stabbing a pin or a hawthorn thorn into the deceased's neck. These actions were undertaken because a vampire was imagined as a blown up membrane in the shape of a human body, therefore, according to the belief, an unnatural opening on the body would prevent such a thing from happening, since air could no longer be kept inside the membrane in that case“ (2011, 310-311).

Today many traditions have been preserved, but some have been modified, particularly when it comes to who should do something – the closest family, relatives, or neighbours. In accordance with the belief that the deceased goes to the other world in the condition in which he leaves this one, the decedent is bathed and dressed in new clothes. The custom according to which neighbours bathe the deceased together with the family or the family do it on their own has been adopted. The deceased's hands and feet are tied, his mouth and eyes are closed. The background of this custom is religious in nature. Red thread is used to tie the deceased and the action is performed by the members of the household or close relatives. It is untied before the coffin is lowered into the grave. The thread remains next to the deceased. The deceased is exposed on the table with a woollen carpet, embroidered sheet (hand made) and a blanket, while a white shroud is placed over the coffin. The red thread is formed into the shape of a cross along the entire length and width. The deceased is shod (*opanci*, rubber peasant footwear or rubber sandals, as they are called in Beli Potok, shoes or boots). Some money, which is taken before the deceased is carried out of the house, is put over the shroud and later used to buy something for the house. The coffin is open the entire time and everyone who comes can see the deceased and say farewell to him. There is also a custom that the deceased is to be „wa-

tched over“ until the funeral, especially at night, and that he cannot be left alone in the room for a single moment. Special attention is paid so that a cat does not jump over the deceased. He is guarded by the neighbours and the closest relatives. During the nocturnal wake some food is offered, but also alcohol. At first, the deceased is the topic of conversation, but people also talk about various things, depending on who is present. The deceased is watched over so that his soul is protected from the evil spirits. A bougie must be lit by the deceased's head all the time. A big funeral candle which burns above the deceased's head is later extinguished (while other candles continue to burn) and left on the side (marked with black ribbon) to be taken to the grave and lit for 40 days. It should burn out completely by then. If not, it is lit on the fortieth day and left to burn out.

It is common to cover all the mirrors and television sets while the deceased is in the house and during the lunch after the funeral. The deceased's personal belongings are also packed – a comb, mirror, staff and the like, then food, utensils, and some water, wine, brandy, milk, juice in bottles. These bottles are opened before the casket is lowered into the grave and they remain there. His clothes are packed as well (as much as it can be placed by the deceased's body, and the rest is packed into bags and lowered into the grave). The custom requires that the deceased is “cut into” so as not to turn into a vampire. This is done by someone who is not afraid, a relative or a neighbour, and not the members of the household. Some part of the deceased's body is stabbed with a needle, and the needle is left inside. The grave is dug by people from outside the family, usually neighbours, and never by the members of the household. It is dug on the day of the funeral, it must not spend a night open, and before the digging begins the place is sprinkled with wine or brandy.

The deceased is taken out of the house by men, but not the closest relatives, and the deceased's feet are turned forward, as if he is leaving the house. The casket used to be taken or transported on an oxcart or sled, but today tractors are used. The casket is rarely made from wooden boards as before, it is most often bought these days. The head of the procession is occupied by a man from the family who carries a cross decorated with a towel and socks, gloves or a scarf. He is followed by a procession of flowers (wreaths and flower baskets), the deceased and the rest of the people. The closest relatives come first, followed by distant relatives and friends. The one who carries the cross must not look back „because it is not good“. The procession always stops at a crossroad on their way to the cemetery and a prayer is said for the deceased.

Before the casket is lowered into the grave, the closest relatives say farewell to the deceased by kissing him on the forehead or cheek. Then a rug is put into the grave, followed by the casket and a comforter or a carpet, whatever people may have. Some people put both these things. Coins are also thrown into the grave „so that the deceased can pay for his house“. After that, the deceased's belongings are lowered into the grave as well, and some earth is thrown with the words „may the earth rest lightly on you“ uttered. The earth is first thrown by the members of the household. There is also a custom of putting someone else's belongings in the deceased's casket so that he can take them to the person who died earlier. The cross that was carried in the procession is stuck in the grave (above the headrest) and kissed by the members of the closest family (then the picture on the gravestone is kissed). A priest is rarely called, almost never, and the prayers are not read by anyone, or sometimes they are read by the closest family (usually for the 40-day memorial service and for Soul Saturdays), but this occurs hardly ever.

Returning from the cemetery, people have to wash their hands with the water into which basil is dipped. After the funeral a lunch is organized, usually in the

room where the deceased rested. The lunch is prepared for the closest family and neighbours. A place is left at the table for the deceased (at the head), a chair, plate, spoon, fork, glass are brought. It is believed that the soul of the deceased remains in the house for 40 days and that is why a plate and utensils, food, drink, water are placed. A candle (and later the lights) burns for 40 days. A lunch is prepared and for the first Saturday, 40 days (precisely on the fortieth day from the death) and six months and one year (not necessarily on the exact day). The food is eaten in the house „for the deceased’s soul“. During lunch, alcohol is served and it often transpires that someone gets drunk. It was previously believed that the person who stood up first after the lunch would die first. Therefore, everyone waited for the oldest person to get up first. Today nobody pays special attention to it anymore, and rarely anyone takes care not to be the first who leaves the table. The people who have served the food are the last to eat. The memorial service in Beli Potok is called *trpeza*.

A couple of days after the funeral, a piece of the deceased’s clothes is burned and the ashes scattered across ground. After the funeral, the family, relatives and neighbours visit the grave and take food and drink. The grave is visited on the first Saturday after the burial and then every Sunday for 40 days.

Poskurice (a small dish made from dough) and bread in the shape of a cross (*krsnik*) are prepared for all memorial services, and wheat and red wine are always brought to the cemetery. Other food is also taken along, from appetizers to desserts (depending on whether it is a fasting period or not), drinks and coffee. The grave is censured with frankincense, candles are lit and food and drinks are placed below the cross. Food and drinks are placed on the grave „for the soul’s peace“ with the words „God forgive“. During eating and drinking, the deceased’s name is mentioned several times. That is how people show respect for him. Everyone present stands in a circle around the grave, the men separated from the women, and they help themselves to the food and drinks. Food and drinks go from hand to hand to the left, everyone takes something and leaves a piece of it on the ground, while also pouring some of their drink for the deceased’s soul. Finally, walnuts and red wine are served to the right for good health of the living. Walnuts are not left on the ground nor is red wine poured. Food and drinks are brought for every great holiday as well (Christmas, Easter, patron saint’s day, and so on), and particularly for Soul Saturdays. Today, a feast of sorts is organized at the cemetery. It is believed that all of the offers eventually reach the deceased and that is why a lot of stuff is prepared. After a year, graves are visited for every great holiday and Soul Saturday, and after a couple of years usually only for Soul Saturdays.

The participants (those who have dug the grave, carried the deceased out of the house, baked *poskurice* and *krsnik*, prepared food, transported or carried the deceased to the grave) are given something as a memory of the deceased. The gravestone is erected no later than a year, usually on the occasion of six months from the death. The purpose is to bind the deceased’s soul to it so that it does not wander around.

The mourners wear black clothes (men wear black shirts and small black plates, women wear all black or just a scarf or a shawl of a plate if they are not the closest family), they do not partake in parties for a year, they do not sing and dance, or marry. Some people (the closest relatives) do not shave for 40 days. Black clothes are worn for 40 days, a year or three years. After that, women tie a scarf or a shawl to the deceased’s cross, while men leave their *flor* (a small black plate). The house is marked with an obituary note, black cloth is nailed to the wall and a black scarf is tied somewhere. All of this usually stays in its place up to a year, although sometimes even longer.

If black accessories need to be removed due to someone going to the army or getting married, memorial services are merged (six months and one year). Today it is common that memorial services are merged because of poverty. Previously, people did

not listen to music for a year, but now because people watch television they also listen to music only several days after the funeral. Also, people do not complain much about someone else organizing other ceremonies during the period of mourning.

People who had committed suicide had previously been buried outside the cemetery. However, more recently, they have been buried among the rest.

Many older people still prepare their burial clothes and gifts for those who take part in the funeral (the gravediggers, the one who carries the cross, the woman who cooks and so on) while they are alive. The daughter or daughter-in-law is informed on what has been prepared. If there are no descendants, then the closest relatives is informed. In the past, wooden boards were set aside for the casket.

The family of the deceased orders the so-called obituary notes (announcements of death) and displays them in several places around the village (by the village community home, the post and other visible places where a lot of people pass). Obituary notes bear the photograph of the deceased, the notice on the date of the funeral (or memorial service), and the names of the mourners.

The above peculiarities are not always practiced when someone dies. Today, some of them are skipped because of someone's personal attitude or material circumstances. Many villagers cannot explain why something is being done. They just say that that has always been the case – „we don't know why exactly, but that's just the way it is“. In any event, numerous and demanding rituals which thus employ and preoccupy people facilitate the acceptance of the loss.

Funeral customs are most abundant in Beli Potok. Villagers go to funerals even though some of them live very far from the cemetery. They still „observe the order“. Such communication influences the integration of the community. Many of them say that they would not even see each other if it were not for the funerals, which are the only occasions at which they all gather regularly.

THE CEMETERY IN BELI POTOK

Cemeteries and gravestone are the evidence of man's relationship towards death and the deceased. Their appearance speaks volumes of the times in which people had lived and of the social status of the deceased. As Sršan says, cemeteries represent „museums under the clear sky“ and „valuable cultural additions and images of a specific time and people“ (Sršan 1996, 8). According to Pierre Nora, cemeteries can be determined as *the spaces of memory*. They have three levels – the material, the symbolic, and the functional, and their main purpose is to prevent forgetting (Stanković 2012, 202). Cemeteries are monuments of culture and bearers of heritage. They are dedicated to our ancestors with the aim of reviving memories and directing us to our past. Gravestones found in cemeteries are indicators of the religious, national, but also ideological-political identity. The manner in which a gravestone is erected and in which the area around the gravestone is organized has its own message which speaks of the relationship towards death and the deceased.

Entering the village from the direction of Knjaževac, on the right side there is a road which leads to the cemetery. It can be seen from the main road coming into the village as well. It is in an accessible terrain, but only a section of the road was paved some three decades ago. The cemetery is located around 250 metres from the last house in the village. It covers a surface area of one hectare and it is not enclosed (Figs. 1 and 2). The cemetery is several hundred years old. The oldest villagers remember that all of their ancestors have been buried there. There is no chapel at the cemetery itself, nor a smaller church or some other object whose purpose would be to perform religious rituals.

Grave lots used to be free, and remain mostly so since the surrounding meadows have been deregistered and they are not private property, although the one at the very entrance to the cemetery is private and those lots are not free (this has been the case for a dozen years now, and the price varies – the current price of a single lot is two thousand dinars). The billboard with the information on the grave lots being sold and the owner's telephone number is installed at the entrance to the cemetery.

The cemetery is not organized, the villagers themselves pick a spot where they will bury someone. They also take care of the cemetery, as much as they can, having in mind the fact that the village is populated almost entirely by the elderly. There are many food remains, waste management is not regulated, and graves are overgrown with weeds. However, it can be observed that the area around some graves is well-ordered, with special paths built, and some of them even enclosed (Fig. 3). Gravestones are individual or for two persons. There are only two tombs (Fig. 4). One of them is for the deceased who belonged to a wealth family that owned the village tavern, while the other is for the person who died in World War II as a very young man. His mother later built the tomb, where both she and her husband are buried.

The information on gravestones is usually legible, written in the Cyrillic script, but not always grammatically correct. The information includes the first name and surname of the deceased, the years of birth and death, and the details of the person/s who erected the gravestone (their children or themselves during their own lifetime), which is also an important indicator of their identity. The older gravestones often lack the year of birth while the year of death is still present. The reason for this is that the older people were not always sure of their date of birth because it was not something that was meticulously recorded. The differences existed between church books and personal identification documents, even up to a couple of years.

There are also gravestones that have epitaphs inscribed (seven in total). Some of them are written in verse and talk about the causes of death, while the others talk about love or the characters and life of the deceased. The messages have the following contents: 1. Why it had to be this way, God only knows. We will never forget you, we will mention your name with respect, and remember you with love. May angels guard you, our angel; 2. There are many lovely memories to remember you by forever and to talk about you with pride. Thank you for the infinite love and endless support. May God protect you where the eternal light shines. We love you; 3. If God had known what you were like, He would have wanted you for His uncle; 4. Memories do not fade. Love is eternal. With respect and sorrow. The last farewell from your granddaughter; 5. You were a good and noble man. Respected farmer and cattle breeder. You dedicated the majority of your life to breeding sheep. Rest in peace; 6. In the *Belica* river under the bridge my life ended at the bottom of the ridge (this was the case of a road accident); 7. Hey, well, you water cold, you remain here while I am gone... (this was the case of a suicide; a middle-aged man, bachelor, threw himself into a well).

By studying the cemetery in Beli Potok one can discover what kind of people lived in this area, when they lived there and who built their gravestones (Fig. 5). Gravestones are made from stone or marble, and the cross is the most present symbol. Many of them are damaged because the elements have taken their toll. Some of them toppled over, and some are broken. The old tilted gravestones can hardly be read (Fig. 6). Judging by the manner of processing and the inscriptions, the majority of gravestones were manufactured by a single mason in the past, but there are also specific (Figs. 7 and 8). The newer ones are mostly made from marble and are also similar, especially in the period from 1980 to the present. The dominant colours are grey and black. The older gravestones rarely have a photograph of the deceased, whi-

le almost all of the newer ones have it. There are instances with photographs placed both on the front and the back of the gravestone.

The text is inscribed on the front side of the gravestone above the deceased's headrest, and his head faces west. However, some gravestones face west, but the bodies of the deceased face east, as per the rule. The villagers who have participated in the interviews do not know the exact reason behind this phenomenon, but they believe that it is either ignorance or lack of care for the deceased's house, or perhaps a practical reason not to tread on the grave during the ritual.

The Roma are buried in the cemetery just like all the other villagers. Their graves are not separated from the rest, and there are several of them (Figs. 9 and 10).

There is also a memorial plaque dedicated to unknown partisans who had no documents and, therefore, people did not know who they were or where they came from. The twelve of them are buried in the same spot, and the local community of the village of Beli Potok placed the plaque for them in the spot where wreaths were laid during the important state holidays. Today, the plaque is illegible, and nobody visits the place anymore.

Beli Potok also has monuments raised as markers for the people who lost their lives in particular places, the so-called *krajputaši* (monuments by the road). The people who died there are not buried in that same spot, but the place of their death is marked by a small stone or marble plaque bearing the deceased's personal details. There is one such place in the village itself, and two more on the territory of the village. These are all cases of road accidents.

CONCLUSION

Based on all of the above, it can be concluded that in the village of Beli Potok near Knjaževac people still practice the traditional funeral customs and memorial services, with certain differences observed in the manner in which the deceased are clothed, memorial services held and gravestones erected. The traditional model of behaviour is still respected and applied, however, the church is not deeply rooted within the people.

Bearing in mind the fact that the village mainly comprises elderly households, the villagers of Beli Potok keep the numerous customs only in their memory since they are no longer part of their customary life (birth, baptism, marriage), while the funeral customs and rituals related to the cult of the dead are the most present ones. The villagers stick to the customs "because that is how it has always been", believing that these customs contribute to the deceased and his soul, while protecting the remaining family members. On the way people conceive of death D. Bandić says: „Folk beliefs related to this spiritual, afterlife existence of man are blurred and incomplete. One gets the impression that they are just fragments of a much more comprehensive concept which has been changed and impoverished over time. This is, after all, understandable since death has been marked less by 'thinking' and more by 'behaving' in the traditional culture of Serbs“ (Sinani 2005, 130-136). Preserving the customs while believing that nurturing them will help the community to survive, the villagers expect to see some benefits from it. Relatives believe that their most important duty is to perform the entire ritual correctly, and the mere feeling that they have done everything „as it is supposed to be done“ calms them down. This is also how they confirm their renown within the community.

Through their stories, the villagers have provided a valuable contribution to the study of folk customs in Beli Potok. Each account of the folk life expresses the identity of the villagers of Beli Potok from the past and in the present, and such accounts remain as the records of time for future generations.

REFERENCES

- Vlahović, Petar. *Srbija: zemlja, narod, život, običaji*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik i Etnografski muzej, 2011.
- Đorđević, Tihomir. *Naš narodni život*, I. Beograd, 1930.
- Majerhof, Barbara. „Obredi prelaza: proces i paradoks“. *Gradina* 10 (1986).
- Milošević Radulović, Lela i Dragana Stjepanović Zaharijevski. „Beli Potok (Knjaževac)“. U *Selo u pograničju istočne i jugoistočne Srbije*. Beograd: Službeni glasnik i Zavod za proučavanje sela, 2012.
- Milošević Radulović, Lela i Dragana Stjepanović Zaharijevski. „Kazivanja Hristifora Vasilijića iz Belog Potoka: zaborav pada na prošla vremena“. U *Ljudi iz pograničja govore*. Vranje: Učiteljski fakultet, 2014.
- Prošić Dvornić, Mirjana. „Pogrebni ritual u svetlu obreda prelaza“. U *Antropologija smrti II, Sahrana, grob i groblje*. Beograd: Odeljenje za etnologiju i antropologiju Filozofskog fakulteta u Beogradu, 1982.
- Sinani, Danijel. *Priviđenja i sablasti u Srbiji*. Knjaževac: Zavičajni muzej Knjaževac, 2005.
- Sršan, Stjepan. *Osječka groblja*. Osijek: Povijesni arhiv, 1996.
- Stanković, Isidora. „Groblja kao prostori sećanja“. <http://www.sintezis.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Groblja-kao-prostori-secanja.pdf>, 2012.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. The cemetery in Beli Potok



Fig. 2. The wreath and baskets with artificial flowers for funeral



Fig. 3. Newer gravestones



Fig. 4. Tombs



Fig. 5. A soldier from the Salonica Front



Fig. 6. Old gravestones



Fig. 7. Gravestone from 1947



Fig. 8. Gravestone from 1963



Fig. 9. Romany gravestone 2003



Fig. 10. Romany gravestone 2013

Dragan Todorović

BURIAL CULTURE OF ROMA FROM THE CITY OF PIROT*

THE HISTORY OF ROMA IN THE CITY OF PIROT

Very few records made in passing by rare scientists and diplomats travelling to Constantinople and Thessalonica are the only testimonies about the inhabitancy of Roma population on the territory of South Serbian regions up to the liberation from Turks. Thus, for instance, referring to the recollections of older people, Vladimir M. Nikolić (1974, 12) notes down that „in Pirot, on the eve of its Liberation, there were only about 1500 households, namely 900 Serbian, 500 Turkish, 60 Tsigani and 40 Jewish.“ Felix Philipp Kanitz states that, immediately after the expulsion of the Ottoman invader from Pirot, out of 262 Muslim inhabitants only 13 of them were Turkish while 259 were Romani (Stojančević 1981, 140). Romani population mostly lived in separate *mahalas* on the town's periphery or city approach lanes; in the first statistical reports they were represented at times separately, at times together with Muslim and other non-Serbian people.

According to the 1884 overall Population Census of Serbia, „in the new counties“ as many as 5860 Roma were recorded, the smallest number of them living in the County of Pirotski (889 souls). The 1890 Population Census registered a considerable increase of Roma population on the observed territory, first of all, in villages, partly due to population growth and partly because of immigration from the countryside and neighbouring countries (not in the area of Pirot – 876) (Stojančević 1981, 141–143). In the period after 1910, up to the Population Census after the Second World War, Roma are, in the census registers, in evidence only according to their mother tongue or faith but together with other Muslim and non-Slavic inhabitants of particular counties. Concretely, after the First World War, in the County of Pirotski, the evidence is, in this way, kept of 1202 Roma (Stojančević, 1981, 144):

„In a small town of Bela Palanka and in the town of Pirot Tsigani *mahalas* are formed in the Christian part of the old downtowns while in the villages Tsigani settlements were distributed on the village periphery, in scattered smaller groups of houses and in mobile stopping places of nomads, roamers“ (Stojančević 1981, 146).

The observation and studies of the Roma *mahalas* distribution in the city organism¹ was devised by Jovan Ćirić (1979) as a peculiar historiographic methodical procedure for reconstruction of the spread of the city limits in the Balkan Peninsula between the 17th and 19th centuries. Thus he states that the quarter of *Tsigani Chiflik*

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

¹ “To sociologists the story about Roma settlements, especially those in the old inner city, is important for two reasons: firstly, it proves that Roma in Serbia abandoned, quite early, their nomadic way of life, and secondly, that their further survival, however, speaks about their continuous spatial segregation with respect to the majority population” (Đorđević and Todorović 2011, 44).

on the swampish field Tiyabara as well as the quarter in the *Mečka Alley* by Constantinople Road, behind the former Turkish cemetery, delineated the ultimate northwest and southeast peripheries of Pirot in the 18th and the first half of the 19th century.

It is between the two world wars that a second wave started of pulling out and resettling Roma to the periphery of Pirot. The regulation of the Nišava riverbed opened up a possibility for Pirot Roma to set up, in a semi-dried riverbed as a newly-risen free communal ground, their *cherga* and in this way, to form, on the east periphery of the Tiyabara, their new *mahala* with some twenty households. The last location on the periphery of the urban frame of Pirot took place in the sixties and seventies of the twentieth century when the largest number of Roma from the old Tiyabara *Tsygani Chiflik* and from the settlement in the *Mečka Alley* came to live in the *Nova Mala*, an enclave planted in the then-suburban settlement at the far south of the city, on a field next to the Christian and Romani cemetery (Ђирић 1979, 223).

According to the last Population Census results, in Pirot there are 2.576 Roma (1.878 in its inner city and 698 in villages). Unofficially, there are between 3000 and 3500 Romani souls living in the city, mostly in three settlements, namely, those of Rasadnik, Tiyabara and Prčevac. Rasadnik is classified among the best arranged Romani settlements in Serbia, with houses of firm building material, paved streets and necessary infrastructure (water supply, electricity, telephone).

BURIAL OF PIROT ROMA

Borisav Jovanović (2012, 100-101) mentions that, up to the liberation from Turks, Roma from Pirot performed their religious rites together with other local people of Islam faith in three *tekkes*, under the watchful eye of *hodja* Mohamed Medžid Hasanović. After the Turkish rule of the town had ended, there was only one *tekke* left in the town; it was now exclusively used by Romani people. The religious service, up to the post-First World War period, was supervised by a Romani *hodja*, Riza Kratovac, who had come from a town of Kratovo, Macedonia. Also recorded is the name of another Roma *hodja*, Salija, who had remained in this city on the Nišava all the way through till the Second World War broke out. Later on, the appearance of Islam clergy only occasionally took place, at the times of great Roma holidays (St. George's Day, Vasilica) or important personal life events such as baptism, death, and the like.

The Roma from Pirot have three ways of confessional identification. Those settled down in the villages around Pirot are exclusively Orthodox while in the inner city there are living together mixed populations of Orthodox and Islam Roma. The largest number of them, however, does not agree to any confessional classification. Though they regularly celebrate their home patron saints' holidays, together with St. George's Day and Vasilica, they simply declare themselves as „Roma“ thus uniting into one identity their ethnic and religious affiliation. Christian Roma are, in the largest number of cases, buried together with the Serbian majority population, on village and city cemeteries. Muslim Roma from Pirot, mostly coming from the families settled from the South, as well as so-called „confessionless“ ones, build their „eternal homes“ on their own cemetery located in the *Nova Mala*.

Burial of Roma at the Old Pazar Cemetery

The old Orthodox Pazar cemetery is located in the New Tigar settlement and it is reached by a long Kozaračka street. Its maintenance is taken care of by the local communal company „Komunalac“.² The cemetery has been out of service due to the lack

² It so happened that at the time of our visit a worker from the mentioned company was cutting down the overgrown grass all along the cemetery fence.

of free space but a great number of tombs are regularly visited at the times of the great religious holidays. We notice that the cemetery order is at a high level (with no space overrun with grass; paths between plots are passable).

Thanks to the kind assistant worker at the cemetery we were taken to the plot with many burial places at which mostly Roma are buried. These are Orthodox families (Simić, Nikolić, Kočić, Kostić, Petrović, Jovanović, Banković, Pavlović) who rented these places for themselves and members of their families at the time when the cemetery was active.³ Individual cases of Roma tombs are at many locations in the cemetery. Mostly these are old Roma urban families baptized generations ago and well accepted by non-Roma population (artisans, musicians, etc.).⁴

Older concrete tombstones from the sixties and seventies of the last century are of simpler making and smaller dimensions with carved-in basic data about the deceased, simple ornaments and a photo of the deceased (Fig. 1). They are well kept; there are no cases of tombstones toppled over. In the eighties there appeared first tombstones of black marble (Fig. 2). The most recent ones dating the early third millennium are made of granite or marble of modern design and of larger dimensions; they reflect economic status of particular Romani families. Also some kitschy elements pop up with, for example, the deceased shown on the front or back side of the tombstone. Epitaphs are absent. The tombs are usually fenced off with an iron railing or small marble columns (Fig. 3).

Burial of Roma at the Romani Cemetery

The Romani cemetery in the Nova Mala records many decades of existence. It is exactly unknown when the first burial of a deceased was done but it is known that it is fenced off and that an iron gate was set at its entrance in 1981 (Fig. 4). It is numbered among the best preserved Romani cemeteries in Serbia. To us, though, this impression is spoilt. When we visited it, we found knee-high grass left to grow uncared for since nobody was officially assigned to take care about the cemetery maintenance. The cemetery is occasionally tidied up usually before some greater religious holiday. Vladimir Jašarević, our guide in the visit to the cemetery, proudly shows to us a chapel that he has set up with his own efforts and with an unselfish help from the municipal authorities,⁵ thus wanting to facilitate to his compatriots the performance of death rites at one place and, also, to show to them how there is nothing impossible to him who wants to do it (Fig. 5).

The oldest Romani families in Pirot include the Jašarevićs, Durmiševićs, Askovićs, Useinovićs, Hasanovićs, Pujićs, Mašićs, Manićs, Ibrahimovićs, Bajramovićs, Kasumovićs, Salićs, Ličićs and others. At first, the Romani cemetery was intended exclusively for the burial of the families of Islam religious confession.⁶ The Orthodox did

³ We are thankful for the useful information and explanations to two of Pirot Roma: Vladimir Jašarević from the Romani non-government organization *Atsinkani* and Radovan Asković from the non-government organization *Prelipe*.

⁴ Radovan Asković has presented us with his view of Orthodox Romani: "At this cemetery were buried Orthodox Roma who accepted Orthodox faith in many cases because of the sickness of their family members or belief in their health recovery or in bringing to an end the sickness that kept on passing from one member to another for years (such as tuberculosis, asthma or some other lung disease). Then, there are also those who accepted Orthodox faith for their career prospects or increasing their fortunes."

⁵ Vladimir is a member of "The Coalition for Pirot", partner of the present municipal government in Pirot

⁶ As in the case of Orthodox faith, as explained to us by Radovan Asković, the affiliation to the Mohammedan religion was also rather declarative than essential. Neither was Kurban

the same together with the majority population at the town and village cemeteries. Some families would enclose a certain space and declare an unwritten rule that it is on this plot that the burial of all its members would be done. The reasons for such behaviour were diverse: some did it for fear that in the meantime all free space will be taken; others did it fearing that in the future they will have no money enough to buy a tomb place; others followed fashionable trends. That is why this is the greatest problem of this cemetery: the freedom of choice had an effect upon a misbalanced outlook of tombs; some are unjustifiably large; many are built upon others thus leaving no empty space to walk among them – but this is beyond any intervention now. Moreover, almost completely are exhausted the present cemetery capacities so that the local Roma community will have to face the lack of empty space for organized burials. One possibility is to buy off, for this purpose, the grounds belonging to the former agricultural cooperative which is adjacent to the existing cemetery border – this is the matter of negotiation with the municipal authorities.

A decade or two ago, however, what was given up was the prohibition to the Orthodox to bury their dearest ones, first of all, some village Roma. Now the cemetery is “ornamented” with a colourful variety of religious symbols. In addition to the star and half-moon and cross, an observant visitor would not miss a few five-pointed stars or the Star of David. At the very end of the cemetery Vladimir points his finger at the tombs of a few Turkish citizens who got killed in car crashes or similar accidents and who were, because of their Mohammedan religious affiliation, buried at this cemetery.

The oldest tombstone features date from the pre-Second World War and after its ending. The chiselled stone with the basic facts about the deceased has resisted, for decades, the ravages of time (Figs. 6 and 7). The greatest number of the tombstones contains only a star and a half-moon⁷ as clear indications of Islam (Fig. 8). Those of older dates are decorated with some traditional ornament (flower, rhomboid) (Fig. 9) while some of the most recent ones have no particular mark whatsoever (Fig. 10). The monuments of Orthodox deceased do not differ from those belonging to the majority population of Orthodox faith (Fig. 11).

Judging by the tombstones at least, once again our attention is drawn to the Pirot Roma lack of assigning special importance to the confessional origin. The founders of particular family lineages undoubtedly were of Islam affiliation; yet, their heirs departed from this world as Orthodox. At the cemetery they lie buried next to each other with no dispute whatsoever. For instance, a stone monument to Omer Mašić, born in a bygone era of 1870, tells us that he passed away as a devout Muslim. The same stands for his wife, Tana. Najden Mašić was buried in 1983 also as a Muslim while his wife Mira was buried in 2003 as an Orthodox. Usija Mašić was buried in 1975 as an Orthodox and so was, in 2013, Mašić Jelinka (Fig. 12).

A greater number of resting places is fenced off with a modest metal railing, sometimes with no empty space left between the grave plots. Only a few of them, as a rule, of later date, are different from others by having shelters designed for protection from the sun and bad weather.

Bayrami nor other festivities celebrated in the way which is expected from every devout Muslim: “The only thing they did was not to eat new vegetables and meat from the New Year’s to St. George’s Day, especially those who had had a death in their family in the previous year. They had refrained themselves from eating the mentioned food until they donated it, on St. George’s Day, to at least three households in their vicinity.”

⁷ We have also noted that on some monuments the half-moon is on the left side while on some others it is on the right side of the star which points to the specific nature of the Roma experience of the traditional religions.

PREDEATH, DEATH AND POSTDEATH RITES OF PIROT ROMA

In the book *Roma from Pirot* by Borisav Jovanović it is written that in the past the predeath, death and postdeath rites with Roma Orthodox and Roma Muslims did not differ to any considerable extent:

“The dealings with the dead man body were almost the same as with the Orthodox: washing, shaving, nail cutting, putting clothes on, chin and jaw binding and putting into the coffin. The difference is that the Gypsy deceased are obligatory, after washing and before having the clothes put on, wrapped in some special rags and cloth. The burial itself, up to the forties of the last century, consisted of transporting the deceased to the cemetery in the coffin, reading prayers and giving speeches before the taking the deceased out of the coffin and putting him into the grave pit at whose bottom matting or some other material had been placed earlier; over it there were poles or boards that later on the earth was thrown on while the coffin in which the deceased was taken to the grave was given back to the undertakers’ company or was brought home for another deceased. This ritual, in the presence of hodja, was preserved all along until the last hodja left Pirot. Since then the deceased Tsigani have been buried according to the Orthodox customs.

On the day of the burial nothing is prepared; only a candle is lit in the house of the deceased.

On the seventh day a seven-course meal is cooked and the sofras (dining table) is set.

On the twentieth day it is customary to prepare three round breads and one dish, salty snacks, sweets and fruit as well as obligatory halvah and rice.

For the fortieth day, if one is so poor that he cannot afford slaughtering a lamb, he must find – for the memory of a dead male – a ram’s head and for a dead female, a sheep’s head.

The same ritual is repeated for a half a year memorial and a year’s one.

All the postdeath meals (daće) are taken in the house, on the set sofras where the deceased used to lie” (Jovanović 2012, 102-103).

Interested in finding out what changes these rites have gone through in the present day, we have interviewed, in her home, Zeka Pačić, an older Romani woman from Pirot, born in 1937 (Fig. 13).⁸ She told us she was literate and that her mother tongue is Romani. Yet at the very beginning she expressed an already noticed lack of interest in confessional identification; to our question, “What faith are you?” she insisted upon answering, “Romani.” Though we tried to make clear to her the meanings of the concepts of “nation” and “faith”, she stuck to the attitude that the “Romani” is a common way of describing her ethnic and religious affiliation.

Predeath Romani Rites

A sick man in the house is taken care of in every possible way including maximal attention paid to hygiene. If possible, he is placed in a special room in order not to be disturbed but the whole day watching over him is organized. Help is sought exclusively from official medical care institutions. The sick man is encouraged with the expressions that he will be better and that he must obey doctor’s orders as they are to help him recover. If he feels seriously sick, the patient addresses higher powers for help with the following words, “God, please, help me recover, I am begging you!”

⁸ We would like to thank to Radmila Nešić, a Roma woman from the local Romani non-government organization *Ternipe* for mediating for us to find a partner for talks about predeath, death and postdeath rites of Roma from Pirot.

In the cases when it is obvious there will be no recovery, the sick man is asked to pass, in the other world, greetings to the family and other dear people who had passed away before him. If he has any special wishes at his deathbed, efforts are made to fulfil them. In the case that the sick man starts uttering incomprehensible words, or starts to “talk with the dead”, this causes no fear among the present ones; instead, they use affirmative words to approve of what he is saying. Prayers are addressed to God and other saints for the patient’s recovery till the very last moment of his life. However, if it does happen that the patient falls into comma, nothing else is done any longer but waiting, in peace, for the moment of death. The informing starts of the closest relatives, friends and neighbours about the serious situation the sick man is; this serves, at the same time, as announcement of a tragic outcome. Each individual is allowed to visit the patient, regardless of whether they have previously been in friendly or unfriendly relations. The custom also assumes that those who have fallen out are to make up in such moments. The visitors offer comfort to the patient by encouraging him to struggle against the disease and by expressing their wishes for his quick recovery. Zeka admits to us that she believes that dreams anticipate some bad events. She mentions apparitions in her dreams before her mother’s death and her daughter’s traffic accident. She also brings up cuckoo’s song and dogs’ howling in the yard as omens of bad developments.

At the moments when the diseased parts with his life, no one says anything and all the communication is done by mime: there is a fear that in the next forty days the soul will struggle to leave this worldly life. Before that, all the present in the room part with the patient by kissing his hands and asking for forgiveness for all the misunderstandings they had with him. If having enough strength, the patient gives his forgiving and sends his last messages which most often refer to the care about his offspring. Very often such desires are expressed to the family members in the form of a pledge that they are obliged to respect regardless of their nature. Zeka mentions how her mother-in-law, at her deathbed, made her vow that she would never stop celebrating her husband’s patron saint holiday that he had started observing after having recovered from a serious illness that he had suffered from for three years. Previously the dying man’s confession was to be attended by the *hodja* who was invited for it but this is no longer done since Muslim Roma from Pirot have had no *hodja* on their own since the end of the Second World War. At the moment of death, the present relatives start to wail. The dead man’s eyes are closed by the oldest person in the room. There is no fear of the dead since he is believed to go to paradise.

Romani Rites At Death

After the death takes places, the candles are lit before his death bed and the black clothes are to be put on as a sign of mourning. The body is washed by the family members (female persons wash a female body while men wash a male one; this rule can be broken if there is no other person of the same gender who should do it). In the washing practice, no fresh water is added. Once it is over, at a distant place are thrown all the things used for this purpose, namely, water, sponge, soap, primarily to avoid, in this way, the contagion to be passed on to other household members. The household members, on their part, dress the corpse into for this purpose intentionally and earlier bought clothes. Before putting the corpse into the coffin, a new blanket, bed sheet and pillow are put in it. The families also put other things into the coffin, namely those he wore in his lifetime or that were of immediate use to him such as glasses, walking stick, cigarettes. If it is a female corpse, they put new things such as scarves, aprons, slippers, soap, medicine, etc. Similar new clothes are also put with the male corpse believing that they would be of good use to him in the other world. There is not obligation

that people who practise these things have *avdes* (body washing in Islam) which is a rule that is assumed with devout Islam believers. One of the customs is to put a piece of bread into a handkerchief before putting it into the dead man's hand. There it remains till the dead man is carried out of the house when it is put away on a special place in the house, for instance, cupboard or special shelf. It is believed that in this way the dead man is prevented from taking with himself happiness and progress of the whole household. In some places it is practised to pierce the deceased's heels with a needle to prevent him from turning into a vampire. Special care is also taken of the scarf or cloth used for binding the dead man's legs or jaw.

The deceased remains in the room for the next twenty-four hours but he is never left alone. The wake within the house is mostly done by women who constantly talk about the qualities that characterized the dead man and his life in general while the men are outside the house. The exhausted household members are allowed to fall asleep during the wake but it's forbidden for pregnant women and small children to attend it. Those present at the wake are offered food but, as for alcohol, only *Rakia*. If it happens that someone sneezes at the wake, he has some part of his clothes obligatory torn apart. Beneath the table with the coffin there is a dish with water; in addition, strict care is taken that no people or animal skip over the dead man's body.

During his stay in the house, the dead man is paid visits by relatives, friends and neighbours. Firstly they declare condolence to the present household members and then they light up candles saying, "My condolence" and "God forgive him." They are advised not to cry over the deceased between the midnight and the first roaster's cry since in that case, after the burial, the dead will never appear in their dreams. It is also customary to endow the deceased with trifles (cigarettes, sweets, Turkish delight) which are intended for other dead ones that the visitors had been closely related to. The household members offer them sweets, cakes, coffee and fruit juices.

Before being taken out of the house, the deceased is given last goodbyes by his closest relatives who kiss his hand while the household members also kiss his forehead and cheeks. It is also customary to fulfil, at these very moments, the last wishes of the deceased that he has left as a pledge such as, for instance, singing a song with or without orchestra. All the lit candles are put out; the coffin is covered with a special blanket; the lid is closed and the coffin is placed in such a way that the deceased's head is turned westwards while his legs eastwards. From the house the coffin is taken to the cemetery with the deceased's legs turned forward so that he is enabled to get to his resting place in peace. Also, while the coffin is put into a funeral vehicle, the head is directed forwards. The coffin is carried to the hearse by the closest relatives and household members. Around their arms there are towels or handkerchief tied up. At the place where the coffin used to be, a brick is put; lime is used to mark off the place where the deceased head used to lie while a nail is hammered into the floor. Later on, the brick is broken with an axe while the women who remain in the house to tidy it up clean all this and take it out of the house. It is an unwritten rule that the room in which the deceased used to be is obligatory white-washed up to the date when forty days expire. The deceased's exit from the house is accompanied with wailing and cries of the household members but this is later replaced by the music performed by a Romani orchestra (that plays a funeral march or some such melodies). This is a special occasion when small children are woken up from their sleep for fear that something might happen to them while the funeral procession taking the deceased to his final resting place passes by.

The funeral procession is joined by all household members, regardless of gender, age or nationality. The baptized Roma are also accompanied in the procession by a clergyman (though we should remark that he almost never dares to perform religious

rites on the Romani cemetery itself) unlike non-baptized Roma; the deceased is not carried into the church. The procession stops before the houses of the nearest kin of the deceased. Before lowering the coffin into the grave, if the deceased was a person of rank in his lifetime, a short speech is made in his honour or some other action is performed as defined by the pledge (music playing and the like). No extracts from the Bible or Koran are read.

The gravedigger digs a grave for the deceased; the family symbolically thanks him for this by throwing to him, at his feet, a certain amount of coins (in practice, this service amounts to between thirty and fifty euro). He lowers the coffin into the pit with the help of those who carried it. All the people present throw handfuls of earth over the coffin. When the grave is covered with earth, it is strewn with garlands and flowers. The tomb is also sprinkled with water from a special dish which is broken afterwards. For the last time the music plays, if there is music, and all those who were present at the burial go away. The nearest kin goes back to the home of the deceased while the others go home. Unlike the Orthodox customs, the Roma from Pirot do not organize *sofras* with dinners served immediately after the burial. Neither is wheat cooked; the only thing served at the cemetery is *halva*, prepared before lowering the deceased into the grave pit. Nor is there any such custom as taking the funeral procession participants to a restaurant for lunch.

The funeral procession participants who return to the home of the deceased wash their faces and hands before entering the house. Then they sit down (not in the chairs but) on blanket covered floors, light up candles, pour water in a special cup and on the spread sheets they serve the prepared food. At the end they have coffee, put out the candles, put a cover on the cup (whose contents had previously been emptied into a flower pot) and leave the house with the following words, "Now, go to your place, you, dead man!" In the winter season the candle is lit every afternoon around 3 pm and so is it lit around 5 pm in the summer with no interruptions till the fifty-first day since the deceased's burial. On the seventh day after the funeral the families usually serve an odd number of *sofras* depending on the number of those invited to the memorial. On the twentieth day since the funeral the *sofra* is taken to the cemetery as well with the gathering of all the closest family members. For the fortieth-day memorial again an odd number of *sofras* is served in the house and so is done for the memorial on the fifty-first day from the deceased's burial. It is customary to announce the memorials around noon at the tomb plot when *halva* is also brought and put on the grave.

The house visits are paid without a break for the first seven days by the people who came from the burial to the deceased's home (except for the cases when someone is duly prevented from doing it, for instance, for business reasons). During the first after-funeral week it is obligatory for someone to stay overnight with the household members in their home. On the first evening in the house of the deceased the following meals are prepared: Serbian casserole, stuffed peppers, stew, roast meat and baby beef and mutton dishes. Pork and chicken are not used for the belief that these animals dig the earth so that they could, in this way, sap the tomb of the deceased.

Postdeath Romani Rites

The house is cleaned and prepared for going out on "morning rites" on the first morning after the burial was done at the cemetery. Only an intimate family circle goes to the tomb. They bring along a hand-made round bread as well as *kashkaval* (yellow) or white cheese; in a cup there is boiled rice while of recent date is the practice to bring fruit juices, *Rakia* and beer as well. The people present are offered food and drinks but not before smaller quantities of all which is served are put on a special plate as intended for the deceased. Finally, the water they have also brought is spilt over the

grave. In silence people leave the tomb; on leaving it is customary for all of them to crouch and rise again for three times since they believe it to be the way of ensuring that the deceased should remain in his resting place without leaving it (custom characteristic for Muslims).

The subsequent visits to the grave are done after the first week and on the fortieth day – exactly on this very day. Half a year and year memorials can be observed a day or two earlier depending on the household members' duties. Or the visits can be paid after fifty-one days have expired but not with all Roma. The deceased's grave is also visited on the Souls' Day and on this occasion candles are lit. Afterwards cousins and friends are invited to pay a call on the deceased's former house and on this occasion they are offered a variety of meals (Serbian casserole, stuffed peppers, stew, pies, buns, roast mutton but no pork and chicken meat), pastry or cake. It is irrelevant whether the dishes are fat or fat-free. Then the food is served in at least three *sofras* or some larger odd number. Non-Roma are also invited to the memorials. Pirot Roma, on these very days, do not go to church. Yet, they stress their going to church on greater holidays and then they light up candles for the dead on the places specially reserved for this.

The mourning period lasts for a year and black clothes are worn for the whole period until the year memorial when the black scarves are left on the tomb. Men from the most intimate family circle do not shave for forty days (others may do it before seventh-day or twentieth-day memorials); in the same period no festivities are to be organized (such as wedding, baptism). It is customary to erect a monument to the deceased after forty days. The monument should have inscribed the basic data about the birth and death of the deceased as well as about the person who has set it up. If the family is stricken by two deaths in a year, then a specially made doll should be put in the second deceased's coffin so that deaths would not happen again.

In the situations when the deceased was not a rich person, the local community organizes the collection of the necessary financial means to cover the expenses of the burial. On rare occasions the means are also allotted by the local Centre for Social Work.

CONCLUSION

Once the Turks had left, the traces of Islam culture and faith were swept away in the liberated South Serbian regions. The support was lost for expressing religious feelings among a small number of remaining Muslim population, primarily those of Roma nationality. A faint remembrance of Mohammedanism was kept only in giving Muslim names and surnames.

The last *hodža* left the city on the eve of the Second World War thus depriving devout Pirot Muslim Roma of the possibility to properly observe religious customs. Many decades of co-living with their neighbours, Serbs, has led to interweaving of the previously adopted religious patterns with the existing Orthodox practice; this is given, in the Serbian ethnological literature, the name of *ljaramanstvo* (biconfessionality)⁹. To this we should also add the beliefs whose source is people's religiosity – by which Roma are not different from other neighbouring peoples – in order to completely co-

⁹ "This specific Romani/Tsigani/faith/kind of *ljaremanstvo* is characterized by the fact that they adopt some Christian elements and observe them in Islam such as patron saint's holiday together with some rituals that the clergyman performs in the church just as the family does it on its own at home. Along with it, there also stand out some Islam elements applied by Christian Roma in their religious rites" (Вукановић 1983, 222).

ver a multitude of varieties that the researchers of Romani culture encounter with in their everyday activities (Панајотовић 1986; Марјановић 2007).

The research of the burial culture as practised by Pirot Muslim Roma is important since it represents the last link that connects them with their ancestral faith. The Romani cemetery in the *Nova Mala* is a silent witness for the Romani generations from the second half of the twentieth century, grown up in the era of socialism, as to the beliefs of their grandfathers. The symbol of Islam – a star and a half-moon – on the tombstone unambiguously testifies about a clandestine choice made at the last moment of life or left as a pledge to the descendants despite Serbian names and surnames.

In this worldly life the Muslim Roma from Pirot give up their confessional identity and on the whole they cover it up with a national coating. They are directed towards the safeguarding of the people's matrix in which special places are taken by Romani language, family relationships and emancipation through work and education. The predeath, death and postdeath rites have lost every connection with original Islam. Their everyday contacts with Serbian neighbours have, to a considerable extent, led to such intertwining with Orthodox rituals that the characteristic enshrouding of the dead body in chiffon cloth of 12 metres in length is replaced by the placing of the fully dressed body into the coffin. The candles are being lit; the black clothes are being put on but no clergyman is invited to participate in the rites. The only thing still valid is not to eat pork. The traditional religious practical behaviour has inundated older pagan superstition which is equally rejected by devout Orthodox and devout Muslims. The star with a half-moon, at times turned towards the inner, at times towards the outer side of the tombstone is increasingly rare on the Romani cemetery in the *Nova Mala*. Taken together with "confessionless" statements, all the chances are that in a few years even the last traces of the Islam origin of Pirot Roma will disappear.

REFERENCES

- Вукановић, Татомир. *Роми (Цигани) у Југославији*. Врање: „Нова Југославија“, 1983.
- Ђорђевић, Драгољуб Б. и Д. Тодоровић. “Јован Ђирић као ромолог (Роми Ниша, Пирота и Лесковца)”. У *Социологија насеља – траговима Јована Ђирића*, приредила Драгана Стјепановић Захаријевић, 37-46. Ниш: Филозофски факултет у Нишу, 2011.
- Јовановић, Борисав. *Пиротски Роми: историјско-етнолошки прилози*. Пирот: Народна библиотека, 2012.
- Марјановић, Весна. “Комуникација с традицијом на примеру погребног ритуала у Шајкашкој, Тимочној крајини и пиротском региону”. *Гласник Етнографског музеја* 71 (2007): 63–87.
- Николић, Владимир М. *Стари Пирот – Етнолошке белешке из прошлости града*. Пирот: Музеј Понишавља, 1974.
- Панајотовић, Томислав Г. *Адети: живот и обичаја становништва пиротског краја*. Пирот: Музеј Понишавља, 1986.
- Попис становништва, домаћинства и станова 2011. у Републици Србији*. 2012. Београд: РЗС.
- Стојанчевић, Видосава. “Роми (Цигани) у јужној Србији”. *Лесковачки зборник* 21 (1981): 137–155.
- Ђирић, Јован. “Насеља Рома као обележја градске периферије (На примеру градова југоисточне Србије)”. *Лесковачки зборник* 19 (1979): 219–224.

APPENDIX

PROCEDURE DBD2001

PROCEDURE DBDJ2001 FOR GATHERING OF DATA ABOUT ROMA, ROMANI-ORTHODOX AND ROMANI-MUSLIM CEMETERIES IN VILLAGES IN SOUTH-EAST AND SOUTHWEST SERBIA

(Professor Dr. **Dragoljub B. Đorđević**)

Name of the place, village: Pirot **Distance from municipality place (in km):** –
It has a church: **yes** b) **no** **It has a mosque:** a) **yes** **no**
Population (census from 2011): 57.807 **Number of Roma** (exactly or approximately): 3.000
Prevail (circle): a) **Orthodox Roma** **Muslim Roma** c) **Protestant Roma**
Does the number of Roma increase or decrease?
 increases b) **decreases**
Reasons for moving: –
If there are no Roma, were there any before? a) **yes** b) **no**

Orthodox Roma celebrate: 1) *Only Đurđevdan* 2) *Only Vasilica (so-called. Romany New Year)* 3) *Only slava (name day)* 4) *Đurđevdan and Vasilica* 5) *Đurđevdan and slava* 6) *Vasilica and slava* *Đurđevdan, Vasilica and slava* 8) *They do not celebrate anything from the above*
Orthodox Roma celebrate *litije* (religious procession), *zavetina* (village religious festival), a) **yes** **no**
Are Orthodox Roma so-called believers of three-four rites (baptizing, marriage, slava, funeral service): **yes** b) **no** (describe): Apart from marriage in church, they follow all other Orthodox customs.

Muslim Roma celebrate: 1) *Only Đurđevdan* 2) *Only Vasilica (so-called Romany New Year)* *Đurđevdan and Vasilica*
Some Muslim Roma celebrate *litije* (religious procession), *zavetina*, that is village religious festival: a) **yes** **no**; *slava*: **yes** b) **no**
Muslim Roma:
1. *circumcise children*: a) **yes** **no** 2. *Go to mosque on regular bases*: a) **yes** **no**
3. *bury according to Muslim law*: a) **yes** **no** 4. *Fast for Ramadan* : a) **yes** **no**
5. *celebrate Ramadan and Kurban Bairam*: a) **yes** **no**

Roma are buried:
 In their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically separated (how and how much) **from so-called Serbian, that is Muslim**; Gypsy cemetery is very close to town village in Pirot, but it is physically separated;
b) **In their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically connected** (how) **with so-called Serbian, that is Muslim**;
 In so-called Serbian, that is Muslim cemetery (how) **mixed with other citizens**;
d) **In some other cemetery, outside place of living** (reasons: prohibitions, tradition and so on.)

Description of cemetery. Majority of Roma from Pirot are buried in their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically separated from so-called Serbian cemetery (Type A). This cemetery is very close to town cemetery in Pirot. It should be remembered that part of the Orthodox Roma from Pirot bury with Serbs in the town cemetery.

The Gypsy cemetery in Pirot is one of the neatest Romani cemeteries not only in southeast Serbia but also in the entire country.

It is a big and old cemetery. There are lot of beautiful old headstones, and the newer, concrete and marble ones.

In this cemetery both Muslim and Orthodox Roma are buried, although there are more Muslim ones. On the majority of headstones there are clear signs of this.

On the bases of the latest fashion of building headstones and curving symbols, it could be assumed that Islamic ornaments will soon be completely lost and replaced with Orthodox, since the trail of Islamic roots is now visible only in last names. Finally, Roma from Pirot do not perform a single Muslim ritual.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. Older Romani tombstones at the old Pazar cemetery in Pirot



Fig. 2. Older Romani tombstones at the old Pazar cemetery in Pirot



Fig. 3. Romani tombstones at the old Pazar cemetery in Pirot in the early new millennium



Fig. 4. Entrance to the Romani cemetery in the New Mala in Pirot



Fig. 5. Chapel at the Romani cemetery in Pirot



Fig. 6. Markers of the oldest tombstone at the Romani cemetery in Pirot



Fig. 7. Roma soldier who died in the Second World War



Fig. 8. More recent tombstones with distinct Islam markers



Fig. 9. Older tombstones with distinct Islam markers



Fig. 10. Tombstone with no Islam markers



Fig. 11. More recent tombstones with Orthodox markers



Fig. 12. Grave plot of Mašić family – example of transition from Islam to Orthodox



Fig. 13. Zeka Pačić – interlocutor about predeath, death and postdeath rites of Pirot Roma

Danijela Gavrilović
Marija Marković

THE CEMETERY AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN BABUŠNICA*

"If man did not die, if he lived forever, if there were no such thing as death, there would be no religion."

Feuerbach

Death customs are the first observed in the history of religion (Cvitković, 2014, 100). We consider death customs as rites of passage, taking into account their function in helping a community to restructure, as well as solve the conflict of ambivalent feelings toward the departing member. The local cemetery, on the one hand, represents an illustration of religious views of a population on death and afterlife, while, on the other, it speaks of the real social life, the relationship between ethnic groups and layers which live in this town. "Death is, among other things, a particular social act, which represents the sum of various group and societal phenomena, a genuine image of an actual community and culture, that displays a series of, for example, economic and class, layer and status, customary and religious, ethnic and racial relations" (Đorđević 2010, 221).

DEATH AND THE IMMORTALITY WISH

In their teachings, religions have a part which tries to solve the problem of human mortality. Otherwise, why need religion? Either it being reincarnation, afterlife or resurrection, that horrible fear has to be solved in a way offered by different religions so as to make the human life on earth meaningful. In Serbia there is a wide array of signs which are interpreted as omens of death and unwelcome portents (cows mooing at night, cuckoos calling) (Jovanović 1993). Such interpretations are a figment of human fear, but also of the desire to make death more certain and in a way controlled. Death customs are similar with different ethnic groups, and even different religions (bathing, dressing up, putting objects in the casket) since they stem from similar notions about the afterlife. The entire complex of customs which last intensely for a year, and continue through memorial services and other elements, can still be interpreted using van Gennep's analysis of the rites of passage which separate the two worlds, solve the emotional ambivalence and help the community to go on with their lives.

CEMETERY, SPEAKING OF THE DEAD AND THE LIVING

As Dragoljub Đorđević states in the above quotation from his book, the analysis of a cemetery does not speak only of the culture of death, but also of the culture of living. We acquire information on the length of the human life in this part of Serbia, the economic power, the literacy. One of the findings relates to whether dif-

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

ferent ethnic groups living in the observed place are buried in the same or separate cemeteries. This is particularly important when a group of Roma lives in an observed settlement, since the practice of separate Romani graveyards is a known form of discrimination. D. Đorđević has come up with the following typology according to which the Roma are buried: A) in their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically separated from the cemetery of the majority; B) in their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically connected with the cemetery of the majority; C) in the cemetery of the majority; and D) in some other cemetery outside the place of their residence.

Cemeteries are important sacred places in the culture of this region. “A grave is a connection between the ‘world of the living’ and the ‘world of the dead’ [...] the desecration of the grave is considered uncultured and a great sin” (Cvitković 2014, 114).

Babušnica is one of the municipalities with the highest average age of the population in Serbia. “The Municipality of Babušnica has the population of 15,734, whose average age is over 45 years, dominated by the population category of people older than 65 years of age (over 30%).”¹ The projected development of the rural population in the Babušnica Municipality based on the previous trends, and composed by the Statistical Office of the Republic of Serbia (see the website of the Municipality of Babušnica), shows that the majority of villages in this municipality will soon become completely desolate. The dominant population is Serbian, and there are some Bulgarians and Roma. In order to acquire experiential data on the cemeteries and the burial customs in the Babušnica Municipality we have interviewed Vesna Demirović, a Romani woman living in Babušnica, and Ivana Marković, a Serbian woman from the Babušnica region.

The majority of Roma live in Babušnica, and there are some in the villages as well, yet our interviewee said that the Roma are buried “among the Serbs” in the villages too. There is no separation both in life and death. There are a lot of mixed marriages, although the Serbs do not look all that favourably at them. They visit each other and spend time together, visit each other at saint’s days. The Roma in Babušnica do not speak Romani. Children usually finish elementary school, but rarely acquire secondary education, and never tertiary. They are enrolled in craft schools, most often in Babušnica, and much less frequently in Pirot which is some 20 kilometres away. They are usually unemployed, just like other ethnic groups, they do not go abroad to search for seasonal work since such a form of earning one’s keep has been neglected in the modern society. The Roma do not move, “they have little children” and live like anyone else in Babušnica. They do not celebrate St. Basil’s or St. George’s day but St. Nicholas, St. Archangel Michael and all of those saint’s days celebrated by the Serbs. All of the Roma in Babušnica are Orthodox and observe everything “just like the Serbs”.

The cemetery in Babušnica is located 3–4 km from the centre. It can be reached by a road which leads up the hill above the school. On the road to the cemetery, there are two Romani mahallahs. It is interesting to note that Serbs, Roma and Bulgarians are buried in the cemetery without any separation or segregation whatsoever (Fig. 1 and 2). A similar situation was observed in the Babušnica church, where these three ethnic groups of Orthodox confession pray together without separation.

The cemetery is divided into the old and the new part, which are positioned adjacent to each other. What is immediately obvious in the old part is that the graves are somehow “arranged without a plan”, in the sense that they face different cardinal

¹ http://www.babusnica.rs/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=73&Itemid=99

directions. Without any order (Fig. 3). There are some very old graves that are very interesting in form (Fig. 4). The year of their origin is not visible, and we believe that they were erected in the 19th century, since the ones built in the first half of the 20th century still have their inscriptions legible.

Contrary to this, the new cemetery is completely parcelled according to plan (Fig. 5). The old cemetery is derelict, which can also be said of the new part. It seems that they do not care much about hygiene and maintenance (Fig. 6). Some of the graves are in better condition, probably owing to the individual efforts of families.

There are no busts which can be seen in other cemeteries in Serbia. There is a single one (Fig. 7), and we believe that the lack of busts has to do with the poverty of the population in this region. Gravestones also appear modest, and there are no beautiful mausoleums that can be seen in other parts of Serbia, particularly in eastern Serbia. A few of them stand out for their quality of marble and form. Also, there are not many epitaphs, and those that can be seen are very concise.

We did not observe grammatical errors on the gravestones. There are only a couple of localisms (e.g. *unučeta*, a colloquial case of the word 'grandchild') in the old part of the cemetery. Typographical errors relate to the capital and small letters (Fig. 8). It is interesting to note that there are no errors in the use of grammatical cases, nor is there any folk speech specific for this region.

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE ROMANI AND SERBIAN DEATH CUSTOMS

The Serbs, Roma and Bulgarians in Babušnica are Orthodox which makes their death customs very similar. The ritual complex of death customs is very rich and meaningful, and it indicates a highly developed notion of the afterlife. Generally, it falls under the models of death customs in Serbia (Jovanović 1993, 162-214). The respondents do not make any difference between Christian and pagan elements of the rites, they perform them as they are supposed to and they do not think about their source or purpose. "Now, I don't know what the Orthodox customs we have stand for."

The procedures performed are the same both in the Roma and the Serbs, and we were not able to separate the specific elements for each ethnic group.

The wake is observed in both the Serbs and the Roma, with family and friends present, and it is important that the women are the ones holding a wake when a woman dies, while the men do the same thing when a man dies. People who arrive during the evening and night light candles. "We snuff out the candles, nothing should be lit at night. They burn till midnight. After midnight we snuff them out. The deceased is covered, and the candles are not lit again before five o'clock, when the sun starts to shine again, when the dawn comes. All the while people hold a vigil and sit." What is specific for this region is that candles are lit both next to the deceased's head and feet. The visitors light the candles for their departed next to the feet, while the ones lit next to the deceased's head are for him or her.

The women prepare the repast for tomorrow after the funeral.

The bathing and dressing up customs are present in both ethnic groups. Various objects are put in the casket and grave.

"Personal accessories. If it's a man, something for shaving certainly: paste, cream, razors, soaps, shampoo, combs, those little mirrors, all of it. And for a woman: combs, ribbons, mirrors, make-up, balms, whatever she uses.

Clothes, his old clothes are laid on the bottom of the casket. Old things, such as skirts, blouses, trousers... Then goes a coverlet (an ethnic handmade type

of cover), a blanket, and then a sheet – so three things. And then you put the deceased's newer stuff on the sides. All of that is put in the casket. Everything is buttoned up, nothing should be unbuttoned. All of the pockets are checked to see what's in them. Everything buttoned up, ordered. Some people iron everything once more. If it's a man, you put in his jacket or suit pockets a lighter if he is a smoker, some money, a matchbox, one or two cigarettes, not the entire pack. If it's a woman, then it's only money, money and a matchbox so she can start a fire, to keep herself warm.

A man is dressed classically: underwear, t-shirt, suit, blouse, trousers, shirt, and women always (old women): blouses, skirts, vests, sweaters, aprons, all of that.

What the deceased used at home, a plate, fork, spoon, mug, is usually put in the casket as well. All of their things are put in. Medicine is not put in the casket, so that they can be healthy in the other world. No photos are put in, neither theirs nor someone else's. No fur, leather. Fur coats, bags, jackets, none of that. But I don't know why."

As far as putting shoes on is concerned, our Romani interviewee said that shoes are not put on the deceased's body but next to it so that the deceased does not go walking.

This is the moment when solidarity should be expressed and the family facing these funeral costs should be helped in any way, so food and provisions are brought into their home. "People bring sugar, oil, coffee, rice. That's what they usually bring. The hosts prepare some snacks: candies, Turkish delight, something dry, cookies, juice, other drinks – depending on who drinks what, coffee." The women that attend the occasion lament for both the deceased and their own departed, urging the deceased to deliver the message. There is no lamentation at the cemetery, only at home.

Both the Roma and the Serbs invite a priest to perform the service. The priest does not come for the people who have committed suicide, and they are buried in a specific part of the cemetery. "Before the casket is taken out, the priest comes to the house and asks anyone who is not the closest family to leave the room. Then he first reads to the family what he has to read. Then he goes into the next room and reads something for the family's health. First he reads for the deceased, then for the family. And then he gathers all of the people who wish to attend. After that, he reads and everyone holds a lit candle, everyone present. This is what you do if there is a big room in the house, if not, then it takes place in front of the house, in the yard. So, everyone gets a candle, the casket is opened (depending on the condition of the deceased), and everyone holds a candle, he reads the funeral service. After that, the candles are extinguished and then the priest allows the family and all relatives to say farewell to the deceased. They kiss the cross and the deceased, because that is usually the moment when the casket is closed. The priest always says: A woman should take the scissors and cut a piece of the shroud. The shroud is like a sheet which is always put in the casket. And then the priest asks for the scissors to cut a piece of the shroud himself, and after that everyone is censured in the house so as not to feel sad for the deceased. A piece of shroud is cut and put into the censer with frankincense, and when everyone leaves, when the funeral is over, the censer is lit and the entire house is censured."

In Serbia there is a fear of vampires and the customs which prevent this occurrence. "There is a custom where the deceased's heel is pricked with a pin so that they don't turn into a vampire. Someone does it rather quickly, almost stealthily, secretly." People take care that a cat does not enter the house and jump over the deceased.

When the funeral procession starts there are some rules. "A towel is always attached to that cross, and a selected bouquet is mounted. Wheat is prepared and a female person carries it – a granddaughter, family relative, younger woman. The cross is carried by a grandson, a man. Someone carries the water. First in line is the cross, then the wheat, and finally the water. A big candle is not carried in the procession. There is no such thing here."

One or more women remains at home to tidy up and break an object after the procession leaves to break the jinx, so that similar events do not happen in the family. Light is turned on for forty days in the room where the deceased spent time, and previously mirrors used to be covered and pictures turned upside down, and nobody watched TV, although such practice is now rare.

The casket carrying the deceased used to be driven on an ox cart, and now a tractor or a trailer is used. Obituary notes are printed.

"Caskets used to be opened at each crossroad here. When the procession starts, the casket is not nailed completely, but just a little so that it holds. and then you take out everything from the casket and put it back, so that all the colourful things can be seen, with the embroidery, handmade stuff, everything that was put in. The priest reads at every crossroad. As many crossroads there are, he reads at each of them. Now, all of that has stopped. Today, it's only what's read at home and again at the cemetery."

The priest throws a clod of earth into the grave and invites everyone to do the same thing. "There is a custom where the members of the closest family, sister, children, etc., throw their clods of earth, and someone else throws a little lump in their necks and says: So that you don't mourn afterwards."

The grave is dug and the casket is lowered by the workers of the utility company. They are later served by what has been prepared in the house. After the funeral, the family first returns home to set the table for those who attended the funeral, while the utility company workers remain to tidy the grave. At home, at least three *sofras* (funeral dining tables) are set, while it used to be five before. "It is obligatory that you wash your hands when you come home. The person assigned to pour the water over people's hands has to stand in front of the house and the gates must be open. When a person dies, all gates and doors are opened." There are no toasts at the table, and a place is reserved for the deceased.

"That place is always the one at the head of the table. A vest or a blouse is placed over the chair, whatever the deceased used to wear. And now, the person sitting next to it takes some food from the serving plates and puts it into the deceased's plate. Only after that, other people take the food for themselves. There is a custom where coffee is always made in the morning for 40 days and the deceased is poured some coffee and brandy. Every morning, where the deceased used to sit, where their place used to be, coffee is made and poured along with some brandy or water, whatever it was that they used to drink. And tomorrow everything is poured anew."

In Babušnica lean and fat days are observed when it comes to preparing the meal after a funeral. "When it's lean, it's beans, stew or fish, for example. And something as appetizer. When it's a fat day, then it's pork or sausages, grilled meat, roast, burgers. Just like a saint's day. People eat, drink. First they drink three brandies, and almost break into song. Which does happen sometimes, sometimes people even start to sing." Stuffed peppers or cabbage rolls are also mentioned.

There is no music at the funeral. Some say that they would, indeed, organize music but they just do not have the money for it.

“There is no first Saturday here. The deceased’s first breakfast is on the first morning. It has to be observed at 11 o’clock. Meaning, people take what’s left of the funeral and prepare something else, so as to change it a bit, make it new. A pie is cooked, a bread or something else is added. And then, you take a piece of each of those things for the deceased, and put it in their plate which is at the cemetery. There is also a custom which lasts for 9 days, called *devetina*. And there are places where people have the first morning and the first Saturday. There is no first Saturday here. We go out to the grave every morning for 9 days. You bring candles, flowers. You don’t take any food, maybe a candy or something similar. For each of the 9 days. The 40th day office is performed exactly on that day, while the half-year and year offices are always performed a couple of days earlier, usually on Saturdays. And then, after the one-year office, black clothes are taken off, and the people who come to the memorial service buy something for the home: a pot, bowl, plate, platter, whatever. Something for the house to renew it, to get the things going better from that moment. For all these offices for the dead, on the 40th day, half year and full year, an oilcloth is put on the grave with a tablecloth on top of it, and then food brought from home is served and put in the deceased’s plate. Earlier, people used to take a whole bread, a whole pot of peppers, and things like that, but not anymore.

The custom is not to do anything around the house for the first 40 days. Not construction, not laying concrete, nothing. No such big work is done.”

The priest is usually not called for the offices. The rule of the lean and fat food is observed again. The gravestone is erected before the end of the first year.

“Previously a gravestone used to be raised only for the deceased. Nowadays things have changed. Today a collective gravestone is erected for the husband, wife, and even children.”

Black clothes are a sign of mourning.

“They wear them. From the house, daughter, mother, son-in-law, son, everyone wears them. Here usually for a year. If there is a birth or a wedding before that time, they take it off. They go to the cemetery. They ask the priest when to go, what to do, to light a candle and take off black clothes. If not, they’ll wear them for a year. In a year, when all candles are completely burned, they will take off the scarf, the black ribbon, etc., and burn it there. Although today, it’s usually only the elderly who wear black clothes, the younger generation only wears a ribbon. Everyone used to wear black clothes before, and men even grew their beards for 40 days. They didn’t shave at all for 40 days. Now, some shave, some don’t. But not for 40 days. Someone doesn’t shave for all 40, but some people grow it for only nine, but not as much as before.”

The house of the deceased is marked with an obituary note and black cloth. This mark is displayed up to a year, and then taken to the cemetery and burned with all the other black accessories. Obituary notes are printed for each office. These notices are placed in visible spots, such as shops or lampposts.

Memorial services are an important institution in the complex of burial customs in Serbia. In Babušnica as well, memorial services are observed at the cemetery. This ritual is permeated with the notion of the afterlife and the needs that the deceased has in this world.

“The first one, no. If 40 days haven’t passed before the first memorial service, that deceased is not considered as needing it since they still haven’t reached heaven. And the people don’t go if 40 days haven’t passed. After that, everyone from the house goes, the entire family. Memorial services are observed for as long as possible. And the people stop when someone from the house gets married or a child is born. That’s when the services have to stop. And they aren’t continued afterwards. Once they stop, that’s it. People go dressed smartly in new, clean clothes. When you go to someone else’s memorial service, you first light the candle for the deceased and then for your own departed. And then you can ‘send’... here we ‘send a token’ to one of our departed. If he was a smoker, you leave a pack of cigarettes. You can leave a candy, some Turkish delight. Or if you have a dream in which the deceased says that you have forgotten something: you didn’t put a phone, or this or that. Then you wait for the first person to die, and ask somebody from the family if you can send something to your husband, grandfather. You put in the casket so that the deceased can take it. Now, even children are taken to the memorial service. Before they weren’t, but now they are. When the memorial service is over, you come back to the house for a meal, and then everyone sits in front of the house, in the house, resting, not to disturb the deceased’s lunch. Not to disturb what he is given for lunch. Nobody does anything, goes into the field, to work.”

Taking food to the grave has persisted throughout centuries, even though the Serbian Orthodox Church has been opposing such practice, and trying to convey the message to the people that that custom is not in accordance with the Christian teachings and faith.

“Bread is baked and wheat is prepared. Everyone lights a candle for their deceased, places what they have brought on the grave and puts some food in the deceased’s plate. They clean around the grave, the gravestone, pick grass, etc. Earlier there used to be a table. That was the part of the cemetery, a field with a big stone in the middle, so that people could sit around it in a small circle. Everyone would sit down, bring what they can from home. The priest would come to cense the meal and everything would be distributed among the people, I give you, you give me. Now that’s gone. The cemetery is large. People call the priest to come to the grave and consecrate it, that is, if they have money. Food is not distributed among the people anymore, but just among those nearest the grave, the surrounding 5-6 graves.”

The Roma come to burials, offices for the dead, and memorial services. In Serbia there is a practice of them collecting the food left after funerals, offices for the dead, and memorial services. It is not the case in Babušnica.

“They come, they come. It all depends on who’s friends with whom. Here, our Roma go to everyone for every occasion. But only for funerals. They visit offices only if they are invited. That’s when you invite people. You say: you, you, and you at that hour. If people see the information on the obituary note, they can come as well, but it’s rare. I mean, if people are not invited, they don’t go. People are usually invited. Everyone gathers at home. Someone brings a bottle of oil, juice, some coffee. Leave it there. And they take only candles, flowers and cookies to the cemetery. The ones who come don’t bring any food. They used to, but it was too much. People used to take everything that they prepared. You bring it all, don’t leave anything. Everyone attending the service used to bring pots and pans, etc. It was very hard to take it all to the cemetery. Nowadays, no. Now only the family takes the food for that office.”

**RELIGION, MAGIC AND SUPERSTITION –
DEFENCE AGAINST DEATH**

Death customs display great tenacity. They survive as a mixture of pagan elements, magic, superstition, and elements of Orthodox religiosity. The SOC fights against these traces, and even adopts some, or accepts them silently, since they are rooted deep within the people.

There are changes, certain customs are being abandoned, and an additional analysis could show which are being abandoned by the people in the ritual complex, and which they stick to firmly. Various factors shape this practice. Poverty, contemporary preoccupation.

“If you ask anyone about our customs, they will all tell you a different story. Everyone adds something, and leaves something out. It’s not observed as it used to be. Everyone does what suits them today.”

Some practices are a product of current fashion, like plastic wreaths, for example, which were abandoned after the fall of socialism. The analyzed material shows that in the border regions, and a small town like Babušnica, these customs are relatively preserved, and not damaged much by globalization or other influences. People, however, know increasingly less about why something is being done, and are only aware of the fact that “it needs to be done”.

LITERATURE

- Cvitković, Ivan. *Sociologija obreda*. Sarajevo: Nacionalna i univerzitetska biblioteka, 2014.
- Đorđević, Dragoljub. *Na konju s laptopom u bisagama*. Niš: Mašinski fakultet, Novi Sad: Prometej, 2010.
- Đorđević, Tihomir. *Naš narodni život*. Beograd: Prosveta, 1984.
- Jovanović, Bojan. *Magija srpskih obreda*. Novi Sad: Svetovi, 1993.
- Marjanović, Vesna. 2007, Komunikacija sa tradicijom na primeru pogrebnog ritual u Šajkaškoj, timočkoj krajini i pirotskom region. *Glasnik etnografskog muzeja* knjiga 71 (2007): 63-89.
- (http://www.babusnica.rs/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=73&Itemid=99)

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. Serbian and Romani graves next to each other



Fig. 2. Serbian and Bulgarian graves next to each other



Fig. 3. Burial without order on the old cemetery



Fig. 4. An example of the old monuments



Fig. 5. Delimited new cemetery



Fig. 6. Neglected old cemetery



Fig. 7. The bust of the teacher as the only bust of the cemetery



Fig. 8. An example of typographical errors when writing capital and small letters

Jasmina Petrović
Zoran M. Jovanović

**A CONTRIBUTION TO THE INTERPRETATION
OF BURIAL CUSTOMS AND CEMETERIES
IN THE DIMITROVGRAD MUNICIPALITY ***

**INSTEAD OF INTRODUCTION, OR ON DEATH, EROS AND THANATOS
AND THEIR APPARITIONS IN MODERN SERBIA**

Man's archetypal preoccupation with transience proves that customs relating to death or funerals and the "eternal separation" from the loved ones, as well as maintaining the memory and the resting places, do not belong only to Christianity (and Christian theology), that is, in this case, ethnology and sociology. This is because death and death related customs, as well as the heritage of the soul (and spirit) of the departed, i.e., *separated from the body* in a violent or some other more "natural" way, are also close to political science, for example. The same would apply to the so-called ephemeral spectacles (comp. Timotijević 1988, 305), i.e., the funerals and the mourning of those "chosen" by God and/or humans, which also touch the area of history and art history, even when it comes to a selective respect of their existence or an overt "lack of culture of remembrance" (comp. Jovanović, Z. M. 2004). The extent to which life is located – said in a non-Christian, but true language – between Eros and Thanatos, and everything else on their peripheral areas, is greatly testified in *Serbian everyday life*.

After all, the fact that death and burial customs, sometimes even *the art of dying* (*ars moriendi*) of mainly other people, *the other*, attract the attention not only of those devoted to the phenomena leading to the Christian dogmatists, eschatology and sotieriology is confirmed by a number of examples from the modern life of the population of Serbia, regardless of their ethnic, religious or other beliefs. This is indicated by recent public calls for plunging hawthorn stakes in the tombs of figures from Serbian modern history (Spiritualism on the grave...), and, on the other hand, an undying search for the graves of Serbs, even prominent ones, whose location is perhaps known, but hidden away in various cabinet drawers (comp. Miladinović 2011). There are also examples of museum practices, which only seemingly belong to museology, that are deeply involved not only in the sphere of the bizarre, but also in the *preordial*, in the pagan (comp. Jerotić 2007, 143–161), independently of the degree of faith that the creators and consumers of such ceremonies, types of rituals, have.

Such impression, even indirectly, is contributed to by a recent *Museum Night*, held throughout Serbia. One of the events was a once widely praised visit of youngest schoolchildren to the Niš Skull Tower. In the same year, also during the *Museum Night*, a similar impression was present at the exhibition of the Military Museum in Belgrade, where, without an adequate attitude towards (someone else's) death, bloodied clothes of King Aleksandar Karadjordjević was exposed to the masses, the same one in which he tragically died.

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

That these are not solitary, according to some, inspired exhibition settings tailored (not only) for *the common people* is evidenced by a subsequent exhibition reported in newspapers as a reason “to long remember the *Museum Night*” in Bor with pride (B. F. 2011). This was thanks to the event called “Ghosts in us”, held at the Bor Museum of Mining and Metallurgy. Among the exhibits in the exhibition, there was a series of photographs. They had been taken during funeral rituals in Vlach villages around Bor. The author of the exhibition, who, according to the report, “deserves to be congratulated on everything from the idea to the content and settings”, told the reporters that what is particularly interesting in the said exhibition is the presentation of the ritual of photographing funerals, with photographs of the dead intended for viewing “in the company of family, friends, and neighbors,” and then, as it turns out, during the aforementioned event (B. F. 2011).

An event that took place during one of the last *Museum Nights* had a somewhat different character, since it was announced that “the New Cemetery will open its doors for the first time” (Museum Night...). It will remain unclear when the first and the second rerun of the same premiere would occur, perhaps with a kind of rehearsal, were it not for some other events throughout Serbia also related to the death, to someone else's death, and to cemeteries, which increasingly become *someone else's* regardless of the extent in which they are ours or generally human (Police guards ...). In other words, everything said so far in the response to the theme of de-ath and funeral customs in the modern history of Serbia could perhaps have a less serious assessment/diagnosis if, at the same time, police throughout Kosovo and Metohija has not begun guarding Serbian cemeteries, desecrated in such a manner that it raises issues which do not even belong to peripheral areas of Eros and Thanatos. The stated is in harmony with the assessment of modern Serbian reality which says that the Serbs respect “all cemeteries of the world as if they were their own: menhirs and dolmens, Campo Santo and Saint-Denis, the Valley of the Kings and Valery's Cemetery by the Sea” (Mišić 2012, 117), but not many that are truly their own (see Jovanović, Z. M. 2004).

FUNERAL CUSTOMS IN DIMITROVGRAD AND THE SURROUNDING AREA

Everything mentioned so far testifies to the fact that the relationship of modern society towards death is characterized by a series of contradictions. On one hand, we see a general change of attitude towards death, the deceased, graves. At the same time, this relationship has not only transformed in terms of public attitude to death, as well as in the attitude of “the one who is departing” to the completion of his or her own life and the overall ceremony by which he or she “manages” death, saying goodbye to life, the loved ones (Kuljić 2014, 174–178), the change is visible in the attitude of the community towards the burial rite, or the expression of the mourning for the dead, including their resting places (Kuljić 2013). This change is particularly evident in urban areas, where institutions have been formed that have replaced a number of earlier mandatory activities performed by relatives in funeral rituals. On the other hand, in spite of the changes in the preserved remnants of the cult of the dead and funeral customs, we can see a number of general religious and pagan forms. In this sense, it is not difficult to agree with a remark by Vojislav Djurić, the author of the foreword to the book *Myth and Religion* by Veselin Čajkanović. Summing up Čajkanović's undisputed contribution to ethnological science, Djurić (1973, 5) said that there was no conclusion more significant than the statement that the people in the areas concerned “remained committed to pagan faith till modern times”,¹ and

¹ Indeed, Čajkanović claimed this for the most popular holidays, the most widespread customs and most significant rituals that are closely related to the ancient cult of the ancestors.

that this has had a millennial continuity. We were not able to verify his attitude when it comes to other elements of folk culture, but it is evident that the existing elements of funerary customs confirm this continuity. In the investigated area, as well as in a wider area of Serbia and the Balkans, religious customs and ritual ceremonies have retained their position among people as traditional cultural patterns with the purpose of appeasing the dead, and ensuring their peace (Jovanović 2002).

According to a recorded narration of an elderly priest Aleksandar Djordjević, who, although retired, still performs clerical duties in the Dimitrovgrad parish², funerary customs on the territory of his jurisdiction have segments repeating throughout the Balkans. Some traditions, however, have a local specificity.

In any case, the process of arranging funerals in the studied area follows some general patterns, harmonized with a belief that after death, i.e., in religious terminology, the “differentiation of the soul from the body”, life (soul) continues in “the other world”, and that all necessary actions should be performed in order to facilitate the transition of the one *presented to the Lord*. With the intention to overcome death, people created certain patterns of behavior within their magical-religious ideas as an immediate response to its inevitability (Jovanović 2001, 145). A common practice carried out upon death is ordered by certain unwritten rules that govern the procedure of burying the deceased, along with a variety of rituals aimed at the community that has suffered a loss. This is because “the basic aim of these rituals is to overcome the newly disturbed social balance. If viewed from the aspect of communication, rituals become, in a way, regulators of social life” (Ivanović-Barišić 2005, 291; Prošić-Dvornić 1982, 42). The common practice is full of prohibitions, taboos (Bandić 1980). Some of them refer to the time between death and the funeral; others to the time between the funeral and the fortieth-day commemoration, and the third to the first annual commemoration. The only taboo that remains valid is the one that refers to customs in connection with the grave (see Bandić 1983, 43).

Normally, the deceased is bathed and attired in a funeral suit, put on a catafalque with mandatory funeral equipment (coffin, shroud, often some small items that the deceased used in everyday life). Death is announced by loud cries, lamentation (see Stefanović Karadžić 1969; Ivanović 1987), church bells and spreading the news among relatives, neighbors and friends. After declaring the death and scheduling the funeral service and the time of burial, there is a gathering in the house of the deceased. People come to pay respects with flowers and lit candles.³

One of the most important elements of ritual practices in connection with the deceased is the “death guard” or, as it is called in the literature, “guarding the dead” (Čajkanović 1973, 147; Milićević 1867; Marjanović 2007), confirmed by our narrator as well. It is a custom known as the “wake” (*custodia feralis*). The overall momentum in the ethnographic and ethnological literature is an explanation of the act taking place at the body of the deceased – arising from a belief that the deceased can “become a werewolf”, turn into a vampire, and that he can be taken over by a *diabolical spirit* (Bosić 1985). According to some folk interpretations, it may happen that the soul of the deceased moves into a dog, a cat, a mouse, a bird or a chicken, for example, in case these beings skip over the dead body. Similar beliefs based on the ancient animism are reported by Čajkanović (1973, 148). In the same manner, the deceased are guarded so that some of these beings would not harm them (*ibid*). We did not get an explana-

² On the work of this priest see the text: Petrović and Jovanović 2013, 103–121.

³ The custom of lighting candles, and many others that accompany death and funerals, like, all others so to speak, stem from paganism. Within the Church, they were Christianized, with explanations that are consistent with the Christian faith, or at least justified by it.

tion of the above practice from the narrator, but it was confirmed that this practice is common in the Dimitrovgrad municipality. From the literature, as well as from the testimony of priest Djordjević, we learn that, as part of this tradition, it is important that the candles that are lit next to the deceased are not extinguished (ibid, 147).

“People arrange this (guarding the deceased, a note by J. P.). The ones who are close come to the house, the neighbors come. Usually the drunks come too, because there is alcohol. They come to my house at night to wake me when the candles burn out, around midnight...”

An interesting custom, of which there are traces in the relevant literature with regard to other regions in Serbia, is leaving bowls of water beneath the catafalque (a table, at home) on which the deceased is laid. Father Aleksandar Djordjević, however, claims that this is a unique practice which is a part of local customs of the residents of Željuša:

“For example, in Željuša, people put water under the table where the deceased is laid, so that he wakes up when he steps in the water”.

When it comes to *common-sense* explanations of the use of water as an element of funeral customs appearing in the testimonies of various narrators in different researches, it should be noted that they have a wide range, from the aforementioned function of water aimed at “awakening” the deceased, through the reasoning that this water is enriched with certain aromatic plants for reasons of hygiene (basil, for example), to the assertion that setting water below the catafalque is practiced “to capture the soul of the deceased” (Petrović 1987, 182).

According to the corrections made by our constantly engaged informant for the area of Dimitrovgrad, Mr. Cvetko Ivanov, the mentioned custom is not present only in the village of Željuša, as we had been told originally. He points out that in the area of Burel people “put a bowl of water, a stone, a tile and a nail under the table on which the deceased is laid”. The reasons for this or a similar selection of items that make up the mentioned ritual practice with water should be looked for in binding the deceased’s soul to the tile, stone, or boosting the protective, lustrative effect of water as long as the deceased is in the house (see Bosić 1987; Marjanović 2007, 73).

Based on numerous ethnological studies on the territory of Serbia and the wider region, it is possible to conclude that the presence of water in funerary practices should be located and interpreted within its layered symbolism in the cult of the dead. It is associated with the cult of fertility in the Slavs (Djokić 2000, 166; Čajkanović 1973, 47).⁴ Ethnologists report on the representation of the water element and “eternal thirst” in the cult of the dead of many peoples, not only in past times, but also today (Mancej 1997; Djordjević 1906; Čajkanović 1973; Vakarelski 1990).⁵ Therefore, water is present in posthumous customs in different ways. The essential meaning of its use is to enable an easier transition of the departed to the other world,

⁴ Providing the dead with water, so that water would not disappear from the clouds due to their thirst and result in a drought (Čajkanović 1973, 47).

⁵ For example, Čajkanović argues that “the word for a dead man originally [...] had the meaning ‘thirsty’ (‘dipsazmenos’ and ‘avrehos’)”. In doing so, he recounts the various uses of water in the customary practice of the Serbs: keeping a mixture of water and wine at the place where the deceased was laid, serving water in forty houses in the village for forty days; a burial with a bowl of water or, alternatively, bringing water and spilling it on the grave until the fortieth day of death and so on (Čajkanović 1973, 47).

so that the soul of the dead is bathed and refreshed. The offering of sacrifices in the form of water stems from a desire for the realization of a specific reciprocity, in accordance with the belief that dead ancestors thus render the overall prosperity, first of all, the fertility of crops (Djokić 2000; Čajkanović 1973; Šnevajs 1929, 267). We should not leave out the lustrative and prophylactic function of water directed to the protection of the living relatives.⁶

In whatever form the representation of water in the context of our theme is (for example, cleansing the deceased, the ritual spilling of water on the grave during the visits to the grave, the ritual washing of hands), the diversity and fragmentation of the interpretations of its meaning in the ethnological literature should be noted, which is due to a very intricate symbolic complex of meanings attributed to water in ritual practice (see Mencej 1995, 224; Bosić 1985, 89–94; Bosić 1987, 159–170; Šnevajs, 1929, 265, 267; comp. Tolstoj, Radenković 2001, 87).

This is evidenced by the fact that, in the investigated area, water represents not only one of the apotropaic elements near the catafalque in the home of the deceased, but that it is also used during regular visits to the grave during the forty-day period, as a symbol of a significantly reduced rite of spilling water⁷ (essentially connected with the belief that this act provides assistance in the transition of the deceased to *the other world*). Water is daily taken to the grave in bottles, in some places in a clay pot (jar), and spilled on the grave. After the expiration of the forty-day period, relatives of the buried person require the priest to break the bottle or pierce the pot with a stick (see Marjanović 2007, 74). The priest could not give us an interpretation of such practice, but his narrative made it clear that the representatives of the Church do not approve of it. Our respondent anecdotally described an event from his practice.

“Well, for example, since the Church teaches that the soul wanders the earth for 40 days, they carry water in a bottle to the grave of the deceased until that day. Then, when 40 days pass, they ask that the priest breaks the bottle. I no longer permitted them to break these bottles. It's ugly, you know. As if a drunkard was there. Bang, and glass is shattered everywhere. As an old woman from Činiglavci said: ‘This priest from Caribrod is very good, but he hasn't studied enough’. They are taking a pot of water to the grave for 40 days, and then the priest should take a stick and pierce a hole in it, so that it later serves as protection from the wind to light candles. Sometimes it turns out funny. An old woman asked me: ‘You didn't pierce the pot?’ I said: ‘I didn't study to be a pot maker, but a priest. What if I don't pierce a hole, what if I brake it?’ She said: ‘You won't, you learned to do that at school’. Whenever I ask them to explain, they say: ‘That's the way it is’. Whenever I hear that, the conversation is finished”.

The cited practice of breaking pots of water used in different ways in death rituals in the ethnological literature is described as an action with an apotropaic

⁶ These are, it should be noted, only individual selected examples which we thought appropriate, given that a dedication to the role of water in funeral customs and its origin could take us much further than any “pagan river of Hades” or the expression of God's punishment (comp. Jovanović 2009, 204, 205), with an implicit recall of the question of whether life after death exists, as is the title of an article recently published on the occasion of a debate on the topic *What is death?*, which took place, not irrelevantly, at the Festival of Science held in Belgrade (Politika 14. 01. 2012, p. 07 [in the “Cultural supplement”]), proving that death is a constant theme of all (living), with the awareness that it is only a “sister of [eternal] life” (Kusić 1983, 256–269; comp. Vetter, Tworuschka, Balić 2005, 448–452).

⁷ See the explanation of this complex custom and the details of its performance in Djokić, 2000

purpose, to protect the members of the household from enemies, in order to avert the danger of the soul of the deceased harming the living. There is also a custom of breaking various taboo objects that are, due to a contact with the body of the deceased, considered impure, thereby preventing their re-use (for example, breaking a container of water in which the body was bathed etc. (see Bosić 1987, 161; Šnevajs 1929 271).

From priest Aleksandar we learned of another element in death customs in the Dimitrovgrad area:

“When the dead person’s body leaves the house, the head of the house hammers a nail into the floor, the ground. The nail is hammered into the ground so that, after that, no one else in the house dies.”

It is worth mentioning that this practice is recorded in the Timok and the Pirot region (Marjanović 2007, 73), the area geographically close to the Dimitrovgrad area. The aforementioned custom resembles the practice described in the literature of the early twentieth century, according to which, after the removal of the deceased from the home, in the place where he was laid, the household members hammer a peg or a hawthorn spike with a message to the deceased: “If this spike leafs, you (name deceased) ... should come to life” (Čajkanović 1973, 46). Whatever the interpretation that the residents of Dimitrovgrad and the surrounding villages attribute to the act of hammering nails to the floor of the deceased’s home, it is obvious that behind it all is a certain intention to protect the offspring and other family members from the deceased, i.e., so that the deceased could not “take with him” someone else from the house, or distort relatives’ peace by taking the form of a “vampire” (“were-wolf”). The fear of the dead is most strikingly expressed in a variety of ideas about vampires, frequent to this day, on which there is an abundance of ethnographic material (Djordjević 1953; Zečević 1982, 8, 51, 52; Jovanović 2004, 227–234; Radulović 2006, 18–202; Stefanović Karadžić 1867, 213, 214; Čajkanović 1973, 82, 93, 107).

The fear of the deceased and an attempt to quickly normalize the situation in a household that has lost a member is the motive of some burial customs spoken of by our respondent.

“There is an interesting custom, a remaining Turkish funeral custom. When they bury the deceased, everyone starts yell. First, they tie themselves with a rope, a red thread. Only the people of the house from which the deceased has “departed” are tied. I have long sought to find out where this custom was from. They do not let people look when the coffin is lowered into the grave. ‘Turn around, run home’, women start yelling. Once the funeral is over, and people begin to cast the dirt, they flee like the Turks. Then, they start yelling: ‘Come on, faster, go home, do not wait for the priest’.”

Tying a red thread around relatives at funerals in the geographically and culturally neighbouring Pirot region is noted and in a similar manner described by Tomislav Panajotović (1986, 76):

“Before the deceased is lowered into the grave, the family members stand in a group with their backs to the grave. Another person ties a red thread around them as they stand in a group – so that everyone stays together for a long time (almost with absence of death) and is healthy – red like a thread which ‘ties’ them (Visok). If a child died, the mother ties the remaining children with a thread, with their backs turned back from the grave, in order to ‘keep them together’.”

This custom is not present in all parts of the municipality of Dimitrovgrad:

“In Burel, there is no running. All people stand around the grave, throwing coins, and at the end the eldest son remains. He stands at the feet of the deceased (where the heels are) and then he turns and says: ‘Dad (Mom), this is your home now. Don’t come back now, don’t scare us’. Money is thrown so that the one who died does not withdraw all the money with him, to keep it in the family. They (people attending the funeral, a note by J. P.) do not return by the same route. And, people stop on the way to the cemetery three times (during funeral procession, a note by J. P.)”.

There are a number of other “rules” that oblige relatives and other people attending funerals in southeast Serbia. They do not only apply to the funeral ceremony (for example, determining who carries the cross, determining the order of the participants in the funeral procession, the prohibition of people turning during the procession, occasional stopping of the procession, etc.), but also to what happens afterwards – during the *period of mourning* (post-funeral meals). The extent to which there is disagreement among the locals on how to practice certain traditions is evidenced by the narrative of the priest. On this issue, as well as on the presence of pagan elements, the narrator said the following:

“When returning home, they must tear a fresh branch.⁸ There used to be a hearth in each house, so they would attach it to the chain and leave it there. Now they do not know where to put it, so they ask me: ‘Father, where can I place it?’ I tell them: ‘It’s not my business. It’s a pagan tradition, and has nothing to do with the church’. Or, for example, Vlado Georgiev, he’s from Kamenica. He went to a funeral, and the women said: ‘Come on, son, your grandmother loved you so much, you should carry the cross’. It was his first time at a funeral, I guess, so he picked up the cross and turned around to ask me how to carry it. The women said: ‘Why are you turning? Who told you to turn?’ He was puzzled and he put down the cross and asked: ‘Father, what did I do wrong?’ I said: ‘You made a big mistake and listened to these old women’. Whenever I ask why something is done, I cannot get an answer” [...].

She was complaining to me (a mother of a local woman from a village near Dimitrovgrad, a note by J. P.) that the women argued the entire night. One said that three meals should be set up for lunch. The other said they needed two, not three, and that the other woman had lost her sense. Then, they needed thirty candles, not thirty-one [...]. She was losing her mind and said: ‘Father, save me, I am waiting for you to tell me the right thing to do’. ‘The right thing to do is to have a funeral service and bury the body, not what anyone tells you’. These women are in charge, the women who cook. They arrange everything [...]. “

In addition to the custom of remembering the soul of the deceased during the days of the dead (All Souls Day), the relatives are required to “commemorate” the deceased at certain intervals in relation to the date of death. On the territory of Serbia and the wider region, these days are the day after the funeral (or “the morning commemoration”), the seventh day (sometimes alternatively the first Saturday), a fortieth day, a semi-annual and annual commemoration.⁹ In the past, in the

⁸ On a similar custom of bringing plants into the house after a funeral see Marjanović, 74.

⁹ This is described in almost all consulted sources. Among them is, in a way highlighted, the attitude of Paul, the *Serbian Patriarch*, stated in the text: “On the Orthodox way of paying respects to the deceased members of the Church”. On the customs pertaining to death, it is worth to men-

investigated area people went to the grave of the deceased compulsory on the ninth day as well.¹⁰ Today, this practice does not exist according to Father Aleksandar.

Ritual meals that are organized at the intervals mentioned above include the preparation of certain foods and beverages intended for the deceased while pronouncing certain formulas, which are then taken to the grave of the deceased and/or served at the house. Researchers believe that this ritual is based on the popular belief that “in the other world, there is great scarcity”, and that “the dead [...] suffer hunger, thirst, cold, etc.” (Bandić 1983, 43). The same custom is present with the Bulgarians, Russians, Poles, and derives from general beliefs about the nature of the soul (Vakarelski 1990 37; Djaković 1985). Commemorations are held in order to overcome the communication gap between the living and the dead (Bandić 1983, 39–47; 2007 Marjanović, 74), while their frequency, compared to the day of death, decreases with time. This explanation led some researches of funeral rituals to the conclusion that it is a gradual process of “separation of the dead” and a gradual transition to a new plane of existence, the “posthumous dying” (Bandić 1983, 39–47).

Priest Djordjević believes that the custom of taking food to the grave of the deceased is contrary to *religious canons* and he highly disapproves of it:

“These customs (serving food, J. P.) were created in the fourth century. Then, there were no pensions, people had nothing, there were many wounded, without legs, poor people. And they knew when burials and memorial services were taking place. They would sit in front of the cemetery and expect to get food. They would get food and then people would say ‘please, mention my father ...’. No one is expecting food now. They bring everything, but the food remains at the cemetery. It looks like someone was throwing up there. In the village of Činiglavci, the only thing they do not bring to the cemetery is bird’s milk. So they pile it all and say: ‘Father, you go first’. I would say: ‘I have taken the first serving of wheat for the peace of the soul and I am not touching anything else’ [...]. My father was a priest and he never brought anything (food, a note by J. P.) back from the cemetery’.”

According to the respondent, ritual meals are arranged at the cemetery, as much as in the homes of the deceased. In setting up the tables and the meals, there are a number of customs (a determined number of meals, a vacant place for the deceased, etc.). Among them, there is a custom that no one leaves the table before the priest, because, according to the belief of the residents of the Dimitrovgrad area, “the one who leaves first should die, if I (as a priest, a note by J. P.) do not leave first. ‘C’mon Father, will you leave already?’ I asked what they meant by that. ‘The one who leaves first will die’, they said.”

Due to the proximity of death and the belief that the soul of the deceased is in a sensitive period of change in the existential level (moving to other world) until the fortieth day, there is a series of customs that are practiced precisely to this period, while others are bound precisely to that day. Some of them were mentioned in the section referring to the use of water in the cult of the dead, as well as within the explanation of “funeral meals.” One of the most important rituals in Dimitrovgrad and the surrounding area is “leveling the grave.” Priest Djordjević claims that people

tion his explanations given in a series of texts published in three volumes *To clarify certain questions of our faith*, 2007.

¹⁰ A certain clue by which one could seek an explanation is the belief present among the Bulgarians that the soul wanders the earth for 40 days and that on the third, ninth and fortieth day it confesses its sins so that that, after that date, it could find peace and go to heaven (see Vaka-relski 1990, 38).

“level the grave on the fortieth day, when they make a cross. They level the grave, place wheat seeds in the shape of a cross, and then the priest pours wine and water on top. After a week, it sprouts and appears as a cross. They (residents, a note by J. P.) bring boiled wheat. I told them: ‘bring unboiled wheat’. They said: ‘No, priest, you are wrong. We need boiled wheat’. Then I said: ‘Boiled wheat will not sprout’. They do not know that it should sprout.” (on a recorded custom of leveling the grave see Marjanović 2007, 74; Panajotović 1986, 80).

Mr. Cvetko Ivanov, however, points out that, on the fortieth day, obligatory items for the commemoration service are “wine, water and a large candle; that should burn out on the fortieth day”.

By the end of the forty-day period, the frequency of visiting the grave is reduced to visits on important church holidays until the semi-annual commemoration. Relatives of the deceased wear dark, mostly black clothes usually up to the annual commemoration as a “symbol of grief, sadness and regret” (Jovanović 2009, 167), avoiding any decoration (wearing fashion details).

THE OLD CEMETERY IN DIMITROVGRAD

According to the testimony of a famous historian Philippe Ariès, cemeteries used to be the centers of public life, located in centers of villages (towns) where many events important for the residents took place, while today they are located at the edges of villages and towns (Ariès 1989). This is the case with the cemeteries in the municipality of Dimitrovgrad. Priest Djordjević tells that the villagers, building residential objects, often found traces of burials from the past times in the middle of the village. Today, the two cemeteries we visited – the old Dimitrovgrad cemetery and the rural resting place of the residents of Željuša, both away from the resident area, are peaceful areas marginalized from public life. However, in accordance with the changed attitude towards death and dying, as T. Kuljić correctly observes, “today, cemeteries are ghettos of death banished out of town” (Kuljić 2013, 67). However, we should bear in mind that the custom of searching adequate sites for cemeteries (particularly in rural areas) “is driven by the need for a special symbolic meaning (a sunny side with a wide view or close to church ruins, ancient pagan shrines or crossroads), and there are interpretations that a selection of the cemetery location is driven by a reminder of the garden where Christ was buried” (Jovanović 2015).

The old cemetery in Dimitrovgrad is located on a hill near the town, about one kilometer away from the center. It has a metal fence, with a wide paved driveway leading to the center of the cemetery. As part of the cemetery, there is a green surface, a chapel and a so-called “mandžarnica” (a place where post-burial and commemorative meals are arranged). The cemetery itself is mostly well maintained. Although it has the appearance of an “eternal resting place” from the past century, without urban planning, it is actually a slightly older necropolis, with many tombstones from the 19th century. Residents of Dimitrovgrad departed mainly by the end of the twentieth century rest at the old cemetery. Today, there are rare burials in this cemetery, primarily of people whose grave sites were reserved long ago, whose many ancestors and relatives had already been buried at the cemetery (Fig. 1).

Members of all nations living in the municipality are buried in the old cemetery.¹¹ The situation is identical in the newly established necropolis. However, as we

¹¹ In the municipality of Dimitrovgrad in the latest census, 53.49% of the population identified themselves as part of the Bulgarian ethnos, while 27.86% of the population identified themselves as members of the Serbian nation (SORS 2013).

were told, there is an area of the cemetery dedicated to the burial of Roma people from the area of Dimitrovgrad. Although it is not a physically isolated part and the burial ritual is not different (all are buried in the same way as other members of the Orthodox faith), nor is a form of arranging graves, the mentioned fact tells something about the social distance expressed towards the members of the Roma ethnic group.¹²

Putting up a tombstone has multilayered meanings, including the belief that the dead soul binds itself to the stone that becomes its habitat, “a mark of its peacefulness” (so the tombstone is often identified with the deceased among the people, see Jovanović 2015; Čajkanović, 1973). Tombstones express a complex funerary symbolism that on the one hand shows the attitude towards death and the deceased, and on the other hand reflects the characteristics of the general social and cultural milieu, as well as class and personal characteristics of the living. The survivors, through marking the graves of their relatives, ancestors, express their own culture of remembrance. As identity creations of the living, made of solid, mostly stone structures, they ensure not only a permanent memory of the deceased, but also provide the living with “something much deeper – a self-image and sense. In other words, tombstones not only indicate the place of burial, but they are also symbolic structures of sense. They do not carry the message of the dead, but the living communicate with the living through them. They are an instrument of non-oblivion” (Kuljić 2014, 273).

Various elements of funerary symbolism can be read in the stone “witnesses of transitoriness” in the old cemetery in Dimitrovgrad. Symbolism is visible in many planted bushes and trees.¹³

In addition to several monuments from the 19th century, in the mentioned cemetery, there are several old tombstones whose origin is difficult to date. Their appearance is characteristic, most commonly in the form of a cross of rough-hewn stone, with special oval protrusions (spheres) (Fig. 2). Depending on the number of spheres present, one can see who was buried – a man, a woman or a child. Men had tombstones with three spheres, women with two, and children who died had three protrusions (spheres). However, the priest told us that the details on the monuments were later interpreted as “ornaments”, so there were more than three spheres, depending on the “taste” of the relatives who put up such tombstones.

At the cemetery there are several tombstones with inscriptions which are hard to read, and a few tombstones for a larger number of deceased in the family, whether they were killed at the same time or that their names were added successively, on their “departure” from the earthly life (Fig. 3).

There are many monuments erected in the first half of the twentieth century with a typical appearance. They are made of stone or granite, with a reduced form and scarce ornaments. However, the formation of the bourgeois layer of society in Serbia in the late 19th and early 20th century in the area of Dimitrovgrad prompted the need of families to mark the graves of their loved ones in a manner which demonstrates their reputation in the community, so the way in which certain “resting places” are marked differs somewhat from this pattern. For example, at the entrance to the necropolis, we see a family chapel-tomb built in the early 20th century for the late priest

¹² Indeed, it is not uncommon that in cemeteries, especially those in rural parts, certain areas are formed solely for the members of one nation, one religion or profession. Hence the folk names for these areas of cemeteries, such as “millers’ cemetery”, “Roma cemetery”, “military cemetery”, “Muslim cemetery”, etc. (Jovanović, 2015).

¹³ A variety of conifers, birch trees and other plants stems from a belief that a tree can be “a shelter, the seat of the human soul” (see Čajkanović 1973, 8). Hence, in lyrical folk poetry, there are vines, rosemaries, roses and fir trees growing on the graves of young people.

Rade Djurov and his wife Ranča (Fig. 4). On the east side, the chapel has two tombstones dedicated to the aforementioned deceased. In addition to basic information, there is a place of birth and their occupation¹⁴ or social role (a priest and priest's wife). The upper part of the tombstone is a cross connected with its base.

As in the above example, other tombstones in the Dimitrovgrad cemetery follow a general pattern of giving information about the deceased. They are engraved with basic data on the deceased in the first place: names, dates of birth and death. Since monuments preserve the memory of the deceased, sometimes they accentuate the deceased's identity with a description of the age and appearance, status, piety and merit (Jovanović, in manuscript). Some of them carry the information that they lost their lives in special circumstances, in a traffic accident, for example.¹⁵

Older tombstones, mainly with reduced ornaments, are usually labeled with a key religious symbol – the cross, engraved, or more rarely, constructed as an integral stone structure (usually at the top of the tombstone). Sporadically, in this cemetery monuments without a cross can be found, even those with an engraved or carved five-pointed star instead of a cross. Considerably less frequently, some tombstones have floral or similar motifs (flowers, twigs, wreaths of leaves), the usual funerary symbols. In some tombstones, usually of younger people, there is a bust or an image of the deceased engraved on the tombstone (Figs. 5 and 6).

In newer tombstones, one can “read” not only class differences among the dead, but also the class differences among the living, as well as the differences which belong to the domain of “taste”, style. We record the presence of various materials, different tombstone forms and sizes. From simple and reduced, made of conventional materials – usually a higher quality stone, gray and black granite, to those built of the finest granite or marble and accompanied by different accessories (benches, vases, etc.), of larger dimensions and unusual forms. There are also tombstones in the form of a heart or a tear as a specific form of symbolic communication, present in recent years as a “fashion trend” in tombstone design.

Many tombstones in the Dimitrovgrad necropolis have epitaphs. They are an expression of the present form of social communication that not only allows, but recommends, free and public displays of emotions, including those relating to death. This pattern is based on a belief in aesthetic appropriateness and ritual and psychological functionality of a written word in the communication chain the deceased – mourners – the community (Чоловић 1984; Čolović 1993). Sometimes, they represent a form of auto-communication that the mourners have with themselves in order to overcome the loss. Epitaphs are usually written as personal messages, some of which are poetic (often in the form of amateur verse) (Fig. 7). They are expressions of public mourning for the deceased, talking about eternal pain and suffering, sending messages of love and unforgetfulness:

“There are no words that can express the pain and sadness for your tragic death in a car accident. In my mind, you'll always live and be in my heart. Yours, Janja”.

“I have very much fantasized, my mother, that we will both see fortune and glory. What I did not desire is that all the wishes end up in a pit”.

“We adore the bright memory of our dear daughter, sister, sister in law ...”

¹⁴ Moreover, in this cemetery there is information on the tombstones (it seems even more frequently than in other necropolises) about the occupations of the deceased: a priest, a textile technician, a graduate, a rentier, a judge etc.

¹⁵ Often, the engravings can be a mixture of the Serbian and Bulgarian language, with grammatical errors.

“When the sun washes your face, and opens your joyous blue eyes, look down at us from the heaven above, because the stories about you will last forever. Thank you for everything our dear father, we were happy while you were with us, now we can proudly remember you, your image will forever be in our hearts!”

“Love is too great, the pain is too heavy, and the sorrow will last forever”.

“There is no solace, no oblivion, the sadness is eternal”.

“Here rest my dearest parents”.

“I feel you when the night whispers prayers, I feel you in the sorrow of each tear, I feel you every morning when the leaves flutter and silently break off and fall from a white birch”.

“Novko, our dear son, died so young in a traffic accident and left us in pain and sorrow for the rest of our lives”.

It can be seen from these epitaphs that there is a pattern in addressing the deceased, which is, as in newspaper obituary pages (once discussed in detail by Ivan Čolović), focused on a double negation. Death is negated by the promises that the dead will not be forgotten, that they will “forever remain in the hearts” of living relatives, that they are present in everyday life. Life is negated by lamenting over the endless, unbearable pain, eternal suffering, “life without life” (Чоловић 1984a; Чоловић 1984b; Čolović 1988). Thus, identically to lamentations, epitaphs on gravestones show a desire of the author to establish a special kind of post mortem communication with the deceased: to emphasize how much he or she is being missed, to express love, respect and gratitude, to promise the continuity of symbolic communication through mental processes such as memory, feelings and the like. Also, the fact is made known to the public that the retired member of the community was exemplary.

There is a part in the old Dimitrovgrad cemetery called the “military cemetery”, where they buried Bulgarian soldiers killed in the World War II (Fig. 8). According to the testimony of priest Djordjević, 420 Bulgarian soldiers were buried here, two hundred next to the chapel which is located at the cemetery and the rest in a pine forest, which is an integral part of the cemetery. Later, those graves were exhumed and the remains of the fallen soldiers were mainly transferred and buried in Bulgaria. According to the testimony of the narrator, “now they take their places, they bury our people, digging over the graves”. We have noted that this part of the old cemetery, the so-called military cemetery, is overgrown with grass and that there is little to actually see due to tall vegetation.

We have found that the cemetery has a ceremonial Holy Cross which, according to Nada Manolov and Penka Želez, two historians who “read” the Cross, dates back to 1781. Studying the Cross, they reached a conclusion that it is a ritual cross with magical cryptograms that an extraordinarily educated priest of the Church of St. Trinity, priest Zlatko, ordered to be made following the example of incunabula that were used for liturgical purposes, printed almost two centuries earlier (Manolov-Nikolova, Železova-Šekerdzieva 2014, 333–343). According to the research by these authors, the assumption is that the ritual cross was placed near the eponymous temple, which is assumed to have been destroyed during the reign of Osman Pazvantoglu over the Pashaluk of Belgrade during the conflict of Vidin and Niš that occurred in 1781 (ibid, 341) (Fig. 9).

REFERENCES

- Arijes, Filip. *Eseji o istoriji smrti na zapadu*. Beograd: Rad, 1989.
 Bandić, Dušan. “Koncept posmrtnog umiranja u religiji Srba”. *Etnološki pregled* 19 (1983): 39–47.
 Bandić, Dušan. *Tabu u tradicionalnoj kulturi Srba*. Beograd, 1980.

- Bandić, Dušan. "Vampir u religijskim shvatanjima jugoslovenskih naroda". *Kultura* 50 (1980): 81–103.
- Вакарелски Томов, Христо. *Болгарские похоронные обычаи. Сравнительное исследование*. София: Издательство бочгарской академии наук, 1990.
- Vetter, D., U. Tworuschka, S. Balić. "Smrt (židovski, kršćanski, islamski)". U *Leksikon temeljnih religijskih pojmova: židovstvo, kršćanstvo, islam*, priredio Adel Th. Khoury, 448–452. Zagreb: Prometej, 2005.
- Босић, Мила. "Архаични елементи у погребним обичајима Срба у Војводини". *Етнологије свеске* 6 (1985): 89–94.
- Босић, Мила. "Погребним обичаји Срба у Војводини". *Рад музеја Војводине* 43–45 (2001–2003): 63–73.
- Босић, Мила. "Вода у пиребном ритуалу и култу мртвих код Срба у Војводини". *Рад војвођанских музеја* 30 (1987): 159–170.
- В. Ф. Дуго ће се памтити "Нoć музеја", доступно на: www.blic.rs/Kultura/Vesti/252527/Fotografije-pokojnika-za-Noc-muzeja-u-Boruu; <http://www.mc.kcbor.net/2011/05/16/dugo-ce-se-pamtiti-noc-muzeja/> (приступљено 30.5.2015)
- Đaković, Branko. "Hrana i piće u posmrtnim obredima, a posebno kao viatim". *Etnološka tribina* 8 (1985): 77–84.
- Ђокић, Даница. "Обред пуштања воде у браничевском крају". *Vimnacivm* 2000: 153–167.
- Ђорђевић, Тihomir. "Vampir i druga bića u našem verovanju i predanju". *Srpski etnografski zbornik LXVI* (1953): 150–153.
- Ђурић, Војислав. "Предговор". У *Мит и религија у Срба*. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1973.
- Зечевих, Слободан. *Култ мртвих код Срба*. Београд: Вук Караџић, 1982.
- Ивановић-Баришић, Милина. "Задушнице – вид комуникације живих са мртвима". *Гласник Етнографског института САНУ ЛП* (2005): 291–303.
- Ивановић, Милина. "Нарицање у Вуковим делима". *Етнологије свеске VIII* (1987): 15–20.
- Јеротић, Владета. "Паганско, старозаветно и новозаветно у савременом човеку". У *Психолошко и религиозно биће човека*, 143–161. Сабрана дела, I коло, Београд: Задужбина Владете Јеротића, IP Ars libri, 2007.
- Јовановић, Бојан. *Магија српских обреда*. Ниш: Просвета, 2001.
- Јовановић, Војан. Vampir kao metafora. *GEI SANU LI* (2004): 227–234.
- Јовановић, Војан. *Srpska knjiga mrtvih*. Novi Sad: Enciklopedia Serbica, Prometej, 2002.
- Јовановић, Зоран М. *Зебрњак: у трагању за порукама једног споменика или о култури сећања код Срба*. Горњи Милановац: Библиотека "Браћа Настасијевић"; Музеј рудничко-таковског краја; Културни центар; Београд: Републички завод за заштиту споменика културе, 2004.
- Јовановић, Зоран М. *Кроз двери ка светлости. Лексикон литургије, симболике, иконографије и градитељства Православне цркве*. Београд: Пирг, 2009.
- Јовановић, Зоран М. *Кроз двери ка светлости. Лексикон литургије, симболике, иконографије и градитељства Православне цркве* (друго издање – у рукопису), 2015.
- Kuljić, Todor. *Dobra smrt – o evoluciji društvenoprihvatljivog načina umiranja. Etnoantropološki problemi* 8, 1 (2013): 61–73.
- Kuljić, Todor. *Tanatopolitka (sociološkoistorijska analiza političke upotrebe smrti)*. Beograd: Čigoja štampa, 2014.
- Kusić, Ante. "Smrt: kulturno antropološki pregled". *Bogoslovska smotra* 4 (1983): 256–269.
- Radulović, Lidija. "Vampir: osujećeni mitski predak i simbol osujećenog muškog seksualnog potencijala". *Etnoantropološki problemi* 1 (2006): 181–202.
- Манолова-Николова, Надя, Пенка Желева. *Исторически изследвания за средна западна България XV–XIX в.* София: Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“, 2014.
- Марјановић, Весна. „Комуникација с традицијом на примеру погребног ритуала у Шајкашкој, Тимочкој крајини и Пиотском региону“. *Гласник етнографског музеја* 71 (2007): 63–71.
- Mencej, Mirjam. "Mitski pomen uporabe vode v pogrebnih šegah". *Etnolog* 5 (1995): 223–240.
- Mencej, Mirjam. "Verovanje o vodi kot o meji med svetovoma živih in mrtvih". *Etnolog* 9 (1999): 195–204.

- Miladinović, Veljko. Rešena najveća srpska tajna: Dražin grob više ne postoji! Доступно на: <http://www.pressonline.rs/info/politika/147633/resena-najveca-srpska-tajna-drazin-grob-vise-ne-postoji.html> (приступљено 30. 5. 2015).
- Миљевић, Милан, Ђ. *Живот Срба сељака*. Београд: Књажеско српска књигопечатња, 1867. <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/publications/index/string:%D0%9C%D0%98%D0%9B%D0%98%D0%8B%D0%95%D0%92%D0%98%D0%8B%2C+%D0%9C%D0%B8%D0%BB%D0%80%D0%BD+%D0%82./tags:author>
- Мишић, Зоран. „Шта је то косовско опредељење? Одговор на једно питање Марка Ристића“. *Poetika: časopis za teoriju, istoriju i kritiku poezije* 4 (2012): 117–124.
- Noć muzeja: Zavirite u Novo groblje – muzej na otvorenom. Доступно на: <http://www.telegraf.rs/vesti/beograd/688387-noc-muzeja-zavirite-u-novo-groblje-muzej-na-otvorenom> (приступљено 30. 5. 2015).
- Павле, српски патријарх. „О православном начину поштовања преминулих чланова Цркве“. *Гласник Српске православне цркве* 4 (1998): 67.
- Павле, српски патријарх. *Да нам буду јаснија нека питања наше вере*, књ. 1-3. Београд: Издавачки фонд Архиепископије београдско-карловачке, 2007.
- Панајотовић, Томислав, Г. *Адети. Живот и обичаји народа пиротског краја*. Пирот: Музеј Понишавља, 1986.
- Петровић, Едит. „Посмртни обичаји код атеиста (на примеру црногорских колониста у Бачкој)“. *Етнолошке свеске VIII* (1987): 179–186.
- Petrović-Steger, Maja. „Anatomizacija konflikta i telesnih ostataka kao strategija izmirenja“. *Reč* 76, 22 (2008): 119–151.
- Petrović, Jasmina and Zoran M. Jovanović. „A Priest in the Border area (Dimitrovgrad): The Preacher of God’s Word and a Participant in Reality“. In *A Priest on the Border*, edited by D. B. Dordević, D. Todorović and M. Jovanović, 103–121. Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 2013.
- Policija čuva Srbe na groblju u K. Mitrovici. Доступно на: <http://mondo.rs/a799353/Info/Srbija/Zadusnice-Policija-cuva-Srbe-na-groblju-u-Kosovskoj-Mitrovici.html> (приступљено 1. 6. 2015).
- Попис становништва, домаћинства и станова у 2011 у Републици Србији. Становништво. Вероисповест, матерњи језик и национална припадност. Подаци по општинама и градовима*, књига 4. Београд: РЗС, 2013.
- Prošić-Dvornić, Mirjana. „Pogrebni ritual u svetlu obreda prelaza – na primeru Stonskog primorja“. *Etnološki pregled* 18 (1982): 41–51.
- Spiritualizam na grobu Slobodana Miloševića pod lipom u požarevačkom dvorištvu. Vulinu se javio bog, Šešelju glogov kolac! Доступно и на: <http://www.alo.rs/vesti/aktuelno/vulinu-se-javio-bog-seselju-glogov-kolac/89114> (приступљено 30. 5. 2015).
- Стефановић Караџић, Вук. *Црна Гора и Бока Которска. Сабрана дела*. Београд: Нолит, 1969.
- Стефановић Караџић, Вук. *Живот и обичаји народа српскога*. Беч: У наклади Ане удове В. С. Караџића, 1867. доступно на: <http://digital.bms.rs/ebiblioteka/pageFlip/reader/index.php?type=publications&id=644&m=2#page/224/mode/2up>
- Timotijević, Mirolsav. „Efemerni spektakl za vreme vladavine kneza Miloša i Mihaila Obrenovića“. *Peristil*, 31 (1988): 305–312.
- Толстој, Светлана Н. и Љубинко Раденковић, ред. *Словенска митологија. Енциклопедијски реџник*. Београд: Zepher book World, 2001.
- Чајкановић, Веселин. *Мит и религија у Срба*. Београд: Српска књижевна задруга, 1973.
- Čolović, Ivan. *Književnost na groblju. Zbirka novih epitafa*. Beograd: Narodna knjiga, 1983.
- Чоловић, Иван. „Значења новинских тужбалица“. *Етнолошке свеске* 5 (1984а): 49–56.
- Чоловић, Иван. „Преображаји новинске тужбалице – немачки, француски и југословенски примери“. *Etnološke sveske* 9 (1984б): 59–64.
- Čolović, Ivan. *Divlja književnost: Etnolingvističko proučavanje paraliterature*. Beograd: Nolit, 1993.
- Шневајс, Едмунд. „Главни елементи самртних обичаја код Срба и Хрвата“. *Гласник Скопског научног друштва V* (1929): 263–280.
- Шта је смрт? *Политика* 14. 01. 2012, стр. 7 [Културн додатак].

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig 1. The old cemetery in Dimitrovgrad (Petrović, 2015)



Fig. 2. Old tombstones (J. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 3. A tombstone as a mark for several people buried (J. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 4 Chapel-tomb, of the Djurov family, the priest and his wife (J. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 5 A tombstone with an image of the deceased and floral motifs (J. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 6 The bust of the deceased (J. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 7. Tombstones with epitaphs (J. Petrović, 2015)



Fig. 8. Tombstone of a Bulgarian soldier at the “military cemetery” in the old resting place of the residents of Dimitrovgrad (J. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 9. The ceremonial Holy Cross (J. Petrović, 2015)

Suzana Marković Krstić

ON THE BORDER BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH – CEMETERY IN THE KALNA (CRNA TRAVA)*

INTRODUCTION

From a sociological perspective the paper deals with material reflections of the spiritual culture and the attitudes of the inhabitants of the border Kalna of Crna Trava towards life/death and their ancestors. The material reflections are analysed in the form of the places and the ways of burial, installation and maintenance of gravestones, as well as the attitude towards the cemetery as a place of remembrance and respect for ancestors. Therefore, it can be said that cemeteries are material and symbolic expression of the culture of death and the culture of remembrance, the attitude towards individuals, tradition, religion and customs of a nation that is consistent with historical, ethnic and socio-economic context.

The historical and social events left a material trace in the space of remembrance, symbolically representing the ideological and value orientation of an individual and his/her nearest environment (a cross, a five-pointed star). Tombstones, their dimensions and epitaphs testify to man's desire to show that "the beloved never die" and that the spiritual bond between the living and the dead never breaks, regardless of the physical death and disappearance. Therefore, in addition to providing information about the deceased, tombstones to a large degree speak about the living, about their attitude towards dear human beings, life and death, as well as about their socio-economic status.

LOCALITIES IN KALNA (CRNA TRAVA) RELATING TO THE DEATH

The village of Kalna is an old Serbian settlement in the Municipality of Crna Trava which, according to the old records and results of scientific research (Nikolić, 1917, 323), was originally placed on the Selište (the current center of the village, Village, where the local school, church, village hall and several houses are located) and was „on a bunch“ (in one place, tight). Due to the plague (čuma) that often occurred during the Turkish rule, most of the inhabitants of the original Kalna left that place and settled behind Pirot, where they founded a village with the same name (now Kalna of Knjaževac). In the old Kalna there remained only two families: Radivoje's one and Jovan's one (Bogojević, Milošević and Tomić 1987, 17). It is assumed that this migration of population happened in 1706, when the plague raged in Macedonia and the population of Crna Trava was decimated as well (Kostadinović, 1968, 57).

The village of Kalna is one of the 25 village settlements in the Municipality of Crna Trava. It is located between mountain Tumba and the Serbian-Bulgarian border at an altitude of 1081 meters, in the northeastern part of the municipality, 35 kilometers from the municipal center. Spatially, it is one of the largest villages in the municipality of Crna Trava. „The hamlets of the village are mainly on the sides of the valley of the river of Pepeljštica (the Kalanska River), surrounded by hills of the

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

mountains Tumba and Gramada“ (Stojanović, 1980, 1). Kalna is a hilly village of a scattered type (there are 38 hamlets placed on the eastern slopes of Tumba), with steep and sharp slopes cleaved with deep valleys and pastures and meadows framed by beech forests. All these features, together, create a colourful and fairytale land-scape. The Kalanska river runs through the village and flows into the river Vlasina. According to tradition, Kalna is named after the clay, a type of mud that the structure of soil mostly consisted of in this area. It is a „white mud (kal)“, which was used for washing clothes, and the largest amount of it was right in the place where the center of the village is located today. According to another interpretation, the name of the village Kalna comes from the Greek word *kalos* which means *good*. A confirmation of the latter interpretation is the fact that Kalna, according to Turkish regulations from the sixteenth century, was originally called Kalna Luka. After the emigration from the original Kalna (because of the plague), people settled here again, so that Kalna had 96 houses and 898 inhabitants at the moment of liberation from Turkish slavery (Stojančević 1984, 281–283). It can be assumed that the reconstruction of the village after the plague was mainly carried out through immigration, and that new residents of Kalna came from Vlasina, Crna Trava and Znepolje (Bulgaria) (Marković Krstić and Kostić 2013, 144).

Kalna is a village significantly affected by depopulation and the aging of the population. The census statistics show how the process of depopulation took place through different periods: in 1948 there were 826 inhabitants, in 1953 – 817, in 1961 – 885, in 1971 – 720, in 1981 – 441, in 1991 – 217 and in 2002 – 147 (National Bureau of Statistics, 2004, 166). However, the depopulation got alarming dimensions after the results of the last census conducted in 2011 in the Republic of Serbia, when Kalna had only 86 residents of an average age of 54.6 years (48 men, average age 50.9 years and 38 women, average age 59.3 year) (National Bureau of Statistics, 2012, 462–463). This data classified the village as a settlement belonging to the phase of the oldest demographic age. The data that in Kalna, in 2011, there were only four children aged up to 10 years, the number of adult was 80, while the age group of 75–79 years was the most numerous (13 inhabitants or 15.1%) tells even more about the aging of the village. Thus, in the period 1948–2011, the population of Kalna decreased almost ten times (9.6 times), and the most intense decrease in population was recorded in the inter-census period 1971–1981 (279 inhabitants). Not only the alarming statistics testify about the intensive process of population aging of the village of Kalna, but also abandoned and closed houses with yards overgrown with weeds, so that it is yet another Serbian „village with no future“.

Small groups of 4 to 5 houses (mahalas of Terzijska, Đorini, Stankovi, Birovci, Garinje) are scattered around the countryside, along the main village road or near the Kalanska River, which runs through the village and flows into the river Vlasina. A narrow, winding asphalt road leads to the center of the village, where there is a large number of houses, the community hall and a village shop. Today, after numerous migrations of population, migration flows and demographic losses due to a negative birthrate, this village is ethnically homogeneous. Only the residents of Serbian nationality, mostly older people, live in the village. „The soil of my Kalna is full of stones, all charred, gray and infertile. People bend under the weight of hard work, worry and poverty. They do not complain to anyone. They patiently endure whatever befalls them. They are great in their firm strength to persevere to the end“ (Stojanović 1980, 2).

Kalna has lots of interesting sites (*Gradište*, *Crkvište*, *Ižište*, *Tovarnica*, *Vignjište*, *Samokovište*, *Straža*, *Aramlija*, *Dimitrijin han* – Dimitrije’s han, *Strahinjin ili Đilin han* – Strahinja’s or Đila’s han, *Suljin grob* – Sulja’s grave, *Bankov grob* – Banko’s grave, *Bulin požar i Pašalov čardak* – Bula’s fire and Paša’s house with a porch,

Koledarsko groblje – Koledari's graveyard¹, *Džurkov krst* – Džurko's cross, *Spasin grob* – Spasa's grave), but the local people emphasize two. „One of them is Gradište, where the villagers found 'čunke' by means of which water was brought to Gradište. According to testimony, Latini lived there. At the time of the plague which raged here, the story tells that the whole area was covered with almost impervious forest full of outlaws. The second site, and perhaps the most interesting one, is the Koledar cemetery. It is a special place where once upon a time carriers of Koleda met, and since they were religious fanatics, killed each other. This goes in favour with the belief, which is still heard and retold, that if koledars, queens, Lazarice encounter (that actually happened on many hills and in forests) – it borders ill for the village because such a meeting once ended up with a bloody conflict and scaffold“ (Stojanović 1980, 1). According to Velibor Cvetanović from Kalna (75 years old):

„Koledars clashed because of the gifts they received in houses; the gifts cakes in the shape of a cross, a walnut, an apple, a prune and some money. They could fight because of these gifts, and therefore this kind of meeting could turn into bloody conflicts. When the koledar received a gift, while leaving the house of the host, he would say 'I am going out of the house, the God is going into the house.'“²

The Koledars were buried at the place of the battle so that, even today, scattered stones as remains of the cemetery can be seen under Zlatko hamlet.

In addition to Koledar cemetery, some other locations in Kalna also testify about the events of the past, particularly about individual deaths associated with border conflicts with the Bulgarians or conflicts of the local people with the Turkish invaders and outlaws.

Aramlija is a site in Kalna from the Ottoman era. It is a spring on the way from Tumba to Daščani well, at a place called the Great saddle, where the road to Rakita branches off. According to folk tradition, this is where Serbian outlaws, *haiduks*, supplied themselves with water and waited for Turkish caravans to rob. On one occasion they waited for a Turkish caravan with nine mules, loaded with collected goods taken from Serbian people. While grabbing the cargo, a mule got scared and ran off in the direction of Crvena Jabuka. It stopped in a yard in the hamlet of Gazdinci. When the host caught the mule, he took the cargo off the mule and the saddlebags were full of gold. He took the gold. That is how the house was named Gazdinci (wealthy people), after which the entire hamlet was later named. Due to the frequent ambushes and robberies at this location, Turks named the spring *Aramlija*, which in Turkish means a kind of curse – haunted spring („*Aram mu bilo*“). The expression has been kept in use to these days in Kalna and the neighboring villages as a curse for those who usurp something unfairly or by force (Bogojević, Milošević and Tomić 1987, 43).

Džurkov krst (Džurko's Cross) is located on the site Bičotine Čuke. During the Turkish rule in this area both Bulgarian and local shepherds took their sheep to pasture. One day the shepherd Džurko from Rani Lug (Bulgaria) and a shepherd from Kalna quarrelled and fought. The shepherd from Kalna was cleverer and killed the

¹ Koledars are participants in one of the most popular calendar rites (carolling), whose basis is visiting houses at Christmas time, during which the magic blessings are performed in order to obtain a welcome ritual. A Koledar could become any male villager, except people with physical disabilities or mental disorder; Koledar groups avoided to take bastards, the poor and those who had recently lost a close relative as their members (Tolstoj and Radenković 2001, 276–277).

² Told by Velibor Cvetanović from Kalna, from the hamlet Kovačevi, which is the closest to the cemetery. Today Velibor is 75 years old and lives in Kaluderica.

Bulgarian shepherd Džurko, who was buried there. The villagers named the spot Džurko's cross.

The site *Suljin grob* (Suljo's grave) is on the way Tumba – Daščani well above the hamlet of Pejni. There are two legends related to this site. According to one, Sulja was a Turkish outlaw who robbed both the Serbs and the Turks. The Turks attacked and killed him there, and the place where he was buried was named Suljo's grave. According to another legend, a conflict between the people of Kalna and Crvena Jabuka broke out because of a forest in the area of Crvena Jabuka, which the people of Kalna had cut down and usurped (this place is now called Otrsenač). Sulja, a Turkish dignitary, was supposed to resolve the dispute and mark a border. He did that by dancing on his horse across Otrsenač. The border would be at the place where he drops his sword. It happened that the sword fell exactly on the road that led from Tumba to Daščani well. The people from Kalna, dissatisfied with the solution, captured and killed Suljo, and that place was named Suljo's grave.

Bankov grob (Banko's grave) is located under Ravni Del, at the mouth of Tovarnica and Levace streams. There are two stories related to the site. According to one, Banko lived in a place called Marino. He had a lot of bees and was very rich. One day, just before the liberation from the Turks, two Serbian outlaws, hajduci, from Vuči Del came to his house, took his honey and forced him to help them carry it. When they got under Ravni Del, the robbers ordered Banko to go back home and not to tell anyone what had happened. Before he went away, they asked him if he knew them. Not knowing their intentions, Banko replied that he did and called them by their names. The robbers thought that he would tell the truth, so they killed him. The place got the name Banko's grave. According to another story, Banko was a servant of Stojko, an outlaw and robber from the hamlet of Vlasinci, who was very rich. When he went robbing, he would wear a disguise so that people would not recognize him. He robbed around the villages in Ponišljavlje and Pomoravlje. Since Banko recognized him, Stojko killed him at the place the previous story talked about.

Spasin grob (Spasa's grave) is a site dating from the period immediately after the liberation from the Turks, from the time when the border between Serbia and Bulgaria could be crossed more freely and when wageworkers went more easily from one country to another. One night a Bulgarian worker Spasa, from Rani Lug, was on his way back home from work. He spent the night in an inn in Kalna that belonged to Trifun Mihajlović. Trifun's wife saw that Spasa had a lot of gold, and persuaded her husband to kill Spasa and take his gold. The next day, with an excuse that they wanted to show him the way, they took him to a forest Tavni valozi and killed him. Spasa was buried there and people called the place Spasa's grave.

Crkvište is an old site located at the foot of Karaljukovica, not far away from the Đila's hamlet above the Kalanske River, south of Gradište less than a kilometer. The walls of the church stood until recently, but farmers took stones out of the ground in order to build their own houses, so that the remains have slowly been disappearing. Near the ruins, in earlier times there was a church house, upon the foundation of which Randel – Đila built a house in 1846. During the digging of foundations an incense lamp decorated with images of the 12 apostles was found, with chains in four binding half a meter long, made of brass, with the image of Jesus Christ. In 1940, Đila's descendants gave the lamp to some artisans from Prizren to determine the value and time at which the lamp was made. But soon after that, the war broke out and the lamp was lost without a trace.³ Between Crkvište and Gradište there was

³ More about these sites can be seen in the book *Kalna Crnotravska* (Bogojević, Milošević and Tomić 1987, 43–46).

a field called *Crkvena livada* (Church Meadow), where shepherds used to find small coins – Aspri, as the older people them.

In addition to these, in Kalna there are several more sites with distinctive names, which indicate a fatal outcome of an event from the past (*Randelov grob* – Randel's grave) or the attitude of the residents to the clergy and religious persons (*Popova glava* – Priest's head) and some other. Unfortunately, the legends about the origin of the names have not been preserved.

THE VILLAGE CEMETERY IN THE KALNA

*The Village Cemetery*⁴ is located one kilometer away from the center of the village. A narrow country road intersected with fast mountain streams leads to the cemetery. The road is surrounded by beech and pine forests through which you get to a clearing where, on a sunny south slope tombstones are placed (Fig. 1). The cemetery is fenced with a barbed wire and almost correctly divided in two equal halves by the road. In the upper, larger part of the cemetery, in addition to stone and marble monuments, two tombs are clearly distinctive, while in the lower, smaller part one tomb stands out for its size. Velibor Cvetanovic (whose house is the closest to the cemetery) testifies about the cemetery and its maintainance:

„The cemetery is located in the middle of the village and it is divided by families. In earlier times it wasn't enclosed and, within the cemetery, plums were planted that used to be put for an auction and sold to people to make brandy. At a community meeting people made a decision to cut the plum trees down and to fence the cemetery. This happened in 1965. But the idea to cut the plum trees down was wrong, because they gave shade and didn't allow blackberries and other weeds that spread over the graves to grow. In that way people could enter and go around the graveyard easily. That was one of the reason why some people had to bury their deads in the fields and meadows, outside the cemetery.“

In the upper part of the cemetery of Kalna, on the right, some tall conifer trees (16) can be seen whose spatial arrangement follows the line of the wire fence. Close to them a few improvised wooden tables (5) are placed in the form of the letter L with two fixed wooden benches (Fig. 2). Softwood trees make a pleasant shade, and according to words of the two locals, Novica Radojičić (62) and Predrag Blagojević (42), that was the place where, in earlier times, a joint ceremonial meal took place after a burial or a memorial service marking „Subotnica“ (the first Saturday), forty days after death, half a year and the anniversary of death. As a whole, the cemetery gives the impression of a well maintained and ordered place, with no visible traces of food leftovers or discarded plastic containers. Bunches of blooming and colourful wild flowers around the grave sites leave a special impression on visitors and observer. The impression of the natural beauty of the Kalna landscape, lined with hills, illuminated by the morning sun is only partially spoiled at the place of the former joint meals, where some rubbish in the form of paper and plastic bags can be seen. The peace and tranquility of this place is disturbed only by steps the dog that „keeps“ the entrance gate of the cemetery, and graciously and quietly welcomes visitors.

⁴ Some data about the locations in Kalna, the cemetery and customs regarding the death, the author has collected in a conversation with the locals of Kalna: Novica Radojičić (62 years old), Jovanka Blagojević (68) and Predrag Blagojević (42). The interview took place in the premises of the Community Centre in Kalna, 1 May 2015.

Near the gate, at the beginning of the cemetery, on the right, there is a tomb of white brick, covered with a concrete slab, with a visible mark of the period (1986) and the reigning ideological system (five-pointed star with a hammer and sickle) in which the death occurred. Along with the symbols, the names of those who had the tombstone built are encraved. Below the inscription, at the foot of the tomb, there is a concrete bench, which is used for leaving food for the deceased (with a niche for lighting candles below). On the left side of the metal gate there is a family tomb made of red brick, which has a double feature. On the left side of the front metal door there is a memorial plaque for a son with a five-pointed star (the time of death in 1988), while on the right there is a memorial plaque for the parents (time of their death in 1993) with a large cross in the middle, between pictures. On the wall, under the son's tombstone there is a tin home for candles (Fig. 3).

While walking around the cemetery we can see the variety of gravestones depending on the period of time they were put up, material they were made of, whether the data on the deceased are printed, if there are epitaphs and so on. Some are low, stone, in the shape of a cross, with no visible information about the deceased and the time of death, often crooked and damaged (Fig. 4). Those are the „oldest“ visible gravestones, and are assumed to be set 150 years ago. They were constructed of stone that could be found in their immediate environment, and the local stonecutters made the tombstones. Velibor Cvetanovic talks about the purchase of materials for the construction of these monuments and their making:

„Not far from Kalna (thirty kilometers away) there was a mine of stone which was easily processed. People brought the stone down from that hill. There, at the foot of the hill, tombstones were carved. There were a few stonecutters. Since the village of Kalna was quite far from there, people were not able to order massive monuments, and hence there are so many small monuments in the cemetery of Kalna. They brought them on horsebacks, over Tumba, from where they pulled them down to the cemetery.“

Another type of gravestones in Kalna are larger stone monuments in the form of an obelisk, covered with hard-to-read text and patina. One of them stands out for its height (more than 2 meters) that differs from other monuments of this type, by the quantity and the content of the text on its west side (expressing gratitude to the parents and an immense sorrow for their deaths) (Fig. 5). It is assumed that some of these tombstones are about 80–100 years old.

The third type of gravestones are larger stone or marble monuments with a five-pointed star, clearly visible names of the deceased and of those who constructed the tombs (Fig. 6). They are often two-part (husband and wife), made of marble of different shades, from gray to black, or represent a combination of white, gray or black marble (Fig. 7). On both sides fixed vases are set as part of gravestones and tin homes for candles. Some graves are enclosed with a high metal fence. Burial places are either entirely paved or framed by concrete sleepers. According to the dates of death inscribed on them, it can be said they are about 50 years old.

The fourth type of gravestones consists of the latest, modern monuments which are largely with two parts, built of black marble, with the pictures of the deceased in color and an emphasized cross. Some of the graves are covered with a marble plaque. Most of them are enclosed with a low metal fence, decorated with artificial flowers, although there are grave with miniature gardens filled with flowers. Those are the graves of young people whose parents had the monuments built.

In the lower part of the cemetery of Kalna there is a bust of a young man who lived for 29 years. It is placed on a pedestal of black marble over the grave, which is also covered with a black marble plaque (Fig. 8).

The cemetery of Kalna is specific for the way of setting up graves and tombstones. Namely, with regard to the spatial orientation of graves, the bodies of the deceased are properly directed towards the east, but the „face“ (the front) of the monuments face the west (pictures, full names of the deceased, date of birth/death and of those who raised the monument are placed on the west side) (Fig. 9). Some possible explanations for this phenomenon, which deviates from the rules on the composition of the Orthodox burial places, may be found in the ignorance of the villagers or some practical reasons – during the rituals there is no movement and stepping on the burial site, in which way the peace of the deceased is preserved and respected. The information about the deceased is printed legibly, in Cyrillic alphabet, sometimes with some grammar and spelling mistakes. The names of the deceased bear witness to the times in which they lived and the ethnicity: Petkana, Evgenija, Đorđina, Selina, Krana, Sevda, Ratko, Petronija, Jonka, Danilo, Sotir, Viden, Srbislav, Rodoljub. On older monuments the year of birth is missing, while the year of death is always inscribed, as well as the information about how long the deceased lived. The explanation for this can be found in the uncertainty of the relatives who build the monument about the exact date of birth of the elderly.

There is one more specificity when it comes to ceremonies in connection with the death. In Kalna, the villagers are buried without the presence of a priest. This practice has existed since the post-war period (and people still stick to it) because the socialist ideological orientation of the majority of villagers of Kalna rejected religion and church customs, and the priests were expelled from the church. The church of the Holy Trinity (built in 1883) with a belfry (the bell was donated by King Milan in 1888) was restored, but liturgies are not maintained. The school janitor takes care both of the church and the steeple. He chimes the bell, that echoes through the valleys of Kalna, to inform the villagers about an accident or about an important event in the village. During a burial, rites are performed by some of the older women in the village who „understand“ those things, as well as all the customs of commemoration.

Epitaphs are printed on some of the graves of more recent dates. They express respect for the dead, as well as grief because of their departure from this world: *„We remember you for your kindness, and we carry you in our hearts. Your loved ones“*, *„Everything we could, we gave to our children“*, *„Nothing is everything with you, everything is nothing without you“* (Fig. 10) and *„Loved never die“*.

CONCLUSION

According to tradition and readable information on the oldest monuments, the Serbian Orthodox cemetery in Kalna was established in the second half of the nineteenth century. The cemetery consists of two compact wholes, surrounded by a wire fence, located on the south slope of the hill, which is a kilometer away from the village center in a beautiful natural setting. The cemetery is medium in size and houses three tombs and four types of gravestones: the oldest small stone monuments in the shape of a cross, old monuments in the form of obelisks, stone and marble monuments, single and double, with a five-pointed star, and the more recent marble monuments with a cross and the tomb covered with a marble plaque. The specificity of this cemetery is reflected in the spatial orientation of the graves and tombstones face (the body of the deceased turned to the east, and the faces of tombstones to the west). Each type of gravestones contains characteristics of the times in which it was built, but also socio-economic status of the people who raised it. It can be said that

tombstones, as testimonies of past times are, at the same time, important witnesses of the culture of death and the culture of remembrance. They reflect the collective memory of a nation and represent a pledge for the future.

REFERENCES

- Bogojević, Voja, Čedomir Milošević i Borko Tomić. *Kalna Crnotravska*. Crna Trava i Niš: Opštinska konferencija SSRN Crna Trava i „Gradina“, 1987.
- Kostadinović, Radomir. *Crna Trava i Crnotravci*. Crna Trava: Opštinski odbor SUBNOR, 1968.
- Marković Krstić, Suzana i Aleksandra Kostić. „Od usamljeničkog života do bekstva od ljudi: Saveta Marinković iz Kalne Crnotravske“. U *Stariji ljudi u pograničju*, uredile Lela Milošević Radulović, Jasmina Petrović i Ivana Ilić Krstić. Beograd i Niš: Službeni glasnik i Mašinski fakultet, 2013.
- Nikolić, Rista. *Krajište i Vlasina*. Beograd, 1917.
- Stojanović, Dobri. *Moja kazivanja* (rukopis), 1980.
- Stojančević, Vidosava. „Vlasotince posle oslobođenja od Turaka 1878–1890. Etnodemografske, socijalno-ekonomske i kulturne karakteristike“. *Leskovački zbornik XXIV* (1984).
- Tolstoj, Svetlana i Ljubinko Radenković, red. *Slovenska mitologija. Enciklopedijski rečnik*. Beograd: ZEPTER BOOK WORLD, 2001.
- RZS. *Stanovništvo. Uporedni pregled broja stanovnika 1948, 1953, 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991, 2002, podaci po naseljima*, knjiga 9. Beograd: RZS, 2004.
- RZS. *Stanovništvo. Pol i starost, podaci po naseljima*, knjiga 2. Beograd, RZS, 2012.

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. The entrance to the cemetery of Kalna and dog „guard“



Fig. 2. Fixed wooden tables and benches at the cemetery in Kalna



Fig. 3. The family tomb of two generations



Fig. 4. Older stone monuments



Fig. 5. Tombstone in the form of an obelisk



Fig. 6. The stone monument with a five-pointed star (one-piece)



Fig. 7. The marble monument with a five-pointed star (dual)



Fig. 8. The only bust of the cemetery in Kalna



Fig. 9. Specificity in setting up graves and monuments: the bodies of the deceased are directed towards the east, and the monuments „face“ westward



Fig. 10. The epitaph on the tombstone of Milica Popovic (1955-2014)

Neven Obradović
Marija Jovanović

CEMETERIES AND FUNERAL PRACTICES IN BOSILEGRAD *

INTRODUCTION

Besides language and religion, one of the most important characteristics that determines the creation and preservation of ethnicities and features of people's lives of every social and ethnic community are customs. Based on the needs of one ethnic group, folk customs assume the character of unwritten laws, rules and regulations which directly determine the entire life of a nation. Although they change over time, and often lose their original meaning and significance, in spite of everything they have survived as a part of tradition that is inherited and often unconditionally respected.

As part of the cultural identity of each nation, customs are very different and complex. Religious and traditional system of values, the degree of preservation of tradition and commitment to it, geographical characteristics and migration trends are all factors that determine the customs, shape them and change them. Pervading the elements of the past, present and future, they represent a specific segment of a specific period of time which is of special individual, ideological or social importance.

Traditional customs, specific to a certain nation, time period, culture or geographical area differ from each other, but they all have some customs and practices in common, such as the basic, elementary customs of the life cycle. These include customs of birth, marriage, and funeral.

Funeral customs or customs related to death and burial are of great importance for all nations. "They are more than other customs at the basis of religious beliefs of a nation, therefore, the deepest layer of ethnic and cultural existence is at the core of these customs and rituals" (Petrović 2000,62). Covering a wide range of national beliefs and activities, they include customs which "touch on all areas of human life" (Vlahović 2011, 307) giving them a significant degree of ethnic and individualistic character.

Bearing in mind the peculiarities of the customs associated with death and burial, a more complete study of this phenomenon requires a complex approach where equal attention would be paid to all factors determining the examined situational context. Accordingly, while keeping in mind that nowadays funeral customs are studied from religious, that is, ecclesiastical and secular aspect, and that in practice they are "somewhere between the two", we decided to study it from both viewpoints. Following the prepared procedure for research, we interviewed a priest of the Third Bosilegrad Parish, then the Head of the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin in Bosilegrad, as well as father Zoran Stojanov and Milan Milanov, teachers from Bosilegrad. In this way we avoided the one-sidedness during the study and ensured reliability of the data obtained.

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

CEMETERY IN BOSILEGRAD

“Cemeteries as places of burial of the dead members of the respective religious, ethnic, political and ideological community have actually become “outdoor museums” where different community identities are displayed; however, while they were alive, many have not recognized this as such... The cemeteries have in such a way become “valuable illustration of the living and the attitude of a culture towards the deceased”, while the tombstones have become “valuable cultural exhibits and images of a certain time period and nation” (Sršan 1996, 8).

At a distance of 2 km from the town of Bosilegrad, or approximately 3 km from the peripheral settlements is Bosilegrad cemetery. What makes the town cemetery in Bosilegrad more specific compared to all others in this region is the fact that the cemetery was not located where it is now until 1905. The old cemetery was located below the bell tower on the south side of the Temple of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin (Figs. 1 and 2). After that period of time, the cemetery was relocated from the Churchyard itself. The church was developed and the courtyard of the current layout was built. Burial sites and remains were dislodged not far from the church, to the today's location of the cemetery.

Today, the cemetery is connected with the town with the asphalt road which is in a good condition and without any damage. The cemetery is fenced all the way around (Fig. 3).

This cemetery, like all in the municipality of Bosilegrad, is a unique cemetery where all residents are buried, regardless of their nationality. Today, mostly locals of Bosilegrad are buried in this cemetery, and while some time before the villagers from the Gloska lipa village were also buried here. In communist times, the officials who were not born in Bosilegrad were buried at Bosilegrad cemetery. People killed in the Balkan wars were buried at the cemetery in Bosilegrad as well.

Regardless of the uniqueness and greatness of this cemetery it is not being maintained that well, because, as the priest Zoran Stojanov says:

“Unfortunately, after the great grief and funeral, usually someone else is left to solve the problems of cemetery maintenance. Local community should maintain the cemetery, while in fact no one cares and that is the real tragedy“.

Burial place is not charged for, nor is renewed. It is permanent, and in accordance with their own needs, people occupy a certain area. Directorate of Land do their best to clean the cemetery before some important dates, such as the memorial service. Earlier this year, the company “Bosilegrad Town Cemetery” was founded but except for the director there are no other employees, which implies that taking care of the maintenance of the cemetery is left on people who could maintain the tombs of their loved ones and with good will and with little effort they could improve the current situation (Fig. 4).

The central part of the cemetery is the plain and the new section of the cemetery has expanded from it for years now (Fig. 5). Currently the cemetery reaches its maximum and in a year or two it will have to be moved to another location.

Old monuments carved in stone are in the central part of the cemetery, while the sections that developed by the expansion of the cemetery are located around these (Fig. 6). The cemetery is not divided into plots. There are two paths that people can walk down and it is common to cross over some of the graves in order to reach the graves people want to (Fig. 7).

There are primarily grey, white and black marble tombstones on the cemetery. Like all cemeteries from the communist era and a more recent period, this one also has some kitsch elements. Although there are graves that cover a large area and are surrounded by large fences it cannot be said that this is a common occurrence or a feature of the cemetery. There are no large wrought fences and similar details that are frequently found in cemeteries across Serbia.

There are no toppled monuments at this cemetery and monuments are in a very good condition. The inscriptions on the monuments are in Church Slavonic, Bulgarian and Serbian. The history of this region has left its traces in the form of symbols on monuments such as: red stars, crosses, hammers and sickles.

The old monuments are made of carved stone (Fig. 8). They are mostly in the form of a rectangular stone with a carved cross and the inscription such as *the servant of God (the name follows), died at the age of 46, born on (the date follows)*, leaving the visitor to calculate when the individual passed away.

There are only a few chapels and a few busts at the cemetery.

At the entrance to the cemetery, on the left, there is one grave that has been the veil of mystery for a long time now (Fig. 9). Nowadays, a group gathered around cultural and information centre claims that Bulgarian soldiers are buried there. The other group who base their allegations on statements of the old villagers claim that these are the graves of Serbian soldiers who after the dissolution of Yugoslavia due to drunkenness and fornication simply forgot to escape with the other soldiers so they lost their lives there. There are two theories concerning their deaths. Based on the first theory, they were killed by Bulgarian soldiers, and based on the second one, Serbian court martial sentenced them to death due to negligence and irresponsibility and they were killed by a firing squad.

Bosilegrad cemetery is famous for the bust and monument of the famous pathologist, scientist, teacher, innovator and founder of the Institute of Pathology at the Faculty of Medicine in Nis, Dojčin Dojčinov (Fig. 10).

RITUALS PRIOR TO THE IMMINENT AND CLOSE DEATH

These rituals include all those acts that are carried out before the moment of death. In addition to being linked to the acts which are performed with the dying person, these customs include other practices carried out by family members, relatives and a priest. One of the basic customs required by Serbian Orthodox Church is sacred secret confession and communion before passing away. Although these are the basic "prior to death" customs, they are rarely used in Bosilegrad. Priest Zoran said:

"Per 1000 deceased, we have one to two cases that honour these customs before they pass away. The rest of them die without Communion and without confession. Only in that sense we can say that we deviate from our holy church, since all the other customs partly pagan, partly traditional, and partly related with the church are respected".

The closest relatives are informed that the patient is on his deathbed in order for those who want to see him for the last time to come and do so. Special attention is being paid to the wishes of patients and all those whom they want to see are called. Apart from the desire to bid farewell to loved ones, people dying often seek forgiveness from those who they were unrighteous to or who they had a fight with. When on their deathbed, people mainly reconcile with everyone.

It is also believed that it is difficult for the patient to part with his soul if he remained eager to see some of his closest ones (son, daughter) who are far away (in a

foreign country or a distant city in Serbia). For this reason, they are invited to come as soon as possible and help the dying person pass away more easily.

People in Bosilegrad believe that communication with the dead is a sure sign of death. If a patient starts to talk with the dead (he summons them, or he is summoned by the already deceased parents or close relatives), death will come soon.

Wailing and crying is not allowed on the deathbed, and immediately after the death. Crying is not allowed until the deceased is bathed and dressed and until candles are lit. When death occurs, the dead person's eyes are closed by someone who was close to him or her. That is done to: *"prevent the dust from coming into their eyes in the afterlife"*.

DEATH RITUALS

"Customs associated with the funeral encompass a large variety of folk beliefs and actions, which include animistic, Christian and other elements. Actions performed on this occasion are related to all the aspects of human life since all these rituals are done in order for life to continue. Based on people's beliefs, the flow of life is determined at the very birth of every individual" (Vlahovic 2011, 307).

As soon as death occurs the preparations for burial are started.

Neighbours and relatives are the first to be notified about the death, and that is done immediately if the death occurs during the day or evening. If the person died during the night, it is waited for dawn to inform the relatives. Where there is a church, the church bell announces death.

Along with the notification of death, the deceased should be prepared. This is done mainly by women. They prepare the person who will go before the Lord, starting with bathing, shaving, arranging hair and dressing. After this preparation, the deceased is placed in the coffin. It should be noted that burial in wooden coffins with lids started being done in Bosilegrad in the early 19th century (Zaharijev 1912).

The closest relatives wear black. Men primarily wear black strips around their hands, while women wear black scarves round their necks. Older women wear black headscarf for a year. If someone young dies in the family, mother wears a black headscarf to the grave. In the past, the women in Krajiste worn a piece of clothing turned upside down in addition to black clothes (Zaharijev 1912).

Obituaries are placed on the house of the deceased and remain there until the annual memorial service.

In addition to dressing the deceased, preparations for the burial include a number of other, often "pagan" customs. Usually a needle, a mirror and a knife are put in the coffin with the deceased. However, the method of preparation is different and it often happens that the following are placed in the coffin:

"Money, combs, wallets... Sometimes even the identity card or a bank card. So people often end up being unable to unregister the deceased or to cancel the bank account or withdraw money. Almost all is put into the coffin – from a needle to the thread."

Priest Zoran offers practical reasons to explain why the deceased is buried with bare feet (without shoes on). Shoes are placed in the lower part of the coffin, close to the feet, with untied shoelaces.

“It is one of the customs, but it originated more for practical reasons, not out of superstition. After passing away and during the dressing, shoes are often the last to be put on, and then it comes to competition in terms of prestige. That is why the people agreed that the deceased go without shoes.”

In the municipality of Bosilegrad, but also in the entire Krajište area, lighting candles at the deceased's bed is required. Unlike other parts of Serbia where people bring in the house vegetable oil, sugar, coffee, etc., this kind of material help to Bosilegrad families is done by money donations.

Teacher Milan describes this custom:

“When you enter the house you say: “May the Lord forgive his/her sins – and you say the deceased name”. You take the candle and donate some money. You kiss the candle and lit it. You place it in the bowl with cooked wheat; you stand by the deceased's head and say again: “May the Lord forgive your sins”. Then you express your condolences to family members. Relatives are comforted by saying: ‘Do not cry so that he could begin his peaceful life’. The people who lit candles are serve a drink, candy or sweets.”

Entire Krajište and Sopluk are characterised by one custom: people sit next to the deceased the entire night (they wake him or her). At night, the deceased is waked mostly by men.

There is a belief that someone should wake the deceased:

“so that an animal would not jump over him or her (a cat, etc.), because it is believed that it would cause the deceased to become a vampire”.

The deceased is covered at night and during the night wake food is not served, only drinks, usually spirits.

Significant place within the funeral customs includes the digging of the grave. Digging is entrusted to some of the relatives or friends. What is specific about digging the grave in Bosilegrad is that very often the grave is prepared well before passing away. This custom is inconsistent with the principles of Christianity and the priest points out:

“It is not in accordance with Christianity to dig the grave in advance and I think the grave should be dug on the day of the funeral”.

Transportation of the deceased is carried out in accordance with the possibilities of the family or means of transport that can be provided. Once only carriages were used, while nowadays tractors or jeeps are used.

After the procession starts, usually a woman stays in the house and breaks a clay bowl. In the village this is done only when the procession crosses the creek (or river).

The procession starts from the house and in the name of the Holy Trinity they stop at three intersections. The priest leads the procession to the church, where the complete funeral service is executed. After the service, the procession heads towards the cemetery. The funeral service is not served in the case of suicide, except when approved by the Bishop.

Traditions related to the actual descent into the grave vary in Serbia. Although the priest does not mention any other experience with regards to this except for untying the hands, teacher Milan tells us about one of those traditions.

“Before lowering the coffin into the grave, one of the closest members of the family (son, grandson, brother-must be a male) throws metal coins into the grave and then enters into the grave and using the jacket, blouse, or shirt wipes the deceased's coffin (“the house”) and says: “I sweep your house but you shall not sweep mine”. He goes once in the circle and climbs out of the grave in the same place where he entered.”

Based on the available data, burials in wooden coffins in Krajište began in the early years of the 20th century. When they appeared, wooden coffins had no covers, but they were covered with black cloth. When lowering the coffin into the grave, the body was first covered with stones so that the earth would not fall directly on the face (Zaharijev 19912).

When the coffin is laid into the grave, each of those present throws in it a lump of earth. *For you were made from dust, and to the dust you will return.*

After the burial all those present quietly and gracefully move away from the tomb and go on to dinner. Dinner is served either in the home of the deceased or in the chapel at the cemetery.

“In our municipality, there are not that many places which do not have dining rooms in chapels – those are only Gornja and Donja Rzana, Barje and a few other villages close to the Bulgarian border. So, usually, where there is a dining room in the chapel everybody will eat together; however, if the dinner is served in the deceased's house, three separate groups of people will have dinner, one group after the other.”

Bread and cheese pie are baked for each memorial service. The woman who bakes these shall do this for the whole year. In addition to this, wheat is cooked for each memorial service. When preparing the service, fasting days should be taken into account and a vacant place should be left at the table which is intended for the deceased. This place is either left at the head of the table or somewhere in the corner. Alcohol is always served, usually spirits and when drinking it the person says: *May the Lord forgive his/her sins.*

“There are always some drunk people at funerals – not too many but still there are some. It is not that some come with that intention or that they do not respect the deceased, but simply, among some 50 people there, two or three are surely alcoholics and it is a worldwide problem. And secondly, there are people who sit by the deceased all day, and then during the excavation of the grave people drink which means that people do not get drunk during a short time period but they often start drinking from early morning.”

After returning home, after the dinner, the bread is cut which symbolises the health of the household members. The bread is cut three times a year.

POST-BURIAL RITUALS

Among the most important post-burial rituals in Bosilegrad the most important ones are wearing black clothes, dirge, memorial service and erecting tombstones.

As a sign of mourning, family and closest relatives wear black: scarves, shirts. Also, they do not take part in celebrations; they do not sing and dance. If they are mourning a very young person, family members often do not switch on the television, do not cut their hair and do not shave. In addition to not going to celebrations, many do not even celebrate the patron saint day during the year of mourning. This custom is inconsistent with the principles of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Ser-

bian Orthodox Church says that the celebration of the patron saint should continue even when someone passes away in a household because the prayers at that day include the prayer for the repose of the souls of departed relatives (http://www.svetosavlje.org/biblioteka/Obicaji/slaveiobicaji/Lat_slave55.htm).

It is customary not to do anything in the house or around the house (painting, swimming or any other business) during the first nine days following the burial.

People from Bosilegrad area go to the cemetery every Saturday during the first year following the funeral. People visit the grave and have a memorial service on the ninth day following the funeral, on the 40th day, after 6 months and after a year.

“We do not do the service after the 7th day but after the 9th day. Very few people know that custom originated from practical reasons. Simply, the deceased used to be waked for two days because there was no attending physician who could be able to determine with 100% certainty whether the person actually deceased. So for this reason, the deceased had to be kept and waked for two days, which is why the service is not after seven, but nine days, and only the closest family members attend.”

“40th day” is the memorial service held precisely 40 days after the funeral irrespective of the day and the fasting period. “Six months” is the memorial service held six months after the funeral and it is held 2, 3 or 5 days earlier, while the annual service is held 7 to 14 days before the actual year passes.

The actual time of memorial service in Bosilegrad is established through the agreement between the priest and family, while in the surrounding villages all commemoration services are held after noon because the baptisms and weddings are scheduled before noon.

In Bosilegrad it is customary to call a priest to attend three memorial services.

“It is widely believed that a priest should be called to attend three times: during the funeral, at 40 days service, and one more time, whether at six months service or annual service, but it is mostly for the annual service, rarely for six months service.”

Food is served during all memorial services. It is served either at the cemetery but also in the chapels or in the house of the deceased.

“Food is not served in order to feed the deceased but it is rather served to feed the poor and plead the Lord to accept the soul of the deceased. I personally think that there is a lot of exaggeration and thus watching from a critical and Christian point of view, I think that there is quite an unnecessary amount of food, drinks and plastic flowers, which sometimes ends up in private shops or scattered around; we are literally buried in plastic, and very often there is more plastic at the cemetery than other flowers that should be there.”

All Souls' Days are special days intended for prayers for the dead, and these are the days when Bosilegrad cemeteries are most visited.

“The village of Donja Ljubata is the only village where All Souls' Day is held by Christian customs, but even there these customs are slowly dying out. The entire memorial service during the All Souls' Day is served in the church, and when the cooked wheat is consecrated and bread cut, then you go to the grave of the deceased. In Bosilegrad and other surrounding places, the priests go to the All Souls' Day, we approach each grave, but we cannot cover every village every time, since there are a lot of villages spread apart, and there are only three priests. That is why one time we go to one village, another time we go to some other village, etc. So in the course of 2 or 3 years every village is attended.”

You bring cooked wheat, wine, candles and bread to All Souls' Day. However, people also bring other food and drinks, depending on their abilities and in accordance with what the deceased liked.

One of the new practices linked to modern times and poor economic situation in Bosilegrad area is the change in terms of preparing the commemoration service.

“Poor financial situation which has affected the majority of the population of Bosilegrad and the surrounding area had as an effect that instead of big feast actually Packed Lunches are served, which is very convenient and desirable as far as the Christianity is concerned”.

Tombstones as a memorial to denote the place where the deceased lies are erected in Bosilegrad for the annual memorial service. “The appearance of tombstones testifies to the civilizational, cultural, religious, ethnic, ideological and political belonging of the deceased. The size and shape of tombstones used reveal in a very striking way the social status of the deceased which he or she had while alive” (Markešić 2010, 234).

Although this is in accordance with the Serbian Orthodox Church, in practice it happens very rarely that tombstone cross is consecrated and blessed.

SPECIFIC CUSTOMS

Specific customs include those customs which are beyond the principles of the religious community the people belong to or which are in conflict with these principles. The most widespread ones in Bosilegrad are:

1) Traditions of so-called sacrifices which are executed in specific and individual situations. Within this group, the following variants are encountered:

a) Sacrificing due to a belief that the deceased will take to the afterlife another family member who was born in the same month.

“Therefore, if there is someone else in the family who was born in the same month, a hen with a ripped head is thrown into the grave where the deceased lies. If there are no hens at that time, then the following can be placed in the grave:

1) Rake for haymaking which is broken above the grave

2) Empty sock to be filled with sand and buried in the grave with the dead. On that occasion, the following words are uttered: **HERE'S ANOTHER SO THAT YOU DO NOT SEEK ANOTHER**” (Milan Milanov).

b) Sacrificing due to a belief that after two deaths in a year, the third death will follow. Priest Zoran criticizes this custom and says:

“It used to happen in a few funerals where two members of a single family would pass away during one year that live hens and such would be thrown in the grave – this has nothing to do with Christianity. I cannot approve of this and I do not attend this.”

2) Redundant so-called pagan customs such as tamping nails, moving scaffolding, breaking plates.

“Tamping a nail where the head of the deceased which is then taken out 40 days after the funeral and carried to the grave and put on the place where the cross stands. Smashing plates, moving the bed or catafalque on which the deceased was lying... You know what, fear shows. I am one of very few who sermon in such sad occasions, and I always say to all, be faithful, and not superstitious. As much as we resist, the Lord created us from dust and gave us soul, he knows our path and we cannot alter it by any act or action“ (priest Zoran).

3) The bestowal as a custom includes giving gifts to those who helped during the funeral in order to reward them for hard work and for helping the family. Most often gifts are given to those who dig the grave, to the woman baking bread, people who carry the coffin, etc. The gifts vary, but most often, according to teacher Milan the following are given:

“The one who carries the cross gets a shirt, the woman who carries cooked wheat gets a towel; those who carry the coffin tie a towel around their arm (two have towels on their left hand, two on their right hand), a towel is tied on the vehicle (if carriage is used, then the towel is tied around the arm of the person leading the oxen), those who dig the grave receive a towel each (in villages they are given socks).”

CONCLUSION

Customs in the border areas of Southeast Serbia that are associated with death and burial are diverse and very complex. Their diversity is conditioned by religious and traditional value systems that are largely geographically and ethnically determined. In order to thoroughly comprehend problem of burial customs in the municipality of Bosilegrad and learn about their religious and secular aspects but also get as much representative and reliable data as possible about the studied topic, we approached the research in two ways. Following the prepared procedure for research, we interviewed a priest of the Third Bosilegrad Parish, then the Head of the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin in Bosilegrad, as well as father Zoran Stojanov and Milan Milanov, teachers from Bosilegrad.

Based on the study conducted, we concluded that the funeral customs in Bosilegrad are based on religious principles of the Orthodox Church and people's often superstitious beliefs and convictions. Reflecting to a large extent the characteristics of the majority of the Bulgarian people, burial customs in Bosilegrad are similar to the customs of other believers of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The variability of these customs is mainly conditioned by the folk tradition of the majority of the Bulgarian people, the current social and economic situation, demographic changes and the economic status of the population.

The customs that very much resemble Serbian customs are: sacred secret confession and communion before passing away, preparing the deceased for burial, wearing black clothes as a sign of mourning, memorial service, burial, dirge etc.

The following specific customs associated with death and burial in Bosilegrad are recognized: cleaning the coffin with the shirt of the closest male member of the family, specific forms of sacrificing chickens and other rituals in order to prevent the deceased to bring with him another family member (born in the same month or the third in a row), very frequent serving of lunch packages instead of a big memorial service and dinner, waking the deceased at night so that an animal (a cat, etc.) would not jump over him or her because it is believed that it would cause the deceased to become a vampire.

REFERENCES

- Vlahović, Petar. *SRBIJA zemlja, narod, život, običaji*. Beograd: Etnografski muzej u Beogradu, 2011
- Đorđević, Dragoljub, B. ed. *On Religion in the Balkans*. Niš and Sofia: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and „Ivan Hadjyiski“, 2013.
- Đorđević, D. B., Danijela Gavrilović and Dragan Todorović, eds. *Religion, Religious and Folk Customs on the Border*. Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, 2012.
- Ivkov, A., P. Pašić, and G. Čurčić. „Igre i običaji iz bosilegradskog karjišta“. *Zbornik radova Departmana za geografiju, turizam i hotelijerstvo* 37 (2008): 84–91.

- Krstić, Dejan. "A Contribution to the Typology of Cult Places of the Balkans". In *Pilgrimages, Cult Places And Religious Tourism*, edited by D. Radisavljević Čiparizović, 129–140. Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 2010.
- Захаријев, Ђордан. *Кустендилско Краице*. Софија: Бугарската академија наукъ, 1918.
- Markešić, Ivan. „Nadgrobni spomenici – vjerni pokazatelji hrvatskog religijskog, narodnog i ideološko-političkog identiteta“. U *Zbornik radova sa Znanstvenog skupa Hrvatski identitet*, uredila Romana Horvat, 233–254. Zagreb, Matica hrvatska, 2010.
- Petrović. Sreten. *Mitologija magija i običaji*. Niš: Prosveta, 2000.
- Sršan, Stjepan. *Osječka groblja*. Osijek: Povjesni arhiv, 1996.
- “Strategija razvoja Opštine Bosilegrad 2013-2018. Finalni nacrt”. U *Regionalna strategija ruralnog razvoja Jablaničkog i Pčinskog okruga 2013-2017*. Leskovac: Centar za razvoj Jablaničkog i Pčinskog okruga.
- Todorović, D., D. B. Đorđević and N. Obradović, N. „A Priest from Bosilegrad”. In *Priest on the Border*, edited by D. B. Đorđević, D. Todorović and M. Jovanović, 195-207. Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion and Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, 2013.
- Попис становништва, домаћинства и станова 2011. у Републици Србији*. Београд: РЗС, 2012.

Internet sources:

- http://www.mediafire.com/view/c538a8e0aa1fwle/Jordan_Zaharijev__Custendilsko_Krajiste_opt.pdf(приступљено 30.4.2015)
- http://www.mediafire.com/view/c538a8e0aa1fwle/Jordan_Zaharijev__Custendilsko_Krajiste_opt.pdf(приступљено 8.5.2015.)
- <http://www.zanati.org/rs/tradicionalnizanati/metal/kovacki.html>(приступљено 25.9.2014)
- <http://letoimore.com/kultura-bugarske/>(приступљено 4.5.2015)
- http://www.academia.edu/8926403/Владимир_Ђоровић_Сахрањивање_и_надгробни_споменици_у_средњем_веку(приступљено 13.5.2015)

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. The place where Bosilegrad cemetery was located



Fig. 2. Church of the Holy Virgin



Fig. 3. Entrance to the cemetery



Fig. 4. Cemetery neglect problem



Fig. 5. Central part of the cemetery



Fig. 6. The upper levels of the cemetery as a result of the expansion of the cemetery



Fig. 7. Road through the cemetery



Fig. 8. Old graves made of carved stone



Fig. 9. The tomb (the place) where the monument dedicated to the soldiers was supposed to be built

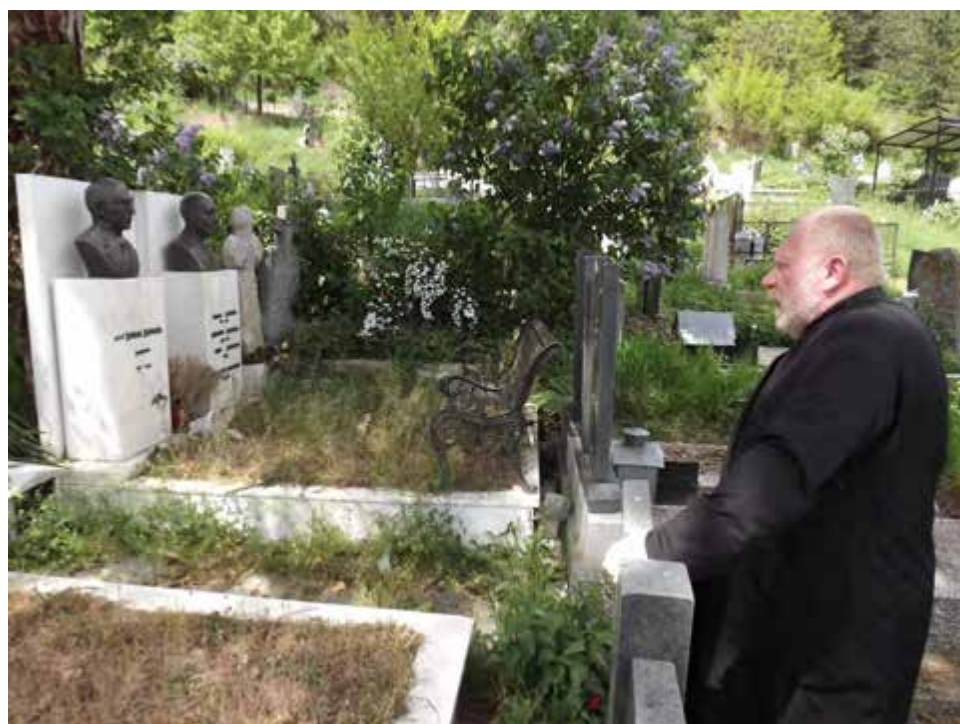


Fig. 10. Dojčin Dojčinov grave and bust

Danijela Zdravković

CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE AND CULTURE OF BURYING IN TRGOVIŠTE (MUNICIPALITY OF TRGOVIŠTE)*

A VIEW OVER TRGOVIŠTE

Trgovište has always been the largest settlement of the municipality of Trgovište, which is consisted of 35 settlements with 5,091 inhabitants, according to the last census in 2011. There are 1,413 adult residents, and the median age of the population is 37.5 years (36.9 in males and 38.1 in females) and it takes the central location of the territory of the municipality of Trgovište.

The municipality of Trgovište is located in the far southeast of the Republic of Serbia and covers the area of 370km² along the border with Macedonia; it also borders with municipalities of Bosilegrad, Vranje and Bujanovac and belongs to the Pčinja district. According to the last census in 2011, there are 5226 inhabitants living in Trgovište. In the immediate vicinity of Trgovište, there are monumental forms of rock masses, probably unique in the territory of Serbia, and perhaps even in the Balkans and Europe, which resemble Đavolja Varoš (Devil's Town) in their form. This location is known as "Vražji kamen" (Devil's Rock); at the very top of it, there is the Church of the Holy Virgin, which dates from the 14th century. The proximity of the Monastery of Prohor of Pčinja has a special significance because of its religious and monumental importance. The Regional road P-125, which runs through the Pčinja valley in the direction of Bosilegrad, connects the municipality of Trgovište with the Corridor 10. Near Trgovište, the Regional road P-238 forks off to Kriva Palanka (FYROM), but the border crossing on this road is still not open. With each census, the population in the municipality of Trgovište has increased, because the largest settlement in the municipality of Trgovište has been "filled" with people from the surrounding villages that are inaccessible; the greatest fall happened after the 2011 census. Among the inhabitants of Trgovište, the most numerous are Serbs. An analysis of the ethnic structure of the population of the municipality of Trgovište (Zdravković 2014, 17) indicates a relatively homogenous ethnic structure of the population. The municipality of Trgovište has an ethnic structure in which Serbs are predominant: in 1961 there were 99.6% of Serbs, in 1971 – 99.0%, in 1991 – 98.0%, in 2002 – 98.5% and in 2011 97.8%. That social, historical and political events affect the mobility and structure of the population, can be seen in the example of the presence of Yugoslavs, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Roma and Slovaks. Namely, each of these ethnic groups were predominant when compared among each other, but variations in individual groups come at different times. It can be seen that the ethnic group of *Yugoslavs* was the most numerous in 1991 (0.5% in the municipality of Trgovište) and in 1971 (0.02% in the municipality of Trgovište), while their presence during the sixties of the 20th century and in the first and the second decade of the 21st century (the period of the post-socialist transformation) is significantly decreased. *Macedonians* were present in the municipality of Trgovište during the entire period (1961-2011); however, they were not pre-

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

sent in the municipality in 1991, and in 2002 and 2011 they were the second most numerous group in the municipality of Trgovište – 0.5% (after Roma). In 1961, *Bulgarians* were the most numerous ethnic group in the population – with 0.2%, in 1991, there was not a single Bulgarian in Trgovište, while in 2011 there were 0.3% of Bulgarians (Zdravković 2014, 17).

There were no Gypsies in the population of both municipalities in 1961, but their presence is recorded in 1971 census (Roma-Gypsies) – there was 0.1% only in the municipality of Trgovište (as well as in other census periods). In 2002 there were no Roma among the population of both municipalities, while in 2011 there was 0.6% in the municipality of Trgovište. Therefore, according to the results of the last census, *Roma* are the most numerous of the minority ethnic groups in the population of the municipality of Trgovište, although they were not present there until 1971.

If we sum up the (predominant) presence of individual ethnic groups in the observed municipality, with respect to the time dimension, it can be concluded that in 1971 the majority were Macedonians, as well as in 2002, and in 2011 the majority among the minority ethnic groups were Roma.

The ethnic picture of the observed municipality in the period of 1961-2011 did not change a lot. Changes can be seen in higher or lower presence of individual minority ethnic groups in the given period, although the ethnic homogeneity was never a question. It can be concluded that, after certain variations in the number of members of the individual minority ethnic groups (Macedonians, Yugoslavs and Bulgarians), it came to an increase in the number of Roma people, in relation to the other ethnic groups, in the last two censuses in the municipality of Trgovište. Beside social and historical events, as well as cultural characteristics of individual ethnic groups and their share in the population, denominational affiliation of the population can also affect both attitudes towards the burial customs and the very appearance of cemeteries and the natural, but also the mechanical, mobility of the population (readiness to leave the hometown depending on ethnic and confessional affiliation). However, for the needs of this paper, we will focus only on summing up religious practices of burying which is characteristic to local inhabitants of the observed municipality at the Southeastern border.

People in Pčinja are mostly kind and open for any discussion, help and cooperation. A choice of our interlocutor, an elderly informer, Milko Despotović (1931) (Fig. 1), retired local photographer (a private photography business “Fotozrak”) and a projectionist (Cultural center in Trgovište) was imposed as a logical one, because it came from earlier made contacts and meetings with people in Trgovište, Vranje and Niš (a village teacher, Vesna Trajković, professor Momčilo Zlatanović and two students of the Faculty of Sports in Niš, who come from Trgovište to study in Niš) during a field work.

THE CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE AND THE BURIAL CULTURE IN TRGOVIŠTE

The paper is based on the field work and, to the extent appropriate, present original data collected from the area of the town of Trgovište. A qualitative research style is applied in the paper – an in-depth interview – as a methodologically useful research instrument in the field research. The data were gathered using methodological instructions, *The Procedure for Collecting Data on Cemeteries in Eastern and Southeastern Serbia*, designed by Dragoljub B. Đorđević (2015) as a part of the project (OI 179013), which is realized at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering in Niš and financed by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia. An unfavorable geographic location (a mountainous region),

infrastructural underdevelopment, and the closed nature that the Pčinja district demonstrated in relation with neighboring economically and culturally different areas in the conditions of deindustrialization did not offer a possibility for further social development in the transitional conditions.

The geographic location, commerce, traffic, political borders and national feelings of the population in Pčinja shaped its cultural map. Main mediaeval routs of trade and war were also routs of culture, customs and language. Continuous social and ethnic mobility in the Balkans, ever since the Middle Ages in the Nemanjić state, has brought culture in this area. Tihomir Petrović in the preface to the book *Pčinja* (2007), Second Revised and Updated Edition, states that Momčilo Zlatanović makes quite convincing claims about the contribution of Vlachs and Yuruks to the ethnogenesis of the local population of Pčinja, contesting the idea of Jovan Cvijić that Pčinja is a part of Shopluk and emphasizes that the locals of Pčinja are not Shopi in the entirety, either according to their origin or according to their ethnopsychological characteristics. Many different cults were observed in Pčinja (cults of trees, water, rocks). Unfortunately, they were neglected during the seventies and the eighties of the last century due to mass migrations and weakened influence of tradition and faith and they should be renewed and preserved because they are a part of cultural heritage of this area. The largest and the most visited cult (holy) place in South Serbia is the Monastery of Prohor of Pčinja. In the past, the locals used to care more about their Orthodox religion. At certain historical moments, it was related to the national consciousness; between the two world wars, people used to visit the Monastery of Prohor of Pčinja regularly along with its metochia (Saint Pantaleon and Saint Stephan) and the Church of Saint Nicolas in Trgovište. After the World War II the influence of religion declined and with that, a religious consciousness among younger generations weakened, as well.

In Trgovište, one church has been built – the Church of Saint Nicolas, and there is one cemetery that is still tended. People of other faiths are not buried in the Orthodox cemetery in Trgovište.

The Culture of Remembrance: from “Lapot” to the Local Cemetery in Trgovište

Every nation has its customs and they are different in many respects, but the most prominent difference is contained in leaning about conditions in which these customs have been created, brought to life and respected by a wider social community. No matter how different they may be, folk customs are always connoted by esthetics, scene, verbal and nonverbal characteristics, because people have created and cultivated them with a great emotional and cultural charge. Serbian customs are very interesting and amusing to other people both in respect to differences and similarities to customs of their own. Serbian customs are insufficiently known to modern Serbs, as well. Having in mind that since the mid-twentieth century, the term culture has been understood as a model of material and spiritual adaptation that is accepted by a society as a traditional way of solving problems, and acquaintance with customs of other nations or, in other words, exchange of wealth of folk traditions has been understood as an advantage and something that is desired in the process of bringing nations together in the time of globalization, we will give an example of the culture of remembrance concerning lapot, as well as an example of discontinuity of religious practice, and give a description of the single cemetery in Trgovište, where Serbs, Macedonians, Bulgarians and (Orthodox) Roma have been buried. The culture of remembrance is developed as a sort of reaction to a cold war image of the past and is used as a new research paradigm within a rapid development of a historiographical

consciousness from the event history to structural to cultural history of the 20th century (Kuljić 2006, 328). A question is raised whether it is more advisable to examine the past, which has become more complex today, starting from a historical everyday life (history from below) in order to relativize the truth about religious practices in the border municipalities. This was discussed with an informatory and a photographer, Milko Despotović, who told us two stories about the origin of the cemetery in Trgovište and memory of a Serbian customary practice of killing old men – lapot, which he characterized as a humane euthanasia. It is known that lapot designates a custom of killing the old and the weak, which was maintained in some parts of Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Bosnia almost until the end of the 19th century, when it was prohibited by the law. Until then, it was believed that when a man turned 60, he became a burden for a household and a family, so it was up to his son or the closest male relative, if he did not have a son, to take him to a mountain and ritually kill him, hitting him with a cudgel or a mallet on a bread that an “old” man held over his head, which symbolized that he was no longer worthy of bread, and consequently no longer worthy of life. The stories of Milko Despotović are based on stories of his mother about lapot which was practiced in Trgovište and the surrounding area in the beginning of the 20th century. There was not a specific place where this rite used to be performed, but they would ritually go to a place distant from a house, where an old man would be hit with a mallet in a head by his son, grandson or a man from his family. After the hit, the old man would be taken on a hook and dragged to the nearest cliff and thrown off together with the hook. That place is still called *Pampaleja* by the locals. The message was clear, the old and the weak, the ill and the useless are given back to nature because it was the nature that gave them. That ritual practice was stopped, according to a legend told in Trgovište, in a moment when a grandson asked his father why his grandfather, the victim of lapot, had been thrown off with a hook, when the hook was going to be needed for him, too, when he got old. In that crucial moment, “a collective consciousness of the people of Pčinja” went through a change and the burial culture was tied with special locations – cemeteries.

The second story is related to a komitadji movement in Trgovište, and according to historical data, a hard komitadji (guerilla) life was most easily endured by the people of Pčinja who showed hardness of highlanders. The time of komitadji is remembered in Trgovište as dramatic and cruel, Turkish military and police authorities undertook measures against Serbian komitadji, houses were searched as they looked for weapons (Zlatanović 1996, 42-44). Stories that come from ancestors are in the form of memories of drums which were used as a sign of the beginning of marking the territory of retribution and killing of people. As soon as the drums were silenced, they knew that the territory was marked and that people there were going to be killed in retribution. Mass murders demanded collective interments, both for hygienic reasons and for the purpose of showing respect for the cult of the dead by marking the location where candles would be lit. This is how the cemetery in Trgovište was founded, according to the second story of our interlocutor.

The only cemetery in Trgovište is located in the west of the town (Fig. 2), at the natural entrance made by the Pčinja River. It is said that it originated from the period when the Ottoman Turks had left this area. At that time, it was recognized only by unprocessed stones (Fig. 3) as markings for graves, so that one would know the place where to light a candle for a deceased. In beliefs and customs of the Serbian people, stone has a special place and it possesses great symbolic values (Zlatanović 1996, 110).

The Cemetery in Trgovište

The configuration of the terrain where the cemetery is located in Trgovište is typical for a rural mountainous area surrounded by mountains and plateaus, such as: Bele Vode, Čupino brdo and Kozjak. The cemetery is located at the very center of the municipality, near the only church – the Church of Saint Nicolas as a part of the town of Trgovište, at the distance of 500m. More precisely, it is located right after the bridge at the mouth of two rivers: the Tripušnica and Kozjedol River, which together make the Pčinja River that flows into the Vardar. The cemetery can be reached through a narrow paved road; it is unfenced, it has no church, but has a chapel.

From the front side, the cemetery is surrounded by family houses and a local stadium and a sports field. Our attention was drawn by the chapel that has a summer terrace (Fig. 4). The chapel is equipped with dishes, cutlery, water, and when weather conditions allow, tables are laid on the summer terrace.

The cemetery occupies a large area, it is spread over hills and is rather inaccessible, and overgrown with grass and bushes; there are dirt paths between some plots, but usually there are none, so one practically walks over graves (Fig. 5). To an inexperienced eye, it may appear that some graves are neglected. However, Vesna Trajković, a village teacher, explains that it is family members who tend the graves, so the neglected graves only shows how many people moved away a long time ago, so there is no one to tend the graves. The local people told us that some parts of the cemetery were redone six years ago. New graves and mounds are not fenced until a year later and the only marking is a cross with inscribed name and data about the deceased, with a garland and a towel; other markings of a grave are a vase with flowers, a cresset, a place for lighting candles and dishes. Contrast in appearance and the size of tombstones are visible, and some of them are damaged (Fig. 6), because no one tends them (many descendants have moved to Australia for financial reasons). However, there are also many tombstones with the same appearance, for instance, late spouses from respectable families were honored by raising tombstones and fencing the grave (Fig. 7). General condition of the cemetery when it comes to hygiene is unsatisfactory; there are garbage and food leftovers (Fig. 8), as well as candles, cutlery parts, which are common in Orthodox cemeteries. We found bunches of fresh and artificial flowers on a fresh mound, and some older mounds are spread with fine white pebbles. Cemetery workers have also a duty to tend the cemetery, they dig and cover graves, for which they are additionally paid or given food and drinks.

In the cemetery, there are many sculptures or special magnificent family graves that cover a large surface.¹

A curiosity of the cemetery is a monumental burial place (Fig. 9), located at the very left upper angle of the cemetery. It is decorated with the most expensive marble and granite, with a class record book, covered with acrylic glass, there is also tended greenery, a bench for rest, and an aluminum fence. It is a grave of Radoslav Jordanović, a former president of Socialist Party in the municipality of Trgovište, who held several responsible positions in the local government, from a director of the Cultural Center, school principle to the president of the Municipal Assembly.

A Cemetery Outside

Close to the chapel and its summer terrace, there is a “cemetery outside” (Fig. 10). It is a cemetery for those who committed suicide. This way of burying is viewed with approval, because suicide is unacceptable for the Orthodox religious co-

¹ That day, when we visited the cemetery and took pictures of its condition and appearance, a mother of a deceased young man visited one of such graves and it was not appropriate to take a picture of it.

munity and the local population. A priest is not present at the funeral and commemoration services, and only family members tend this cemetery.

PREDEATH, DEATH AND POSTDEATH RITES OF THE ORTHODOX IN TRGOVIŠTE

An interview with the retired local photographer was conducted on June 2, 2015 in Trgovište, on the porch of his family house. He was born in Trgovište on February 1, 1938. Our interlocutor was familiar with the content of the procedures of before, during and after death custom and gave us detail information on how these are carried out in his hometown.

Predeath Rites

As soon as one approaches the old age, one begins to think about death, that is way they prepare earlier everything that will be needed for the final moment. If a sudden illness strikes someone from a closer or wider family (there used to be many joint families in Trgovište), this is very emotional and one seeks to offer any kind of help (protection, incantations, treatment) from comfort in the family to providing the best medical services in Vranje, Niš or Belgrade. Women are responsible for around the clock vigil over the sick, when possible in a separate room, because they are more adapt at taking care of the hygiene, medical therapy and preparing adequate meals for the patient; and if there are no women in the family, this is done by men. All family members encourage the patient, and with pleasant, soothing words, they offer him hope in healing and they try to make him to adhere to a prescribed therapy. Beside family members, the patient is visited by neighbors and friends, who bring food, juices and fruits. Visits from those who quarreled with the patient are also allowed, in the hope that, in those final moments in this world, all disputes will be settled; however, these visits are rare. People in Pčinja believe that animals are capable to predict death, as well as that it can be foreseen in dreams. So, for instance, croaking of ravens and sad howling of dogs have negative connotations.

At the moment of death, the patients turns to the wall of the room where he lies. In those moments, it is rare that he states his last will to the family members, who are obliged to fulfill it, as well as special wishes concerning the property; this is usually done much earlier when he was in better health. Relatives offer him forgiveness and ask for one saying words of consolation and comfort. The presence of a priest is necessary. Lamenting and crying are not allowed, and candles are lit only at night. Eyes of the deceased are closed by family members after the moment of death.

Death Rites

In the Orthodox world, people are buried soon after they die, but not on the same day, because a wake is organized for the deceased during the night. In order to follow all customs and traditions, it is common to have a priest in the house of the deceased. *A placed wooden cross, a lid of the coffin, open entrance door and gate are the main signs of death in the family.* The closest relatives wear black to show mourning, the death is announced by obituary posters (Fig. 11) on a house wall, a lamppost, a tree or other object in order to inform people about the death. It is mandatory to have a large candle places in a bowl with flour above the coffin over the head of the deceased, and *koliva* (cooked wheat) with a small candle. Among Christians in our county it is taken a good care not to allow anyone to die without a lit wax candle. It is believed that one who dies without a candle will roam in the darkness in the other world and will not be able to meet other deceased people. The deceased is dressed in the finest clothes, because they should not go dressed inappropriately to the

other world (Đorđević, 1984:124). A coffin and a shroud are counted as a funeral equipment, but clothes are a private matter, taken care by the family. A deceased man is prepared for the funeral by a male person, and a female deceased by a female person (washing and dressing). Relatives, neighbors and friends come to express their condolences, and they bring gifts of flowers and food, they light candles for the repose of the soul of the deceased, saying: "God forgive". A wake for the deceased is held the entire night, and after the midnight, a supper is prepared, as well as special meals for the morning and the funeral. Everyone that comes into the house to express condolences is offered brandy, coffee, water and sweet and salty snacks. During the wake, a group of selected women bakes a bread and pita, and prepares *đuveč* (a meal similar to ratatouille), koliva and other food that will be served before and after the funeral for "for the repose of the soul" of the deceased. Before carrying the deceased out of the house, last goodbyes are said by kissing them on the forehead and cheeks, close family members also give metal coins, and then flowers are removed from the body, which is covered with a white shroud and a blanket, and the coffin is nailed shut and carried by members of a wider family, relatives or neighbors out of the house. It is quite common to say last goodbyes in front of the house. Pallbearers are marked by towels or handkerchiefs tied around their arms. Younger women are also marked in the same way and, carrying flowers, they form a procession right after a hearse or a tractor with the coffin. In front of them, there is a younger male person that carries the cross, and a younger female person is in the hearse taking care of the koliva, wine and a cresset. Belongings of the deceased are kept at home, and usually are not thrown away, but it is not forbidden to place them next to the deceased in the coffin. Persons who perform these duties at the funeral should be put in charge of preparing so called "sofras" for every following memorial occasion in the Orthodox calendar. Everyone takes part in a procession – relatives, friends and neighbors, no one is forbidden from the funeral. A priest is with others in the procession, and without him, a funeral cannot be carried out (except if a family does not want a priest at a funeral). A hearse is at the head of the procession. The processions stop three times at crossroads on its way.

A wake can be attended by both men and women, and it is mandatory, according to customs in Trgovište, to have an all-night wake and to guard the deceased. If the deceased is not married, he or she is dressed in a wedding suite or a gown before the funeral and a wedding customs and gift giving are performed. An emotional story of Milko Despotović was followed by tears; this meeting of happiness in sadness is very disturbing for everyone and that is why it is said in Pčinja, that "it is better to go to the other world married, and not to combine these customs". Pregnant women are also not forbidden from the wake, and they are not forbidden to sleep in the home of the deceased. In the room with the deceased, one discusses religious topics and speaks about the deceased. Under the table where the deceased is laid, a bowl with water is placed. People are careful not to step over the deceased. There is a loud lamentation, but there is also a belief that it is not fortunate to shed a tear at the deathbed (it is believed that the sorrow will be greater and that the mourners will dream the deceased).

Before taking the deceased to the grave, which is dug by a person with special duties in the religious community, he is taken to the Church of Saint Nicolas. The act of burial is performed along lighting candles and priest's prayers; special rituals that are conducted at that occasion are also: dropping a clod of earth and money before the grave is filled, an animal sacrifice is offered for the deceased, depending on the Orthodox calendar and advice of a priest. After the mound is formed, no prayer is said and it is covered with flowers. After the funeral, everyone goes to a

chamber where the food is served for the repose of the soul of the deceased, but before that they wash their hands and dry them with a special towel. On the other hand, it is believed that, from the moment of death until the fortieth day after the interment, the soul of the deceased remains in the house and for that reason a cresset is kept lit day and night. A cross is put on the mound and it will stay there until a tombstone is erected.

After the funeral, people leave the cemetery in silence. The participants of the funeral procession go home, and only members of the family and the closest relatives of the deceased go to his house. It is allowed to have normal food there, which is usually brought by relatives and friends, with special attention to having fat or nonfat meals (during fasts). Alcohol beverages are not served. Candles are lit and there is a custom to visit the house of the deceased regularly for forty days.

Postdeath Rites

Remembrance of the deceased by the family members, relatives and friends is associated with prayers that believers say to God, along with wishes that God is merciful to the deceased. Prayers can be said without a priest, as well. Mourning lasts mandatorily for one year, but it can be prolonged to three years, and it is accompanied by wearing black and commemoration services with an odd number of softas (number that a table is set for a new group of people). The Orthodox teaching allows commemoration days (morning after the funeral, 7 days, 40 days, six months, one year after the funeral and All Souls' Days). It is allowed to have large family celebrations (for instance, weddings) if it is what the family wants. An erection of the tombstone is a private matter of the family, and, according to the Orthodox customs, it is sufficient to have a humble tombstone. The grave is tended by the family and cemetery workers, who take care of the entire cemetery.

INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION: CONTEMPORARY FORMS OF THE BURIAL CULTURE

One thing is certain, so claim ethnologists, customs, like a sensitive instrument, are best for expressing social dynamics and social turbulences. A new millennium has brought profound changes and a return to the tradition, which was incited by a strong political intent, and with a cessation of war turmoil in the territory of former Yugoslavia, sensitivity to national topics and symbols has been also decreased, which opens up vital research focuses that are associated with local and familial life practices (from the cycle of birth to the cycle of death). Death and traditional burial customs represented an autochthonous social manifestation of populated territories of border areas. Population in the border areas has created and accepted certain forms of religious behavior that has a profound meaning and humane content. At the same time, that indicates the importance ascribed to the cult of death in the traditional life of people.

Funeral customs are very old, and they are the very moments and expressions of social and cultural changes in the border areas, and this overview analysis points to certain indicators that affected changes and a creation of new forms and contents of these customs. The description of the local cemetery and tombstones indicates many elements of kitsch, so a conclusion is drawn that "modern burial places", in comparison to the traditional ones, have novelties in the sense of more expressed elements of prestige.

The method of examining the past of Trgovište chosen by the author is not a literary pleasure, but a sociological analysis of only "one view from below" of the religious customary practice in a specific time and place. An interest for all things that

preceded a living practice can be explained by the fact that sociological researches seek to find profound and lasting, general human aspirations and social activities with the purpose of overcoming personal troubles, family misfortunes and social crises, and thus to secure the continuity of the existence of an ethnic group in a border area.

The empirical findings and the interview with Milko Despotović from Trgovište summarily indicate new trends in the burial culture: current relationships between younger generations and Serbian diaspora with the Orthodox religion weaken, and religious behavior (before, during and after death customs) is discontinuous. The burial culture and the very description of the cemetery in Trgovište point out the fact that there is a very small number of believers from Pčinja who accurately follow funerary rules prescribed by the Orthodox Christianity; in other words, there is a small number of those for whom it can be said that are religious despite advice and recommendations of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

LITERATURE

- Ђорђевић, Тихомир. *Наш народни живот*, IV. Београд: Просвета, 1984.
- Zdravković, Danijela. *Tihomir Đorđević u ključu srpske etnosociologije*. Београд: Задужбина Андрејевић, 2004.
- Здравковић, Данијела. *Социјални контрасти у пограничју (општина Трговиште)*. Београд: Задужбина Андрејевић, 2014.
- Златановић, Момчило. *Пчиња*. Врање: Сисеро, 1996.
- Kuljić, Todor. *Kultura sećanja*. Београд: Ћигоја штампа, 2006.
- Златановић, Момчило. *Речник говора јужне Србије*. Врање: Учитељски факултет у Врању, 2008.
- Naumović, Slobodan. "Употреба традиције – политичка транзиција и промена односа према националним вредностима у Србији 1987–1990". У *Kulture u tranziciji*. Београд: Plato, 1994.
- Недељковић, Зоран *Записи са Пчиње*. Врање: Аурора, 2008.
- Николић-Стојанчевић, Видосава. *Врањско поморавље*, Српски етнографски зборник САНУ LXXXVI, Живот и обичаји народни, књ. 36. Београд: Одељење за друштвене науке САНУ, 1974.
- Попис становништва, домаћинства и станова 2011. у Републици Србији*. Београд: РЗС, 2012.

PHOTOGRAPHY



Fig. 1. The researcher and the informer in the field



Fig. 2. A view over the cemetery in Trgovište



Fig. 3. The oldest stone markings in the cemetery in Trgovište



Fig. 4. A covered summer terrace next to the chapel in the cemetery



Fig. 5. A typical appearance of burial plots without paths between graves



Fig. 6. An example of a damaged tombstone



Fig. 7. An example of a fenced grave with tombstones



Fig. 8. The hygiene in the cemetery: food leftovers in the cemetery after the All Souls' Day in June



Fig. 9. A monument erected after the death of Radoslav Jordanović from Trgovište



Fig. 10. „The Cemetery outside“



Fig. 11. Place where obituary posters announce death

Danijela Zdravković
Dragan Todorović

BURIAL CULTURE OF ALBANIANS IN VELIKI TRNOVAC (BUJANOVAC)*

ABOUT VELIKI TRNOVAC

Veliki Trnovac is one of the older villages in the Valley of Vranje (Трифуноски 1963). As a Serbian settlement it was mentioned as early as in 1400 while in the Turkish censuses it was regularly recorded since the sixteenth century as a “big village.” With the coming of the settlers from North Albania and *Malësia* in the late eighteenth century there started the moving out of native Serbian population. The last Serbs left it in the mid-sixties of the twentieth century. Today the largest village in Bujanovac is completely settled down by Albanians. There are three mosques and the church of Saint Emperor Constantine and Empress Helen¹ (set up in 1937 on the foundations of a destroyed Serbian temple) (Стаменковић 2001).

Because of its border land links with Bulgaria, Macedonia and Albania, Serbian public witnesses the stories spun out about Veliki Trnovac as the main hub for trade in narcotics for the Balkans. Many people, however, are not familiar with the fact that the village has several private companies, an elementary school with thousand pupils, Medical Center, post office, dozen stores, inns and cafés as well as a football team. People there do not live any better than in any other place on the “southern railway” (as the Serbian South is known); the situation is somewhat made better by donations from more prosperous cousins – *gastarbeiters* (guest workers) – as testified by a steady direct bus traffic to Switzerland, Germany, Austria, etc.

The people from Veliki Trnovac mostly avoid meeting and talking to Serbs safe for business contacts. One such contact we have used to get connected with Imam and Main Secretary of Muftidom Sevdar Bayrami who has kindly accepted to be our interlocutor in the planned interview about the predeath, death and postdeath rites of the Albanians from the South of Serbia as well as our host in the tour of the cemeteries in Veliki Trnovac.² The only condition he stipulated was not to burden our talks about religious issues with the questions about political instability that is spread throughout this part of the Serbian border zone. We have respected that.

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia (179013)*, carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

¹ The church was desecrated; it opens its gates only once a year, on June 3, on its patron saint's day when it is attended by Orthodox Serbs from Bujanovac and its vicinity as well as descendants from the former native residents; the religious service is done by Bishop Pahomije and clergy from the Eparchy of Vranje.

² In the village we were received by young Florian Malići (Fig. 1), born in 1998, student of “Mehmet Akif College” (a satellite unit of a Turkish high school). He kindly took us to the home of our informant in Veliki Trnovac with whom we visited the cemeteries; the interview ended in business premises of the private company *Agro Adria* in Bujanovac.

BURIAL CULTURE OF ALBANIANS FROM VELIKI TRNOVAC

As we have already noted, in Veliki Trnovac there are three mosques, namely, Strukarve Mosque (Xhamia e Strukarve), Middle Mosque and New Mosque. In the village there are five cemeteries; two are physically detached from the shrines while three of them are located on their properties. No people of other faiths are buried at the Muslim cemeteries.

Strukarve Cemetery

The oldest of the cemeteries is that of Strukarve; it is located in the *mahala* with the same name, on the eastern side of the village and with about five hundred households. It is said to have originated from as early as the Ottoman Turks' stay in the region. It is surrounded by a local sports stadium as well as sports terrains. Our attention was firstly drawn to a small stone table underneath a hundred years old mulberry tree (Fig. 2). In the case that the rite of *namaz* is not performed in the mosque, the last valediction from the deceased is done on this very spot.

The cemetery is spread over a large area; it is overrun with grass and low shrubbery while earthen paths lead us between plots (Fig.3). To a layman it may seem neglected. Mr. Bayrami, however, explains that the Islam tradition insists on modesty in the appearance of tombs and uniformity in the burial ways. The mounds are, as a rule, not fenced off; the only markers are stone or wooden boards or bars with no inscription or marker (Figs. 4 and 5). Yet, not everyone is likely to observe the order of his faith to avoid stressing his material prosperity in the secular life. Visible are contrasts in the outlook and size of monuments. Thus, for instance, the late married couple from a distinguished family from Trnovac is given special honour by having a tombstone erected and a railing built around their tombs (Fig. 6). Another example is a tombstone with a motive of double-headed eagle (Fig. 7). The general state of the cemetery regarding hygiene is satisfactory: no garbage or food leftovers are there and neither are any candles or parts of utensils otherwise so frequent on Orthodox cemeteries. On a fresh mound we spotted wreaths of fresh and artificial flowers while the older ones had tiny stones strewn on them. Currently there is adaptation of a part of the enclosing wall of three hundred meters in length paid for by the financial donations of the much better-off local people.

The Haji Osman Aga Cemetery

The Trnovac River is a natural borderline between Strukarve Cemetery and the new one located at the very centre of the village and named Haji Osman Aga. It is named after the representative of an old family from Trnovac that built the cemetery on its own property (*vakuf; vaqf*) in order to meet its own needs concerning the burial of the family members.³ It is a century old and has two large areas, namely, old and new cemeteries; it is enclosed by a wall and a gate (Fig. 8). In the old part of the cemetery there are burial places of the family members – cemetery founders which are, above the ground, marked off by a simple stone or tree while in the latest part there are tombs of the local people who used to live in its immediate vicinity. Just like at Strukarve cemetery, care is taken about maintenance of tombs and access paths as well as general hygiene.⁴ On the entire cemetery there is not a single bust or separate family sepulchre.

³ We were explained that Islam cemeteries, anyway, come into being by extending originally small family sepulchers on *vakuf* lands.

⁴ As said by Imam, all the cemeteries are taken care by an employee of the religious community and for this he gets financial compensation along with paid pension and social security costs. Money is obtained from the collections of local people, especially better-off ones.

Our attention is especially attracted to the monuments from the new cemetery section, part of them of white and part of them of black marble with the inscribed name of the deceased and the dates of his birth and death. Those of more recent dates also comprise data about the mourners or those who have erected the monument or verses from the Qur'an (Fig. 9).

We should single out two monuments of special sociological interest. The first one with the name Esma Đeladini on it has been set up by grateful descendants only recently, though the woman died in distant 1947 (Fig. 10). The other one has an epitaph in Arabic; as such, it is unique on the whole cemetery (Fig. 11).

The cemetery's curiosity is a monumental edifice located close to its upper left corner but on the outside. It is decorated with the most expensive marble and granite, with well-ordered greenery, rest benches, night lights and Albanian flag on a high pedestal. This is the monument to Ridvan Ćazimi known as Captain Leshi, member of the Liberation Army for Bujanovac, Preševo and Medveđa who was killed by Serbian police forces on May, 24, 2001 in an armed conflict with the paramilitary forces from the region.⁵

Cemeteries on the Estates of the Mosques

The remaining three cemeteries are located on the estates of Trnovac mosques. They comprise some twenty graves of the local people who won prominence by their financial contributions to the building of religious edifices or some other gifts and donations for the sake of Islam faith. This way of burial is not looked upon with approval from the local religious leaders; on the contrary, in the talks with the local people, it is openly suggested that they should not follow this example when it comes to choosing the place for their "eternal home."

PREDEATH, DEATH AND POSTDEATH RITES OF ALBANIANS FROM VELIKI TRNOVAC

Our interview with Imam Sevder Bayrami, Main Secretary of Muftidom of the Valley of Preševo, was done on June, 10, 2015, in Bujanovac. He was born in Veliki Trnovac in 1965. As for his education, he is a theologian of Islamic Studies; he earned his diploma at the prestigious University of Islamic Studies in Cairo (Egypt) in 1992. Our interlocutor got familiar with the procedure about predeath, death and postdeath rites; he informed us in detail about the way these rites are observed by Albanians in his native village.

Predeath Rites

A sickness of the member of a wider or narrow family circle is very emotionally experienced; efforts are made to give him all sorts of help, firstly at home and then in the best medical institutions. Day and night watch over his sickbed, whenever it is possible in a separate room, is assigned to mainly younger men (but, if there is no man in the family, the duty is taken over by women). All the inmates encourage the sick man; their nice words are to incite in him hope in recovery and they insist on patience in applying the prescribed therapy. At the most difficult moments the sick man addresses Creator with the following words of prayer, "Ešhedu cu la ilahi illallah, ve ešhedu enne Muhammeden resulullah." Those who are present invite him, on their part, to rely on God and read prayers from Qur'an. In addition to the

⁵ In the year of 2004, at the very center of the village and by the elementary school, a majestic mausoleum to Captain Leshi was erected comprising the things he had worn and those he had used in his lifetime along with the car in which he was killed.

family, the last greetings to the sick man are delivered by his neighbours and other acquaintances that bring him fruit and fruit juices. Also allowed are visits by the people the sick man had previously been in quarrel, all in the hope that in the last moments of his stay in this world all arguments between the quarrelling parties would be resolved. The Muslims do not believe in the propensity of animals to foretell death; neither can it be foretold to an individual in his dreams. Thus, for instance, the rooster's cry does not have any negative connotation; instead, the believers take it to announce the presence of angels.

In his dying moment, the sick man turns towards Quibla just as he does in prayer. In such moments it is not a rarity that the dying man says the pledge to his closest family members that they are obliged to fulfil as well as special desires about what he leaves to the others in terms of his personal possessions and other properties. The relatives surrounding him either give him pardon or ask for the same from him while uttering words of appeasement and comfort. The presence of a clergyman is obligatory. Wailing and crying are not allowed since this is forbidden by Islam faith. Neither is there any special fear of the dead man; the devout Muslims think that the soul of the deceased goes to heaven in order to see the place that it is going to move to. The eyes of the deceased, after his dying, are closed by the family members.

Death Rites

In order to observe all rites and rules, it is customary to have a clergyman in the house of the deceased. *The chair placed at the house entrance is the main marker of a death in the family.* No one puts on black clothes as a sign of mourning; neither is a candle lit. The funeral equipment comprises boards for the interment of the deceased and *céfin* or cloth for wrapping up the body of the deceased. For the funeral, the deceased is prepared by man if he is male or a woman if the deceased is female. The removal of the impurities from the deceased's body is done by water, soap and sponge, while his head is directed towards the west and his legs towards the east; it is done by the family members on the *tereshim* while the act of a ritual religious washing is done by the clergyman. The last valediction is given by kissing the deceased in the forehead and cheeks; then the body is enshrouded in the *céfin* and placed on the *tabut* (stretchers), covered with a special blanket; his head is directed forwards while his body is taken out of the house by the members of his close family circle. The body is not desecrated in any way (such as needle piercing and the like). The personal belongings of the deceased are not kept in the house; they are mainly thrown away; it is also forbidden to put them next to the corpse in the grave. The persons performing the funeral activities should have *avdes* but it happens that this requirement is sometimes not observed. The funeral procession includes only men – relatives, friends and neighbours, with or without *avdes*; women are, according to the Islam teaching, forbidden to attend funeral rites. Together with the procession participants goes Imam without whom the burial could not be carried out (if his absence is justified, then prayers from Qur'an are regularly read by the person who is regarded, of all those present, as the most knowledgeable in the matters of faith). At the head of the procession is a car with the deceased's body. The procession never stops on its way to the cemetery.

The wake over the dead can be done by both men and women; there is no obligation of night watch and keeping of the deceased. The presence of pregnant women during the wake is not forbidden; neither is sleeping in the deceased's home. In the room with a dead man people talk about religious matters and the deceased's moving to the *ahiret*. Care is taken that the dead body is not skipped over. The persons visiting the family members in mourning give *Selam*, usually with phrases like

“God has bestowed *dzennet* on him!” or they read *dova* or prayer for the dead. On that occasion no food or drinks are served. There is no loud crying for the dead though it is not forbidden to shed a tear over his death bed (a dropping tear is believed to express divine mercy).

Before taking the deceased to his grave which is dug by a specially assigned person in the religious community, he is taken to the mosque. The burial act itself is done quickly; on that occasion no special activities are performed; neither is any animal sacrifice offered to the deceased. For woman the grave should be chest-deep while for man waist-deep since women are believed to be more sinful than men. The deceased's body enshrouded in the *ćefin* and with his head turned towards Quibla is only lowered in the pit, directly on earth, with no previous placement in the casket. Before covering it with earth, it is obligatory to put wooden boards over it. After the mound is formed, a prayer is read. Islam does not approve of spilling water over the grave nor putting wreaths over it but this happens sometimes (even if water spilling is practised, the water jug is not broken over the grave; today for the same purpose are plastic jugs used). On the other hand, the soul of the deceased is believed to be floating, from his dying moment to his interment, over his body. Two wooden pyramids (*ba-shlukias*) are put on the mound – one near the head, the other by the legs – with the basic data about the deceased and Islam symbols.

After the funeral is over, in peace and silence do people leave the cemetery. The procession participants are sent home while to the house of the deceased only the family members and the closest relatives go back. In the house it is allowed to consume usual food which is most often brought by kin and friends without caring if it is fat or fat-free. Alcohol is not served. No candles are lit; neither is there any obligation of regular visits to the home of the deceased in the following seven days.

Postdeath Rites

The memory of the dead man, on the part of his inmates, relatives and friends, is related to the prayers that the believers send to God, together with the wishes that God should be merciful to him. The prayers can be sent even without the presence of a clergyman. The mourning for the dead obligatory lasts for three days though it can be prolonged to five to seven days. Islam teaching does not allow for observing any memorials on special days (forty days, fifty-two days, six months, a year, All Souls' Day). It is allowed to organize greater family festivities (wedding and the like) if this is what the family wants. Neither is there any obligation to set up a tombstone; it is sufficient to put a big stone near the head and a smaller one by the legs. The grave is then a matter of care for the family and the gravedigger who is also responsible for the whole cemetery. Devout Muslims do not believe in the return of the deceased's soul to the world of the living.

CONCLUSION

The wars on the former Yugoslavia territory are over but national tensions are still strong. They are reflected, among other things, in the fact that we know less and less about culture and customs of our neighbours. On the territory of the Valley of Preševo where the population of the minority community outnumbers Serbs, no interest is shown in getting familiar with the way of life and religious customs of the first door neighbours. That is why our paper in which we highlight the burial culture of Albanians in Veliki Trnovac is a modest contribution to dispelling of the deep-rooted stereotypes.

The results obtained on site and information from the interview with Imam Sevder Bayrami, Main Secretary of Muftidom of Preševo Valley lead us to two conclusions:

1. Religious behaviour (predeath, death and postdeath rites) of Albanian population from the largest Bujanovac village point to the preserved spiritual connections with the respective religious community, partly because it is still under control of the traditional opinions of older generations (we have no opportunity to discuss the rite observance with local people and thus check on the statements made by the religious leader), and,

2. New trends in the burial culture (setting up and decorating precious tombstones as a form of deviation from the Islam-prescribed rules concerning the burial of the deceased) reveal weakened ties of younger generations and the Albanian Diaspora with the ancestral faith as well as their gradual yield to the latest fads and demands of modernization.

LITERATURES

Стаменковић, Србољуб Ђ. Велики Трновац. У *Географска енциклопедија насеља Србије*, књига 1, 262-263. Београд: Географски факултет и Стручна књига, 2001.

Трифуноски, Јован. *Врањска котлина*. Скопље, 1963.

Попис становништва, домаћинства и станова 2011. у Републици Србији. 2012. Београд: РЗС.

PHOTOGRAPHY



Fig. 1 Researcher with informants on site



Fig. 2. Stone table for performing religious rite



Fig. 3. A view of Strukarve Cemetery



Fig. 4. Characteristics of the oldest tombs



Fig. 5. Characteristic outlook of the tomb by Islam teaching



Fig. 6. Example of the enclosed tomb with tombstones



Fig.7. Tombstone with a double-headed eagle motive

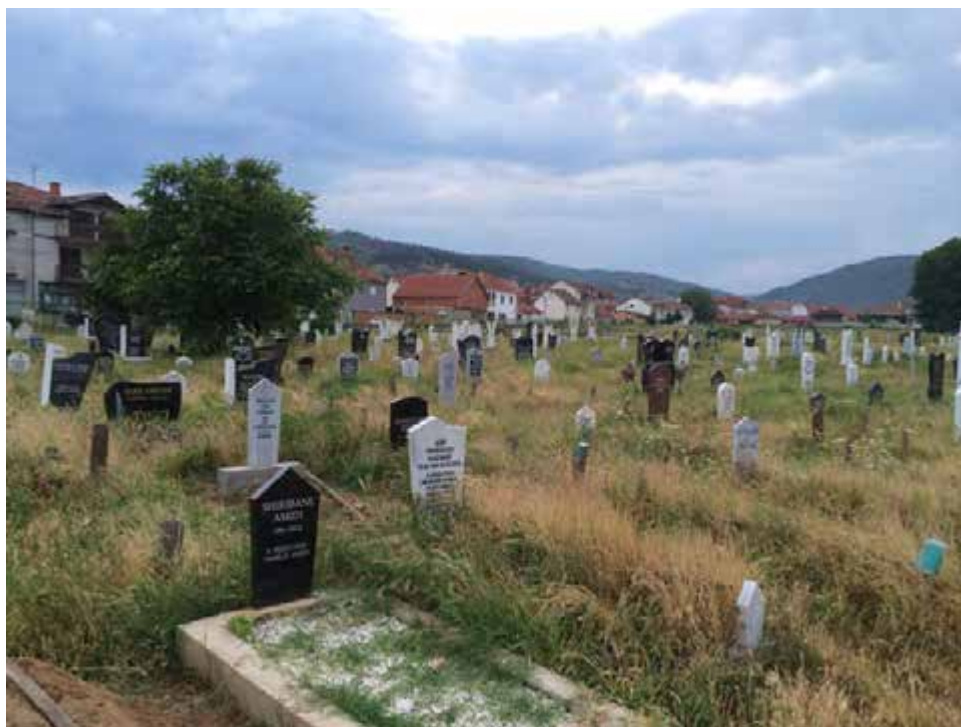


Fig. 8. A view of the Hadji Osman Aga Cemetery at the village centre



Fig. 9. Latest tombstones at the Hadji Osman Aga Cemetery



Fig. 10. Monument built six decades after the death of Esmâ Deladini



Fig. 11. Only tombstone with epitaph in Arabic

Dragoljub B. Đorđević

ĐORGOVCI – CEMETERY AND BURIAL CUSTOMS (PREŠEVO)*

THE ĐORGOVCI FROM THE “RAILWAY STATION” NEIGHBOURHOOD

“You are the first one to enter my home and use that word”.¹

Goran Ćiprijanović

The older ethnological literature on the Đorgovci is rather modest and incomplete, even though it was written by renowned ethnologists (Милићевић 1973; Стојанчевић 1981; Вукановић 1983; Ђорђевић 1984). It was not until this century, primarily thanks to the research by Sanja Zlatanović (2006, 2007),² that actual knowledge of them has been acquired: when they were first mentioned and where they now live, when their language was lost and what they call themselves, what name they are given by the Serbs and other Roma, what their customs and faith are like, how they live today and what their ethnic markers are... However, they are far from completely studied and certain sociological or romological jewels are yet to be discovered to enrich the image of this specific ethnic community.

The Đorgovci, or the Serbian Gypsies – a subgroup of Roma who speak the Serbian language, are of Orthodox confession and live on the territory of southern Serbia, Kosovo and Metohija and Macedonia – have, indeed, been “crucified” between the Serbian ethnos, what they want to be, but what is not recognized, and their Romaness, from which they flee and are removed: *their identity is ambivalent*. Thus, as Zlatanović says (2007, 200), “the Đorgovci float between two ‘rooted’ and mutually exclusive identities, marginalized by the bearers of both of them.” – However, they survive.

This time, without considering various aspects of the complexity of an ambivalent identity, we shed light on their burial customs and the position in the cemetery, on the example of the Đorgovci from Preševo, i.e. the ones situated in the “Railway Station” neighbourhood. Who are they and how different from the Preševo Albanians, Roma and Serbs?

It has not been determined when the Roma first appeared in Preševo, but it is certain that they have lived since the olden times in that pretty southern Serbian town, dominantly populated by the Albanians. Serbs and Roma, sharing the same fate and migrating, each amount to approximately a half of the remaining population. There are more than thousand Roma, out of which over 600 are the Đorgovci and around 400 of those who speak the Romani language and are Muslims. (“Brothers Tomislav and Svetislav Petrović [2009, 2010, 19], rather amateurish chroniclers of

* Prepared as a part of the project *Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of East and Southeast Serbia* (179013), carried out at the University of Niš – Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, and supported by the Ministry of Education, Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

¹ Ethnonym – Đorgovci.

² On them, at least in some detail, also see: Osmani 2003; Ћирковић 2007; Đorđević and Osmani 2014.

Preševo and the surroundings, write about the Roma there being of Orthodox and Muslim confession: ‘The Orthodox Gypsies are known as the Đorgovci, i.e. Karadorđevci, and they hide their ethnic belonging and declare themselves Serbs. They are divided into families: the Gugins, the Jovanovićs, etc. Their mother tongue is Serbian. The second group comprises the Muslim Gypsies – the Aškalije, whose mother tongue is Romani, i.e. Albanian or Serbian.’ The Petrovićs are wrong: there are no Aškalije in Preševo, who previously lived predominantly in Kosovo and Metohija, and are now displaced all over Serbia and recognized by the state as a separate national minority: they denounce the Romani ethnic belonging [Đorđević and Osmani 2014, 382].”

Our five-year (2011–2015) research of the Preševo area, particularly the village of Cakanovac and the “Railway Station” neighbourhood (Ђорђевић, Узунковић и Петровић 2014), has shown that since the rebellion in Kosovo and Metohija (1999), the NATO aggression (1999) and especially the conflict with the Albanians in the so-called, wrongly named, Preševo Valley (1999–2001), the number of Serbs and Roma has been drastically reduced. This semi-war situation has caused the Đorgovci to move out from their centuries-old settlement, i.e. “The Railway Station”, in greatest numbers. They are the indigenous people of the area, who settled there long before the Serbs, and much longer before the Albanians, who are now slowly but surely “conquering the territory” and becoming the majority “station” population. Today, according to the most recent data, acquired in the field, there are only 10, and in letters ten, Đorgovci households and families – a total of around fifty people.

ĐORGOVCI OR “ĐORGOVCI”

On May 19 of the current year, we visited two families and the local cemetery. We were immediately surprised by the factual situation which is not in agreement with the theoretical-empirical findings from the above literature. In the first family, the respectable Jovanović household, even though announced, we were not greeted by the host, something which his wife, a Đorgovka originally from Kumanovo, tried to justify by him being hastily summoned to Preševo for some business. She refused the titles “Đorgovci”, “Đorgovka”, was reluctant to tell us anything at all and could barely wait for us to give up on the interview and go visit some-one else. On the other hand, the Ćiprijanović family welcomed us very warmly, even a bit excessively, and its “head” – Goran, aged around 60 – accepted the interview and took us on a cemetery tour.³

Goran Ćiprijanović (Fig. 1), compared to the woman from Kumanovo, refused to declare himself as a Đorgovac even more strongly, *he is a Serb and nothing else*, and he was not called that by anybody during his long life, either in the neighbourhood or in Preševo. He has simply never heard such a thing. His late father was never called that as well, maybe even his grandfather and great-grandfather – they have been living there for two centuries – but he is not aware of any such thing. – “You are the first one to enter my home and use that word” – was his acrid answer to my mentioning the ethnonym “Đorgovci”.

This is why, hereinafter, by acknowledging the fundamental human right that a community in question, regardless of how large it is, may declare itself whatever it feels like and without notice of the names assigned to it by the surrounding peoples, I will put the ethnonym Đorgovci under quotation marks. Albanians, Roma, and least of all Serbs, call the studied inhabitants of the “Railway Station” Đorgovci; they feel like Serbs and that is how they declare themselves, and what they insist upon. They are the “*Đorgovci*” Serbs.

³ Vladan Petrović, a researcher from the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, recorded the interviews and took the photographs.

As such, they live in harmony with their neighbours, there is no mutual restraint or intolerance, let alone discrimination, which can be seen in the material organization of the settlement's area: the "Đorgovci" houses are not sequestered to a separate whole, but are distributed among the other Serbian homes. They have no close contact with the Preševo Roma and, as Ćiprijanović claims, "only an odd hello – and that's all". (In the same manner as his father, Dragan does not speak a word of Romani, but he wanted to learn the *romani cib*. It is interesting to note that he speaks Albanian very well, which he interprets by the fact that he works as a builder for Albanians; he would simply not get any jobs if they recognized that he was a Serb.) They have no contact with the Đorgovci from the villages surrounding Vranje and Grdelica. Their children finish craft and secondary schools and look for job from Vranje, via Niš, all the way to Belgrade. In the existential sense, they share the same transitional fate of their fellow citizens, on the verge of poverty, with over 90% unemployment.

Burial Customs

The "Đorgovci" are in no way separated from the Preševo Serbs, which is corroborated by the latter, and they even observe the custom of Sirovari. *They respect all pre-death, death, and post-death Orthodox customs.* Goran Ćiprijanović was even surprised by such a question – as if that was something already implied.

For example, after bathing and clothing the deceased, a wake is held, i.e. people sit around his or her deathbed the entire night; almost fifty different people from each of the neighbourhood houses take their turns during the night ("Even if I spent the entire day working and mixing concrete, I would still participate in the wake" – says Goran.)

The entire settlement (all Orthodox) comes to express their condolences, candles are lit, people bring coffee, oil, brandy, flowers...

The funeral equipment is bought in Bujanovac or Vranje. Obituary notes are printed and displayed on housefronts, lampposts and in the chapel. The home obituary is kept for a year from the day the person died. The deceased are transported to the cemetery in two ways. The wealthier families rent a hearse from Vranje, for which they pay around 50 euros; the poorer families use neighbours' tractors, and they do not pay anything for that. The funeral procession with a priest stops three times on its way to the cemetery, i.e. at three crossroads. The procession is sometimes accompanied by music, i.e. an orchestra which plays funeral marches.⁴ The grave is dug by friends, and as of lately by a local crew consisting of unemployed people, who are rewarded with food and drinks for their labour.

The priest performs the service before the casket is lowered into the grave, the grave is then covered with soil, and each present person throws a clod of earth into the grave as to say farewell to the deceased. Everyone leaves the barrow slowly and silently and heads toward the chapel (Fig. 2). There, the office for the dead is performed, fat or lean food is served depending on the day of the week, usually in three sittings. First, the food is served for those who have come from farthest away, then the neighbours, and finally the closest relatives and those who have helped with the funeral and repast. The head of the table is occupied by an empty chair and a plate – the place for the deceased.

Since the repast is prepared four more time during the first year from the death of the family member – on the first Saturday, forty days, six months and the whole year, with the compulsory service performed by the priest – a lunch is always

⁴ In contrast to the "Đorgovci" Serbs, the Roma often have brass orchestras playing during funerals (Стојковић 2014)

prepared and everyone present is invited, with people often getting drunk during such occasions. The “Đorgovac” Serb claims that in the “Railway Station” no such thing occurs: “For someone to get drunk, that doesn’t happen here – we all know each other, it’s a small place.” Memorial services are also regularly observed.

A cross bearing the name of the deceased and the years of their birth and death is stuck into the fresh grave (Fig. 3). It stays there until a gravestone is erected. The family is “obliged” to erect the gravestone no later than a year from the funeral. Ćiprijanović talks about how in their neighbourhood, if a family is not in an economically favourable position, they are allowed to erect a gravestone up to three years after the funeral.

The grown male members of the family are supposed to grow their beards until the fortieth day, and they wear black clothes, just like their female counterparts, up until a year – women also wear a black scarf. The rule of growing one’s beard has survived, while the black clothes have been replaced by attaching a small black plate to a visible part of one’s attire.

CEMETERY

The Preševo “Đorgovci” Serbs live in the suburban neighbourhood of “Railway Station” which is located three kilometres from Preševo, the municipal centre. The settlement has the population of approximately 1,500. The most dominant are the Albanians,⁵ while the numbers of Serbs and “Đorgovci” Serbs have been declining drastically – there are no Roma. Despite being the oldest inhabitants of the “Railway Station”, and everyone recognizing that they were the first to settle here several centuries ago, the “Đorgovci” Serbs are today the smallest group in numbers, reduced to merely fifty people. The reasons behind the migration of the “Đorgovci” Serbs and Serbs are the same: the majority Albanian population, economic despair, and marriage.

The neighbourhood does not have an Orthodox church, but it has a mosque built quickly by the newly-arrived Albanians. That is why the “Đorgovci” Serbs as typically traditional Orthodox Christians, i.e. three-four rite believers (baptism, marriage, saint’s day, funeral service), are forced to visit the Preševo Orthodox church. – Thus, it is not easy to find a parish priest. As Orthodox ritualists, they celebrate Christmas and Easter, St. Basil’s and St. George’s days, while they also observe and celebrate the votive procession, i.e. the neighbourhood’s common saint’s day – St. Helena⁶ – and participate in Sirovari.

There are three separate cemeteries in Preševo: the Albanian, the Romani (Fig. 4)⁷ and the Serbian. The old Serbian cemetery, where the “Đorgovci” Serbs are buried as well, is dying out. It is rather remote for the Serbs and “Đorgovci” Serbs from the “Railway Station”. However, there are two more reasons, maybe even more important, because of which the Serbs and “Đorgovci” Serbs have decided to create a new Serbian cemetery in the closest vicinity of the neighbourhood (Fig. 5). The first is that every evening for forty days after the funeral of a family member the customs require that a candle is lit on their grave – the Orthodox cemetery is far away, and the women, due to their husbands being occupied, are the ones who usually perform the duty. The “Đorgovci” Serbs say that it is not the most convenient of things. And incomparably more inconvenient – the second reason – is the fact that in the last de-

⁵ The interviewee Ćiprijanović speaks with resignation: “Professor, an Albanian moves in every single month.”

⁶ This is also the patron saint of the nearby Cakanovac.

⁷ On this in more detail in my introduction to the romological studies (Ђорђевић 2010).

cade and a half, since the Albanians gained momentum, their children have provoked, even by throwing stones, the Serbs and “Dorgovci” Serbs during any type of service held at the old Serbian cemetery in Preševo. Complaints to the police and the local government have not been fruitful.

Therefore, in such an ethnic-religious and political climate, the Orthodox residents of the “Railway Station” rolled up their sleeves, collected some money and substantially expanded the already existing small cemetery (Fig. 6). And more than that, they built and furnished a spacious and decent chapel,⁸ which serves for the repast as well. Naturally, they received no help from the Municipality of Preševo, which, to put it honestly, the Serbs and “Dorgovci” Serbs did not truly expect, yet they find it hard to bear, and they consider the fact that they are not allowed to install electricity in the cemetery and the chapel a sort of discrimination and pressure – they would have funded the whole thing themselves. This way, they have water, a tap, and an arborloo, but not electricity, a lit cemetery area, electric heating or a flush toilet. And so little good will is needed.

In any event, the “Dorgovci” Serbs are buried, according to my topology (see the instrument “*DBD2015* Procedure for collecting data on the Dorgovci cemeteries in southeastern Serbia”), in a type “C” cemetery, i.e. the so-called Serbian, common cemetery, together with other inhabitants (Fig. 8). The cemetery is located close to the neighbourhood, it can be reached by an asphalt road, with only around a hundred metres of gravel. The position in relation to the settlement and the surroundings is very favourable, the general conditions (hygiene and maintenance) are good, the area is enclosed, and a new iron gate, with a cross in the upper part, can be closed and locked.

Graves are bounded in concrete and most often enclosed with an iron fence painted black. The fences are simple with no instances of folk creativity. Gravestones are manufactured with high quality and are well-maintained; the older ones are whitish (Fig. 9), and the newer are black; there are several busts as well. The inscriptions of the deceased’s data are not always grammatically correct: capital letters are often missing at the beginning of first names and surnames, there are no commas or full stops where they are supposed to be; particularly incorrect is the way years of birth and death are inscribed. There are numerous shorter or longer epitaphs with no literary quality whatsoever. Here are the three most striking ones:

I (Fig. 10)

Wipe away your tears father
 only brother
 my dear mother
 let your eyes sparkle joyfully
 because my soul is pure
 without sin
 therefore now I rest
 – in heaven

II

I loved the life that was given to me
 I wanted to enjoy the heart did not agree

Miki

III

My children
 I do not cry only for myself and the lost happiness
 I mourn for the life spent and lost in my heart
 that now breaks my body day and night by knowing
 that I will never see you again
 dad

⁸ The impression is somewhat spoiled by the debris next to it (Fig. 7).

In that, average and neat, Orthodox cemetery of the Serbs and “Đorgovci” Serbs from the Preševo neighbourhood of “Railway Station” there are no individual decrepit graves: the culture of death has persevered to a certain extent.

FINDINGS AND QUERIES

After several years of research on the territory of the Municipality of Preševo and by collecting the material on the “Đorgovci” who live there, we have come upon certain findings that should be either confirmed or challenged by a more scrupulous and comprehensive study of the entire “Đorgovci area”:

1. If other Đorgovci have an ambivalent identity, as the ones from Golemo Selo as determined by Sanja Zlatanović (2006, 2007), the ones living in Preševo do not – they are according to my formulation the “Đorgovci” Serbs – and perhaps even the rest of them living in southeastern Serbia do not have an ambivalent identity as well.⁹

2. The “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo can in no way be distinguished from the Serbs who live there, which is corroborated by the latter, thus they respect and perform all of the Orthodox burial (pre-death, death, and post-death) customs and rituals in the same manner.¹⁰ Is this the case with the other Đorgovci from southeastern Serbia?

3. The “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo do not bury the deceased without their shoes,¹¹ which is what Zlatanović (2006, 139) noticed in the Đorgovci from Golemo Selo. What do the other Đorgovci from southeastern Serbia do?

4. For the forty-days office for the dead, the “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo slaughter a so-called *kurban* – a sheep for a deceased woman, and a ram for a deceased male member of the family.¹² Is this ritual, widely spread on both sides of the border between Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia (Sikimić and Hristov 2007; Христов 2014), present among the other Đorgovci from southeastern Serbia and how do they practice it?

5. The “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo, always together with the Serbs who live there, even observe the custom of Sirovari.^{13, 14} Is the Sirovari custom, still surviving in certain regions of southern Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia (Đorđević and Petrović, 2012), present among the other Đorgovci in southeastern Serbia and how is it observed?

6. The “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo, not separated from the Serbs who live there even in death, are buried in the so-called Serbian, common cemetery, mixed with the latter – the Serbs. Since there are different types of cemeteries (Ђорђевић и Тодоровић 1999; Ђорђевић 2010), do the other Đorgovci in southeastern Serbia bury their deceased in the above type of cemetery or some other type?

⁹ Đokica Jovanović (2014) puts forward a provocative thesis in the analysis of identity.

¹⁰ Vesna Marjanović (2007) has successfully presented the background of burial customs. See also how Sreten Petrović (2014) clarifies the terms “ritual” and “custom” etymologically and methodologically.

¹¹ “Has the custom of burying the deceased without the shoes survived?” – I asked the interviewee. He replied instantly: “Far from it, this is the first time I’ve heard about it.”

¹² The interviewee explained that a poor family can ritually slaughter a sheep or a ram on a day of fasting even after forty days, but no later than a year after the deceased’s death. To get that clarification, Goran Ćiprijanović went all the way to Pahomije, the bishop of Vranje, who listened to him carefully and instructed him on how to proceed.

¹³ This was previously hinted to me, in a personal meeting, on December 15, 2011, in Preševo, by Dušan Ristić, principal of the “Vuk Karadžić” elementary school, a great connoisseur of the region.

¹⁴ The sirovvari from the Preševo village of Cakanovac confirm Osmani’s statements (Ђорђевић, Узуновић и Петровић, 2014). To the question posed by D. B. Đorđević whether the Roma take part in the sirovvari, the first answer was no. But upon his insisting that the Đorgovci, the Orthodox Roma, do take part, they replied: “Well, yes, the Đorgovci go, the Đorgovci go... They have been taking part in it in recent years, we know, we’ve been there.” Thus we confirm that the Romani sirovvari are both Orthodox and Muslim.

LITERATURE

- Вукановић, Татомир. *Роми (Цигани) у Југославији*. Врање: Нова Југославија, 1983.
- Ђорђевић, Драгољуб Б. *На коњу с лаптопом у бисагама: увод у ромолошке студије*. Нови Сад и Ниш: Прометеј и Машински факултет, 2010.
- Ђорђевић, Драгољуб Б. и Д. Тодоровић. *Јавор изнад главе: класична вера и ромско-православна сеоска гробља*. Ниш: Компренски социолошки сусрети, 1999.
- Đorđević, Dragoljub B. and Ibrahim Osmani. "A Partial Reconstruction of the Romani Cult Place: The Blacksmith's Shop in Preševo". In *Cult Places on the Border*, edited by D. B. Đorđević, D. Todorović and Dejan Krstić, 381–391. Niš: YSSSR, Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, 2014.
- Đorđević, Dragoljub B. and Vladan Petrović. "Širovari of Cakanovac". In *Religion, Religious and Folk Customs on the Border*, 219–235. Niš: Yugoslav Society for the Scientific Study of Religion, 2012.
- Ђорђевић, Драгољуб Б., Славољуб Узуновић и Владан Петровић. *Сирово борово: социолошка генеза прешевског Цакановца*. Нови Сад и Ниш: Прометеј и Машински факултет, 2014.
- Ђорђевић, Тихомир *Наш народни живот*, књига 7, том 3. Београд: Просвета, 1984.
- Zlatanović, Sanja „Djorgovci: An Ambivalent Identity”. *Romani Studies* 5, 16/2, (2006): 133–151.
- Златановић, Сања. “Ђорговци: скица за портрет подељеног идентитета”. У *Друштвене науке о Ромима у Србији*, уредили Љубомир Тадић и Горан Башић, 187–203. Београд: Одељење друштвених наука САНУ, Комисија за проучавање живота и обичаја Рома, 2007.
- Јовановић, Ђокица „Идентитет – монолит или расут мозаик: једна могућа теза”. *Теме* 38, 3 (2014): 959–976.
- Марјановић, Весна. „Комуникација с традицијом на примеру погребног ритуала у Шајкашкој, Тимочкој крајини и пиротском региону”. *Гласник Етнографског музеја* 71 (2007): 63–87.
- Милићевић, Ђ. Милан. *Краљевина Србија*. Београд: Слобода, 1973.
- Osmani, Ibrahim. *Pomirenje*. Preševo: Narajan, 2003.
- Sikimić, Biljana and Petko Hristov, eds. *Kurban in the Balkans*. Belgrade: Institute for Balkan Studies SASA, 2007.
- Стојковић, Ј. „На ромском гробљу распевани чак и на надгробној плочи”. *Народне новине*, 26. децембар, стр. 10, 2014.
- Петровић, Сретен. „Ритуали, обичаји и религија”. У *Етно-културолошки зборник*, књига XVIII, 103–115. Сврљиг: Етно-културолошка радионица, 2014.
- Петровић, Томислав и Светислав Петровић. *Прешево: историја и судбина*. Јагодина: Графика Трумпих, 2009.
- Петровић, Томислав и Светислав Петровић. *Прешево: Прешевска котлина*. Јагодина: ауторско издање, 2010.
- Стојанчевић, Видосава. „Роми (Цигани) у јужној Србији”. *Лесковачки зборник* 21 (1981): 137–155.
- Ђирковић, Светлана. „Етнички стереотипи о Ромима у Србији: прагмалингвистичка анализа”. У *Друштвене науке о Ромима у Србији*, уредили Љубомир Тадић и Горан Башић, 169–186. Београд: Одељење друштвених наука САНУ, Комисија за проучавање живота и обичаја Рома, 2007.
- Христов, Петко. „Традиционални одговори на савремену несрећу – 'омладински курбан' и друштвени живот бугарског села”. У *Бити социолог села*, приредио и предговор написао Драгољуб Б. Ђорђевић, 291–300. Нови Сад и Ниш: Прометеј и Машински факултет, 2014.

INSTRUMENTS

I

THE *DBĐ2015* PROCEDURE FOR COLLECTING DATA ON THE PRE-DEATH, DEATH, AND POST-DEATH CUSTOMS OF THE ĐORGOVCI IN SOUTHEASTERN SERBIA

(Dragoljub. B. Đorđević)

1. How do they declare themselves, as the Đorgovci, as Serbs or Roma?
2. How are they accepted by the majority Serbs in the Railway Station neighbourhood?
3. How are they accepted by the Preševo Roma, who are mostly Muslim?
4. Do they know and speak Romani – publicly, when communicating with each other, and at home?
5. Do they maintain contact with the other surrounding Đorgovci (Golemo Selo...)?
6. Marriage: only among themselves, mixing with the Serbs and other Roma?
7. Education: how long do children go to school?
8. What do they live off, do they have a full-time job, do they perform seasonal work abroad (did they use to live off begging or old crafts, are there any farmers)?
9. Do they respect all pre-death, death, and post-death Orthodox customs?
10. Are there wakes, night vigils, by the deceased's deathbed? Who holds it, are they joined by the Serbs?
11. What customs are involved in bathing the deceased, what is put in their caskets...?
12. Do they observe the custom of burying the deceased without their SHOES?
13. Do people who express their condolences light candles, bring coffee, oil, flowers...?
14. Is the deceased taken from the house in the presence of a priest, is a service performed then?
15. Are obituary notes printed and displayed in the neighbourhood?
16. How is the deceased transported from the house to the cemetery?
17. Does the procession stop at every crossroad?
18. Does the priest perform a ritual during the funeral?
19. If not, what is done before the casket is lowered into the grave?
20. Who digs the grave?
21. When the casket is lowered into the grave, does everyone present throw a clod of earth into it?
22. Do the present people leave the grave slowly and with dignity or do they flee?
23. Are there three sittings at the repast table in the deceased's home or the chapel?
24. What is prepared and do they respect fat and lean days?
25. Is an empty seat left at the table for the deceased?
26. Is alcohol served and is there heavy drinking?
27. Does a brass band or some other music play at a funeral?
28. Do they observe the first Saturday, forty days, six months, and the whole year?
29. Do they call the priest?

30. Do they take the food then and prepare the repast in the deceased's house?
31. Is the gravestone always erected and when?
32. Do the closest relatives wear black clothes and when do they take it off?
33. Is an obituary note placed on the house and for how long does it stay there?
34. Do they attend the memorial services regularly?
35. What food and drink do they take then?

Do the Serbs, the neighbours, participate in all pre-death, death, and post-death customs?
Remember, compared to the Orthodox Serbs, is there anything special in the burial customs?

II

THE *DBD2015* PROCEDURE FOR COLLECTING DATA ON THE ĐORGOVCI CEMETERIES IN SOUTHEASTERN SERBIA (Dragoljub. B. Đorđević)

“Railway Station” Neighbourhood (Municipality of Preševo)

Name of the neighbourhood, village: “Railway Station”
Distance from the municipal centre (in km): 3
Is there a church: a) yes b) no
Is there a mosque: a) yes b) no
Population (2011 census): no census data; approximately 1,500
Population of Đorgovci (precisely or approximately): 50
Dominant group (circle one): a) Albanians
b) Serbs c) Roma d) Đorgovci
Population of Đorgovci increasing or decreasing? a) increasing b) decreasing
Migration reasons (state): Albanian surroundings, economic despair, marriage

Đorgovci celebrate votive procession, i.e. neighbourhood's patron saint: a) yes b) no
Are Đorgovci so-called three-four rite believers (baptism, marriage, saint's day, funeral service): a) yes b) no (describe): They celebrate Christmas and Easter, participate in Sirovari

Đorgovci are buried:
a) in their own, so-called Đorgovci cemetery which is physically separated (how and to which extent) from the so-called Serbian cemetery;
b) in their own, so-called Đorgovci cemetery which is physically connected (how) with the so-called Serbian cemetery;
 c) in the so-called Serbian, common cemetery, mixed with other inhabitants;
d) in some other cemetery, outside the place of their residence (reasons: inhabitants' ban, tradition, etc.)

PHOTOGRAPHS



Fig. 1. Goran Ćiprijanović and D. B. Đorđević (V. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 2. The chapel at the Orthodox “Railway Station” cemetery (V. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 3. A cross on a gravestone at the “Railway Station” cemetery (V. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 4. The Romani cemetery in Preševó (I. Osmani 2007)



Fig. 5. The entrance to the “Railway Station” cemetery (V. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 6. The new part of the Orthodox “Railway Station” cemetery (V. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 7. Debris next to the chapel at the “Railway Station” cemetery (V. Petrović 2015)



Fig. 8. The grave of the “Đorgovci” Serbs Desanka and Petar Ćuprijanović¹⁵ (V. Petrović 2015)

¹⁵ The parents of the interviewee Goran Ćuprijanović. The incorrectly spelled surname (Ćuprijanović) on the gravestone is justified by the fact that the gravestones were manufactured by monumental masons in Kumanovo, in Macedonia, thus the errors were usually noticed too late.



Figure 9. An older whitish gravestone at the "Railway Station" cemetery (V. Petrović 2015)



Figure 10. An epitaph at the "Railway Station" cemetery (V. Petrović 2015)

ABSTRACTS

Ružica Cacanaska

FUNERAL CUSTOMS IN THE BORDER AREA – LUKOVO CASE STUDY

Summary

The subject matter of this paper is the funeral practice of the inhabitants of Lukovo. Lukovo is located immediately next to the border with the Republic of Macedonia, and its population is Orthodox.

The analysis and the representation of the defined subject matter is made by funding a database which is composed of secondary source data, collected from the archive and ethnological materials, e-research of the available electronic bases and blogs, as well as data collected by using semi-structured interview (face to face, by telephone and e-mail).

This analysis points out the major moments which are significant for the practicing of the funeral customs in Lukovo.

Key Words: cemeteries, funeral practice, religious customs, border area, case study.

POGREBNI OBIČAJI U POGRANIČNOM PROSTORU – STUDIJA SLUČAJA LUKOVO

Rezime

Predmet ovoga rada predstavlja pogrebna praksa stanovnika Lukova. Lukovo se nalazi u Republici Makedoniji, neposredno kraj granice sa Republikom Albanijom. Stanovništvo Lukova je pravoslavno.

Analiza i prikaz definisanog predmeta zasniva se na bazi podataka, koju čine podaci iz sekundarnih izvora, sakupljeni iz arhivske i etnološke građe, zatim, e-istraživanje dostupnih elektronskih baza i blogova, kao podaci dobijeni putem polustrukturisanog intervjuja (licem u lice, preko telefona i mejla).

U analizi se ukazuje na glavne momente koji su značajni za praktikovanje pogrebnih običaja u Lukovu.

Ključne reči: groblje, pogrebna praksa, verski običaji, pogranični prostor, studija slučaja.

Vladimir Bakrač

Ljubomir Popović

BURIAL CUSTOMS IN THE CENTRAL AND NORTH-EASTERN PART OF MONTENEGRO

Summary

The paper presents the results of so far researches on burial customs from the moment of death to the moment of laying the deceased person in the grave. Relying on descriptive analysis, as well as on personal conversation with locals of the area included by the research, the authors find a great number of customs that are related to burial of the dead and that vary depending on the area or part of Montenegro. These customs were to a large extent conditioned by numerous factors and circumstances, and these are usually socio-economic reasons, then religious, and often geospatial factors and conditions. For the purposes of this paper, the authors were engaged in research in the central part of Montenegro (Banjani and Grahovo), and in the south-eastern part (Vasojevići). Many of these customs disappeared, while some of them are still present.

Key Words: custom, ritual, burial of the dead, tribe, cemetery, deceased person.

OBIČAJI SAHRANJIVANJA U CENTRALNOM I SJEVEROISTOČNOM DIJELU CRNE GORE

Rezime

U radu se iznose rezultati dosadašnjih istraživanja o običajima sahranjivanja od momenta smrti do polaganja pokojnika u grob. Oslanjajući se na deskriptivnu analizu, kao i ličnog razgovora s mještanima istraživanjem zahvaćenog područja, autori nalaze veliki broj običaja koji se vezuju za sahranjivanje pokojnika, a koji se razlikuju u zavisnosti o kojem području ili dijelu Crne Gore je riječ. Ti običaji su u velikom dijelu bili uslovljeni nizom faktora i okolnosti, a to su najčešće društveno-ekonomski razlozi, zatim religijski, a nerijetko su to i geoprostorni činioci i uslovi. Za potrebe ovog rada, autori su se bavili istraživanjem u centralnom dijelu Crne Gore (Banjani i Grahovo), i u jugoistočnom dijelu (Vasojevići). Veliki broj tih običaja je iščezao, dok su se neki zadržali i do današnjih dana.

Ključne riječi: običaj, ritual, sahranjivanje pokojnika, pleme, groblje, pokojnik.

Valentina Vaseva

**BURIAL RITES IN THE REGION OF CARIBROD
(DIMITROVGRAD, REPUBLIC OF SERBIA)**

Summary

The paper is based on the surveys carried out by the author together with Cvetan Manov from the Regional History Museum in Pernik, in the Municipality of Dimitrovgrad in Serbia in July 2004. The research comprised the villages of Gojin Do, Prtopopinci, Izatovci and Senokos. The methods used in the research were traditional ethnographic ones of collecting oral information by means of structured and semi-structures interviews relating to burial rites of the Bulgarians from the Western provinces both in their contemporary forms as in the practice in the past on the basis of older generations' recollections. On the basis of the collected material the inference can be drawn that the burial rites in the environment of Dimitrovgrad in the Republic of Serbia have preserved some of their conservative traits, similar to those in the region of Godech in Bulgaria which is located on the other side of the Bulgarian-Serbian state border. Such customs are, for instance, a belief in *tenec* (vampire), tying up with a thread the cousins of the deceased while the body is lowered into the grave, bringing a green twig to the house after the funeral and utterance of the rite phrase „How how nice it is without you!“ and the like. Yet, at the same time, the burial rites have undergone development as well as certain changes which have emerged under the influence of the Serbian Orthodox Church traditions.

Thus, the most prominent of all soul-days is Dimitrovska Zadoushnitsa while, with Bulgarians, on the other side of the state border, it is Archangel's Zadoushnitsa, on the Saturday before the feast of Saint Michael the Archangel, November, 8. In the region of Dimitrovgrad there is no Cheresheva Zadoushnitsa recorded (cheresha meaning cherry) (The Cherry All Soul's Day) which is, with Bulgarians, held on the eve of the Saturday before Pentecost when cherries for the dead are handed out. Of indubitable influence on the burial rites in the region of Dimitrovgrad are also the burial traditions of larger Serbian towns in which part of population used to live and work. Thanks to this current tradition people leave on the cemeteries porcelain dishes with utensils as well as coffee cups or glasses for drinks at the places where food and drinks are left for the deceased on every occasion when his grave is visited by his closest ones.

Key Words: Burial Rites, Bulgarian-Serbian Border, Bulgarian Minority, Western Provinces.

**POGREBNI OBIČAJI U CARIRODSKOM KRAJU
(DIMITROVGRADSKI, R. SRBIJA)**

Rezime

Tekst je napisan na osnovu anketa, obavljenih od strane autora, zajedno sa Cvetanom Manovom iz istorijskog muzeja u Perniku, u opštini Dimitrovgrad u Srbiji, jula 2004. godine. Istraživanje je obuhvatilo sela Gojin Do, Prtopopinci, Izatovci i Senokos. U istraživanju su korišćene tradicionalne etnografske metode usmenog prikupljanja informacija pomoću strukturisanih i polustrukturisanih intervjua, povezanih sa pogrebnim običajima Bugara iz zapadnih pokrajina, kako u njihovom savremenom obliku, tako i u praksi u prošlosti, na osnovu sećanja starijih pokolenja. Na osnovu prikupljenog materijala može se doći do zaključka da su pogrebni običaji u okolini Dimitrovrada u Republici Srbiji očuvali neke svoje konzervativne crte, bliske običajima u oblasti Godeča u Bugarskoj, koji se nalazi sa druge strane bugarsko-srpske granice. Takvi običaji su, na primer, verovanje u *tenec* (vampir), vezivanje koncem rođaka preminulog prilikom spuštanja tela u grob, donošenje zelene grane u kuću nakon pogreba i izricanje obredne fraze „I-i-i, kol'ko je lepo bez tebe!“ i dr. U isto vreme pogrebni običaji su pretrpeli razvoj i izvesne promene, koje su nasupile pod uticajem tradicija Srpske pravoslavne crkve.

Tako se najvećom zadušnicom smatra Dimirovska, dok je kod Bugara s druge strane granice Archangelova zadušnica, subotom pre 8. novembra. U Dimitrovgradskom kraju nije registrovana i „čerešova zadušnica“ (čereša = trešnja), koja se kod Bugara održava u navečerju Pedesetnice na kojoj se dele trešnje za mrtve. Neosporni uticaj na pogrebne običaje u Dimitrovgradskom kraju imaju i pogrebne tradicije iz većih srpskih gradova, gde je radio i živio deo stanovništva. Zahvaljujući toj savremenoj tradiciji na grobljima se ostavljaju porcelanske činije sa priborom, kao i čaše za kafu ili alkohol, gde se ostavlja hrana i piće za preminulog kod svakog izlaska na groblje od strane bliskih.

Ključne reči: pogrebni obredi, bugarsko-srpska granica, bugarska manjina, Zapadne pokrajine.

Ivan Markešić

CEMETERIES OF GOSPIĆ

(The Mirrors of Denominational, Political and Ideological Convictions of Deaths)

Summary

In different civilizations, people were buried in different ways and locations. In prehistoric times cemeteries were out in the open (megalithic necropolises), deserts in ancient Egypt, outside the city walls in ancient Greece, first inside and then outside the city walls (mostly along the road) in ancient Rome, and by early Christian customs (II-IV BC) cemeteries were in the catacombs, underground. In the Middle Ages burials were performed in churches and churchyards, and after difficult experiences with the plague the cemeteries were moved outside the settlements (outside the city walls) (Rebić 2002, 306).

In addition, until the beginning of the XX. century cemeteries belonged to religious authorities. After that they became part of the urban units and fell under town authorities. In many cities confessional cemeteries are disappearing and being replaced by common cemeteries where the confessional, national and ideological orientation of the deceased can be determined only by their tombstone.

In this paper I will talk about the burial sites of Catholic and Orthodox faithful of the City of Gospić – the town cemetery of St. Mary Magdalene (which is also a Catholic cemetery) and the Orthodox cemetery in Jasikovac in Gospić (in addition to its Orthodox believers' tombstones the cemetery hosts tombstones and memorials to members of the National Liberation War (NOR).

Key Words: Gospić, Catholic cemetery, Orthodox cemetery.

GOSPIĆKA GROBLJA

(Zrcala konfesionalne, nacionalne i ideološke pripadnosti pokojnika)

Rezime

U različitim civilizacijama ljudi su bili različito i pokapani. U prapovijesno vrijeme groblja su bila vani na otvorenom (megalitske nekropole), u starom Egiptu u pustinji, u starih Grka izvan gradskih zidina, u starome Rimu najprije unutar, a kasnije izvan gradskih zidina, ponajviše uz cestu, dok su kod prvih kršćana (II. - IV. st.) groblja bila ispod zemlje, u katakombama, da bi se u srednjem vijeku pokop umrlih obavljao u crkvama i okolo njih, u crkvenim dvorištima, a nakon teških iskustava s pošastima kuge groblja se premještaju izvan naseljenih mjesta (izvan gradskih zidina) (usp. Rebić 2002, 306). Uz to, do početka XX. stoljeća groblja su bila pod crkvenom upravom. Nakon toga vremena postaju dio urbanističke cjeline i time predmet brige gradskih komunalnih poduzeća. U mnogim gradovima nestaju konfesionalna, a sve je više zajedničkih groblja, u kojima je konfesionalnu, pa veoma često i nacionalnu pripadnost pokojnika/nice, ali i njihovu ideološku opredijeljenost moguće odrediti još jedino prema njihovome nadgrobnom spomeniku. U ovom radu osvrnut ću se na mjesta ukopa katoličkih i pravoslavnih vjernika Grada Gospića, dakle na Gradsko groblje sv. Marije Magdalene (koje je istodobno i katoličko groblje) i na Pravoslavno groblje na Jasikovcu u Gospiću (u kojem se pored nadgrobničkih spomenika podignutim u spomen pravoslavnim vjernicima nalaze također i nadgrobni spomenici kao i spomen-obilježja poginulim ili preživjelim pripadnicima Narodno-oslobodilačkog rata (NOR-a).

Ključne riječi: Gospić, katoličko groblje, pravoslavno groblje.

Ivan Cvitković

THE ORTHODOX CEMETERY “KOLENJE” IN VRELO RADOBOLJE (MOSTAR)

Summary

The paper describes the orthodox cemetery “Kolenje” in Vrelo Radobolje, a neighbourhood in the vicinity of Mostar. The cemetery is characterized by being located right next to the local Roman Catholic cemetery, and the Roman Catholic believers are the ones who take care of it today, since the Orthodox population moved out of the area during the wars in the 1990s. This Orthodox cemetery is a proof of the religious tolerance expressed by the local Roman Catholic community, which keeps the memory of the former existence of an Orthodox population in this region alive.

Key Words: Mostar, Vrelo Radobolje, Orthodox cemetery, Roman Catholic cemetery, religious tolerance.

PRAVOSLAVNO GROBLJE „KOLENJE“ NA VRELU RADOBOLJE (MOSTAR)

Rezime

U radu se opisuje pravoslavno groblje „Kolenje“ na Vrelu Radobolje, naselju u blizini Mostara. Karakteristično je po tome što je podignuto odmah pored lokalnog rimokatoličkog groblja i što

danas o njemu brinu upravo vernici Rimokatoličke crkve, jer se pravoslavno stanovništvo odse-lilo sa ovih terena u vreme ratova devedesetih godina prošlog veka. Ovo pravoslavno groblje sve-doči religijsku toleranciju koju ispoljava lokalna rimokatolička zajednica, ne dozvoljavajući da se izgubi sećanje na nekadašnje bivstvovanje pravoslavnog stanovništva na ovim prostorima.

Ključne reči: Mostar, Vrelo Radobolje, pravoslavno groblje, rimokatoličko groblje, religijska tolerancija.

Dragana Radisavljević Ćiparizović
**THE CONCEPT OF DEATH ON THE HOLY MOUNTAIN:
FUNERAL RITES FOR MONKS OF HILANDAR**

Summary

This paper deals with the concept of death and funeral rites for monks of Hilandar monastery. First, a short definition will be given for the concepts of death and (death) rites and/or rituals. In order to understand burial of monks, it is necessary to take into account teachings concerning death in Christianity, and specialty status of The Holy Mount and Hilandar monastery as a cul-tural and spiritual center of Serbia and Europe. Since field research was not possible, as women are prohibited from visiting the Holy Mountain, the so called desk research was performed for collecting data from available literature, as well as for collecting photographs and data from the Internet. Then we gave a description of the characteristic way of the funeral of monks on Mount Athos and Hilandar monastery. Regardless whether it is the death of an abbot or a novice monk, an old or a young man, monks do not consider death as the cause for grief but rather for digni-fied rejoicing because of the near meeting with God. Features of funeral rites of the Holy Moun-tain Monks undoubtedly depend on the attitude to death and afterlife in Orthodox Christianity.

Key Words: Holy Mountain, Hilandar, monks, death, funeral rites.

POIMANJE SMRTI NA SVETOJ GORI: SAHRANA MONAHA NA HILANDARU

Rezime

Predmet našeg rada su shvatanje smrti i obred, odnosno način, sahranjivanja monaha na Hilan-daru. Prvo smo, u kratkim crtama, definisali pojmove smrti i (posmrtnih) obreda i/ili rituala. Za razumevanje sahrane monaha moramo se osvrnuti na hrišćansko shvatanje smrti, i istaći poseb-nost statusa i važnost Svete Gore i Hilandara kao kulturnog i duhovnog centra Srbije i Evrope. S obzirom da nam u istraživanju nije bio moguć terenski rad, jer je žene nemaju dozvolu boravka u Svetoj Gori, koristili smo tzv. kabinetsko prikupljanje podataka sa literaturom, i fotografije dostupne na Internetu. Zatim smo dali opis i karakterističan način sahrane svetogorskih mona-ha na primeru sahrane hilendarskog igumana 2010. godine. Bez obzira da li je u pitanju smrt igumana ili monaha početnika, starog ili mladog čoveka, monasi smatraju da smrt nije razlog za tugu, već za radost zbog bliskog susreta sa Bogom. Karakteristike pogrebnih obreda Hilandaraca nesumljivo zavise od odnosa prema smrti i zagrobnom životu u pravoslavlju.

Ključne reči: Sveta Gora, Hilandar, monasi, smrt, obred, sahrana.

Milovan Vuković
Andon Kostadinović

**RURAL CEMETERIES ON THE TERRITORY OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF VELIKO
GRADIŠTE**

Summary

This paper deals mainly with gravestones found in rural cemeteries on the territory of the Mu-nicipality of Veliko Gradište. The analysis of the origin and shape of gravestones shows that ce-meteries and gravestones of the studied terrain, along with the accompanying cemetery ico-nography and symbols, reflect not only the characteristics of the religious and national but very often also the traits of the personal identity of those who have lived for a shorter or longer period in the region of Braničevo.

The authors pay most attention to explaining the specific forms of practice when it comes to ce-meteries, such as constructing monumental tombs with an aboveground room (so-called "ete-rnal home"), erecting masonry canopies over graves, installing gravestones for oneself during one's own lifetime, and placing graves outside the area provided for that purpose (gravestones by the road, in orchards, etc.). These phenomena are, above all, ascribed to the influence of folk tradition which is still present in this part of Serbia.

It has been noticed that the custom of raising monumental family tombs is not equally represented on the territory of the Braničevo District. The major presence of such tombs has been observed in some villages surrounding Požarevac (Šapine and Smoljinac), while other villages in the Municipality of Veliko Gradište display the practice of erecting masonry canopies (most present in Ljubinjé). The paper provides explanations of these differences, taking into account both contemporary social and economic processes.

Key Words: death, cemetery, gravestones, monumental tombs.

SEOSKA GROBLJA PODRUČJU VELIKOGRADIŠTANSKE OPŠTINE

Rezime

Autori se u ovom radu bave uglavnom nadgrobniim spomenicima koji se nalaze na seoskim grobljima na području opštine Veliko Gradište. Analiza nastanka i oblikovanja nadgrobniih spomenika pokazuje da su groblja i nadgrobni spomenici na ispitivanom terenu, uz prateću grobnu ikonografiju i simboliku, odražavaju ne samo odlike religijskog i nacionalnog, nego veoma često i različita obeležja ličnog identiteta onih koji su kraće ili duže živeli na prostoru Braničeva.

U radu je najviše pažnje posvećeno objašnjavanju specifičnih oblika prakse kada se radi o grobljima kao što su: podizanje monumentalnih grobnica s nadzemnom prostrijom (tzv. „večna kuća“), podizanje zidanih nadstrešnica iznad groba, podizanje grobnica sebi za života, te podizanja grobova van prostora predviđenih za te namene (spomenici kraj puta, u voćnjacima i sl.). Ove pojave su pripisane, u prvom redu, uticaju narodne tradicije koja je još uvek prisutna u ovom delu istočne Srbije.

Primećeno je da običaj podizanja monumentalnih porodičnih grobnica nije podjednako zastupljen na teritoriji Braničevskog okruga. Najveće prisustvo grobnica ovog tipa je uočeno u nekim selima oko Požarevca (Šapine i Smoljinac), dok je u nekim selima velikogradištanske opštine prisutna praksa gradnje zidanih nadstrešnica (najviše u Ljubinju). U radu su data objašnjenja ovih razlika, uzimajući u obzir i savremenih društvene i ekonomske procese.

Ključne reči: smrt, groblje, nadgrobni spomenici, monumentalne grobnice.

Vladan Petrović

CEMETERY – THE HOLY PLACE

CUSTOMS OF BURIAL IN GOLUBAC AND ENVIRONMENT

Summary

Cemetery, as a holy place, along with mortal rituals concerning death and posthumous customs in Serbia, is a scientific topic which is not explored enough. The phenomenon of death is certainly one of the most hated topics for any researcher, so it is not surprising that there are no – many good quality books in libraries concerning this topic. Regardless of the situation, at the very end of our life there are many phenomena which reveal much information about the deceased as well as the people themselves. The whole spectral of customs is full of paganism, as well as church rules, which combined give significance to a certain period of time, nation or even to a level of a culture. In the north-east part of central Serbia, in the district of Golubac, the burial customs prove the sociological conclusions about the nature of people living along the Danube. At the same time they accept the traits of paganism and see themselves as the humble servant of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The poor people but when it comes to building of tombstones, the luxury can be seen everywhere. Those are the good neighbors living in harmony but still competitive in respect for their dead. Their cemetery resembles the average Serbian cemetery, but still somehow cleaner, more coherent and with the correct spelling on the tombstones. The people from Golubac are buried there and the father Miroslav Milosevic has holding the funeral ceremonies for twenty years in Golubac. During these years he has had the chance to witness the dominating fair of paganism that the locals refuse to renounce.

Key Words: Golubac, cemetery, burial customs, memorial service, paganism.

GROBLJE – SVETO MESTO

OBIČAJI SAHRANJIVANJA U GOLUBCU I OKOLINI

Rezime

Groblje kao sveto mesto zajedno sa ritualima smrtnih i posmrtnih običajima u srpskom narodu, nedovoljno je istražena naučna tema. Sam fenomen smrti nesumnjivo je jedna od najomraženijih istraživačkih tema, te se zato i ne nalazi mnogo kvalitetne naučne građe u bibliotekama na ovu temu. No uprkos tome, na kraju svakog života dešavaju se raznorazni fenomeni koji otkrivaju pregršt informacija o pokojniku, a mnogo više o samom narodu. Ceo spektar smrtnih i posmrtnih radnji obiluje paganzmom, crkvenim običajima koji u međusobnoj kombinaciji daju pečat

jednog vremena, jednog naroda, jednog stepena kulture. U severiostočnom delu celtalne Srbije u opštini Golubac, običaji sahranjivanja su samo porvrdili mnoge sociološke zaključke o tome kakav je to narod na Dunavu u pograničju. Narod koji iznad svega paganiuje, a vidi sebe kao smer-nog vernika Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Narod siromašan, ali kod podizanja spomenika luksuzan do bankrota. Narod složan, narod koji živi u najboljem mogućem suživotu sa komšijama, ali opet bi da ima veći i raskošniji spomenik od njega. Reklo bi se groblje dosta slično prosečnom srpskom provincijalskom groblju, a opet nekako čistije, urednije sa tačnijim pravopisima na grobovima. Tu su upokojeni Golupčani na čijim sahranama je već dve decenije činodejstvovao otac Miroslav Milošević. Nakon svoje službe na sahranama uvek ima priliku da prisustvuje jednom vašaru paganizma kojega se meštani jednostavno ne mogu odreći i koji dominira.

Ključne reči: Golubac, groblje, običaji sahranjivanja, parastosi, paganštine.

Danijela Voza

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN MAJDANPEK MUNICIPALITY

Summary

Death reveals the most central social processes and cultural values. The treatment of the dead through burial, cremation, preservation or exposure of the body and its elements, reflects a diversity of attitudes and beliefs about death and its meaning. The funeral ritual is a complex of prescribed, traditionally established and generally accepted form of symbolic behavior in the social community. This system presents elaborated forms of action and cultures response to the diverse needs and problems caused by the emergence of death.

The aim of this article is to investigate the burial customs and rituals that characterize Vlachs, the largest minority in Rudna Glava, village in the border municipality of Majdanpek. Their rituals follow the cult of the death, related to their religion. Also, the cemetery of this village is presented in this article.

Key Words: Majdanpek, Rudna Glava, Vlachs, cult of the death, rituals, cemetery.

GROBLJA I OBIČAJI SAHRANJIVANJA U OPŠTINI MAJDANPEK

Rezime

Značajni društveni događaji i kulturne vrednosti ogledaju se u smrti pojedinca. Odnos prema smrti prikazan kroz sahranjivanje, kremiranje, zaštitu ili izlaganje tela i njihove elemente, prikazuje raznolikost stavova i verovanja povezanih sa smrću i njegovim značenjem. Ritual sahranjivanja je skup propisanih, tradicionalnih i opšte prihvaćenih oblika simboličnog ponašanja društvene zajednice. Ovaj skup predstavlja razrađene oblike delovanja i odgovora kulture na različite potrebe i probleme izazvane smrću.

Cilj ovog rada jeste da istraži običaje i rituale sahranjivanja povezane sa Vlasima, najbrojnijom nacionalnom manjinom u selu Rudna Glava, lociranom u pograničnoj opštini Majdanpek. Ovi rituali su nastali pod uticajem kulta smrti, osnove njihovih verovanja. Takođe, u radu je predstavljeno groblje koje se nalazi u ovom selu.

Ključne reči: Majdanpek, Rudna Glava, Vlasi, kult smrti, rituali, groblje.

Vesna Trifunović

BURIAL CUSTOMS AND CEMETERIES IN THE BORDERLANDS OF EASTERN SERBIA: TEKIJA (KLADOVO)

Summary

The theme of death is a central theme of the human life and of Christianity. Christianity is, in fact, the teaching that is preparing the man for death, which is thought of as eternal life. In this fluid relationship between the death and the infinite (eternal) life, all the beauty and tragedy of human existence is contained: this is why, in many cultures, the man's departure from earthly to unearthly life is marked and celebrated in a special way. In the Borderlands of the Eastern Serbia in the municipality of Kladovo, in which, according to the different lists for population enumeration, the predominantly Orthodox Serbian population lives, people do not talk much about death, but it is welcomed and sent off as is customary by the church rules: the church announces the death, the priest bids farewell to the soul through chanting, and the next of kin are trying to assist it in moving to another world through ancestral customs. Many in the local community have an important role and the responsibility during the funeral ceremonies, and no one dares to refuse them, because, in the end, they all have the same road to traverse...

The story behind the funeral customs in Tekija, the village in the municipality of Kladovo in Eastern Serbia, located on the shore of Lake Djerdap among famous Tekija's hydrangeas, is told

by a lively 80 year-old man, Djordje Tasic. As he talked, so was it written.

Key Words: eastern Serbia, border area, culture, burial customs, cemeteries.

**POGREBNI OBIČAJI I GROBLJA U POGRANIČJU ISTOČNE SRBIJE:
TEKIJA (KLADOVO)**

Rezime

Tema smrti je centralna tema ljudskog života i hrišćanstava. Hrišćanstvo je, zapravo, učenje koje čoveka priprema za smrt poimanu kao večni život. U tom fluidnom odnosu između smrti i beskonačnog (večnog) života sadržana je sva lepota i tragika ljudskog postojanja: zato se u brojnim kulturama odlazak čovekov iz zemaljskog u nadzemaljski život na poseban način objavljuje i obeležava. U pograničju istočne Srbije, u opštini Kladovo, u kojoj prema različitim popisima živi dominantno srpsko pravoslavno stanovništvo, o smrti se mnogo ne priča, ali se ona dočekuje i ispraća onako kako predviđaju crkvena pravila: crkva smrt objavljuje, sveštenik pojavom ispraća dušu, a bližnji običajima predačkim nastoje da joj pomognu u seobi na drugi svet. Mnogi u lokalnoj zajednici imaju svoje mesto i zaduženje u pogrebnim običajima i niko ih ne odbija, jer na kraju svi isti put prelaze...

O tome kakvi su pogrebni običaji u Tekiji, naselju u kladovskoj opštini u istočnoj Srbiji, smeštenom na samoj obali Đerdapskog jezera među čuvenim hortenzijama Tekijankama, govori Đorđe Tašić, koji je odavno prešao sedamdesetu godinu života. Onako kako je govorio tako je i zapisano.

Ključne reči: istočna Srbija, pograničje, kultura, pogrebni običaji, groblja.

Branislav Žikić
Miloš Jovanović
Miloš Tasić

THE RAJAC CEMETERY AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN TIMOČKA KRAJINA

Summary

The paper provides the information on the old and new cemetery in the village of Rajac, the Municipality of Negotin. The authors examine several aspects of the current state of the cemeteries along with a short historical overview. Furthermore, burial customs practiced in this part of Timočka Krajina are presented as well. Both Serbian and Vlachian funeral and post-funeral customs are given in separate sections, with particular attention paid to their respective specificities. The reasons for the relatively poor condition of the cemeteries are listed at the end.

Key Words: cemetery, burial customs, Rajac, Negotin, Serbs, Vlachs.

RAJAČKO GROBLJE I OBIČAJI SAHRANJIVANJA U TIMOČKOJ KRAJINI

Rezime

Rad pruža podatke o starom i novom groblju u selu Rajac, u opštini Negotin. Autori razmatraju različite aspekte trenutnog stanja grobalja i daju kratak istorijski pregled. Pored toga, u radu su predstavljeni i običaji sahranjivanja koji se praktikuju u ovom delu Timočke Krajine. Srpski i vlaški smrtni i posmrtni običaji navedeni su u zasebnim odeljcima, a pažnja je naročito posvećena njihovim specifičnostima. Razlozi za trenutno loše stanje grobalja navedeni su na kraju rada.

Ključne reči: groblje, običaji sahranjivanja, Rajac, Negotin, Srbi, Vlasi.

Dejan Krstić

THE OLD CEMETERY IN ZAJĚCAR: SOCIO-CULTURAL READING

Summary

This paper deals with the development of the Old cemetery in Zajecar, from the second half of the 20th century up to now under unfavourable wider and local social circumstances. The cemetery is read from social and cultural aspects, which presents the attitude of people about death and the dead in various times, including today. The following is considered: tombstones of old local stonemasonry schools of Balkan type; the grave of rebels against the Ottoman authorities in 1833; introduction of tombstones of modern, Western-European type; the cemetery, as a source of information related to the 1st World War; the Grave of French soldiers died in the 1st World War; the 'urbanization' of the cemetery after the 1st World War; the history of the Cemetery church; the tombstones of prominent families and individuals; the tombs of Russian immigrants; ethnological information on the tombstones; the 'chapel' for lying in repose; the mausoleum of Red Army soldiers and partisans in the 2nd World War; the cemetery as a source of information about migrations after the 2nd World War; funeral ritual; contemporary tombstones and their accessories; the Alley of distinguished revolutionaries (communists); frequent burials in the 90's of the 20th century and in the 2000's; the neglect of the cemetery; new Gypsy crypts in the old

part of the cemetery; funeral stores and exhibited works of stonemasonry; current restoration of the cemetery.

Key Words: Zajecar, the Old cemetery, tombstones, funeral ritual, social changes.

STARO GROBLJE U ZAJEČARU: SOCIO-KULTURNO ISČITAVANJE

Rezime

U radu se razmatra razvoj Starog groblja u Zaječaru od druge polovine XIX veka do danas pod uticajem opštih i lokalnih društvenih kretanja. Vršiti se socio-kulturno isčitavanje ovog groblja, koje pokazuje odnos živih prema smrti i mrtvima u raznim periodima, računajući i današnjicu. Razmatraju se sledeće pojave: spomenici starih lokalnih kamenorezačkih škola balkanskog tipa; grobnica ustanika protiv Osmanske vlasti iz 1833. godine; pojava spomenika novijeg, zapadno-evropskog, tipa; groblje kao izvor podataka o dešavanjima u Prvom svetskom ratu; Groblje francuskih vojnika poginulih u Prvom svetskom ratu; „urbanizacija“ groblja posle Prvog svetskog rata; istorijat Grobljanske crkve; grobovi istaknutih gradskih porodica i pojedinaca; grobovi ruskih emigranata; etnološki podaci na spomenicima; „kapela“ za izlaganje pokojnika; spomen-kosturnica Crvenoarmejaca i poginulih partizana u Drugom svetskom ratu; groblje kao izvor podataka o migracijama posle Drugog svetog rata; pogrebni ritual; današnji nadgrobni spomenici i sitan inventar na grobovima; Aleja zaslužnih revolucionara (komunista); masovno popunjavanje groblja 90-ih godina XX veka i 2000-tih godina; zapuštenost groblja; nove grobnice Cigana u starom delu groblja; prodavnice pogrebne opreme i izloženi proizvodi kamenorezačkih radnji; današnja obnova groblja.

Ključne reči: Zajecar, Staro groblje, nadgrobni spomenici, pogrebni ritual, društvene promene.

Lela Milošević Radulović

FUNERAL CUSTOMS IN BELI POTOK NEAR KNJAŽEVAC

Summary

In our culture, death and the memory of the deceased person are accompanied by a series of religious rituals and magical practices in order to meet certain social and cultural needs. Religious rituals and magical practices express in different ways the relationship between the living members of the family and the deceased person, as well as the relationship of the community towards him and his relatives.

In the words of the villagers from the village of Beli Potok near Knjaževac, the first part of this paper presents funeral customs in this village, which have gone through changes in the previous period, but still contain elements of various magical practices, belief in the afterlife and superstition. The second part of the paper presents the village cemetery as a „space of remembrance“ and a „valuable cultural supplement and an image of a certain time and people“..

Key Words: funeral customs, religious rituals, magical practices, cemetery, Beli Potok near Knjaževac.

OBİČAJI SAHRANJIVANJA U BELOM POTOKU KOD KNJAŽEVCA

Rezime

U našoj kulturi smrt i sećanje na pokojnika propraćeni su nizom religijskih obreda i magijskih radnji u cilju zadovoljavanja određenih socijalnih i kulturnih potreba. Religijski obredi i magijske radnje na različite načine izražavaju odnos živih članova porodice prema umrlom, ali i odnos zajednice prema njemu i njegovim srođnicima.

U radu su kroz prizmu kazivanja meštana sela Beli Potok kod Knjaževca najpre zabeleženi običaji sahranjivanja u ovom selu, koji su do danas pretrpeli izmene, ali još uvek sadrže elemente različitih magijskih radnji, verovanje u zagrobni život i praznoverje, a nakon toga je predstavljeno seosko groblje kao „prostor sećanja“ i kao „vredan kulturni prilog i slika određenog vremena i naroda“..

Ključne reči: običaji sahranjivanja, religijski obredi, magijske radnje, groblje, Beli Potok kod Knjaževca.

Dragan Todorović

BURIAL CULTURE OF ROMA FROM THE CITY OF PIROT

Summary

Although reliable historical sources are lacking to confirm it, beyond any doubt are many centuries of Roma's presence in the County of Pirotski. Some of them inhabited this area even in the early Middle Ages; the greatest number of them came here on the heels of the Ottoman invader thus making up a substantial share in the overall population number even after the Turks

had retreated from the county in the late nineteenth century. In the liberated Serbian regions Roma quarters (*mahala*) were regularly formed on the fringes of urban agglomerates thus delineating, through the centuries, shifts of the urban peripheries.

The paper reports on the burial culture of Roma from the city of Pirot. The description is given of Romani „eternal homes“ in the cases when Roma are buried together with the majority population at the Serbian cemetery as well as when they are buried on a separate Romani cemetery; the practice of predeath, death and postdeath rites is also summed up.

Key Words: Southeast Serbia, Pirot, Roma, cemeteries, predeath, death and postdeath rites.

KULTURA SAHRANJIVANJA PIROTSKIH ROMA

Rezime

Iako nedostaju pouzdani istorijski izvori, izvesno je vekovno prisustvo Roma u pirotskom okrugu. Neki su obitali na ovom prostoru još u ranom srednjovekovlju, najveći broj ih se doselio u pratnji otomanskog zavojevača, učestvujući u ukupnom stanovništvu u značajnom broju čak i nakon povlačenja Turaka krajem devetnaestog veka. U oslobođenim južnim srpskim oblastima romske mahale redovno su se formirale na obodima urbanih aglomerata, ocrtavajući kroz vekove pomeranja gradske periferije.

U radu se izveštava o kulturi sahranjivanja pirotskih Roma. Opisuje se izgled romskih „većnih kuća“ u slučajevima kada se Romi sahranjuju zajedno sa većinskim stanovništvom na srpskom groblju, kao i onda kada to čine na samostalnom romskom groblju i rezimira praksa predsmrtnih, smrtnih i posmrtnih običaja.

Ključne reči: jugoistočna Srbija, Pirot, Romi, groblja, predsmrtni, smrtni i posmrtni običaji.

Danijela Gavrilović

Marija Cvetković

THE CEMETERY AND BURIAL CUSTOMS IN BABUŠNICA

Summary

This paper is a product of the research into the border regions of southeastern Serbia. More precisely, it deals with the customary practice of burial, as well as the analysis of the cemetery in the border town of Babušnica, located close to the border between Serbia and Bulgaria. On the one hand, the observed ritual practice corresponds to the cultural milieu of the region and the great importance assigned to the afterlife, along with the syncretism of pagan and Christian customs, while, on the other, it is characterized by a local mixture of ethnic groups and living conditions in the border regions.

The first emphasized aspect, the great importance of burial customs, the richness of the death cult elements and their persistence, make up the framework within which we position the actual observed ritual practice related to death and burial.

The second important framework comprises the previous findings of the research conducted within the project “Sustainability of the Identity of Serbs and National Minorities in the Border Municipalities of Eastern and Southeastern Serbia” which serve as evidence to the depopulation and poverty of the observed population. One must also take into account the influence of contemporary currents and other cultures on the possible changes in the tradition of the established practice.

Key Words: death, ritual, cemetery, syncretism, Babušnica.

GROBLJE I OBIČAJI SAHRANJIVANJA U BABUŠNICI

Rezime

Ovaj tekst je nastao kao produkt istraživanja pograničnih oblasti jugoistočne Srbije. Konkretno, bavi se običajnom praksom vezanom za sahranjivanje, kao i analizom groblja u pograničnom gradiću Babušnica, na granici Srbije i Bugarske. Sa jedne strane posmatrana obredna praksa se uklapa u kulturni milje regiona i pridavanje velikog značaja zagrobnom životu, kao i sinkretizmu paganskih i hrišćanskih običaja, dok se sa druge strane odlikuje lokalnom mešavinom etničkih grupa i uslovima života u pograničju.

Prvi istaknuti aspekt, veliki značaj pogrebnih običaja, bogatstvo elemenata posmrtnog kulta i njihova perzistencija, čine okvir u koji smeštamo konkretnu posmatranu obrednu praksu vezanu za smrt i sahranjivanje.

Drugi važni okvir predstavljaju dosadašnji nalazi u okviru istraživanja sprovedenih u okviru projekta “Održivost identiteta Srba i nacionalnih manjina u pograničnim oblastima istočne i jugoistočne Srbije” koji govore o depopulaciji i siromaštvu posmatrane populacije. Mora se uzeti u

obzir i uticaj savremenih tokova i drugih kultura na eventualnu izmenu tradicijom ustanovljene prakse.

Ključne reči: smrt, ritual, groblje, sinkretizam, Babušnica.

Jasmina Petrović
Zoran M. Jovanović

**A CONTRIBUTION TO THE INTERPRETATION OF BURIAL CUSTOMS AND
CEMETERIES IN THE DIMITROVGRAD MUNICIPALITY**

Summary

A significant part of funeral rituals in Dimitrovgrad and the environment follows a more or less universal form of a symbolic relationship to death and is aimed at overcoming a very complex ambivalent attitude towards the deceased. It results not only from the need to continue the connection with the deceased, but also from the need to simultaneously withdraw a boundary between the living world and the souls of the deceased. There are numerous elements of ritual behavior of lustrative and apotropaic character with the aim to protect individuals and communities not only from the effects of the loss, but also from the soul of the deceased. Therefore, the rituals can be understood as symbolic mechanisms of controlling the disturbed social life of the microenvironment which has lost one of its members. In the tested area we found a few specific cases of ritual practices, but general moments in funeral rituals and their distinctive features well support the model of descriptions and explanations within the so-called rite of passage.

The memory of the deceased is expressed by the residents of Dimitrovgrad in the town's eternal resting places where they bury all deceased locals regardless of their ethnic and religious affiliation. The necropolis we visited testifies to habitual patterns by which they deal with the dead having escorted them to the "eternal hunting grounds". Most of the graves are marked with tombstones with basic information about the deceased, sometimes with additional information about their characteristics and epitaphs. Through a diverse funerary symbolism, we observe religious, ideological, cultural and social characteristics not only of the deceased, but of their descendants and relatives as well.

Key Words: funeral ritual, death, burial, necropolis, tombstone.

**PRILOG TUMAČENJU POGREBNIH OBIČAJA I GROBLJA
U OPŠTINI DIMITROVGRAD**

Rezime

Znatan deo pogrebnih rituala u Dimitrovgradu i okolini, sledi manje više univerzalan obrazac simboličkog odnosa prema smrti i usmeren je na prevazileženje veoma složenog ambivalentnog odnosa prema upokojenima. Proistekli su ne samo iz potrebe da se nastave veze s preminulim, nego iz pridavanja značaja istovremenom povlačenju granice između sveta živih i duša umrlih. Niz je elemenata ritualnog ponašanja apotropejskog i lustrativnog karaktera s ciljem da zaštiti pojedinca i zajednicu od posledica nastalih gubitkom, ali i od duše pokojnika. Stoga se rituali mogu čitati i kao simbolički mehanizmi regulacije narušenog društvenog života mikrosredine koja je smrću izgubila jednog svog člana. Podrazumeva se, na ispitivanom području utvrdili smo i nekoliko specifičnosti ritualne prakse, no i opšti momenti pogrebnih rituala i njihove posebnosti dobro potkrepljuju model opisa i objašnjenja u sklopu tzv. obreda prelaza.

Sećanje na svoje preminule građani Dimitrovgrada iskazuju i na gradskim večnim počivalištima u kojima sahranjuju sve upokojene meštane nezavisno od etničke i verske pripadnosti. Nekropola koju smo obišli svedoči o ustaljenim obrascima prema kojima se ophode s umrlima nakon što su ih ispratili u „večna lovišta“. Većina grobova označena je nadgrobni spomenicima sa osnovnim podacima o preminulima, katkada i sa više informacija o njihovim karakteristikama i epitafnim porukama. Kroz raznovrsnu funeralnu simboliku, iščitavamo verske, ideološke, kulturne, ali i socijalne karakteristike ne samo preminulih, nego i njihovih potomaka i srodnika.

Ključne reči: pogrebni ritual, smrt, sahrana, nekropola, nadgrobni spomenik.

Suzana Marković Krstić
**ON THE BORDER BETWEEN LIFE AND DEATH –
CEMETERY IN THE KALNA (CRNA TRAVA)**

Summary

On the border between Serbia and Bulgaria, in the eastern part of the Municipality of Crna Trava there is the village Kalna with its hamlets scattered on the sides of the valley of the Kalanska river. The slopes of the Mounts Tumba and Gramada stretch above Kalna rich in vegetation that contributes to the exceptional beauty of the landscape. An enclosed cemetery is located on the

south slope of a nearby hill, a mile above the center of the village, with a view of the most of the hamlets of Kalna in the picturesque countryside. A country road is „a natural border“, which divides the cemetery into two parts, above and below the road. The tombstones in the cemetery reflect the spirit of the time in which they were constructed, its financial situation as well as the ruling ideology and values, so that four types or „generations“ of tombstones/obelisks. The oldest stone monuments, which are supposed to be older than 150 years, are small and made of one piece, in the shape of a cross or with a cross on top, with no readable data on the dead. Then, there are large stone monuments in the form of an obelisk, on which a carved text coated with a patina can hardly be discerned. Next to them there are bigger, stone or marble gravestones with a five-pointed star, and the „last generation“ of marble, large tombstones with epitaphs, colour photos and emphasis on a cross. In the Kalna cemetery there are three tombs („houses of the dead“) of a later date that indicate a specific relationship to the dead family members. They symbolize man's striving for the continuation of life after death and a specific „culture of remembrance“. In addition, the village has dozens of locations that both with their name and the way in which they were created bear witness to past times, the events that preceded the death or were in connection with the death (*Koledarsko groblje* – Koledari's graveyard, *Crkvište, Suljin grob* – Sulja's grave, *Bankov grob* – Banko's grave, *Džurkov krst* – Džurko's cross, *Spasin grob* – Spasa's grave, *Randelov grob* – Randel's grave).

Key Words: the village of Kalna, the village cemetery, the culture of death, a place of remembrance, tombstones.

NA GRANICI IZMEĐU ŽIVOTA I SMRTI – GROBLJE U KALNI (CRNA TRAVA)

Rezime

Na samoj granici Srbije sa Bugarskom, u istočnom delu crnotravske opštine nalazi se selo Kalna, čije su mahale rasute na stranama doline Kalanske reke. Iznad Kalne protežu se obronci planine Tumba i Gramada bogati vegetacijom, koji doprinose izuzetnoj lepoti ovog predela. Ograđeno groblje smešteno je na južnoj kosi obližnjeg brežuljka, na kilometar iznad centra sela, s kojeg puca pogled na većinu kalanskih zaselaka u živopisnom ataru sela. Seoski put je „prirodna granica“, koja preseca groblje na dva dela, iznad i ispod seoskog puta. Spomenici u groblju nose duh vremena u kome su podizani, odnosno materijalnih prilika, vladajuće ideologije i sistema vrednosti, tako da se mogu izdvojiti četiri tipa ili „generacije“ spomenika/obeliska. Najstariji kameni spomenici, za koje se pretpostavlja da su stariji od 150 godina, mali su i jednodelni u vidu krsta ili sa krstom na vrhu, bez čitljivih podataka o pokojnicima. Zatim, tu su i veliki, kameni spomenici u vidu obeliska, na kojima se jedva nazire isklesani tekst koji je obložen patinom. Pored njih su veći, kameni ili mermerni spomenici sa petokrakom i „poslednja generacija“ mermernih, velikih spomenika sa epitafima, slikama u boji i naglašenim krstom. U kalanskom groblju nalaze se i tri grobnice („kuće za pokojnike“) novijeg datuma koje ukazuju na specifičan odnos prema mrtvim članovima porodice koje simbolizuju čovekovu težnju za nastavkom života i posle smrti i specifičnu „kulturu sećanja“. Pored toga, u selu ima na desetine lokaliteta koji imenom načinom na koji su nastali svedoče o minulim vremenima, događajima koji su prethodili smrti ili su u vezi sa smrću (*Koledarsko groblje, Crkvište, Suljin grob, Bankov grob, Džurkov krs(t), Spasin grob, Randelov grob*).

Ključne reči: selo Kalna, seosko groblje, kultura smrti, prostor sećanja, nadgrobni spomenici.

Neven Obradović

Marija Jovanović

CEMETERIES AND FUNERAL PRACTICES IN BOSILEGRAD

Summary

Traditional customs, specific to a certain nation, time period, culture or geographical area differ from each other, but they all have some customs and practices in common, such as the basic, elementary customs of the life cycle. These include customs of birth, marriage, and funeral.

Funeral customs or customs related to death and burial are of great importance for all nations. Accordingly, while keeping in mind that nowadays funeral customs are studied from religious, that is, ecclesiastical and secular aspect, and that in practice they are „somewhere between the two“, we decided to study it from both viewpoints. Following the prepared procedure for research, we interviewed a priest of the Third Bosilegrad Parish, then the Head of the Church of the Nativity of the Virgin in Bosilegrad, as well as father Zoran Stojanov and Milan Milanov, tea-

chers from Bosilegrad. In this way we avoided the one-sidedness during the study and ensured reliability of the data obtained.

Reflecting to a large extent the characteristics of the majority of the Bulgarian people, burial customs in Bosilegrad are similar to the customs of other believers of the Serbian Orthodox Church. The variability of these customs is mainly conditioned by the folk tradition of the majority of the Bulgarian people, the current social and economic situation, demographic changes and the economic status of the population.

The customs that very much resemble Serbian customs are: sacred secret confession and communion before passing away, preparing the deceased for burial, wearing black clothes as a sign of mourning, memorial service, burial, dirge etc.

The following specific customs associated with death and burial in Bosilegrad are recognized: cleaning the coffin with the shirt of the closest male member of the family, specific forms of sacrificing chickens and other rituals in order to prevent the deceased to bring with him another family member (born in the same month or the third in a row), very frequent serving of lunch packages instead of a big memorial service and dinner etc..

Key Words: traditional customs, funeral customs, burial customs, cemeteries, Bosilegrad.

GROBLJE I OBIČAJI SAHRANJIVANJA U BOSILEGRADU

Rezime

Narodni običaji, svojstveni određenom narodu, vremenskom periodu, kulturi ili geografskoj sredini razlikuju se međusobno, ali im je svima svojstveno da u osnovne, elementarne običaje spadaju običaji iz životnog ciklusa. U njih spadaju običaji o rođenju, braku, ženidbi i pogrebu.

Pogrebni ili običaji vezani za smrt i sahranjivanje od posebog su značaja za sve narode. Imajući u vidu da se danas pogrebnim običajima pristupa i sa religijskog odnosno crkvenog i sa svetovnog aspekta, kao i to da se oni u praksi nalaze „ negde između ova dva “, dvostruko smo pristupili i njegovom proučavanju. Predviđenom procedurom istraživanja intervjuisali smo Paroha treće parohije Bosilegradske, starešinu Hrama Rođenja Presvete Bogorodice u Bosilegradu i CO Bosilegrad, oca Zorana Stojanova i Milana Milanova, učitelja iz Bosilegrada. Na ovaj način izbegnuta je jednostranost u proučavanju i obezbeđen je najviši nivo reprezentativnosti i pođdanosti utvrđenih podataka

Oslikavajući u značajnoj meri osobenosti većinskog bugarskog naroda, običaji sahranjivanja u Bosilegradu slični su običajima ostalih vernika srpske pravoslavne Crkve. Varijabilnost ovih običaja, uglavnom je uslovljena narodnom tradicijom većinskog bugarskog naroda, aktuelnom društveno-ekonomskom situacijom, demografskim promenama i materijalnim položajem stanovništva. U običaje koji u blažim odstupanjima ili varijabilnim oblicima podsećaju na ustaljene običaje u Srbiji spadaju: sveta tajna ispovest i pričešće pre upokojenja, pripreme pokojnika za ukop, crnina kao znak žalosti, služenje opela, ukop, parastosi i dr.

Kao specifični običaja vezanih za smrt i sahranjivanje u Bosilegradu izdvajaju se običaji poput: čišćenja grobnice košuljom najbližeg muškog člana porodice, specifični oblici žrtvovanja kokoši i drugi obredi kako bi se sprečilo da pokojnik sa sobom povede još nekog (istog meseca rođenog ili trećeg po redu) člana porodice, sve češće pravljenje lanč paketa umesto velikih parastosa i sl.

Ključne reči: narodni običaji, pogrebni običaji, običaji sahranjivanja, groblje, Bosilegrad.

Danijela Zdravković

CULTURE OF REMEMBRANCE AND CULTURE OF BURYING IN TRGOVIŠTE (MUNICIPALITY OF TRGOVIŠTE)

Summary

This sociological treatise elucidates the importance and the significance of dealing with a problem of living along a boarder and a phenomenon of the culture of remembrance and the culture of burying with the purpose of sustaining the identity of Serbs and national minorities. Recognizing current demographic, social and cultural trends, ethnic and religious differences in the Southern Serbian border area, the author began to examine the everyday life in the border area through the relation toward the burial culture that is still maintained today.

The paper treats social relations and a social phenomenon of the culture of burying and the culture of remembrance in the border area by relating the problem of appearance of cemeteries and the burial customs with an everyday life of the local population in the municipality of Trgovište. It describes the distance, location, contrasts and general condition of a central local cemetery where Serbian, Macedinian, Bulgarian and Roma (Orthodox) population is buried and it sums up the continuity of religious behavior of the people from Pčinja (before, during and after

death customs). In the conclusion, the views of the author are expressed, based on contemporary forms of burial customs in the territory of the municipality of Trgovište.

Key Words: lapot, cemetery, before, during and after death customs, Southeastern Serbia; Trgovište.

KULTURA SEĆANJA I KULTURA SAHRANJIVANJA U TRGOVIŠTU (OPŠTINA TRGOVIŠTE)

Rezime

Ova sociološka rasprava osvetljava važnost i značaj bavljenja problematikom življenja uz granicu i fenomenom kulture sećanja i kulture sahranjivanja u cilju održivosti identiteta Srba i nacionalnih manjina. Prepoznavanjem aktuelnih demografskih, socijalnih i kulturoloških trendova, etničkih i verskih različitosti u južnom srpskom graničnom pojasu, autorka je pristupila ispitivanju kvaliteta svakodnevnog života u pograničnom životnom prostoru odnosom prema kulturi sahranjivanja koja se neguje i danas.

Rad tretira društvene odnose i društveni fenomen kulture sahranjivanja i kulture sećanja u pograničju povezujući problematiku izgleda groblja i načina sahranjivanja sa svakodnevnim životom meštanima naselja opštine Trgovište. Opisuje se udaljenost, položaj, kontraste i opšte stanje centralnog mesnog groblja na kojima se sahranjuju srpsko, makedonsko, bugarsko i romsko (pravoslavno) stanovništvo, te sumarno daje presek kontinuiteta religioznog ponašanja Pčinjana (predsmrtni, smrtni i posmrtni običaji). U zaključku rada obrazloženi su stavovi autorke zasnovani na isticanju savremenih formi kulture sahranjivanja na području opštine Trgovište.

Ključne reči: lapot, groblje, predsmrtni, smrtni i posmrtni običaji, jugoistočna Srbija, Trgovište.

Danijela Zdravković

Dragan Todorović

BURIAL CULTURE OF ALBANIANS IN VELIKI TRNOVAC (BUJANOVAC)

Summary

The paper reports on the burial culture of Albanians from Veliki Trnovac, the largest village in the Municipality of Bujanovac. It also describes the appearance and state of two large village cemeteries for the burial of exclusively Albanian population; the practice of predeath, death and post-death rites is also summed up.

The empirical evidence shows that there are divergences in the religious views between the older and the younger Albanians; namely, while the allegiance to Islam of older generations is reflected in more or less proper observance of the burial rites, the attitude of the young and of the Albanian Diaspora towards the building and fitting out of the tomb at the local cemeteries reveals weakened ties with ancestral faith and liability to follow the latest fads.

Key Words: Southeast Serbia, Bujanovac, Veliki Trnovac, cemeteries, predeath, death and postdeath rites.

KULTURA SAHRANJIVANJA ALBANACA U VELIKOM TRNOVCU (BUJANOVAC)

Rezime

U radu se izveštava o kulturi sahranjivanja Albanaca iz Velikog Trnovca, najvećeg sela u bujanovačkoj opštini. Opisuje se izgled i stanje dva velika seoska groblja na kojima se sahranjuju isključivo albansko stanovništvo i rezimira praksa predsmrtnih, smrtnih i posmrtnih običaja.

Empirijski nalazi ukazuju da postoje razmimoilaženja u verskim shvatanjima između starijih i mlađih Albanaca: dok se privrženost islamu starijih generacija ogleda u manje-više ispravnom sprovođenju običaja sahranjivanja, dotle odnos mladih i albanske dijaspore prema izgradnji i opremanju grobnog mesta na lokalnim grobljima otkriva otanele veze sa pradedovskom verom i podložnost pomodarstvu.

Ključne reči: jugoistočna Srbija, Bujanovac, Veliki Trnovac, groblja, predsmrtni, smrtni i posmrtni običaji.

Dragoljub B. Đorđević

ĐORGOVCI – CEMETERY AND BURIAL CUSTOMS (PREŠEVO)

Summary

After several years of research on the territory of the Municipality of Preševo and by collecting the material on the "Đorgovci" who live there, we have come upon certain findings that should be either confirmed or challenged by a more scrupulous and comprehensive study of the entire "Đorgovci area": If other Đorgovci have an ambivalent identity, as the ones from Golemo Selo as

determined by Sanja Zlatanović, the ones living in Preševo do not – they are according to my formulation the “Đorgovci” Serbs – and perhaps even the rest of them living in southeastern Serbia do not have a divided identity as well. The “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo can in no way be distinguished from the Serbs who live there, which is corroborated by the latter, thus they respect and perform all of the Orthodox burial (predeath, death, and postdeath) customs and rituals in the same manner. Is this the case with the other Đorgovci from southeastern Serbia? The “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo do not bury the deceased without their shoes, which is what Zlatanović noticed in the Đorgovci from Golemo Selo. What do the other Đorgovci from southeastern Serbia do? For the forty-days office for the dead, the “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo slaughter a so-called *kurban* – a sheep for a deceased woman, and a ram for a deceased male member of the family. Is this ritual, widely spread on both sides of the border between Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia, present among the other Đorgovci from southeastern Serbia and how do they practice it? The “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo, always together with the Serbs who live there, even observe the custom of Sirovari. Is the Sirovari custom, still surviving in certain regions of southern Serbia, Bulgaria and Macedonia, present among the other Đorgovci in southeastern Serbia and how is it observed? The “Đorgovci” Serbs from Preševo, not separated from the Serbs who live there even in death, are buried in the so-called Serbian, common cemetery, mixed with the latter – the Serbs. Since there are different types of cemeteries, do the other Đorgovci in southeastern Serbia bury their deceased in the above type of cemetery or some other type?

Key Words: Đorgovci, “Đorgovci” Serbs, cemeteries, burial customs, Preševo.

ĐORGOVCI – GROBLJE I OBIČAJI SAHRANJIVANJA (PREŠEVO)

Rezime

Višegodišnjim istraživanjem u prostoru preševske opštine i prikupljanjem materijala o tamošnjim „Đorgovcima“, ustanovili smo nekoliko nalaza koja bi trebalo da se potvrde ili opovrgnu skrupuloznijim i sveobuhvatnijim izučavanjem celokupnog „đorgovskog areala“: Ako su ini Đorgovci podeljenog identiteta, kako je utvrdila Sanja Zlatanović na onima iz Golemog Sela, preševski nisu – oni su u mojoj formaciji Srbi „Đorgovci“ – a možda nisu identitetski raspolučeni i ostali iz jugoistočne Srbije. Preševski Srbi „Đorgovci“ nipošto se ne izdvajaju od tamošnjih Srba, što ovi i potvrđuju, pa istovetno poštuju i upražnjavaju sve pravoslavne pogrebne (predsmrtne, smrtne i posmrtne) običaje i rituale. Da li tako postupaju i drugi Đorgovci iz jugoistočne Srbije? Preševski Srbi „Đorgovci“ ne ukopavaju pokojnika bez cipela, što je Zlatanovićeva zabaležila u golemoselskih Đorgovaca. Kako čine drugi Đorgovci iz jugoistočne Srbije? Preševski Srbi „Đorgovci“ daju do četrdeset dana, tj. kolju tzv. kurban – ovcu za umrlu ženu, a ovna za počivšeg muškog člana porodice. Da li je obred, vrlo raširen s obe strane granice između Srbije, Bugarske i Makedonije, zastupljen i među drugim Đorgovcima iz jugoistočne Srbije i kako ga praktikuju? Preševski Srbi „Đorgovci“, nikako se ne razdvajajući od tamošnjih Srba, čak idu u sirovare. Ima li sirovarskog običaja, tu i tamo preostalog u južnoj Srbiji, Bugarskoj i Makedoniji, među inim Đorgovcima iz jugoistočne Srbije i kako ga upražnjavaju? Preševski Srbi „Đorgovci“, ne deleći se ni u smrti od tamošnjih Srba, sahranjuju se na tzv. srpskom, zajedničkom groblju, pomešano sa njima – Srbima. Pošto postoje različiti tipovi grobalja, da li se i ostali Đorgovci iz jugoistočne Srbije ukopavaju samo u gorenavedenom tipu grobalja ili i u drugim vrstama?.

Ključne reč: Đorgovci, Srbi „Đorgovci“, groblja, običaji sahranjivanja, Preševo.

PROCEDURES

PROCEDURE DBD2015
PROCEDURE FOR COLLECTING DATA ON SERBIAN CEMETERIES,
CEMETERIES OF THE BULGARIAN AND VLACHIAN NATIONAL
MINORITY, AND MIXED CEMETERIES IN THE BORDER REGIONS OF
EASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN SERBIA
(Dragoljub B. Đorđević, 2015)

Name of the neighbourhood, village:
Distance from the municipal centre (in km):
(The cemetery is in the municipal centre): *yes*
Is there a church: a) *yes* b) *no*
Population (2011 census):
Serbian population (separately + Vlachs, or + Bulgarians):
Serbian population increases or decreases? (separately + Vlachs, or + Bulgarians) a) *increases* b) *decreases*
Migration reasons (state): _____

Vlachs or Bulgarians are buried:
a) in their own, so-called Vlachian or Bulgarian cemetery which is physically separated (how and to which extent) from the so-called Serbian cemetery;
b) in their own, so-called Vlachian or Bulgarian cemetery which is physically connected (how) with the so-called Serbian cemetery;
c) in the so-called Serbian (how) mixed with other inhabitants;
d) in some other cemetery, outside the place of their residence (reasons: inhabitants' ban, tradition, etc.)

Description of the cemetery

Distance and position of the cemetery in relation to the place and the surroundings; general state of the cemetery (hygiene and maintenance); enclosed or not; condition of the grave (enclosed or not, kitsch elements, simple masonry or with elements of so-called folk creativity, dominant colours); condition of gravestones (quality, maintenance, inscription of the deceased's details and their grammatical correctness); epitaphs (note down); are there busts, chapels, etc.; examples of old gravestones (19th century and up to World War II); if a separate Vlachian/Bulgarian cemetery, compare it to the condition of the Serbian one; mention examples of neglected and decrepit cemeteries and individual graves, etc. Add what is specific for the cemetery in question. Make 10 photographs to support the description of the cemetery.

PROCEDURE DBD2001

PROCEDURE DBDJ2001 FOR GATHERING OF DATA ABOUT ROMA, ROMANI-ORTHODOX AND ROMANI-MUSLIM CEMETERIES IN VILLAGES IN SOUTHEAST AND SOUTHWEST SERBIA
(Professor Dr. **Dragoljub B. Đorđević**)

Name of the place, village:	Distance from municipality place (in km):
It has a church: a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i>	It has a mosque: a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i>
Population (census from 2012): approximately:	Number of Roma (exactly or approximately):
Prevail (circle): a) <i>Orthodox Roma</i> b) <i>Muslim Roma</i> c) <i>Protestant Roma</i>	
Does the number of Roma increase or decrease? a) <i>increases</i> b) <i>decreases</i>	
Reasons for moving:	
If there are no Roma, were there any before? a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i>	

Orthodox Roma celebrate: 1) <i>Only Đurđevdan</i> 2) <i>Only Vasilica (so-called. Romany New Year)</i> 3) <i>Only slava (name day)</i> 4) <i>Đurđevdan and Vasilica</i> 5) <i>Đurđevdan and slava</i> 6) <i>Vasilica and slava</i> 7) <i>Đurđevdan, Vasilica and slava</i> 8) <i>They do not celebrate anything from the above</i>
Orthodox Roma celebrate <i>litije (religious procession), zavetina (village religious festival)</i> , a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i>
Are Orthodox Roma so-called believers of three-four rites (baptizing, marriage, slava, funeral service): a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i> (describe).

Muslim Roma celebrate: 1) <i>Only Đurđevdan</i> 2) <i>Only Vasilica (so-called Romany New Year)</i> 3) <i>Đurđevdan and Vasilica</i>
Some Muslim Roma celebrate <i>litije (religious procession), zavetina, that is village religious festival</i> : a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i> ; <i>slava</i> : a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i>
Muslim Roma:
1. <i>circumcise children</i> : a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i> 2. <i>Go to mosque on regular bases</i> : a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i>
3. <i>bury according to Muslim law</i> : a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i> 4. <i>Fast for Ramadan</i> : a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i>
5. <i>celebrate Ramadan and Kurban Bairam</i> : a) <i>yes</i> b) <i>no</i>

Roma are buried:
a) <i>In their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically separated</i> (how and how much) <i>from so-called Serbian, that is Muslim</i> ;
b) <i>In their own, so-called Gypsy cemetery which is physically connected</i> (how) <i>with so-called Serbian, that is Muslim</i> ;
c) <i>In so-called Serbian, that is Muslim cemetery (how) mixed with other citizens</i> ;
d) <i>In some other cemetery, outside place of living</i> (reasons: prohibitions, tradition and so on.)

Description of cemetery.

**PROCEDURE DJTOV2003
PROCEDURE DJTOV2003 FOR INTERVIEWING OLDER ROMAS (MEN
AND WOMEN) CONCERNING PREDEATH, DEATH AND POSTDEATH
RITES IN SOUTHEAST SERBIA**

Informant
Place and Year of Birth.....
Place of Residence.....
Religious Confession..... Tribe Affiliation.....
Mother Tongue..... Literacy.....
Recording Time.....

PREDEATH ROMANY RITES

1. How do you feel when a member of your family gets sick?
2. Could somebody get sick or die from magic or curse?
3. What kind of help do you offer to the patient in your house?
4. Do you take him/her to the doctor's?
5. Do you practice some traditional ways of healing (conjuring, sorcery)
6. Who is responsible for taking care about the patient, men or women?
7. Are these younger or older persons?
8. If your housing conditions allow for it, do you place the patient in a separate room?
9. Do you take care about the patient's hygiene?
10. Do you stay near the patient at night and why is this done?
11. Who are those who most usually do that?
12. Does the patient expect the doctor's help? Or does s/he surrender to her or his fate?
13. What words of comfort do you usually use in addressing the patient?
14. Does the patient mention God more often and what words does s/he use?
15. Do you bother the patient? Or do you care about not disturbing him or her in his or her illness?
16. Is the patient indirectly given any instructions in the case of death?
17. Do you read any prayers in such situations? If yes, what?
18. Do you inform the family about the patient?
19. Do neighbors and relatives visit you?
20. Do you permit the persons who are not in good relations (even if they are relatives) with the sick (dying) person to visit him or her?
21. Do those in quarrel make up then?
22. Do your non-Roma neighbors pay you visits then?
23. What are your rites then? Do they bring you anything?
24. Do you believe that dreams predict death?
25. Do people believe that strange behavior of animals predicts death (for example, hens' crowning)?
26. Do people believe that sounds and landing of certain birds predict death (cuckoo, raven)?
27. What kind of conversation do they have with the patient?
28. If you notice that the patient is at his or her deathbed what do members of your household do?
29. Are the relatives the only ones to remain in the given room? Or do they also leave the patient?
30. Is the dying person forgiven or is the forgiveness asked from him or her?
31. Who does the dying person confess to?

32. Do you call the priest for the confession of the dying?
33. If the patient is separating from his or her soul with difficulties, do you perform any actions then?
34. If the dying person is sinful, what is it done on that occasion?
35. Is it the Romany rite to charge anyone with his or her last will?
36. Is the last will respected even if it implies some strange wishes?
37. Are personal belongings included in the last will?
38. Do you permit any crying and mourning at the last hour? If not, why?
39. Who closes the eyes of the deceased and why?
40. Are you scared of the deceased?
41. In your opinion, what happens to the soul of the deceased after death?
42. What is the attitude towards abortion?

ROMANY RITES AT DEATH

1. How do you inform about the death case in your family?
2. Do you invite the priest to your house?
3. Do you put any morning symbol on you? Or do you put on black clothes?
4. Is the candle burning while the deceased is in the house?
5. Do you buy ready funeral equipment for the deceased?
6. Who sew the clothes for the deceased, where, how and what from?
7. What funeral habiliments are bought for the deceased?
8. Who performs the washing-up of the deceased: a priest or family members?
9. Is the person who will prepare the deceased for the funeral selected in advance?
10. Is the deceased prepared according to the Christian or the Muslim rites?
11. Who prepares a man? Who prepares a woman?
12. Can women prepare the deceased and when?
13. Can men prepare a dead woman and when?
14. What does the deceased preparation consist of? Enlist all the actions taken.
15. When the deceased is "purified" and prepared, where and how is s/he placed, to what side is his or her head turned on? His or her legs?
16. Is it permitted to add water during the washing?
17. Are things connected to washing of the corpse (sponge, water, soap and similar) destroyed? If yes, why are they destroyed?
18. Do the close relatives, after the washing, say goodbye to the deceased? Is the deceased to be kissed on the hand or the forehead or both the cheeks?
19. Does the spouse or the oldest descendent perform any special rites during the farewell ceremony?
20. Are money and bread put into the right hand of the deceased and why?
21. Are you familiar with the custom that some deceased are having a needle put into the heel or on the navel or under the arm and why?
22. In what way do the relatives place the washed deceased into the coffin? Are those people expected to have *avdes* with Muslim Romas?
23. Are the deceased's clothes that were on him or her thrown away or are they left beside him or her?
24. Which are the most important personal things of the dead person that are put in the coffin? Is there any difference between man and women in respect to the choice of personal things to be put in the coffin?
25. Do and what close relatives of the dead person put in the coffin (soap, comb, stick, glasses, towel, money and similar)?

Procedures

26. Is the scarf or cloth that the deceased's legs or jaws were tied with preserved or not?
27. What is the coffin covered with and why?
28. Women keep the deceased man or woman at daytime. Can men be with women? Why, if you know the reason?
29. Does anyone keep vigil over the deceased man at night?
30. If the deceased is kept over night, who keeps him, men or women and why?
31. Could somebody sleep during the watch in the of the dead person?
32. Could pregnant women and children attend the watch?
33. Is the deceased covered at night?
34. Is any food offered in the house during the night vigil?
35. Is alcohol offered?
36. While the deceased is in the house, what topic of conversation is most frequent?
37. Are parts of the Muslim religious law mentioned in the conversation?
38. Is it dangerous that someone sneezes while the deceased is in the house?
39. Is the deceased left alone in the room?
40. Can anyone step over the corpse?
41. Is the dish with water placed under the deceased?
42. What does every individual do when s/he enters the house? How does s/he greet/ What rite does s/he perform above the deceased?
43. Are the visitors offered any food or drink?
44. How are condolences expressed according to the Romany rites? (Translate into Serbian)
45. How are the relatives who wail comforted? Do you know what words are used? (If you do not know, what do you think, do people say, "Do not weep too much or you will push him or her too deep into water" or "Do not cry too much for you will never see the deceased in your dreams"?)
46. Who wails over the deceased and what words are repeated most often?
47. Do the wailers ask the deceased to greet other dead ones?
48. Can a tear fall upon the body of the deceased and why?
49. Who takes the deceased out of the room and in what way: with his or her head or legs first?
50. Is the candle blown out when the deceased is taken out of the house?
51. Is anything put at the place at which the body was up to that moment?
52. Is everyone allowed to take part in the funeral procession or, for instance, only those having *avdes*?
53. Is your custom that women and children take part in the funeral procession? If not, why?
54. Can non-Romas take part in the procession?
55. When the funeral procession starts, are weeping and mourning voices heard or is it silence?
56. Do people wake up those who are sleeping when the funeral procession passes by?
57. When the funeral procession passes, are vessels to be filled with fresh water?
58. Is there a custom that a part of the house is whitewashed when the deceased is taken out of the house?
59. Is the coffin carried on the stretchers or on a cart?
60. If on the stretchers, do people go on the right or left side or the arrangement is not important?
61. Is the coffin carried by only a certain number of people with some symbols on their clothes or all the present people are taking turns?

62. Is the procession followed by the priest with the rest of the people (if there is a priest)? Or, are the funerals performed without priests?
63. Does the funeral procession stop on the way?
64. Is the deceased carried to the church or mosque before the funeral?
65. When the procession gets to the cemetery, is the deceased buried at once?
66. If there is no priest, who performs the last rite reading prayers from the Bible or Koran?
67. Are some special rites also performed on that occasion?
68. Is there any animal sacrifice rite, that is, is the body carried over some sacrificial animal?
69. Do you take garlands to the grave?
70. Who and when digs the grave for the deceased?
71. According to the Islam customs, the woman's grave should be deep to the bosom whole the man's grave to the waist. Do you know why?
72. Is the deceased buried in the coffin or not?
73. If there is no coffin, what is placed at the bottom of the grave?
74. Who takes down the deceased into the grave and in what way?
75. Before filling up the grave, are the boards slanted at an angle placed over the deceased?
76. Who fills in the grave with earth?
77. After the grave is filled in and the mound formed, is any special prayer performed and who takes part in it?
78. After the burial, is water from the jar spilled over the grave before breaking the jar?
79. Where is the soul of the dead person from the time of his death until the end of the funeral?
80. Are wooden pyramids (*bashlukias*) set up and how?
81. Are the data about the deceased as well as symbols of Islam faith?
82. Is your custom that the deceased is buried in his or her place of birth?
83. Is the deceased Romas buried at some special Romany cemetery or at the local cemetery together with others of the same faith?
84. Are the deceased Romas of other faiths also buried at the special Romany cemetery?
85. In what way do the procession participants leave the cemetery?
86. After the funeral, does everyone go home or do the procession participants all return to the home of the deceased?
87. If you return to your home, what do you usually do before entering the house?
88. Is it customary in your region that, after the funeral, all people are taken to a restaurant instead of to the home of the deceased?
89. Are drinks served together with food?
90. If the funeral participants return from the funeral to the home of the deceased how are they saluted?
91. On the first evening after the funeral, what dish does the family make?
92. On the first evening after the funeral, are the candles lit in the home of the deceased, at what places and how long do they burn?
93. What kinds of candles are lit? Is a glass of water put beside them?
94. What is the attitude towards autopsy of the corpse?
95. What is the attitude towards the corpse in the nearest family of the person who committed suicide?

96. What is the attitude towards the corpse of a child? What is the procedure of the funeral in that case?
97. Those who remain “for the candle” on the first eve, must they come to the home of the deceased during the next seven days?
98. Are the family members left to sleep alone on the first and the following night? Or, does someone remain with them and for how many days at least?
99. Should the house be cleaned on the same day after the funeral?

ROMANY POSTDEATH RITES

1. After the funeral, is any food cooked in the home of the deceased? Or are the members of his or her household fed with cold food and the food brought by neighbors or relatives?
2. Do they go to the cemetery the day after the funeral, on “the first morning”?
3. On the third day after the funeral, people perform “spilling water into the grave of the deceased”; only women take part in it. Is this rite practiced in your region? What do women carry to eat on the cemetery?
4. Do people go to the cemetery seven days later?
5. Is there a custom of performing memorials in 40 days, six months and a year? On what day are they performed (the day before the end of the given period or exactly on that day)?
6. Is there any memorial after 52 days?
7. In what way do you recall the deceased after a year is out?
8. Do you go to the grave on the Day of the Dead?
9. Are candles lit for the memorials?
10. Do people go to places of worship on the memorial days?
11. How often do you call the priest to read prayers?
12. If there is no priest, is this done by some other person?
13. Are relatives and friends are invited to the home of the deceased after the memorial?
14. What dishes are served?
15. Is care taken about whether dishes are fat-free or greasy?
16. Is the meal served once or many times?
17. How people picture “the other” world?
18. How long does the mourning last?
19. Do people wear black clothes all that time?
20. For how long men do not shave?
21. In what way are the black clothes taken off?
22. For how long there is no music listened to in your house?
23. Could close relatives organize a wedding, going to army, baptizing and other events during the period of grief?
24. Is there any rule of inheriting the name of the dead person (for example, a grandson gets his grandfathers name)?
25. Can the grave of the deceased be touched with the hand before a year is out? If not, why?
26. When is the monument to the deceased erected?
27. What is inscribed on the monument?
28. Is anybody taking care of the grave? Who is taking care and why that person?
29. What is done in the case when two family members die in a year?
30. Is there any special ritual for the outstanding members from the local community?

CEMETERIES AND BURIAL CUSTOMS ON THE BORDER

31. Can soul of the dead person come to the world of living people? If it return is dangerous, how can close relatives stop it ?
32. What are the most important social and economic consequences of death connected to close relatives of the dead person (about the change of social status of the close relative: for example, from a child to an orphan, from a spouse to a widow/widower)?
33. Do non-Romas participate in the post-funeral rites?

INDEX OF NAMES

- Asković, Radovan 149
- Bajrami**, Sevdar 235–237, 239
Borozan, Anđa 42
Borozan, Nenad 42
- Cerović**, Vuksan 127
Cvetković, Stanojlo 107
Cvetanović, Velibor 197, 200
Cvijić, Jovan 223
Cvitković, Ivan 47
- Čajkanović**, Veselin 61, 133, 178–179
Čolović, Ivan 61
- Čiprijanović**, Goran 248–250
Čirić, Jovan 147
- Demirović**, Vesna 166
Despotović, Milko 222, 224, 227, 229
Dičev, Avram 7
Dojčinov, Dojčin 209
Došen, Antonia 34
- Đorđević**, Aleksandar 179–180, 182, 184–185, 188
Đorđević, Dragoljub B. 72, 165, 222
Đorđević, Tihomir 133
Đurić, Vojislav 178
Đurov, Rade 187
- Genep**, Arnold van 47
Glibo, Marinko 42–43
- Hasanović**, Mohamed 148
- Ilić**, Marija 72, 76
Ivanov, Cvetko 180, 185
- Jašarević**, Vladimir 149–150
Jergović, Miljenko 41
Jojčić, Emina 106
Jordanović, Radoslav 225
Jotić, Nola 107
Jovanović, Borisav 148, 151
Jovanović, Bojan 62
- Kamenković**, Aleksandar 125
Kanic, Feliks (Felix Kanitz) 147
- Kratovac, Riza 148
Kuljić, Todor 47, 185
- Manolov**, Nada 188
Marković, Ivana 166
Marković, Petar 107
Milanov, Milan 207, 211, 214–215
Miliđijev, Viktor Vasiljević 121
Milošević, Mija 107
Milošević, Miroslav 72–73, 75
Milošević, Žarko 125
Milovanović, Lepasava 125
Miljanov Vujičić, Rade 123
Miljković, Milan 117
Mladenović, Saša 125
- Nešić**, Radmila 151
Nikolić, Vladimir M. 147
- Pačić**, Zeka 151–152
Panajotović, Tomislav 182
Pašić, Nikola 120
Pavelić, Lovro 34
Petrović, Tihomir 223
Petrović, Vladan 248
Prošić Dvornić, Mirjana 133
- Rajković**, Ljubiša 123–124
Rajković, Stevan 121
- Smirnov**, Aleksandar Vladimirovič 121
Spasojević, M. V. 21
Stanojević, Marinko 120
Stefanović Karadžić, Vuk 17
Stojanov, Zoran 207–210, 214–215
Stojanović, Miodrag 121
- Tašić**, Djordje 94–97
Tesla, Đuka 35
Tesla, Milutin 35
Tesla, Nikola 35
Trajković, Vesna 222, 225
- Vasiljić**, Hristifor 135
Vasiljević, Živan 125
Veljković, Stevan 120, 125
Vešović, Radoslav-Jagoš 23
Vlahović, Petar 136

Zečević, Slobodan 133
Zlatanović, Momčilo 222–223
Zlatanović, Sanja 247, 252

Želez, Penka 188
Živković, Radisav 122
Žutić, Saša 51

NOTES ON THE CONTRIBUTORS AND EDITORS

- *Ružica Cacanaska*, Ph. D.

She is sociologist, Research Counselor at Institute for Sociological, Political and Juridical Research, member of Ss. Cyril and Methodius University – UKIM, Skopje, Republic of Macedonia; Part-time professor at UKIM and UKLO (Sociology of Religion, Methodology, Academic Writing). She has conducted the research projects in the field of sociology of religion and some parts for religion in the framework of other macro-projects of the ISPPi. Selected publications: *The Emergence and Development of Protestantism in Macedonia (Religion, State and Society/London)*; *The Desecularization of Macedonian Society (The New Balkan Policy)*; *The Confessional Identity of Roma People (FOSIM)*; *The Religion in Macedonian Society (YSSSR Annual – Year XV)*; *Public Religion (Annual of Law University Skopje)*; *Social Capital (Annual of ISPPi)*; *The Focus Group (Annual of ISPPi)*; *New Religious Movements – The Case Macedonia*; *Religion and National Identity in Mono-Confessional and Multi-Confessional Countries in Europe and in the Balkans* (co-author with Nonka Bogomilova).

E-mail Address: ruzica-c@hotmail.com

- *Vladimir Bakrač*, Ph. D.

He was born 1977 in Nikšić (Montenegro). In 2005 he graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy in Nikšić, Department for sociology. In 2008, on the same faculty, he won a master's degree in sociology of religion on the subject "Similarities and differences between religion and the nation". She holds a PhD in sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. Vladimir does researches on the religiosity of the youth in Montenegro. He publishes scientific works in the scientific magazine in Serbia and Montenegro mostly about sociology of religion.

E-mail Address: bvladimir@t-com.me

- *Ljubomir Popović*, Ph. D.

He is a PhD student at the Faculty of Geography in Belgrade and works as a Teaching assistant in Geography, cultural geography in University of Montenegro.

E-mail Address: ljubomir.pop@gmail.com

- *Valentina Vaseva*, Ph. D.

She is a PhD in Ethnology, and Associate Professor at the Institute of Ethnology and Folklore Research with Ethnographic Museum at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences (BAS). Main fields of research: Customs and rituals; mythology; Bulgarians in Romania; collective memory; ethnic communities; urban funerals; places of memory; social roles in Balkan traditional societies

E-mail Address: valiavaseva@abv.bg

- *Ivan Markešić*, Ph.D.

He is Senior research scientist at the Institute of Social Sciences "Ivo Pilar", Zagreb, Croatia and Full time professor at *Centre for Croatian Studies*, University of Zagreb, at Department of Sociology (*Classical and Modern Sociological Theories, Sociology of Religion*) and lexicographer. He published 4 books and numbers of chapters and scholarly papers – most recent publications includes: *Religija u političkim strankama – na primjeru Bosne i Hercegovine (Religion in the Political Partys – Using the Example of Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, 2010; *Leksikon članova Udruge đaka Franjevačke klasične gimnazije Visoko (Lexicon of Members of the Association of the Students of The Franciscan Classics-programme Secondary School in Visoko)*, 2008; *Kako smo sačuvali Bosnu i Hercegovinu. U povodu desete obljetnice Hrvatskoga narodnog vijeća BiH (1994-2004) (How we Preserved Bosnia and Herzegovina. On the 10th Anniversary of the Croatian National Council of Bosnia and Herzegovina /1994-2004/)*, 2004; *Luhmann o religiji (Luhmann about Religion)*, 2001.

E-mail Address: Ivan.Markesic@pilar.hr

- *Ivan Cvitković*, Ph.D

He is a Full time professor at Faculty of Political Sciences, University of Sarajevo, at Department of Sociology (*Sociology of Religion, Sociology of Knowledge and Morality, and Reli-*

gions in Contemporary World) and corresponding member to the Academy of Science and Arts of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He published 22 books and numbers of chapters and scholarly papers – most recent publications includes: *Sociologija obreda (Sociology of Rites)*, 2014; *Moj susjed Musliman (My Neighbour, a Muslim)*, 2011; *Socijalna naučavanja u religijama (The Social Teachings in Religions)*, 2007; *Sociološki pogledi na naciju i religiju (Sociological Views about Nation and Religion)*, 2005; *Sociologija religije (Sociology of Religion)*, third edition, 2005; *Religije suvremenog svijeta (Religions of Contemporary World)*, third edition, 2005; *Rječnik religijskih pojmova (Dictionary of Religious Terms)*, 2005; *Hrvatski identitet u BiH (Croatian Identity in Bosnia and Herzegovina)*, 2005. and *Confession in the War (Confession in the War)*, 2004.

E-mail Address: cvitkovic@fpn.unsa.ba

- *Dragana Radisavljević Ćiparizović*, Ph. D.

She is working as librarian at Department of sociology at Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. She holds a PhD in sociology at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Belgrade. The fields of interest – Sociology of Religion, Sociology of Everyday Life, Cultural Anthropology, Christian Orthodoxy, Religious Tolerance, Religious Tourism. Publications: *Religioznost i tradicija: vezanost za religiju i crkvu u Srbiji na raskršću milenijuma (Religiosity and Tradition: People's Attachment of Religion and Church in Serbia at the Crossroads of Millennia)*, 2006; *Hodočašća – između svetog i svetovnog (Pilgrimages – between Holy and Secular)*, with D. Todorović, 2011. and *Pilgrimages, Cult Places and Religious Tourism*, 2010.

E-mail Address: dcipariz@f.bg.ac.rs

- *Milovan Vuković*, Ph. D.

He holds a PhD in political sciences and works as an Associate professor of *Sociology and Work Ethics* at the Technical Faculty in Bor – University of Belgrade.

E-mail Address: mvukovic@tf.bor.ac.rs

- *Andon Kostadinović*, Ph. D.

He holds a PhD in sociology and work as a Full time Professor of sociology at the Higher Vocational School for Traffic Management in Niš.

E-mail Address: mvukovic@tf.bor.ac.rs

- *Vladan Petrović*, MA.

He holds and MA in physical culture and works as a Skills instructor at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering – University of Niš.

E-mail Address: wladanp@gmail.com

- *Danijela Voza*, MA.

She holds an MA in engineering management and works as a teaching assistant in social sciences at the Technical Faculty in Bor – University of Belgrade.

E-mail Address: dakicd83@gmail.com

- *Vesna Trifunović*, Ph.D.

She holds a PhD in sociology and works as an Associate professor of *Sociology and Education Sociology* at the Teacher Training Faculty in Jagodina – University of Kragujevac.

E-mail Address: dimitrije95@ptt.rs

- *Branimir Žikić*, LL.B.

He is an independent researcher from Zaječar.

E-mail Address: joba@verat.net

- *Miloš Jovanović*, BA.

He is a PhD student at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and works as a Teaching assistant in *Sociology of Sexuality, Sociology of Religion, and Qualitative Research Methods*.

E-mail Address: milos.jovanovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

- *Miloš Tasić, MA.*

He holds an MA in English language and literature, he is currently a PhD student at the Faculty of Philology in Belgrade and works as a Foreign (English) Language Instructor at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering – University of Niš.

E-mail Address: baulkarea@gmail.com

- *Dejan Krstić, MA.*

He was born in Zaječar, in 1971. He graduated from the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Belgrade, at Department of Ethnology and Anthropology in 1996. He has had a M. A. degree in ethnology and anthropology from University of Belgrade since 2007. He has been working in the National museum in Zaječar since 2001. He has a title of Senior curator. Except museology, he is interested in researching religion, ethnic identity and social culture.

E-mail Address: dejkrst@verat.net

- *Lela Milošević Radulović, Ph.D.*

She holds a PhD in sociology and work as an Assistant professor of *Sociology Education and Education of the Third Age* at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Niš.

E-mail Address: lela.milosevic.radulovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

- *Marija Marković, BA.*

She is a PhD student at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade and works as a Teaching assistant in *Preschool and School Pedagogy* at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Niš.

E-mail Address: marija.markovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

- *Jasmina Petrović, Ph. D.*

She holds a PhD in sociology and works as an Associate professor of *Sociology Research Methodology* at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Niš.

E-mail Address: jasmina@medianis.net

- *Zoran M. Jovanović, Ph. D.*

He holds a PhD in history of arts and works as an Associate professor of the *Recent National History of Arts* at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Priština, temporarily relocated to Kosovska Mitrovica.

E-mail Address: zmjovan@sezampro.rs

- *Suzana Marković Krstić, Ph. D.*

She holds a PhD in sociology and works as an Assistant professor of *Social Demography, Rural Sociology and Urban Sociology* at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Niš.

E-mail Address: suzana.markovic.krstic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

- *Neven Obradović, MA.*

He is a PhD student at the Faculty of Political Sciences in Belgrade and works as a Teaching assistant in *Research Journalism* at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Niš.

E-mail Address: neven.obradovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

- *Marija Jovanović, Ph. D.*

She holds a PhD in sociology and works as an Assistant professor of *Preschool and School Pedagogy* at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Niš.

E-mail Address: marija.jovanovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

- *Danijela Zdravković, Ph.D.*

She holds a PhD in sociology and works as an Associate professor of *Sociology* at the Teacher Training Faculty in Vranje – University of Niš.

E-mail Address: danijelavranje@gmail.com

- *Dragoljub B. Đorđević*, Ph.D.

He was born 1954. He is sociologist of religion and romologist, gained a PhD in Sociology of Religion in 1983, at the Faculty of Philosophy in Niš. He is a Full time professor of *Sociology of Culture and Morals* and the Head of Department for Social Sciences at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering, University of Niš. He specialized in Sociology of Religion at the Faculty of Philosophy, at Moskow's State University "Lomonosov" (Russia) and at the Institute for social research at the University of Zagreb (Croatia). He is founder and honorary president of the Yugoslav Society of Scientific Study of Religion (YSSSR) and the Editor in Chief of "Teme" /Themes/, a journal of the University of Niš (2001-2011). He is the editor in chief of edition "Religion and Society". He also was the president of the Yugoslav Sociological Society (1998-2000). He researches Christian Orthodoxy, New Religious Movements, ethnic, religious and confessional relationships in Serbia and Balkans, possibilities of inter-culturalism in multiethnic and multi-confessional societies, with special attention paid to Roma. He have published in national and international journals more than 300 articles; he wrote and edited, alone or in co-authorship, 50 books. Recent books: *Roma Religious Culture* (2003); *Секте и култови (Sects and Cults)*, 2003; *О мисионарењу, преобраћењу и прозелитизму (On Evangelization, Conversion, Proselytism)*, 2004; *Romas & Others – Others & Romas*, 2004; *Romani Cult Places and Culture of Death*, 2005; *Islam at the Balkans*, 2007; *Муке са светим – изазови социологије религије (Torments with Sacred: Challenges to the Sociology of Religion)*, 2007; *Узорници и пријани – скице за портрет YU социолога религије (Role Models and Friends: A Sketch for a Potrait of YU Sociologists of Religion)*, 2008; *The Sociology of Religion in the Former Yugoslav Republics*, 2008; *Устала Јемка (Текије, тарикати и шејхови нишких Рома (Jemka has Risen /Tekkias, Tarikats and Sheiks of Niš Romas/)*, 2009; *Од путање до аутостраде (Споменица Јована Тупућа) (From Trail to Highway /The Testimonial to Jovan Ćirić/)*, 2010; *Могућности и донети социјалног учења православља и православне цркве (Capabilities and Ranges of Social Teaching of Orthodoxy and the Orthodox Church)*, 2010; *На коњу с лаптопом у бисагама (Увод у ромолошке студије) (On a Horse with a Laptop in Saddlebags /An Introduction to Romological Studies/)*, 2010; *Казуј, крчмо Џеримо: Периферичка кафана и окол ње (Speak Tavern Džerima: Kafana on the Outskirts and its Surroundings)*, 2011. and *Кафанологија (Kafanology)*, 2012.

E-mail Address: brkab@junis.ni.ac.rs

- *Dragan Todorović*, Ph.D.

He was born 1971. He holds a PhD in sociology and works as an Assistant professor of *Sociology Basics* and *Historical Sociology* at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Niš. He is a secretary general of the *Yugoslav Society for the Scientific of Religion* from Niš (since 2002) and a President of the *Serbian Sociological Society* (since 2013). He was awarded *The Zoran Djindjić Prize* for the best diploma or masters' thesis in the field of philosophical and sociological sciences in 2006 in the Republic of Serbia. Dealing with historical sociology, sociology of religion and Romology. Books: *Sociologija i istorija (Sociology and History)*, with Lj. Mitrović, 2003; *Romas and Others – Others and Romas (Social Distance)*, with D. B. Đorđević and L. Milošević, 2004; *Romani Narratives about Pre-death, Death and After-death Customs/Romano Vakeriba kotar Anglunomeribasere, Meribasere thay Palomeribasere Adetya*, 2005; *Romological School of Niš: Bibliography 1996-2005*, 2006; *Друштвена удаљеност од Рома (Етничко-религијски оквир) (Societal Detachment from the Roma People/Ethnic-religious Relations/)*, 2007; *Jemka has Risen (Tekkias, Tarikats and Sheiks of Niš Romas)*, with D. B. Đorđević, 2009. (Co)edited books: *Evangelization, Conversion, Proselytism*, 2004; *Islam at the Balkans in the Past, Today and in the Future*, with D. B. Đorđević and Lj. Mitrović, 2007; *Kvalitet međuetničkih odnosa i kultura mira na Balkanu (The Quality of Interethnic Relations and the Culture of Peace in the Balkans)*, with D. B. Đorđević, 2008; *Hodočašća – između svetog i svetovnog (Pilgrimages – between Holy and Secular)*, with D. Radisavljević Ćiparizović, 2011; *Orthodoxy from an Empirical Perspective*, with M. Blagojević, 2011; *Religion, Religious and Folk Customs on the Border*, with D. B. Đorđević and D. Gavrilović, 2012; *A Priest on the Border*, with D. B. Đorđević i M. Jovanović, 2013; *Vašar u pograničju (Fairs on the Border)*, with D. B. Đorđević and D. Krstić, 2014.

E-mail Address: dragan.todorovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

• *Danijela Gavrilović, Ph.D.*

She holds a PhD in sociology and works as a Full time professor of *Sociology of Religion*, *Sociology of Law* and *Sociology of Morality* at the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Niš. In the post-graduate study program of the same faculty she is the Head of the *Sociology of Religion Section*. The fields of interest: Religions in the Modern World, Religion and Globalisation, Social Values and Norms, Religious and Ethnic Identification.

E-mail Address: danijela.gavrilovic@filfak.ni.ac.rs

YSSSR Annuals

1. *Religija – rat – mir (Religion – War – Peace)*, 1994.
2. *Religija i razvoj (Religion and Development)*, 1995.
3. *Religija – crkva – nacija (Religion – Church – Nation)*, 1996.
4. *Etnoreligijski odnosi na Balkanu (Ethno-religious Relationships on the Balkans)*, 1997.
5. *Verovanja, organizacija i delovanje religijskih zajednica i pokreta (Beliefs, Organization and Activities of Religious Communities and Movements)*, 1998.
6. *Hrišćanstvo – društvo – politika (Christianity – Society – Politics)*, 1999.
7. *Dve hiljade godina hrišćanstva na Balkanu (The Two Millennia of Christianity at the Balkans)*, 2000.
8. *Vere manjina i manjinske vere (Religions of Minorities and Minority Religions)*, 2001.
9. *Kulturni i etnički identiteti u procesu globalizacije i regionalizacije Balkana (Cultural and Ethnic Identities in the Process of Globalization and Regionalization of the Balkans)*, 2002.
10. *Roma Religious Culture*, 2003.
11. *Evangelization, Conversion, Proselytism*, 2004.
12. *Religion and Globalization*, 2005.
13. *Protestantism on the Balkans*, 2006.
14. *Islam on the Balkans*, 2007.
15. *The Sociology of Religion in the Former Yugoslav Republics*, 2008.
16. *Revitalization of Religion*, 2009.
17. *Pilgrimages, Cult Places and Religious Tourism*, 2010.
18. *Orthodoxy from an Empirical Perspective*, 2011.
19. *Religion, Religious and Folk Customs on the Border*, 2012.
20. *A Priest on the Border*, 2013.
21. *Cult Places on the Border*, 2014.
22. *Cemeteries and Burial Customs on the Border*, 2015.

