

# INTRODUCTION

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The relationship of ethnology and cultural anthropology towards the notions of space and place in the history of our discipline has been manifold and is offering a multitude of theoretically and methodologically different approaches.

One of such illustrating examples is the broadening of scientific interest and change of the name of the SIEF's (Société Internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore) Working Group (WG) "International European Network on Ethno-cartography" into the new name "Space-lore and Place-lore" in July 2013. Jiří Woitsch and I, from 2015 the co-chairs of this SIEF reorganized and renamed WG, proposed two panels for the 2017 Göttingen SIEF Congress: 1. "Ethno-cartography revisited" and 2. "Sacred Space and Place and their Symbolic Adoption". The selection of four papers, out of ten read at the Congress in Göttingen as part of the second panel, is presented in this volume of *Traditiones* (two from Austria, and one from Czech Republic and Finland). Both panels were part of the common theme of 2017 SIEF Congress "Ways of Dwelling: Crisis - Craft - Creativity".<sup>1</sup>

"Space-lore and Place-lore" WG is the continuation of the Ethno-cartography WG which was focused on ethno-cartographic mapping of various cultural phenomena within the broader European project of the "European Ethnological Atlas". Ethno-cartography, as is known, is an auxiliary heuristic research tool, an instrument used in historically oriented ethnology. The SIEF "International European Network on Ethno-cartography" was for many years headed by the distinguished Hungarian professor Gábor Barna from the University of Szeged, who wrote the Mission Statement of the WG "Space-lore and Place-lore" which followed the previous one and which had its meeting in Göttingen in March 2017.

Namely, as it is written there, ever since ethnography emerged as a discipline it has devoted great attention to the special manifestation, spread, similarities and differences of cultural phenomena. We can have different experiences and perceptions of space, which is why our mental spatial maps may differ and may have different biographical context. These recognitions appeared in anthropology, radically modifying the earlier approach of the discipline to space and place. From the mid-20th century attention turned, besides villages, also to cities and the complex, modern and postmodern society. Industrialization that had

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<sup>1</sup> It is interesting to notice that Katharina Eisch-Angus, one of the four authors here, as motto to her essay used the Bible verse from Exodus which includes both notions – place and dwelling: "You will bring them and plant them in the mountain of Your inheritance, The *place*, O Lord, which You have made for Your *dwelling*, The sanctuary, O Lord, which Your hands have established" (Exodus 15:17).

reshaped the world also transformed the earlier structure of space and society through strong internal and international migration. All this is the influence of the growing globalization. Borders really became virtual as a consequence. It brought the appearance of very similar, uniform non-places (airports, shopping centres, etc.). People and their communities shape these spaces, that in turn influence them and their culture. The concepts of space, place, locality, landscape have become diverse. Political and natural, social, symbolical, religious, ethnic, linguistic and other borders criss-cross our lives, continuously shaping the space and place of our lives, contact-zones, the landscape often producing a distinctive regionalism and regional consciousness.

The already mentioned first panel “Ethno-cartography revisited” explored the critical evaluation of the history of European ethno-cartography and the possibilities offered by contemporary cartography helped by new mapping technologies.

On the other hand the second panel “Sacred Space and Place and their Symbolic Adoption” focused on the symbolic representation of space and mental mapping – the symbolic adoption and inscribing of meaning of the individual, as well as of the community into the (sacred) space and place. In the call for papers it was stressed that it is by stepping on the ground of sacred space that we are at the same time involved with rituals that don't only set apart particular *times* as sacred, but certain *spaces* as well. It is ritual, not actual physical structures (temples, houses of worship etc.) what creates sacred space of physical structures where “God dwells”. The same happens with ritually consecrated places of the houses we live. These are culturally constructed physical places filled by meaning and identified as ritually consecrated places like for instance the threshold, hearth, roof, gable, the place under the main balk etc., places important for various customary ritual functions. Thus the physical, built-up spaces transform themselves into the symbolic places by “making of place” by the ritual as the pathway to the sacred.

Spatial turn on the study of religion at the end of the last century considered space not as a static setting inherited from nature but the place in which activity must occur – lived and socially organized. The papers presented in this volume show how the making of (sacred) place is a dynamic process and is more than material or natural space. They show that the making of sacred space and place can be achieved in various ways, but through ritual as the path to it. It is a process in which sacred space becomes sacred when it is interpreted as sacred. Therefore, let us shortly present what interpretations of sacred space are there to be found in the papers that follow.

The panel is opened by the essay written by Katharina Eisch-Angus (“The Placeless Chapel: Memory, Meaning and Destruction in Sacred Space”). On the basis of her own narrative – ethnographic field-diary written in Israel in 2015, the author presents an idea of a chapel of placelessness due to the war, destruction and density of sacral buildings built one over the other, each filled with meaning through ongoing negotiation of material power and immaterial world interpretation. The notion of placeless chapel is presented as a sacred space with its presence built on absence, on layers of cultural memory and imagination.

The author points to Virgin Mary's house in Nazareth as a pilgrimage spot, but also as a well-known imagined travelling chapel absent, but at the same time present in innumerable Loreto churches.

Jan Kapusta ("Saint on the Run: The Dynamics of Homemaking and Creating of Sacred Place") demonstrates that not only do the people or chapels travel, but also saints. Namely, on the basis of his fieldwork in Guatemala's mountains the author interprets a Maya legendary narrative on a travelling saint striving for home. Homemaking is presented as a process, social practice of veneration, sacrifice and pilgrimage. It is shown how the new distribution of sacred space and place makes a sense of home and belonging symbolically adopted and created through pilgrimage ritual. Moreover, a travelling saint narrative reveals important sense of guilt, collective trauma and collective memory.

In Jens Wietschorke's paper ("Material Religion and Church Architecture in Cultural Analysis: A Theoretical Shortcut") we can find an important topic in the field of Material Religion Studies partly belonging to Anthropology of Architecture and partly to Anthropology of Space and Place. It provides some theoretical framework for the cultural analysis of church architecture: the symptomatic reading, praxeological analysis and ethnographic study of architecture. After giving a cultural analysis of sacred space the author relies on sacred architecture as a material "medium" shaping the social read not only as space of symbolic representation, but of negotiation and cultural reproduction of social relations.

Siria Kohonen's contribution ("Counterintuitiveness and Ritual Efficacy in Early Modern Karelian Healing: An Application of the Ritual Competence Theory") is based on the ritual competence theory (Lawson & McCauley, 1990) and the notion of counterintuitiveness. On the basis of two archived premodern Finnish narratives about healing practices for skin burns, the author analyses the notion of ritual efficacy in early modern Karelian healing rituals performed by traditional sages, ritual specialists (*tietäjä* in Finnish 'one who knows'). The author addresses the questions on how the human mind recognises rituals as special kind of performances as well as how these actions and spaces of ritual performances are considered special.

At the very end I am pleased to mention that, shortly before it was published here, Siria Kohonen's manuscript "Counterintuitiveness and Ritual Efficacy in Early Modern Karelian Healing" won the 2018 Boreal Prize of the Nordic-Baltic Section of the American Folklore Society. The prize was announced on 20th October in AFS annual meeting in Buffalo, state of New York. Congratulations for her manuscript, but let us also wish its printed version, as well as other three articles published in this volume, a prosperous journey to the reading audience in whichever *place, space* or part of the world.

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## UVOD

Ko gre za dojemanje prostora in kraja, je v zgodovini naše discipline razmerje med etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo mnogoplastno in ponuja raznovrstne teoretske in metodološke pristope.

Zgleda za to sta tudi širitev znanstvenega zanimanja in sprememba imena delovne skupine Mednarodne evropske zveze za etnokartografijo (International European Network on Ethno-cartography) pri Mednarodnem združenju za etnologijo in folkloro (Société internationale d'Ethnologie et de Folklore - SIEF) z novim imenom Znanje o prostoru in znanje o kraju (Space-lore and Place-lore). Jiři Woitsch in podpisana, ki od leta 2015 vodiva to reorganizirano in preimenovano delovno skupino, sva za kongres SIEF v Göttingenu leta 2017 predložila panela »Ponovno o etnokartografiji« (Ethno-cartography Revisited) in »Sveti prostor in sveti kraj in njuna simbolna prisvojitve« (Sacred Space and Sacred Place and their Symbolic Adoption). V tem zvezku *Traditiones* objavljamo izbor štirih predstavitev (dva iz Avstrije in po ene s Češke in Finske) od skupno desetih, ki so bile predstavljene v Göttingenu. Oba panela sta bila vključena v skupno temo kongresa SIEF 2017 »Načini bivanja: Kriza - Moč - Ustvarjalnost« (*Ways of Dwelling: Crisis - Craft - Creativity*).<sup>2</sup>

Delovna skupina za obravnave prostora in kraja je nadaljevanje delovne skupine za etnokartografijo; ta se je osredinjala na etnografsko zemljevidenje različnih kulturnih fenomenov v okviru širšega evropskega projekta Evropski etnološki atlas (European Ethnographic Atlas). Kakor je poznano, je etnokartografija pomožni raziskovalni pripomoček, orodje, ki je bilo v rabi v zgodovinsko usmerjeni etnologiji. Mednarodno evropsko mrežo za etnokartografijo pri SIEF je dolga leta vodil zaslužni madžarski profesor Gábor Barna z Univerze v Szegedu, ki je spisal tudi cilje delovne skupine za obravnave prostora in kraja, ki je sledila prejšnji etnokartografski in je imela svoje srečanje tudi v Göttingenu marca 2017.

Kakor je zapisano tam, je etnografija, odkar je postala disciplina, je namenjala veliko pozornost posebnim manifestacijam, razširjanju, podobnostim in razločkom med kulturnimi fenomeni. Naše izkušnje in dojemanje prostora so lahko različne, zaradi tega so različni tudi naši miselni prostorski zemljevidi, ki imajo lahko različne biografske kontekste. Ta spoznanja izvirajo iz antropologije in korenito spreminjajo zgodnejše poglede discipline na prostor in kraj. Od sredine 20. stoletja se je pozornost razen na vasi usmerila tudi na mesta in kompleksno, moderno in postmoderno družbo. Industrializacija, ki je preoblikovala svet, je z močnimi notranjimi in mednarodnimi migracijami spremenila tudi poprejšnje

<sup>2</sup> Zanimivo je opozoriti, da je Katharina Eisch-Angus, ena od avtoric v tej publikaciji, za moto svojega eseja uporabila biblijski verz iz Exodusa, ki vključuje oba pojma – prostor in bivanje: »Popelješ jih in zasadiš na svoji dedni gori, na *kraju*, ki si ga, Gospod, pripravil sebi, v svetišču, Gospod, ki so ga postavile tvoje roke« (2 Mojzes 15:17). [Op. ur.: V slovenskem prevodu *Svetega pisma* pojma 'bivanje' ni: odlomek "The *place*, O Lord, which You have made for Your *dwelling*, The sanctuary, O Lord, which Your hands have established" se namreč v slovenščini glasi »na *kraju*, ki si ga, Gospod, pripravil sebi, v svetišču, Gospod, ki so ga postavile tvoje roke«.]

strukture prostora in družbe. Vse to je nasledek rastoče globalizacije. Posledica so tudi resnično virtualne meje. Prinesle so pojav zelo podobnih, uniformnih ne-krajev (letališč, nakupovalnih središč itn.). Ljudje in skupnosti oblikujejo te prostore, ki vzvratno vplivajo nanje in na njihovo kulturo. Koncepti prostora, kraja, lokalnosti, pokrajine so postali zelo raznovrstni. Politične in naravne, družbene, simbolne, verske, etnične, jezikovne in druge meje prečijo naša življenja, nenehno oblikujejo prostor in kraj naših življenj, stična območja, pokrajine pogosto ustvarjajo razločevalne regionalizme in regionalno zavest.

Omenjeni prvi panel »Ponovno o etnokartografiji« je tematiziral kritično ovrednotenje zgodovine evropske etnokartografije in možnosti, ki jih je sodobna kartografija ponudila z novimi tehnikami zemljevidenja.

Na drugi strani se je drugi panel »Sveti prostor in kraj in njuna simbolna prisvojitve« osredinil na simbolne reprezentacije prostora in miselno zemljevidenje – posameznikove in skupinske simbolne prisvojitve in vpisovanje pomena v (sveti) prostor in kraj. V povabilu je bilo poudarjeno, da je vstop na tla svetega prostora hkrati vpletenost v rituale, ki ne razločujejo le posebnih *časov* kot svetih, temveč tudi določene *prostore*. Ritual, ne dejanska fizična struktura (templji, svetišča itn.), ustvarja sveti prostor fizičnih struktur, kjer »prebiva bog«. Podobno se dogaja v obredno posvečenih prostorih zgradb, v katerih živimo. To so kulturno ustvarjeni fizični kraji, napolnjeni s pomeni in spoznani kot obredno posvečeni, kakor na primer prag, ognjišče, streha, zatrep, prostor pod glavnim tramom itn., ki so pomembni za raznovrstne obredne funkcije. Tako se fizični, zgrajeni prostori spreminjajo v simbolne prostore z »ustvarjanjem prostora« prek rituala kot poti k svetemu.

Ob koncu prejšnjega stoletja je prostorski obrat v raziskovanju religije obravnaval prostor ne kot statično prizorišče, prevzeto iz narave, temveč kot prostor, v katerem domuje delovanje – živeto in družbeno organizirano. Prispevki v tem zvezku kažejo, kako je ustvarjanje (svetega) prostora dinamični proces in presega materialni ali naravni prostor. Kažejo, da je mogoče stvaritev svetega prostora in kraja doseči na več načinov, vendar z ritualom kot potjo do nje. Je proces, v katerem sveti prostor postane svet, ko je interpretiran kot svet. Naj na kratko predstavim, kakšne interpretacije svetega prostora je mogoče najti v objavljenih prispevkih.

Na začetku je esej »Kapela brez kraja: Spomin, pomen in uničenje v svetem prostoru« (*The Placeless Chapel: Memory, Meaning and Destruction in Sacred Space*) Katharine Eisch-Angus. Avtorica na podlagi lastne pripovedi – etnografskega terenskega dnevnika, pisanega v Izraelu leta 2015, predstavlja zamisel o kapeli brez kraja, nastali kot posledici vojne, uničenja in zgoščenih svetih zgradb druge na drugi, pri čemer je vsaka napolnjena s pomeni, ki nastajajo v nenehnem pogajanju med interpretacijami materialnih moči in nesnovnega sveta. Pomen kapele brez kraja je predstavljen kot sveti prostor z navzočnostjo, zgrajeno na odsotnosti, na plasteh kulturnega spomina in imaginacije. Avtorica opozarja na hišico device Marije v Nazaretu kot romarskem kraju in tudi na dobro poznano zamišljeno potovanje odsotne kapele, ki je sočasno navzoča v številnih loretskih cerkvah.

Jan Kapusta v prispevku »Svetnik na begu: Dinamika ustvarjanja doma in ustvarjanja svetega kraja« (*Saint on the Run: The Dynamics of Homemaking and Creating of Sacred Place*) pokaže, da ne potujejo le ljudje ali kapele, temveč tudi svetniki. Avtor na osnovi terenskega dela v gvatemalskem višavju interpretira majevsko legendarno pripoved o potujočem svetniku, ki išče dom. Ustvarjanje doma je predstavljeno kot proces, družbena praksa čaščenja, žrtvovanja in romanja. Pokaže, kako nova razporeditev svetega prostora in kraja simbolno osmišlja dom in pripadnost, kako je simbolno prisvojena in ustvarjena v romarskem obredu. Poleg tega pripoved potujočega svetnika razkriva pomembna občutja krivde, kolektivne travme in kolektivnega spomina.

V članku Jensa Wietschorkeja »Materialna religija in cerkvena arhitektura v kulturološki analizi: Teoretska bližnjica« (*Material Religion and Church Architecture in Cultural Analysis: A Theoretical Shortcut*) najdemo pomembne teme s polja raziskav materialne religije, ki deloma sodijo v antropologijo arhitekture in deloma v antropologijo prostora in kraja. Ponuja teoretski okvir za analizo cerkvene arhitekture: simptomatično branje, prakseološko analizo in etnografsko raziskavo arhitekture. Pri kulturološki analizi svetega prostora se avtor sklicuje na sveto arhitekturo kot materialni »medij«, ki oblikuje družbeno branje prostora kot simbolne reprezentacije in tudi kot pogajanje in kulturno reprodukcijo družbenih razmerij.

Članek Sirie Kohonen »Protiintuitivnost in ritualna učinkovitost v zgodnjemodernem karelijskem zdravljenju: Uporaba teorije ritualne kompetence« (*Counterintuitiveness and Ritual Efficacy in Early Modern Karelian Healing: An Application of the Ritual Competence Theory*) temelji na teoriji ritualne kompetence (Lawson in McCauley 1990) in pojmu protiintuitivnosti. Avtorica na podlagi dveh arhivsko ohranjenih predmodernih finskih pripovedi o zdravljenjskih praksah proti opeklinam analizira ritualno učinkovitost v zgodnjemodernih karelijskih zdravljenjskih obredih, ki jih izvajata tradicionalna modreca, ritualna izvedenca (*tietäjä*, v finščini 'tisti, ki ve/zna'). Avtorica se sprašuje, kako človeški um spozna obrede kot posebne vrste izvedb in kako so ta dejanja in prostori ritualnih izvedb dojeti kot posebni.

Prav na koncu mi je v veselje, da omenim, da je tik pred natisom te objave rokopis Sirie Kohonen prejel nagrado Boreal (Boreal Prize 2018), ki jo podeljuje Nordijsko-baltska sekcija Ameriškega folklornega združenja (American Folklore Society). Nagrada je bila razglašena 20. oktobra na letni konferenci AFS v Buffalu (New York). Urednici ji čestitava zanj, hkrati pa želiva tudi objavljeni različici kakor tudi drugim trem člankom srečno pot k bralkam in bralcem, v katerem koli *kraju, prostoru*, delu sveta.

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