
VEROVANJE O VODI KOT O MEJI MED SVETOVOMA ŽIVIH IN MRTVIH*

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Ključne besede: smrt, dežela mrtvih, voda, ločnica med svetovoma živih in mrtvih, verovanja

V tem članku bom pisala o verovanju, ki je razširjeno v mnogih deželah sveta, najdemo pa ga tudi pri Slovanih, namreč o verovanju, po katerem gre duša na svoji poti na drugi svet prek neke vode, kar pomeni, da je voda pravzaprav ločnica med svetom živih in svetom mrtvih.

To verovanje se kaže iz mnogih ljudskih pesmi, zagovorov, molitev, rekonstruiramo ga lahko tudi iz šeg ob smerti, na tem mestu pa se bom omejila prvenstveno na zapis *verovanj* oziroma na tisto slovstveno folkloro in šege, ki so s tem verovanjem neposredno povezani.

Eksplisitno lahko najdemo tako predstavo zapisano recimo v Bolgariji, kjer menijo, da duša »potem, ko pride do polja, pride do neke široke in globoke reke, ki je že meja med tem in onim svetom« (Marinov, 1994: 331). Prav tako poznajo Srbi predstavo o Jovanovi strugi kot vhodu na drugi svet (Čajkanović, 1994: 42). V vologodski pokrajinici pa so verjeli, da duša na štirideseti dan po smerti prečka t. i. »Pozabiti reko« in tedaj pozabi vse, kar se je dogajalo na tem svetu (Uspenski, 1982: 56). Večinoma pa lahko najdemo to verovanje povezano z določenimi šegami in raznimi sorodnimi verovanji. Pogosto jo najdemo povezano s šegami *prilaganja denarja umrlemu*. Tako so v Odrancih v Prekmurju v Sloveniji umrlemu otroku dali drobiž v pest, ker ga bo »potreboval za brod, če se bo na onem svetu peljal čez vodo« (Rešek, 1979: 56). Tudi v Bosni, Srbiji in Črni gori so prilagali kovanec umrlemu kot »plačilo za prevoz na otok blaženih« (Drobnjaković, 1960: 161). Na Poljskem vsi zbrani na pogrebu prestopijo potok in vržejo v vodo kak kovanec za prevoz, da bi imel umrli s čim plačati prevoz na drugi svet za morje. Prav tako v Ukrajini, ponekod tudi v Rusiji, denar darujejo za prevoz prek reke (Fischer, 1921: 176).

* Članek je skrajšano poglavje iz knjige z naslovom *Voda v predstavah starih Slovanov o posmrtnem življenju in šegah ob smerti*, ki je izšla v Ljubljani leta 1997.

Drugo področje, kjer lahko najdemo to predstavo, predstavljajo verovanja o *mstu, brvi oziora dlaki*, prek katerih gre duša na drugi svet. To je sicer zelo razširjen motiv, ki ga najdemo tudi v krščanskih in islamskih apokalipsah in v tradiciji srednjeevropskega Zahoda, najdemo pa ga tudi v Srbiji (na primer v banatski Klisuri, banatski Črni gori, v južnem Banatu, pri Srbih v okolini Šikloša in v Romuniji ter južni Madžarski, v Leskovački Moravi in okolini Svrljiga, v Užicah, okolini Kosjerića in vaseh okoli Požege) in ponekod v Bolgariji (podonavske vasi), kjer verjamejo, da pride duša v raj prek mosta/brvi/dlake (Zečević, 1975: 151; 1982: 28, 29).

V teh verovanjih sicer ni eksplizitno povedano, da most/brv/dlaka vodijo prek vode, lahko pa potrditev za to morda najdemo tudi v šegah zlasti v vzhodni Srbiji, če-

196 prav je po drugi strani res, da je prebivalstvo vzhodne Srbije narodnostno zelo mešano in da iz poročila ni jasno, kdo so akterji te šege: tam namreč na štirideseti dan po smrti (to je dan, ko duša po verovanju odide iz območja živih) oziora kadar spuščajo vodo za umrlega, polagajo brv prek vode, in sicer zato, da bi duši olajšali pot in bi lažje prišla na drugo stran (Zečević, 1975: 151; 1982: 29).

Deloma se verovanje o prehodu duše prek mostu/brvi/dlake na drugi svet nавzuje tudi na drugi sklop verovanj, v katerem je po mojem mnenju prav tako skrito verovanje o vodi, ki ločuje oba svetova med seboj - to so deloma že krščansko obarvana verovanja o peklu in nebesih, ki sta locirana drug ob drugem, duša pa prek pekla (včasih spet po brvi/ dlaki/mostu) pride (ali ne pride – odvisno pač od teže grehov) v nebesa. Taka verovanja najdemo na primer v Črni gori in Srbiji (Vukanović, 1935: 127-128; Nodilo, 1981: 39; Zečević, 1982: 28-29), razvidna pa so tudi iz nekaterih, tudi hrvaških, ljudskih pesmi, kot na primer Ognjena Marija v peklu (Karadžić, 1969/2, str. 13-15; št. 4; Črna gora), Mati svetega Petra (Karadžić, 1969/1: 100-101; št. 208), Maćuha u peklu (Hrvatske narodne pjesme kajkavske 1950: 279; št. 334; pri Ozlju) idr.

Toda, če v vseh teh pesmih in verovanjih o prehodu na drugi svet (raj) prek pekla, ki je pred nebesi, voda ni omenjena, pa jo najdemo v predstavi o poti duše v onstranstvo na praktično istem območju:

“U istočnoj Srbiji, gde je kult mrtvih do naših dana dobro očuvan u svojim starijim varijantama, narod je verovao da se posle prolaska kroz opisani meduprostor (v katerem človek vidi slike iz svojega življenja - op. M. M.) stiže do ulaza na drugi svet. Tu se prelazi preko uskoga brvna koje premoščuje duboku provaliju. Kod mosta čekaju sudije koje rešavaju o daljnjoj судбини prispeleg pokojnika. Zatim duša stupa na brvno koje je ovde nazivano i “rajski most”. Ako je duša pravedna, lako prolazi u večito boravište, a ako je grešna, gubi oslonac i pada u ambis. Na dnu provalije je “jad” - zagadlena voda puna svakojake gamadi. U njoj se duša muči i čisti pa posle očiščenja i ona prolazi u večno boravište (...) Opisano verovanje bilo je opšte poznato kod svih etničnih grupa istočne Srbije, a bilo je rašireno i medu srpskim življem u Mađarskoj i Rumuniji, gde se pod pritskom Turaka naselio.”¹

V teh pričevanjih se na tistem mestu, kjer se je v prejšnjih poročilih nahajal pekel (prek katerega mora duša v nebesa), nahaja “jad” - voda, čeprav zastrupljena in polna

¹ S. Zečević, 1982, str. 27-28.

golazni. Beseda jad, ad je izpeljanka iz starogrškega Had(es) - podzemni svet. Pri nekaterih pravoslavnih Slovanih (npr. Bolgarih, Rusih) je beseda postala sinonim za pekel (Skok, 1971: 8). Enak pomen lahko zasledimo tudi v tem srbskem verovanju. Beseda jad in hkrati z njo morda tudi voda (v grškem mitu mora tisti, ki bi rad dospel v Had, prepluti reko v Haronovem brodu) v tej predstavi sta torej posledici grškega vpliva, vendar pa je za nas zanimivo to, da je beseda *jad* (ki je tu predstavljena kot voda) postala sinonim prav za besedo pekel. Zdi se, da je "pekel" prekril stare slovanske predstave o vodi oz. onstranstvu. Jezikoslovno tega sicer ni mogoče potrditi. Beseda pekel, ki je vseslovanska in praslovanska, pomeni pa "smolo, katran", izhaja po Skokovem mnenju iz indoevropskega korena *poi-, ki pomeni "Feuchtigkeit, Saft, Fett, Harzstromen itd." (Skok: 1972: 58, 8), po mnenju F. Bezljaja pa iz ide. osnove *p-k- in ne kaže na etimološko zvezo z besedo voda (Bezlaj, 1995: 22). Po mnenju Pokornýja izhaja morda iz iste ide. osnove *pi-k- kot pekel tudi beseda vič, vihe v srednje nižji nemščini s pomenom "Sumpf, Bruch" (močvirje). To je edina jezikovna paralela med peklom in vodo (Pokorný, 1959: 793-794; za podatek se najlepše zahvaljujem gospe Metki Furlan).

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Domnevo, da sta se predstavi o peklu in vodi združili, pa morda potrjujejo primeri iz slovstvene folklore, npr. pesmi o Mikuli - Nikoli, ki je v ljudskem verovanju ponekod očitno predstavljal vodnika na drugi svet. V ukrajinski folklori, na primer, lahko nastopa v vlogi vodnika duš (nekdaj Velesa) sv. Nikola ali hudič (Uspenski, 1982: 57):

V srbski različici Ilijia pozove Nikolo:

"Ta ustani, Nikola,
da idemo u goru,
da pravimo korabe,
da vozimo dušice
s ovog sveta na onaj!..."

(Največi griješi, Karadžić, 1969/1: 101-102, št. 209)

Medtem ko je v srbski različici omenjena voda, prek katere vozi Mikula duše na drugi svet, pa se v hrvaških različicah smisel Mikulinega potovanja sicer izgubi, v vodi pa se pojavi predstavnik pekla - hudič, ki prebiva "doli" - v vodi, o katerem ni v srbski pesmi ne duha ne sluha:

"Sveti Mikula slatko spi
na srdajcu knjigu šti.
Njemu Diva dohodi
Pa Mikuli besidi:
"Ustaj, ustaj, Mikula,
uzmi teslu i bradvu,
pa ga hodi u goru,
pa posici zelen bor,
pa ga nosi u Isusov dvor,
pa udilaj barkicu,
napuni ji kamena
i božjega rumena."

Počne kamen tonuti
i rumelje plivati.
Skoči Mikula na jarbor,
na jarboru huda stvar:
"Hodi doli medu nas!"
"Očenaša ne umim,
Zdrave Marije" ne umim,
i hudog sam meštra bija,
i hudo me naučija."

(Delorko, 1982: 330; št. 52; otok Zlarin)

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| | <p>“Svet’ Mikula sanak sni, na srdajcu knjigu šti, k njemu Gospe dolazi i Mikuli govorit: “Stan’, Mikula, sinko moj, uzmi teslu i sikiru, pa ti pojdi u goru i prisići zelen bor, svetog Petra vičnji dvor, pa uzimi korablju</p> | <p><i>i govorit Oče naš!” “Očenaša ja ne znan, Zdravu Mariju ne umin, hudobna san meštra stala, nisan mu se deletala!” Pa je čapa za kose, pa je baca na brode pa je siče na peče pa je sunu u more; kuj su peče padale, pijavice igrale, kuj Mikula idaše, tu bonaca bijaše!”</i></p> |
| 198 | <p><i>i š njon plovi po moru!” Kada Miko uz jarbol, na jarbolu huda stvar: “Sadji doli, huda stvar, sadji doli medu nas</i></p> | <p style="text-align: right;">(Sveti Nikola i sotona, Delorko, 1969: 85-86; Dalmacija)</p> |

Deloma je morda ohranjena pot v raj prek vode, v kateri se pojavi “hudo stvor” (prim. še slovenske različice pesmi Sv. Miklavž in hudoba; Slovenske ljudske pesmi, 1981/II., 420-425; št. 125), še v različici z otoka Visa:

“Sveti Mike dite bise,
Sridu i petak zezinase.
Zato niko ne znadijase
Nego mojka ko ga rodi
I babica ka ga doji.
Kad je Mike ponarasta,

*Pa poj vodit rumuniju
Sveton Petru rojskin puten.
Vazme Mike sikiricu
I ubere jedan bur
Za napravit dvo veslića!
Barkica se ucinila,
Barkica se porinila.
Isol Mike s njon plovit,
Al barkica poene tonit!
Obazre se Mike na jorbul,
Na jorbulu hudo stvor.
I govorit Mike non:
Hodi doli, hudo stvor,
I molimo Ocenos
I Zdravo Mariju*

“Tad mu mojka progovara:
Idi, Mike, u goricu
Pa posici jedon bur
za izgradit moli brud,
I posici dvo borića
Za udilat dvo veslića,

*Za Divicu Mariju!
Al govorit hudo stvor:
Ne znan molit Ocenos,
A Mariju ne poznajen!
Jo son s huden mestrun stola
I hudu son skulu naucila.
Kad to cuje Mikula,
Un je isol na jorbul;
Uze hudu stvor za vlose
I baci je u more.
Kako hudo stvor tonuse,
Tako barkica cvotuse!
Onda pojde vodit rumuniju
Sveton Petru rojskin puten.”²*

² M. Orebić, 1979, str. 189-190 (otok Vis).

Če bi hoteli dejansko potrditi domnevo o tem, da je pekel sčasoma izrinil oziroma nadomestil vodo kot vhod oz. prehod na drugi svet, bi morali seveda narediti o tem širše raziskave. Vendar pa je zanimiv že površen pregled krajevnih imen Pekel v Sloveniji – kraji, ki nosijo to ime, so namreč zelo pogosto povezani z vodo.

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BELIEFS ABOUT WATER AS A BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE WORLD OF THE LIVING AND THE WORLD OF THE DEAD*

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Key words: death, the country of the dead, water, the border between the worlds of the living and the dead, the beliefs

In this article, I'm going to write about a belief that is widespread in many countries throughout the world and can also be found among Slavic peoples. According to this belief, the soul, on its way to the other world, passes across some water, which means that water is in fact a separating line between the world of the living and the world of the dead.

This belief is evident in numerous folk songs, chants, and prayers and can also be reconstructed from funerary rites and customs. In this article, I will confine myself primarily to written accounts of *beliefs* or to that folk literature and folk customs that are directly connected with this belief.

Such a notion can be found written down explicitly in Bulgaria, for example, where people reckon that the soul, "after reaching a field, arrives to some kind of wide and deep river, which is the boundary between this and the other world" (Marinov, 1994; p. 331). Similarly, Serbs are familiar with the notion of Jovan's river (Jovanova struga) as being the entrance to the other world (Čajkanović, 1973, p. 328). In the Vologodskaja region in Russia, it was believed that on the 40th day after death the soul of the dead crossed the so-called "Forget River," thereby forgetting everything that had happened in this world (Uspensky, 1982, p. 56). Most often, however, this belief can be found in connection with particular customs and related beliefs. Frequently, this idea is linked with the custom of *giving money to the dead*. In Odranci, in Slovenia's region of Prekmurje, coins were placed in a deceased child's feast because the child would need them "for the boat, if in the other world he or she crossed the water" (Rešek, 1979, p. 56). In Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro a coin was also given to the dead as "payment for transportation to the island of the blessed" (Drobnjaković, 1960, p. 161).

* This paper is an abridged version of a chapter from the book entitled *Water in the Concepts about Life after Death and Funerary Rites of Ancient Slaves*, published in Ljubljana in 1997.

In Poland, all the people gathered at a funeral cross a creak and throw a coin in the water so that the deceased would have something to pay for being ferried across the sea to the other world. In Ukraine and some parts of Russia, too, money is given to the dead person for transportation across the river (Fischer, 1921, p. 176).

Another area where this notion can also be found is represented by the beliefs about *a bridge, a footbridge or a hair* over which the soul of the dead passes to the other world. This motif, which is very widespread in Christian and Islamic apocalypse narratives and in Western medieval traditions, is also found in Serbia (for instance in Klisura and Crna gora in the Banat region, in southern Banat and among the Serbs living in the vicinity of Sikloš, in Romania and southern Hungary, in Leskovačka Morava, around Svrlijig, in Užice, in the vicinity of Kosjerić, in the villages around Požega) and in some places in Bulgaria (villages along the Danube) where people believe that the soul comes to paradise over a bridge/footbridge/hair (Zečević, 1975, p. 151; 1982, pp. 28, 29). 201

These beliefs do not state explicitly that the bridge/footbridge/hair leads over water, but an affirmation of this may perhaps be found in the customs practiced chiefly in eastern Serbia (although it is true that the population of eastern Serbia is highly mixed ethnically and that the report in question does not make it clear who are the practitioners of this custom). There is a custom in these parts to lay a footbridge across water, on the 40th day after one's death or when water is »let« for the deceased, so as to make it easier for the soul to reach the other side (Zečević, 1975, p. 151; 1982, p. 29).

The belief that the soul passes to the other world over a bridge/footbridge/hair is partly linked with another body of beliefs that, in my view, also cloak the belief about water separating the two worlds. These are beliefs, already partially tinted by Christianity, about hell and heaven, located side by side, and through hell (sometimes over a footbridge/hair/bridge) the soul goes to heaven (or not, depending on the gravity of its sins). Such beliefs are found, for instance, in Montenegro and Serbia (Vukanović, 1935, pp. 127-128; Nodilo, 1981, p. 39; Zečević, 1982, pp. 28-29). They are also evident from some Croatian and other folk songs, such as *Fiery Marry in Hell* (Karadžić, 1969/2, pp. 13-15; no. 4; Montenegro), *St. Peter's Mother* (Karadžić, 1969/1, pp. 100-101; no. 208), *Stepmother in Hell* (Hrvatske narodne pjesme kajkavske, 1959, p. 279; no. 334; near Ozelj), etc.

While in all these songs and beliefs about the passage to the other world (paradise) through hell, which is before heaven, water is not mentioned, the latter, however, can be found in the notion about the soul's journey to the other world that was held by people living in practically the same territory:

>In eastern Serbia, where the cult of the dead has been well preserved in its older variations till the present day, people believed that after passing through the described »interspace« (in which man sees the images of his life – note by M. M.) a deceased person arrives at the gate to the other world. Here, the soul of the dead passes over a narrow bridge across a deep chasm. At the bridge, judges are waiting who decide the future fate of the deceased. Then the soul steps onto the bridge, which is also called »the bridge of paradise« here. If the soul is righteous, it can proceed to the eternal dwelling, but if it is sinful, it loses support and falls into the abyss. At the bottom of the chasm, there is »jad« – dirty water full of vermin of all kinds. In it, such a soul is tortured and purged, and when

*it is purified it too can pass into the eternal dwelling... The described belief was generally known to all ethnic groups in eastern Serbia, but it was also spread among the Serbian population in Hungary and Romania, where it settled under the pressure of the Turks.*¹

In these accounts, »jad« – water, although poisoned and full of vermin – is found in places where previous reports mentioned hell (through which the soul must go in order to reach heaven). The word *jad* or *ad* is a derivative from the old Greek word Hades – the underworld. Among some orthodox Slaves (e.g. Bulgarians, Russians) the word has become a synonym for hell (Skok, 1971, p. 8). The same meaning is also found in this Serbian belief. The word *jad* and perhaps also water (in Greek mythology the one who would like to come to Hades has to cross the River Styx in Charon's boat)

202 in this notion, are therefore a consequence of Greek influence. For us, it is interesting that the word *jad* (which is represented here as water) has become a synonym for hell. It seems that »hell« has superseded the ancient Slavic ideas about water and the other world. This, however, cannot be confirmed linguistically. The word »*pekel*« (which is Slovenian for hell) is a pan-Slavic and ancient-Slavic word meaning »resin, tar« and derives, according to Skok, from the Indo-European root **poi-*, which means »Feuchtigkeit, Saft, Fett, Harzstrotzen etc.« (Skok, 1972, pp. 58, 8). According to F. Bezljaj, however, it derives from the Indo-European basis **pi-k-* and does not point to any etymological link with the word water (Bezlaj, 1995, p. 22). In Pokorný's view, the word *vi(g), vihe*, meaning »Sumpf, Bruch (swamp) in middle Low German, may derive from the same Indo-European basis **pi-k-* as the Slovenian word »*pekel*.« This is the only linguistic parallel between hell and water (Pokorný, 1959; pp. 793-794; for this data we thank Ms. Metka Furlan).

The assumption that the notions of hell and water might have merged is perhaps confirmed by examples from Slovenian folklore, e.g. from the song about Mikula – Nikola, who in popular beliefs in some areas apparently represented the guide to the other world. In Ukrainian folklore, for instance, either St. Nicholas or the devil can have the role of the guide of souls, which was previously played by Veles, the ancient Slavic god of death (Uspensky, 1982, p. 57):

In the Serbian version, Ilija summons Nikola:

»*Ta ustani, Nikola,
da idemo u goru,
da pravimo korabe,
da vozimo dušice
s ovog sveta na onaj!...*«

(*Najveći grijesi*, Karadžić, 1969/1, pp. 101-102, no. 209)

While the Serbian version mentions water, across which Mikula drives souls to the other world, in the Croatian versions of the same song the sense of Mikula's travel is lost but in water the representative of hell – the devil, who resides »down there,« in water – appears, of whom there is no mention in the Serbian version:

¹ S. Zečević, 1982, pp. 27-28.

»Sveti Mikula slatko spi
na srdajcu knjigu šti.
Njemu Diva dohodi
pa Mikuli besidi:
»Ustaj, ustaj, Mikula,
uzmi teslu i bradvu,
pa ga hodi u goru,
pa posici zelen bor,
pa ga nosi u Isusov dvor,
pa udilaj barkicu,
napuni ji kamena
i božjega rumena.«

Počne kamen tonuti
I rumelje plivati.
Skoči Mikula na jarbor,
na jarboru huda stvar:
»Hodi doli među nas!«
»Očenaša' ne umim,
'Zdrave marije' ne umim,
i hudog sam meštra bija,
i hudo me naučija.«

(Delorko, 1982, p. 330; no. 52; 203
the island of Zlarin).

»Svet' Mikula sanak sni,
na srdajcu knjigu šti,
k njemu Gospe dolazi
i Mikuli govorи:
»Stan', Mikula, sinko moј,
uzmi teslu i sikiru,
pa ti pojdi u goru
i prisići zelen bor,
svetog Petra vičnji dvor,
pa uzmi korabljу
i šnjon plovi po moru!«
Kada Miko uz jarbol,
na jarbolu huda stvar:
»Sadi doli, huda stvar,
sadi doli među nas
i govorи Oče naš!«

»Očenaša ja ne znan,
Zdravu Mariju ne umin,
hudobna san meštra stala,
nisam mu se delatala!«
Pa je čapa za kose,
pa je baca na brode
pa je siće na peće
pa je sunu u more:
kuj su peče padale,
pijavice igrale,
kuj Mikula idaše,
tu bonaca bijaše!«

(Saint Nicholas and Satan,
Delorko, 1969, pp. 85-86; Dalmatia)

The path to paradise across water in which »hudo stvor,« a wicked creature, appears (see also the Slovenian version of the song called St. Nicholas and Fiend, in Kumer et al., 1981/II, pp. 420-425; no. 125) is perhaps also partly preserved in the version from the island of Vis:

»Sveti Mike dite bise,
Sridu i petak zezinase.
Zato niko ne znadjase
Nego mojka ko ga rodi
I babica ka ga doji.
Kad je Mike ponarasta,

Tad mu mojka progovara:
Idi, Mike, u goricu
Pa posici jedon bur
Za izgradit moli brud,
I posici dvo borića
Za udilat dvo veslića,

*Pa poj vodit rumuniju
Sveton Petru rojskin puten.
Vazme Mike sikiricu
I ubere jedan bur
Za napravit dvo veslica!
Barkica se ucinila,
Barkica se porinila.
Isol Mike s njon plovit,
Al barkica pocne tonit!
Obazre se Mike na jorbul,
Na jorbulu hodo stvor.*

*I govori Mike non:
Hodi doli, hudo stvor,
Imolimo Ocenos
IZdravo Mariju
Za Divicu mariju!
Al govori hudo stvor:
Ne znan molit Ocenos,
AMariju ne poznajen!
Jo son s huden mestrun stola
I huda son skulu naucila.
Kad to cuje Mikula,*

*Un je isol na jorbul;
Uze huda stvor za vlose
I baci je u more.
Kako hudo stvor tonuse,
Tako barkica cvotuse!
Onda pojde vodit rumuniju
Sveton Petru rojskin puten.²*

If we really wanted to confirm the assumption that hell gradually ousted or replaced water as the entrance or passage to the other world, we would have to make more extensive research into this topic. But even a superficial survey of the places in Slovenia bearing the name Pekel (hell) is very interesting: it reveals that these places are very often linked with water.

REFERENCES see page 199

BESEDA O AVTORICI

Mirjam Mencej, mag., je magistrirala s področja primerjalne slovanske mitologije. Kot mlada raziskovalka je zaposlena na Oddelku za etnologijo in kulturno antropologijo Filozofske fakultete v Ljubljani, kjer pripravlja doktorsko nalogo. Izdala je knjigo Voda v predstavah starih Slovanov o posmrtnem življenju in šegah ob smrti (1997) in objavila več člankov o slovanski mitologiji.

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Mirjam Mencej got her M.A. in the field of the Comparative Slavic Mythology. She is employed as a junior research fellow at the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, Ljubljana. She is preparing her Ph.D. at the same department. She has published a book Water in the Old Slavic Notions of Life after Death and in their Customs at Death (1997). She has also published several articles about Slavic mythology.

² M. Oreb, 1979, pp. 189-190 (otok Vis).