

## THE KIDNAPING OF A VAMPIRE

Veselin Čajkanović / translated by Marilyn Sjöberg

The following article is translated from Srpski književni Glasnik 'The Serbian Literary Herald' (Belgrade: 1923). Veselin Čajkanović, the author, was Professor of Classical Languages and Chairman of the Classics Department at Belgrade University as well as being a noted ethnologist.

Professor Čajkanović's article on vampires and their despatch in the South Slavic areas is a very interesting one; especially so because a newspaper account of a Bosnian vampire that year triggered his article. Very little vampire lore has been made available to us; we find most bibliographies on vampires limited to English, German, and French sources. Therefore, Professor Čajkanović's contribution is very welcome as it adds another dimension--which is not limited only to vampire lore among the Serbs, but also shows that such beliefs were still alive in the 1920's in some areas.

Professor Čajkanović makes use of classical analogy and of material from folk sources. Several references are made to the words of Vuk Karadžić (Vuk), the "father of the Serbian language," whose collections of folk tales and folk poetry are classics. His Dictionary (Serbian-German-Latin) contains much valuable material concerning traditions and culture of the South Slavs; there is a complete description of "vampir" (cross-referenced to "vukadlak"--the root "vuk" means 'wolf') from which Professor Čajkanović has quoted with comments. It might be noted that in some dictionaries, the word vampire is considered to be of Serbian origin.

The stake referred to throughout the text is "glogovac" 'hawthorn stake' and "glogovina" is the 'hawthorn tree.' It is interesting that "glogovac" has a second meaning, the *aporia cratigi* (a butterfly). As will be seen from the text, one possible form which may be assumed by a vampire is that of a butterfly!

I have sought to follow the author's article as closely as possible in all matters. I indicate his footnotes with an asterisk (\*) and I have added translator's notes where I felt them necessary in numbered footnotes. All references to Serbian journals are given in Serbo-Croatian; translations are in single quotation marks. Underlines throughout the text indicate Professor Čajkanović's italics in the original text.

A few days ago, in a patriarchal area of Bosnia, an unusual event occurred. In the village Tupanari (in the Vlasenicki jurisdiction), a vampire appeared. When it became intolerable, the peasants gathered, and, more antiquo, they dug it up from its grave, pierced it with a hawthorn stake, and then burned it.

Several Belgrade papers have written about this incident. According to the report in Vreme 'Time' (number 511, 23rd of May of this year), we present below an excerpt, it ran thus:

"... An old peasant Raja Tomic... died... the 9th of April, this year, shortly after his death, his wife Cvija began to complain that her dead husband had begun to return nights as a ghost and that he ran throughout the house scaring the inhabitants. There are some who believed Cvija and some who did not, though she has unceasingly asserted that her husband is a vampire and that he returns every night. Thus things went on for a whole month and then, it is said, her sons also became aware that there was a vampire in the house.

"Stevio and Arsto Tomic, the sons of the deceased man, called the whole village to a discussion of what could be done about their father who had become a vampire. All of the peasants were in agreement that the vampire must be destroyed. They decided that they must dig up the corpse, burn it, and disperse the ashes. The decision was put into action.

"The peasants, armed with pickaxes and shovels, went to the cemetery. Some carried wood for the fire and one prepared a pointed hawthorn pole. The peasant crowd, led by the sons of the deceased Raja, arrived at the cemetery. The corpse was dug up, it was pierced by the hawthorn pole and thrown onto the stakes. After the body was burned, they dispersed its ashes, and those few charred bones which remained were thrown back into the grave..."

The people of the Vlasenicki jurisdiction preserve their ancient customs very carefully. Anyone who has, for example, subscribed to the Sarajevo Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja 'Merald of the Local Museum,' has surely been made aware of the fact that this area has given a great amount of material to researchers. Therefore, the above incident does not surprise us much. Moreover, the material we have from this area is usually of excellent quality. And this is true of the data which we can use from this most recent occurrence. The magical elements of the manner in which it was accomplished, and the concepts and the beliefs exhibited on this occasion--all are very ancient. The whole incident is valuable insofar as in some points, it adds to and explains earlier data about a vampire and the killing of a vampire.

There is much that has been written about the belief in vampires in our area and among us. The classical source of such information of Vuk, Rjecnik 'Dictionary' s.v. "vukodlak."<sup>2</sup> The theme

is interesting, but it is substantial. Therefore, I shall speak here only concerning the article in Vreme 'Time' and I shall limit myself to only those data in the article which show something new for the history of the Serbian religion.

The newspaper article reported that the vampire, Raja Tomic, appeared only to his wife; his sons became aware of him only after a whole month--only after his visits could no longer be hidden and when their mother had already called their attention to them. Obviously, the vampire had no intention of making himself known to his sons. What then was the vampire's exact purpose in his visits? Vuk Karadzic can give us the answer to this question. "A Vukodlak [=vampir]--he says in his Diction-ary, s.v. "vukodlak"--sometimes returns to its wife. . .and sleeps with her; and they say that a child born of such a union does not have bones." And if the report of the Tupanari affair does not state this plainly, it is obvious that Cvija and the peasants of Tupanari made just the same assumption regarding the purpose of the vampire Raja. As can be seen among our people even today, such an ancient belief has been preserved: namely, a god or a demon can have corporal union with a mortal woman. We have evidence of this theme even in Serbian mythology and legends:

Whenever there are Serbian heroes,  
Each one was nurtured by a vila,  
And many were born of dragons.

occurs in the folk poem "Milos Obilic, the Dragon's son." Compare also the myth of Trojan (in Vuk's dictionary, s.v. Trojan), the poems about Empress Milica and the snake from Jastrepac, the stories of the Medjedovic's, and so on.

However, all of these examples (even if they are collectively strong enough to confirm the fact) are not individually, sufficiently concrete. However, it is quite a different matter when we consider the vampire. He is a demon who concretely, in persona, approaches a woman. It can be seen, moreover, from the Tupanari affair, that this very ancient belief, known also among other peoples but which unshaken among our people well into the 20th century!

It is interesting that even among our people there were incidents--so-called Nektan's deception--that is, even here there were people who, in the name of a vampire, "succeeded in gaining entrance into discreet women's chambers;" Joakim Vujic tells one such example in his Travels; other examples are mentioned in the journal Karadzic, and others. It seems that Vuk assumed such situations when he, not without some discernment, said "the vampire sometimes comes to visit his wife, especially when his wife is young and beautiful, and he sleeps with her."

The people of Tupanari, reports the newspaper article, pierced the vampire with a hawthorn pole, and then they threw it on the stakes and set it afire. Their aim was, it can be understood, to make the vampire ineffectual and to destroy it.

Piercing with a hawthorn stake and burning are very ancient measures for killing a vampire.

Evil spirits and all unclean demons fear the hawthorn and, generally, all thorns. When the ancient Germanic tribes sentenced to death "cowards and outlaws," they threw thorns onto their graves: it is obvious thus that the soul of the executed person could not return to avenge itself.\* The Carthaginians and Romans also threw thorns and rocks onto the graves of the deceased. A witch (which is, in fact, an underground demon, the female counterpart of a vampire) is also afraid of thorns. During "Walpurgis night," in central Europe, hawthorns are placed on the doors of a household as a deterrent of witches. When a witch wishes to fly from a house, it is necessary to recite the poem: "not with a thorn, not with lightning. . ." One understands that the thorn of the hawthorn is especially strong in magical effect, as is the hawthorn tree generally. In eastern Serbia, many drive a small hawthorn peg into the grave beside the cross, and thus the corpse cannot turn into a vampire. The women in Bosnia, when going into a house where there is a corpse, carry a hawthorn thorn with them which they throw away upon leaving the house. The hawthorn is a charm and an antidote and, moreover, it is used against snakes; they believe in Bosnia that one can catch the devil himself with it. When one mentions a vampire, or in some way calls forth some kind of a demon, our people have this phrase which they add: "And in his way, put madder and hawthorns!"

Because the hawthorn stake is a sure means against a vampire, the vampire is pierced by it. To what purpose? Along with the proverb "Without a hawthorn stake, nothing can happen to it" Vuk observes: ". . . will not die easily, unless he is killed, like a vampire." Thus, Vuk obviously follows along with the popular belief and thinks that a vampire is killed with a hawthorn stake. This belief, generally, (as can be seen in nearly all accounts of vampirism) is very widespread among our people; the best proof that our people actually desire to kill a vampire with a hawthorn is that sometimes, instead of a stake, a sword is used and the vampire is stabbed many times, whether with a yataghan or with a stake. Sometimes, indeed, he is even "killed" with a gun. But has our people always believed that a vampire can be killed? We know that religious concepts can change; in the same way, it can happen that one and another contradictory concepts can exist at the same time. The idea that a vampire can be killed by a hawthorn stake appeared relatively later. Previously, our people, it seems, believed that a vampire could not be killed, at least not by a single means such as staking,

even though the stake be of hawthorn. Staking a vampire is not enough, because, the soul, the vegetative soul, tied to blood, to the heart, to muscles and to the intestines, continues to exist until the last part of all of this exists, and the vampire will exist up until the least bit of his body exists. Only when all that remains of his body are the bones--when his soul has departed elsewhere, generally for the kingdom of the dead, will he then annoy us no further. Thus, it seems our people, by staking the vampire with a hawthorn pole, had originally not the intention of killing him (since they must have been cognizant of the fact that this was impossible), but rather they sought to magically intervene and to bind him to his grave, to prevent his exit from the grave and his dangerous wanderings in their environs. In Oriental tales, the genie or spirit, locked in some kind of a container, can lift every lid but that one on which is Solomon's word; crazy Jovan, in the poem "Jovan and the Gigantic Chieftain" can break every rope, but the string on a musical instrument; and thus the vampire can remove every stake, but not that of hawthorn wood: he is imprisoned, riveted to his grave by this stake. There are analogies to the use of a hawthorn stake among ancient Germanic tribes. Those corpses whose return was feared, were secured in the grave by piercing them with a hawthorn stake. In eastern Frisia, a female corpse which had been impaled and covered with thorns was found in an ancient grave. We also have direct proof that our people intended, originally, not to kill the vampire but to rivet it to its grave. In southern Dalmatia and in Bosnia, when a vampire appears, "the people will dig up its grave, place the vampire on his stomach and secure a hawthorn stake at the grave, so that the vampire may not raise itself from the grave any longer"--says Vid Vuletic from Vukasvic (Karadzic 3, 1901, 213).

While this manner of employing a hawthorn stake had as a goal only to limit the freedom of movement of a vampire, burning had as a goal the complete destruction of the vampire. Burning is a very well-known custom. Even today corpses are burned in huge crematoria, but these instances are exceptional and rare; earlier, however, among classical and Oriental peoples, and even in pre-historic Europe, this custom was practiced much more frequently and in many areas it was general.

The difference between modern and ancient burning is that today, usually nothing remains of the cremated corpse while earlier its bones remained; there is a further difference insofar as today this custom is practiced for purely practical, hygienic, and sometimes, perhaps, sentimental reasons while in the distant past, the reason for burning was quite a different one. According to the explanations which the history of religions gives to this custom (because there are also other, rational explanations), the true purpose of burning was to destroy the corpse or, more exactly, to destroy those parts of it in which the soul might remain and

those are, as we have just seen, the blood, the muscles, the heart, the eyes, the intestines, etc. When these parts were destroyed, there remained only the bones and we are thus secured from the eventual return of the departed because the soul cannot be bound to the bones.\*\* Thus, it is in our interest that we burn the departed. But it is also in their interest. In that period when, in the Mediterranean countries, they began to burn the dead, a new religious concept appeared, which, for later mythology and poetry, proved very fertile. This was the idea of a general, communal, organized kingdom of the dead. The popular imagination found that kingdom at times under the ground, at times in the far west, or at the other side of the sea, or in the skies, etc. When a person died, his soul was bound to the grave for a certain time (usually some symbolic number of years, for example, seven) but its ultimate aim was to attain that kingdom and there to find its peace. What are the conditions that it will be able to go there? There is one condition: the body must as a preliminary decompose. Until that happens, the soul will be bound to it, and therefore, it will be unsatisfied and unhappy. How unhappy and unsatisfied such a deceased person can be can best be seen from the fact that the word for such an undecayed corpse began, with time, to mean a deeply unhappy, disconsolate person in general: the word, ocajnik, which today means only "unhappy, disconsolate person," in Vuk's dictionary has the single meaning "an undecayed body in the grave, a human body which can not decompose." A dire curse in Montenegro is: "May you not decay for a thousand years!" The folk poem "The Repentance and Confession of Kraljevic Marko," reads: "His mother implored Marko, that Marko's human blood would pass: "Because you will never decompose;" and a little later the old prior says to Marko, "Sorrowful son, Kraljevic Marko, . . . your human blood must pass, or you will never die, nor will your body decay."--Our blessing "God pardon him" and "God pardon his soul" does not mean "God pardon him his sins" but rather: "God allow him, or his soul, to be free of his body." In the poem which we have just mentioned, Kraljevic Marko finally receives the prior's blessing: ". . . This morning, I shall, by God, give you communion . . . that you are pardoned from this world. . . ."

Thus by burning the body we can accomplish two things: we can free the soul of the departed from his body which hinders it in its journey and we can personally secure ourselves. That was the reason for the penetration of the belief, in the distant past, that it was necessary to burn the dead; that is the reason that even today our people burn vampires.\*\*\*

In many Serbian areas, for example in Montenegro, only a hawthorn stake is used on the vampire; in Dusan's Legal Code, in Article 20 (which is, of course, concerned with the killing of a vampire), only burning is spoken of. Meanwhile, in Tupanari the vampire was first pierced with a hawthorn stake and only then burned,

and such a process was considered normal by Vuk Karadzic; it means that in the areas which he had in mind, the vampire was regularly both staked and burned. But this seems, if not contradictory, surely excessive. Why is a vampire both staked and burned?

When a vampire is already riveted to his grave, why then burn him? And, conversely, if he is to be burned, why then stake him? Isn't only one of these measures really sufficient? The answer is extremely simple: here two customs remain, an older custom and a more recent one. These people, who are unusually conservative in question of cult, have retained the older custom even when it became illogical and unnecessary. This amassing of customs, superimposing the new upon the old, the compromise between the old and the new beliefs, is a very frequent phenomenon in the history of religion. A few days ago, a prophetess from Slavonia came to Belgrade to the National Parliament. Through the conviction with which she spoke, because she had not "sold her gifts for money," in general because of her whole appearance, she was a real prophetess in the ancient (not in the modern) sense of the word--the last representative of those divine women, her predecessors who feel in themselves sanctum aliquid et providum. What she said is, for us, at this moment, secondary; but her appearance is interesting because, once, she went to the cemetery to beg God for rain. Turning to God for rain is an observance of the new faith; but why did she go to the cemetery? Because according to the beliefs of the old faith, the souls of our ancestors give us rain. Instead of bringing other proofs to confirm this (I shall put them forward in a separate article), I would suggest only the belief that if one dreams of the dead there will be rain. In the efforts of the prophetess to produce rain, we have obviously two things: the new ritual (appealing to the Christian God), along with which has remained the old (the magic of the cemetery).--In the poem "Jovan and the Gigantic Chieftain," crazy Jovan's eyes are put out. A vila arrives to aid him and: "When she looked at crazy Jovan, his eyes were put out, she washed him with Kaladzijnski water, and the vila prayed to God, and Jovan's eyes were restored." Here also we have an example of a compromise between the old and the new beliefs. The vila, as we know very well, is herself very capable of both taking and restoring sight--why then the intervention of the Christian God? In the poem "Ivo Benjanin and the Begler-beg" we have another similar disagreement--a conflict between the new and the old belief: "and there the vila both looks and listens, and from the mountain she flies down to the hero, with her right hand she guards Ivo, and with her left she takes out a dagger, and then she puts out the eyes of the Turks." The removal of the eyes with a dagger is a new element, because we know that a vila, in the same way as the Greek Artemis, by her very glance or even just her presence, could remove one's sight.--When it thunders and lightnings, it is not good to cross oneself. Why? When it is known that the cross is a sure and universal protection against every demon and against every evil in general,

this prohibition seems strange. According to folk explanation, "God drives the devils away by means of thunder and the devil, fleeing from thunder and lightning, can approach a person to hide under the cross and protect himself from these blows, thus it can easily happen that the person holding the cross will also suffer from the thunder and lightning" (ilicevic). This explanation is not exact because it cannot be imagined that it would ever occur to the devil, who is very frightened of the cross ("he flees like the devil from a cross"), to hide behind a cross. The explanation is not difficult to find when one assumes that this prohibition existed in a religious environment which still had not reconciled itself with the new conditions. The cross which is the symbol of the new god is a charm, surely, against evil spirits, but it must not be forgotten--mainly against the demons of a lower order. So, against one such mighty god as was the old god of thunder--a god who through centuries was important as summus deus and was respected above all others--we are not absolutely sure that the cross can be effective. On the contrary, it might only evoke the anger of that god, and therefore, we do not use it. And so forth. We have many customs in which the old and the new concepts, the old and new ritual, stand one beside the other. We have one such situation in the custom of both staking and burning a vampire.

Now, which of these two customs is the older. Obviously, the older is the custom of piercing with a hawthorn stake. For if we were to assume that burning is the older custom, it becomes very difficult to imagine that people would then, at one such radical a means as burning, feel the necessity to seek still another means which is less obvious and sure. Thus, it follows that the custom of burning a vampire can be ascertained as a custom of a relatively more recent date.

The custom of burning, as we have already said, was well-known to many people among whom were some who lived in our neighborhood (for example, Germans and Thracians), or who were in close connection with us (for example, the Czechs and Russians). Was it then--as we might expect--well-known to our forebears also? Mr. Sima Trojanovic, Brpski Anjizevni Glasnik 'The Serbian Literary Herald' (3: 1901, 55 ff; 125 ff) has attempted to give an affirmative answer. Mr. Milojie Vasic, (Brankovo Kolo 'Branko's Circle', 1901) in his paper on this subject did not accept Mr. Trojanovic's results.

The question is not easy and it is subject to revision. We can not foresee what the results will be, but one thing is obvious: that we must take the burning of a vampire as departure point in these investigations (as Mr. Trojanovic has already done). This is the only sure cremation which our Serbian religion knows. But because of the fact that a vampire is burned, it is clear that our people were aware that through burning a corpse it could

be made completely safe. And from this partial burning to a more general burning, only one step was necessary.

Did our ancestors take that step and generalize burning to all situations?

I shall, in only a few words, touch upon both one and the other possibility.

To my understanding, there are two facts which rather weaken the assumption that burning was practiced among the ancient Serbs. First of all, burning was not necessary. Our ancestors had other means of protecting themselves from the dead of whom they were suspicious. That was, in the first place, as we have seen, the hawthorn stake. The other possibility was *naschalismos*, decapitation and dismemberment which was known generally among all primitive peoples. From a report to Prince Milos in the year 1820 it is seen that some people from Ubljan "with a stake. . .crushed, severed the head and placed it at the feet" of a suspicious corpse, and in Krusivacka Tesica in the year 1836, the peasants dug a certain corpse from its grave and beat it. . ., shot it with guns and finally cut off its head." The third means is supplemental burial. That custom is known among the southern Serbs. The corpse is dug up after three years and its bones are ritually cleaned (with wine, etc.), the decay around the bones is carefully cleaned off and thrown away--obviously the purpose is that the soul be completely "pardoned" from the body. All these means were sufficient to remove a dangerous corpse from one's door. The hawthorn stake, decapitation and dismemberment, and supplemental burial--all of these have been preserved even down to the present day; this means that they have existed, without interruption, from ancient times. What with all these other means, was burning also necessary?

For another thing, today there is no trace of the custom of burning--if it at anytime existed--either in the traditions or in the customs. And this surprises us most. The people in all of their customs in general and in their funeral customs in particular are very conservative; if a new idea or a new custom arrives, the people will preserve the old custom along with the new or in totality (as is the situation with the hawthorn stake and cremation, or in substitutions and symbols). Live people were sometimes thrown as sacrifices into the Nile or the Tiber--later dolls were thrown instead of people; the ancient Jews, when some one of them died, would tear their clothes--today's Jews only cut them imperceptibly with a knife; a living person was supposed to be entombed in a foundation (see "Zidanje Skadra" 'The Building of Skadar')--today it is sufficient that instead of the person, only his shadow or his measurements are walled in. And so forth. The Romans first buried their dead, later they cremated them; but the custom did not completely disappear.

because, even in the era of cremation, one part of the deceased's body, for example, a finger, was ritualistically buried in the earth. Some Slavic tribes while they were still living on the sea coast, buried their dead by placing them in a boat which was then pushed out to sea; when these tribes later settled to the south in the interior, they continued to bury their dead in a box shaped like a boat and, when they acquired the custom of cremation, they also burned their dead in a boat. All of the ancient forms of burial are preserved among us Serbs in substitutions; for the substitution of decapitation, of dismemberment, and of complete destruction, one need only consider the custom of "cutting" the corpse, and that, most often, in the head or the forehead or the neck. As a substitution of the custom of staking a corpse with a hawthorn pole, consider the observance of pricking a suspicious corpse in the hand with a hawthorn; or the practice of putting a hawthorn under every corpse; or, generally, all usages of the hawthorn with respect to these bodies. The custom of burying the dead in the house under the threshold existed among our people in the very distant past; and this custom is preserved symbolically even down to today: in an area of Bosnia, the deceased's nails are cut and these are buried under the threshold, and in the Krusevac area, the measurements of the corpse are taken with a thread and that thread is then buried under the threshold. Every form of earlier burial is preserved, even if it be in substitutions, but for burning we have no sure example of substitution, nor allusion.\*\*\*\* Is this accidental?

On the other hand, it is worth mentioning that in Bosnia pre-historic necropoli with the remains of burnt bones have been found. The necropoli are not dated but they obviously belong to a period earlier than the Serbian population of Bosnia. It is interesting that the custom of the burning of a vampire is best preserved exactly here in Bosnia, as we have been shown by the incident in Tupanari and the information in Vuk (which in any case rests on the data from western Serbia and Bosnia). Dare we tie these facts together? An analogy from the far eastern part of the Balkan peninsula would speak for the possibility that burning existed: Jirecek Das Furstentum Bulgarien, 110 says that on the coasts of the Black Sea up until recent times, all corpses were burned out of the fear that they would become vampires.

As can be seen, the question is not solved; it will be possible to say more about the burning of vampires when more material has been collected.

## NOTES

1. As is known and as can be seen from information in South Slavic sources, e.g. in Vuk Karadzic's *Rjecnik*/ 'Dictionary' (Belgrade, 3 ed: 1898), this is the prescribed technique for the destruction of a vampire.

2. "vukodlak" along with the word "vampire" are both South Slavic words for 'vampire.'

3. The vila is a South Slavic wood or water nymph, a fairy, an undine, a dryad, she lures sailors to their doom and she is the cause for a hunter's or fisher's non return.

4. These are all from South Slavic folk literature.

5. Here Professor Čajkanović gives the Serbo-Croatian "Bog da ga prosti" and "Bog da mu dusu prosti" = God pardon him and God pardon his soul., were this to mean "God pardon him his sin," it would be in the dative case and not in the accusative, e.g. "Bog da mu oprosti" or "Bog da mu dusi orprosti."

6. The Zakonik, a famous legal code, one of the most important documents extant of 14th century Serbian social conditions and culture, was published during the reign of the Serbian king, Stephen Dusan (1331-1355).

7. A proverb.

\* In primitive societies, capital punishment is always accomplished in such a way as to protect the ones perpetrating it from the wrath of the man killed: e.g., he will be buried alive, so that his soul cannot leave again; or his grave will be piled high with rocks (the aim being to keep the soul inside); or the punishment will be carried out by a group, so that the soul of the deceased will not know exactly who is guilty of his death, e.g., each person present would throw a stone or (as in Montenegro) there would be a volley of rifle fire, etc. Among these customs can be mentioned the prescription that, during a burial, everyone had to throw dirt onto the grave.

\*\* According to the beliefs of our people, the soul can be in the bones only while a person is alive, see e.g., Vuk posl., 1597: "His soul burned in his bones. Whenever someone wishes to say that someone is very old, and at the same time does not wish him to die;" cf. also Vuk, Pesme 'Poems' 2, 74, 79, etc.:... "Are you, brother, in life?" "Yes, I am, brother, it is bad:... I can just barely carry my soul in my bones."

\*\*\* Neither our people nor primitive peoples, in general, are consistent in the concept of the soul. The soul can be: 1) a vegetative soul, one which is tied to the blood (cf. especially

the classical source in The Third Book of Moses, 17: 14: "Because the soul of each body is its blood, that is the soul" (Trans. note: Cf. Leviticus 17:14, King James Version: "For it /blood/ is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof"), the heart, the muscles, and others; 2) Breath, more exactly the last breath which escapes from one's lips (etymologically the word dusa 'soul' is cognate with the word duvati 'to breathe'); 3) The soul is man's (spiritual) double (among the Germanic people). It leaves man when he sleeps and when he dies. Dreams are reality: when we sleep, our soul, "our double," leaves from our mouth (e.g., in the form of a fly or a bird), and later returns to the body; whatever the soul sees or experiences on that occasion is what we have dreamed. That is why it is considered bad to wake someone suddenly, because the soul might not have time to return to the body. For this kind of a soul or spirit, compare also Vuk, Dictionary; s.v. "vjestica 'witch': a woman is called a witch who. . .has within her somekind of demonic spirit/soul, which leaves her when she is sleeping and transforms itself into a butterfly, a hen, or a turkey, and flies about the houses and eats people. . .A woman who is a witch, once this spirit has left her, lies as though she is dead and if a person places her head where her feet had been, she will not awake again." Our people sometimes believe that a vampire has a vegetative soul (thus he can annoy us only until his body has decomposed), sometimes, however, they believe that the vampire's soul or spirit is a fylgja, a doublet: see, for example, the Glisic story After Ninety Years in which the vampire's soul leaves from his lips in the guise of a butterfly; and Vuk, Dictionary; s.v., "vukodlak": A person is called a vukodlak who. . .after death. . .is entered by some kind of demonic spirit (as is a witch also), which revives him," etc. The first belief is the older.

\*\*\*\* The examples which Mr. Trojanovic gives, in my opinion, are not sufficiently clear and would more likely be of a cathartic character.