

WALLS THAT NEED MILK TO GROW:
A PSYCHOANALYTIC READING OF THE LEGEND OF
FOUNDATION SACRIFICE

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YÜKSELMEK İÇİN SÜTE İHTİYAÇ DUYAN DUVARLAR:
TEMELE ADANAN KURBAN MİTİNİN PSİKOANALİTİK BİR
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Abstract

Throughout the world, but mainly in the Balkans there exists an important foundation sacrifice legend- the legend of the walled-up woman. All the major cultural collections of these legends have as a motif that the sacrificial immurement of a woman-usually a young mother for the erection of an important edifice. In the 19th century, all the versions have been predominantly analyzed through the myth-ritual theory, and interpreted based on the origins and nationalistic claims. Later in the 20th century there have been very interesting and worthy literary interpretations, but each of the writers has focused on their own specific national version, and failed to account for the similarities among these myths. This study introduces different versions and interpretations by showing the importance of their contextual but also their common existence. Moreover it offers an alternative interpretation of the ethical dilemma present in the Albanian version of the legend, by offering parallels from the ancient Greek tragedies. Finally, the study attempts to integrate the myth-ritual theory and masonry with psychoanalytic interpretations of Jung, Bachofen, and Fromm in order to offer a whole new perspective on the common existence of the myths throughout the world and mainly in the Balkans, which would account both for their differences and similarities.

Dünyanın birçok yerinde, ancak özellikle Balkanlarda, bina temeline adanan bir kurban --duvarla örülen bir kadına-- dair yaygın bir mit bulunmaktadır. Belli başlı tüm kültürel derlemelere bakıldığında, bu mitlerin önemli bir anıtın inşa edilmesi sırasında bina temeline hapsedilerek kurban verilen ve genellikle genç bir anne olan bir kadın figürü içerdiği görülür. 19. yüzyılda, bu mitin farklı versiyonları ağırlıklı olarak mit-ritüel teorisi çerçevesinde incelenmiş, kökenler ve ulusal söylemler ekseninde yorumlanmıştır. 20. yüzyılda da bu mit hakkında oldukça ilginç ve dikkate değer edebi değerlendirmeler yapılmış, ancak her ilgili yazar değerlendirmesini sadece kendi ulusal versiyonu ile sınırlı tutmuş, mitin var olan farklı versiyonları arasındaki benzerlikleri dikkate almamıştır. Eldeki çalışma, bu mitin farklı versiyonları ve yorumlarını birlikte değerlendirerek, bunların sadece kendilerine has bağlamlarının değil ortak varoluş tarzlarının da önemine dikkat çekmektedir. Ayrıca, antik Yunan trajedileri ile kurulan paralellikler aracılığıyla, mitin Arnavut versiyonundaki etik ikileme dair alternatif bir yorum getirilmektedir. Son olarak, bu çalışma ile mit-ritüel teorisi ve masonluk kavramı ile Jung, Bachofen ve Fromm'un psikoanalitik yorumlamaları arasındaki örtüşmeler incelenerek, tüm dünya genelinde ve temel olarak Balkanlardaki ortak mitlerin arasındaki farklılıklar ve benzerlikler üzerine tamamen yeni bir perspektif sunulmaktadır.

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always with love.
always in love.*

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Introduction

In the thesis I intend to analyze different versions of an important foundation sacrifice legend- the legend of the walled-up woman, by focusing on the Albanian version as a case study. The motif that exists in all the major cultural collections of these legends is the sacrificial immurement of a woman-usually a young mother. The sacrifice most often occurs as a solution to the repeated collapse of an important edifice (a castle, a bridge, a monastery, a minaret, and in some versions a well) in the process of its construction due to ambiguous reasons, seemingly the curse of angry supernatural powers. By means of either a dream, or advice from a spirit, or a wise old man, the brothers or the group of masons learn that the first woman who comes to the construction site the next day is to be walled-up in the edifice in order to appease these supernatural powers and be able to go on with the construction. The further sequence of the events changes from version to version. In the end the sacrifice is always effective and the construction is completed with success. Alan Dundes (1996), a folklorist at the University of California at Berkley, has edited a collection of eighteen essays on the ballads of walled-up wives. Dundes while commenting on the popularity of the ballad says "I suspect there is probably no ballad among all the ballads of the world which has been the subject of more articles and monographs than 'The building of Skadar'" (Dundes, 1989, p. 153).

Given the large literature on the legend, the way it is called also changes accordingly. Some scholars call it myth, some call it legend, and some ballad. According to a division of myth, legend and folktales by William Bascom, myth is believed as a fact, happens in a remote past in a different world, is sacred, and its characters are non-

human. Legend is also believed as a fact, happens in a recent past in the world of today, it can be secular or sacred, and its characters are humans. Folktale is considered as fiction, can happen at anytime and anyplace, is definitely secular, and its characters can be human or non-human (Bascom, 1984). As it can be easily seen, the immurement sacrifice has no common elements with a folktale, but elements from myth and legend. Whether it is called a legend or a ballad depends solely on the basis that it is sung or unsung. In the Balkans this legend is alive and exists in many versions. In a thorough survey, Lajos Vargyas (1967) cites 80 Hungarian, 87 Bulgarian, 49 Romanian, 37 Serbo-Croatian, 14 Albanian, and 297 Greek versions (cf. Dundes, 1989). These figures are not firm as other researchers have found more versions in these countries. In Albania there exist 22 text versions for castles and 13 for bridges (Institute of Sciences, 1953). Despite the existence of many versions there are several master versions of the foundation sacrifice myths that exist mainly but not only in the Balkans. The master versions are the Greek version "Bridge of Arta"-about a bridge, the Serbian version "Building of Skadar"-about a castle, the Albanian version "Rozafat"-about a castle, the Rumanian version "Master Manole and the Monastery of Argesh"-about a monastery, the Hungarian "Master Klement"-about a fort. There exist several Indian versions, which are the Santal tales-about a well. There is also one version of a minaret built by a Dervish which is not considered a master version but is interesting for being an alternative to the other edifices.

In the nineteenth century the only folklore theory that has been applied to the foundation sacrifices is that of myth-ritual. According to these theories, all myths are assumed to be derived from some earlier type of ritual. The most interesting myth-ritual interpretation is the one offered by Mircea Eliade, who says that 'the archaism of the images and symbols

present in the ballads is abundantly confirmed by the practices and beliefs concerning constructional sacrifices' (Eliade, 1996, p.82). In the twentieth century, with the shift in the theoretical approach in folkloristics from diachronic to synchronic, the interpretations favored issues of structure, function, and meaning and scholars started reading myth as text and/or story (Dundes, 2001, p.185). An interesting text analysis of the "Master Manole and the Monastery of Argesh" has been provided by Serban Angheliescu in 1984. For Angheliescu, this ballad is mainly about mobility-immobility. The wall keeps moving down at night and up during the day. Sharon King in 1996 examined the Rumanian version of the Monastery of Argesh as a text. According to her, the poem is about boundaries which can be both literal and symbolic, and limits held to or limits surpassed. Another interpretation frequently ignored is the Christian interpretation of mythology. According to such kind of interpretations, folklore contains spiritual messages (usually Christian) in content (Dundes, 1996). A Christian interpretation of the "The Building of Skadar" is offered by the Reverend Dr. Krstvoj Kotur in 1977. According to Kotur, in the poem, prevails the idea of the eternal guilt and sinless victim. He therefore makes an analogy with the redemption of the sinful human race by the son of god, Jesus Christ. Another interpretation that has Christian and moral overtones is the one offered by Professor Zora Devrnja Zimmerman in 1979. According to Zimmerman, the story is important for its important ethical dilemma, its essential determinism, and necessity of the immurement. Mortals are eventually punished for defiance of gods, but defiance gives knowledge, and without this knowledge humanity cannot exist. The ones who transcend selfishness will be abused by the others, they will be honored by the gods and preserved in the collective memory. A brilliant feminist-anthropologist interpretation comes from Ruth Mandel in 1983 on the Greek version of the "Bridge of Arta". She uses

the Levi-Straussian nature-culture dichotomy and also the concept of liminality which she takes from Arnold Van Gennep's "The Rites of Passage" to argue that woman has a dual nature and belongs to both the worlds of nature and culture; in other words she is liminal. Finally, there is an important interpretation by Alan Dundes, who has special credit for the foundation sacrifice myths, because of his edited collection of 18 different versions and interpretations and his important insights. Dundes offers his own feminist and psychoanalytic interpretations of the legend which he considers 'a deadly metaphor for married life from India to the Balkans'. In his interpretation, by building a structure that contains a woman inside, men try to imitate and possess the ability to bear children.

The belief that the immuring of a human victim in an edifice under construction ensures its permanence is very old. Excavations indicate that from a very early period human sacrifice accompanied the erection of the buildings. The legend has important place in cultural history as such sacrifices seem to have been commonplace throughout the world. Westermarck (1906) cites instances of foundation sacrifices at Germany's Maulbronn Monastery, the Bridge Gate walls of Bremen, the Elizabeth Bridge of Halle, etc. Sartori (1898) cited Muenster Cathedral of Strasbourg, France, numerous Buddhist monasteries in Thailand and Cambodia, the Palace of Dahomey, Africa, the City Gate of Tavoy in Tenasserim, Burma, the Temple of Quetzalcoatl in Mexico, the Cathedral of walls in Antioch, Turkey, of Alexandria, Egypt, as well as the cultural centers of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, and the foundation walls of most ancient settlements on the Danube (cf. Zimmerman, 1979). In the Balkans this legend is told about the castle of Shkodra in Albania or Skadar in Serbia, about the bridges of Struma, Hellada, Antimachia and Arta in Greece, Macedonia, and Bulgaria, the bridge of Adana in Turkey, the Citadel of Deva in Hungary, and the monastery of Arges and castle of

Barcan in Romania. A later development was the substitution of a model of the human victim. The Egyptians offered an animal to their gods, and later the Romans substituted puppets for the human sacrifices to the goddesses. In some instances later and in others at the present we find also the belief that the shadow of a man or a child measured and then walled up or deposited in the foundation would make the edifice firm. There was also the actual and symbolic sacrifice of animals, whereby a cock or an animal was killed and its blood allowed to drip into the foundation stone. The practice survives in modern Greece, Albania, Serbia, and Bulgaria (Brewster, 1996, p.38). Both historical records and archeological evidence make clear that, in almost all the civilizations human sacrifice was a necessary part of process of the construction of a building, because the very fact of raising a building was an act of defiance of the forces of nature, the creation of something that was not there before, a declaration of independence and manhood (Tresner, 2003, p.13). In the cornerstone-laying ceremonies of the Freemasons, corn, oil and wine are placed on the stone. The purpose of the act is to celebrate the change from sacrifice to symbol, to commemorate the past, while at the same time affirming that mankind has moved to a better and more compassionate understanding of the world around him (Tresner, p. 20). Freemasonry is one of the world's oldest and largest fraternal organizations, and according to the speculations, Freemasonry originated with the very beginning of civilization. The word "Mason" means "Builder," and Freemasonry, as we know it today came into being some 800 years ago. No one knows with certainty how or when the Masonic Fraternity was formed. A widely accepted theory among Masonic scholars is that it arose from the stonemasons' guilds during the Middle Ages. The language and symbols used in the fraternity's rituals come from this era. The modern architects know very little about the

pre-history of architecture. Architecture now has become an individual achievement, and it bears no relationship with the old collective masonry fraternity, which as we said has been transformed with time, institutionalized into a different entity, and has taken different meanings.

It is clear that all the Masonic rituals would offer evidence to support the myth-ritual theory. Despite its strength, the myth-ritual interpretation fails to take into account the reasons for the immurement of women in the legends, and the survival of the legends as we know them today only in some regions, like the Balkans. Jung offered a very important theoretical perspective on the study of myth, and is able to answer many unanswered questions about myth in general, and about the case study in particular. According to Jung, the subject matter of myth is symbolic not literal, and the human mind instead of the external world. Therefore according to Jung, myth originates and functions in order to satisfy the psychological need for contact with the unconscious. Moreover myths are intended by the unconscious to reveal its contents to those whose myths are, and in order to reach their intended audience, myths should be translatable into a language the audience knows (cf. Segal, p.11). But despite the importance of the specificity of the myth, Jung is concerned with similarities among myths. Among the explanations accounting for the existence of the similarities there are two major ones: diffusion and independent invention. Jung is a radical independent inventionist, in the sense that he believes myths to have been inherited rather than created by societies. By this he means that mythmakers invent specific stories in specific contexts, but these inventions are expression of archetypes which are manifestations of always already mythic material, and are the contents of the collective unconscious. More specifically, archetypes in the mythological research corresponds to motifs, according to Levy-Bruhl

to the concept of representations collectives, by Hubert and Mauss as categories of the imagination, by Adolf Bastian as elementary or primordial thoughts (Jung, p. 43). During his work, he focused on several crucial archetypes, which we can also find in the foundation sacrifice myths; the mother archetype, the child archetype, the old man, and the spirit archetype.

The existence of the same archetypes in all the versions of the foundation sacrifice myths does not imply that their meaning is the same for all the places and peoples. According to Dundes each culture transforms a piece of folklore into a version which reflects their particular anxieties and concerns, or as Malinowski put it, myths are texts within contexts. It is therefore crucial to discuss the Albanian version and its interpretations in detail in the thesis. The Albanian version of the foundation sacrifice is about a young mother called Rozafa immured in the foundations of a castle, which for many Albanian nationalists symbolizes the nation. In all the available interpretations of the myth, by artists, historians, ethnographers, Rozafa is idealized as a sincere, selfless mother, whose sacrifice gave birth to a fortress, a town, a nation. She has sacrificed life for common traditions, and this individual sacrifice is seen as trivial compared to the interest of the community. Castles have been assimilated into ethnic imaginations of memories which constitute a proud communal past, and they are an important part of Albanian national past and present, the first sites to be learned about in school, to be visited, to be proud of. Part of the national pride is also the origins of the legend. The existence of the ballad through the Balkans while encouraging the comparative method, has actually been used by every scholar to demonstrate the same origin of the ballad with that of the writer (Dundes, 1989). Ismail Kadare, a distinguished Albanian writer and analyst has written about the legend in many of his books, where he offers historical and sociological

evidence that the primal version of the legend is of Albanian origin. But although it has been for years a source of pride for Albanians and others, recently, it has received controversial interpretations, especially by the feminists. The legend has been the focus of attack from one of the Albanian feminists, Silke Blumbach. She uses the myth to deconstruct it, and to raise the feminist conscious of Albanian women. According to Blumbach, such myths serve as ideological superstructures in order to idealize and make this bitter reality for women acceptable. In 2001 Artan Fuga, a notable Albanian analyst wrote a book on the politics of communication during the transition in Albania, entitled "Escape from the Rozafa Complex", where he offers a politico-philosophical analysis of the myth. Fuga says that moving away from the instability of institutions during the transition period, is like moving away from the Complex of Rozafa. According to his analysis, given that the three brothers were left without the authority of the father, the death of the father is the foundation element of the legend. After this death, the brothers have no capacity to exert a horizontal power within a group of individuals with equal power, since the vertical authoritarian power left an empty vacuum (Fuga, p.334). Fuga compares this situation to democracy.

It is interesting to focus specifically on the ethical dilemma in the Albanian version, because the decision-making process is crucial here compared to other version, where the ethical dilemma is trivial or less important. As Hegel had already put it in his Lectures on Aesthetics, the force of the great tragic characters of antiquity consists in the fact that they have no choice: they are what they will and accomplish from their birth on. They have received the call from the Big Other/Father, and this call/necessity/inevitable would make them innocent, and free them from their guilt. Are the brother masons free of guilt? This is a question which will be interesting to take up. In Totem and Taboo, Freud talked

about the primordial crime as being the murder of the primal father/dead father. The gang of brothers slays the primal father, and must then institute their own laws and prohibitions on each other. In psychoanalysis as in anthropology one commonly links the sacred and the establishment of the religious bond that it presupposes with sacrifice. In 1989 Carole Pateman argued that the term 'patriarchy' should include fraternal as well as paternal forms of dominance. She argues that the construction of the modern political theory depends on the subordination of women to fraternity. Modern civil society is not created by kinship and the power of the fathers: in the modern world women are subordinated to men as men, or to men as a fraternity. She argues that fraternity is the most powerful of communal bonds. Democracy is simply the political form of fraternity.

This interpretation of the primal guilt as the killing of the father is plausible for a symbolic order we can speak of. Although frequently ignored there are alternative interpretations to the primal guilt as the killing of the mother not the father. In his *Mutterrecht* (Mother Right), published in 1861, Bachofen suggested that in the beginning of human history sexual relations were promiscuous; that therefore only the mother's parenthood was unquestionable, to her alone could consanguinity be traced, and she was the authority and lawgiver-the ruler both in the family group and the society. He assumed that in a long historical process men defeated women, subdued them, and succeeded in making themselves the rulers in a social hierarchy. One of the most striking examples of Bachofen's interpretations of Greek myths is his analysis of Aeschylus's *Oresteia*, which according to him is a symbolic representation of a last fight between the maternal goddesses and the victorious paternal gods. For the matriarchal world there is only one sacred tie, that of mother and child, and consequently matricide is the ultimate and unforgivable crime. From the patriarchal point of view, the son's love and respect for the

father is his paramount duty and therefore patricide is the paramount crime. Matriarchal culture is characterized by an emphasis of ties of blood, ties to the soil, and a passive acceptance of all natural phenomena. Patriarchal society, in contrast, is characterized by respect for man-made law, by a predominance of rational thought, and by man's effort to change natural phenomena. In the trilogy of Sophocles, Fromm based on Bachofen's theory argues that the main theme of the trilogy is the conflict between father and sons (Fromm, 1951, p.219).

The focus of this study is to analyze the main versions of foundation sacrifices together, although the Albanian version has been my main starting point. These versions have been predominantly analyzed through the myth-ritual theory, and interpreted based on the origins and nationalistic claims. Although there have been very interesting and worthy literary interpretations, each of them has focused on the specific national version, and fail to count for the similarities among these myths. The similarities between them are therefore worth investigating. A primary purpose of this study is to introduce different versions and interpretations by showing the importance of their contextual but also their common existence. The only approach which has attempted to count for all the versions has been the myth-ritual theory, but it has failed to account for many important details of the myths. A second purpose is to offer an alternative interpretation of the ethical dilemma present in the Albanian version of the legend, by offering parallels from the ancient Greek tragedies. A third purpose is to integrate the myth-ritual theory and masonry with psychoanalytic interpretations of Jung, Bachofen, and Fromm in order to offer a whole new perspective on the common existence of the myths throughout the world and mainly in the Balkans, which would account both for their differences and similarities.

Regarding the structural unfolding of the thesis, in the first chapter I will present several master versions of the foundation sacrifice myths that exist mainly but not only in the Balkans. In the second chapter, I will present several existing interesting interpretations of the foundation sacrifice myths. The only interpretations omitted from this chapter are the Albanian interpretations, as they will be presented separately as a case study. In the third chapter, inspired by the myth-ritual theory and the common Masonic element of construction that characterizes the legends/ballads of immurement, I focus more on the ritual of the human sacrifice and its relationship to masonry. In the fourth chapter I will focus on the Jungian approach to myth because I think he has offered a very important theoretical perspective on the study of myth, and is able to answer many unanswered questions about myth in general, and about the case study in particular. In the fifth chapter I will focus on the Albanian version of the foundation sacrifice myths-the myth of Rozafa- as a case study, and deal more in details with the Albanian interpretations of this version. In the sixth chapter I will discuss the ethical element present in the (decision of) immurement of Rozafa by offering parallel arguments from the act of Oedipus and Agamemnon. In the last chapter I will discuss an alternative interpretation of the myth of foundation sacrifice, based on the theories of Bachofen, and on the interpretation of the myth of Oedipus by Erich Fromm. The conclusion follows, where I present a synthesis of the whole study.

Chapter One-Master Versions of the Foundation Sacrifice Myths

In this chapter I will present several master versions of the foundation sacrifice myths that exist mainly but not only in the Balkans. They are narrated and not offered in their original state as this thesis is not attempting a literary analysis. Reference to the sources where the original versions can be found will be offered in the annexes of this study. The versions to be considered are the Greek version "Bridge of Arta", the Serbian version "Building of Skadar", the Albanian version "Rozafat", the Rumanian version "Master Manole and the Monastery of Argesh", the Hungarian "Master Klement", and finally the versions of the Santal tales. There is also one version of a minaret built by a Dervish which is not considered a master version but will be presented here for being a special and alternative type of building to the castle, bridge, monastery, and well.

1.1. Bridge of Arta

In the legend types of the Bridge of Arta, a single master craftsman, usually named *Manoli*, and a large number of builders and apprentices (forty five masons and 50 apprentices) are building a bridge but eventually fail to make it stand. They are warned/told/advised by a dream/a voice from the bridge/a demon from the bridge/or an archangel to sacrifice to the bridge the master's wife. The master craftsman sends a nightingale to warn his wife in order to delay her arrival, but ironically the bird delivers the message in the opposite sense and eventually the wife arrives hurryingly to the building site in her best clothes. Her husband shows distress when seeing her, and this distress is explained to her as him having lost the ring. She offers to descent in order to find the ring and is eventually built into the foundation. She laments her fate, and recalls that of her two sisters, who were both similarly immured elsewhere in Balkan bridges.

Part of her laments is her curse to the bridge that it may tremble like her trembling heart. Afraid of the curse, the masons remind her of her brother who is in foreign places but should return one day and walk over the bridge. Afraid that something might happen to her brother she eventually changes her curse to a benediction for the bridge to stand like iron for her brother¹.

1.2. Building of Skadar

In the Building of Skadar there are three brothers Vukashin, Ugleysa, and Goyko, who are the builders of the fortress on the Boyana River at the order of King Vukashin. The fortress cannot stand erect for three years. In the beginning of the fourth year a warning is given by a Vila/ dream/ voice/ etc., to King Vukashin to immure in the fortress a brother and a sister, named Stoya and Stoyan. Vukashin sends to search for them, and after three years the attempts are unsuccessful and the next advice is that the wife of one of the three brothers must be sacrificed in the foundation in order for the bridge to stand. They decide that they will leave the choice to fate, and that the one that comes first or brings the dinner shall be immured in the fortress. They give the word to each other not to break the oath but the two elder brothers break the oath and secretly warn their wives, who consequently stay at home the next day and compel or induce their sister-in-law to take the dinner to the three building brothers. The brother whose wife is seen approaching prays God to send a storm of wind and rain to keep his wife away but all his prayers are in vain, because the devoted wife struggles through her way to the foundation site where she finds her husband weeping. Goyko's grief is explained to her as due to the loss of a golden apple or ring which she offers to find in order to comfort

¹Collins-Smith, J. & Halliday, W.R. (1996). "The Song of the Bridge", in Alan Dundes (ed). *The Walled-Up Wife: A Casebook*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press, p.31

him. She is afterwards built in the fortress by the brother-masons. At first she thinks they are merely joking, but as the building rises, she realizes the bitter reality of her fate. She finally implores them at least to leave a hole for her breasts through which she may suckle her small baby, and the brothers agree with her last desire. For seven days she suckles the baby. At the end of the time she is unable to speak but the milk continues to flow.²

1.3. Rozafat

Three Christian brothers are trying to construct the fortress of Shkodra but the work of day is destroyed by night. A saint/old wise man/father tells them that the wife of one of them must be immured in order for the fortress to stand erect. The brothers agree to keep secret the words of the saint; however the two elders break their oath and tell their wives. The mother of the brothers calls the daughters-in-law and tells them to take food to the fortress. The youngest wife says that she cannot go because her son is small and cries when left alone. The wives of the two elder brothers are excused from going because of their justifications, and they also offer to take care of the son of the youngest wife, which eventually without further contest takes the food to the three brothers. When she arrives at the site, the youngest brother (her husband) tells her frankly what her fate is going to be without any attempts to cheat her. She accepts her destiny without questioning it. However she begs that, when immured, her right breast be exposed and holes left for her right eye, hand, and foot to suckle, see, caress, and cuddle her baby.

The ballad ends with the mother's wish: Let the fortress be strengthened and my son be a king and enjoy it. Milk continues to flow from the castle.³

1.4. Master Manole and the Monastery of Argesh

The ballad begins with the search of Negru Voda and his ten companions for a site for the construction of the monastery. Of the ten companions, nine are master masons and Manole is the chief. They meet a flute-playing young shepherd whom the Negru voda asks about the location of certain deserted walls in the vicinity. The shepherd directs them to the spot, and they start building there. If the edifice is built they will be rich, if not they will be buried alive in the foundation. Manole dreams that they should immure the first woman that comes in order for the monastery to stand erect. Eventually Manole sees his wife approaching and prays god to stop her but despite everything she still comes. He tells her that they will pretend to wall her up. They begin and go on up to her knees and at this point she stops laughing and laments that the wall squeezes her body. In this version of the legend the wife is pregnant and says that the wall will kill her child, and her breast weeps tears of milk. When Negru Voda asks the masons whether they have seen a more beautiful monastery they say that they have. Angry, he throws down the ladder and leaves them on the roof. They make themselves wings from little boards and attempt to fly through the air but fall down and turn into stones. Manole while hearing his wife's lament falls and turns into a fountain of clear water, bitter and salty from the tears.⁴

³ Vata, J. (1984). "The Albanian entombment ballad and its common elements with the Balkan sister-versions" in *Studies on folklore*. Tirana.

⁴ Brewer, P.G. (1996). "The Foundation Sacrifice Motif in Legend, Folksong, Game, and Dance", in *Alan Dundes (ed). The Walled-Up Wife: A Casebook*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press., p.45

1.5. Master Klement

Twelve masons are charged with the building of the fort of Deva. The walls always collapse. Finally the leader decides that the body of the first wife to visit the spot must be put into the lime, without knowing that actually his wife is on her way to the site. Klement wishes obstacles to come into her way and thus preventing her from approaching, but she arrives safely. Once told about her fate she is permitted to go home and say farewell to her friends and little son and after having done so she goes back to meet her fate. The little boy asks for the mother, and he is directed and taken to the fort of Deva. When he reaches the foundation he finds out about the fate of his mother and falls into the ditch and dies.

1.6. Santal Tales

Once upon a time there lived seven brothers and a sister. The brothers were married, but their wives did not do the cooking for their family, which was done by their sister. In one version the jealous wives cursed the well where she took water to dry, and when she went to take water she started crying when she saw it dried. The water continued to rise but she still was not able to fill anything. In another version the brothers want to dig a tank, but they found no water. A yogi told them that if they give a gift there would be water. All agreed to sacrifice their sister except the youngest. When her fiancé (future husband) goes to take her, he finds out that she had become a flower on the tank. After a conversation with her husband she is eventually transformed into a beautiful lady and lives her life with her husband. Then one day her brothers go to ask for help because

they had become poor meanwhile, and she tells them who she was. Eventually they all die in the end although she tries to save her youngest brother.⁵

1.7. The Minaret of Dervish Pasha

Dervish Pasha was building a mosque, with 30 masters. The wind destroyed his minaret. He asked the masters on how to proceed but they didn't know anything and told him to wait for the old master mason. The old master said that the Vila destroyed it because they are jealous like giants are and do not want high buildings like this to be constructed. Dervish Pasha ordered for the minaret to be rebuilt, but it was again destroyed. The Pasha eventually had a dream. In his dream a supernatural being told him that she should sacrifice one of his sons if he wanted the minaret to stand erect. He went to his wife and told her to choose one of the sons for the sacrifice, but it was impossible for her to make such a choice, therefore she refused. The Pasha had to make the choice himself, therefore grabbed the younger one and sacrificed him. The wife died from the sadness which she could not endure. The Pasha buried her together with their son, and the mosque was never destroyed anymore.⁶

⁵ Campbell, G. A. & Bompas, C.H. (1996). "Three Santal Tales", in Alan Dundes (ed). *The Walled-Up Wife: A Casebook*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

⁶ Morici, G. (1937). *Izabrane narodne pjesma*. U.Zagrebu, vol 20, 91 cited from Morici, G. (1937). "La storia dell'edifizio". *Annali del R. Istituto Superiore Orientale di Napoli*, 9: 177-216.

Chapter Two- Existing Interpretations of Several Master Versions

Myths are not primarily texts,
but texts within contexts.
Bronislaw Malinowski

In this chapter I will present several existing interpretations of the foundation sacrifice myths. The only interpretations omitted from this chapter are the Albanian interpretations, as they will be presented separately as a case study. The earlier interpretations of the ballads have used the comparative method to prove its origin, but the question of origin as a nationalist concern is left aside in this paper as irrelevant. In the nineteenth century the only folklore theory that has been applied to the foundation sacrifices is that of myth-ritual, and in the twentieth century, with the shift in the theoretical approach in folkloristics from diachronic to synchronic, the interpretations favored issues of structure, function, and meaning (Dundes, 2001, p.185)

2.1 Myth-Ritual

According to these theories all myth are assumed to be derived from some earlier type of ritual, and in this case the ritual is typically said to be one of fertility (Dundes, 2001, p.200). The most interesting myth-ritual interpretation is the one offered by Mircea Eliade. Eliade says that 'the archaism of the images and symbols present in the ballads is abundantly confirmed by the practices and beliefs concerning constructional sacrifices' (Eliade, 1996, p.82). He emphasizes the fact that such beliefs and legends were dependent upon a ritual scenario: 'whether a human effigy of the shade of a victim was involved, or substitute animal, the blood sacrifice always assured the solidity and long life of a building' (Eliade, p.82). Eliade offers evidence for the discovery of sacrifices in the foundations of sanctuaries and palaces in the ancient Near East, in prehistoric Italy, and existence of the ritual-belief in modern India, Central American

cultures, in the Oceania and Polynesia, in Indochina, in China, in Japan and all over the world. According to Eliade all these forms depend upon a common ideology, which could be summarized as follows:

“...to last, a construction (house, technical accomplishment, but also a spiritual undertaking) must be animated, that is, must receive both life and a soul. The transference of the soul is possible only by means of a sacrifice, in other words, by a violent death. We may even say that the victim continues its existence after death, no longer in its physical body, but in the new body-the construction-which it has animated by its immolation, we may speak of an architectonic body substituted for a body of flesh” (Eliade, p.83).

Eliade argues that the exemplary model for all these forms of sacrifice is very probably a cosmogenic myth. By a cosmogenic myth he means a myth that explains the Creation by the killing of a primordial giant (of the type of *ymir*, *purusa*, *p'an-ku*) whose organs produce the various cosmic regions (Eliade, p.84). There are two important questions that Eliade poses regarding these myths: a) what is the real meaning of all these beliefs and all these cultural complexes, b) for what reason has some particular people preserved, elaborated, and enriched them?⁷ The myth-ritual theory cannot provide an answer to these questions, and others. For example, Dundes rightly problematizes the myth-ritual theory as failing to offer an interpretation to important details in the legends, like necessity of immuring a woman, agreement of brothers, the element of the ring, and other important ones.

III Literary Analysis-Mobility/Immobility

An interesting text analysis of the “Master Manole and the Monastery of Argesh” has been provided by Serban Angheliescu in 1984. For Angheliescu, this ballad is mainly about mobility-immobility. From the very beginning of the story an old incomplete wall

⁷ Eliade, M. (1996). “Master Manole and the Monastery of Arges” in Alan Dundes (ed). *The Walled-Up World: A Casebook*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

according to King the first boundary in the text. The masons are threatened to be walled up alive if they cannot fulfill the difficult demand of the prince. King argues that the 'skills of the masons' is the second boundary, a boundary which they should go beyond and surpass in order to reach the unreachable. Another limit seems to be the limit imposed by nature. Nature, or the supernatural rebels against this construction which is born of ambition and hubris, and imposes its own limits on the work undertaken by the men. Crossing over or beyond boundaries happens when Ana (the wife of Manole) turn from a heroine to a victim. And the climax according to King is when the monastery is erected and thus all borders/boundaries/limits are surpassed.⁹

2.4. Christian Interpretation

Another interpretation frequently ignored is the Christian interpretation of mythology. According to such kind of interpretations, folklore contains spiritual messages (usually Christian) in content (Dundes, 1996). A Christian interpretation of the "The Building of Sădăra" is offered by the Reverend Dr. Krstvoj Kotur in 1977. Kotur emphasizes the several different motifs present in the poem like the motif of the fairies who destroy and permit the city to be built, the necessity of a human sacrifice in order to continue the construction, the sacrifice of the wife of the king, the motif of the suckling child by the dead entombed mother, and the motif of the transformation of the milk into a spring of miracle-working water, and others (Kotur, p. 140). According to him, in the poem, prevails the idea of the eternal guilt and sinless victim. He therefore makes an analogy with the redemption of the sinful human race by the son of god, Jesus Christ. Kotur says that "man could not enter into a new relationship and unity with god through its own

⁹ King, Sh. (1996). "Beyond the Pale: Boundaries in the 'Monastirea Argesului'", in Alan Dundes (ed). *The Walled-Up Wife: A Casebook*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

sacrifice because of the immeasurability of its sin, its alienation from god, its monstrous sinfulness, and the inordinate depravity of its nature. As a consequence, the incomparably great sacrifice, the death of the innocent son of god was necessitated (Kotur, p.144).¹⁰

2.5. Moral-National Interpretation

Another interpretation that has Christian overtones is the one offered by Professor Zora Devrnja Zimmerman in 1979. Moreover her interpretation has nationalist overtones because for her the immurement symbolizes the historical subjugation of the Serbs by the Turks, but this alternative makes the interpretation very specific therefore I will focus on the moral vision she emphasizes. Zimmerman rightly argues that without the concrete images (localizations) the Master-Mason legends might not have survived and 'yet the localization is not the story' (Zimmerman, p.149). Instead, the story is important for its important ethical dilemma, its essential determinism, and necessity of the immurement. Zimmerman calls it 'a priori world where no one questions'. The masons cannot choose not to build. She refers to Aeschylus who wrote that human beings cannot progress without committing hubris. Human ambition and hubris advances civilization but this progress also brings about suffering. Mortals are eventually punished for defiance of gods, but defiance gives knowledge, and without this knowledge humanity cannot exist nor progress in its existence. According to Zimmerman 'the foundation of Skadar documents the belief in the efficacy of a contract between human beings and superhuman forces-a sacrificial contract...for the gods the gain equals the loss, but for the humans the gain outweighs the loss' (Zimmerman,

¹⁰Kotur, K. (1996). "The Value of Innocent Sacrifice: The Christian Moment in the Poem 'The Erection of Skutari'", in Alan Dundes (ed). *The Walled-Up Wife: A Casebook*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

p.151). Zimmerman further argues that if the brothers had left the selection to chance, there would have been no individual guilt, but by breaking their vows, they choose to become directly responsible and guilty for the sacrifice. To account for the immurement of a woman, she argues that a woman, especially a mother represents the future and she is absolute in the human struggle for survival and self-preservation and 'by being the foundation of the society herself, she is one of the highest sacrifices mankind can offer' (Zimmerman, p. 152). The offenders/sinners must sacrifice what they value most (the woman-mother), for this is the only way they can be punished. For Zimmerman the punishment of the good and moral, shows that evil is eventually a necessary part of human existence. She focuses therefore on the moralistic messages that the ballad offers to the people, on wrong and right, on good and evil. She points out the fact that the ones who are punished in the legend are the good and innocent ones: the little brother for keeping his faith, and his wife for accepting to be walled-up. Although the ones who transcend selfishness will be always abused by the others, they will be honored by the gods and preserved in the collective memory of their communities and nations. According to Zimmerman, the miracle (the life of the progeny through the flow of milk through the walls) sanctifies the suffering of the innocent and confirms that such innocence transforms the sacrifice into an act of ultimate redemption.¹¹

2.6. Feminist-Anthropologist Interpretation

A brilliant interpretation comes from Ruth Mandel in 1983 on the "Bridge of Arta" version. She uses the Levi-Straussian nature-culture dichotomy and also the concept of femininity which she takes from Arnold Van Gennep's "The Rites of Passage". She

¹¹ Zimmerman, Z.D. (1979). "Moral Vision in the Serbian Folk Epic: The foundation Sacrifice of Skadar", in Alan Dundes (ed). *The Walled-Up Wife: A Casebook*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

focuses firstly on the basic opposition of inclusive-exclusive, which in Greek is best expressed by the terms *ksenos* and *dikos* (outsider and insider), and secondly on the notion on liminality. While she emphasizes the importance of the distinction between the categories *dikos* and *ksenos*, she rightly stresses out the importance of 'the nebulous territory lying between the two' (Mandel, p.159) and reminds us that many anthropologists have explored this in-between territory, referring to it as ambiguous, marginal, or liminal and many times have addressed it as the domain of the sacred. She cites Durkheim who writes that:

the pure and the impure are not two separate classes, but two varieties of the same class, which includes all sacred things...the pure is made out of the impure, and reciprocally. It is in the possibility of the transmutations that the ambiguity of the sacred consists (Elementary Forms, 458)¹²

Liminality as a concept taken from Van Gennep's Rites of Passage was firstly developed in the theory of Turner, and it is also what Mary Douglas and others have called marginality. Based on these theories, 'liminality is that, which lies in the interstices, in the margins or that which is transitional and mediates between two distinct spheres or statuses' (Mandel, p. 159). According to Mandel death and marriage go hand in hand, and death is often used for marriage metaphors and vice versa. A wife is a *diki*-insider as much as she is a *kseni*-outsider, and furthermore she is less valuable and is also replaceable, which puts her in a liminal or marginal position. Mandel therefore argues convincingly that 'the woman is expendable, yet her incorporation into the patrilinear unit is essential to ensure its continuity' (Mandel, p.162). Further, in her analysis of the "Bridge of Arta", she shows that it is the woman's role in the Greek society to mediate between the worlds of the living and the dead because the women make up the group of the *moirologia*, or what are called as the death lamenters. And according to Mandel,

¹² Durkheim, E. (1978). The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life. New York: The Free Press.

given that death and all the events surrounding it are considered as dangerous, it should also be that those (the women) who deal with death, 'both court danger and are dangerous' (Mandel, p.163). Moreover, the mother's milk, which is a symbol of the women's fertility, her generative, and creative powers have to be captured within the construction in order to assure its erection. By using the Levi-Straussian nature-culture dichotomy, Mandel argues that the male domain is that of craftsmen of culture, but the production of this male culture cannot happen without the appropriation of female nature. In other words culture appropriates nature (culture : nature :: killing : vitality) (Mandel, p.164). But according to Mandel, the woman is not simply nature, and if she was so, maybe she would have been stronger. She is vulnerable to the men and the sacrifice precisely because of her dual nature and belonging to the both worlds (nature : culture :: life : death). In other words she is liminal. It is also interesting the parallelism that Mandel draws between woman and bridge. She says 'it is unclear whether the wife is sacrificed to the bridge or becomes the bridge', and cites Eliade who maintains that all construction rites are based on "immolation of a living being, followed by a creation, that is his metamorphosis into a substance that did not exist before" (Zalmoxis, 186-187)¹³. Therefore, according to Mandel the bridge itself represents a liminal construction because 'it is a fragile link between two places but is neither of one place nor of the other. The bridge, contiguous to both banks of the river, belongs to neither' (Mandel, p.165)¹⁴.

¹³Eliade, M (1972). *Zalmoxis: The Vanishing God*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

¹⁴Mandel, R. (1983). "Sacrifice at the Bridge of Arta: Sex Roles and the Manipulation of Power", in Alan Dundes (ed). *The Walled-Up Wife: A Casebook*. Madison, University of Wisconsin Press.

2.7. Marriage-Metaphor Interpretation

Finally I would like to consider the interpretation of Alan Dundes, who is a very important folklorist, and has special credit for the foundation sacrifice myths, because of his edited collection of 18 different versions and interpretations and his important insights. Dundes is very critical to the nationalistic attempts to find the origin of the ballad, but on the other hand, one of his arguments regarding the ballad is that it must be of Indian origin and must have been spread out in the Balkan region via the gypsies. But this is only part of Dundes argument, and as I emphasized before, the question of origin is out of the scope of this paper. Dundes offers his own feminist and psychoanalytic interpretations of the legend which he considers 'a deadly metaphor for married life from India to the Balkans'¹⁵. As he rightly notices the initial premise demonstrates the standard division of labor where men work outside of the home while women remain inside at home, and in the ballad women serve men. The woman must be therefore be sacrificed for men to do men's work, and marriage for a woman means being locked up for life until death (Dundes, 1989, p. 160). According to him the male edifice complex is trying to be erected, but is unable to sustain an erection at night time (the falling of the building at night time). The answer to this complex is to 'enclose a woman into a man-made construction just as they were enclosed in a female womb...but one generates life, one death' (Dundes, 2001, p.200). In his interpretation, by building a structure that contains a woman inside, men try to imitate and possess the ability to bear children. Following his argument, woman in the ballad becomes a 'permanent victim of the Balkans' male edifice complex' (Dundes, 1989, p.161).

¹⁵ Dundes argues that the origins of the ballad are from the Santals, India, and have spread to the Balkans through Gypsies.

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Chapter Three- Myth-Ritual Theory and Masonry

There is a skeleton in every man's house.
Baring-Gould

In this chapter, inspired by the myth-ritual theory and the common Masonic element of construction that characterizes the legends/ballads of immurement, I have decided to focus more on the ritual of the human sacrifice and its relationship to masonry. In the nearly two hundred years of scholarly discussion of the foundation sacrifice myths, there is one theoretical approach which has prevailed; the myth-ritual approach. It takes a literal rather than a metaphorical or symbolic reading of the text, meaning that the story which involves the sacrifice of a young woman to ensure the successful construction of a bridge, castle, or monastery was understood to refer to an actual historical custom whereby female victims were 'ritually' killed as a form of 'foundation sacrifice' (Dundes, 1996, p.35)

3.1. Traces of Human Sacrifice Rituals and Legends

Westermarck in 1906, cites instances of foundation sacrifices at Germany's Maulbronn Monastery, the Bridge Gate walls of Bremen, the Elizabeth Bridge of Halle, etc. Sartori in 1898 cited among the instances the Muenster Cathedral of Strasbourg in France, numerous Buddhist monasteries in Thailand and Cambodia, the Palace of Dahomey in Africa, the City Gate of Tavoy in Tenasserim, Burma, the Temple of Quetzalcoatl in Mexico, the Cathedral of walls in Antioch, Turkey, of Alexandria in Egypt, as well as the cultural centers of the Phoenicians and Carthaginians, and the foundation walls of most ancient settlements on the Danube (cf. Zimmerman, 1979). In the Balkans this legend is told about the castle of Shkodra in Albania or Skadar in Serbia, about the bridges of Struma, Hellada, Antimachia and Arta in Greece, Macedonia, and Bulgaria, the bridge of

Adana in Turkey, the Citadel of Deva in Hungary, and the monastery of Arges and castle of Barcan in Romania. In a thorough survey, Lajos Vargyas in 1967 cites 80 Hungarian, 87 Bulgarian, 49 Romanian, 37 Serbo-Croatian, 14 Albanian, and 297 Greek versions (cf. Dundes, 1989). These figures are not firm as other researchers have found more versions in these countries. In Albania there exist 22 text versions for castles and 13 for bridges, among which castle of Turra, castle of Lleshan, castle of Drisht, and that of Elbasan, bridge of Fshaj, Skile, Qystendil, Narta, Shenjti, Qimes, and a version of a church in Pogradec (Institute of Sciences, 1953).

The belief that the immuring of a human victim in an edifice under construction ensures its permanence is very old. The practice was familiar to the Old Testament Jews. When Hiel the Bethelite wished to rebuild Jericho, which is thought to be one of the oldest cities in the world, 'he laid the foundations thereof in Abiram, his firstborn, and set up the gates thereof in his youngest son, Segub' (Brewster, 1996, p.36; Tresner, 2003, p.27). Excavations indicate that from a very early period human sacrifice accompanied the erection of the buildings. In ancient India the favorite sacrificial victim was a pregnant woman, and at Hampi there exists a wall, sacred to women pilgrims, in memory of the time when Nachapurusa Bhistapaya buried his pregnant daughter beneath it to prevent the repeated falling down of the wall. In 1872 when the Hooghly Bridge was being built across the Ganges, the native population feared that to placate the river, each structure would have to be founded on a layer of children's skulls. The sacrifice of children is said to occur sporadically in India, and there is in consequence an ever present fear among the natives, that their children may be kidnapped for sacrifice or for burial in the foundation of a structure being erected. In Borneo a slave girl used to be flung into the hole for the first pole of a house and crushed to death when the pole descended. In Siam when a new

gate was being erected in the wall of a town, the builders would lie and wait and seize the first passerby, who was then buried alive beneath the gateposts (Brewster, p.36). About 100 B.C. according to some archeologists, the now-unknown people of Teotihuacan, Mexico, built a vast and sophisticated city of more than 20 square miles, and at the center of the city, in a religious and educational complex now known as the Citadel, was the vast Pyramid of the Sun. This Pyramid, nearly half as large as the pyramid of Cheops in Egypt, contained hundred of small clay figurines carefully deposited amidst the building materials, which showed the people, their trades and occupations, and scenes from their daily lives. Under each corner of each level of the step pyramid, a child was buried, apparently alive (Tresner, p. 22). The sanctuary of Gezer contained the burnt skeletons of two six-year-old children, and the foundation of a building at Megiddo revealed the remains of a young girl (Tresner, p.27). The Shang dynasty which was the first historic dynasty of China, ruled China from 1766 B.C. to 1122 B.C. By that time the tradition of the foundation sacrifice had become well established, and excavations have shown that hundreds of people were buried under the foundations of the capital and the palace (Tresner, p.29). Mahaffy asserts that when the great Hellenistic cities (for example Antioch) were built, a girl was sacrificed at the first founding (Tresner, p. 41). In the year 6 B.C. the Romans started construction of a Temple to Jupiter on the spot which would later be occupied by the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris. Five young women were buried in a crypt beneath the rock (Tresner, p. 42) A thousand years after King Nabonidus, among the Teutons living in the A.D. 400's living persons were walled up in the foundations of buildings in order that their spirits might strengthen and protect the structure (Tresner, p. 43)

Traces of the foundation sacrifice abound in European legend and tradition. When Romulus founded the city of Rome, Faustulus and Quinctilius are said to have been buried under a huge stone. Deep in our collective unconscious is the understanding that life comes from death and that blood binds and strengthens. Burdick reminds us that according to the Arthurian legend, King Vortigen was rapidly losing his battle with Hengist and Horsa, and wanted to build an impregnable tower in which, he would be safe, but the walls fell almost as quickly as they were built. He was advised that the walls would not stand unless the foundation stone were sprinkled with the blood of a man born of a mother without a father (Tresner, p.49). The Picts are said to have bathed the foundation stones of the prehistoric "Picts' Houses" with human blood, and there is also a tradition that London Bridge was 'sanctified' by the blood of children. Similar legends (Serbian and Montenegrin) exist about a bridge near Vishegrad and (Bulgarian) about a fort near Plovdiv. There is a similar tradition regarding the walls of Copenhagen, of which it is related that they could not stand until a little girl was built into the rampart. Two brothers are said to have been entombed in the foundation of the Strasburg Cathedral. When the bridge of Rosporden in Brittany was being built, it fell down repeatedly, and finally it was decided to immure a victim. A little boy of four was built in with a candle in one hand a piece of bread in the other. At the building of the Celso Bridge between Caudan and Faouet in France a child was placed in a barrel and sealed into the foundation. And in Germany as recently as 1843, when a new bridge was to be built at Halle, the notion was abroad among the people that a child was wanted to be built into the foundation. Similar traditions have been localized at Aberystwyth in Wales, Frankfurt in Germany, and the St. Gotthard Pass in Switzerland. The discovery in later years of skeletons at spots where immurement was reputed to have taken place furnishes

grim testimony to the veracity of such legends and traditions. A maiden is said to have been buried alive in a wall of the castle of Nieder Manderscheid. When in 1844 the wall was broken open at the point indicated by the legend, a skeleton was found embedded in it. Similarly, at the demolishing of the Bridge Gate at Bremen the skeleton of a child was found. There have been numerous instances of immurement of a human being in English churches. Upon the restoration of the parish church of Wickenbury in Lincolnshire, the complete skeleton of a man was found buried in the foundation of the west wall. When the parish church of Holsworthy (Devon) was restored in 1885, a skeleton was found embedded in stone and mortar in one of the walls. And in the course of the restoration of a church of Brownsover in 1876, workmen found two complete skeletons under the walls (Brewster, p.38).

3.2. From Sacrifice to Symbol

A later development was the substitution of a model of the human victim. This was made of wax, straw, bronze, silver, or almost any other substance. The Romans substituted puppets for the human sacrifices to the goddess Mania and threw rush dolls into the Tiber at the atoning sacrifice held annually on the Sublician Bridge. Even earlier, the Egyptians offered an animal to their gods instead of a man bound and kneeling, with a sword at his throat. In some instances later and in others concurrently we find also the belief that the shadow of a man or a child measured and then walled up or deposited in the foundation would make the building or the bridge firm. The person whose shadow was measured and buried would die soon after. The Romanians of Transylvania believe that if the mason lays the foundation stone upon a man's shadow, the man will die within forty days, and people passing a building in course of erection are likely to hear 'beware lest they take thy shadow'. The belief is also concurrent in Greece. There was also the actual

and symbolic sacrifice of animals, whereby a cock or an animal was killed and its blood allowed to drip into the foundation stone. The practice survives in modern Greece, Albania, Serbia, and Bulgaria. And in Ireland up to very recent times various animals were sacrificed on laying the foundation of a building (Brewster, p.38). Although the practice of offering a human sacrifice on laying the foundation of a building was intended originally as a propitiation of the spirits of the earth, who were thought of as being disturbed, later on it sometimes passed into another conception, that the spirit of the victim would be a ghostly guardian of the building being erected. Related to the latter idea in the notion that a hero buried at the gate of a city or on the frontier of a country would protect the city from capture and the country from invasion. Thus Eurystheus, in the *Heraclidae* of Euripides, before being put to death by order of Alkmena, promises the Athenians, in gratitude for their kind intercession on his behalf, forever to protect their territory against their Peloponnesian enemies and curiously enough, his body and severed head were actually buried separately and a good distance apart in two strategically important points. We are told that the head of Ivar, son of Ragnar Lodbrog was buried in Northumbria to protect that district from invasion, and the head of Bran the Blessed was buried with the face toward France for the same reason (Brewster, p. 39)

Both historical records and archeological evidence make clear that, in almost all the civilizations of the ancient world (and many in the Medieval world as well) human sacrifice was a necessary part of process of the construction of a building, because the very fact of raising a building-be it a simple house or temple- was an act of defiance of the forces of nature (Tresner, p.13). It was the creation of something that was not there before, a declaration of independence and manhood. The most powerful magic to hold against the malevolent forces was in blood, for blood was the source of life. And the

most powerful blood was human blood. Blood had a life of its own, because it could stick things together and it accompanied both life and death. A building was like a body, in that it had space, it enclosed, it protected. Men and women lived inside a building, just as man lived inside his body, and if a body needed blood to live so did a building (Tresner, p.14). For the ancient priest-architect the mystical construction of a building was at least as difficult as its physical construction because the *genius loci* (the spirits of the rocks and trees on the building site) had to be placated before the land could be cleared (Tresner, p.15). The ideal victim was male (although some preferred female virgins) strong, healthy and powerful-essential if the building itself were to remain strong and uncorrupted. Most cultures seem to have used slaves or prisoners, either captured for that purpose or bred for the sacrifice (Tresner, p.16). When some major buildings were complete, or nearly complete, the builder or the architect was sacrificed (completion sacrifice). In some legends, such as the surroundings of Taj Mahal and certain royal structures in Sri Lanka, the sacrifice was to prevent the architect from ever creating a more beautiful building. At the completion of the Cathedral of St.Basil, next to the Kremlin, the architect was put to death by order of the authorities (Tresner, p. 17)

In the cornerstone-laying ceremonies of the Freemasons, corn, oil and wine are placed on the stone. The purpose of the act is to celebrate the change from sacrifice to symbol, to commemorate the past, while affirming that mankind has moved to a better and more compassionate understanding of the world around him. The corn is a reminder of the person whose body would have once been sealed within the stone. Wine, both from the color and from its effects on the body, has long been symbolically associated with blood. Oil (properly olive oil) first served as a fuel for lamps and by virtue of producing heat and light has been associated with the spirit or soul (Tresner, p.18). Every cornerstone

laying is an affirmation of symbol over sacrifice, a tribute to our ability to think and understand, a statement that the elder gods no longer need to be appeased with blood on the stone, a celebration of our humanity (Tresner, p. 20). Stone is a symbol of being, of cohesion and harmonious reconciliation with the self. The hardness and durability of stone have always impressed men, suggesting to them the antithesis to biological things subject to the laws of change, decay and death, as well as an antithesis to dust, and sand as aspects of disintegration. The stone when whole symbolized unity and strength, and when shattered it signified dismemberment, psychic disintegration, infirmity, death, and annihilation (Tresner, p. 95).

Freemasonry is one of the world's oldest and largest fraternal organizations, and according to the speculations, Freemasonry originated with the very beginning of civilization. The word "Mason" means "Builder," and Freemasonry, as we know it today came into being some 800 years ago. In its operative form it lasted nearly 400 years while Masons built the hundreds of Gothic structures in Western Europe, and many of these structures stand today as a memorial to the past. During the Cathedral Age, the Masons formed themselves in workmen's Guilds; each Guild forming a Lodge with regular officers and with three degrees of Membership. The first group was apprentices or bearers of burdens, the second were craftsmen or skilled workmen on the Temples, and the third were Masters or superintendents of the structures being built. Each Guild member had to develop certain proficiencies in his work to advance to a higher status, and during this advancement each member was also taught certain attributes of moral conduct. It was these Guild Lodges which actually gave birth to the modern Masonic Lodges and present-day Freemasonry. During this operative era a worker was a Freemason because he was not born a slave, he was free to travel in

foreign countries and work where he would, he worked in freestone or he was free of certain restrictions when he had advanced to be a Master of the Craft. In some instances he was free from paying taxes - but he was probably known as a Freemason because of his skill, ability and knowledge, all attributes which set him apart from those of lesser abilities in the Cathedral Building Age. No one knows with certainty how or when the Masonic Fraternity was formed. A widely accepted theory among Masonic scholars is that it arose from the stonemasons' guilds during the Middle Ages. The language and symbols used in the fraternity's rituals come from this era. The oldest document that makes reference to Masons is the Regius Poem, printed about 1390, which was a copy of an earlier work. In 1717, four lodges in London formed the first Grand Lodge of England, and records from that point on are more complete. Within thirty years, the fraternity had spread throughout Europe and the American Colonies. Over the centuries, Freemasonry has developed into a worldwide fraternity, and during the late 1700s it was one of the organizations most responsible for spreading the ideals of the Enlightenment: the dignity of man and the liberty of the individual and the formation of democratic governments.

The modern architects know very little about the pre-history of architecture. Architecture now has become an individual achievement, and it bears no relationship with the old collective masonry fraternity, which as we said has been transformed with time, institutionalized into a different entity, and has taken different meanings. Drawing on Fustel de Coulanges who attributes importance to the relationship between myth and institution, Aldo Rossi, a distinguished architect, notes that myths come and go, passing slowly from one place to another, every generation recounts them differently and adds new elements to this past patrimony, but behind this changing reality, there is a

permanent reality that in some way manages to elude the action of time. According to Rossi, the relationships which man found with gods in the ancient city, the cults that he consecrated to them, the names under which he invoked them, the gifts and sacrifices made to them were all tied to inviolable laws. The individual man had no power over them. Rossi believes that the importance of ritual in its collective nature and its essential character as an element for preserving myth, constitutes a key to understanding the meaning of monuments, and moreover, the implications of the founding of the city and of the transmission of ideas in an urban context. If the ritual is the permanent and conserving element of myth, then so too in the monument, since in the very moment that it testifies to myth, it renders ritual forms possible (Rossi, 1988, p.24). Rossi refers in his argument to Claude Levi-Strauss, who noted that the city achieves a balance between natural and artificial elements because it is an object of nature and a subject of culture. Imagination and collective memory are the typical characteristics of urban artifacts. The city is a man-made object. Rossi claims that the difference between past and future is that the past is still being experienced now and this gives meaning to permanencies as a past we are still experiencing, and which are revealed through monuments. On this line Rossi notes that cities in general tend to remain on their axes of development, maintaining the position of their original layout and growing according to the direction and meaning of their older artifacts, which can be considered either as propelling elements, or pathological ones. A monument persists in the city both symbolically and physically (Rossi, p.59).

Chapter Four- Jung on myth: Collective Unconsciousness

“Myths are original revelations of the preconscious psyche, involuntary statements about unconscious psychic happenings...”¹⁶

In this chapter, I will focus on the Jungian approach to myth because I think he has offered a very important theoretical perspective on the study of myth, and is able to answer many unanswered questions about myth in general, and about the case study in particular. At least three major questions can be asked of myth: what is its subject matter, what is its origin, and what is its function? Theories of myth differ on the answer they give to these questions and on the questions they seek to answer (Segal, 1998, p.3). According to Segal, C.G. Jung is one of the few theorists that answers fully all three.

The subject matter of myth is symbolic not literal, and the human mind instead of the external world. Therefore according to Jung, myth originates and functions in order to satisfy the psychological need for contact with the unconscious. Moreover myths are intended by the unconscious to reveal its contents to those whose myths are, and in order to reach their intended audience, myths should be translatable into a language the audience knows (cf. Segal, p.11). A myth is never a myth in its own right but it is a myth for someone, therefore it is crucial to understand the society in order to understand the myth (cf. Segal, p.13). These are important statements and insights insofar as they argue for the importance a particular myth has for a particular society. As I was going through all the versions of the foundation sacrifice myths and the interpretations that exist, I realized that despite the discourse on finding a particular myth superior or more powerful than another, this discourse is irrelevant because the myth has the greatest

¹⁶ C.J.Jung, “The psychology of the child archetype”, in *The archetypes and the collective unconscious*, *Collected works of C.G.Jung*, eds. Sir Herbert Read et.al.,trans. R.F.C.Hull, vol. 9, 2nd ed.Routledge, London, 1996 (1959).

power in its own context and society in which it lives and is transmitted through the generations. Having said this, I admit to the importance of having similar myths coexisting in allover world, and I believe in an approach that should aim to explain this multiplicity and the specificity at the same time. Jung has been able to address them both, and this makes him unique in his genius.

According to Jung, myths are psychic phenomena that reveal the nature of the soul. By this he means that all the mythologized processes of nature are symbolic expressions of the inner, unconscious drama of the psyche which becomes accessible to man's consciousness by way of projection-that is mirrored in the events of nature (Jung, p. 6). In other words, the primitive mentality does not consciously invent myths, but it experiences them unconsciously. Jung differentiates between personal and collective unconsciousness. According to him, a superficial layer of the unconscious is personal, but this personal unconsciousness rests upon a deeper layer, which does not derive from personal experience, and it is not a personal acquisition but is inborn. This deeper layer is what he calls the collective unconscious, which is universal, and in contrast to the personal psyche, it has contents that are more or less the same in all individuals, hence universal. It is in other words 'identical in all men and thus constitutes a common psychic substrate of a suprapersonal nature which is present in everyone of us' (Jung, p.4).

Most myth theorists are concerned with similarities among myths and so is Jung. Among the possibilities of these similarities are two major explanations: diffusion and independent invention. Diffusion means that myths once originating in a certain society spread through migration and tradition to other societies. This is the approach used by

Ismail Kadare regarding the origins of the myth of Rozafa. He explicitly states that someone must have sung it first and then others in the neighborhood have adopted it. This kind of approach focuses on history and tradition to support its claims. Similarly, as we saw in the previous chapters, Dundes has adopted this approach as well by attempting to delegate the origin of the foundation sacrifice myths to the Indians, and its spreading through the Balkans to the Gypsies. Independent inventionists on the other hand, argue that it is impossible for the geographically widespread myths to have been diffused via migration, given that they exist even in societies with no contact or contact possibility with each other. Therefore they argue that each society invents myths for itself. Jung on the other hand is a radical independent inventionist, in the sense that he believes myths to have been inherited rather than created by societies. By this he means that mythmakers invent specific stories in specific contexts, but these inventions are expression of archetypes which are manifestations of always already mythic material, and are the contents of the collective unconscious.

This is an important point to clarify, because many people mistake the archetypes as something identical, unchangeable, formula-like in all the peoples. Jung is precise in making this distinction between form and content. In other words the *a priori*, inherited archetypes exist as empty and formal, *facultas praeformandi*; that is, a possibility of representation rather than filled with content, which is to be filled by symbolic representations. An archetype has only a potential existence, and when it takes shape in matter it is no longer what it was. Jung explains to us that although the archetypes persist throughout the ages and are always already elements of the unconscious, they require always new interpretations and they change shape continually (Jung, p.179). Moreover, as revolutionary as this concept may sound, Jung rightly draws our attention to parallel

ideas of an archetype. More specifically, archetypes in the mythological research corresponds to motifs, according to Levy-Bruhl to the concept of representations collectives, by Hubert and Mauss as categories of the imagination, by Adolf Bastian as elementary or primordial thoughts (Jung, p. 43). Therefore archetypes are 'not inherited ideas but inherited possibilities of ideas' (Jung, p. 66). One expression of the archetypes is myth and fairytale.

Regarding the functions of myth, according to Jung the prime one is psychological. Myth is created by the unconscious and tries to reveal its meaning to the conscious, therefore a clear attempt to communicate (cf. Segal, p.18). Occasionally, Jung attributes myth to a social function as guide for behavior. Among the social functionalists theorists we can quote Bronislaw Malinowski "The myth comes into play when rite, ceremony, or a social or moral rule demands justification, warrant of antiquity, reality, and sanctity" (cf. Segal, p. 21).¹⁷ According to these interpretations, myth serves as a moral superstructure for the society and provides it with models to be followed. Malinowski saw myths as functional, or performed dimensions of culture, and according to him myths do not have intrinsic meaning because their meaning is given by their home context. This approach is important because in this view myths cannot be read as texts, or isolated pieces of literature, but as text within contexts.

Having stated these important theoretical elements of Jungian approach to myth, we can turn to some insights he offers for several archetypes which exist in the foundation sacrifice myths; the mother, the child, the old man, and the spirit archetypes. The first one, the mother archetype is positively associated according to Jung with places standing

¹⁷ Bronislaw Malinowski, "Myth in pimitive psychology" (1926), in *Magic, Science, and Religion and Other Essays*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954, 107.

for fertility and protection (Jung, p. 81). On the negative side the mother archetype may connote anything secret, hidden, dark, the abyss, the world of the dead, anything that devours, seduces, and that is inescapable like the fate (Jung, p.82). According to another psychoanalytic folklorist, Geza Roheim, the house represents a woman, the windows represent the vagina, and passing through or lifting over represents coitus. We know from analysis that a fear that an object will not grow is a castration fear: growing thus represents erection (Roheim, 1950, p. 15). According to Roheim, the women possessed the phallus/power long before men, who subsequently took it from them, and this brought to the transition from nipple to the penis (Roheim, p.143). Regarding the second archetype, the child archetype, according to Jung it can sometimes be a symbol of the phallus. According to Jung 'psychologically speaking, this means that the child symbolized the preconscious and post conscious essence of man' (Jung, p.179). Finally we turn to the archetype of the old man. Wise old man is the superior master and teacher, the archetype of the spirit, who symbolizes the pre-existent meaning hidden in the chaos of life. He is the father of the soul, and yet the soul in some miraculous way is also his virgin mother, for which he was called by the alchemists the first son of the mother (Jung, p.35). The old man tries to show how good and evil function together; presumably as an answer to the still unresolved moral conflict in the Christian psyche. The old man appears always when the hero is in a hopeless and desperate situation from which only profound reflection or lucky ideas can extricate him. The old man knows what roads lead to the goal and points them out to the hero. The old man thus represents knowledge, reflection, wisdom, intuition, and moral qualities such as goodwill and readiness to help, which make his spiritual character sufficiently plain. The figure of the superior and helpful old man to connect him somehow with God (Jung, p.218

Chapter Five-Case-Study: Myth of Rozafa, Albanian Interpretations

Each culture, each people, transforms a piece of folklore into a version which reflects their particular anxieties and concerns.

Alan Dundes

In this chapter, I will focus on the Albanian version of the foundation sacrifice myths; the myth of Rozafa. Before the beginning of this thesis, I was haunted by this myth, which accompanied me during all my life, and despite having found other interesting versions and interpretations, and having broadened my perspective of the myth, I still take it as the case study in this thesis, and deal more in details with the Albanian interpretations of the Albanian version. Malinowski saw myths as functional, or performed dimensions of culture. Myths do not have intrinsic meaning, but their meaning is given by their home context of situation, and therefore they are not primarily texts, or isolated pieces of literature; they are text within contexts. Myth for Malinowski is indispensable and vital-something a society needs-and without which it cannot persist. Gaston Bachelard poses the question: How could a legend be kept alive and perpetuated if each generation had not "intimate reasons" for believing in it?

5.1. The myth of Rozafa

When was the *first stone* put at the foundation of this fortress? No one knows. Its story gets lost in the *mist* of the *Illyrian antiquity*. But one thing is *clear*; the fortress belonged to the Labeats, and then the Ardians, all strong Illyrian tribes. Later *our lands* were invaded by the Romans, the Slavs, the Normadics, the Veneticians, the Turks and many other foreign people. The *foreigners came and go*, but our people have *remained* into this antique Illyrian land. There lies a beautiful and sad legend at the heart of this fortress-building. On the Valdanuz hill worked *three brothers*. They were building a fortress. The wall built during the day during the night was destroyed. A good (wise)

old man passed by one day. The three brothers asked him for a good advice to keep the wall from falling. He asked them whether they were married, and after they told him so, the old man said that in order for the wall to grow strong for life, they should immure the *wife that brings the bread* the following day, without breaking *the oath (besa)*¹⁸ to each other. The two older brothers broke the oath and told their wives. The youngest kept the oath and as a consequence the next day his wife came to bring them the bread. She was the *only mother* from the three women. When Rozafa, *the good one*, came, the three brothers stopped working and the youngest damned the stone. She asked: "Why do you damn the stone *my lord?*" When they told her what the old man said, she *accepted* to be walled-up with one condition. Rozafa *pleaded* for her right hand to be left out to caress her son's hair, her right eye to look at him, her right foot to cradle him, and her right breast to feed him. "My breast be walled, the fortress be strong, my son be brave, may he be king"-said she. The three brothers walled her up alive, and the walls were strong and high ever after. Around them the stones are wet from a *mother's tears*¹⁹ *crying for her son...And her son became a man, and a brave warrior.*²⁰

5.2. Nationalist interpretations

According to an Albanian historian, the fortress represents metaphorically the nation or in the pre-modern form, the Illyrian community, acquiring self-protection against the Roman 'other' through the building of surrounding walls (Kraja, 1993, p. 32). The sacrificed woman is interpreted to accept her death with full consent and even with a feeling of duty towards the community, the nation, the 'us'. The care she is to take of her son, even after death symbolizes the responsibility that the woman-mother is

¹⁸ *Besa* in Albanian has no direct translation to other languages, but its nearest meaning is oath.

¹⁹ In the castle the walls are wet with a kind of white water which women who lack milk after birth go and smear their breasts with.

²⁰ Taken from www.albacenter.it, told in a folklore version (my translation).

expected to take for the continuity of the community, of the group sharing a common identity (Kraja, 33). In all the available interpretations of the myth, by artists, historians, ethnographers, Rozafa is idealized as a sincere, selfless mother, whose sacrifice gave birth to a fortress, a town, a nation. In one of them, she is praised for living as a legend, when she would have died like any other woman. She has sacrificed life for common traditions, and this individual sacrifice is seen as trivial compared to the interest of the community.²¹ The family metaphor has been important for nationalism, because it offers a 'natural' figure for sanctioning the national hierarchy (McClintock, 1997, 91). But for the family to play its own modern productive role it had to remain pre-modern, anachronistic (Rener and Ule, 1998, 120). The 'national' and 'woman' are indispensable and constitutive to modernity, although foreign to it, and with the help of the sentiment they construct the image of the community (Rener et al. 120). The nationalistic rhetoric is that men fight for their 'mother country', while women provide the 'mother's milk' to the nation (Porter, 43). The nationalist discourse is anti-historical, because it exchanges history for myth, and myth in turn comes to function as history. The tendencies towards the domestication of women and the glorification of the family have been an expression of a deep regressive social process in the post-Soviet countries (Rener et al. 125). Woman as mother symbol represents a means of homogenizing the differentiated national consciousness in the post-Soviet states, and has proved to be a useful instrument in nationalistic conflicts (Marsh, 1998, 94). There is therefore a strong relevance of the myth of Rozafa with the recent use of the image of women-as-mothers in the ex-Yugoslavian conflict context in the last ten years. The legend had a boom after the nineties in Albania, many internet sites, cafes, schools, and streets held her name.

²¹ "Rozafa-the immured woman" taken from www.shkoder.net/english/ (anonymous essay)

The legend was turned into a film which is shown every year in Albanian TV channels, and Rozafa was played by a very good actress, who gave her figure an incarnation, and embodiment; the sad story was being romanticized through her powerful figure, and did not sound that sad anymore. Zenepe Dibra, a writer from Shkodra, wrote a book titled "The Daughters of Rozafa", where she talks about the famous women of her city. In 2001, the beauty contest of Miss Albania was organized in the castle of Rozafat, and the director Petri Bozo, aimed at integrating this ancient myth with this modern beauty spectacle²². Castles have been assimilated into ethnic imaginations of memories which constitute a proud communal past. The castles are an important part of Albanian national past and present, they are the first sites to be learned in school, to be visited, to be proud of. Nursing mothers who do not have milk for their infants have been known to go to the castle year after year to smear their breasts with the milky water. Moreover, the interpretations of the legend have been most of the time a fight over its origins among the nations of the Balkan.

5.3. Proving origins

The existence of the ballad through the Balkans while encouraging the comparative method, it has actually been used by every scholar to demonstrate the same origin of the ballad with that of the writer (Dundes, 1989). The research in Albania about the immurement ballad has started during the 1868-1878 by Thimi Mitko. The research was later expanded and until the end of the 1965, there were found texts about 150 living sites. According to Zihni Sako, an Albanian folklorist, Shkodra city is old about 300 B.C. and the first one to have the immurement legend. The Bridge of Adana on the other hand was built during the 527-565 A.D. and the Bridge of Arta was built 1602-1606 A.D. This

²² <http://www.miss-shqiperia.com/historia/>

proves according to Sako that the legend must have been Illyrian, and therefore Albanian (Sako, 1984). Ismail Kadare, a distinguished Albanian writer and analyst has written about the legend in many of his books, where he offers historical and sociological evidence that the primal version of the legend is of Albanian origin. In his book "Aeschylus, or the eternal loser" he attempts to link the birth of the tragedy with Albanians as well as with Greeks, given that these two are the oldest people of the Balkans. Kadare says that on the basis of the ancient tragedy exists the commitment of a guilt that asks for repent (Kadare, p. 25). For him the return of the dead is mirrored in the lament through actors, who talk in the name of the dead. He links this, therefore, with the long and important habit of lamenting the dead in Albania and Greece. Kadare moreover says that the death stone is long and erect, and shows that under earth lies the dead, by living its resemblance, mirror image, so the death stone was the representation, the shadow of the dead (Kadare, p. 29). In the Balkan peoples' mentality, the stone with its weight, silence, and coldness was associated with death. Another interesting comment that Kadare does in this book is that a funeral ritual in Albanians is just a wedding turned upside down (Kadare, p. 19). While the attempts here are to some extent implicit, in his book "An autobiography of people in verse", he explicitly offers arguments to prove the Albanian origin of the ballad. Kadare claims that the naive thesis that try to prove origin by claiming the sacrifice ritual as Slavic are nonsense when we know that this is a ritual 5000 years old at least, and belongs to all the peoples in the world (Kadare, p.24). The legend is the first folkloristic creation of Albania mentioned in historic documents. He refers to Barleti in 1504 "Surrounding of Shkodra" who talks about it written in our language. One of the arguments he offers therefore is that the Shkodra castle is the oldest building with the legend of immurement, since it was founded 300 B.C. when the Slavs

were not yet in the region (Kadare, p. 30). Another argument is that the legend is a masonry legend and Albanians were known for masonry, and in Greece they were called the barbaric masons of the North (Kadare, p. 31). With regards to the legends about the bridges, Kadare says that a bridge has a tendency to tremble and this is a secret only the masons could know. Moreover according to him folklore in Albania is a factor omnipresent in the everyday life and not detached from it like in many other societies. Of a special importance according to Kadare is the element of *besa* (oath) that the brothers give to one another, which is meaningless in other countries, but the main element (to the level of an institution) of organizing life in Albanian society.

5.4. Anthropologist interpretation

Van Gennep says that the myths should not be studied for their form or outlook, or little details and isolated motifs, but according to their social functions, their content and psychological meaning (cf. Tirta, 2004, 32). Tirta in his study about the mythology in Albania, found out that according to the folk belief, the breast of the mother immured in the castle, bridge, or another object is ever flowing and never ends (Tirta, 191). In the Albanian houses we use to find cock, bird, breasts of women carved to animate the building. Tirta refers to Eliade about the important role that the masons had in the codification of rituals. They have kept secrets of masonry for so long. Building a house was a very important event in the family life. All the expression of the concerns started on where the location of the construction site would be (Tirta, p. 332). According to the folk idioms, a new house eats a head. Based on this belief, people were afraid of the masons because they would 'catch' their shadow and immure it in the foundation, after which the person would die (Tirta, p. 341). According to the tradition, women use to throw their working tools in the foundations of the buildings to secure their erection

(Tirta, p. 345). He lists the ballads for the Valdanuz (Ulcin), Shkodra, Drishti, Preveza, Fshaj Bridge, Skilje Bridge, Qystendil Bridge, Arta, Lin church, and the legends for the castle of Turra, Elbasan, Vlora, Drashovica Bridge, Brataj bridge, Dardhe, Sinica bridges (Tirta, p. 348-349). In the Gajtani site children's bones were found from 300 B.C. He refers moreover to the substitution of the human sacrifice with other rituals. The victims started to be substituted with the 'shadow'. For the building of the Bridge of Gjirokastra in the second half of the 19th century was immured a 'size' of the man, and in the Bridge of Berati built in 18th century a statue of a young girl. Sako claims that the Rumanians have even traded the 'shadow'. Another ritual in Albanian linked to this legend is that women lacking milk to breastfeed wash their breasts with the white water dripping from the walls of the castles of bridges in order to have milk to suckle.

5.5. Feminist Interpretation

But although it has been for years a source of pride for Albanians and others, recently, it has received controversial interpretations, especially by the feminists. The legend has been the focus of attack from one of the Albanian feminists, Silke Blumbach. She is a radical activist of the 'Women for Women' organization, especially engaged in poetry, discussions, and opinion sharing in internet web-sites. On the mother's day (1999), she wrote a manifest entitled "Wake up Rozafa"²³. She uses the myth to deconstruct it, and to raise the feminist conscious of Albanian women. She comments on Rozafa's will and mobility which have been immured, and on Rozafa's 'decision' as not being her choice, but imposed from the society. She sees her immobilized in her sacrifice for the men who are building the nation, and makes a call for liberty and freedom of choice for women who have been sacrificing all their lives for men. The fortress is seen as the symbol of

²³ Silke Blumbach, "Ngrihu Rozafa", taken from www.shqiponja.de/shqip/gazetari/09.htm

the power of men, who want to impose their laws to nature, by building the walls as a weapon of war, at all costs. She points to the division of labor in the legend where men build their fortress, and women cook and feed them. According to Blumbach, such myths serve as ideological superstructures in order to idealize and make this bitter reality for women acceptable. She sees the psychology of Rozafa as essential in understanding her myth. The fact that Rozafa does not deny the decision taken at her back, shows that she lives for others only, namely for her husband and her son. She embraces her sacrifice because this is the only identity and image she knows of herself. One of the main points according to Blumbach, is the fact that the complexity of the woman is reduced to woman-mother, by serving to the patriarchal structure, Rozafa serves her husband's projects, and feeds the son for the nation with her life. Even her 'free' organs are dedicated to her mother role, the breast is stripped of every sexual and erotic meaning, her eye is for her son, her hand is not for building with the man but for caressing, and her foot is not for standing up or traveling but for cradling.

5.6. Politico-philosophical interpretation

On the other hand, in 2001 Artan Fuga, a notable Albanian analyst wrote a book on the politics of communication during the transition in Albania, entitled "Escape from the Rozafa Complex", where he offers a politico-philosophical analysis of the myth. Fuga says that moving away from the instability of institutions during the transition period, is like moving away from the Complex of Rozafa. According to his analysis, given that the three brothers were left without the authority of the father, the death of the father is the foundation element of the legend. After this death, the brothers have no capacity to exert a horizontal power within a group of individuals with equal power, since the vertical authoritarian power left an empty vacuum (Fuga, p.334). Fuga compares this situation to

democracy. The brothers let the decision on what to do with the castle to the casualty, and in a democratic system the sacrifice is left to the casualty, as they are not able to point the finger. According to Fuga if we know how this solid structure was built, the solidity becomes fragile all of a sudden. Therefore the walls (read: the institutions) have a disequilibrium point from the very beginning, and they can stand erect only if the lie is hidden through manipulation. In this case the truth according to Fuga could be destructive, and the lie constructive. The long-life of the walls must be kept so by the continuous hypocrisy of the brothers. Moreover Fuga says that the younger brother, by deceiving his wife, becomes as immoral as the other two. Fuga believes that the older brothers through one single look understood each other, and made between themselves the deal to tell their wives, which makes therefore the decision not taken unanimously, but by the majority against the minority. Fuga reasons correctly that if the younger brother would have told his wife, no one would have come to the construction site, but he fails to ask the question: what if none of the brothers would have told the wives? Furthermore there is a contradiction in what Fuga thinks about the position of the victim. On one hand he admits that the victim of the decision is outside the decision making process, because the victim is the Other (and therefore equally important to the Self), on the other hand he claims that the person to be immured has no importance, but only the act of sacrifice, and decision-taking. This contradiction is worth investigating, and it constitutes the most important element of these legends. Fuga's interpretation is one of the most original ones offered about the Albanian version of the foundation sacrifices, because he has focused on the specific element that characterizes this version from the rest; the ethical elements present in the decision making related to the concept of *besa*.

Chapter Six- Ethics of the Real and Rozafa

Jonah has heard God's voice telling him to go to Nineveh
and preach to its inhabitants to give up their evil ways,
or they would be destroyed.

Jonah cannot help hearing God's voice and
that is why he is a prophet.

Be he is an unwilling prophet
Erich Fromm

In this chapter, I will discuss the ethical element present in the (decision of) immurement of Rozafa by offering parallel arguments from the act of Oedipus and Agamemnon. The crucial differences of the Albanian version from the other ones are the elements of the ethical dilemma of decision making which is related to the concept of *besa*, or oath. Moreover, only in this version the woman is not cheated on the necessity of her immurement, and she accepts to be immured without lamenting her fate. Guilt, besides being in a strict sense of the word, a modern element; it can be due to an existential condition (I am guilty because I exist), or due to a matching of desire with the necessity of the call (I am guilty because I desire what I must). In the following pages I will attempt to analyze these two types of guilt that exist in ancient and modern tragedy, in the framework of the myths of foundation sacrifices.

As Hegel had already put it in his Lectures on Aesthetics, the force of the great tragic characters of antiquity consists in the fact that they have no choice: they are what they will and accomplish from their birth on. Despite of or precisely for this reason, Hegel goes on, they absolutely do not claim to be innocent of their acts. On the contrary: the greatest offence we can do to a true tragic hero is to consider him innocent: for great tragic characters it is an honor to be guilty (cf. Zupancic, 2000, p.173). In modern tragedies, for ex. Hamlet, knowledge as a new element comes into the picture and here the hero knows from the beginning. The action of Hamlet is different from the action of

Oedipus, because one knows from the beginning, while the other knows nothing. Even if Oedipus is not truly guilty of his crime (since it had been foretold well before his birth), he heroically shoulders responsibility for his acts, assumes his destiny and lives with it until the end. Oedipus is thus the prototype of the existential condition in which we are born guilty, as bearers of an unpayable symbolic debt (Zupancic, p. 176). Oedipus is not guilty, because from the very beginning he is robbed of his desire, which alone could have rendered him guilty. What Oedipus says is in a way 'if only I was guilty!' Oedipus is not really a victim of bad fortune, a sport of the gods; he is strictly speaking cast out, rejected from the game. He is thus the perfect incarnation of the object, defined by Žižek as "An *objet petit a* is precisely the paradoxical object generated by language itself, as its fall-off, left over" (cf. Zupancic, p. 197). We can clearly make the parallel with Rozafa. She is robbed from her desire, the only guilt she has is the guilt of existing. For this precise reason Rozafa is rejected from the symbolic game, she cannot become or exist as a subject, but is the incarnation of the object. She does not know what the Other wants, and therefore why the Other wants. She therefore dies stripped of her desire, stripped of her guilt, therefore stripped of her subjectivity. Rozafa accepts to be walled-up without making the question 'why am I doing this?' Referring to Derrida, Žižek says that the passive decision is always structurally an Other decision in me, a rendering decision as the decision of the Other (Žižek, p. 668). She feels obliged to perform the act as an automaton, without reflection, because she simply has to do it. She is the Thing, excluding herself from the community regulated by the symbolic regulation.

To illustrate the other type of guilt let us turn to another character. When Agamemnon sacrifices his daughter Iphigenia, he does it *ex anankes*, out of necessity: he must obey the order of Artemis communicated through the priest Calchas. Thus he finds himself

faced with the inevitable. Nevertheless he is held absolutely responsible for the murder, for which he will pay. That which Agamemnon is constrained to do under the yoke of *Ananke* is also what he wishes, with all his soul; if it is only at this price that he can win, he will. That which Agamemnon proclaims to be religiously permitted is not an act that he would be constrained to perform against his will, but rather his own intimate desire to do everything that might open the path for his army (Zupancic, p. 182). If we analyze the act of the brother masons, we can find the same type of guilt. They have received the call from the Big Other/Father, and although this call/necessity/inevitable could make them innocent, and free them from their guilt, it is not so. In the prior analysis, we saw that to be truly guilty, one has to desire the act. The brother-masons wanted to build the structure at all costs, and deep within they desired what they heard from the Other. Desire is the desire of the Other. The subject becomes guilty at the instant when the desire of the Other becomes the desire of the subject- that is to say, the instant when the subject takes advantage of what is objectively necessary and finds his surplus-enjoyment therein. From this perspective, it turns out that actually it is the desire of the subject which supports objective necessity, or destiny (Zupancic, p. 182). Therefore the desire of the Other which is symbolized in the myth by the old man/voice/villa/dream/dead father as necessity/inevitability/destiny is also the desire of the brother-masons, and it is precisely their strongest desire which leads to the inevitability of the call. They are therefore, unlike Rozafa, the incarnation of subjectivity, and guilty because of their desire. Terror is when we are forced to subjectify ourselves, faced to choose, demonstrating that we are free subjects whether we want it or not (Zupancic, p. 213). We therefore become subjects only by facing the question 'have you acted in conformity with your desire?

Chapter 7- Mutterrecht and the Foundation Sacrifices

The Mothers! Mothers!- a strange word is said.
"Faust", Goethe.

In this chapter, I will discuss an alternative interpretation of the myth of foundation sacrifice, based on the theories of Bachofen, and on the interpretation of the myth of Oedipus by Erich Fromm. As we saw from the previous chapters, the legends, ballads, myths of foundation sacrifices are spread around the world and have thus similarities and differences. We also noted that depending on the context in which they exist, and on the power they have on different individuals, the interpretations vary accordingly. Despite the large number of specificities that all the versions have, there is one single commonality that characterizes them all: the victory of the patriarchal system over the last breath of the matriarchal system

7.1. Patricide and Brotherhood

In Totem and Taboo, Freud talked about the primordial crime as being the murder of the primal father /dead father. The gang of brothers slays the primal father, and must then institute their own laws and prohibitions on each other. In psychoanalysis as in anthropology one commonly links the sacred and the establishment of the religious bond that it presupposes with sacrifice. Freud notes that the morality of man starts with the two taboos of totemism: murder and incest. Incest prohibits, separates, and prevents contact between son and mother (Kristeva, 1986, p. 251). In 1989 Carole Pateman argued that the term 'patriarchy' should include fraternal as well as paternal forms of dominance. She argues that the construction of the modern political theory depends on the subordination of women to fraternity. The rise of the modern state in the seventeenth century with its subsequent emphasis on contract ensured that brothers would be equal

with each other and equally certain of their paternity. The new civil order created through the original contract is a patriarchal order. Political right as paternal right is inconsistent with modern civil society. In this version of the story, civil society is created through the original contract after paternal rule-or patriarchy- is overthrown (Patemen, 1989, p. 2). The sons overthrow the paternal rule not merely to gain their liberty but to secure women for themselves. A man's power as a father comes after he has exercised the patriarchal right of a man (a husband) over a woman (wife). Modern civil society is not created by kinship and the power of the fathers: in the modern world women are subordinated to men as men, or to men as a fraternity. The original contract takes place after the political defeat of the father and creates modern fraternal patriarchy (Pateman, p. 3). The reason why contract is necessary is because fathers have been stripped of political power (Pateman, p.77). The men who defeat the father claim their natural liberty and make the original contract acting as brothers, as fraternal kin or the sons of a father. Fraternity means the brotherhood of men and we should be aware of the universality of bonds of humankind, solidarity etc. Fraternity is the most powerful of communal bonds (Pateman, p. 78). Democracy is simply the political form of fraternity. McWilliams argues that the childhood association of authority with a particular father has to be broken if the next generation of men is to assume social authority. He writes that the authority of the male principle must be raised above both father and son. In this sense, they cease to be father and son and become subject to some higher authority and hence brothers (Pateman, p. 79). Fraternal orders typically have elaborate rituals to initiate their members into the fraternal secrets and into a rigid hierarchical structure (Pateman, p. 81). Cities and other human institutions have such a purely masculine birth. The founding of a city should be the very opposite of a natural event, a masculine artifice, founded against the stream of

natural growth and decay. Mitchell argues that the law of the father is done after the parricide, and this law structures modern patriarchy. If brotherhood is to be maintained, fraternal relations must be regulated (Pateman, p.104).

7.2. Mother Right and Greek Myths

This interpretation of the primal guilt as the killing of the father is plausible for a symbolic order we can speak off. The symbolic order is the dependence and articulation of the speaking object in the order of language. There is no time that we know of without speech, therefore there is no time without father, father is sign and time. On the other hand milk and tears are metaphors of non-speech, of a semiotics that linguistic communication does not account for (Kristeva, p.174). Although frequently ignored there are alternative interpretations to the primal guilt as the killing of the mother not the father. In his *Mutterrecht* (Mother Right), published in 1861, Bachofen suggested that in the beginning of human history sexual relations were promiscuous; that therefore only the mother's parenthood was unquestionable, to her alone could consanguinity be traced, and she was the authority and lawgiver-the ruler both in the family group and the society. Bachofen found evidence that the religion of the Olympian gods was preceded by a religion in which goddesses, motherlike figures, were the supreme deities. He assumed that in a long-drawn-out historical process men defeated women, subdued them, and succeeded in making themselves the rulers in a social hierarchy. The patriarchal system on the other hand is characterized by monogamy, by the authority of the father in the family, and by the dominant role of men in a hierarchically organized society (cf. Fromm, 205).

One of the most striking examples of Bachofen's interpretations of Greek myths is his analysis of Aeschylus's *Oresteia*, which according to him is a symbolic representation of a last fight between the maternal goddesses and the victorious paternal gods. Clytemnestra had killed her husband, Agamemnon, in order not to give up her lover, Aegisthus. Orestes, her son by Agamemnon avenges his father's death by killing his mother and her lover. The Erinyes, representatives of the old mother-goddesses and the matriarchal principle, persecute Orestes and demand his punishment, while Apollo and Athene (the later not born from woman but sprung from the head of Zeus), the representatives of the new patriarchal religion, are on Orestes' side. The argument is centered on the principles of patriarchal and matriarchal religion, respectively. For the matriarchal world there is only one sacred tie; that of mother and child, and consequently matricide is the ultimate and unforgivable crime. From the patriarchal point of view, the son's love and respect for the father is his paramount duty and therefore patricide is the paramount crime. Clytemnestra's killing of the husband from the patriarchal standpoint is a major crime because of the supreme position of the husband, but not a concern from the matriarchal standpoint because she was not related by blood to her man she killed. For the Erinyes, the matricide is a major crime since it concerns a blood tie killing. To the Olympian gods, on the other hand, the murder of the mother is not a crime if it is carried out as a revenge of the father's death (Fromm, p.206).

Matriarchal culture is characterized by an emphasis of ties of blood, ties to the soil, and a passive acceptance of all natural phenomena. Patriarchal society, in contrast, is characterized by respect for man-made law, by a predominance of rational thought, and by man's effort to change natural phenomena. In so far as these principles are concerned, the patriarchal culture constitutes a definite progress over the matriarchal world. In other

respects, however, the matriarchal principles were superior to the victorious patriarchal ones. In the matriarchal concept all men are equal, since they are all children of mothers and each one a child of the Mother Earth. A mother loves all her children alike and without conditions, since her love is based on the fact that they are her children and not on particular merits or achievements. The patriarchal system, on the other hand, considers obedience to authority to be the main virtue. Instead of the principle of equality, we find the concept of the favorite son and a hierarchical order in society. All development of civilization, devotion, care, and the mourning for the dead are rooted in her (mother). The idea of the universal brotherhood of man is rooted in the principle of motherhood, and this very idea vanishes with the development of patriarchal society (Bachofen, 1926, p. 14, cf. Fromm, p.208).

Sophocles, in *Antigone*, made the matriarchal principle the center of Antigone's as against Creon's position. What matters for Creon and the patriarchal order he represents is the state, man-made laws, and obedience to them. What matters to Antigone is man himself, the natural law, and love. Oedipus becomes the savior of Thebes, proving by his very answer to the Sphinx that he belongs to the same world which is represented by Antigone and expressive of the matriarchal order. Jocasta's crime is that of not having fulfilled her duty as a mother; she had wanted to kill her child in order to save her husband. This, from the standpoint of patriarchal society is a legitimate decision, but from the standpoint of the matriarchal society and matriarchal ethics it is the unforgivable crime. She starts the chain of destruction (Fromm, p. 213). Oedipus talks about his two daughters, Antigone and Ismene as his nurses, as preserving him, but he calls his two sons as aliens, and no sons of his. Fromm raises the question whether, if incest was the essence of Oedipus's crime, the drama should have told us that he had

fallen in love with Jocasta unwittingly. According to him the main theme of the trilogy is the conflict between father and sons. In Oedipus the Colonus, Oedipus is very much aware of his hate against his sons, whom he accuses of having violated the eternal law of nature. There is no indication that the hostility of Oedipus's sons against their father has any connection with the incest motif. The only motivation we can find in the tragedy is their wish for power and the rivalry with their father (Fromm, p.219). The messenger of Oedipus's death is puzzled over his death, and does not know whether he was removed from the earth by the gods above or by the gods below, by the world of the fathers or that of the mothers. Maybe Oedipus was brought back to the place where he belonged, to the mothers.

The conflict between the patriarchal and matriarchal principles is the theme of the third part of the trilogy, Antigone. Creon has become the tyrant of Thebes after Oedipus's two sons have been killed-one by attacking the city in order to gain power, the other defending his throne. Creon has ordered that the legitimate king should be buried and that the challenger's body should be left unburied-the greatest humiliation and dishonor to be done to a man, according to Greek custom. The principle that Creon represents is that of the supremacy of the law of the state over ties of blood, of obedience to authority over allegiance to the natural law of humanity. Antigone, Oedipus' daughter, refuses to violate the laws of blood and of the solidarity of all human beings for the sake of an authoritarian, hierarchical principle (Fromm, p.222). The two principles for which Creon and Antigone stand are those which Bachofen characterized as the patriarchal as against the matriarchal principle, respectively. The matriarchal principle is that of blood relationship as the fundamental and indestructible tie, of the equality of all men, of the respect for human life and love. The patriarchal principle is that of the ties between man

creation; they can bear children, while men are sterile in this respect. Quite in contrast to Freud's assumption that the 'penis envy' is a natural phenomenon in the constitution of the women's psyche, there are good reasons for assuming that before male supremacy was established, there was a 'pregnancy envy' in the man. Since man cannot produce with a womb, he must produce with his mouth, his thought, his work. The Biblical myth begins when the Babylonian myth has ended. With the Biblical myth, the supremacy of a male god is established, and God creates the world by his word, while the woman and her creative powers are no longer necessary. Adam is not born from Eve like he should have been born, but instead Eve is born from Adam's rib (like Athena from Zeus's head). In the "Forgotten Language" Fromm illustrates his analysis which is based on Bachofen's theory with other interesting examples like folktales, rituals, and literature.

7.3. Mother Right and Foundation Sacrifice Myths

After having considered Fromm's alternative analysis which considers the above-mentioned myths as the last fight between the two systems, I shall attempt to analyze the versions of foundation sacrifices in the same light. Firstly, uncontested in these versions is the phenomenon of building. Building is considered a manly enterprise, and a form of domination of nature, which symbolizes woman, or her system. Secondly, as significant as this activity is for the rise of the new system, the involvement of brother-masons in the activity is the main element which shows the exclusion of women from the activity, and the rise of brotherhood or fraternity in the building of the new system. Thirdly, if we consider the types of structures to be built, we notice the significance of the buildings themselves for the system. In none of the versions we deal with the building of huts, or homes. In several versions the structure is a bridge, which is an element of domination over nature. The bridge/culture/man tames/controls the

rivers/nature/woman. In other versions we deal with fortresses which symbolize protection from enemies, therefore wars and power, all elements belonging to the patriarchal system. A fortress can also be the substitution for the womb, or the womb of the man, illustrating what Bachofen argued as the pregnancy or womb envy. The other structure which the masons build are monasteries, and in one of the versions a minaret. It is not difficult to assume that these are all man-made moral edifices, and belong to the patriarchal system. The morality of people in the matriarchal system lied in their goddesses and they worshipped Mother Earth, and not other man-made gods. The last object which is being built, or controlled is a well. The well is as much as the others a structure built with the aim of using the powers of the earth to take out water as a source of life from the heart of it. Furthermore in all the versions, the activity is impossible, and the structures eventually fall down. The falling down of the structures, symbolizes the difficulty of the fight over the systems and the fear of castration, specific to men. We know from analysis that a fear that an object will not grow is a castration fear: growing thus represents erection (Roheim, 1950, p. 15).

When considering the elements of sacrifice, one can be wrong in assuming that we cannot conclude that all the time motherhood is sacrificed. The sacrifices are not all the time mothers, but all of them on principle represent the matriarchal system. If we consider the Greek Bridge of Arta, we see that a wife is being walled-up. But this is not the most important element. In her lament, the wife of the masons complains of her sisters' fates who have also been immured in Balkan bridges. Sisters' love is a characteristic of the matriarchal system because it is based on blood ties. The fact that all the sisters have been separately been immured shows that the matriarchal system can be weakened only by means of cutting women down from their significant blood ties

which make strong their system. Furthermore, part of her laments is her curse to the bridge that it may tremble like her trembling heart. She does not care about her husband who will cross over the bridge, because the love for one's husband, who is not tied to a woman by blood, is not part of the matriarchal system. Afraid of the curse the masons remind her of her brother who is in foreign places but should return and walk over the bridge. This element is not given without a reason; the wise masons know that what can save them is only a bond which belongs to her deeply, which defines her. She eventually changes her curse to a benediction for the bridge to stand like iron for her brother.

In the Serbian Building of Skadar there were three brothers building the fortress ordered by the King. The first voice speaking to the King advised him to built-in a brother and a sister. This element which is very useful for our analysis sounds strange if we attempt any other analysis; the only thing one could do would be to ignore it as irrelevant or completely unimportant. Indeed, it has never before been part of any analysis. But as mentioned above the bond brother-sister is crucial for the matriarchal system. Unable to find the brother and sister they were looking for, the other voice advices to build in the wife of one of the masons. Crucial is here the fact that after she realizes the bitter reality of her fate, she implores them to leave a hole for her breast through which she may suckle her baby. Here we see the most important bond existing in the matriarchal system. She does not care to have a window to see her husband, nor the breast out for sexual pleasure. Instead she wants a window for her breast to suckle her infant, a bond which the patriarchal system cuts down through incest taboo. The version ends with the sentence 'at the end of the time she is unable to speak but the milk continues to flow'. According to Kristeva, milk and tears are the symbols of a 'time before speech', or

before the symbolic order created by language. According to Geza Roheim, the women possessed the phallus/power long before men, who subsequently took it from them, and this brought to the transition from nipple to the penis. Similarly, in the Albanian version of Rozafat, the woman to be built in is primarily a wife, but due to the broken oath, the only mother among the three wives came to the fortress. She accepts her fate without questioning it, however she begs that, when immured, her breast be exposed and holes left for her eyes, hands, and feet to suckle, see, caress, and cuddle her baby. Again here all her limbs and freedom that she asks for is dedicated to her infant. The ballad ends with the mother's wish: Let the fortress be strengthened and my son be a king and enjoy it. She can endure her sacrifice as soon as her son, not her husband enjoys the fortress. She flows in the fortress through her ever-flowing milk. Without her milk, the walls of the fortress cannot grow, cannot stand erect, and cannot take life.

In the Rumanian version Master Manole and the Monastery of Argesh, the masons are building up a monastery, and the master dreams that a woman should be built. Unfortunately, his wife approaches the monastery. They begin to build her up and she starts lamenting. In this version of the legend the wife is pregnant and says that the wall will kill her child, and her breast weeps tears of milk. The woman here is a pregnant and in her lamenting she does suffer for her own death, but for her child's death in her womb. In this version, the specificity is that the father is killing his own child by killing his pregnant wife. The suffering of the husband is therefore greater than in the other cases where only the wife was being sacrificed, and only in this version he also had a bad end, and turns into a fountain of tears because he cannot stand her laments.

In the Hunagrian version Master Klement, the masons are building a fort, and they decide to immure the first woman that comes. Once told about her fate she asks to go home and say farewell to her friends and her little son. This request and the bonds she care for are also characteristics of the matriarchal value system. She could have requested anything else, for ex. to make love to her husband for the last time etc., but all she asks for is another physical contact with her son. This version is even more tragic because, here the little boy asks for the mother after she dies, and when he reaches the fort and finds out about the fate of his mother, he dies of grief. This element shows the strength of the bond mother-child, and the burden of the sacrifices demanded by the new system.

Based on the same logic and explanation, it is possible to interpret versions which have been considered as very different from the master ones. Examples of these are the Santal tales. In one of the versions, the characters are seven brothers and a sister. In this version women are protagonists of the patriarchal rules and system because they are jealous about the sister and use their powers to curse her. As argued before, the husband-wife relationship is valued as important only in the patriarchal system, while on the other hand the bond sister-brother is valued as important in the matriarchal system. In another version the brothers wanted to dig a tank, but they found no water, and all agreed to sacrifice their sister except the youngest. It is important that all but the youngest agree to sacrifice their sisters. From our perspective, the youngest is the one whose bond is closer and stronger because of the resemblance mother-child, and the last one resisting the changing the system. Eventually as the tale progresses, they all die in the end, but the sister tries very hard to save her youngest brother.

Finally, I will consider the version of the Minaret of Dervish Pasha. Dervish Pasha was unable with his masons to build the mosque because the Vila destroyed it all the time. According to the interpretation of the older masons, the Vilas are giants who are jealous of the high buildings. This can be a significant element of showing how the gods of earth are perceived as being jealous of high buildings. Through a dream he was told to sacrifice one of his sons for the minaret to stand erect. The sequences of events in this version develop in a very curious way for our analysis. Infanticide is a taboo in a matriarchal system, but not in a patriarchal one. Instead of picking up one of his sons and sacrifice him, he went to his wife and asked her to chose one of the sons for the sacrifice. This is the greatest terror one can create for a mother; to force her to choose between her children one to kill. The matriarchal system operates on principles of love and equality; therefore she could do nothing but refuse the choice. The Pasha decided to make the choice himself, and grabbed the younger one and sacrificed him. The choice of the Pasha is also very curious; while the wife was not able to chose, he easily picked up the youngest. The youngest child is the child whose bond with the mother is stronger, while the older child's bond is stronger to the father, because he is more likely to operate on his principles. And eventually, although the mother had one more son (the oldest), she died from the sadness that she could not endure from the death of the youngest. It is important to emphasize again that although the youngest is the son closest to her, which comes beautifully in the version by her final death, she could have not from the beginning have chosen the other one to be sacrificed, because that is not the way her system with its principle of equality and love operates.

Conclusion

In the thesis I analyzed different versions of the foundation sacrifice legends/ballads/myths, by focusing more specifically on the Albanian version as a case study. The common motif was that of the sacrificial immurement of a woman-usually a young mother-by three brothers or several masons, as a solution to the repeated collapse of an important edifice in the process of its construction due to ambiguous reasons. The master versions presented and analyzed were the Greek version "Bridge of Arta", the Serbian version "Building of Skadar", the Albanian version "Rozafat", the Rumanian version "Master Manole and the Monastery of Argesh", the Hungarian "Master Klement", the Santal tales, and the "Minaret of Dervish Pasha". Full references to the original sources can be found at the excellent edited collection of Alan Dundes "The walled-up wife". Furthermore based on this collection I presented several interesting interpretations of the foundation sacrifice myths. Among these interpretations, the most interesting were the literary ones by Serban Angheliescu, and by Sharon King, who take up several symbolic elements in their analysis. Another interpretation frequently ignored was the Christian interpretation by Reverend Dr. Krstvoj Kotur according to whom the ballad contains Christian spiritual messages in its content. Another interpretation with moral overtones was the one offered by Professor Zora Devrnja Zimmerman, according to whom the story is important for its important ethical dilemma, its essential determinism, and necessity of the immurement. There were also two feminist interpretations, one by Ruth Mandel who focused on anthropological concepts to illustrate the dual nature of woman, and the other one by Alan Dundes, who considers the immurement 'a deadly metaphor for married life from India to the Balkans'.

Although outdated, I also focused on the earlier interpretations based on the myth-ritual theories, which say that all myths are assumed to be derived from some earlier type of ritual. Mircea Eliade, has a special place with his interpretation of the ballads, because he admits that the images and symbols present in the ballads are abundantly confirmed by the practices and beliefs concerning constructional sacrifices. Based on his interpretation and the common Masonic element of construction that characterizes the legends/ballads of immurement, I focused on some evidence on the ritual of the human sacrifice and its relationship to masonry. I preferred to refer to two texts written by Freemasons, and follow naturally their interpretation of human sacrifice. These ritualistic elements of human sacrifice in construction show an interesting link to the relationship between masonry-as a form of brotherhood, cities-or important elements of cities, human sacrifice-ties of blood, and the existence of powerful legends/ballads in the collective unconsciousness about these types of sacrifices. It is clear that the rituals alone cannot explain the elements of the legends for two reasons. First of all, the immurement of a wife-mother-woman cannot be explained by construction rituals alone because the masons were indifferent about the victim, in many cases they even preferred male victims. Secondly, even according to the Masonic explanations, sacrifice was changed into a symbol, which meant for some time a measured shadow, puppets, and animals, and later corn, oil, and wine. Beside these facts, the necessity of sacrifice for construction is a peculiar and important point to keep in mind, be this sacrifice to the Gods, Goddesses, or to the Earth.

The Masonic rituals would offer evidence to support the myth-ritual theory, but as it was mentioned above, despite its strength, the myth-ritual interpretation fails to take into account the reasons for the immurement of women in the legends, and the survival of the

legends as we know them today only in some regions, like the Balkans, while the existence of the ritual seems to have been world-wide. To account for both similarity and difference, and to shift from a literal to a symbolic conception of the myths, I focused on the Jungian approach to myth. Jung has offered a very important theoretical perspective on the study of myth, and is able to answer many unanswered questions about myth in general, and about the case study in particular. According to Jung, the subject matter of myth is symbolic not literal, and the human mind instead of the external world. The moment we make this psychoanalytical theoretical shift, we stop dealing with the "reality", or the external world, but focus instead on the human psyche. It is one thing to argue that the legends are based on rituals, and another to argue that the legends continue to exist despite of the disappearance of the rituals, and exist only in some places, although the rituals existed everywhere. By rejecting diffusion Jung argues for myths being, expression of archetypes which are manifestations of always already mythic material, and are the contents of the collective unconsciousness. We can identify several important archetypes in the foundation sacrifice myths, like the mother archetype, the child archetype, and the old man archetype. The existence of the same archetypes in all the versions of the foundation sacrifice myths does not imply that their meaning is the same for all the places and peoples. Jung is careful to specify that archetypes are not identical in content for every people, but just in form or potentiality, while the content is filled specifically based on a language that the audience understands.

Based further on Malinowski's claim that myths are texts within context, we understand that each culture transforms a piece of folklore into a version which reflects their particular anxieties and concerns. As I was going through the research on the legends, two questions or issues did not make sense to me (not because they are not important):

one was which version is more pretty or beautiful, and the other was where does the legend/ballad/myth belong? The first was not important for me because the reason why I was haunted by the legend in the first place was my inability to detach myself from it. This has always been part of my culture and memory, and I have never questioned or thought about its beauty, it had another kind of power which I could never articulate. I could have taken a position on beauty if I was a person born and grown up out of a context where the legend is narrated and transmitted. Only then I could have looked at several versions as texts and objectively or still subjectively judged upon their richness and beauty. The second question made no sense, because the version told to us was clearly ours and for us, and the other versions for the others. Finding its origins, or who stole it from whom, is the most irrelevant point I could focus on, although I accept and respect all the ones for whom this issue has its own importance. For such reasons, although attempting to integrate all the different versions under one framework, I could not resist the temptation to make a longer stop at the Albanian version-the myth of Rozafa, for the simple reason that I have know this legend since I know myself. Among the interpretations offered by Albanian artists, historians, ethnographers, folklorists, anthropologists, or writers were identified several important ones. A large part of them viewed the myth in nationalistic overtones where Rozafa was viewed as having sacrificed life for the nation- perceived here as the castle, which protects 'us' from the 'enemy'. Ismail Kadare offered historical and sociological evidence that the primal version of the legend is of Albanian origin. The first non-romantic interpretation on the other hand has been given by a feminist. Silke Blumbach used the myth to deconstruct it, and to raise the feminist conscious of Albanian women, because according to her it served as an ideological superstructure to idealize the bitter reality for women. One of the

most in-depth and interesting interpretations was offered by Artan Fuga, a notable Albanian analyst who wrote a book on the politics of communication during the transition in Albania, entitled "Escape from the Rozafa Complex", where he offers a politico-philosophical analysis of the myth. According to his analysis, after the death of the father, the brothers have no capacity to exert a horizontal power within a group of individuals with equal power, since the vertical authoritarian power left an empty vacuum. Fuga compares this situation to democracy.

Inspired by Fuga's interpretation and attempted to offer an alternative although similar one to the Albanian version, I decided further on to focus on the ethical dilemma in the myth of Rozafa. The crucial differences of the Albanian version from the other ones are the elements of the ethical dilemma of decision making which is related to the concept of *besa*, or oath. The way I discussed the ethical element present in the (decision of) immurement of Rozafa was by offering parallel arguments from the act of Oedipus and Agamemnon. Guilt was seen to be due to an existential condition (I am guilty because I exist), or due to a matching of desire with the necessity of the call (I am guilty because I desire what I must). Based on the psychoanalytic analysis of Zupancic of the acts of Oedipus and Agamemnon, I argued that Rozafa and the brothers were all guilty but differently. Rozafa was considered to be robbed from her desire, and only guilty of existing. For this precise reason she is rejected from the symbolic game, and cannot become or exist as a subject, but only as an object. Rozafa accepted to be walled-up without making the question 'why am I doing this or why does the Other want me to do this?' For me this has always been the most important question I kept asking myself- why isn't she questioning? According to Zizek the passive decision is always structurally an Other decision in me, a rendering decision as the decision of the Other. In order to

question she has to be a subject, while all she is, is the Thing, excluded from the community regulated by the symbolic regulation, guilty of existing. On the other hand, in the analysis of the act of the brothers we find another type of guilt. Although, they have received the inevitable call from the Big Other/Father they are still guilty of their act, because to be truly guilty of an act one has to desire the act. The brother-masons wanted to build the structure at all costs, and deep within they desired what they heard from the Other. The brothers became guilty at the instant when the desire of the Other became their own desire - that is to say, the instant when the subject takes advantage of what is objectively necessary and finds his surplus-enjoyment therein. From this perspective, it turned out that actually it is the desire of the subject-brothers which supports objective necessity- sacrifice for construction.

Finally, I discussed an alternative common interpretation of the myth of foundation sacrifice, based on the theories of Bachofen, and on the interpretation of the myth of Oedipus by Erich Fromm. Although, the first time I went through the different myths, I had a tendency to focus on the different elements, there was yet a very strong feeling that something linked them all, a feeling which turned slowly into a more meaningful insight. The Freudian interpretation of the primal guilt as the killing of the father has had an interesting although frequently ignored alternative interpretation as the primal guilt being the killing of the mother. This alternative was presented by Bachofen in 1861 in *Mutterrecht* (Mother Right), suggested that in the beginning of human history the mother was the authority and lawgiver-the ruler both in the family group and the society, and he assumed that in a long historical process men defeated women, and succeeded in making themselves the rulers in a social hierarchy. Alternative interpretations by Bachofen and Fromm were considered, like Aeschylus's *Oresteia*, Sophocles' trilogy, and the

Babylonian myth of creation (Enuma Elish), which according to them were a symbolic representation of a last fight between the maternal goddesses and the victorious paternal gods. According to Bachofen matriarchal culture is characterized by an emphasis of ties of blood, ties to the soil, and a passive acceptance of all natural phenomena, while patriarchal society, in contrast, is characterized by respect for man-made law, and by man's effort to change natural phenomena. In the matriarchal concept all men are equal, since they are all children of mothers and each one a child of the Mother Earth, and a mother loves all her children alike and without conditions, since her love is not based on particular merits or achievements. The patriarchal system, on the other hand, considers obedience to authority to be the main virtue (Bachofen, 1926, p. 14, cf. Fromm, p.208). Based on Bachofen's theory and both Bachofen's and Fromm's interpretations, I analyzed the versions of foundation sacrifices under the same framework. Firstly, in all the versions central was the phenomenon of building, which is considered a manly enterprise, and a form of domination of nature. Secondly, the involvement of brother-masons in the construction activity showed the exclusion of women from it, and the rise of brotherhood or fraternity. Thirdly, the types of structures to be built, were significant for the patriarchal system. In none of the versions we deal with the building of huts, or homes. In several versions the structure is a bridge, which is an element of domination over nature, in other versions it is fortresses which symbolize protection from enemies, therefore wars and power, and in others man-made moral and religious edifices. Fourthly, the inability of these structures to stay erect, symbolizes the difficulty of the fight over the systems and the fear of castration. Finally, while considering in details the elements of sacrifice, it was made clear that although not all the sacrificed victims were mothers, all of them represented the principles of the matriarchal system. Sisters',

brothers' and mother-child love are all characteristics of the matriarchal system because they are all based on blood ties and equality. The victims did not care in principle for their husbands, because wife-husband love is an element of the patriarchal system, by being not based on blood, but hierarchy and domination. In order to be able to appropriate women and engulf them in a new system of hierarchy and power, in order to take over the matriarchal system, the patriarchal system must separate women from their significant blood ties and relations, like children, sisters, brothers, and therefore make them weak and vulnerable. But strong walls need milk to grow.

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