

FOLK EXPLANATIONS OF BLOOD-LANDS: THE MAP OF MASSACRES AND BESTIAL CRUELITIES

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Blood is not solely a body part and a medicinal substance; it's likewise a metaphor for life. Blood as a social concept has mainly been explored as a symbol of kinship, genetic heritage and lineage, nationalism, race, taboo, in rituals, and blood donations. Besides that, ethnic or national survival is also written on the map with bloody place-names. When the soil is soaked with blood of patriotic defenders and endangering others, the collective memory creates new bloody geographical names. They record the evidence of historically important harsh events, remind us of heroic battles, neighbouring antagonisms, or, provide an insight into religious changes in the area. The stories of violent killings and bloodshed in defence of a country, enriched with fears, imagination and prejudices towards the bloodthirsty foreign invaders, such as Turks or French, upset people's blood. Though the base *kri*, blood, *Blut*, *krvav*, *blutig* is proportionally rare in Slovene toponymics, these geographical names describe historic episodes of groups and a nation. The tales about the origin of bloody place-names and about the horrific blood spill, which stops the blood in the veins, became a part of the nation's cultural heritage.

Key words: blood, cultural perceptions of blood, blood-lands, ethnology, anthropology of space and place

I. WHY BLOOD? INTRODUCTORY AUTOETHNOGRAPHIC CONFESSION

"I was seeing how the life drains through the vein." As a child I often heard this sentence by my father, when he associated how he was tightly clenching the fist during the altruistic procedure of blood donation. What he, a frequent blood donor, accepted for granted made me feel ill. Since then the thought of blood reminds me of the life that could flow away, and since then I'm a little afraid of blood. The concern is not extreme enough to become a blood phobia, but in some periods of my life, it was irrational and it caused unpleasant physical and mental reactions.

As an urban child with relatives in the countryside, I witnessed *koline* or pig killing several times. *Koline* is the wintertime feast, which is still an integral part of Slovene

country life. It lasted from the early morning hours to late night or the following day, because the meat was mostly hand-processed. I think of how I was helplessly outraged and how I loudly protested because of the brutality of the slaughterers, their notion of superiority, jokes encouraged by the abundance of strong liquor and unbearable pig squealing before death. Immediately after the pig was slaughtered a child or a housewife had the duty to draw the blood into a large container and then stir it to prevent premature curdling. While gathering the blood out of the deadly cut on the neck, the animal intimidated and starred at whoever was nearby with its open, suffering eyes. In less than one hour the scent of spiced fried blood, the first light morning meal at the *koline*, came out of the kitchen.

When I was around 18 years old, I always felt ill when I passed by the butcher's shop nearby my home, because the smell of raw meat irritated me. I collapsed before I voluntarily donated blood in my gymnasium years. The spirit was willing, but the physical body was weak. The glimpse to the injection and failed attempts of the nurse to hit my vein are permanently written down in my memory. Similar situations still make me bloodless when my precious red fluid is taken from me for lab analysis. As a teen, I acted contemptuously to the individuals, who ate steak tartare, for instance, in the New Year – how else should I have been talking to people with such barbaric eating habits and unnecessary pleasures. A mouth, chewed sophistically prepared raw meat could not be at the same time the mouth of the dialogue on anything that mattered to me. It is needless to say, that due to my aversion to blood, horror movies and vampires are also not on my menu.

And, for what I regret the most, I kicked my doctor hard, the surgeon who performed a painful, bloody, but necessary operation on me several years ago. I didn't intend to, but helplessly lying down on the table while he, without giving me sufficient specific explanation of his next moves, carefully checked over the scars and bruises that remained after removed stitches, just made me recoil. One unexpected doctor's touch just fired off my sore leg towards his chest. He angrily looked at me and left the clinic, leaving me with the astonished nurse. At the next examination he understandingly accepted my sincere apology.

And so, why do I write about blood then? I admit: thinking and writing about the meanings, which are attributed to blood, are a kind of cognitive therapy and desensitization for me. It is also true that the chosen theme about Slovene folk explanations of blood-lands is dealing with the substance on a more metaphorical than material level. Blood is not solely a life, a body part and a medicinal substance; it's likewise a metaphor for life with rich semantic. And in times when we are confronted with so many blood scenes and when so many are building their frustrations using dangerous blood metaphors, it is time to reconsider some of them.

From self-reflection on blood to more formal introduction

The above subjective description about my own encounters with blood was written with the aim to remind us that we are all surrounded with many notions of blood. For many these notions arouse uneasy feelings, which may even develop into hemophobia¹, and, trypanophobia², as in my case, or even in iatrophobia³. These fears may

1 Fear of the blood.

2 Fear of receiving an injection.

3 Fear of doctors.



"Koline" - pig-killing in the village of Haloze, Slovenia, 1977. Photo and courtesy of Stojan Kerbler. (<http://www.stojankerbler.com>).

occur in parallel and it is important to learn and distinguish between different, culturally specific "blood speeches". Secondly, there are many layers of comprehension of our own or somebody else's blood. This article is a journey through some, also partly surmounted explanations of blood in culture, to the meanings attributed to blood, the metaphors we use, especially in Slovenia, and, blood in folk tradition. Parts of these traditions are also naming the places, if their history is somehow connected with blood. At first sight the empirical chapter on naming has a weak connection with what was previously said, but I gathered Slovene "blood names" with the purpose of drawing culturally specific blood notions and fears of blood. The traumas people faced in the battles and after them, or associations of blood, resulted in the naming and storytelling. On the base of the material presented in the paper I suppose that the dread of blood is the primary protective mechanism to stay alive, which doesn't originate only in medical treatments, but also in bloody historical events.

II. SOCIAL AND MEDICAL CONCEPTIONS OF BLOOD

'Primitive men' generally look at blood as being life itself. They see blood flow and the body die and therefore assume that the life flows out of the body in a literal sense. Closely allied to this is the belief that the soul of the spirit of a being is in his blood and that when blood escapes the blood-soul escapes too. For these reasons, taboos, superstitions, magical practices, and rituals have grown up in great number in connection with blood (Leach, 1949: 148). The fluids flowing from the inside of the body to the outside are regarded as socially dangerous and contaminating, because these



Pig killing in the village of Selenča, Serbia, former Yugoslavia, 1936. Photo: archive of J. Botík.



Pig killing in the village of Kulpín, former Yugoslavia, 1952. Photo: archive of J. Botík.

fluids on the outside of the body directly challenge our sense of order and orderliness. This inside/outside division of the body combines with a wet/dry dichotomy to delineate these risky borders (Turner, 2003: 1).

Blood accidentally spilled must be carefully and completely disposed of lest a sorcerer use it to work magic against its owner. It is burned or, when the owner is a king or man of importance, swallowed by underlings kept for that purpose. Malignant spirits, witches, devils, werewolves can be rendered harmless by securing a drop or two of their blood. The blood of human beings and many animals must not fall on the ground, for it will impregnate the earth with the soul or spirit of the owner, thus making the ground on which it falls, dangerous ground. It is believed that the soul of the owner will forever afterwards be there ready to work harm on intruders. For these reasons many people abstain from eating and drinking blood of animals, lest the spirit of the animal enter into them. But more commonly the reverse is the practice. Since the blood contains the soul and animus of the owner, and since by drinking of the blood his spirit and animus becomes a part of the drinker, many people have practised blood-eating and blood drinking to enrich themselves. The blood of a courageous father will be fed to his son to make him courageous too. The blood of a healthy and strong child will be given to a weak and sick one. Men in battle will drink the blood of fallen heroes, friends and foes, to add the store of courage and might of the hero to their own. And likewise the blood and flesh of certain animals are eaten so that the special qualities of those animals may pass to the human beings partaking of it (Leach, 1949: 148).

Many cultures consume blood of domesticated animals, such as pigs, poultry and cattle as food. The blood is consumed in the form of blood sausage⁴, soup⁵, sauces, fried⁶, in a cured salted form for times of food scarcity, as a drink, for example African Masai collect blood from live animals and use it as a drink. In some cultures, blood is a taboo food. Consumption of blood as a nutrient is forbidden in Islam. The consumption of actual blood is in fact forbidden according to the book of *Leviticus*, part of both Jewish and Christian Holy Scriptures. Other religions and spiritual traditions do consume actual blood as part of rituals. Some Pagan traditions, Satanism, a few Native American and voodoo traditions are reported to consume actual blood, in some cases human (usually willingly donated by participants in the ceremony). The symbolism of the blood itself and the act of drinking it varies between these traditions. In Pagan

4 *Krvavica* is the name of traditional Slovene blood sausage (English *black pudding*, German *Blutwurst*, Italian *biroldo*, Spanish *morcilla*, *moronga* (in Mexico), French *boudin*, Polish *kaszanka*, Slovak *krvavnička*, Ukrainian *kravyanka*, Estonian *verivorst*, Finnish *mustamakkara*, Irish *drisheen*). In Slovenia it is filled with pig blood, head, lungs, heart and kidneys, fresh bacon and fat, pig skin, rice, buckwheat porridge or barley, onion and spices.

5 The Swedish *svartsoppa*, black soup, is made from goose blood. The German speciality is *schwarzsauser* from pig blood. Polish prepare *czernina*, blood soup made of duck blood. They add chicken, pig or game blood with liver to rice or pasta (Novak, Lenarčič, 2009).

6 Spaniards have a whole range of recipes, in which an essential component is blood, for example the dish *sangre con cebolla* (blood with onion). French prepare *sanguette* and *tarte au sang* out of blood. In Slovenia fried blood was frequent in Styria, and Prekmurje. In the Littoral region the blood was steamed to solidify it, cut into slices and then fried as liver and sprinkled with fennel flowers. A variant of fried blood in Prlekija, which is part of Styria, is *krvavi močnik* or *krvava pogača*, the bloody cake, which also had grated horseradish and cumin in it (Novak, Lenarčič, 2009).

In searching for my childhood memories connected to blood, I found a recipe for fried spiced blood (named also *krvni tamrlji* or *tom(e)rti*), made of thin dough and fried in fat. Mix half a litre of fresh pig's blood, 2 decilitres of milk, 2 eggs, salt, pepper, marjoram, chopped garlic (an option), a spoon of flour (option cooked rice or barley, but then you need more blood). Fry onions in lard, put it on the tray, add



Pig killing in former Yugoslavia. Photo: Matica slovenská, Martin. Repro: Filip Lašut.



Pig killing and sausage making in the village of Gorna Mitropolja, Bulgaria, 1932, Photo: O. Šelingerová, SNM - Slovak national museum.



"Koline" - pig-killing in the village of Haloze, Slovenia, 1979. Photo and courtesy of Stojan Kerbler (<http://www.stojankerbler.com>).

tradition, the blood of many participants is mingled in a chalice which they then drink from, symbolizing a bond between them not unlike becoming blood brothers. In voodoo, blood from various sources, including chicken's blood, goat's blood and even menstrual blood is a common ingredient in spells and potions (Blood as food; Novak, Lenarčič, 2009).

Blood being life can, likewise, according to primitive thought, protect or restore life. Blood is consequently widely used by the folk as medicine. In folktales generally, blood appears almost as frequently as the Water of Life as the means of restoring the dead. Such beliefs in the efficacy of blood are behind European practices of pouring blood into holes bored in graves "to feed the dead" and of revenants slipping in at night to suck the blood of the living (Leach, 1949: 148–149).

Since blood contains a life and soul of its own, it is often an instrument of vengeance. A dead body bleeds in the presence of its murderer, for instance. Stories abound of murderers trying in vain to wash the blood of their victims from their hands, or from their clothes. Special fears and consequently taboos have to do with menstrual blood. The belief is that such blood is caused by the bite of a snake, or lizard, or any other such animal, or by the bite of a malignant spirit. To the 'primitive mind' it is abnormal, and therefore to be doubly feared since it is abnormal blood and the blood of a woman. It is a common practice to isolate women at these times. The calamities that would result from a menstruating woman breaking her seclusion are enough to disrupt the courses of nature itself (Leach, 1949: 149).

the mixture and bake 10 minutes at 200 degrees Celsius. Serve warm with bread. Some people report they prepared the dish with fresh chicken blood. The meal was served in the morning at *koline*, before the butchers skinned the pig.

Early works on menstruation analysed menstrual taboos as signs of female defilement and degradation. Menstrual blood is a substance of power which is considered dangerous when not involved in reproduction. Secluding menstruating women is not necessarily a mark of defilement and pollution, but can mark women's power. In contrast, menstruation is also considered as polluting, reflecting the subordination of women's interests. The quality and regularity of menstrual flows may also be understood to be related to a woman's moral and social status. A regular heavy menstrual flow of red blood is indicative of a healthy body and indicates the expulsion of bad blood. Irregular menstruation, or blood that is thin or black, bruised and congealed, or any discharges, are signs of ill-health and bodily imbalance. The retention of bad blood within a woman's body may cause varied bodily and emotional states: weakness, bad moods, irritability, insanity, skin rashes, headache, dizziness, ulcers, and paleness. Menstrual blood is believed to be dirty blood that must be released so as to cleanse the body each month. Similarly, the experience of menopause depends on the ways in which cultures label the event and the assumptions made about women's lives (Whittaker, 2004: 281–282). Medicalization of female end of menstruation, commenced early in the 19th century, but it was not until the 1930s, after the discovery of the endocrine system, that menopause came to be represented as a disease-like state. In order to sustain this argument, the bodies of young pre-menopausal women must be set up as the standard by which all female bodies will be measured. Post-menopausal, post-reproductive life can then be understood as deviant (Lock, 2004: 122). In some cultures the cessation of menstrual cycles is considered unremarkable and not necessarily the most important marker of female aging, nor associated with the same bodily symptoms associated with menopause in many industrial societies. The meanings of menopause differ between cultures. Menopause is understood as a time of enhanced social status, and freedom for women in some cultures, and associated with enhanced sexual pleasure released from the fear of pregnancy. Beliefs about the production of menstrual blood also impact upon understandings of the menopause (Whittaker, 2004: 281–282).

Blood has played a large part in the rituals of most religions. The ritual of drinking the blood of the god is based on the belief that the qualities of the god are so transmitted to the worshipper. The sacredness of the Grail in many of the grail stories comes from the belief that it once contained the blood of Christ. It is consequently a life-giving vessel. The most common of all religious rituals is that of sacrifice to the gods and basically every sacrifice is a blood (not flesh) sacrifice. One propitiates the gods by giving the best – the blood of one's first-born. In later stages of society animals are substituted, their blood poured in libations, or allowed to run over the altar of the god. Likewise, in many religions the god gives the blood of his son in sacrifice to mankind. And so the blood sacrifice becomes a covenant (Leach, 1949: 149).

Since blood is so powerful an agent, it is natural that man should use it as a positive instrument in securing closer ties among his kind and in sealing compacts. Broadly speaking, blood covenant is a term applied to any agreement ratified by the use of blood of the contacting parties. The blood may be drunk, eaten mingled with food, smoked, and bathed in, mingled together and let flow in the earth. Essential to the covenant is an exchange of blood, so that one party to the contract comes into contact with the blood of another. In later stages of culture an actual contract may be written in blood or signed in blood (Leach, 1949: 149).

The most common type of blood covenant is blood brotherhood, practised by vir-

tually all people in some form or other. It owes its necessity to the fact that tribal blood ties (actual kinship) are very strong and that members of a family are bound to protect, and if necessary, avenge one another. One who has no brothers was at a disadvantage. He, therefore, entered into a blood covenant, blood brotherhood, with another like himself needing protection. These covenants made them legal brothers, brothers-in-fact; one married the “brother’s” widow (if the tribe had such custom), inherited his “brother’s” property, etc. The rite varied among peoples of the world, but it always involves the exchange of blood (Leach, 1949: 149).

Anthropological consideration of blood had until the 1990s mainly been focused on its deployment as an idiom of kinship, nationalism and race, and also descriptions of its use in ritual contexts (e.g. blood sacrifice and menstruation taboos). Foucault’s remarks on blood in volume 1 of his *History of Sexuality* (1990: 147–148) have been highly influential to anthropologists. In pre-modern Europe blood was a reality with a symbolic function. Europe has moved, however, from being a society of blood – in which power spoke through blood (e.g. in possessing the ability to spill it or in having a certain blood) – to a society of sex: the mechanisms of power [now] are addressed to the body, to life, to what causes it to proliferate, to what reinforces the species, its stamina, its ability to dominate. By the 2000s, with the growing influence of medical anthropology, studies of the body and Science and Technology Studies, anthropologists had become increasingly interested in social practices centring on blood outside of the body: blood donation and transfusion, blood tests, blood spilled as a form of political protest or for artistic purposes, the laboratory development of artificial blood, etc. But the earlier concerns were not dropped. To this day many anthropological discussions of blood refer to blood as a natural system of symbolizing, such as blood in discussion of financial markets, e.g. use of phrases such as flow, circulation, liquidity, the economy’s lifeblood and even cash transfusion, which extends to studies that have elaborated blood-based continuities between kinship, race and nation, caste, ritual purity (Copeman, 2015: 1–2).

Meanings, attributed to blood, are not always self-evident or stable across and even within different cultural and historical locations. Meanings of blood in particular contexts illuminate its special qualities as bodily substance, material, and metaphor. The significance of blood is not limited to any of anthropology’s classic domains: politics, religion, kinship, body or medical anthropology. Rather, the interest of blood lies in its propensity to travel within, between, and beyond all of these (Carsten, 2013: 1–2).

III. BLOOD IN SLOVENE LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

The noun *kri*, blood, in Slovene literary language and its dialects (*krv*, *kriv* and *krij*) is employed for the meaning of red fluid in the body of human beings and some higher developed animals. In the expressive use it is a liquid of the human organism, where its loss means the end of life. It’s a fluid in humans, a carrier of vitality, temperament, emotional state, agitation, sexuality, sexual drive, some personality traits, and features. It expresses ethnic, national and kinship origin and social or professional affiliation (Zuljan, 2011: 176; Slovar, 2014). In Slovene language, we use 56 phrases with elements of blood (Keber, 2011: 408–416).

Blood idioms tell us about:

- How we are related to one another, what is our genetic heritage and lineage (blood is thicker than water, being of one blood, one's own flesh and blood, in the blood, blood relative, bad blood, half-blood, whole blood);
- How we belong to ethnic groups, race, nation or social class (blood brothers, blood sisters, blood covenant or blood pact, blood enemy, blood feud, blood tax or tribute in blood⁷, noble, aristocratic or royal blue blood, from the blood, bleed for the country, debt of blood, bring new blood, introduce new blood);
- How we feel in our bodies (blood hit one's head, draining/letting blood out);
- What effect the blood has on our well-being (hot blood, one's blood is boiling, blood is up, cold blood, no blood, bloodless, something stirs the blood);
- Whom should we fear (the bloodthirsty, the bloodsucker, the one with bloody hands, the one who is knee deep in blood, the one who bleeds someone, the bloody-minded, and the one who makes transactions with bloody money).

The essence and importance of blood in culture is likewise seen in metaphors. Our language is filled with metaphors which go unnoticed, because they have become so common to the point where their meanings are considered universal and normal. We use a few types of blood metaphors as tools of thinking when we describe the world. These metaphorical dimensions are orientational, i.e. up is good, down is bad, warm is good, cold is bad, strong is good, weak is bad, fast is good, lazy is bad, and so on.

GOOD	BAD
Up	Down
Warm	Cold
Strong	Weak
Fast	Lazy
In	Out
Whole	Part of the whole

Table 1: *Orientational metaphorical dimensions (Mojca Ramšak, author's display for the purpose of this article)*

- *In - Out* (bloodletting, bloodless, runs in the blood, bloodshed), where the blood in the body is good and it means health, and the blood outside of the body is dangerous. This metaphor expresses certain unease with a leaking body which is considered as dangerous. The metaphor brings fear of destruction and dying, and the fear of biting, bloodsucking animals or nightly creatures, such as vampires and werewolves. The leaking female body, which has menstruation and a woman in childbirth, is seen as the root of societal disruption and pollution and must be held aside from the others.

⁷ Also known as Janissary recruitment or non-Muslim boy harvest of the rural Christian populations of the Balkans to create an elite class of warriors loyal only to the Sultan from 14th to 19th century. In other languages blood tax is known as: Turkish: *devşirme*; Greek: *παιδομάζωμα*/Paedomazoma - collection of children; Armenian: *Մանկահավաք*/Mankahavak - child-gathering; Romanian: *tribut de sânge*; Bosnian and Croatian: *Danak u krvi*, Serbian: *Данак у крви*/Danak u krvi, Macedonian: *анок во крв*/Danok vo krv, Bulgarian: *Кръвен данък*/Kraven Danak - blood tax (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dev%C5%9Firme>). Three Slovene authors wrote about *Janičarji*, the Janissaries: Anton Aškerc wrote the ballad, *Janičar* (1890), Josip Jurčič wrote a story, *Jurij Kozjak, slovenski janičar* (1864), and Jakob Sket also wrote a story, *Miklova Zala* (1884).

But on the other hand, if new blood comes from the outside to refresh the old blood, which is already in the system, it also means a good thing. Then the body gets refreshed through blood transfusion, new blood from a healthy person complements old blood and helps to cure the body. The risk and the concern with the blood that comes from the outside is that the blood of a donor could be contaminated and bring new illness instead of cure.

- *Up - Down* (the blood being up), where the blood in the upper metaphorical position is better than when the blood is down, because being down means weakness. When the blood is up we have self-confidence, we feel strong and great, when the blood is down, we are shy, timid, spiritless and weak-minded.
- *Hot - Cold* (hot blood - cold blood, cause one's blood boil - make one's blood creeps, make the blood run cold, make the blood curdle), where the temperament, character and psychic potentials are measured by the temperature of blood - the higher the temperature the more assertive the person; the lower the temperature the more passive or closer to the end he is. At the same time hot blood means also too much temper. When the person has hot blood, he/she is angry, violent or has bad, fiery, crooked and irritable temper.

Hot blood has special symbolic significance. People with hot blood are dangerous because they spread heat and cause diseases. Besides a permanently hot state of the blood, there are also altered states of the blood (temporary hot states of the blood), which may also cause serious diseases. Such states are: menstruation, pregnancy, delivery and post delivery period as well as sexual intercourse. The heat of a person, who is in an altered state, is contagious, infectious. If transmitted to infirm elder person, a patient or a little child, it causes the following symptoms: increased body temperature, tiredness, headache, diarrhoea and vomiting. These somatic changes are accompanied by emotional changes (Terčelj, 2000: 135).

Metaphorical uses in the sense blood is the temper of the mind, are often accompanied with bad, cold, warm, or other qualifying words. Thus, to commit an act in cold blood, is to do it deliberately, and without sudden passion; to do it in bad blood, is to do it in anger. Warm blood denotes a temper inflamed or irritated. To warm or heat the blood is to rouse the passions. Qualified by up, excited feeling or passion is signified; as, my blood was up (Blood: Hyperdictionary.com).

- *The whole - Part of the whole* (full blood, whole blood - half blood), a relationship where the whole is more harmonious, desirable and genuine than its part. Whole blood, consanguinity, kinship is a relationship by descent from a common ancestor through both father and mother, while half blood is a relationship through only one parent. In pure-breed animals the term half-blood means the descent with only one half of pure-breed. When the new element is added (new blood), it brings refreshment and new vitality to the whole (old blood). Insufficiency of blood and vital heat causes illness, such as weak heart.

Blood can be seen as the metaphor of the body being infiltrated by badness and by the Devil. Releasing the danger was through the practice of bloodletting. Many records and images of doctors performing "letting" exist in global folk-medicinal practices, some are also published for Slovenia. The bloodletting principles and practice are comparable.

The practice of bloodletting was done in order to restore the humoral balance. Humoral medicine was practiced from ancient and medieval times. The human body was thought to contain a mix of the four humours (fluids): black bile (melancholy),

yellow or red bile, blood and phlegm. An imbalance of the humours resulted in disease. Humoral treatments were designed to restore the proper balance by bloodletting, emetics, enemas and other purges, and they were accompanied by diet and lifestyle changes. The reactions to bloodletting ranged from a feeling of dizziness to actual collapse and death (Mahon-Daly, 2012: 20–22, 25).

In Slovene folk medicine people discern between good blood and bad blood. The one, who has bad or impure blood, must clean it. People believed that human blood was rotting when someone had tuberculosis. Most diseases originated from bad blood which had to be destroyed as soon as possible. People used herbal food, vegetables and purgative agents from the pharmacy, such as salts, teas and pills to freshen and clean the blood (Möderndorfer, 1964: 48, 49). This belief is still the common practice today.

One of the methods of folk cure was also bloodletting, the surgical removal of some of a patient's blood for healing purposes, which has been carried out frequently, virtually in all diseases, and also to forestall them (Möderndorfer, 1964: 64). Bloodletting was practised with the aid of a plethora of equipment such as bloodletting lancets and bowls (Mahon-Daly, 2012: 25). Patient bled with leeches, or by inserting cups, horns, by opening the veins with iron, with inserting *banjke*, which were bloody and bloodless (*krvava banjka*, bloody *banjka*, they scratched the skin, put the horn or a glass on it and let the skin bleed; *nekrvava banjka*, bloodless *banjka*, they diluted the air with a burning candle and turned over a glass or a horn) (Möderndorfer, 1964: 64). Treatment with *banjka* was a form of a cupping therapy in which a local suction is created on the skin which mobilises blood flow in order to promote healing. Suction is created using heat (fire) or mechanical devices (hand or electrical pumps). There are two types of cupping: dry cupping and controlled bleeding or wet cupping. Due to a belief in cupping's benefits stemming from traditional uses as early as 3000 BC, it may be that cupping induces a placebo effect rather than any direct medical benefits (Cupping therapy, 2016).

Leech hunting was common. It declined when leeches were not used any more for the treatment of inflammatory diseases. Leeches have been administered on the arms and legs. When the parasites drank up enough blood, they fell off by themselves or were removed with salt or warm human urine (Möderndorfer, 1964: 64–65). Though the ethno-physiology of blood was indistinct at that time doctors were trusted it for much longer than the procedure deserved (Mahon-Daly, 2012: 25), it is recorded that in 1834 in Ljubljana and its surroundings the leeches were used to treat rheumatism, scarlet fever, dysentery, haemorrhoids, internal inflammations, scrofulosis, rickets, catarrh and asthma. In January, the bloodletting was not allowed, except in extreme cases, in February it was already permitted, also in April, August and September. In the time of typhus and smallpox bloodletting was not allowed. Since leeches do not exist in all parts of Slovenia's waters, bloodletting was more common than placing leeches. It was made by barber surgeons or medical doctors. With bloodletting people wanted to get rid of the bad blood and let good blood move around the body (Möderndorfer, 1964: 65, 66). Today the meaning of the idiom *puščati kri*, to let blood, follows new discoveries of medicine and it means to endanger somebody's health, to torture somebody, to make problems or to bring someone to ruin. The notion *slaba kri*, the bad blood, still exist in common parlance and it carries two meanings: it expresses weak health of anyone, and it describes a person, who has, or whose ancestors had, negative characteristics, especially in the moral sense.

IV. ABOUT “BLOODY” PLACE-NAMES IN SLOVENIA: DESCRIPTION, CLASSIFICATION AND EXPLANATION OF MATERIAL

Ethnic or national survival is written on the map with bloody place-names. When the soil is soaked with blood of patriotic defenders and endangering others, the collective memory creates new geographical names. They define geographical features or describe the site, but also record the evidence of historically important harsh events and real historical circumstances, remind us of heroic battles, neighbouring antagonisms, or, provide an insight into religious changes in the area. In a figurative sense they are written in blood on the map and in collective consciousness.

Experiences in the contact zones between nations and cultures or in the borderlands (literally and metaphorically) are sites of transition and displacement where dominant assumptions are unsettled and new hybrid forms of power and identity emerge. Borders are sites of exclusion where national boundaries are articulated, examined and policed. Decisions about inclusion or exclusion at the borders are important statements about conceptions of the nation and its citizens (Sherry, 2008: 654).

The limitation of the evidence dictates the scope of my examination. However, the traces of bloody historical events, such as foreign invaders, or blood court still exist in Slovene toponymics.

The base *kri*, blood, *Blut*, *krvav*, *blutig* is proportionally rare in toponymics. In the Slovene language, there are toponyms *Krvavec* (*Banjščica*) and *Krvava Peč*, many more are oronyms (*Krvavec*, *Krvavica*, *Krvavka*, *Krvavi Kamen* and field names *Krvavec*, *Krvavica*, *Krvavi Graben*, *Krvave Peči*; *Krvave Jame*. There are hydronyms *Krvavica*, the right tributary of the river *Ojstrica-Bolska*; *Krvica*, the spring at *Cerovo*, the tributary of *Radulja*; *Krvavice*, the brook at *Ig*; *Krvavec*, the brook at *Rob* at *Kočevje*. Probably these names refer to the colour of the stones. In western and northern Slavs, these names are very uncommon (Bezljaj, 1956: 315).

On the Slovene Karst in the south-west there are some bloody geographical names that relate to medieval legal matters. The most often bloody names, likely related to criminal offenses, are *Krvica* [singular] and *Krvice* [plural], which appears eight times in the Karst municipalities of Komen and Sežana (Titl, 2006). The name *Krvičnik* is also pertained to legal matters and it appears only once (Titl, 2006: 141). The explanation of the names *Krvičnik* and *Krvica* or *Krvice* is not known and is not mentioned in any of the dictionaries, not even in etymological nor historical. Since the author links it to legal matters, we can connect it to the medieval Blood Court. *Krvica* or *Krvice* could be related to the word *krivica*, injustice, the word *Krvičnik* could be *krvnik*, executioner or hangman.

Blood Court is the feudal criminal law related to the right to a death sentence for conviction. In Slovenia, 15 places⁸ are identified after the medieval gallows, *vislice* (Krajevni, 1937), and, until today 12 pillories are preserved *in situ*.

In late medieval times the Blood Court (*Blutgericht*) came along as one phase of the judicial proceedings. It was a process in which it was decided about life and death of severe criminals. Blood Court was characterised as especially brutal treatment of suspects, which often led to confessions of criminal offences. Confessions were often forced as a result of inhumane conditions and pain during torture. Cruel methods and

8 Braslovče, Debro, Golovec, Gomilsko, Kamnik, Križ, Prebold, Šentjur, Šmarno pri Slovenj Gradcu, Tačar, Vič at Dragograd, Vojnik, Žalec, Vislice – Bizeljsko, Visliški hrib.

penalties were not mitigated until 1507 when Bamberg code was adopted. Complete mitigation of methods and penalties was introduced in 1532. An important grant was given to the citizens of Ljubljana in 1514. It was called *Malefični privilegij*⁹ and it allowed the citizens to exercise Blood Court in cases of severe criminal offences and simultaneously gave them the status of the privileged Regional Court (Poštenjak, 2014: 38).

In addition to the naming of geographical names by the colour of earth or rock, and medieval Blood Court, there is a naming, which is based on bloody historical events and legends about them.¹⁰ These geographical names define histories of groups and nation, and their fear of bloodthirsty¹¹ aliens, such as Turks or French. The stories about the origin of place-names became part of the nation's cultural heritage. They are more and more used in today's xenophobic actions, especially when we talk about refugees and migrants from war zones.

Depending on the typology, Slovene "bloody" place-names can be separated into:

- Names of settlements,
- Choronyms, such as:
 - The proper names of relief features, hills and mountains (oronyms),
 - The proper names of water features (hydronyms),
 - The names of rocks or short horizontal caves under overhanging walls,
 - The names of memorial heritage objects, and
 - The other place-names.

Some place-names belong to more than one type.

a) Names of settlements and stories regarding the origin of the name

Krvava Peč (Bloody Rock), Municipality of Velike Lašče

Short description:

a) The name *Krvava Peč* literally means bloody rock. The name of the settlement was originally *Rožna vas* (Flower Village). The current name is said to be based on an incident during an Ottoman attack in which the attackers threw two girls over a nearby cliff to their deaths in the Iška Gorge. In the past the German name was *Blutigenstein* (literally, bloody stone) (Leksikon, 1906: 44; Jerko, Canonni, Seznam, Kranjska). b) Janez Vajkard Valvasor [ger. Johann Weichard Valvasor] (1641–1693) reports in his most important encyclopedic work on his homeland *Die Ehre dess Herzogthums Crain*¹² [The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola], 1689, that *Blutiger Steinberg, Krva-*

9 Original title *Deren von Laibach Malefitzfreyhaittn*.

10 There is no one complete data set where the information about geographical names with adjective *krvav*, bloody, could be taken from. Therefore, I combined several sources: *Veliki atlas Slovenije*. Ljubljana, 2012; *Krajevni leksikon dravske banovine*, 1937; different encyclopaedic and other reference works; Code table of Settlements, and, Code of Table Streets, Register of Geographical Names, Republic of Slovenia, Ministry of the Environment and Spatial Planning, The Surveying and Mapping Authority of Republic of Slovenia, http://e-prostor.gov.si/fileadmin/BREZPLACNI_POD/RPE/NA_S.txt; http://e-prostor.gov.si/fileadmin/BREZPLACNI_POD/RPE/UL_S.txt (Free Access Database); Register of Tangible, Built Environment Cultural Heritage. Republic of Slovenia, Ministry of Culture, <http://giskd6s.situla.org/giskd/> (search by name and place *krvav*); fragmentary mentions on websites, search *krvav*.

11 The adjective *križejen*, bloodthirsty, was recorded the first time in the 16th century, in 1575 and 1578 in the dictionary of protestant writers. The nouns *kri* and *kry*, blood, were recorded in 1550, and, *kriy* in 1566 (Besedje, 2014). Today we use the expressive adjective *krvoželjen* instead of the archaic word *križejen*.

12 Full title: *Die Ehre Deß Hertzogthums Crain, Das ist, Wahre, gründliche, und recht eigendliche Gelegen- und Beschaffenheit dieses, in manchen alten und neuen Geschicht-Büchern zwar rühmlich berührten, doch bishero nie annoch recht beschriebenen Römisch-Keyserlichen herrlichen Erblandes: Anjetzo, Ver-*

va Peč (pronounced *Keruauapetsch*), is situated one mile from the *Turjak* [Castle] and rises in the middle of a large wilderness with beech-supported head up high. The name Bloody Rock is the result of its large red rocks. When Count Auersperg in autumn embarks on a hunt for game, usually with all his company and the neighbourhood, which he invited to hunt, he is staying here at the rich mayor (Valvasor, Volume II, 2009–2013: 221).

Krvavčji Vrh (Bloody Peak), also, *Krvoški vrh*; in the past, *Kerwawach werch*, 1593, *Kcherüaiieschdorf*, 1610, probably derived from Croatian surname *Krvavac* (Snoj, 2009: 219); in the time of the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Monarchy *Blutsberg* or *Plutsberg* (Jerko, Canonni, Seznam, Kranjska); Municipality of Semič.

Short description:

The village was attacked by the Turks in the first half of the 16th century. It was destroyed and burned with Metlika town and surrounding hamlets. The villagers defended from behind the walls of the village church, but the Turks defeated and killed them. The sinkhole was full of blood, which gave the village its name. Initially it was called *Krvavi Vrh*, but afterwards it was renamed to *Krvavčji Vrh* (Krvavčji, 2012; Krajevni, 1937).

Krvavi Potok (Bloody Brook), in the past, in the time of the Austrian and Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, *Chervari*, *Rivorosso*, *Blutsbach*, *Kervavipotok* (Jerko, Canonni, La lista); Municipality of Hrpelje – Kozina

Short description:

a) The name is motivated by the colour of the rocks (Snoj, 2009: 219). b) During the French occupation in the early 19th century the place was full of bandits, who attacked, robbed and killed passers-by. Consequently, the Marshal Marmont in March 1810 introduced a special law that would solve the problem of violence in this area. The law declared that all municipalities on the road between Trieste and Rijeka are themselves responsible for safety on this route. Residents are responsible for, and must indemnify every passer-by who was assaulted. While searching for the killer in the municipality of murder double the number of inhabitants as murders will be captured. They will be taken away as hostages to the castle in Trieste until the killer is found. The death sentenced will be left for an indefinite time at the entrance of the city and the citizens are responsible to preserve corpses for at least six months. This was followed by a wild repression and many of the inhabitants of the zone who were convicted of theft of the horses of the French army, were condemned and murdered in a nearby brook, which got its current name¹³.

Ambrož pod Krvavcem (Ambrož under Bloody Mountains), Municipality of Cerkljena Gorenjskem)

b) Choronyms related to blood are further divided into proper names of relief features, hills and mountains (oronyms)

Krvavec (Bloody Mountains), mountain in Kamnik-Savinja Alps, 1853 m, Municipality of Cerklje na Gorenjskem

Short description:

mittelst einer vollkommenen und ausführlichen Erzählung aller seiner Landschaften, Felder ... alter und neuer Denckwürdigkeiten ... In Funffzehnen, wiewol in vier Haupt-Theile unterschiedenen, Büchern, wie auch häufigen Abrissen und zierlichen Kupffer-Figuren, ausgebreitet / von Johann Weichard Valvasor, Freyherrn. Aber In reines Teutsch gebracht von Erasmum Francisci. Laybach, Anno MDCLXXXIX.

13 The description was found on the internet, but it did not mention the original source. <http://istramtb.net/index.php?topic=1948.0>



The pagan girls cry bitterly after the *pesjani* killed their father and dismantled his castle that a bloody stream of tears came to the valley (Pleterski, Štular 2010).

a) In Slovene language *krvavec* is an archaic and rare name for an executioner. b) According to oral tradition the origin of the name arose at the time of the Turkish invasions. The story says that locals lured the Turks in very bad foggy weather into the steep cliffs of *Kokrški greben* (Kokrški Ridge). This was fatal for the Turks, the blood flowed in streams, and today's name of the mountain is reminiscent of the then large amounts of spilled blood.¹⁴ c) The second story, which is more prevalent in the valley, tells of The Pagan Girls (*Ajdovske deklice*), two beautiful giant sisters who were chased by the *pesjani*¹⁵ (the dog-heads; wicked, violent men who have hounds' heads and their eyes turned toward the ground; heretic scoundrels, rascals), and hid from them high in the mountains. The *pesjani* killed their father and dismantled his castle in *Komenda Boršt*. The girls cried so bitterly that a bloody stream of tears came to the valley. Hence, the *Krvavec* (Bloody Mountains) got its name.¹⁶

According to some versions of the same story, the giants were destroyed by the *pasjeglavci* (the dog-heads or cynocephalus).

These also destroyed the castle of a giant under the Cerklje Mountains, in the valley *Pri Ajdovskih deklicah* (By the Pagan Girls). They killed the giant while his two daughters sought shelter in *Krvavec*, which got its name, because the stream of their bloody tears ran all over it.¹⁷ d) The name of the mountain derives from *krváv* (bloody), the adjective from *krí* (blood), because of the red colour of the mountain in the sunset (Snoj, 2009: 219).

14 High steep cliffs have been the scene of dramatic descriptions of how the girl sprang from her pursuers into the depths, or she was overthrown there by the Turks (Šmitek, 2007: 6).

15 Other names for *pesjani* are *pasjeglavci* and *psoglavci*, the dog-heads, who were mythological creatures, not baptized people with dog heads (Lah, Inkret, 2002: 318).

16 Mountains were once inhabited by ancient inhabitants – the giants *Ajdi*. These were the first rulers of the land. Since they were very strong, but not equally bright, they are ascribed to the corps of old build-ings, especially if they are constructed with heavy stone blocks (Šmitek, 2007, 6).

17 This folktale was recorded by Andrej Mejač and published in the journal *Ljubljanski zvon* in 1890 (Mejač, 1890: 354–356, in: Kropej, 2012: 132). In Slovene language we have two phrases that resemble (to me) this legend. The phrase *krvave solze*, bloody tears, are tears of great suffering (Czech, *kravé slzy plakat*; Italian, *lacrime di sangue*; German, *blutige Tränen weinen*; Russian *plakat' krovavymi slezami*) (Keber, 2011: 883). The phrase *teta s Krvavca*, the aunt from the *Krvavec* Mountain is euphemistically disguised description for menstruation. It is based on impersonation of occurrence with typical female kin description *teta*, the aunt, and attributive metaphor 'from *Krvavec*', which designates the essence of this phenomenon among women, ie. bleeding (Keber, 2011: 433).

*Krvavka*¹⁸ (Bloody Peak), eastern tip of Golica Mountain in Karawanks, 1784 m, Municipality of Jesenice)

c) Proper names of water features (hydronyms)

Krvava luža (Bloody Puddle) at a hunting lodge in Studenec, Municipality of Sevnica, 403 m

Short description:

Krvava luža is located next to a hunting lodge *Studenec* (The Spring). The land in the area is reddish, and the narration about the colour says the Turks washed the bloody swords in it after the fight with the locals. Place names around the well also originate from the period of Turkish invasions: *Rovišče*, *Zavratec*, *Straža*. Near the hunting lodge, at the top of the *Studenec* hill, there is a smaller pond that never dries up. The description of the place originates from Turkish times when there were battles with the Turks and a lot of blood was shed. People believed it caused the redness of the soil. In fact, it is a natural Karst phenomenon. Because of the typical red karst soil, the water is reddish.¹⁹

Krvava lokev (Bloody Pool), at Kalškgora Mountain, Kamnik-Savinja Alps, 1713 m

Short description:

Natural phenomenon, interesting mainly because, a few meters higher of the source, and a few meters below the water runs out of the lake and disappears.

d) Names of rocks or short horizontal caves under overhanging wall²⁰

Krvavi kamen (Bloody Stone), Gorjanci Hills, Zasavsko – Posavje Hills, 928 m, Municipality of Novomesto

Short description:

The name derives from the red colour of the stones²¹ (Snoj, 2009: 219).

Folk tradition knows four stories about the origin of the name *Krvavi Kamen*: a) One of the legends says that the stone marks the spot where in determining the boundaries, an innocent boy and a girl were buried alive. Their grave was marked by a stone, which was named Bloody Stone. b) According to another legend from the *Cerov Log* in determining the boundaries between the historical region Carniola and Žumberk they cut off a finger of a girl, a fairy, in order not to forget the border demarcation. Her blood turned the colour of stone into red for centuries. c) The third legend says that there was a treasure by the stone, buried by a thief and blazed with great flames on Midsummer Eve. He confided the mystery to a fellow prisoner on a deathbed in prison at the Ljubljana Castle. After the sentence the fellow went to Gorjanci Hills and dug up the treasure which brought him bad luck. d) Writer Janez Trdina [1830–1905] wrote that there was a wild quarrel between inhabitants of the historic region Carniola and Croats, which turned into a massacre, because they could not agree on the course of the border. This is shown by the inscription on the stone, namely, the year 1687 (*Krvavi kamen*,

¹⁸ *Krvavka*, *die Blutbirne* in German language, is a peach, red around the stone (Pleteršnik, 2014).

¹⁹ If the literature and sources are not listed below the description of the legends, they are taken from the websites of municipalities and descriptions of hiking trails.

²⁰ *Spodmol* in Slovene language has two meanings: 1. Space under the overhanging wall of rocks; 2. Short horizontal cave under overhanging wall (Slovar, 2014).

²¹ In geography we distinguish a few cases of stones: a milestone and roadside kilometre stone, a molar, the rocky foundation on which they built churches and castles, a lonely rock and a large block of stone in the middle of smaller stones. The expressive terrain forms have always interested people, so they gave them different names: *Debeli kamen*, *Gladki kamen*, *Opolzki kamen*, *Obli kamen*, *Votli kamen*, *Ajdovski kamen*, *Beli kamen*, *Ribiški kamen*, *Orlov kamen*, *Petelinji kamen*, *Jelenji kamen*, *Krvavi kamen*, *Rdeči kamen*, *Slani kamen*, and so on (Badjura, 1953: 139).

2014). e) There are two prevailing variants of the legend. The first one states that *Krvavi kamen* is named after the former confrontation between the Uskoks²² and Slovenes (Krajevni, 1937: 202), and, that it supposedly marked the border between Slovenia and Croatia, because they fought and their blood covered the stone, hence its name, the Bloody stone (Grafenauer 1957a: 44–49). The second one the transformation of the building offering into a murder (Grafenauer 1957a: 49) or a suicide of a women in tragic love story (Trdina 1912). Bloody Stone in legends is both, a milestone and a tombstone (Grafenauer, 1957a; Grafenauer, 1957b).

Krvava peč (Bloody Rock), Kamnik-Savinja Alps, 1160 m

Short description:

The large rock formation on the southwestern part of *Velika planina* Mountain. It was named after the collapse of rocks – hence the red spot, which no longer exists to-day.

Krvava peč (Bloody Rock), short horizontal cave under overhanging wall at *Krva-vec* farm, Municipality of Prevalje

Short description:

Krvava peč is geo-morphological natural monument, 15 m long and 8 m deep, with up to 2 cm long stalactites. There is a small waterfall under the *spodmol*.

e) Names of memorial heritage objects

The Partisan Hospital *Krvavice* in Iški Vintgar, Municipality of Ig.

Short description:

The Partisan Hospital *Krvavice* consists of the group of wooden barracks, where wounded partisans were treated during World War Two (1942–1943). Three barracks (kitchen, sick rooms) were renewed in 1952. Partisan Hospital operated in the barracks at the base of the cliffs on the steep wooded slopes above the Iška Gorge (Register of Tangible, Built Environment Cultural Heritage).

f) Other place-names

Krvave jame (Bloody Pits), the southern foot of the Sleme hill, Municipality of Logatec

Short description:

The name *Krvave jame* reminds us that people from *Logatec* and *Rovte* defeated the Turks in 15th century. *Krvave jame* is the place of fights against the Turks in 1480. Local name *Turški klaneci*, The Turkish slopes, reminiscent of the failed Turkish attack in 1491 (Krajevni, 1937: 710).

Turkish scare and other explanations

Turkish scare did not emanate from collective hysteria, but had very realistic grounds. The Turks first entered Europe in 1356. The first Turkish incursions into Slovene territories were followed by regular assaults for years to come. According to the calculations made by the Carniolian, Styrian and Carinthian provincial assembly, the Turks exiled no less than 200,000 people during the first hundred years of their incursion. This caused severe economic and population crises. The most devastating Turkish incursions

22 The Uskoks, literally, the ones, that jumped in; an ethnic group, also known as *Morlaci* (The Morlachs), *Vlahi* (The Vlachs), *krajišniki* (named by *Vojna Krajina*, The Military Frontier). They were irregular soldiers in Croatia during the Ottoman wars, fighting against the Muslims. In Slovenia we find their traces in Kostel, Gorjanci, Bela Krajina, in Prekmurje, the bordering regions with Croatia.

into Carniola, Styria and Carinthia took place in 1473, 1476, 1478, 1480, and 1483 (Luthar, 2008: 180–181).

Until 1736, the ‘bloodthirsty’ Turks raided into Slovene lands at longer or shorter intervals. During these raids, they destroyed many villages and took droves of captives, mostly young men and women, to slave markets. In Carniola alone the Turks took away for sure more than a 100,000 of our people and they killed that many. Raiding parties created a state of constant insecurity along the frontier; the peasants in particular lived in terror as villages were frequently looted and burned, the inhabitants killed or carried off into slavery (Jezernik, 2010: 9).

It is not surprising that the known sources of geographical names, which contain the adjective *krvav*, bloody, stem mostly from the cultural memory of the former national enemies. They refer to the epic battles of the locals with foreign conquerors (Turkish invasions in the 15th and 16th centuries, the French army in the 19th century), and to the events on the border between the military province named Military Frontier (*Vojna krajina*; 1553–1881), and the Habsburg Monarchy, later Austrian Empire and Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Military Frontier had the function of a barrier, implemented to stop Turkish invasions which shifted towards the north-west.

One can also find eight place-names starting with noun and adjective *Turk*, *turkov*, and over forty place-names named by a special defensive architecture against Turkish incursions, *Tabor* (Veliki atlas: 2012). The anti-Turkish *tabor* was typical only for that time and built by peasants to secure their lives and property. Up to the end of the 15th century in Slovenia, a network of 350–400 peasant *tabor*s were founded in all kinds of shapes, from simple fortified underground caves, to simple or complex walls with towers and rising bridges. In fact, the system was the only truly effective form of defence against the frequent plundering and incursions of the Turkish army (Sapač, 2009: 169–170).

All these events upset people’s blood. The stories of violent killings and bloodshed in defence of a country describe the real historical circumstances, enriched with fears, imagination and prejudices towards the foreign invaders. Memory of suffering caused anger and pain and made people’s blood creep. The stories on horrific blood spill stopped the blood in the veins of the future generations when listening.

The stereotype Turk, sensual and cruel, who was want only shedding the blood of Christians, destroying their settlements, taking over their wealth, carrying them into slavery and polluting the holy places, was really a product of the pamphlet literature of the 16th century, when the emperors required greater power for themselves against the local estates and demanded higher taxes for the crusade against the infidels by vivid presentations of the atrocities committed by the enemy (Jezernik, 2010: 10). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, the image of the Turk as a savage enemy of Christian people was supported by the literature and the mass media, creating a false impression that this mythological figure was a real historical personage (Jezernik, 2010: 12). The Turkish stories became prominent and one of the most persistent genres became the Slovene historical novel. Turkish stories consist of around 40 narratives of substantial length. The Turks are a significant part of the repertoire in Slovene literature, mostly in popular prose and folk songs. The Turkish stories were written mostly in the 60s and 70s of the 19th century and in the first four decades of the 20th century (Hladnik, 2010). The name *Turek* was also presented in the older Slovene folk narrative songs, but there was no true echo to the Turkish attacks or to the defence against them. The memory of the Turkish raiders has been upheld in some narrative songs,

but they could be also older by the origin (e.g. military farewell song) (Kumer, 1992: 16–17). Nevertheless the negative imagery of bloodthirsty Turks became part of Slovene oral and written tradition, topographic names and collective memory.

For example, in South Slavic and Slovene folklore the cynocephalus (the dog-head) is often equal to the Turk and the Hun. Equalisation of the Other with the beastly is the utmost form of representation of the Other. It provides emotional distancing from the Other, therefore its destruction is not perceived as morally wrong (Mlakar, 2014: 231). In remote places and provinces foreigners could not be trusted, so in Slovene folk tradition Turks, Arabs, Niggers, Saracens, Moors and Gypsies were notorious. At the far boundary of the inhabited world lived half human and half-animal monsters. Such beings, *psoglavci*, *pasjeglavci*, *pesjani*, represented a constant threat to the human environment. In folk beliefs the image of bloodthirsty warriors with dog heads was associated with Turkish or some other violent incursions (Šmitek, 2007: 9).

And last, the tradition of the great supernatural beings and their daughters, the kind-hearted Pagan Girls (*Ajdovske deklice*), which were at the time of Christianisation code for the pagans, is also the creator of geographical names.

An important point in explanation of tales, upon which the places got their names, is the theory of the chromatic symbolism found in fairy tales. It is not peculiar to this genre – nor, indeed, to Western cultures. The basic chromatic trio (white, red, black) presents constant semantic values across genres and cultures, but such constant values allow for culture-specific variations and elaborations. White and red stand for life – for they represent life-giving elements, such as milk and semen on the one hand, and blood and its attendant power on the other – whereas black symbolizes darkness and death (Vaz da Silva, 2007: 250). Wonder tales depict blood flows in two basic guises. First, there is the theme of human incorporation through cannibalism, which mostly depicts the blood of women circulating down the generations. Indeed, wonder-tale heroines regularly incorporate, or otherwise inherit, the life juice of their elders. This pattern suggests that women bear the essence of life, manifest in blood, which (being of limited supply) must quit old women to invest younger ones. Second, blood spills out in life crises, in sex-specific ways. Women present lifeblood on menarche, defloration (or deflowering, the first time they had sex), and giving birth; men relate to spilled blood in wars and hunts. In both cases, liminal periods show as enchantment, which is usually a blood condition (Vaz da Silva, 2008: 127).

In the light of this theory it is not surprising that the second source of geographical names comes from the reddish colour of the terrain (rocks, soil or water) due to geology with much iron ore. There is also a combination of both, oral traditions, and physical-geographical features.

Unable to explain natural phenomena people invented the devil's stories about the red spots. Janez Vajkard Valvasor (1641–1693) in his *Die Ehre dess Hertzogthums Crain* (*The Glory of the Duchy of Carniola*, 1689) resists such superstitions, saying that people should think the water turns red because of the red clay soil (Stanonik, 2012: 22).

In Slovenia, there are seven place-names containing the adjective *rdeč*, red, but I could not find the evidence if their origin is associated with historic battles, legends or heroic blood spill. They are mentioned as places with special geological features, such as the red slates²³, or, red clay²⁴.

23 *Rdeči breg*, Red Hill, Municipality of Lovrencon Pohorje.

24 *Rdeči Kal*, Red Pool, Municipality of Trebnje.

In addition, there are two mountaineering routes, named *Krvava smer* (Bloody Direction, the southern wall of *Mala gora* Mountain on Čaven, 1032 m, Littoral Region) and *Krvava svatba* (Bloody Marriage, the south-west wall of *Kovk* Mountain, 962 m, Littoral Region). We also use the cosmonym *krvava luna* (Bloody Moon) or *krvava superluna* (Bloody Super Moon). It indicates a change in colour of the celestial body at the lunar eclipse, when it gains the red-brown or brownish touch, which raises specific apocalyptic emotions.

There are also five streets or roads in Slovenia which got their names after the settlements with the adjective *krvav*, bloody in their name.²⁵ In the Phone Book of Slovenia there are also two surnames²⁶, however their origin is not researched yet.

The number of proper geographical names in Slovenia containing the adjective *krvav*, bloody, is comparable to the number in the Republic of Croatia, where there are nineteen similar names.²⁷ In both instances, the proper geographical names are related to the settlements, parts of the mountains, hills, peaks, land, fields, meadows, rocks, cliffs, pits, springs, brooks, pools, ponds and short horizontal caves under overhanging walls.

V. CONCLUSION: NEW BLOOD RHETORIC

The blood in everyday language is gaining new extensions. The phrase blood is thicker than water and the fear of the foreign blood is treading into the forefront of xenophobic political activities in Europe. Recently, appealing to the blood of ancestors and heroic bloody battles with the Turks became distinctive again with millions of migrants and refugees, fleeing from war countries, countries with the ongoing violence or countries with poverty in the Near East, Africa and Southern Europe. They crossed into Europe and they were heading North in hope of finding better and safer lives. While the rhetoric of blood was revived in anti-refugee and anti-migrant psychosis, in Slovenia, too, it caused the revival of the historic notions of Turkish incursions, besiegers, blood spills and brave descendants, who defeat the Turks – all with the intention of calling to arms and to express superiority towards newcomers. The public discourse also revealed the common comprehension of pure blood versus new blood, patriotic Slovenes and barbaric, dangerous others. In this socio-historical context it is not redundant to think again how the notions of blood either as medicinal substance or a metaphor for life are incorporated in our everyday imagery.

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25 *Krvavška cesta*, Ambrož pod Krvavcem, Municipality of Cerkljena Gorenjskem; *Krvavčji Vrh*, Municipality of Semič; *Krvava Peč*, Municipality of Velike Lašče; *Krvavška ulica*, Municipality of Vodice; *Krvavi Potok*, Municipality of Hrpelje-Kozina.

26 *Krvavica* and *Krvišek*.

27 According to Croatian Gazetteer of Geographical names, <http://cgn.dgu.hr/index.php> (Free Access Database).

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