



Ironin
ma
ohlet



Slovenski etnografski muzej

Ljubljanska turistična zveza

Ljubljana

Kmečko dekle, kmečki fant
nos'ta zdaj gosposki gvant...
nos'jo gvante nove šege
prave vragove telege,
nove cajge si kupuje
stare janke predeluje
Kakor nosi se gospod
tūd'gre hlapec na svoj pot
nosi ramice visoke,
tiste turnaste klobuke,
nos'jo kape šiltaste
tiste šeme paverske.

SLOVENSKI
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O KMEČKI OHCETI

Ženitovanje je pri Slovencih vedno predstavljalo izjemno pomemben in hkrati tudi posebno barvit dogodek. Še več, to je bilo dogajanje, ki je vsebovalo več dejanj, ki so se po vrsti in ustaljenem redu vrstile po več dni.

Janez Vajkard Valvasor, ki je konec 17. stoletja izdal obsežno delo *Slava Vojvodine Kranjske*, nam je v njem gostobesedno opisal tudi ženitovanjske šege. To nam dokazuje, da so bile v življenju prebivalcev Slovenije kar precej pomembne, če so pritegnile radovednost tako izkušenega zgodovinarja, kot je bil Valvasor.

Precej natančno je opisal dogajanja pri ženitovanjih v različnih slovenskih pokrajinah. Tako imamo opise vabljenja na poroko, opise noše in okraskov, ki so si jih narejali za to priložnost, opise ženitovanjskih pogač in kolačev, in tudi opis, kako so pravo nevesto najprej zamenjavali za nepravo in kako je to potekalo. Podobne šege opisuje za Gorenjsko in Dolenjsko, prav tako različne igre in šale, ki so jih na ženitovanjski pojedini vodili in razdirali starešine in drugovi. Za Uskoke nam je pisec sporočil, da je bila pri njih navada, da so nevesto ugrabljali, vendar ne vedno, v navadi so bile tudi običajne poroke. Kočevci so imeli nekaj prav posebnih navad, ki naj bi prinesle srečo novoporočencem, ali pa jih vsaj obvarovale pred vsem hudim. Tako sta si novoporočenca, preden sta kot poročena prvič legla v posteljo, razvezala čevlje. Pri tem je bilo zelo pomembno, kdo je bil hitrejši: hitrejša žena je pomenilo prvega otroka deklico, hitrejši mož pa dečka. Že Valvasor domneva, da so v tem primeru številni hoteli sami pomagati usodi.

Za Belokranjce je bilo zelo pomembno, da je ženitovanjski sprevod vodil zastavnik ali zastavonoša, mladoporočenca pa sta si na vse mogoče načine že takrat, ko sta se prvič spravljala v posteljo, poskušala pomagati k veselejši in boljši prihodnosti. In tukaj je rekel Valvasor modro: Take in še podobne norčije bi ti dobri ljudje pri vstopu v sv. zakonski stan pač lahko

opustili, toda preprosti človek si rajši da izdreti zobe ko (da bi opustil) staro navado.¹

Ko je opisoval Vipavce, je povedal, da je moral ženin iz druge vasi pošteno plačati za nevesto domačim fantom, oziroma plačati prehod različnih vasi, skozi katere je peljala pot do neveste. Pri ženitovanjski večerji so zbirali denar za nevesto, ko so svatje v zareze ženitovanjskega kolača polagali denar, nekateri groše in solde, našel pa se je tudi kak cekin. Tako imamo podatek, da je nevesta s takšnim darovanjem dobila tudi nad 60 goldinarjev. (17. stol.!) Pri Vipavcih in Kraševcih Valvasorju ni ušlo moraliziranje, ki ga je takole zaključil: V nekaterih krajih na Pivki, zlasti pri Knežaku in Trnovem, je pri ženitovanjskih običajih poleg zgornjega še nekaj posebnosti... Tu ne gledajo ne na lepoto ne na rod niti čednost, temveč le na nevestino premoženje. Tista, ki nima denarja, tukaj v teh krajih obsedi in težko dobi moža... Denar in premoženje je njen okras. ~~Denar~~ jo spremenil iz zamorke v angelčka, pri katerem človek upa, da bo užival nebeško življenje.²

V Valvasorjevih časih so se svatje in mladoporočenca k poroki odpravili na konjih, včasih je še nevesta jahala po moško, večkrat pa tudi na vozovih. Vendar pa pravil zgodovinar, da je bilo tudi peš sprevod lepo videti.

To so torej podatki, ki nam govore o ženitovanjskih šegah pri Slovencih ob koncu 17. stoletja. Ker se Valvasor glede tega ni opiral na kakšne starejše vire, in je opisoval tako rekoč sedanjost, tudi ne zasledimo kakšnega posebnega obžalovanja, češ da so se šege preveč spremenile, da se hitro spreminjajo, ali da jih celo ni več.

V tem pogledu se nam popolnoma drugače predstavijo poročevalci iz 19. stoletja, ki v večjem številu in zelo natančno spet opisujejo posebno ženitovanjske šege; pa se marsikateremu pritakne žalostno razmišljanje o izgubljenih navadah in običajih. Vendar pa se še prav posebej ustavljajo ob hudi revščini, in dopisnik iz Slovenskega Štajerskega se je pritoževal, da "stare šege naših prednikov pri snubljenju in svatbah so sejale v mnogih krajih vnmear puščati. Včasih pa ovira tudi siromaštvo ženina in nevesto, da se opravi vse bolj po tihem. Vendar tu pa tam so se še ohranile stare navade."³

Ljubljanska kmečka ohcet, ki se v današnji obliki odvija po različnih slovenskih krajih, vključuje pač različne elemente stare ohceti, med njimi tudi take, ki so se ohranili še iz Valvasorjevih časov, ali pa so se razvili šele kasneje.

Že leta 1843 je izpolnjevalec anketnega lista v tim. Göthovi seriji napisal, da so bile ženitovanjske šege v Kapli pri Arvežu "sestavljene iz posebnih prizorov in različne vrste zabav."⁴

Potemtakem sta se poroka in svatovanje odvijala po točno določenih pravilih, ki jih tudi zdaj upošteva turistični scenarij.

Bogato šranganje, ki ga Valvasor sicer omenja, se je še mnogo bolj razvilo v kasnejših stoletjih. Pri tem so sodelovali predvsem člani vaških fantovskih druščin, neformalnih skupin neporočenih domačih fantov. Njihova vloga je bila zlasti pomembna tudi pri vasovanjih pred poroko, ki pa jih scenarij ljubljanske kmečke ohceti seveda ne more upoštevati, saj bi se sicer prireditev preveč raztegnila.⁵

Težko bi dejali, da je ljubljanska kmečka ohcet obudila ali da celo ohranja stare šege. Te šege so na podeželju več ali manj še žive, in se jih ljudje zelo dobro ne samo spominjajo, ampak tudi zavedajo. Za pristno kmečko ohcet velja zdaj tista poroka, kjer šrangajo in imajo ohcet na ženinovem in nevestinem domu. Vendar pa se po domače "poročijo" tudi v gostilni ali zadrudnem domu. Zabave s plesom, prodaja čevlja ali kravate, licitacije za

nevestin šopek, nabiranje denarja na različne načine; vse to je še prav tako v navadi in tako rekoč obvezno pri svatih, ki kaj dajo nase.

Zneski za odkup neveste pri šranganju (kar ima zelo različna imena po raznih slovenskih pokrajinah) dosegajo prav visoke številke. Vendar pa se zdi, da se ljudje zdaj že lažje izognejo tej obvezi. Lažje in brez strahu, da bi jih imeli za skopuške, se šranganju izognejo in pobegnejo po drugi poti. Ali pa se javno prepirajo po časopisih, kot se je zgodilo pred nekaj leti, ko se je ženin v ljubljanskem Dnevniku pritoževal nad poročenostjo šrangarjev, svojih (bivših?) prijateljev.

Vožnja nevestine bale je bila nekdanj, še pred drugo svetovno vojsko, zelo pomembno dejanje. Dokazovalo je predvsem nevestin status v vaški skupnosti, vendar pa moremo predvidevati, da so bile bogate neveste vendarle v manjšini. Bogata bala je vsebovala skrinjo, omaro, posteljo, zibko, navadne in mrtvaške rjuhe, odeje in brisače, od orodja pa ploho za pranje perila, grablje in metlo, umivalnik, srp, motiko, košaro za žegen, nekaj posodja in še kaj podobnega. Ponekod so bili prepovedani prav ti isti predmeti, ki so jih drugje zahtevali. S prevažanjem bale je bilo vedno dosti dela, smeha in šal. Bogate neveste so potrebovale po več voz, revne pa so jo prinesle kar v jerbasu.

Ohcetna noša, kakršno nosita zdaj vsakoletna slovenska ženina in nevesta, je tlm. paradna gorenjska narodna noša, ki se ne razlikuje kaj dosti od tiste, v katero se oblečejo bolj navdušeni svatje. Vedno je bila to praznina noša, ki se je le po detajlih in okrasju razlikovala od noše za posebno določene dogodke.

Kot lahko sodimo po Valvasorjevem opisu, so se neveste in ženine skupaj s svati na veliko ovesili in okrasili z živopisnimi šopki umetnih rož in umetnimi biseri. "Tako išče ubožstvo zvijačo in njihova preproščina ravna pametneje kakor razum tistih, ki porabijo veliko denarja za dragulje."⁶

Ko se je leta 1965 Viktor Korošec s svojo nevesto poročil tako, da se je oblečen v gorenjsko narodno nošo z vozom in svati pripeljal pred ljubljanski magistrat, si gotovo ni predstavljal, da bo začetnik nečesa novega: nove prireditve, ki po svoji najboljši volji prilagaja stare šege novim zahtevam, jih premešča po času in kraju, in ustvarja predstavo, ki je občito sprejemljiva in dobrodošla za domače gledalce in predvsem zanimiva za tujce.

Tanja Tomažič

Opombe:

1. Mirko Rupel, Valvasorjevo berilo, Lj. 1969, str. 198
2. Mirko Rupel, Valvasorjevo berilo, Lj. 1969, str. 207
3. Kmetijske in rokodelske novice XIV., 1856
4. Niko Kuret, Slovensko štajersko pred marčno revolucijo 1848, Topografski podatki po odgovorih na vprašalnice nadvojvode Janeza (1811) in Georga Götha (1842), Lj., 1985
5. Helena Ložar-Podlogar, Šege in navade pred poroko v okolici Novega mesta, Traditiones 15, 1986
6. Mirko Rupel, Valvasorjevo berilo, Lj., 1969, str. 178

Country Weddings

Weddings have always been both exceptionally important and particularly colourful occasions for Slovenes. They consisted of number of events which traditionally followed a set pattern and took place over a number of days:

Janež Vajkard Valvasor, who published his extensive work "In praise of the Duchy of Carniola" at the end of the 17th century, gave a concise description of the marriage ceremony. That these ceremonies attracted the attention of such an experienced historian as Valvasor demonstrates that they were quite important in the lives of the people of Slovenia.

He gave fairly precise portrayals of events at weddings in different Slovene regions. So we have descriptions of invitations to the wedding, of the folk costumes and ornaments which were made specially for these occasions, descriptions of wedding cakes and fare as well as how, for example, the real bride was at first exchanged for a false one. He described similar ceremonies for Gorenjska and Dolenska, as well as different games and practical jokes which were played at wedding celebrations, with the best man and his companions taking a lead. The writer reported that among the Uskoki*, there was a habit of kidnapping the bride, though not always, they did also have ordinary weddings. The people of Kočevje had special customs which were supposed to bring fortune to the bridal couple or at least ward off evil. Before the newly weds went to bed as a married couple, for instance, they unlaced their shoes. It was very important who was the faster: a faster wife meant that the first child would be a girl and a faster husband meant, of course, a boy. Even Valvasor assumed that in this case most people just wanted to assist destiny.

It was above all very important in Bela krajina that the newly weds processed to bed on the wedding night led by a standard bearer so that they were assured a better and happier future. And here Valvasor said wisely: "Good people could omit these and similar foolishnesses when they were entering into holy matrimony but simple folk would rather have a tooth pulled than skip the old customs".

When Valvasor described the Vipava people, he wrote that a bridegroom from a different village had to pay a lot for the bride to the young men of her village or he had to pay for passage through the different villages through which the route passed to the bride. They collected money for the bride at the wedding supper, when the wedding guests put money of different, usually small, denominations, into incisions in the wedding cake. So we have data that a bride collected as much as 60 goldinars through such donations, and that in the 17th century! Valvasor couldn't resist the opportunity to moralise about the people of Vipava and the karst which he concluded with: "In some places at Pivka, especially at Knežak and Trnovo, the wedding customs include more particularities not described above. Here, they don't look to beauty or pedigree, nor decency, but only to the bride's wealth. Those without money in these regions remain single and can hardly get a husband... Money and wealth are her ornament. Money changes her from a negress to an angel with whom a man hopes to enjoy a heavenly life."

In Valvasor's time, wedding guests and the bridal pair set out for the wedding on horseback. The bride sometimes mounted the horse as a man

and sometimes rode in a carriage. But as the historian says, the procession was finest when they walked.

These data tell us about the wedding customs of Slovenes at the end of the seventeenth century. Since Valvasor didn't use older sources, he described contemporary practices, so there are no expressions of regret here that customs had changed, were changing quickly or had even disappeared.

In this respect, reporters from the nineteenth century provided quite another presentation. There were many of them and they described especially wedding customs in great detail; and some of them add a sad remark about lost habits and customs. However, they especially point out poverty and a writer from Slovene Styria complained that "the old customs of our forebears are disappearing at engagements and weddings in very many villages. Sometimes the obstacle is the poverty of both bridegroom and bride and all is done more quietly. Nevertheless, here and there the old customs are preserved."

The Ljubljana Country Wedding which is performed in its present form in various parts of Slovenia includes different elements of old wedding tradition, including those which have been preserved from Valvasor's time or have developed later.

As early as 1843, a respondent to a questionnaire on so-called Götha series wrote that wedding customs in Kapla by Arvež "were composed of special happenings and different kinds of entertainment".

So the wedding was performed according to rules which were very precisely prescribed, which is also now taken into account in a tourist context.

The rich "šranganje" ** which Valvasor mentioned really developed in later centuries. Members of the village young men's fraternity, informal groups of unmarried young men, were particularly involved in these, and their role was especially important in the pre-marriage ceremonial, which of course the country wedding in Ljubljana is unable to include since this would make the events much too extended.

It is difficult to say that the Ljubljana country wedding awakens or even preserves old customs. These customs are reasonable alive in the country-side and people not only remember them but also actively live them. An authentic country wedding would include "šranganje" ** as well as ceremonies at the homes of both bride and groom. But "marriage" in the village inn or village hall is also traditionally acceptable. Entertainment with dancing, selling of a shoe or tie, auction of the brides "bouquet", collecting money in different ways, all this customary and, so to speak, compulsory for wedding guests who wished to play their proper role.

Amounts for the purchase of the bride with šranganje ** (which has quite different names in different Slovene localities) reaches quite high numbers but it seems that people nowadays can more easily avoid this compulsion. They easily escape by taking a different route, without fear of being considered misers. Or they raise the issue publicly through the newspapers, as happened some years ago when a bridegroom complained about the greed of the "šrangarjev", his (former) friends.

In the past, before the second world war, transport of the bride's dowry was a very important matter. In the first place, it demonstrated the status of the bride in the village community, although as can be imagined, rich brides were in a minority. A rich dowry contained a bridal chest, cupboard or wardrobe, cradle, ordinary sheets and shroud, blankets and towels, and of tools a washing board, rake, broom, washing basin, sickle, hoe, Easter basket, some dishes and so on. In some places, objects were forbidden which in other places were essential. There was always a lot of work, laughter and jesting involved in the transport of the dowry. A wealthy bride needed a number of carriages, though a poor one could carry it in a basket. Wedding dress which is now used by Slovene brides and bridegrooms is so-called Gorenjska ceremonial dress and it does not differ very much from that worn by the more enthusiastic wedding guests. This has always been "Sunday best", differing in details and ornamentation from costume for particular events.

As we can judge from Valvasor's description, brides, grooms and wedding guests ornamented themselves with plenty of colourful bouquets of artificial flowers and artificial pearls. "So poverty searches for artifices and their simplicity is smarter than the intelligence of those who spend a lot of money on jewelry."

When Viktor Korošec married his bride in 1965 by driving to Ljubljana Town Hall wearing Gorenjska national costume, with carriages and wedding guests, he certainly didn't realise that he was about to start something new: a novel entertainment which adapted old customs to new demands, mixing through time and place and creating a display which is obviously acceptable and welcomed by domestic spectators and above all of interest to foreign visitors.

Tanja Tomažič

* Uskoki - Serbs who were pushed northwards by the advance of the Turks and settled along the frontier, in Bosnia, Croatia and Slovenia.

** Šranganje - the custom by which the young men of a village extracted a brideprice from the groom

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