THE VISUAL AND THE MYTHICAL–POETIC INTERPRETATIONS OF SKY LUMINARIES IN LITHUANIAN TRADITIONAL TEXTILES

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Abstract

This paper analyses some interconnected aspects of Lithuanian folk astronomy. The same mythical–poetic images linking sky luminaries, things in the natural world, and mythological beings as well as human beings are present in Lithuanian mythical–poetic folklore and in the names of textile ornamentations. Their semiotic net generally comprises flowers, plants, wild and domestic animals, celestial luminaries and mythical people as well as human beings and their artefacts. The investigation of images reveals the mythical–poetic linkage between all the celestial luminaries and concepts of light, marriage and fertility that belong more generally to the Sun Maiden mythology complex.

Key words: ornamentation symbolism, Lithuanian textiles, folkloric images, sky luminaries, Baltic mythology.

Introduction

The phenomenon of the sky has various interpretations in the semiotics of language, folk art and mythical poetry that are manifestations of the traditional worldview. Mythical–poetic images of folklore associated with the authentic names of patterns on folk textiles (woven bands) represent a particular tradition of astronomical knowledge deriving from archaic mythology. Here celestial luminaries, the local natural world and human beings are all interwoven into the holistic concept of a universe inhabited by mythical beings that are strongly associated with one another.

The main ornamentations have been replicated without modification since the earliest known geometrically ornamented textiles in Baltic cultures, which date from the 11th century. The semantic space of pattern names and their forms reveals a set of associations with the phenomenon of the sky that operates at several levels.

The aim of this study is to identify interconnected aspects of folk astronomy and to reveal regional peculiarities and the universal features of mythical–poetic concepts in the Lithuanian tradition linking sky luminaries, objects or elements in the natural world (local flora and fauna) and mythological beings as well as the human with his artefacts into the one meaningful cosmic net.

The main tasks are to classify the different forms of Lithuanian traditional textile ornamentation and their folk names as mythical–poetic images associated symbolically with the stars and celestial luminaries; to reveal their links with the peasant environment and worldview; and to trace their mythological origins.

We use data from Lithuanian and other Baltic and neighbouring cultures. These data derive from folk textiles, archaeological material, mythology, and mythical–poetic aspects of folklore and language. The collection of textile pattern forms and names together with the analysis of their cultural and historical context and semiotics reveals an astounding continuity of folk–weaving tradition and mental interpretation in Lithuanian folk culture. It unveils many archetypal features and similarities that are not strongly bounded to any particular time, space or culture. Comparative and contextual analysis is necessary in order to reveal the traditional Lithuanian ornamentation symbolism because it is not clearly enough explained in the oral tradition.

Ornament as a Part of Mythical World Structure

The principal myth in any tradition is attested by having many applications in very different fields and aspects of folk memory and customs. The results of such a multiply supported codification of mythology are found in various elements of culture operating both in everyday life and in spiritual practices (Toporov 2000 pp. 127–129). Owing to the subordination of elements of the world into one global semiotic structure, a network of various correspondences exists between different types of object: sky luminaries, elements of clothing, landscape, biosphere, and so on (Baiburin 1989). The historical, comparative, typological, and also contextual methods of archaeology, art history, mythology and cultural anthropology (Rybakov 1965, 1, p.24-47; 2, p. 13-33; Hodder 1989) are often used for the investigation of Baltic traditional folk art, especially orna-
primitive signs serve as the basis for many other sophisticated types of sign and their variations. Some of these signs are associated with the sky luminaries and their semantic space (Fig. 1).

A historical and typological comparative analysis of their form and place in the compositional arrangement helps to elucidate these signs' cosmological associations.

The Lithuanian band signs have analogues in signs of ownership found on 12th- to 14th-century Latvian fishing floats (Caune 1988, p. 114). A direct historical linkage is evident between Lithuanian and Latvian woven band decorations from the 19th century and 11th- to 13th-century textile signs from Latvia (Dzērvițe, Ginters 1936, att. 36; 32, 44, 27, 26 (tab. 2) and West Russia (Levinson 1959). They are characterised by compositions of separate signs: a five-square cross/star, a cross, a horned rhombus, a swastika, and a toothed star.

Ancient decorated bands containing the same type of geometric ornamentation are known from 10th- to 13th-century archaeological finds in Lithuania (Valatka 1974, p. 74-75) and Latvia (Zarija 1999). Similar textile ornamentations have been found in Finland (Lehtosal-Hilander 1984), Sweden (Geijer 1938) and Denmark (Hald 1980, p. 225-231).

In pre-Christian times their symbolism was associated with mythological world-view. The ornamentation, general structure and sign composition on Latvian 10th- to 13th-century wraps (Zarija 1999, p. 22, 25; Dzērvițe, Ginters 1936) suggests what this celestial symbolism was: the triangles in the margins signify mountains, roofs, or other mediators between the sky and the earth, while the horned rhombus, crosses, and swastikas in the middle part symbolize the celestial luminaries. This carpet-like clothing was worn as a ceremonial funerary costume by noblewomen. Such types of shawl and coat, decorated with sky luminaries in figurative or schematic ways, are well known from many traditions; they were for liturgical and ceremonial use by priests and kings (Eisler 1910). Consequently, a similar interpretation is reasonable for similar pieces in Latvian traditional (archaeological, folk) art. The same composition of sky symbols surrounded by earthly signs is found in the organization of the mandala, where the earthly lower level with the gates is situated at the periphery and the highest holy celestial level occupies the centre. Similar hierarchical compositions with the solar signs in the centre are characteristic of Saami shamanic drums (Ahlbäck 1991). The decorations on Persian carpets are based on similar compositions; the highest, most significant place is in the middle of the carpet and represents the

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**Fig. 1.** Archetypal signs in the ornamentation on Lithuanian woven bands, derived pattern types, and their names, which are associated with celestial luminaries.

**Geometrical signs and the sky luminaries**

Careful and detailed analysis of the evolution of the form of many different signs in Lithuanian woven band decorations showed that they are based on just a few primal, archetypal signs that are international in nature but locally interpreted, refined using various formal/decorative stylistic elaborations. They are 17 in total: a rhombus, a diagonal cross, a snake, a herringbone, a goat's foot, a zigzag, a frog, a rose, horses, a rake, a meander, a diagonal line, a star, a five-square star, a swastika, a roof, and a chessboard pattern. These
Fig. 2. 10th- to 13th c. textile ornamentations from Latvia similar to Lithuanian traditional woven band designs.

Fig. 3. Celestial signs in Early Bronze Age Hungarian ceramics.

celestial garden. The same composition is also common in East Prussian folk carpets (connected with the West Balts' tradition), which were used by newly wed couples as bed covers (Hahm 1937, p. 34, 94). People, animals and small trees are very often represented in the periphery of these carpets but the ideograms of the sky luminaries — stars, crosses, and flowers — are represented in the central part of the carpet (Fig. 4).

This means that it is possible to identify several geometrical signs on Lithuanian, Latvian and East Prussian textiles as the symbols of celestial luminaries: the horned rhombus, the toothed rhombus, the double diagonal cross, the swastika, the chessboard pattern, and the five-square cross.

The ancient and stable tradition of these signs' symbolism in Eastern Europe is evident from Early Bronze Age (2100-2000 BCE) Hungarian ceramics where rose, cat's paw, and candelabra-type ornamentations are used. Their separate — surrounded by free space — and hierarchical composition suggests associations with the concept of celestial luminaries in the structure of the Cosmos (Fig. 3). Their origin can be traced back to the Neolithic (Kalicz – Schreiber 1990, p.59-100). Similarly, the most ancient analogues of known Lithuanian textile ornamentation motifs are found in decorations and abstract sign systems from the Neolithic Old European Civilization (Tumēnas 2002, p.73; Gimbutas 1989; Harman 1996).
Another channel of investigation into the symbolism of the signs is the association of their authentic names with the semiotics of language, folklore and mythology.

The celestial symbolism of patterns

The patterns on Lithuanian woven bands have many symbolically meaningful names (Fig. 1). What is the imagined cultural context of these signs' names and what are the interactive semantic connections they imply? The analysis of the mythical-poetic context of Lithuanian textile pattern folk names (collected by the author in ethnographic expeditions as well as by other investigators) (Tumėnas 2002, p.112-123) reveals the role of celestial luminaries, and especially the stars, as key symbols strongly associated with other luminaries, as well as with the country's flora and fauna.

1. The Cross has several types.

a) The Simple cross also has associations with christening/baptism, because the name for this sign small cross – kryžiukas (EMO 3561), baptism sign – krikštelis (E 3023), links with the word krikštas, which in Lithuanian has the meaning – baptism, sanctification, protection and also – the beginning and the end. The simple cross sign in Latvian ancient textiles seems to be first of all a symbol of the celestial luminaries. The cross sign links with star symbolism: this sign – krikštelis also is linked with the start of a new life after the ending of previous one. In the Lithuanian traditional worldview Verpėja (Spinner – another word for goddess Laima, who has many similarities with the Greek Fortuna and Aphrodite) supervises man’s life’s thread, which ends in the star (Gizevijus 1970, p.147).

According to the Lithuanian folk song of baptism, the goddess Laumė (or Laima) wants to prepare beer and to invite all the stars for the celebration, but she forgets to invite the Sun (Slaviūnas 1959, Nr. 1202). Here, Laumė’s association with the stars and baptism is similar to Aušrinė (Morning star): her resemblance to all the stars and also to the Sun (who is treated like one of the stars). On the other hand, Aušrinė has a particular difference from the Sun, who sometimes appears forgotten by her. The connection of the star Aušrinė with baptism is reminiscent of Greek mythology where Aphrodite’s birth from the sea can be interpreted in terms of the rituals of purification and ritual bathing that ensure her ever-renewed virginity. Aphrodite is clearly rooted in the ancient tradition of goddesses of renewal and regeneration (Eliade 1987 15, p.278).

b) The Double-line cross in the Lithuanian band tradition is called carnation flower – gvazdikas (EMO 8108). But it seems that this name has come from the Polish name for the star gwiazda. On the other hand, the shape of the carnation flower is indeed very similar to a sparkling star. The flower name given to the double-cross sign in general allows us to suggest that it symbolically represents the stars.

In Baltic mythology and folklore, the Morning and Evening Star are both strictly associated with the Sun - they are known as the Sun and Moon daughters – Saulės dukriétės. Sometimes all the stars were treated as their children (Narbutt 1835, p.126-134). This could explain why we sometimes find the sun and a star being designated by the same motif in textiles.

2. The Star sign has two types.

a) The Star sign is most commonly called star – žvaigždutė (ES b. 134, l. 87) but also snowflake with leaves – lapuota snaišė (ES b. 1983, l. 3) and sometimes sun – saulutė (ES b. 1983, l. 3). The sun and a star are feminine sky luminaries in Lithuanian. The snowflakes are similar to stars because they look like a star falling from the sky.

Similarly the star signs are named rose (rozka), sun (sonxta), flower (kvietok), star (zviozdachka), and star/ sun (zviozdachka/sonxta) in Belarussian textiles (this culture being distinctive in having a mixture of Baltic and Slavic traditions) (Niachæva 2004, p.76-77, 79-80, 83-84, 89, 127).

A star-like pattern whose Lithuanian name is clover – dobiliukai (ES b. 1958, l. 10) is associated with the five-leaf clover, which brings good luck according to Lithuanian folk beliefs.

In short, in both Lithuanian and Belarussian traditions there were strong associations between the stars and the sun and roses and other flowers.

b) The Toothed rhombus/Star sign has the names star (ES b. 1959, l. 8; EMO 1826) and apple – obuoliukas (E 2876). An apple or an apple tree in Lithuanian folklore often stands for the symbol of fertility, matchmaking and marriage (Basanavičius 1970, p.393-403). The motif of golden apples in Indo-European mythological poetry is associated with eternal youth and immortality.

This sign also has important name wolf’s mouth – vilko gerklė (ES b. 1983, l. 4). In Lithuanian folk dream symbolism, wolves signify matchmakers and bridegrooms (Tumėnas 2002, p.204). A woman after childbirth first entering the bathhouse was called the wolf (Urbanavičienė 2000, p.90). The wolf also appears in fertility magic: if you want your bees to steal the honey from other bees, you must let the beehive fly through the opened mouth of the wolf (Elisonas 1932, p.128).

The mythological wolf’s mouth symbol is probably similar to the vagina dentate image, well known in the
European tradition, which serves to make boys fear having sexual interaction with girls (Lévi-Strauss 1997, p.125).

Another name goose's intestine – žuigažarnis (EMO 2193) and the Belarusian denomination swan (Niachaeva 2004, p.84) are associated with water birds. In Lithuanian folklore, water birds are popular bridal and marriage symbols. In archaic wedding dances the limping steps of the woman resemble the way water birds walk (Račiūnaitė 2000, p.39).

Advent songs describe a boy who ties up some ducks and sends them to his beloved girl as a strong symbol of romance (Ūsaitytė 2007, p.116-118). Other songs present direct parallels between the duck hen, who builds a nest and hatches her chicks, and the young girl (bride) who walks in the rue garden of the palace (Valiulytė 2000, p.62-63). Other wedding songs compare the duck hen, who is swimming and diving in the lake, with the young girl (bride), who cries because of the inappropriateness of the chosen boy (husband) (Burkšaitienė, Krištopaitė 1990, p.353-355). The belief is that if the duck jumps on the fence, the wedding will happen (Elisonas 1932, p.66). In this mythical-poetic context it is easy to understand another Belarusian denomination for this sign type – a heart (Niachaeva 2004, p.160).

In this way, the notion of a star is associated with local plants and fauna and with idea of marriage.

3. The Horned rhombus (Rose) is another star-like sign which has the name star (ES b.1958, l. 6) but also flower – gėlytė (ES b. 1954, l. 9), rose – roželė (EMO 505), and snowflake – snaigė (ES b. 1983, l. 3).

This sign is placed in the top or centre of cosmic structure compositions in the aforementioned Latvian and Hungarian artefacts, as well as in East Prussian 19th-century carpets koc (Hahm 1937, p.34, 94) (Fig. 4.). The context of Baltic folklore and mythology demonstrates the strong association of the rose sign with sun or star symbolism; with mythical images of the flowers of the World Tree, Sun Garden or Sun Bush at the centre of the World or Sky; and with the highest level in the cosmological structure. In Latvian songs, the rising and setting sun is depicted as a rose wreathe, bush or garden. A rose garden is one of the most characteristic motifs in Baltic mythology. The association between the Sun as celestial fire and the image of a rose is known in Lithuanian and Latvian mythological traditional folklore (Vaitkevičienė 2003, p.23-29).

The horned rhombus represents the sun, and sometimes it is called Sun (in Lithuanian – saulukė (ES b. 1949, l. 5) and in Latvian – saulyte) (Slava 1992, p. 17).

In Lithuanian folklore, the Sun rising on Christmas morning is associated with, or replaced by, the flowering rose and has marriage symbolism (On Christmas morning the rose fell into blossom/ The reindeer with the nine horns on head is coming/ On the first horn the fire burns/ On the second – the smiths are hammering/ Oh smiths, my brothers/ Please make me a golden ring...) (Valiulytė 2000, p.70). This song resembles the image of the Sun, forged by a Smith – Kalvelis (Televėlis) (the name being similar to the Estonian mythical hero Kalev) who, in Lithuanian mythology, is the servant of the Thunder God Perkūnas (Obolenskii 1851, p.19-21).

Another association of the mythical-poetic image of the rose with a star, the sun and fertility is evident in the names of the flax laid out for drying in the sun as was done during harvest rituals. The figure so formed – the circle of rays – was called: rose, star, wreath, circle (Vyšniauskaitė 1977, p.68-70).
The other name star also refers to the sky luminaries and its synonymous name snowflake designates snowflakes as sky elements, given their similarity to falling stars. Another name for this sign — cat’s paw — katės pėdėlė (ES b. 1949, l. 5) again harks back to the love and marriage symbolism of the sky luminaries in Lithuanian folklore (see section 6 below).

4. The Five-square cross/star has two types: a) vertical star-like cross; and b) diagonal cross. They both have the name chandelier – liktoriukai (ES b. 1983, l. 3). All over the world the stars have been called luminaries, lamps, campfires and similar terms. The Bible calls all the celestial bodies luminaries. In the book of Genesis, the Sun and Moon are referred to as a star, because it also shines in the dark. It is not by chance that the Pleiades in Lithuanian are similarly named - Candelabra (Sietynas). Another name for this sign — wild rose – erškėtrožė (ES b. 319 (73)) — is again similar to the star symbols already discussed.

5. The Rake or E sign is of two types: a) Rake with simple teeth, and b) Rake with crooked teeth. They are called rake, raker – grėbliukai (ES b. 1954, l. 9) and comb – šukos (ES b. 1985, l. 45) respectively. The Rake pattern is connected with the image of the rake and comb. In Lithuanian mythical-poetic Shrovetide folk songs, a girl in a boat in the middle of the sea, a lake or a river combs her hair with a fish-bone comb and then floats it across the water to her beloved, asking whether he loves her. The boy answers that he does not, and that he is willing to make a rake from her fingers (Kriščiūnienė 1992, p. 62, 64-65). It is evident that the images of the rake and comb are associated with the idea (or problems) of courtship and matchmaking. The image of a girl sitting in a floating ship and combing her hair is also used in folklore sung during hair-combing rites on the eve of a wedding (Burkšaitienė, Krištopaitė 1990, p.223-227), and corresponds to the combing rites on the eve of a wedding (Burkšaitienė, 1985). The image of seeding the fields symbolises fertility. By examining the wedding symbolism of the cat we can explain the connection between the cat’s paw pattern and the rose and star images.

6. The chessboard pattern consists of a combination of five dark squares and four light ones. It bears the name of rose – ražytė (ES b. 1953, l. 2), but also star – žvaigždikė (ES b. 1958, l. 24), as well as cat’s paw – katpėdėlė (Kišūnaite 1971, p.45). A cat’s paw resembles a feline paw-print, and is also like a four-leaved flower with a spot in the middle. In the Lithuanian folkloric tradition, cats are associated with the female sex and married life. In one folk song, a young wife asks her husband: Tell me, young boy, when I will return to my mother? He answers: When buckwheat has become seed in the oven and cats are harrowing the fields (Pasayk bernelė, pasayk jaunasis, kadu aš sugryšiu pas savo močiutį / Kau un pečius grikius sēs, katės nagom priakės, tai tadu, tai tadu par mačiutį sugrysi...— Vyžiai, Utena r., recorded by the author on the eve of a wedding, 1985) The image of seeding the fields symbolises fertility. By examining the wedding symbolism of the cat we can explain the connection between the cat’s paw pattern and the rose and star images.

7. The Swastika (fragmented half-swastika) is occasionally named rake (ES b. 2029, l. 2). Its Latvian names are of disputable origin: Laima cross (Laimos krzyzius); Perkūnas cross (Perkūno krzyżius); Fire cross (uguns krusts) (Brastiņš 1923, p.71-72). The thunder god Perkūnas and his wife Laima (literally – happiness) are celestial deities in Baltic mythology. This suggests that in the Baltic tradition the swastika is associated with the symbolism of light, lightning, power and happiness. In textile decorations from the Latvian Bronze Age, swastikas may signify sky luminaries, because they are placed in the otherwise quite empty central space that represented the celestial world. In textiles from western Russia (10th-13th-centuries), the swastika is also placed centrally, near to other star or sun symbols such as the star and horned rhombus (Levinson 1959).

Conclusions

In the ornamentation on Lithuanian woven bands there are several types of sign whose form and meaning is associated with sky luminaries: 1) the Cross: a) the Simple cross, b) the Double-line cross; 2) the Star: a) the Flower/Star; b) the Toothed diamond; 3) the Horned rhombus; 4) the Five-square cross/star: a) the Vertical star-like cross; b) the Diagonal cross; 5) the Rake: a) the Rake with simple teeth, b) the Rake with crooked teeth; 6) the Chessboard pattern; and 7) the Swastika.
The signs on Lithuanian woven bands that have been investigated so far have direct links with 11th- to 13th-century pre-Christian wraps found in Latvia, where similar signs are placed in an otherwise quite empty central area evidently reserved to represent the celestial realm.

The folk names for the patterns reveal associations with mythical-poetic images of the stars and sun, and also of flowers (roses, carnations, clovers), baptism, apples, wolves, geese, cats, combs, chariots, the celestial goddess Laima and the god Perkūnas. In particular, the complex links (star-rose-sun-cats’ paw etc.) indicate that these denominations are not fortuitous. Strong associations between different elements of the world are characteristic of traditional and archaic word-views. The semantic net of these images in the Lithuanian mythical-poetic tradition reveals linkages mainly with fertility and marriage symbolism, and with Sun Maiden mythology. The net includes names connected with the stars, artificial light sources, noble flowers, plants, water birds, domestic and wild animals, and attributes or artefacts used by, the mythical-poetic beings.

The star-like signs in Lithuanian textiles refer first of all to the star Aušrinė/Vakarinė (Venus – the Morning and Evening star, the daughter of the Sun and Moon, the bride) and the Sun (female gender in Baltic languages) and other stars. The mythical-poetic image of Venus Aušrinė (Aušra) is an archetype deeply rooted in the Lithuanian tradition. It is the key concept in defining a semiotic kinship of very different cultural phenomena that appears at first to be accidental.

**Abbreviations**


ES – The Lithuanian Institute of History, Ethnology Department Archive.

**References**


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Santrauka

Straišynėje nagrinėjami integralieji lietuvių etnoastronomijos aspektai.

Dangaus reiškiniai įvairiai interpretuojami žodžių semiotikoje, tradiciiniame liaudies mene ir mitopoetikoje. Tie patys mitopoetiniai įvaizdžiai aptinkami mitologinių elementų turinčioje lietuvių tautosakos ir tekstilės (juostų) raštų liaudiškuose pavadinimuose.

Straišynėje nagrinėjama dangaus šviesulių sąsaja su regiono gamtos objektais, mitinėmis būtinių ir žmonės. Šie mitinės būtų ir būtų artėjant yra naujas pavadinimo pirminumose.


Tyrimo remimasi lietuvių ir kitų balto kultūrų duomenimis: etnografine bei archeologine tekstile, mitologija ir mitapoetiniais tradicijos bei balto apiektų aspektai. Komparatyviniai tyrimai ir kontekstinė analizė yra būtina tiriinti lietuvių tradicinio ornamento simboliką, kadangi vieta tikėjimai švedijos tradicijos aškiaimai yra nepakankami.

Dauguma lietuvių juostų raštų atitinka XI–XIII a. iki-krikščioniškos epochos audinių, rastų Latvijoje, raštų, kurie būna centriniųjų skarnų dalys, priskirtino dangaus sferos. Šios žmonės ir jų kompozicijos simbolikos analogą randame ir kitų kultūrų ornamentuose. Išskirti šie lietuvių juostų ornamento tipai, simboliškai susiję su dangaus šviesulių simbolika: 1) Įstrižas kryžiukas: a) paprastas, b) dvigubų linijų; 2) Žvaigždė: a) gėlė (roželė) / žvaigždė; b) dantytas rombas; 3) Rombas su ataugėliais; 4) Penkialangis kryžiukas / žvaigždė: a) vertikalus žvaigždinis; b) įstrižas; 5) Grėbliukai: a) paprasti, b) su užlaužtais dantuksais; 6) Katpėdėlė; 7) Svastika.