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Back cover, top: Kaali meteorite crater, one of the biggest in Europe. Photo by Andres Kuperjanov. Back cover, bottom: Passage grave in Sweden. Photo by Andres Kuperjanov.



Representations of an Ancient Cosmovision on Lithuanian Distaffs

Jonas Vaiškūnas

Abstract. This paper analyses the meaning of Lithuanian distaff decorations. A distaff is a wooden implement used for fixing the fibre spinning flax in the process of hand-spinning (Fig. 1-2). The Lithuanian distaff is one of the oldest wooden tools with ornamental decoration. The present study is based on 18th and 19th century examples kept in Lithuanian museums. The four, six and eight-pointed stars prevail in the decoration of the distaffs. Zoomorphic and floral motifs are also met quite often. The author concludes that the composition and the symbolic meaning of the motifs of distaffs represent an archaic scheme of the universe. Ethnographic and folkloric sources of Lithuania and other countries support these conclusions.

Introduction

Distaffs and spindles prevail among all the decorated domestic objects preserved in Lithuanian collections. These artefacts do not survive long because wood is perishable. The most ancient distaffs go back only to the end of the 18th century, and most of them date from the 19th century. Keep-

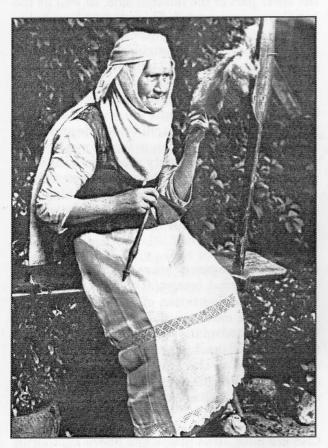


Figure 1. Spinner (Galaune 1956: Fig. 1).

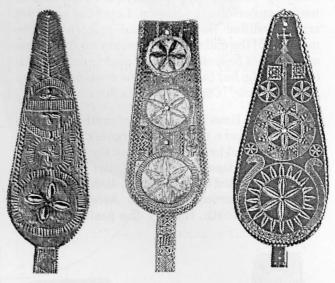


Figure 2. Distaffs (EDM 30 (left); UKM 31 (centre); EDM 22 (right)).

ing in mind the old traditions of folk art, we can assert that the motives of distaff decoration have retained very old symbols in their composition. P. Galaunė's opinion is that the forms of distaffs and some other wooden articles "have achieved such a high level that their further development is almost impossible" (Galaunė 1956: IX). Archaeological data prove that distaffs similar in shape with the 19th-century distaffs were already used in Neolithic times (Rimantienė 1984: 52, 57).

The meaning of the decoration of Lithuanian distaffs has been very little studied up to now. Studies presented by some art critics discuss the principles and peculiarities of distaff decoration (Galaunė 1930, 1956; Surgailien & Čepaitienė 1993, 1995). P. Galaunė in the thirties takes only on account the aesthetic compositions on these objects (Galaunė 1930: 210-212). According to him the decoration of distaff is derived from its form. However, in 1956 he spoke about archaic patterns on the distaffs and accepted that "long ago geometrical figures were not only suitable elements for a composition for a craftsman/.../ he saw certain symbols in those shapes" (Galaunė 1956: IX). According to P. Galaunė, the names of those ancient patterns remind what they used to symbolize, for example, the most common ornament on a distaff is called "a segment star" which is also called "the star", "the sun". P. Galaunė argues that the symmetrical composition of plants and animals reminds the symbols of the tree of life (Galaunė 1956: IX). Art critic L. Surgailiene also thinks that the main geometrical elements of the distaff ornaments are "very old and they had specific symbolical meaning which was lost in the course of time..." (Surgailien 1984: 31). Though, in 1992 A. Čepaitienė analysed the symbols of distaff decoration and thought that "it is unlikely that those ornaments have mythical meaning" (Čepaitienė 1992: 227), she saw them as having only esthetic function. Later the same art critic modified her categorical opinion on the meaning of the distaff decoration saying that "some motifs could be symbolical and could have particular meaning, but the whole of the ornament was to fret the article" (Čepaitienė 1995: 208).

At the same time researchers of mythology were trying to discern the ancient organization of the world that had been preserved in the tradition of distaff decoration. Russian scientist B. Rybakov, who investigated Slavic distaffs, discerned the reflection of macrocosm in them. According to his opinion, the earth, the sky, the positions of the

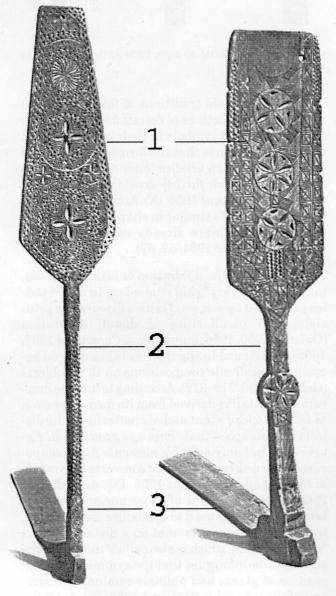


Figure 3. Distaffs (Galaunė 1956: Figs. 2, 4).

moving sun and the tree of the world are depicted on these objects. B. Rybakov asserts that the world-view depicted on the distaffs belongs to the Bronze Age (Rybakov 1981: 236-248; 1987: 506-512). Mythologist N. Vėlius also sees in them a peculiar "principle of the world structure, which is most often expressed through the image of the world (or universe) tree." According to N. Vėlius, some spindles and distaffs convey an evident picture of the tripartite model of the world (Vėlius 1983: 39). S. N. Dmitrieva investigated Russian distaffs in the region of Arkhangelsk, district of Mezen, and she came to the conclusion that the so-called three-level Mezen distaffs depict the three levels of the world structure (Dmitrieva 1988: 139).

General Structural Analysis of the Distaff Symbols

This work is based on the investigation of 176 decorated distaffs. 121 of them belong to the M. K. Čiurlionis State Art Museum in Kaunas (ČDM), 63 belong to the Utena Regional Studies Museum (UKM).¹

A distaff has two constructive parts (Fig. 3): a head (1) (used for fastening the fibre), a handle (2), and a foot (i.e. a flat horizontal board, used for fixing the handle of the head) (3).

The external side of the distaff-head and sometimes the lower part of the internal side, as well as the handle are ornamented. Three types of geometrical elements are basic in the decoration: circles with segment stars (CSS), triangular signs and sets of parallel lines (Fig. 2, 9-12 and others) (Surgailien 1984: 31; 2000: 5). On some distaffs we can find figurative motifs: stylized plants, animals and people. Small geometrical elements are grouped and they make up larger ones that fill the whole surface of the distaff. The impression is that it was deliberately avoided leaving empty spaces without ornaments. The gash technique creates a game of light and shadows, giving the impression of shimmer, shine and motion. According to the description of P. Galaune, they surround the article with the air (Galaunė 1930: 210).

Circles with segment stars (CSS). Circles with square, hexagonal, octagonal segment stars (CSS) prevail in the decoration of distaffs. Hexagonal stars are the most common. Counting the main CSS distributed on the vertical axis we obtain the following statistics: hexagonal (6x) CSS constitute up to 46% (of all the examined distaffs), square (4x) CSS are in the second place with 31%, and octagonal (8x) CSS come at the third place with 17% (Fig. 4).

CSS are most often placed one above another in the symmetry axis of the distaff. According to the

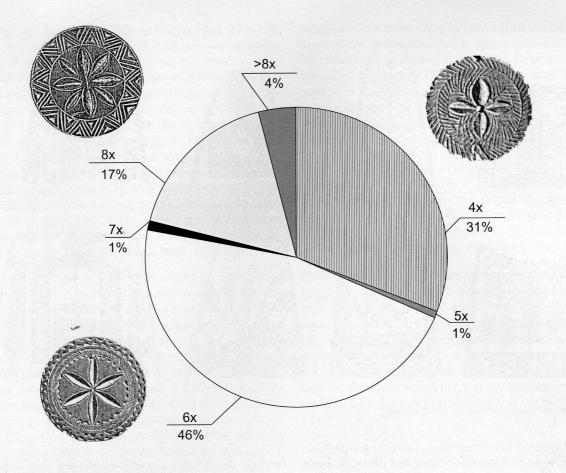


Figure 4. Number of rays of the main CSS.

number of CSS on the axis only, there can be distaffs with one, two, three, four and more circles. The distaffs with two and three circles are the

most common. Of all the 176 examined pieces, 74 (42%) are with two-circles decoration, 70 (40%) – with three-circle, 10 (6%) – with 1 circle, 4 (2%) – with four-circle (Fig. 5). Distribution of segment stars on the vertical axis of the distaff.

Figure motifs. Among figurative motifs, plant motifs prevail as they appear on the surface of 75 objects. Among those, trees are found on 46, and 29 show other plant motifs. Though trees or other plants are depicted in different parts of the distaff surface, they are statistically found mostly on the top part.²

The representations of birds appear on different places of the distaff surface (they are found on 26 objects) but are statistically found more often on the top as well. S-shaped symbols are less frequent (they are found on 10 distaffs) and nearly always they are placed at the bottom or in the middle of the distaff. It is difficult to determine the distribu-

tion of other anthropomorphic and zoomorphic representations because of their small number.⁵

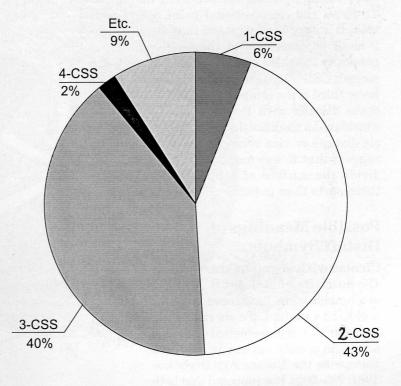


Figure 5. Distribution of segment stars on the vertical axis of the distaff.

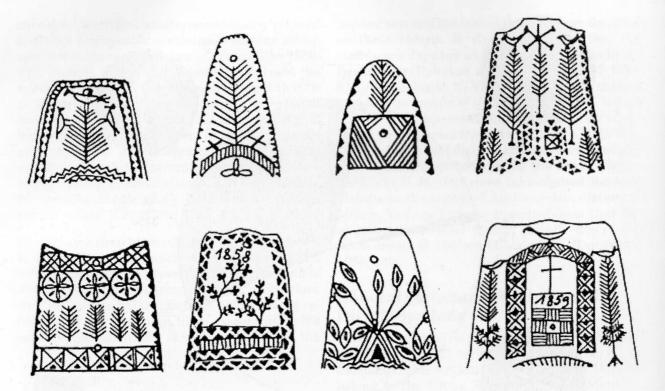


Figure 6. P-motifs (Vaiškūnas 1992: Fig. 3).

P-motifs. At the top of some of the distaffs there are autonomous figurative motifs evidently separated from the CSS. They are: birds, stars, plants and sometimes just a closed space, which is in some cases transformed into the particular representation of a temple (church). Here in below these motifs will be called as P-motifs (Fig. 6). P-motifs are found on 61 of the 176 examined distaffs. They are more common among the two-circle distaffs (Fig.

7). From the compositional point of view, it is easy to understand that the P-motif replaces one of the circles, generally the third and less often the second CSS⁶. It never occupies the lower third of the composition. So two-circle distaffs with P-motifs can be considered a modification of three-circle distaffs or vice versa. These data suggest that it was more common to divide the surface of a distaff into three parts than in two.

Possible Meanings of Distaff Symbols

Circles with segment stars (CSS). The Russian archaeologist B. A. Rybakov considers the hexagonal segment star to be a variant of a six rays' sign. According to archaeological data this sign was widely spread in Western Europe in the Bronze Age (Rybakov 1981: 295–302). It is supposed that both the circle and the star symbolize the

cosmos in various traditions (Cirlot 1962: 350; Rietshel Chr. 1965: Taf. 28, 29). A circle and a star, taken separately or together, are often considered to be symbols of the sun. It is not only because the sun is circular and radiant, but also that the recurrence of time and space was defined by the observation of the circular motion of the sun during days and year cycles (Toporov 1988: 18–19). So CSS might be an ancient symbol for the structure of

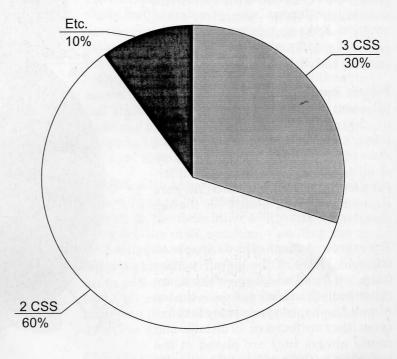


Figure 7. Occurrence of P-motif on various types of distaffs.

cosmic space and time (Meier-Boeke 1941: 179–186; Langwiesche 1940: 151–155). A square segment star may show the rising sun, its culmination, setting and the night position, and thus might indicate four parts of the world. An hexagonal star can indicate the extreme azimuths of the rising sun in winter and in summer together with the North-South line or the equinoxes azimuths (Fig. 8). These directions were familiar to people and they had their own names. So we can judge that Lithuanians, among other nations, naturally distinguished not four, as it is accepted now, but six parts of the world. Analogical subdivision of the world space is known from ancient India and Central America, for example (Golan 1994: 150; Sosa 1989: 132–135).

From this point of view CSS might be considered to represent a horizontal section of the cosmos where the structure of space and time is defined by the motion of the sun in the periods of the day or of the year. It is worth mentioning that in Proto-Indian motifs of the 4th millennium BC, a circle with a six-ray-star in it was interpreted as a symbol of the year (Albedil 1986: 45, 47, 67–68). Besides cosmographic logical meaning, CSS were also supposed to have a magic meaning. For example, in the Christian medieval tradition a rose with six petals was a symbol of unity, harmony and happiness (Cirlot 1962: 263; Rietshel Chr. 1965: Taf. 37, 40, 61). Some data allows us to assume that an hexagonal segment star might have been an important

religious symbol in pre-Christian times. And might even have competed with the Christian cross (Perkovskis 1999: 24–25, 198–199; Rybakov 1981: 300). The hexagonal CSS is one of the most typical motifs in the Lithuanian folk art. We find it not only in decoration of distaffs, but also in the decoration of other household utensils, furniture, folk architecture, pottery, gravestones, crosses as well.

The symbolism of the horizontal section of the cosmos depicted on distaffs is particularly evident when terrestrial objects are depicted among the rays of a segment star (Fig. 9), or when a particular side-view of a segment star is placed on a distaff instead of the segment star itself (Fig. 10).

CSS combination. Bearing in mind the cosmographic meaning of CSS, the combination of several CSS in the vertical axis of the distaff should result from the desire of depicting different cosmic spheres. Sometimes those spheres are connected with vertical (less frequently horizontal) meanders, reminding streams of water, with a tree or an abstract plant, a particular pole or various line-drawing reminding dug up fields (Fig. 11).

Sometimes there is an ornamental horizontal line separating the spheres. ¹⁴ Here we find other earthly figures: people, ¹⁵ a rider on a horse, ¹⁶ birds, ¹⁷ sometimes S-figures very probably representing ser-

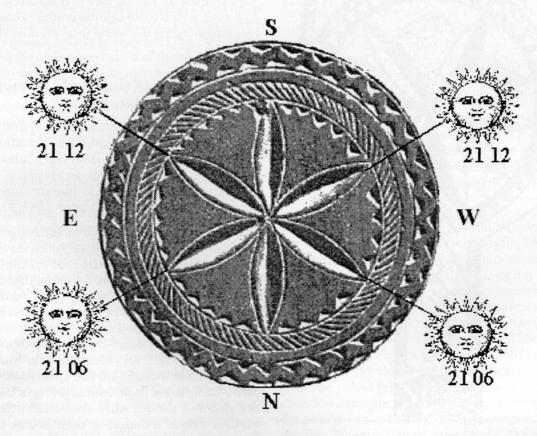


Figure 8. Possible interpretation of an hexagonal star.

pents. ¹⁸ It happens that the above-mentioned motifs are situated among the rays of CSS (Fig. 9). ¹⁹

Sometimes both circles are joined as if trying to represent an opened sphere²⁰ as those we are used to see in planispheres of the earth. In this case the lowest sphere on the distaff corresponds to the horizontal plane with six parts of the world. The above sphere corresponds to the dome of the sky with its own six directions.

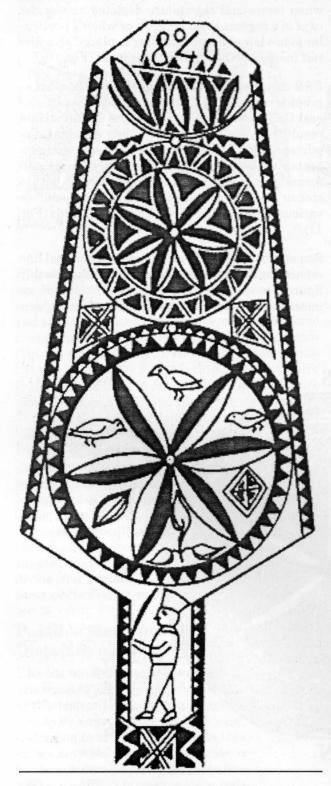


Figure 9. Distaff (UKM 12; Dundulien 1988: Fig. 16).

In the cases, when above these two spheres we find a third one or (and) the above mentioned linear Pmotifs, we are then, most probably, dealing with the third, the highest cosmic level which is above the dome. This highest cosmic sphere coincides with the top of the world-tree, and indeed, this is exactly the place where trees and other plants are found, as well as birds, stars, sacral Christian symbols: a cross, a church, a churchyard, etc. The ancient Lithuanian worldview might be expressed also through the representations located in this upper part that probably corresponds with the paradise called Dausos (Vaiškūnas 1992: 27). From the Lithuanian folklore we know that heaven was imagined as God's manor surrounded by a magnificent garden where beautiful flowers grow and trees are full of singing birds. Following the Milky Way (Lith. Paukščių takas "The Way of Birds") birds fly there to spend winter.

S-shaped figures which sometimes occur below the bottom CSS, most probably represent serpents known to have the ability of joining the upper and underworlds (Fig. 12). They might also be linked to the illustration of the subterranean world, but it should be remarked here that, normally, images of the subterranean world are found on the handle or foot rather than on the head of the distaff. Indeed, CSS are rarely carved on the handle of the distaff, and this could provide a complementary proof that this part of the implement is associated with the underworld (Fig. 3 (right)).

Very frequently the surface of a distaff is framed by waves, which could be interpreted as cosmic waters surrounding the world from all the sides (Fig. 2:11)

General Idea of the World Structure Depicted on Distaffs

The idea of the world structure depicted on distaffs may be compared with Lajosh Ami's cosmographic scheme based on images from fairy tales (Frank 1996: 124–125). Similar representation of the cosmic structure can be found in Indian cosmograms, e.g. Ojibwa cosmogram (Johnston 1981: 2).

On the distaffs we can recognize archetypical principles of the Cosmos structure. Analysis of S-shaped or birds symbols distributed on the vertical axis of a distaff supports the opinion that a distaff presents the idea of the world tree. Usually birds are located at the top of the distaff and indicate the sky level. S-shaped symbols, which are linked with snakes, are found at the bottom or in the middle of a distaff. Very often a tree or some other plant spreads through all the spheres of the distaff²¹. Thus, three basic cosmic levels of the earth, the sky, and the paradise are distributed in the vertical axis of a distaff as on a cosmic tree. We have to deal with the vertical section of cosmos,

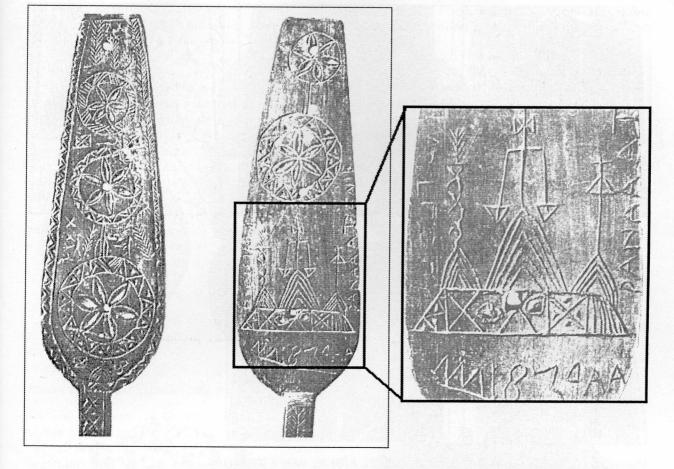


Figure 10. Distaff with a plan projection of the CSS on it, combined with CSS side section (EDM 32, 32a, 32c).

but cosmic spheres are not presented in the usual way showing only the side section. Frontal section of every cosmic sphere is shown on the axis. In different cases a plan projection of the cosmic sphere (CSS) is combined with its side section (Fig. 10).²² Sometimes we come across the side section of all the vertical images of this cosmic structure.²³ The impression is deliberately drawn to represent the structure of cosmos, perceived in this particular way.

Spindles, which replaced distaffs, 24 reveal an analogical scheme. The open work carving technique of spindles even makes it easier to understand the depicted symbols. Two-sphere spindles occur most frequently. The smaller size of spindles leads to the elimination of the third sphere at the top, only replaced by a small rhomb, a star, a plant, etc. In this way the picture of paradise depicted above the dome on the distaffs was reduced merely to a tiny reminiscence (Fig. 13). On the other hand, more complicated carving technique of distaffs highlighted the meanings of cosmographic symbols. Attention should be paid at S-shaped symbols connecting two cosmic spheres - the earth and the sky. The comparison of S-shaped symbols with waves of water connecting the two cosmic spheres lets us discern the Lithuanian mythological beliefs concerning the circulation of waters between the earth and the sky. According to traditions still existing in Lithuania, a rainbow is called a dragon "pumping out" water from the earth to the sky. So S-shaped symbols might be compared both with a mythical dragon (in the form of a snake) and a rainbow.

The Christian and other non-standard motifs that sometimes appear on spindles offer new arguments to the claim that the decoration of distaffs and spindles reveal an archaic local cosmography (Figs. 14–15).

It is possible to find other spatial equivalents of the structure depicted here on distaffs. For example the polygonal straw decorations or decorated tops of fir trees, found in Lithuania not only on Christmas Eve but also at other ceremonial occasions such as Easter or weddings, are called sodas, dangus or pasaulis. Sodas means 'the garden', dangus 'the sky', pasaulis 'the world'. This decoration was hung right above the ritual table. It is supposed that this specific decoration together with the ritual table constituted the 'garden' (sodas). For example, the ritual table set for the wedding party in the Panevežys region was called the garden. Women sitting around the table repre-

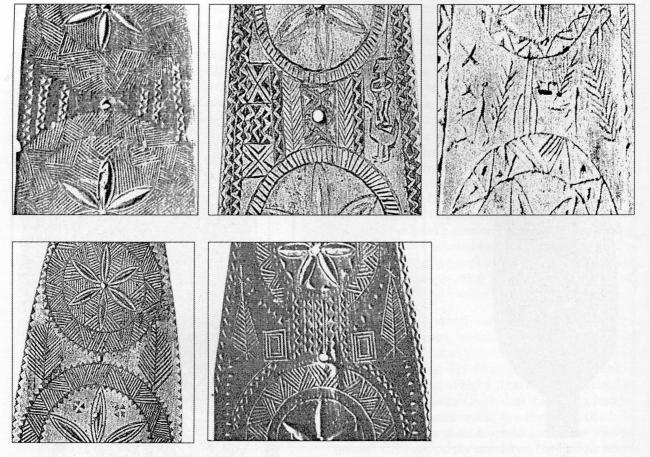
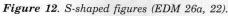
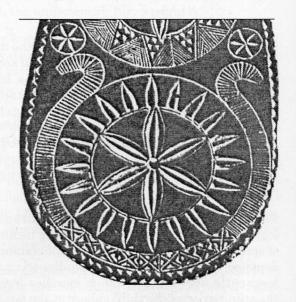


Figure 11. Combination of two CSS (EDM 47, UKM 31, EDM 32, UKM 5, EDM 41).







sented the ring-fence, men sitting in the corners represented poles, a bowl with water meant the lake, a tablecloth was supposed to picture a meadow. It is above this festive table that was hung this geometrical starlike straw decoration²⁵ (Slaviūnas 1955: 582; Vaiškūnas 1992: 26–30). There is no doubt that the table corresponds to the surface of the earth with its meadows and waters, and the garden meant the sky paradise. Similar ritual

tables are familiar to many other nations of the world. For example, the descendants of the Maya in the Yucatan peninsula installed a table for rituals. The altar in ka'an'che prayers is called the world (Sosa 1989: 139–140). The same spatial structure found on distaffs can be found again on other ritual artefacts, for example, on the Lithuanian memorial poles or decorative and man-made tree structures of other nations (e.g. German May tree

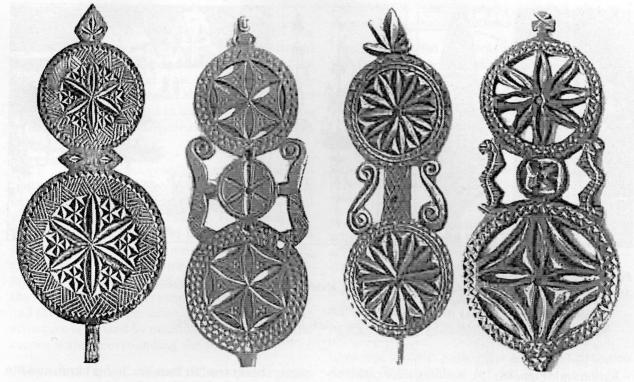


Figure 13. Spindles (Galaunė 1956: Figs. 262, 317–319).

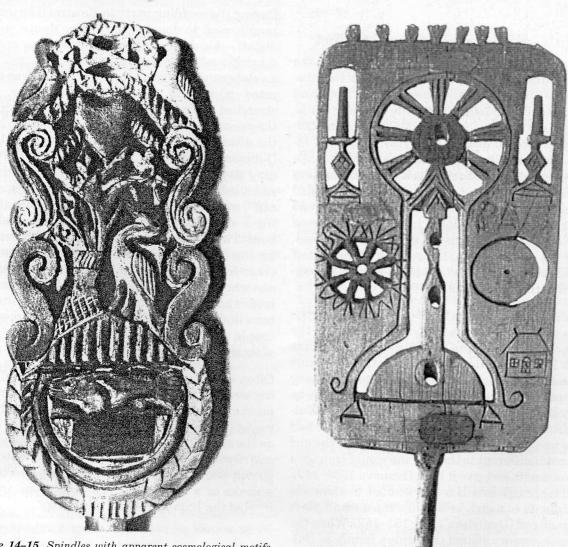
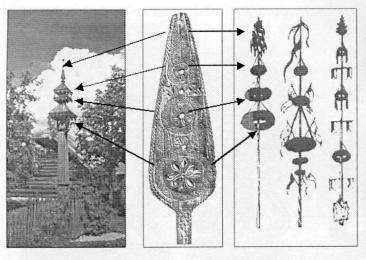
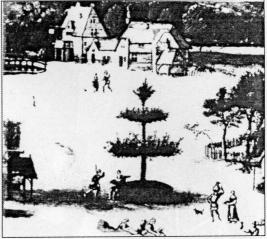


Figure 14–15. Spindles with apparent cosmological motifs.

14 (left) – Enormous fish, cosmic mountain – the earth, world tree with snake-like images and birds (Galaun 1956: Fig. 199).

15 (right) – Cosmic mountain and pole. The pole props the sky with the sun, the moon and stars (2 candles) on it (PK 211).





Figures 16-19.

16 – Lithuanian memorial pole (Rumšiškės Open Air Museum, 1988. Photo by S. Lovčikas).

17 - Distaff (Galaunė 1956: Fig. 81).

18 - May trees from Germany (Gimbutas 1958: Fig. 138).

19 - Decorative tree. Fragment of L. Gasel's painting (1548) (Gimbutas 1958: Fig. 136).

-*Maibaum*) (Figs. 16–19), wedding cake construction or even in combination of a wedding cake and a tree.

Distaff - a Tool and a Ritual Object

Let us try to understand why the model of the world found on distaffs is so important in the rituals of the Lithuanians and other nations. The ritual significance of the distaff and the spinning act itself is associated with the belief in spinning deities who decided human fate. This image was familiar to the Lithuanians and many other Indo-European nations. We can look upon the process of spinning as the act of creation when a thread appears from amorphous wool (chaos). The thread is perceived as a symbol of human life, fate and the cloth corresponds to the symbol of the world. After the wool is spun, the surface of the distaff reveals the harmonious balanced cosmos emerging from the depth of chaos.

The distaff, the same as the world tree, joining the parts of cosmos into one unity symbolizes also the successful link between opposite sexes (Vaiškūnas 1992: 29). This could be an explanation of its role in the matchmaking and wedding customs of many European countries. A distaff was supposed to be a significant gift for a bride both in Slavic and Baltic nations. In Bulgaria, boys gave a spindle and some wool to girls as a sign of their love. If the girl was not indifferent to the boy, she would spin for a few moments and give it back (Ivanova 1989: 142). In northern Russia if a boy wanted to show his sentiments to a girl, he would snap a small piece of her distaff (Dmitrieva 1988: 151-152). When the groom's parents visited the bride's family in Bulgaria, the groom's father used to have a branch of plum, cherry tree, fir tree, etc. in his hand, and the mother – a distaff with wool.

During the wedding party in Bavaria (Germany), people used to dance a particular dance with a distaff - Kunkeltanz. The tallest and the strongest girlfriend of the bride would bring a distaff with an elaborately wreathed tow. The distaff was decorated with long colourful ribbons. The girls stretched the ribbons. The bride, the groom and the guests danced under this dome of ribbons. Later the distaff was solemnly placed next to the bride (Filimonova 1989: 35). In the morning of the wedding day in north Sardinia (Italy) ritual horse races, called currit di la rucca "running with a distaff", were arranged. A bride sat on a horse holding a new distaff decorated with 5 colourful ribbons. Two riders participated in the competition for the distaff, one from the bride's side and another from the groom's side. The winner was the one who managed to snap up the distaff from the bride's hands. The winner was given one of the ribbons that decorated the distaff. Later the married couple would keep this ritual distaff at the head of their bed (Krasnovskaia 1989: 125).

Often a special ritual tree replaces a distaff during wedding parties and other rituals. From this point of view the combination of a distaff and wool might be compared with the image of wool hung on the sacral tree (e.g. the myth about wool of gold and Argonauts). This motive, which associates the golden wool, hung on the world tree protected by a snake or a dragon belongs then to an archaic level of the Indo-European mythology.

Conclusion

The main decoration element on the distaff is a segment star in the circle reflecting a horizontal section of the cosmos and rendering the structure of the world space and time. This symbol originally comes from observing the sun's motion during the year with regard to the sacral centre. Due to this reason it is associated with the sun, light and the solar year.

The symbols on distaffs convey the archaic perception of the world structure. The world structure is expressed matching the vertical and horizontal projection in the same drawing. Horizontal sections of two or three world layers are placed on the vertical axis at the same time showing vertical and horizontal structure of the world. The following horizontal layers of cosmos are depicted on the vertical axis: subterranean, earthly, heavenly and the uppermost paradise. Frequently the whole structure is framed by meanders, symbolizing the cosmic waters surrounding the world.

The general form of a distaff reflects the structure of the world. Its treelike shape contains many structurally integrated details that correspond precisely to the archaic cosmovision documented in other aspects of Lithuanian folk culture. Because of this, even the most simple distaff with reduced or complete lack of decorative motifs can be interpreted as a symbol of the cosmos. This explains the reason why a distaff is such an important ritual attribute.

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Abbreviations:

JLSD – Juška, A. 1955. Lietuviškos svotbinės dainos. Vilnius. ČDM – Lithuanian folk art. Distaffs. Catalogue of the Collection. Compiled by A. KargaudienP, Kaunas: M. K. Eiurlionis State Museum of Art in Kaunas, 1989.

MNM – Tokarev, S. A. (Ed.) 1988. Mify narodov mira. Entsiklopedia. Moscow. (in Russian).

PK – Lithuanian folk art. Spindles. Catalogue. Compiled by G. Daunienė, Kaunas: M. K. Čiurlionis National Museum of Art. 2000.

UKM – Distaffs. Catalogue. Compiled by E. Juodzevičienė and R. Gudynienė. Utena: Utena Regional Studies Museum, 2000.

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 $\label{eq:continuous} \begin{array}{l} {\rm Dmitrieva, S.\ N.\ 1988.} \ Folklor\ i\ narodnoe\ iskustvo\ russkikh\ Evropeiskogo\ Severa.\ Moscow\ (in\ Russian). \end{array}$

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Comments

- ¹ The article is based on the catalogues of ČDM and UKM (LFADC 1989 and DC 2000).
- ² A tree. At the top only (18 distaffs): ČDM 4, 21, 27, 29, 30, 31, 40, 42, 51, 73, 83, 85, 102; UKM 20, 23, 36, 39, 61. In the middle only (10 distaff): ČDM 18, 41; UKM 5, 10, 41, 42, 45, 46, 48, 62. At the bottom only (4): ČDM 26, 98, 99; UKM 7.

At the top and in the middle (6): ČDM 9, 32, 57, 76; UKM 31, 40. In the middle and at the bottom (0). At the top and at the bottom (3): ČDM 52, 72 UKM 59. Over the whole flat of a distaff (5): ČDM 56, 58, 65, UKM 21,

Abstract plant. At the top only (on 4 distaffs): ČDM 74, 86, 90, 146. In the middle only (4): ČDM 15, 23; UKM 20, 51. At the bottom only (3): ČDM 17, 89, 98. At the top and in the middle (8): ČDM 37, 49, 53, 95; UKM 6, 32, 33, 37. In the middle and at the bottom (4): UKM 4, 12, 15, 33. Over the whole flat of a distaff (7): ČDM 10, 34, 36, 100, 126, 132; UKM 38.

- ³ **Birds**. At the top only (12): ČDM 37, 52, 57, 59, 64, 83, 86, 103; UKM 2, 17, 28, 42. In the middle only (8): ČDM 40, 46, 53, 80, 82; UKM 12, 31, 35. At the bottom only (3): ČDM 58, 146; UKM 37. At the top and in the middle (1): ČDM 44. In the middle and at the bottom (1): UKM 3. At the top and at the bottom (1): ČDM 67.
- ⁴ **S-shaped motifs.** At the bottom only (6): ČDM 17, 21,22, 23, 26, 40, 44. In the middle only (4): ČDM 27, 32, 75, 93. At the top only (0). In the middle and at the bottom (1): ČDM 88, 93. Over the whole flat of a distaff (1): ČDM 45.
- ⁵ **Anthropomorphic motifs** (they are not numerous so we are going to mention motifs that are on the inner side of a distaff): at the top of a distaff ČDM 64a (on the inner side of the distaff there is depicted a coach-

man driving a one-horse cart), UKM 17; in the middle – ČDM 32, 32a (inner side), ČDM 57a (a rider on a horse – on the inner side), ČDM 64 a (a rider on a horse – on the inner side), ČDM 100 (a rider on a horse); UKM 31 **Zoomorphic motifs** (excl. birds): at the top of a distaff – ČDM 64, 103; in the middle, at the bottom – ČDM 57a (inner side of the distaff), ČDM 64a (inner side).

⁶ It occurs in 3 CSS distaffs that CSS and P motifs change each other (ČDM 56, 70, UKM 4, 12, 17, 40, 49), or the third CSS is separated from the other two CSS by a horizontal line (ČDM 41, UKM 9, 28) sometimes the third CSS at the top is no longer a segment star and it is depicted in the linear way (ČDM 11, UKM 5, 7, 21). This might show a peculiar autonomy of the third CSS from the other 2 CSS and its link with a P-motif.

The location of the sunset in the midsummer among the country people is called "the High West of the summer" (the direction of the sunrise of the period — "the High East of the summer"; the directions of winter sunset and sunrise — "the Low East of the winter" and "the Low West of the winter").

- ⁸ More about non-standard division of the world space in the tradition cultures of America see in: McCluskey 1993 and Tichy (1993).
- ⁹ ČDM 25, 30, 32a, 35, 51, 59, 64a, 74a, 90; UKM 8a.
- ¹⁰ ČDM 16, 26, 29, 30, 41, 47, 50, 65, 69, 70, 79, 83, 86, 101, [111]; UKM 3, 15, 23a, 31, 39, 47, 48, 50, 54, 55.
- ¹¹ ČDM 10, 15, 18, 23, 32, 34, 37, 41, 57, 58, 62, 65, 104, 126(G55); UKM 5, 20, 21, 31, 32, 37, 41, 48, 49, 62.
- ¹² ČDM 32, UKM 12a.
- 13 ČDM 3, 9, 21, 28, 38, 41, 55, 63, 65, 67, 69, 70, 73, 83, 89, 92, 96, 103, 104; UKM 2, 6, 9, 17, 25, 27, 31, 47, 58.
- ¹⁴ČDM 7; UKM 16, 17, 25, 33, 42, 58.
- 15 ČDM 32, 32a; UKM 31.
- ¹⁶ ČDM 100.
- 17 ČDM 40, 44, 46, 80, 82; UKM 31, 35.
- ¹⁸ ČDM 27, 75, 88, 93.
- ¹⁹ UKM 12.
- ²⁰ ČDM 38, 70 UKM 34, 39, 51.
- ²¹ ČDM 10,34, 36, 49, 53,56,58,65,77a, 146(G18), 132(G66), UKM 27a, 32, 38, 49).
- ²² ČDM 25, 30, 32a, 35, 51, 59, 64a, 74a, 90; UKM 8a, 15a, 27a.
- ²³ ČDM 14, 14a, 48, 37a.
- ²⁴ A spindle appeared with a spinning wheel. In Western Europe spinning wheels were known already in the second half of the 17th century. They spread in Lithuania later. In some places it was used as later as early 20th century.
- ²⁵ LTR 1577/441/.