

307.156

42
1997
Acta

8

Ethnographica Hungarica

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Volume 42

Numbers 1-2

1997

Ethnicity – Religion – Nationhood



Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

ACTA ETHNOGRAPHICA HUNGARICA

A PERIODICAL OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Acta Ethnographica Hungarica publishes contributions describing recent scientific advances in the field of ethnography, folklore and cultural and social anthropology. Emphasis is laid on subjects related to Hungarian ethnography and folklore as well as on works presenting Hungarian folklore in the context of East European and Eurasian cultures.

Editorial Office

ACTA ETHNOGRAPHICA HUNGARICA

MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézet

H-1014 Budapest, Országház u. 30.

Phone: (36-1) 175-9011

Fax: (36-1) 179-9764

Manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to

ACTA ETHNOGRAPHICA HUNGARICA

H-1250 Budapest, P.O. Box 29

Orders should be addressed to

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

H-1519 Budapest, P.O. Box 245

Subscription price for Volume 42 (1997) of 4 issues US\$ 112 including normal postage,
airmail delivery US\$ 20

Acta Ethnographica Hungarica is abstracted/indexed in Current Anthropology, Current Awareness in Biological Science, Current Contents/Arts and Humanities, International Bibliography of Periodical Literature, Social Sciences Citation Index.

© Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1997

postage
stamp
required

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ Rt.
Export Division

P.O. Box 245
H-1519 Budapest
Hungary

Acta Ethnographica Hungarica

Please start my subscription from Vol. (Insert volume number)
in copy/ies

1997: Volume 42 (of four issues)

Subscription price/volume: USD 112.00 including postage

Prepayment is required. • Discount for agencies only: max. 15% • All pro-forma invoices are made out in USD before publication of the first issue. • Bank charges of the client's bank are to be borne by the client. • Please quote our invoice and contract number. • Cancellation: until the date of publication.

(Airmail delivery is available at an extra charge: USD 20.00)

Signature: _____

Delivery Address: _____

City: _____ Country: _____ Post Code: _____

INDEX

Essays

Irén ANNUS: Mormons or Americans: A Proposed Identity Model of the American Latter-Day Saints	35
Gábor BARNA: Religion – Identity – Assimilation	139
Gyula BEIN: Die Siebenbürger Sachsen im Umgang mit ihrer Geschichte und Kultur	254
Györgyi BINDORFFER: Ethnicity and/or National Identity – Ethnic Germans in Hungary. A Case Study	195
Ann Helene BOLSTAD SKJELBRED: Religion – Ethnicity – Nationalism	45
Milana ČERNELIĆ: Attempts to Deny Bunjevci of Bačka (Vojvodina) the Right to Belong to the Croat Nation.....	175
Márta CSEPREGI: General Information about the Ostyaks. An Introduction	275
Márta CSEPREGI: Samples from the Genres of Ostyak Folklore.....	285
Tamás HOFFMANN: Braun oder Schwarz. Volkskundliche Theorien im deutschen Sprachbereich	235
Ágnes KEREZSI: Characteristics of the Life, Culture and Beliefs of the Ostyaks of the Surgut Region.....	349
Ethnicity – Religion – Nationhood: The Construction of Identities. Introduction (László KÜRTI – Gábor BARNA).....	3
László KÜRTI: Hungary and Neighbors: Stereotypes and Realities.....	103
Katalin LÁZÁR: Vocal Folk Music of the Eastern Ostyaks.....	415
Hungarian Culture and Christianity. The 4th International Congress of Hungarian Studies (Roma–Naples, 9–14. September 1996) (László LUKÁCS).....	253
Paul Robert MAGOCSI: The Birth of a New Nation, or the Return of an Old Problem? The Rusyns of East Central Europe	119
Marjorie MANDELSTAM BALZER: From Ethnicity to Nationalism: Turmoil in the Russian Mini-Empire	53
Attila PALÁDI-KOVÁCS: Ethnic Tradition in Hungary in the Field of Work Activity	187
Bertalan PUSZTAI: Collision of Identities	149
Peter SALNER–Viera FEGLOVÁ: Bratislava und Petržalka. Zwei Gestalten einer Stadt	167
Jeffrey A. SLUKA: Domination, Resistance and Political Culture in Northern Ireland's Catholic-Nationalist Ghettos	9
Thomas S. SZAJNA: Ethnic Poles in Lithuania and Belarus: Current Situation and Migration Potential...	81
Diana SZÁNTÓ: What makes a Wayana? Ethnicity and Identity in the Guyanas. First Impressions and Considerations	229
Judit SZÜCS: Tauschkinder und Tauschburschen in Csongrád.....	209

Reviews

Beke Ödön: Mari nyelvjárási szótár (Tscheremissisches Dialektwörterbuch). I–II. (Vilmos VOIGT).....	464
Bibliotheca Pápayensis I–VI. József Pápay's ostjakischer Nachlaß (Vilmos VOIGT).....	461
Bibliotheca Pápayensis VII. József Pápay's tschuwaschischer Nachlaß (Vilmos VOIGT).....	463
Carol Lems-Dworkin: African Music. A Pan-African Annotated Bibliography (Szilárd BIERNACZKY)	261

Folia Uralica Debreceniensia 1–4 (1989–1997) (Vilmos VOIGT).....	465
V. M. Kulemzin–N. V. Lukina: Znakomtes': Khanty; A. M. Takhtueva: Material'naja kultura yuganskikh khanty (Márta CSEPREGI).....	458
Magyar Néprajzi Atlasz (Atlas der ungarischen Volkskultur) I–IX. Hrsg. Jenő Barabás (Iván BALASSA)	263
Thomas Rakoczy: Böser Blick. Macht des Auges und Neid der Götter. Eine Untersuchung zur Kraft des Blickes in der griechischen Literatur (Vilmos VOIGT)	270
Péter Veres: The Ethnogenesis and Ethnic History of the Hungarian People. Problems of Ecology Adaptation and Cultural Change (Ágnes HUSZÁR).....	267
Edit Vértes: Szibériai nyelvrokonaink hitvilága (Belief-world of our Siberian linguistic kindred) (Márta CSEPREGI).....	455
Adelheid Weiser: Die Völker Nordsibiriens unter sowjetischer Herrschaft von 1917 bis 1936 (Mihály SÁRKÁNY).....	269



Printed in Hungary

Akadémiai Nyomda, Martonvásár

ACTA ETHNOGRAPHICA HUNGARICA

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Editor-in-Chief

BERTALAN ANDRÁSFALVY

Executive Editor

GÁBOR BARNA

Members of the Editorial Board

IVÁN BALASSA, ENDRE FÜZES, ESZTER KISBÁN,
ATTILA PÁLÁDI-KOVÁCS, MIHÁLY SÁRKÁNY,
ATTILA SELMECZI KOVÁCS, ZOLTÁN UJVÁRY, VILMOS VOIGT



Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

MAGYAR
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
KÖNYVTÁRA

Contents

ETHNICITY – RELIGION – NATIONHOOD

Ethnicity – Religion – Nationhood: The Construction of Identities. Introduction (László KÜRTI–Gábor BARNA)	3
---	---

ETHNICITY – RELIGION – POLITICS

Jeffrey A. SLUKA: Domination, Resistance and Political Culture in Northern Ireland's Catholic-Nationalist Ghettos	9
Irén ANNUS: Mormons or Americans: A Proposed Identity Model of the American Latter-Day Saints	35
Ann Helene BOLSTAD SKJELBRED: Religion – Ethnicity – Nationalism	45
Marjorie MANDELSTAM BALZER: From Ethnicity to Nationalism: Turmoil in the Russian Mini-Empire	53

CONFLICTING IDENTITIES IN CENTRAL EUROPE

Thomas S. SZAJNA: Ethnic Poles in Lithuania and Belarus: Current Situation and Migration Potential	81
László KÜRTI: Hungary and Neighbors: Stereotypes and Realities	103
Paul Robert MAGOCSI: The Birth of a New Nation, or the Return of an Old Problem? The Rusyns of East Central Europe	119
Gábor BARNA: Religion – Identity – Assimilation	139
Bertalan PUSZTAI: Collision of Identities	149

CULTURES – NATIONS – LANGUAGES IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

Peter SALNER–Viera FEGLOVA: Bratislava und Petrzalka. Zwei Gestalten einer Stadt	167
Milana ČERNELIĆ: Attempts to Deny Bunjevci of Bačka (Vojvodina) the Right to Belong to the Croat Nation	175
Attila PALÁDI-KOVÁCS: Ethnic Traditions in Hungary in the Field of Work Activity	187

Györgyi BINDORFFER: Ethnicity and/or National Identity – Ethnic Germans in Hungary. A Case Study	195
Judit SZÜCS: Tauschkinder und Tauschburschen in Csongrád	209

VARIOUS STUDIES, DISCUSSION

Diana SZÁNTÓ: What makes a Wayana? Ethnicity and Identity in the Guayanas. First Impressions and Considerations.....	229
Tamás HOFFMANN: Braun oder Schwarz. Volkskundliche Theorien im deutschen Sprachbereich	235

CONFERENCES, RESEARCH CENTRES

Hungarian Culture and Christianity. The 4th International Congress of Hungarian Studies (Rome–Naples, 9–14. September 1996) (László LUKÁCS)	253
Gyula BEIN: Die Siebenbürgen Sachsen im Umgang mit ihrer Geschichte und Kultur	254

REVIEWS

Carol LEMS-DWORKIN: African Music. A Pan-African Annotated Bibliography (Szilárd BIERNACZKY)	261
Magyar Néprajzi Atlasz (Atlas der ungarischen Volkskultur) I–IX. Hrsg. Jenő BARABÁS. (Iván BALASSA)	263
Péter VERES: The Ethnogenesis and Ethnic History of the Hungarian People. Problems of Ecology Adaptation and Cultural change. (Ágnes HUSZÁR)	267
Adelheid WEISER: Die Völker Nordsibiriens unter sowjetischer Herrschaft von 1917 bis 1936. (Mihály SÁRKÁNY)	269
Thomas RAKOCZY: Böser Blick. Macht des Auges und Neid der Götter. Eine Untersuchung zur Kraft des Blickes in der griechischen Literatur (Vilmos VOIGT)	270

INFORMATIONS

Trames

ARV

ETHNICITY – RELIGION – NATIONHOOD

Edited by

László KÜRTI (Guest Editor) and Gábor BARNA

ETHNICITY – RELIGION – NATIONHOOD: THE CONSTRUCTION OF IDENTITIES

INTRODUCTION

Every person is born into a set of communal relationships that defines his or her definite place in society. These relationships, often through kinship and network systems, tie everyone to various communities both local and outside the immediate communal area. This place, while it could be traditional, may vary according to status, rank, prestige, peripheralization, or may be continuous, broken or multifunctional depending on the cultural setting.

Many of these relationships are bound by strong sense of tradition – whatever the definition of this term we accept. Yet it is also clear from the anthropological literature that, at the same time, they are also situational and continually changing together with the other elements of the socioeconomic system. This relationship, however, strong and “traditional” it may seem to some, is not static, nor is it in some sort of equilibrium. What may be constant is, however, the importance that such a connectedness and network positions every individual determining, to a large extent, his or her interests and identities.

Specific interests may influence the given cultural notions of selves, individual as well as those of the community. This is not a mechanical, or to use an earlier anthropological notion, a naturally given set of ossified social structure. Yet, we must ask: how can we explain that in our global village era, local ties, national and ethnic identities continue to remain fundamental to groups all over the globe. Or, instead of disappearing with the onset of various globalization processes – the global ethnospace of A. Appadurai, or the global ecumene of U. Hannerz – they are reinforced through cultural negotiations. From the recent anthropological literature, it is now obvious, that many local traditions and identities are being refashioned as a direct consequence of the globalization patterns. For instance, with the onset of global television networks, such as SKY, TNT, CNN and various internet networks, many local cultures are now opting for developing their language communication technologies though the availability of satellites or cable televisions.

We should not, however, only celebrate the victory of localism or regionalism. Studies also point to a much more pessimistic picture: namely, the deleterious consequences of global, political and cultural interventions with which powerful economical and political centers are able to influence local communities. Thus, in many ways, local

cultures and minority groups are continually facing marginalization and cultural exploitation from powerful centers. As a natural consequence, economy, local ties, customs, kinship networks, religion, language and folklore may be fundamentally altered because of these outside interventions. Local identities, many of which believed to be "traditional" or "ancestral" by the group in question, may also reflect this inevitable change. In the case of a minority or diaspora community this may mean that their culture could simply be assimilated into the larger political entity, thus forming a pariah group within it. Such a rearrangement may also lead to conflicts, hostilities or outright warfare as the examples from Chechnya, the four-year-long Balkan War, or many Asians or African military amply illustrate. In such cases, local cultures may simply disappear and individual or collective consciousness scarred for decades. Yet, some cultures are able to mount successful struggles and implement potential identity reinforcement measures for themselves. If successful in this struggle, local cultures may continue to flourish and even flourish. Diaspora groups from the former colonies are existing side by side, a symbiosis observable in metropolitan centers from London to Bombay, from Moscow to New York. Even in the former Soviet Union one can find excellent examples for the vitality of local cultures and traditions that face enormous challenges from political and majority centers. The creation of the Sakha (Yakut) republic is one case that illustrates this nicely.

Such ethnographic case studies from the former Soviet Bloc point to the fact that we find examples for both of the ways in which cultural identities may be reconstructed. For the past forty years most groups within the influence of Moscow were provided with a ready-made unquestionable form of identity. This situation was further aggravated by the uneven development of East European regions and the way in which these regions were experiencing historic processes. Following World War I, most of the newly created states of Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Romania and Hungary were states with new borders and populations given to them by the victorious western powers. With the exception of Hungary, they all received large shares from the former empires (Habsburg, Ottoman, Russian) and, with the new boundaries, large multi-ethnic populations as well. Millions of Hungarians suddenly found themselves in new states, under different administrative systems, and school and language policies affecting their identities fundamentally. These multi-ethnic states were, however, not to last too long. Even despite the socialist hegemony imposed upon them, the Eastern European states could not work out any healthy arrangements for their minority populations. In fact, through mismanaged state policies, most socialist states reorganized interethnic relations with deleterious consequences. In the case of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the revolutions of 1989 have brought fundamental changes: these large states broke up into smaller polities. From the victorious World War I states, Romania is the only one left intact. However, in Romania, too, problems continue to hamper the existence of democracy; large groups of Hungarians, Romanians, and others must fight for their rightful place in society. The German question, solved conclusively by allowing them to emigrate under N. Ceausescu's maniacal plans, is not a question anymore. Thus, there is no need for justification why scholars must continue to observe the recreation of identities and ethno-national relations in this part of the world.

This volume presents interesting case-studies about the constantly changing and re-negotiated sense of identity. Ethnographic analyses call attention to the reconstructed sets of identities that are in a state of flux challenged, as they are, constantly during these turbulent days. The following chapters focus on four main areas of scholarly inquiry: language maintenance, cultural movements, ethnic and religious identities. By highlighting these cultural groups, we are able to witness diverse ethno-national processes at work: we see secularization together with increasing religious fundamentalism. We witness, moreover, global economic trends as well as local technological crises intertwined. In all cases, identity formations and renewed inter-ethnic relations are just one natural consequence of these for every group in question. Often these new inter-ethnic relations and recreated identities exist within the confines of diaspora groups, while others take transnational forms rejecting state boundaries altogether. While there are ethnographic differences in the cases presented here, questions remain largely the same: How does a group react to these changes? What is the future of small minorities around the globe? How language, religion and culture are utilized in this global homogenizing process? To answer them, scholars must pay attention to these cultural phenomena at this crucial historic moment, a reason for which we have decided to edit this work.

We wish to admit that besides the ethnographic investigations we had an ulterior motif in mind. In 1996, Hungary celebrated its 1100 years of statehood. After the settlement of the Carpathian Basin in 896 AD, Hungarians took up Christianity, organized a state, founded a political and administrative system, and unified the multi-ethnic populations into a state citizenry. This large geographic and political unit was together with approximate homogeneity until World War I. Since that war, many forces contributed to the situation present today. Therefore, we have decided that this millennial occasion provides us with a good cause not only to celebrate but to look back, to reinvestigate and, hopefully, relearn the cultural history of this region. We hope that by offering this volume we have done our share.

László KÜRTI, Gábor BARNA
Editors

ETHNICITY – RELIGION – POLITICS

DOMINATION, RESISTANCE AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN NORTHERN IRELAND'S CATHOLIC-NATIONALIST GHETTOS

Jeff Sluka

Department of Social Anthropology
Massey University
Palmerston North
New Zealand

They haven't seen the half of it yet. We have the capability to sustain and increase our attacks... If I need to be planting bombs in the year 2010 in London, I will do so. If I am not able to do it, then my son or daughter will do it. I am quite prepared to die (IRA Spokesperson, March 1992).

We're still here and we're here to stay (Sinn Féin spokesperson, July 1991).

What have we to offer the British? We offer them the open hand of friendship or the clenched fist of resistance (Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams, addressing 20 000 participants in the Spirit of Resistance March and Rally, Falls Road, August 1991).

Slua Ag Coimhlint Is Linn Cultor An Athraigh – We Are The People of Struggle Ours Is The Culture of Change (Banner at Spirit of Resistance Rally).

Twenty years of struggle have created a culture of struggle, a culture of resistance, we are going to transform this into a culture of change, a culture of victory (Gerry Adams, Oration at 1990 Easter Commemoration on the Falls Road).¹

INTRODUCTION

In February 1992, in the context of a discussion of nationalism, unity and disunity in the 'New Europe', an anthropologist expressed the view that 'the secession movement in Northern Ireland has come and gone' (Joan Vincent, cited in JONES 1992: 5). Having recently completed six months of fieldwork in West Belfast (July–December 1991), this surprised me because my experience was that the opposite was the case. In the Catholic ghettos of West Belfast at least, the Republican movement was as strong as ever, compared with the situation a decade earlier when I conducted my first fieldwork on the Falls Road in Belfast (SLUKA 1989). At that time, immediately following the 1981 Hunger Strike, the Republican movement had emerged relegitimized and revitalized. The Hunger

¹ I do not use quotations from Republican spokespersons naively. While they engage in propaganda just as do the British authorities, everything they say cannot be dismissed simply as untrue. I quote them only when what they say represents an accurate description of what my research leads me to believe is true. I employ the same objective approach when using quotes from anyone – including the British authorities and other academics.

Strike transformed the relationship between working-class Catholics and the Republican movement. Feldman, in his analysis of the significance of the Hunger Strike, describes it as 'the ultimate resymbolization of the Republican movement,' which produced a profound shift in the cultural construction of Republican violence (FELDMAN 1991: 259). Ten years after the Hunger Strike, I found that in the Catholic ghettos of West Belfast the resistance movement was as strong as it had been in 1981–82. There is no evidence on the ground in the ghettos to support the claims, generally made by their opponents, that the Republican movement has peaked and their fortunes are beginning to wane.

Significantly, I also found that there is a barrage of criticism and propaganda aimed at Republicans by what they would term 'pro-British elements' – including the British and Irish governments, the Security Forces and intelligence services, the media, and the Catholic hierarchy. This barrage of criticism and 'vilification' tends to portray the general level of resistance as declining and the Republican movement as becoming increasingly isolated from their grassroots of popular support among working-class Catholics. What all these views have in common is that they are basically 'external' to the ghettos. They generally come from people who have a greater degree of 'distance' from the war, particularly from the direct experience of military and judicial repression. In the past, the 'official view' has always been that the Republican movement is 'on the run', when it never really has been, and that seems to be the case today. On the ground in the ghettos, the evidence is that the nationalist struggle has not 'come and gone' – though, clearly, some might wish that that were so.

The British response to Irish resistance had always been to try to contain it (ROLSTON 1991). Since the beginning of the war in 1969, British policy has continued to stress containment of the conflict by trying to confine it to specific areas and keep the level of violence at an 'acceptable level'. The British authorities have sought to contain repression and resistance within the Catholic ghettos of Belfast, Derry, Newry, and other cities, and in the rural border areas where Catholics are the majority population (e.g. the so-called 'bandit country' of south Armagh around Crossmaglen). This has required massive military commitment and financial support (ROLSTON 1991: 156). The apparent 'normality' of the urban landscape in Northern Ireland is the result of containment of the war within these specific sites.² Because the war is largely concentrated in the Catholic 'urban village' ghettos, they represent the major battleground or 'killing fields' of one of the longest running and most intractable wars in the world today. As a result, statistically those most at risk of death in Northern Ireland are innocent Catholic civilians. Counterinsurgency operations and the 'dirty war' apparatus (FALIGOT 1983, DILLON 1990), coupled with the activities of pro-government death squads³ and Loyalist extremists, have created an unpredictable deployment of terror concentrated in these communities with

² The social geography and spatical formations of violence in Northern Ireland are important, and have been described and analysed by BOAL (1974, 1981), BOAL et. al. (1976), and FELDMAN (1991: 17–45).

³ 'Death squads' are generally defined in the literature as pro-government groups who engage in 'extra-judicial' killings, whose members are either directly or indirectly connected with the government and/or security forces. There is usually overlap in membership and various forms of collusion between death squads and the security forces.

the result that every family or household, if not every individual, can tell you about a relative, neighbour, or friend in jail or killed by the Security Forces or Loyalists, and they all have their own personal repertoire of experiences and stock of stories about the terror. In this manner, all sectors of the population of the ghettos have been touched by pro-state terror, and living with death squads and the threat of sectarian attack is an everyday reality of life and important feature of repression and state terror in these urban districts.

While some might believe that the term 'killing fields' is melodramatic and inappropriate, in both my view and that of the people who live in the ghettos, it is appropriate. The Catholic ghettos are 'killing fields' in the sense that they represent the major sites of violence, the battlegrounds where domination and resistance in general and the war in particular are concentrated, contained, and isolated. They are spaces of violence, death, and transformation which continually generate both IRA recruits and enough popular support and sympathy among the rest of the people to maintain the current struggle. My research leads me to conclude that the residents of these communities believe that they live in killing fields where the threat of sudden violent death is an everyday reality of life. In order to understand what political life in the Catholic ghettos is like, and where the resistance in these communities comes from, it is necessary to begin by recognising that from their perspective they are living in the killing fields of the war.

As my fieldwork progressed it became clear that there was a significant disparity between the external view and the one inside the ghettos. In what follows, I seek to explain this dissonance and why my research leads to the conclusion that the war is not winding down and is likely to go on indefinitely. I present an anthropological or cultural argument describing and analyzing the dialectical interaction that exists in Northern Ireland between pro-state terror, as represented by security forces counterinsurgency operations and the violence of Loyalist extremists, and the culture of resistance in Catholic working-class districts that could not be sustained without it.

THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF DOMINATION, RESISTANCE AND TERROR

Cultures of Terror and Resistance are a common phenomenon in the contemporary world, and they have become the subject of much anthropological interest. In fact, the anthropological concepts of domination and resistance are in some ways the modern analog of the old conceptual dichotomy between 'custom and conflict'. In the contemporary world there are many ethnic groups waging armed struggles for political autonomy or sovereignty. Of the 120 or so wars, 72% (86) are internal conflicts between states and ethnically marked populations within them (NIETSCHMANN 1987, TISHKOV 1989: 200). In many of these situations the concepts of culture of terror and resistance are useful.

The anthropological use of the concept of resistance (the weapon of the weak) emerges largely from research in peasant societies, and the concept of 'culture of terror' (a weapon of the powerful) emerges largely from two sources – research in colonial or Third World societies, particularly Latin America, and research on US intervention in Latin America and other parts of the Third World (TAUSSIG 1984; CHOMSKY 1988;

HERMAN 1982). It has become widely accepted that when they cannot otherwise escape, beleaguered, oppressed people will respond with resistance (NORDSTROM and MARTIN 1992). Unfortunately, this resistance has all too frequently been used as an excuse for further repression. The concept of 'culture of terror' has emerged largely from the work of Michael TAUSSIG (1984). Taussig argues that where political murder and torture become endemic, cultures of terror flourish. The basic characteristic of cultures of terror is that these are societies where order and the status quo can only be maintained by the permanent, massive, and systematic use or threat of use of violence and intimidation by the state and its supporters as a means of political control. A culture of terror is a system of permanent intimidation of subordinated communities, characterised by the establishment of an institutionalised machinery for establishing 'collective fear' as a means of social control. In such a system, there is an ever-present threat of repression, torture, and death for anyone who opposes the political status quo. I argue that this concept is useful in elucidating the conditions of political life in the Catholic ghettos.

Like many post-colonial settler societies, Northern Ireland is composed of two ethnic communities, Irish-Catholic-Nationalists and British-Protestant-Unionists, arranged hierarchically in a relationship of domination and subordination. This hierarchical relationship of Protestant domination has always been maintained primarily by force and has, therefore, always produced resistance. The presence of this resistance in turn was used as a rationalization and justification for the development of a culture of terror aimed at repressing it, and this in turn has now lead to the evolution of a culture of resistance in the Catholic ghettos. The basic contradiction in repression emerges here – namely, that while it is intended to counter resistance, in operation it creates or exacerbates it. At best, repression can only hope to contain resistance, and that has always been its primary purpose in Northern Ireland (ROLSTON 1991). The history of domination and subordination, and the evolution of these opposed but dialectically inter-related cultures of terror and resistance, is outlined in Michael FARELL's classic political history 'Northern Ireland – The Orange State' (1980), and their broad contemporary outlines are described in a number of excellent descriptive and analytic books that have now been published on aspects of the conflict.

STATE TERROR IN NORTHERN IRELAND

Northern Ireland has always existed in a permanent official state of 'emergency' and has only been governable with reference to draconian 'special power' or 'emergency' legislation, which suggests that it is basically unsustainable without the widespread abuse of human rights. As ROLSTON has noted, 'repression has such a long and respectable history in Ireland that it is the first instrument which the state reaches for when faced with political problems' (1991: 167), and he argues that the British are 'locked in their tradition of repressive responses to insurgency' (1991: 171). During my most recent fieldwork period, the war, which after 23 years has produced over 3000 deaths and 32 000 injured, and resulted in the British government having the worst human rights record in Europe, continued at a high level, and appeared to be no less intense on the

ground than it had been a decade previously when I conducted my initial period of fieldwork in Northern Ireland. I would argue that while the statistics for the number of 'terrorist incidents' over the 23 years of the war show a gradual decline in the 'intensity' of the war, my experience on the ground in the Catholic ghettos belies this, and it would be wrong to conclude that the war is 'winding down.' Rather, it is simply becoming more refined. Evidence of this is seen in the fact that this period was characterized by the gradual deployment of ever increasing numbers of British troops in Northern Ireland. In October 1991 the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland reported that the Security Forces were conducting 2500 patrols each month, and by the end of December there were 12 000 British soldiers (not counting the 6000 members of the Ulster Defense Regiment) in the province and plans to send more.

It is very difficult in a short space to describe the grim reality of the culture of terror in the Catholic ghettos. In the book emerging from my first period of fieldwork in Belfast in 1981/82, I have described the role played by repression – particularly the military and judicial counterinsurgency apparatus – in the formation of community ideology, identity and resistance (SLUKA 1989). My conclusion was that the British government and their Security Forces have applied military and judicial repression in a highly indiscriminate manner against the Catholic communities they believe support the Republican insurgency, and this has served to alienate that population and has created and continuously reinforced popular support for the Republican movement. It is clear that the counterinsurgency strategy in Northern Ireland has done more to generate resistance and recruit members to the IRA⁴ than anything the Republican movement has done.⁵

To give the reader the barest idea of the day-to-day reality of pro-state terror and repression in Northern Ireland, I will briefly review some of the major aspects of this prominent during my fieldwork between July–December 1991. Following this, some parallels will be drawn between TAUSSIG's (1984) notion of the culture of terror and the situation in Northern Ireland.

Important aspects of pro-state terror that were prominent during the fieldwork period revolved primarily around the activities of the Security Forces (the British army, Royal Ulster Constabulary [RUC], and Ulster Defense Regiment [UDR])⁶ and those of the Loyalist paramilitaries (Ulster Defense Association [UDA] and Ulster Volunteer Force [UVF]) and their associated death squads (Ulster Freedom Fighters [UFF] and Red Hand Commandos). There has been no reduction in Security Forces counterinsurgency operations, and these continued at a very high-level with constant patrolling, surveillance, and intelligence-gathering in the Catholic ghettos. The British army has concentrated their forces more in the ghetto areas, and there were more British soldiers on the Falls Road than there were a decade ago in 1981/82.

⁴ In 1991, there were three Republican paramilitary groups – the Provisional Irish Republican Army (PIRA), Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), and Irish Peoples Liberation Organization (IPLO). For the sake of simplicity, in this paper all three of these are generally included under the single term – IRA.

⁵ See FALIGOT (1983) for the best book to date about counterinsurgency and state terror in Northern Ireland.

⁶ Recently merged with and renamed the Royal Irish Rifles.

This period saw the deaths and funerals of several IRA Volunteers and several Sinn Féin councillors and members killed either by the Security Forces or Loyalist death squads, and more numerous deaths and funerals of innocent Catholic civilians killed by Loyalist extremists. There were increasing allegations of an upsurge in 'ill-treatment' (a political euphemism for 'torture') of detainees at Castlereagh interrogation centre. A major issue was mounting evidence of collusion between the Security Forces and Loyalist paramilitary groups leading to death squad attacks. Loyalist death squads and extremists assassinated Sinn Féin councillors and members, and killed and injured innocent Catholics in sectarian attacks. On several occasions groups of Catholics were advised by the RUC that information about them had been leaked to Loyalist death squads. At the same time, there were allegations from people who had been detained that during interrogation they were threatened by policemen that their names and information about them would be passed onto Loyalist death squads and they would be assassinated unless they chose to cooperate.

The period was also marked by a major increase in violence by Loyalist paramilitaries, including a spate of firebombings by the UDA in the Republic of Ireland in July, and a high level of sectarian attacks against innocent Catholics by Loyalist extremists. On a number of occasions Catholics were attacked and severely injured by gangs of Loyalist youths with fists, clubs, breezeblocks and knives. There was a renewed wave of sectarian attacks by Loyalist extremists and death squads in August, including a Belfast newsagent who was shot dead, purportedly for 'disseminating Republican propaganda' because he sold copies of *An Phoblacht*/Republican News in his shop on the Falls Road, and a Catholic man who was kicked to death in Lisburn. In September a 31-year-old Catholic taxi driver was murdered by Loyalists in north Belfast, and Magherafelt Sinn Féin councillor Bernard O'Hagan was assassinated by the UFF. He was the third Sinn Féin councillor and fourth Sinn Féin member to be shot dead by the UFF in 1991. In October the UFF announced that members of the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA) who used it to 'promote Republicanism' would be considered legitimate targets. There was also another succession of sectarian attacks against Catholics in October. In the space of eight days Loyalist gangs murdered five Catholics and attempts were made on the lives of others, some of whom were seriously injured. These were random sectarian attacks, where the victims were singled out simply because they were from nationalist areas. Some of these were 'dial-a-victim' sectarian attacks – call for a Catholic taxi driver or pizza delivery man, and shoot them when they arrive. In November a 40-year-old Catholic woman and her teenage son died when their Glengormley home was petrol bombed. They had been frequent victims of sectarian harassment.

We see illustrated in these occurrences that there is a strong degree of 'fit' between TAUSSIG's (1984) concept of culture of terror and the character of domination and repression in Northern Ireland. Taussig argues that cultures of terror rely on institutionalised forms of political murder and torture, are based on silence and myth, and are marked by an unreal atmosphere of ordinariness. He also highlights the particular susceptibility of settler societies to evolve into such cultures of terror. In each of these areas Northern Ireland fits the definition.

1) Torture and Murder:⁷ Torture by police interrogators and murder by the Security Forces and Loyalist extremists has always been a central feature of the pro-state terror in the Catholic ghettos. For example, since the war began in 1969 there have been literally dozens of official reports by human rights organizations criticising Britain's human rights record in Northern Ireland. In fact, this has happened so frequently that no one seems to pay much attention to these anymore, if they ever did. During the six months from July–December 1991 alone, the British government was criticised by human rights organisations on at least three occasions. In July, Amnesty International published a special report criticising the British government and Security Forces in Northern Ireland in the areas of extra-judicial killings, official shoot-to-kill cover-ups, crown forces collusion with Loyalist death squads, arbitrary arrests, ill-treatment of detainees and allegations of torture in RUC interrogation centres, falsification of evidence and unfair trials. In October, Helsinki Watch issued a report which also severely condemned the British government for violations of human rights in Northern Ireland. And in November both Amnesty International and the Committee on the Administration of Justice submitted reports on physical and mental 'intimidation' at Castlereagh Interrogation Centre to the UN's Committee Against Torture, who expressed serious concern about interrogation and detention procedures.

With regard to murder, the Security Forces in Northern Ireland have been responsible for the deaths of at least 150 innocent Catholics, and about 600 more have been killed by Loyalist extremists in sectarian attacks. This means that innocent Catholic civilians represent the largest sub-category of fatalities in the war, and are the most likely to be killed. Given that almost all of these people were from the Catholic ghettos, it should come as no surprise that people living in these communities view them as the killing fields of the war.

There has also always been a great deal of evidence indicating a substantial degree of collusion between the Loyalist paramilitaries and the Security Forces and intelligence services. This is typical of death squad activity around the world, and is a social fact that the residents of the Catholic ghettos hold as a matter of belief. Ever since the beginning of the war, there has been mounting evidence of state forces being involved in the Loyalist 'terror' campaign. Dossiers on nationalists and Republicans, compiled by the Security Forces and Intelligence Services, have been 'turning up' in UDA and UVF hands for over two decades now! The Ulster Defence Regiment was heavily infiltrated by the UDA and UVF almost from the start, and quickly became intrinsically linked with the public image of Loyalist violence. Over 320 members have been convicted of offences against

⁷ Some observers would argue that, because the courts have never convicted any member of the Security Forces of torture, and only one for murder, the term 'alleged' should always be used before referring to torture and political murder by state forces in Northern Ireland. This is more a question of legal semantics than objective evidence, and there is, in fact, substantial evidence which has now been documented in a number of books and reports by credible individuals and organisations like Amnesty International, of torture and murder in Northern Ireland. Certainly, no one living in the Catholic ghettos in Northern Ireland doubts this. My research leads me to have little doubt that such terror does occur, and has done so consistently over the past two decades in Northern Ireland. I would stake my professional reputation on it. Hence, I do not amend the word 'alleged.'

Catholics, including murder, maimings, kidnappings, serious assault, and passing information to Loyalist paramilitaries. Hundreds of other members have been purged from the regiment – most of them suspected of having links with Loyalist paramilitary groups (Sinn Féin 1990). One thing that makes this particularly frightening is that detainees continue to accuse police interrogators of threatening them with assassination by Loyalist death squads if they do not cooperate with them.

2) Unreal Atmosphere of Ordinarity: The British authorities make much of the fact that there is a 'high degree of normality' in everyday life in Northern Ireland. But as CONROY perceptively notes:

that normality is indeed there. The bread is in the shops. The milk is on the doorstep. The police outside City Hall carry automatic weapons, but you hardly notice it after a while. *Unless you know where to look, and unless you care to look there*, it is easy to believe that it is not a society in a state of suppressed war, but a society at peace which is plagued by a few "godfathers of violence" who will soon be sorted out by the police, the army, or the Diplock courts (1987: 217–218. My emphasis).

As noted, this apparent 'normality' of the urban landscape is the result of containment of the culture of terror within the ghettos.

Another important aspect of the social geography of containment of the war is that it is essentially a working-class phenomenon, which explains why it can largely be confined to specific locations. In the cities at least, both Republican and Loyalist paramilitaries are almost completely recruited within the ghettos from among working and workless class people. This means that middle and upper class people, who do not live in the ghettos, are relatively – sometimes almost completely – isolated from the daily realities of the war. For example, there are few if any fortified barracks, army foot patrols, IRA operations, surveillance, riots, sectarian attacks, death squad assassinations, or political murals, funerals, marches, demonstrations, or commemorations in middle and upper class districts. That much of Northern Irish society is relatively isolated or distanced from the war is significant. This is both a physical and psychological distance. The reality of everyday life – of 'war as a way of life' – on the ground in the ghettos is not understood or fully appreciated. The curious social fact is that many – even most – people in Northern Ireland are distanced from the repression characteristic of life in the ghettos, and obviously this influences their own views concerning resistance. Thus, if a visitor to Northern Ireland avoids the ghettos, life in the province can appear to be quite 'normal'.

In order to find the cultures of terror and resistance on the ground you need, as Conroy pointed out, not only to know where to look, you also need to care to look there. For example, Irish and British journalists specifically, and the media generally, avoid doing first hand 'investigative' work that would reveal the nature and extent of repression and resistance in the ghettos. There has been an aversion by almost everyone who does not live in these areas to actually go inside them or look at what goes on there objectively. This psychic aversion contributes to the silence and mystification that is part of the culture of terror.

Except for those who live in these areas where the war is concentrated, almost no one really knows what is going in these communities. Those who live in the ghettos and other battlegrounds of repression and resistance, the authorities and security forces, and a handful of outsiders, are the only people who are aware of the realities of life there. The mass of the Irish population itself, like the mass of the world population, is essentially ignorant of what life in the ghettos is really like. This has been recognised by many people who live in the ghettos. For example, human rights advocate Father Raymond MURRAY (see MURRAY 1990), explained why he thought the governments and public opinion in Ireland and the UK are unconcerned with the "suffering" in Northern Ireland. He referred to media censorship, and commented that "we in the North may as well live in South Africa or Central America. When people don't live there they don't experience the constant tension. They don't know our world" (cited in *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 30 April 1992, p. 4). The greatest challenge to those who resist the culture of terror, and to academics who study it, is to convey to outsiders a reality of which they are ignorant and which they have their own resistance to learning about objectively. Both internationally and in Britain and Ireland, most people simply do not know, and apparently do not care to know. Even if they knew where to look, they would not want to look there.

3) Silence and Myth: Taussig argues that cultures of terror are sustained by silence and myth, and the geographic, class, and psychic containment of the war contributes strongly to this in Northern Ireland. Taussig stressed the role played by the myth propagated by dominant groups of the 'savagery' of subordinated peoples in producing cultures of terror, and precisely this same sort of mythology is extant with respect to the war in Northern Ireland, where it serves a similar function. Just as the putative savagery of the natives played a key role in the propaganda of the rubber companies in the Congo and Amazon and was used to justify their own savage treatment of the natives, so too does the putative 'savagery' of the IRA play an equally key role in the propaganda of the British authorities justifying their own massive employment of terror to contain it.

The British government grasps the crucial importance of keeping its Republican adversary morally and politically isolated. It does so by employing multiple techniques of political control, of propaganda and manipulation. Of these, one of the most notable current ones is what Republicans have termed the campaign of 'vilification' and 'demonisation.' This propaganda is aimed at not only isolating Republicans from the rest of the Catholic community, but also, more sinisterly, at justifying and legitimating the need for the whole culture of terror apparatus in general and, in some cases, the execution of IRA Volunteers and others (e.g. the SAS execution of three IRA Volunteers in Gibraltar in March 1988, and other 'shoot-to-kill' incidents in Northern Ireland).⁸

In fact, there has always been a concerted propaganda campaign aimed at vilifying, demonising, and generally misrepresenting Republicans – particularly IRA 'terrorists' – for political purposes. This campaign has been highly successful in generating and spreading the myth of IRA savagery (e.g. the idea that the IRA purposely engages in

⁸ See FELDMAN (1991: 109–110) for an academic analysis of aspects of this process, which he refers to as 'redlighting' – socially isolating Republicans as a preliminary to 'removing them' from the community.

indiscriminate killing of civilians),⁹ so successful in fact that not only the British public but also the international audience is now quite well-versed in this myth, but remain largely ignorant about domination, repression and pro-state terror in Northern Ireland.

In recent years, paralleling the rise of Sinn Fein in the electoral arena, this campaign of vilification has intensified, and has produced an increase in the level of terror aimed directly at Sinn Fein politicians and party members. Speaking at the graveside of Tommy Donaghy, an election worker gunned down by a Loyalist death squad in August, Sinn Fein President Gerry ADAMS commented that:

These attacks cannot be divorced from the campaign of vilification, censorship, and misrepresentation of Sinn Fein in the media or the protracted efforts by antirepublican elements to demonise Sinn Fein activists. Those involved in these campaigns range from the British government, across the political parties from the unionists through elements of the SDLP and the Dublin parties to church leaders, sections of the media and of course British-sponsored agencies like the 'Peace' Train, FAIT,¹⁰ and their fellow-travellers. Regardless of who pulled the trigger, all of them bear responsibility for the attacks on our members. They create the atmosphere in which these attacks occur. They cannot absolve themselves from the deadly consequences of their rhetoric (*An Phoblact/Republican News*, 22 August 1991, p. 1).

In an essay on terrorism, Edmund LEACH (1977) has argued that the dehumanization of other people who do not conform to our values is a tragic but common occurrence, and he warned that this is often an aspect of labelling people as 'terrorists'. Leach was sensitive to the political opportunism that often goes along with such exercises in dehumanization, and he observed that if those labelled 'terrorists' are defined as less than human, as animals or devils, then every form of terrorism attributed to them becomes permissible for oneself. It is hard to avoid the conclusion that 'terrorist' is simply a label applied to anyone a government wants to kill, torture, or otherwise treat in any manner that would normally be considered morally (and often legally) unacceptable.

What is clear is that this propaganda effort is aimed at isolating Republicans from the Catholic population, and is based primarily on a combination of massive state censorship of Republican views and active misrepresentation of those views. It is also based

⁹ Innocent civilians are killed in all wars. While civilians are sometimes injured or killed by IRA bombs or gunfire, it is objectively clear that they do not *intentionally* target innocent civilians. There would be many hundreds, even thousands, more dead if they did; it's easy to kill large numbers of people in crowded places, but difficult to conduct guerrilla warfare with no civilian casualties at all. In military parlance these would be termed 'collateral' or 'incidental' casualties. For propaganda purposes, state forces misrepresent these deaths as intentional. (Vice versa, accidental deaths of civilians as a result of Security Forces' actions are also sometimes misrepresented by Republicans.)

¹⁰ Families Against Intimidation and Terror (FAIT) and the 'Peace Train' group are small 'peace' groups supported by the British government because they work to undermine the resistance and make for good propaganda. See FALIGOT (1983) for a discussion of the link between counterinsurgency and support for 'peace' groups in Northern Ireland.

on 'disinformation' or counterinsurgency 'black propaganda'.¹¹ One important contemporary example of black propaganda in the campaign of vilification aimed at the Republican movement are the numerous allegations being made in the media that the IRA is involved in illegal drug trafficking in order to raise funds for the war and line their own pockets. The sole basis of these allegations is unsubstantiated claims by un-named government and Security Forces sources, and there is simply no credible evidence to substantiate this – for example, no member of the IRA or Sinn Féin has ever been convicted of drug dealing.¹²

4) Settler Societies: The role of the Loyalist community in generating pro-state terror cannot be underestimated. Loyalist extremists (e.g. supporters of arch-bigot Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party [DUP] and the Loyalist paramilitaries and their death squads) are similar in their attitudes and actions to other settler communities that have evolved into cultures of terror (e.g. South Africa and Palestine/Israel,¹³ and see WEITZER 1990 for a comparison of communal conflict in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe). Their political intransigence and culturally embedded anti-Catholic paranoia and 'siege mentality', are succinctly expressed in their great political shibboleths – 'No Surrender', 'Not An Inch', 'What We Have, We Hold', and 'Remember [the rising of] 1960'. Since the beginning of the war, there have been a number of British initiatives aimed at a political solution to the war. All of these have failed, crashing and burning on the rock of total Unionist intransigence and complete refusal to share political power in any meaningful way with the Catholic minority. In the vacuum left by their failure to achieve a political solution, the British government has fallen back on the culture of terror, a military-security approach to counterinsurgency and community control.

¹¹ See FALIGOT (1983) for a discussion and examples of the use of black propaganda in Northern Ireland.

¹² In March 1991, the UDA admitted that a small number of their men, 'acting separately,' had been discovered selling drugs and thrown out of the organisation (Sunday World, 3 March 1991, p. 5). In July 1991, the IRA issued a statement categorically denying that they were involved in drug dealing. They challenged the media to substantiate these stories and any evidence the government claimed they were based on. No such substantiation followed (see *An Phoblacht*/Republican News, 22 August 1991, pp. 8–9). When looked at objectively, while there is no credible evidence that the IRA is involved in the drug trade, there is a considerable amount of suspicion about the sources and validity of the information the media have relied on for their stories about this. It is interesting to note that a prominent new aspect of counterinsurgency strategy developed by the US has been to promote the idea that there are links between 'terrorists' and 'drug dealers'. In the mid-1980s, the US State Department began to push the bogeyman of 'narco-terrorism', which they described as an alliance between drug smugglers and arms dealers in support of terrorists and guerrillas. This rhetoric of 'narco-terrorism' has been used by the US to justify military intervention in Latin American countries experiencing insurgencies.

¹³ During the research period, a lecturer at the Queen's University of Belfast was shot by Loyalist extremists in an attempted assassination. He was working on a book comparing violence in three post-colonial settler societies – South Africa, Palestine/Israel, and Northern Ireland. It is generally believed that this attack was a result of contacts that have developed in recent years between Loyalist extremists in Northern Ireland and white militants in South Africa.

THE CULTURE OF RESISTANCE

In recent years one of the most important concepts employed in the cultural analysis of conflict is that of 'resistance', the modern conception of which derives largely from the seminal work of James SCOTT (1985, 1990). Scott deals with resistance as an everyday response of the weak or powerless to situations of exploitation and oppression. While elaborated specifically with reference to class conflict in peasant societies, in anthropology the concept has now been broadened and applied to generalized situations of domination, subordination, and conflict.

It is argued here that domination produces resistance, and cultures of domination, particularly the extreme form manifested in cultures of terror, have a pronounced tendency to generate a more generalized form of concerted community resistance that sometimes evolves into a culture of resistance. Taussig stresses that in cultures of terror the space of death, the intersection where the dominant and subordinate cultures of the conquerors and conquered come together, is a space which is ripe for transformation. This is what has occurred over the last 23 years in the killing fields of the Catholic ghettos; through the shared or communal experience of repression and pro-state terror, they have transformed themselves into a culture of resistance.

The culture of resistance is multifaceted and penetrates all areas of life in the ghettos. It includes the organized Republican resistance with its military and political organisations. There are a large number of Republican organisations within the Republican movement, ranging from national organisations like the National Graves Association to dozens of local Republican pipe and drum bands. The proliferation of these organisations is a sign of the increasing institutionalisation of the Republican movement in the Catholic ghettos. It also includes other non-Republican sources of organized resistance, and a broader or more general communal resistance made up of innumerable everyday acts of resistance by common people on the ground. For example, there is the relatively token resistance of the Social Democratic and Labour Party [SDLP – the largest Catholic political party in Northern Ireland], and the 'civil rights' resistance of alternative theologian like Catholic priests Fathers Faul, Murray, Wilson, and McVeigh (all of whom have published studies or books on aspects of pro-state terror and repression in Northern Ireland). Other forms of resistance include the mass rent and rates strike in the early 1970s, a campaign of civil disobedience where thousands of people withheld rent, rates, gas and electricity payments in protest against internment. Everyday forms of resistance include things like refusing to fill out census forms, graffiti writing, throwing stones at British and "Peelers" (police), refusing to give date of birth to soldiers, etc.

Because the most obvious manifestation of resistance is the Republican armed struggle, the culture of resistance in Northern Ireland is best described as a culture of insurgency, and this is similar to what has occurred in other situations around the world where there are long-standing insurgencies. There are strong parallels between the culture of resistance in Northern Ireland and those that have evolved in places like Burma, Euskadi, and Palestine.

ARMED RESISTANCE

Guerrilla warfare, 'the war of the flea' (TABER 1965), is the military weapon of the weak. During the six month period from July–December 1991, there was what the Security Forces term a 'base level' of IRA military activity. Because it is the most obvious manifestation of the resistance, and because social scientists have generally chosen not to describe it in any detail, the following summary of IRA actions is provided to give some idea of what a 'base level' of guerilla warfare means:

Week after week British army and RUC barracks, armoured patrols and on several occasions British military helicopters came under attack from IRA Volunteers using heavy machine-guns, rifles, rockets, grenades, mortars and land mines. In the course of 1991 the IRA killed 15 British soldiers and seven RUC members... The IRA further isolated the British garrison... by wiping three military barracks off the map and targeting collaborators who carry out contracts or engage in work for the crown forces... the Six Counties was devastated by numerous IRA bomb attacks in the centre of Belfast and incendiary attacks on commercial premises across the North. Throughout 1991 *Oglaigh na hEireann* [IRA] brought the war to those who are ultimately responsible for it. British Prime Minister John Major and the Tory War Cabinet escaped death by only 40 feet when the IRA launched a spectacular mortar-bomb attack on 10 Downing Street... British commercial life was disrupted with a wave of incendiary attacks towards the end of the year... The IRA [took] selective military action against a number of identified loyalist paramilitaries following a vicious spate of sectarian murders against members of the nationalist community. [Six Volunteers] were killed on active service in the Six Counties and England... By its armed struggle the IRA has pursued an effective counter-strategy of resistance (*An Phoblacht*/Republican News, 2 January 1992, pp. 10–11).

The IRA enjoys a strong base of popular support, and apparently has no problem getting recruits, maintaining a base level of funding and logistics, or continuing to conduct guerilla operations against the British state. They are not at all 'on the run', and no one really doubts that they have the will and capability to continue the war indefinitely into the future.

MILITARY REPRESSION AND RESISTANCE

Repression in Northern Ireland is based on military occupation of the ghettos, and resistance there is similar to resistance to military occupation in other places. The link between British troops on Irish soil and Iris resistance is something Catholics have always stressed:

The six counties is part of Ireland, and it is being occupied by a foreign force, that is, the British army and the British government which has

sent them there... If we went over tomorrow and took over the Home counties of England, the English are not gonna dow down and say it's all yours, right?... So why should we be any different to them? Why should we be any the less patriotic? (IRA member cited in WHITE 1989: 1294).

As long as there are British troops and military repression on the streets of these districts there will be resistance, armed and unarmed, against it. This is a simple but fundamental fact, but one which many observers of the war either fail or refuse to accept.

In my book about popular support for Republican paramilitaries I make a strong argument about the relationship between repression and popular support for the resistance, and so do all of the other authors who have written ethnographic accounts of life in the Catholic ghettos based on first-hand research. The few researchers, including myself, who have been able to interview and do research among Republican guerrillas, have found that the major reason these individuals give for why they turned to armed struggle is because they say that repression and state terror drove them to it. That is, when asked how they came to join the IRA, they do not usually refer to Republican ideology and goals, but rather they tell personal histories of their experience with repression and state terror.

American sociologist Robert WHITE (1989), who, like myself, has studied popular support for Republican violence, interviewed IRA members in order to determine why they turned to active participation in political violence. He also found that the major determinant of the development of IRA violence has been state repression, and not, for example economic deprivation.¹⁴ Recruitment to the IRA is concentrated among those sections of the public most likely to have experienced repression – that is, the residents of the Catholic ghettos.

Basically, WHITE wanted to understand the cognitive process through which individuals move from supporting peaceful protest to supporting violent resistance. The key to his analysis is understanding the central role played by state repression in promoting support for Republican political violence (1989: 1280). The traditional relative deprivation hypothesis holds that repression is likely to elicit aggression. Repression often produces alienation, resentment, and anger, sometimes enough to drive people to violence. In Northern Ireland, peaceful civil rights protest in the late 1960s 'were met with state repression, which eventually set the stage for the organisation of the Provisional IRA in 1970 and for a guerilla campaign, supported by Sinn Fein, that continues today... when the response to initial protest activity is state repression, increased levels of protest and political violence will follow' (1989: 1281, 1282). In Northern Ireland, whenever state

¹⁴ 'The traditional explanation for why people engage in political violence stresses that deprivation, typically in the form of economic inequality, creates grievance and discontent that prompt rebellion and social revolution' (WHITE 1989: 1). While repression emerges as the main experience that leads individuals to join the IRA, economic conditions do emerge as important secondary factors. Note that there appears to have been no significant change in the level of economic deprivation or discrimination suffered by working class Catholics since the beginning of the war in 1969, despite 16 years operation of the Fair Employment Agency and its replacement the Fair Employment Commission.

repression has increased (e.g. internment, Bloody Sunday, etc.) support for violent opposition to the state has increased.

White's research indicates that the process by which individuals become members of the IRA is the result of a rational, political, and emotional response to state repression. He found that people joined the IRA because of loyalty and commitment to community and kin and the experience of state repression and other injustices. As one IRA member told him, 'I have five children and I have to try to pave the way for them. That they won't have to be up against the same things as their father and I were' (1989: 1293). Several of the guerilla fighters I have interviewed specifically mentioned that they joined Republican paramilitary groups 'so my children won't have to'. But the primary factor leading to support for political violence was the experience of state repression. In every interview conducted by myself or others with Republican paramilitaries where they were asked why they turned to violence, the response has highlighted the experience of repression.

Many examples could be presented to make this point, but two should suffice. Mairead Farrell, a Belfast girl from Andersonstown, was sentenced in 1976, when she was 19-years-old, to fourteen years in prison for possession of explosives and membership in the IRA. After serving ten years of her sentence she was released in September 1986. Eighteen months later, in March 1988, while on 'active service' with two other IRA Volunteers in Gibraltar, she was executed in cold blood, unarmed and shot in the back, by the SAS. Shortly before her death, she explained in an interview why she joined the IRA:

I grew up in Belfast. My family are republicans and we always were politically aware. They weren't always in agreement with me, but they believe, like I do, in a united Ireland. As I was growing up, I saw the curfew the British imposed on the Falls Road, I saw soldiers coming into our neighbourhood, into our homes. I saw the violence. I saw discrimination all around me. I lived in a ghetto, and I came to believe that something had to be done. Passive resistance wasn't the way forward. It doesn't work (cited in SHANNON 1989: 122).¹⁵

Another well-known Republican, Angelo Fusco,¹⁶ explained how he came to join the IRA:

¹⁵ One of the main battlegrounds of terror and resistance in the ghettos has been IRA funerals. Mairead Farrell was buried on St. Patrick's Day in Belfast. As her graveside funeral services were taking place, a 'deranged' loyalist attacked the crowd of mourners, shooting randomly and throwing grenades. Three people were killed and many more were seriously injured. This was the culmination of a long series of 'funeral wars' between the RUC and those attending IRA funerals, usually centering on the RUC's determination to prevent any 'paramilitary display' – particularly, a firing party or guard of honour. These funeral battles continue today, and it is clear that a good deal of community resistance springs from this state desecration of the Republican dead.

¹⁶ At the time of writing Angelo Fusco was in jail in the Republic of Ireland, and had been served with a British extradition warrant. They wanted him returned to Northern Ireland to serve a 30-year life sentence imposed by a juryless Diplock Court in his absence for the killing of an SAS captain in 1980.

Our family would not have been political... During the internment swoops my father was among those who were arrested. They arrested everybody in the street. I don't know exactly what happened but it scarred him for life. At that time my father must have been near 60... He had never been arrested in his life for anything. He was quiet. He never had any reason to be worried about the powers-that-be. He got a bit of a hammering, I don't know exactly what happened to him, my father would never tell us. I think it hurt him, psychologically anyway. He was never the same after. I hate to say about my father that they damaged him or broke his spirit but they did. They were kicking our door in every second day and wrecking the house. Folks were afraid to have a bath in case this Brits would walk in on them... Things were that bad, they hassled the family that much that my mother decided to leave Belfast for a time... down we went to live in Dublin for a number of years. My father's younger brother Alfie was murdered in his shop on the York Road, in '72... a pure sectarian killing. They came in looking to kill his sons. He was standing behind the counter and they pursued him into the back of the shop and shot him. They machine-gunned him. They destroyed him, it was a closed coffin... I remember my father heard it, he was lying back on a seat watching the news when he heard his brother was shot dead. That had a major impact on the whole family because we were all close... I became involved in 1977. I joined the IRA then (cited in *An Phoblacht/Republican New*, 2 April 1992, p. 6).

White's research also validates the point I made earlier about the social geography of terror and resistance. He also argues that the most significant difference between those Catholics who support Republican violence and those opposed to it is their position in the social structure, which largely determines the likelihood of their directly experiencing state repression and terror. Thus, WHITE (1989: 1295) notes that 'the people most likely to experience state repression, both in the massive, organized forms like internment and, more usually, in the form of daily harassment from British soldiers, are working-class people'. Middle class and other Catholics who do not live in the ghettos are relatively distanced and insulated from the repression, hence relatively isolated from the process through which people go when they shift their allegiance from peaceful to violent protest.

Repression of Catholics by the Security Forces is sufficient to generate enough support for the guerillas to ensure their survival and the continuation of the war, and the Republican movement has effectively exploited this repression to generate the maximum amount of popular support from it. As long as the British authorities continue to employ military and judicial repression against working-class Catholics, the Republican movement will continue to have the grassroots support they need to survive and continue their armed struggle.

CULTURE AND RESISTANCE

In his book about life on the Falls Road, aptly titled 'War as a Way of Life' (1987), CONROY shows how, after 23 years of continuous guerrilla and counterinsurgency warfare, the war has become a 'way of life' in the Catholic ghettos. Most of today's IRA Volunteers were born after the beginning of this war. They were born in the Catholic ghettos, and have never known a time when the war – with its dynamics of terror and resistance – was not a way of life. They are clearly products of their environment. Conroy's book about everyday life on the Falls Road is 'a street-level view of the war from the streets most affected by the turmoil' (1987: x), and is one of a number of outstanding basically ethnographic accounts of life in some of the major Catholic ghettos (MCCANN 1980 – Bogside in Derry. BURTON 1978 – Ardoyne. SLUKA 1989 – Divis Flats. DE BAROID 1989 – Ballymurphy).¹⁷

All of these first-hand studies of political life in the ghettos agree on one thing, that repression and the war have created rather than destroyed community solidarity, and strengthened resistance rather than weakened it. Military and juridical repression and Loyalist domination and terror are the most significant factors in generating and regenerating both individual and organized resistance in the Catholic ghettos. For example, in his study of the impact of the war on Ballymurphy, Cairan DE BAROID (1989) describes the impact of internment on the community, and how after the maximum repression of the Parachute regiment's first tour in the community in 1972:

The incoming regiment... found an angry and united community, more anti-British than ever, and only too willing to go on with the war... Motorman [internment] had failed to destroy the IRA. It had failed to break up the cohesion of the community... Somewhere, the theoreticians of the British army had gotten it wrong (1989: 152).

English sociologist Frank BURTON came to a similar conclusion in his study of Ardoyne after it also had been subjected to the depredation of the Parachute regiment. He concluded that the community:

is capable of "soaking up" the attempts that are made by both the Protestant and British military forces to break its own military activists. The community reaction to a number of serious confrontations has not produced a chaotic or anomic breakdown. Rather, it has resisted enough of the external pressure... to make the continuation of the war a possibility (1978: 3).

All of these books also describe various aspects of the culture of resistance that has evolved in the ghettos. For example, DE BAROID notes the proliferation in Catholic ghettos like Ballymurphy of war-related communal stories, jokes, and humorous anecdotes;

The story [of a wee lad who threw bottles at Paratroopers] was added to the communal store of "Para-stories" and absorbed into the area's

¹⁷ There are also a number of outstanding qualitative accounts, e.g. MCCAFFERTY 1988.

collective heritage. By then everybody had their own individual stories, both of events witnessed and personal traumas. And the community had built up a remarkable defence mechanism against the degradations and violence of the military: they somehow laughed it off. People who had suffered the most horrendous brutality could later turn the story into a burlesque of black comedy, so that instead of weakening the community's ties, the violence of the troops was adding yet another hitherto undiscovered fount of strength, against which the Paras had no weapons (1989: 144).

The residents of the ghettos also have a shared experience of repression, terror, and violent death. The shared experience of death is a particularly important communal experience. There is a constant stream of funerals of victims of the war through these ghettos. IRA funerals in particular 'have become communal shows of defiance' against the security forces:

Uniformed guards of honour, answering commands in Irish, flanked the coffins, while large crowds marched behind, ignoring the troop saturation and intimidation. Women lining the route held up sheets tied between poles and unfolded umbrellas to obscure the view of army photographers. Similar displays of support for the republicans were taking place at other IRA funerals (DE BAROID 1989: 145–146).

Today, all of the Catholic ghettos have community memorials to their dead, both political and civilian, which serve as sites for Republican commemorations and other important political and community rituals.

Most significantly of all, a strong, well-organized, and confident resistance movement has evolved which is completely embedded in these communities and an integral part of their everyday life and culture. The Republican movement is not something apart from the ghetto communities, rather it is culturally institutionalized in them. One important way the Republican movement have worked to create the culture of resistance in the ghettos is by a two-way process involving gradual politicisation of social and cultural events, and the opposite, gradual socialization of political events. The result is that the resistance has become increasingly embedded or integrated in the cultural milieu (e.g. recreation and education) and less isolated as 'purely' political. Some examples of this are the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA), the Irish language group *Glor na nGael*, the Conway Education Centre in the Lower Falls, and the Anniversary of Internment (August 9).

The GAA, *Glor na nGael*, and Conway Education Centre are not Republican organisations, but because a commitment to Irish cultural revival has been an integral part of the Republican agenda since the last century, there has always been a certain association between Irish cultural groups of various sorts – language, music, dance, crafts, etc. – and the Republican movement. For example, Sinn Féin has a 'cultural affairs' department, mainly concerned with preservation and advancement of the Irish language. This association between Republicans and Irish cultural organisations has resulted in repression

aimed at these organisations. Thus, in August 1990, the British government politically vetted Glór na nGael and the Conway Education Centre and tried to destroy them by blacklisting them as Republican organisations and cutting off their funding, and in October 1991, Loyalist paramilitaries (UDA/UFF) declared members of the GAA 'legitimate military targets'.¹⁸

In 1991, the annual August 9th commemoration of the Anniversary of Internment was bigger and more festive than ever, a least compared to 1982 when I saw it last. There were the usual bonfires in the Catholic ghettos, but because the anniversary now falls near the end of the new annual week-long West Belfast Community Festival, it is a much more 'festive' occasion and as much a social as political one. The August 9th Anniversary of Internment is an early example of the politicisation of previously non-political areas of Irish cultural life. After 1971, what had originally been 'Lady Day,' a religious festival, became the Anniversary of Internment, a political commemoration. And now, since it has become integrated as part of a large annual community festival, it has become an example of the 'socialization' of political events in the culture of resistance.

On the final day of the festival the Republican movement held the largest and most impressive demonstration since the massive Hunger-Strike funerals in 1981 – a 'Celebration of Resistance'. Not only does this provide evidence of the grassroots strength of the resistance, it is also another example of how the Republican movement combines the political with the social and cultural. While the West Belfast Festival is clearly a community festival and not a formal Republican one, it does also celebrate west Belfast political culture, and Republicans tended to portray the whole festival as a 'Celebration of Resistance'.

The Celebration of Resistance combined two important political commemorations, the 10th anniversary of the 1981 Hunger Strike and the 20th anniversary of Internment, and was intended to demonstrate that resistance is as great now as it was in when those events occurred in 1972 and 1981. Preceded by several months of organization in both the north and south, it was a march and rally to Dunville Park on the Falls Road. 'Celebration of Resistance' posters were put up and printed on t-shirts, and buses were organized to bring people from Dublin, Dundalk, Monaghan, Munster and Newry. People came from all parts of Ireland and from overseas.¹⁹ Twelve separate 'feeder demonstrations' from Catholic ghettos in East and North Belfast, converged on the Falls Road and joined up with the main march to Dunville Park. The mass of demonstrators, interspersed with numerous bands and colourful banners, stretched as far as they eye could see. They crowded into the park until it was completely filled, and thousands re-

¹⁸ The UDA/UFF later backtracked somewhat on this, by saying that only those members who 'promoted Republicanism' within the organization would be considered legitimate targets. In March 1992, the British government admitted that their political vetting of Glór na nGael was discriminatory, and restored their funding.

¹⁹ Including delegations from Euskadi, Corsica, the British 'Troops Out' movement, and American 'Noraid'.

mained outside. My own impression as a participant-observer in the park that Sunday is that the Irish New estimate of 20 000 participants is the most accurate.²⁰

In his address to the rally, Sinn Fein President Gerry Adams told the crowd:

You people before me have a sense of your own power and strength. You have defeated prime ministers from Faulkner to Thatcher and all in between, you have been vilified, denounced, condemned, murdered, beaten, jailed, tortured and censored. You have been marginalized, starved to death and impoverished, but never have you been defeated. I have a message for you all, old and young, men and women, you are the real freedom fighters and you are going to be free.

In their vilification of Republicans, the British and Irish governments have tried to portray the Republican struggle as external to and unrepresentative of the Catholic community in the North, but this demonstration shows clearly the popular support the resistance enjoys in the ghettos.

REPUBLICAN POLITICAL RESISTANCE:

After 23 years of ongoing violence, the current IRA campaign represents by far the longest period of sustained nationalist violence in Irish history. In his authoritative history of the IRA, Tim Pat Coogan notes that this has broken the old traditional pattern of 'a Rising in every generation'. Today, the IRA's next generation is 'next year's school leaver, or his younger brother or sister' (COOGAN 1980: 577). They were born during the current war, have been subjected to domination, repression and pro-state terror, and socialized in the culture of resistance. The contemporary Republican movement has had to expend a greater amount of resources and engage in an intensified and more sustained effort to maintain their popular support than did those who preceded them. This new relationship between the Republican movement and Catholic working-class communities is responsible for the major development of Sinn Fein as a social, political, and electoral force during the 1980s. Towards the end of the 1970s, Republicans began putting more resources into the institutions which had emerged in the ghettos as a result of the prolonged violence, and began to develop a popular infrastructure of housing and other committees, defence groups, advice centres, local policing, people's taxis, etc. They were remarkably successful at this (see PATTERSON 1989). By the end of the 1980s, the Republican movement's presence was manifested in military, political, economic, social, and cultural institutions, and it is now entwined in the fabric of everyday life in the ghettos.

In the April 1992 Westminster election, Sinn Fein candidates received between 80–90 000 votes, representing about 30% of the Catholic vote in Northern Ireland. They

²⁰ The poor media coverage of this event is another example of how the strength of the resistance is generally misrepresented. 'The British and Irish media once again engaged in distortion and misinformation in their reporting of the huge march and rally... The BBC and ITV barely mentioned the fact that a rally had taken place and most British newspapers gave it no coverage' (AP/RN, 15 August 1991, p. 6). Most media coverage significantly underestimated the number of participants, for example the Irish Times and Irish Press put the numbers at 5000.

have between four and five dozen local councillors province-wide, and with nine councillors they are the largest Catholic opposition party in Belfast City Council, the largest local government authority in Northern Ireland. The general trend for the party is still consolidation and slow growth in their vote. The Republican movement has successfully developed the structures and institutions for this, and nurtured the growth and development of the culture of resistance.

The contemporary ethos of the Republican resistance is expressed in a slogan from Bobby Sands, who wrote that 'Everyone, Republican or otherwise, has his or her particular part to play. No part is too great or too small. No one is too young or too old to do something.' Sinn Féin politician Mitchel McLoughlin, speaking at the annual National Hunger-Strike Commemoration in Belfast in 1989, explained the significance of this idea to the Republican movement:

When Bobby Sands wrote that everyone had a part to play in the Irish revolution, he changed the face of modern resistance in Ireland. Such a simple phrased and yet such an important statement, because the prisoners were telling the IRA Volunteer that he or she was important, that the Sinn Féin activist was important. That the paper sellers and the people who actively support the struggle, that they are all important, that they are all essential and that they are all equally vital links in the resistance chain that will sooner, rather than later, strangle the monster of imperialism in Ireland (cited in *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 11 May 1989, p. 7).

Within the ghetto communities, whether one agrees or disagrees with the Republican guerrillas, they are still 'our' sons and daughters, wives and husband, school and work mates, friends, neighbours, and acquaintances. They are part of the community, and what is done to them is, in some respects, done to the whole community. The IRA is not something apart from the community, a sort of 'infection' that can be 'surgically removed' without harming the host. Families of prisoners and living and dead Republicans are scattered through the ghettos, and their experiences are in varying degrees shared by many others within these communities. At the end of 1991, there were 432 Irish Republican political prisoners in jails in Ireland, Britain, and Europe (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 28 November 1991, pp. 8–9), and the Provisional Republican 'Roll of Honour' 1969–92 lists the names of 329 Republicans who have been killed (this includes the three INLA Volunteers who died in the 1981 Hunger Strike, but not the other non-Provisional Republican dead from the IRSP, INLA, and IPLO) (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 16 April 1992, pp. 8–9). Thus, people living in these communities have a closer experience with Republicans and their struggle and are more likely to experience Republican socialization influences than people living in other districts.

In the conclusion to his study of the impact of the war on Ballymurphy, DE BAROID (1989: 317) captures the fundamental relationship that exists today between the Republican movement and the people of the Catholic ghettos:

The boys and girls who roamed the streets of 1968... have since grown into a deadly efficient guerrilla army. In [Ballymurphy] 128 people have died as a result of the Troubles; hundreds more have been injured, interned and imprisoned ... there are the military forts [and] huge murals on the gable walls of houses throughout the area depicting images of the war and its related political struggle.

The war goes on, but the community has changed:

Where transience, apathy and despair had reigned, there is cohesion, dynamism, and determination. There is a purpose in life that had not been there before, a purpose encapsulated in two lines of graffiti on a wall of the... community centre: "The people are the Provos; and the Provos are the people." The community is at war, and is adamant that it will see this through, no matter what the cost.

Like other successful liberation movements of our time, the Republican movement has built institutions, renders services, offers participation, produces culture and is lead by a trusted leadership. The culture of resistance produces rebel and Celtic art, music, poetry, leather and wood crafts, murals, posters, books, printed T-shirts, Gaelic language tapes, videos, etc. The Republican milieu today is lively and creative, and qualitatively different from what it was in 1969. Republican morale is high, and has not been seriously undermined by the 'war weariness' that inevitably results after over two decades of guerrilla war and counterinsurgency operations. On the streets and in the ghettos, in the rural areas along the border, in Britain and Europe, they have daily demonstrated their persistence and will to continue their campaign of resistance. Their rallying cry is '*tiocfaidh ar la*' – 'our day will come.'

As WILSON (1988: 3) has put it:

The fundamental fact that this government refuses to recognise is that Provoism is now a deeply-embedded subculture in the urban ghettos, south Armagh and other rural strongholds – a subculture which subsists on a diet of economic marginalisation, political-cum-cultural exclusion and state authoritarianism, and which is largely impervious to the police.

Because the evidence on the ground in the ghettos verifies it, it is fitting to close this discussion of the culture of resistance in the Catholic ghettos with Sinn Féin President Gerry Adams' assessment of the progress of the liberation movement:

we are making steady progress against great odds... In terms of the unarmed political struggle in which Sinn Féin is engaged in the Six Counties, I am confident about our ability to persevere and to absorb all the pressures. We will come out of this phase in a stronger and more consolidated position... we have been able to withstand the combined might of all our opponents. We remain resilient and we continue to articulate the message of freedom, justice and peace. ... Militarily the

British have been trying to contain the IRA and they have failed. They have more troops on the ground now, they have more coercive legislation than ever before... they have a greater arsenal of sophisticated apparatus and techniques and resources and yet they have failed to contain the IRA. My feeling is one of confidence in the ability of our struggle and the ability of our people to see the struggle through (*An Phoblacht/Republican News*, 12 September 1991, p. 8).

CONCLUSION

In the Catholic ghettos resistance in general and the Republican movement in particular are as strong today as they have ever been. I found no evidence on the ground in these districts to support the basically external view presented by their opponents and enemies that the Republican movement has peaked and their strength is declining. The 'secession movement' in Northern Ireland has not 'come and gone.' In part the belief that it has stems from the development towards an economically integrated 'new Europe,' which leads some to believe that nationalist struggles there are a thing of the past. This is obviously incorrect. First, every major conflict in Europe today, from Euskadi to Yugoslavia, to the Baltic states stems from demands for national self-determination. In fact, the main characteristic of the new Europe emerging in the last few years is the demand for national self-determination. Second, economic integration will not produce any change in the level of repression in Northern Ireland, and hence there will be no reduction in resistance.

I have presented an anthropological or cultural argument that there is a dialectical interaction between domination and resistance in Northern Ireland, and that resistance in general and the Republican movement in particular have become culturally institutionalised in Catholic working-class districts. I have argued that there is a strong degree of fit between Taussig's concept of culture of terror and the character of domination and repression in Northern Ireland. Taussig stresses that the space of death, the intersection where dominant and subordinate cultures come together, is pre-eminently a space of transformation. This is what has occurred over the last 23 years in the killing fields of the Catholic ghettos. Through the shared or communal experience of the culture of terror, they have transformed themselves into a culture of resistance.

The link between British troops on Irish soil and Irish resistance is fundamental. All of the ethnographic accounts of life in the Catholic ghettos based on first-hand research have stressed the relationship between repression and resistance. They all agree that the major determinant of the development of IRA violence has been state repression, which has created rather than destroyed community solidarity and strengthened resistance rather than weakened it. Repression has alienated working-class Catholics and created and continuously reinforced popular support for the Republican movement. Repression of the Catholic population by the Security Forces and Loyalist extremists is sufficient to generate enough support for the guerrillas to ensure their survival and the continuation of the

war. As long as there are British troops and military repression on the streets of these districts there will be resistance, armed and unarmed, against it.

All of the first-hand studies in the ghettos also agree that the war is very likely to go on indefinitely. CONROY concludes his study of the lower Falls by answering the question:

How long can the British wage this peace in the North? Can [they] stomach it for four or five decades, until Catholics, with their higher birth rate, outnumber Protestants and vote their way out? It would mean more dead cavalrymen in Hyde Park, another dead Mountbatten or two or six, a continuing series of embarrassing political postures like internal exile and internment (they matter little, as the whole world is not watching), hundreds more dead in the North (they matter little, they're only Irish), and a continuing drain on the British economy. Can this go on for two more generations? Yes, that seems possible (1987: 218).

ROLSTON concludes that Republicanism as an armed force movement has survived 'for most of the last century. It can do so for at least a century more' (1991: 170). And BE BAROID concludes that:

For 800 years Irish men and women have resisted British imperial might through force of arms. In the last four centuries, more than three million Irish people have died as a direct result of the British presence in Ireland. Some [3000] of those Irish deaths have occurred in the present low-intensity war that has now lasted [longer] than the Vietnam War. Tens of thousands of others have been injured... There is no reason to believe that, unless the British pack their bags and go, the Anglo-Irish conflict will not go on for another century, or, as Brigadier J. M. Glover assessed in 1978, for as long as the British remain in Ireland. In the meantime, the only certain thing is that many more names will have been added to the list of Ballymurphy's dead. Children playing tag in the streets today... will one day have their lives snuffed out violently as a result of the continuing colonial presence in Ireland. Other children, growing up in Britain, will also one day find sudden death on Irish streets or in the green undulating landscape of the Six Counties (1989: 318).

There is no reason to believe that the IRA cannot go on basically forever – like the insurgents in other cultures of resistance like Burma, Euskadi, and Palestine.

What the culture of terror shows us is that it is strong enough to contain resistance and maintain the status quo for long periods of time. Conversely though, what the culture of resistance shows us is that in the end no amount of repression is sufficient to completely suppress people who refuse to accept that things cannot change. The military campaign is a stalemate, and there has been a political deadlock for just as long. The cultures of terror and resistance seem to exist in a fatal symbiotic balance, feeding and

sustaining each other indefinitely. The war is institutionalized, self-sustaining, and self-perpetuating in this situation. It has become a way of life – a culture of terror and resistance.

The official failure or refusal to recognise the fatal contradiction in repression, that it generates resistance rather than eliminates it, is a great tragedy, and effectively ensures the continuation of the war. The history of resistance in Northern Ireland clearly shows that whenever repression has increased, so too has support for resistance. Any escalation in repression will only exacerbate the situation. Unfortunately, this still seems to be a fundamental lesson the British state refuses to learn. Many people in the ghettos believe that internment is going to be reintroduced in the near future, and there is a general fear that Northern Ireland is facing a period of increased repression and terror, with both Loyalists and the Security Forces increasing their levels of activity.

The major battlegrounds of the war in Northern Ireland are the Catholic ghettos, and the people who live in these communities are the primary victims. Unfortunately, their voices, views, and experiences, are rarely sought or heeded, and on those rare occasions when they are heard they are frequently dismissed a 'Republican propaganda.' The Irish and British publics, indeed the rest of the world, are isolated from the war, and they do not know, or apparently want to know, about the realities of 'war as a way of life' in the Catholic ghettos. That, too, is an important aspect of the culture of terror.*

LITERATURE

ARENDT, Hannah

1963: *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil*. London: Faber.

BOAL, Frederick

1974: 'Territoriality in Belfast', in C. BELL and H. NEWBY (eds) *The Sociology of Community*. London: Frank Cass.

1981: 'Residential Segregation and Mixing in a Situation of Ethnic and National Conflict: Belfast', in P. COMPTON (ed.) *The Contemporary Population of Northern Ireland and Population-Related Issues*. Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies.

BOAL, Frederick, RUSSELL, C. and POOLE, A.

1976: 'Belfast: The Urban Encapsulation of a National Conflict', in S. CLARK and J. OBLER (eds) *Urban Ethnic Conflict*. Chapel Hill: Institute for Research in Social Science.

BURTON, Frank

1978: *The Politics of Legitimacy: Struggles in a Belfast Community*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

CHOMSKY, Noam

1988: *The Culture of Terrorism*. London: Pluto Press.

CONROY, John

1987: *War as a Way of Life*. London: Heinemann.

COOGAN, Tim Pat

1980: *The IRA*. London: Fontana.

DE BAROID, Cairan

1989: *Ballymurphy and the Irish War*. London: Pluto Press.

* The original version of this article was published as "Cultures of Terror and Resistance in Northern Ireland" in *POLAR – Political and Legal Anthropology Review* (1995, 18:1, 97–105). For a more in depth consideration of the same topic, see "Domination, Resistance and Political Culture in Northern Ireland's Catholic-Nationalist Ghettos" in *Critique of Anthropology* (1995, 15:1, 71–102).

- DILLON, Martin
1990: *The Dirty War*. London: Arrow Books.
- FALIGOT, Roger
1983: *Britain's Military Strategy in Ireland – The Kitson Experiment*. London: Zed Press.
- FARELL, Michael
1980: *Northern Ireland: The Orange State*. London: Pluto Press.
- FELDMAN, Allen
1991: *Formations of Violence: The Narrative of the Body and Political Terror in Northern Ireland*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- HERMAN, Edward
1982: *The Real Terror Network: Terrorism in Fact and Propaganda*. Boston: South End Press.
- JONES, Stephen
1992: 'Unity and disunity in the New Europe', *Bulletin of the Society for the Anthropology of Europe*, VI (1): 5.
- LEADH, Edmund
1977: *Custom, Law, and Terrorist Violence*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- MCCAFFERTY, Nell
1988: *Peggy Deery: A Derry Family at War*. London: Virago.
- MCCANN, Eamonn
1980: *War and an Irish Town*. London: Pluto Press.
- MURRAY, Raymond
1990: *The SAS in Ireland*. Dublin: Mercier Press.
- NIETSCHEMANN, Bernard
1987: 'The Third World War', *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, XI (3): 1–16.
- NORDSTROM, Carolyn and MARTIN, JoAnn (eds)
1992: *The Paths to Domination, Resistance and Terror*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- PATTERSON, Henry
1989: *The Politics of Illusion: Republicanism and Socialism in Modern Ireland*. London: Hutchinson Radius.
- ROLSTON, Bill
1991: 'Containment and Its Failure: The British State the Control of Conflict in Northern Ireland', in A. GEORGE (ed.) *Western State Terrorism*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- SCOTT, James
1985: *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
1990: *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- SHANNON, Elizabeth
1989: *I Am Of Ireland: Women of the North Speak Out*. Boston: Little, Brown.
- Sinn Fein
1990: *The Ulster Defence Regiment – The Loyalist Militia*. Dublin: Sinn Fein Publicity Department.
- SLUKA, Jeffrey
1989: *Hearts and Minds, Water and Fish: Popular Support for the IRA and INLA in a Northern Irish Ghetto*. Greenwich: JAI Press.
- TABER, Robert
1965: *The War of the Flea: Guerrilla Warfare, Theory and Practice*. St Albans: Paladin.
- TAUSSIG, Michael
1984: 'Culture of Terror – Space of Death: Roger Casement's Putumayo Report and the Explanation of Torture', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, XXVI: 467–497.
- TISHKOV, Valerii
1989: 'Glasnost and the Nationalities Within the Soviet Union', *Third World Quarterly*, XI (4): 191–207.
- WHITE, Robert
1989: 'From Peaceful Protest to Guerrilla War: Micromobilization of the Provisional Irish Republican Army', *American Journal of Sociology*, 94: 6, 1277–1302.
- WEITZER, Ron
1990: *Transforming Settler States: Communal Conflict and International Security in Northern Ireland and Zimbabwe*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- WILSON, R
1988: 'Editorial', *Fortnight*, 268: 3.

MORMONS OR AMERICANS: A PROPOSED IDENTITY MODEL OF THE AMERICAN LATTER-DAY SAINTS

Irén ANNUS

Department of English, József Attila University
H-6722 Szeged, Egyetem u. 2, Hungary

INTRODUCTION

The formation, meaning, types and expression of identity have been a field for researchers to pursue for centuries. Several approaches and disciplines are possible: logic, philosophy, religion, psychology, sociology and anthropology, to mention some of them. In Western scholarship a differentiation has developed between the definitions of ethnic group identity in Europe and the US: the former is in the realm of the classical approach, focusing on historically developed, originally tribal and local identity modes, the latter has opened up new dimensions in studying theories of assimilation along with history of immigration. As if this difference were not appealing enough in itself for the scholar, the American culture contains a specific group, the Mormons, whose group identity formation offers an exceptional case even within the American framework.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints has been the subject of numerous studies, their theology and history being in the focus. Anthropological and sociological studies on this particular group have developed since the mid-seventies when the Mormon Church also realized the importance of these fields.¹ Thus, a new wave of scholarship has emerged and accomplished a great deal compared to the very first work of this sort, still a classic source: Thomas O'DEA's *The Mormons* (1957). Frequently discussed questions in some of these studies are related to the nature of the Mormon community: who these people really are, what they stand for as a group, what their values are, how they really lead their lives, what forces have influenced and shaped their community development, and so on – all questions related to their identity, mainly on the group level. It involves several dangers as well originating from the nature of the problem: it is a topic concerning a subjective notion, thus, objective measurement is almost impossible. This might be one of the reasons why all the previous works analyzing this field were highly theoretical, making no effort to try to measure Mormon identity in any way. This paper is a modest attempt to take one step in that direction.

¹ As a response, in 1976 the Mormon Church established a research unit and one year later the Society for the Sociological Study of Mormon Life.

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

From among all the approaches to identity this study will focus on the group identity of the American Mormon community. As indicated in the title, the major question to pursue is whether the Mormons in the US identify themselves primarily as American people or as members of the Church. I wish to rely on Gordon's theoretical model proposed in his book in 1964, in which he indicated that the group or ethnic identity in the US should be viewed differently from that of Europe owing to several factors, the major one being the fact that the US is a country with no major ethnically united inhabitants but only representatives of different ethnic groups, with religious and racial diversity contributing further to this exceptional position. His model indicated that the identity of the Americans consists of several layers which, in the order of importance, occur in the following order: self, national origin, religion, race and nationality, which means identification with the US. It can be seen that the section on religion and nationality represent two distinct units. How can it be possible then to connect them, as claimed in case of the Latter-day Saints?

Before pursuing the matter any further I must also discuss the term "ethnic identity", as used and defined in the New World. Since I use Gordon's work for the theoretical background, I must consider his definition of the term which is "... a type of group contained within the national boundaries of America, ... any group which is defined or set off by race, religion, or natural origin, or some combination of these categories ... all these categories have a common socio-psychological referent, in that all of them serve to create through historical circumstances a sense of peoplehood for groups within the US".² This definition is much broader and more flexible in its range than the European definition of the term would allow it, where the key to an ethnic group is shared natural/biological and mutual historical origin, but in the US a religious group can also be considered an ethnic group.

Gordon's model of American identity would be most similar to the European concept of national consciousness which originated in the 18–19th centuries as a result of a conscious political and ideological effort from the side of the official institutions of the given states.³ An important point of connection is that national consciousness at its birth in Europe was in close connection with ethnicity and developed as a natural extension of ethnic identities under the transforming socio-political circumstances of the era. In the US there is no American ethnic group to speak of in terms of the European concept of national states, but the development of national consciousness was compulsory to be able to give a unified, coherent shape and meaning to the already existing separate ethnic groups in the US.

Who is an American then? From the earliest days of the existence of the States theories relating it to religious groups have existed, starting with the Puritan founding fathers (BERCOVITCH, 1975), through Max WEBER (1958), expressing the importance of Protes-

² GORDON 1964, 27–9.

³ Studies discussing the differences and development of European ethnic identity and national consciousness include FISHMAN (1972), PATAKI (1986), RÓNA-TAS (1985), SZÜCS (1984), WSEVOLD (1974).

tant groups and values there, then Will HERBERG (1960), adding the group of Catholics and Jews to the group of mainstream Americans, to Harold BLOOM (1992) who most recently compared the Mormons Church to the Southern Baptists in the hope of revealing the features of the real American. Approaches pursuing the answer in a non-religious context include CREVECOEUR's (1987) and TURNER's (1961) works, finding the essence of the new American in the American farmer, on the American frontier, while the first major theory of this century, the melting pot theory with Robert PARK (1950) stated that the American nation and person will emerge in the large urban industrial centers. As early as 1924, Horace M. KALLEN published his study entitled "Democracy versus the Melting Pot" introducing the theory of cultural pluralism demanding the freedom to express culture preferences and backgrounds which then, was picked up again later and developed further into the theory of structural pluralism, first appearing in the works of GORDON (1964). It spurred in two major trends: one led to NOVÁK (1972) and the return to Anglo-conformity which was modified to WASP-ification, the other one represented by SOLLORS (1989) questions even the existence of ethnicity as such and challenges the concept implying that it is an artificial creation for political ends.

In the works analyzing the relations between ethnic and religious identities often references are made to the Mormons, who are conceived as a religious or ethnic group or both. In their study HAMMOND and WARNER (1993) proposed three general trends when describing the possibilities: (1) religion is the major foundation of ethnicity, such as in case of the Amish, Hutterites, Jews or Mormons; (2) religion may be one of several foundations of ethnicity along with language and territorial origin, with the Greek Orthodox Church as an example; (3) ethnic group may be linked to a religious tradition, along with other ethnic groups, such as Polish or Italian Catholics. They also added that religion and ethnicity differ culturally: ethnicity is inherited while religion is chosen, thus "... religious loyalty will likely weaken before ethnic loyalty weakens".⁴ Theoretically they are right, but I disagree with their reference to the Mormon Church in point 1. All the members of these religion-based groups originated form the same ethnic group, except for the Mormons, who were of diverse ethnic background and originally were connected only by their faith; the direction of their development is oppositional. As a reflection on their other statement I must add that religious loyalty cannot weaken if it is the same as the ethnic loyalty, as it is the case with the Latter-day Saints, based on Gordon's concept.

Several other studies have noted the ethnic nature of the religious organization of the Mormons. The very first study of crucial importance was that of O'DEA in 1957 where he stated that Mormonism had developed from a near-sect to a near-nation or a quasi-ethnicity, as he called it later.⁵ AHLSTROM (1972), ARRINGTON (1972, 1979), LEONE (1979), SHIPPS (1994) and MAUSS (1994) share the same view but offer different explanations for the notion and circumstances which have resulted in this unique group. Theoretically "... identity connotes a persistent sameness within oneself and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others", as Marty stated referring to Erick-

⁴ HAMMOND 1993, 60.

⁵ O'DEA, 1970, 216.

son's definition.⁶ Thus, the individual develops an ego identity and a group identity in which essentially the place defines the character. Naturally, this is a simplification of the matter and calls attention only to one aspect: place. Other crucial factors in identity formation include family, social and economic background, historical time period, national consciousness, a sense of group history with the idea of origin as a component in it.⁷ Generally the last element is viewed as the cornerstone of ethnic identity, thus, to be able to decide if in terms of this definition the Mormons can be considered an ethnic group, we must examine their position in this matter.

The Mormon Church places a major emphasis on history.⁸ Joseph Smith, the founder and prophet of the church, translated the Book of Mormon, written on golden plates, which includes the history of the lost tribe of Israel which is considered to be the ancestors of the Americans: whites as well as Native Americans. This is a splendid idea: it establishes a blood descent since it talks about one tribe, places this tribe into a Biblical, thus Christian, context and also connects it to the New World as the first inhabitants. Thus, he provides the Mormon identity with its essential feature by mixing it with American identity, also giving them the credit of being the first on the continent. This belief is developed further by the active construction of history, both official and individual. The Church has established the largest genealogical centre in the US, organized and financed several research institutions, conferences and events connected to history. It is the right as well as the duty of individual Mormons to carry out research on their past, both on biological and spiritual levels, keep the Book of Remembrance for family history and familiarize themselves thoroughly with the history of the church. The past is also connected to the future: the framework offering a special destination and shared future goal is the idea of the eternal progression.⁹

This theoretical concept of the past was supplemented by the actual pilgrimage of the Mormons from New York State to the present territory of Utah in the middle decades of the 19th century. This journey in the course of which they were treated as outcasts and were driven from place to place, witnessed the violent death of Smith and his brother till finally they settled, presents a set of concrete experiences which are still told and kept alive in the minds of the people. Their sense of unity developed further once in Utah where they had to fight all the hardships of frontier life. It was there, as LEONE (1974) pointed out, that the experience of pilgrimage, settlement and establishment of the water-control system provided a set of ritualistic experiences, through which everyday activi-

⁶ MARTY 1976, 8.

⁷ Blood descent is also considered to be essential, but in case of the US culture and social implications must have primary importance, thus this paper will focus on those aspects. "Collective memory" is another term used by LEONE (1979) and MOORE (1986) to express the notion of consent.

⁸ About the role of history in Mormon group identity formation see ARRINGTON et al. (1979), MEAD (1979), SHIPPS (1994), LEONE (1979).

⁹ According to the notion of the eternal progression, Mormon souls in the universe are waiting for human bodies to be born on earth to become Mormons and develop during their earthly existence. Once a Mormon dies physically, his soul will occupy one of the three layers of heaven depending on how faithfully he lived his life on Earth. There, families will reunite in eternal life, and the most worthy couples will rule a planet of their own as gods and goddesses and be responsible for the spread of their religion on that planet by giving birth to Mormon spirits who will then develop further in physical bodies on that planet.

ties had been sacralized, thus a nation with a distinct culture based not only on religious beliefs anymore, but also on real historical past, suffering and triumph, could develop. The territorial foundation was officially acknowledged in January 1896 when Utah finally became a state, but in its major structure, institutions and leaders it remained distinctively Mormon. They were and still are present on every level of the otherwise pluralistic society, thus have the opportunity to overview and control the members who would rather rephrase this statement saying that the Church provides explanations for everything, creates a meaningful reference for life and offers an acceptable future perspective for them, for which the emotional background and sentiment was gained during the sufferings in the 19th century.¹⁰

O'Dea in his study of 1970 defines the steps of power development as follows: first territorial isolation was achieved, which resulted in a territorial solidarity presuming dominance, thus gaining control of civic organizations as well, putting its impress on everything finally, with the emerging chance of even forming a state which is encountered by the development of nationality. MOL's (1978) term of social identity also has become religion-based in Utah as the natural result of the course of events. This period was described as the consent model by SHIPPS (1994) based on SOLLOR's (1986) terminology when "... topography combined with time and distance allows the growth of a Mormon culture that encompasses a true diversity of persons, fusing them into an ethnic group".¹¹ I must add that they had approximately 50 years of undisturbed separation in time and space from the American culture, thus their originally alternative and challenging form of life and belief could transform into a mainstream Mormon and Utah culture, fulfilling secular roles as well, repeating the church-state pattern established by the early Puritans in New England. Their distinctiveness in the 20th century, from the declaration of their statehood has integrated to an even greater extent into the American culture, as CLAYTON also pointed out, in the process of which they were no longer a "... peculiar people so much as a typical people with a peculiar past".¹² Had Utah become an independent state, it could have become a nation with churchly attributes in an isolated position, but under the actual circumstances it could only develop into a subculture within the American nation. SHIPPS (1994) points out that after the establishment of descent in the 19th century, their 20th century development represents the consent model and resulted in a religious-ethnic community while MOORE (1986) takes it as far as considering two different Mormon cultures in the two centuries.

All scholars seem to agree on the two periods of the Mormon development, characterizing the first one as the era of isolation, while the second one as the era of integration. Thus, the Mormon perception of themselves in relation to their church and country must also have been different in these periods. During the last century they were non-required elements in the American society; they mainly identified with their religion and were considering the establishment of a separate state. Mormon identity today "... contains a central paradox. Mormons regard themselves, as they always had, as good and typical

¹⁰ See MEAD (1979) and MOL (1976, 1978) for further details.

¹¹ SHIPPS 1994, 71.

¹² CLAYTON 1987, 207.

Americans. At the same time, they do not regard themselves as being like other Americans".¹³ To be able to decide to what extent or in what way the above statement can be considered accurate, I should turn to a concrete, real-life experiment.

HYPOTHESES

Based on GORDON's model the following hypotheses will be examined: (1) In the identity model of the Latter-day Saints identification with their religion is more important than identification with the American people; (2) This is possible because of a strong group sentiment and unity as well as the phenomenon that they consider the crucial American values related to the personal sphere of life to be typical Mormon values as well; (3) There exists a strong established Mormon unity based on which, accepting GORDON's definition, the Latter-day Saints can be considered an ethnic group.

DATA COLLECTION

The data originated from an individual survey conducted by mail and a representative sample of forty answers, all completed questionnaires. Data collection focused on adult intellectuals and university students, between the ages of twenty and sixty. 75% of them were from Utah, while 25% indicated Western and South-Western states (Texas, Hawaii, Oregon, Canada) as their place of birth, though at the time of the survey they were residents of Utah. 90% of the respondents were white, the rest of them indicated partly Hispanic, partly Native American ancestry as well. 85% of them were born into a Mormon family and brought up as Mormons, while the rest converted at an adult age. The male – female ratio was 1:1. 85.

DATA ANALYSIS

The data collected through random sampling have been processed through cross-sectional analysis; the frequency distribution will be presented in tables. For the purpose of the paper Mormonism will be treated as the independent variable and identity as the dependent variable.

Compared to GORDON's model it is apparent that the targeted Mormon community's order of importance of the different backgrounds is not identical. It is also noteworthy that there is a difference between men and women considering the first two places. The differences were slight, and a probable explanation may derive from the nature of the religion. In the plan of the eternal progression men, if they have conducted their lives properly on earth, will become gods on a planet assigned for them to rule in the endless

¹³ MOORE 1986, 45.

TABLE 1
Factors of indentity in the order of importance

Order	Male	Female
1.	religion	own self
2.	own self	religion
3.	American identity	American identity
4.	ethnic background	ethnic background
5.	race	race, region
6.	region	

web of the universe. As for women, if they are called by their husband to be their partners in eternity, they will become goddesses, eternally pregnant in the spiritual sense, but if they are not called, they will never reach the highest level of paradise. Other important factorts were also indicated, but each of them are mentioned only once: family, profession, friends and being a female.

TABLE 2
Major values identified with Mormon and American background

Percentage	Mormon		American	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
above 50%	85% family	92% family	57% freedom, opportunity	
25-50%	42% personal goals 28% success, education, Christianity, love	76% education 38% work ethic 30% faith, integrity, service	28% law, democracy	46% freedom materialism
below 25%	14% faith, activities, relationships, hope, character, integrity, free agency, unity, obedience, honesty, loyalty, understanding, work ethic, self-improvement	23% free agency, love, joy, charity, kindness, 15% social life, obedience, peace, success, friends, morality, world view 7% team work, security, literacy, respect, sacrifice, goodness, standards, individuality, responsibility	14% work, security, fortune, patriotism, equality, self-reliance, education, individualism, materialism, success, efficiency	23% success education, 15% individualism, appearance pride 7% law, opportunity, work, democracy, patriotism defense, responsibility, mobility, unity, care, diversity, social status, liberty, history, honesty, efficiency

When examining this list of values we can find that the majority of values related to personal values and world-view is listed as Mormon, while the ones connected to the secular and social aspects of individual life are defined as American values. The most significant value for everyone was the family, the microcosm, which is no surprise. Since the majority of the respondents came from a Mormon family and the Church itself highly values family life, it must have been ranked as one of the major values for everyone. If we also accept that family plays a crucial role in identity formation, it must have been one major starting influence along with the strong exposition from the Church as well in their identity development.

From among all these religious values they were requested to identify which ones they consider as also typically American.

TABLE 3
Typically American Mormon values

Percentage	Male	Female
above 25%	30% free agency	30% education 25% free agency
below 25%	7% security, education, law, religion, love, unity, loyalty, tradition, work ethic, family, individuality	20% family 15% work ethic 7% security, law, love, happiness, individuality, responsibility, diversity, peace, materialism, greed, social life, unity, success, heritage, loyalty, pride, honesty, kindness

Examining this table one can easily find which values are considered typically American as well. Opportunity, democracy, law materialism, appearance, pride, patriotism, efficiency, defense, care, fortune, equality, self-reliance, mobility, diversity, liberty, history and social status are considered as exclusively American values. Looking at this list we can recognize that (1) they are among the traditional American values; and (2) they refer to secular and social settings again.

SUMMARY

Based on these results I can state that the Latter-day Saints' identification with their religion overrides their identification with the American nation. When examining their list of values, one can easily see that their most cherished values are related to their faith. The values they named can be connected to (1) the individual microcosm: private life, including personality, spirituality and primary personal relations, such as family or friendship; and (2) the macrocosm: work-related circumstances and secondary-level

social life. The first group, which is connected to their faith, includes all the crucial human values, while the second group contains values, some of which are considered traditional American ones, connected to the spirit of capitalism, such as opportunity, materialism, law, and success. There are certain values, such as education, free agency, family, work ethic, which the respondents could connect to both Mormonism and Americanism, but they listed those as primarily Mormon values, also present in the American surrounding. By examining the breakdown of their answers one notices that all the respondents expressed their primary affiliation as being with their Church rather than with the United States. This expression of unity indicates their presence as a separate cohesive group and culture within the American society, based on their faith, which satisfies one set of requirements for an ethnic group Gordon put forth in his study.

Unfortunately, I could rely only on these brief questionnaires which provided only a limited amount of information and did not offer a platform for a more extensive, personal and explicit response which interviews certainly could have. Also, there was not a larger number of questionnaires available, due to distance, time and the fact that some Mormon communities I had contacted refused to participate in this project. The expansion of the survey to a larger section of the Mormon population in terms of occupational differences would also be necessary to make the results more general, accurate and valid.

LITERATURE

AHLSTROM, Sidney E.

1972: *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

ARRINGTON, Leonard J.

1972: *Crisis in Identity: Mormon Responses in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. in: HILL, Marvin S.—ALLEN, James B. *Mormonism and the American Culture*. New York: Harper and Row. pp. 168–84.

ARRINGTON, Leonard J.—BITTON, Davis

1979: *The Mormon Experience: A History of the Latter-day Saints*. New York: Alfred Knopf.

BERCOVITCH, Sacvan

1975: *The Puritan Origins of the American Self*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

BLOOM, Harold

1992: *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation*. New York: Simon and Schuster.

CLAYTON, James L.

1987: *On the Different World of Utah: The Mormon Church*. in: PODELL, Janet (ed.). *Religion in American Life*. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company. pp. 192–209.

CREVECOEUR, Hector St. Jean de

1987: *Letters from an American Farmer and Sketches of 18th-century America*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

FISHMAN, Joshua

1972: *Language and Nationalism: Two Integrative Essays*. Rowley, Mass: Newbury House.

GORDON, Milton

1964: *Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion and National Origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.

HAMMOND, Philip E.—WARNER, Kee

1993: *Religion and Ethnicity in Late-Twentieth-Century America*. in: *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 527 (May 1993): 55–67

HAMMOND, Phillip

1988: *Religion and the Persistence of Identity*. in: *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 27 (March 1988): 1–11

- HERBERG, Will
1955: Protestant, Catholic, Jew. New York: Doubleday.
- LEONE, Mark
1979: Roots of Modern Mormonism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
1974: The Economic Basis for the Evolution of Mormon Religion. in: ZARETSKY, Irving–LEONE, Mark (eds). Religious Movements in Contemporary America. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 722–66.
- MARTY, Martin E.
1976: A Nation of Behavers. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- MAUSS, Armand L.
1994: Refuge and Retrenchment: The Mormon Quest for Identity. in: CORNWALL, Marie–HEATON, Tim–YOUNG, Lawrence (eds). Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. pp. 24–43.
- MEAD, Sidney
1979: History and Identity. Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press.
1975: A Nation with the Soul of a Church. New York: Harper and Row.
- MOL, Hans (ed.)
1978: Identity and Religion: International, Cross-Cultural Approaches. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- MOL, Hans
1976: Identity and the Sacred: A Sketch for a New Social-Scientific Theory of Religion. New York: MacMillan.
- MOORE, Laurence R.
1986: Religious Outsiders and the Making of Americans. New York: Oxford University Press.
- NOVAK, Michael
1972: The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics. New York: Macmillan.
- O'DEA, Thomas
1970: Sociology and the Study of Religion. New York: Basic Books Inc.
1957: The Mormons. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- PARK, Robert
1950: Race and Culture. Glencoe, Ill.
- PATAKI, Ferenc
1986: Identitásviták nyomában. in: Valóság 29 (1986): 6: 46–63
- RÓNA-TAS, András
1985: Az eredetkérdés és a társadalmi tudat. in: Valóság 28 (1985): 8: 103–6.
- SHIPPS, Jan
1994: Making Saints: In the Early Days and the Latter Days. in: CORNWALL, Marie–HEATON, Tim–YOUNG, Lawrence (eds). Contemporary Mormonism: Social Science Perspectives. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. pp. 64–85.
- SOLLORS, Werner
1986: Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture. New York: Oxford University Press.
1989: The Invention of Ethnicity. New York: Oxford University Press.
- SZÜCS Jenő
1984: Nemzet és történelem. Budapest: Gondolat.
- TURNER, Frederick J.
1961: The Significance of the Frontier in American History. in: Frontier and Section: Selected Essays on F. J. TURNER. New York: Prentice Hall. pp. 37–62.
- WEBER, Max
1958: The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism. New York: C. Scribner.
- WSEVOLD, W. Isajiv
1974: Definitions of Ethnicity. in: Ethnicity 1 (1974): 2: 111–24.

RELIGION – ETHNICITY – NATIONALISM

Ann Helene BOLSTAD SKJELBRED

University of Tromsø
N-0287 Oslo, Bygdoy Kapellvei 6 B, Norway

INTRODUCTION

In Norwegian folklore archives and in publications of regional folklore, material of similar content is represented under different headings. Under the term 'finnar' hides material both about Lapps, or Saamis as they prefer to call themselves, and about Finns, i.e. immigrants from Finland. Other terms simply mean vagrants and travellers, in Norwegian often called 'tater', derived from Tatars. It is unclear whether Gypsies are incorporated in the folklore material about vagrants. But in other connections they are, although there has been no clear distinction between the different vagrant groups neither for the general public nor for the authorities. I shall for the purpose of this paper use the term Travellers for all vagrant groups and the term Saamis for what in archive material is termed Lapps or Finns. The Finnish–Norwegian population will be excluded for the case of this paper.

The main bulk of Norwegian archive material stems from the turn of the century and the first part of this century. It has the character of being proofs of mentalities and actions of bygone days living its own life among the more un-enlightened part of the population. It is therefore easy to look upon it as mere curiosities of irrelevance for contemporary days. It can be interpreted on different levels, the most obvious one is to look at it from the angle of religion.

I shall here take a renewed look at this material from the angle of religion, with its linkage to ethnicity and nationalism. The permanent dynamic between folklore material as it is represented in our archives and the attitude and actions of State or Church authorities will be my focus of interest.

Our folklore material is dominated by two main characteristics about Saamis and Travellers. One is that they are knowledgeable of witchcraft which they use for different purposes. They are clairvoyant and can foresee the future, they can heal illnesses in both man and beast, they can put spells on people, beasts and artifacts. People can turn to them for supranormal help in different matters. But people are also afraid of them and have various methods to protect themselves against witchcraft used as revenge.

The other characteristic is that people from these groups to a certain extent beg, or take what they want. The characteristic 'thieves' leads to the term crime. Both characteristics, witchcraft and theft are stereotyped labels stuck to whole groups of people and signalize that the Saamis and the Travellers are marginal to the dominant Norwegian society.

Archive material gives a description not of the Saamis and the Travellers as they are, but the Norwegians' conception of them. This conception is based on a silent assumption of what it is to be a 'right' Norwegian: which means to be

- a) of protestant Lutheran denomination
- b) resident farmers, preferably also landowners
- c) of unquestionable Norwegian background.

The dominant traits in transmitted folklore material about both Saamis and Travellers, however, are linked to the question of witchcraft. Which in its turn is religion in inversion. The religious factor thereby functions as pulling power for a popular understanding of groups marginal to Norwegian society at large.

RELIGION

To the strong accusations of witchcraft we can connote the values Christian versus Pagan. The Saamis' original religion, was and is paganism to Christian Norwegians. The Saami joik is still in use as a musical expression, but called pagan by some people even today. Quite a few Christian Saamis reacted negatively to the presentation of a Saami joik at the opening of the Lillehammer Winter Olympics at the beginning of this year, precisely with the argument that it is pagan.

Going back to folklore material, to be accused of witchcraft meant being outside the Christian church and denomination. Definitions of the content of witchcraft and demonology have since Lutheran protestantism was declared the only official religion in 1536, been set by the State Lutheran Church. These definitions have been transmitted in missionary work, through sermons preached in our churches and in theological publications. And it is strongly reflected in folklore, in belief, memorates and legends.

Missionary work among the Saamis has been going on since the 1600s with both moral and economic support from the State. The State had strong interests in gaining new land, which meant traditional Saami land, for its growing population. It was interested in the Saamis as taxpayers and it needed control with the Saamis to develop national sovereignty vis-à-vis Sweden, Finland and Russia. Missionary work, among other factors, was means to the State's ends and was therefore supported as long as it worked in this direction. From around 1880 the Mission's ideology vis-à-vis the Saamis collided with the political ideology, and economic support was withdrawn (SALVESEN 1980: 26).

While missionary work among the Saamis has a long and lasting history, the picture is somewhat different when it comes to the Travellers. At the end of last century, a movement to start missionary work among the Travellers arose. The movement gained strong support by a moral indignation vis-à-vis people who apparently had no respectable means of living except travelling around buying and selling cheap clocks and other junk and doing tinker work. In folklore belief, memorates and legends, the Travellers move from place to place, farm to farm, begging food, shelter, wool and clothes. In return they could offer knowledge to heal people and animals or to tell the future. They could also use their supranormal knowledge to hurt people and animals if they were not given what they wanted or if they were not treated the way what they wanted. However, as for the

Saamis, the State would at this time give only moral, and no economic support to missionary work.

The Travellers have, however, been accused of paganism and witchcraft for much longer than from the end of last century, and by the highest authorities. The same year the Protestant Lutheran Church was declared State Church in Denmark-Norway, King Christian the 3rd ordered in a recess of 1536, that the Travellers should flee the country within 3 months. His successor, King Fredrik the 2nd followed course in 1589 and declared death penalty for Travellers who lingered in the country. In 1683 the law states that no one occupied with witchcraft, likewise Travellers, could be accepted as soldiers in the King's army, but were to be prosecuted and sentenced to death, whipping or exile. Further, in a law of 1701, Travellers are listed among Jews and other non-Christian people who travel around and swindle respectable citizens. From the 1700s we know that several "hunts" against the Travellers took place in Norwegian communities, to catch them for imprisonment. As late as 1907 Travellers were unjustly accused by a local clairvoyant of having kidnapped a little girl who had disappeared from her home in Oslo, and an extensive hunt was undertaken, partly supported by official authorities (FLÅRØNNING 1987).

To support their missionary work their journal 'Fra landeveien' ('From the Road'), wrote on its very first page in 1898, signalling the focus for the Mission's work:

"A pagan people within the Norwegian Church! A pagan people, not only in the sense of being strangers to true Christendom. In this sense there has always been and will unfortunately always be heathendom. But [they are] a people pagan in the same sense as Zulus and Malagasies and Santals and Chinese and other people, for whom Christendom never has been preached. And that within the Norwegian Church, right among us, along the roads, by the sea, in the valleys, begging, stealing, sunk into drunkenness, immorality, exhausted in body and soul. Such a people is the Travellers."

In an almost heterogene religious society as the Norwegian, not to be of a Lutheran denomination, has been a devastating characteristic of being Outsider. Not only on a private basis as individuals, but as a group of people in relation to the State. Thus to be characterized as Outsiders has given the authorities, State and Church, full rights to work for the Travellers' conversion.

In the case of the Travellers, the Mission attained authority from the Norwegian State authorities to enforce the law of 1900 against vagrancy, thereby legitimizing penal workhouses for adult Travellers (TRANØY 1988). By this the Mission obtained control over the Travellers not only teach them religion, but also control to teach them farm work, which at the time was considered invaluable for disciplining people who otherwise drifted from place to place. Most important for the Mission, however, was the opportunity to gain custody over the Travellers' children. Travellers' families were forced to seek social help from the Mission and obtained housing and for that had to do farmwork on the Missions' estates. If the parents left contrary to their contract with the Mission, they were forced to leave their children behind. Orphanages were established already in

the Mission's first year. Such orphanages have been in existence until well after Second World War. Furthermore, through a co-operation with the Mission, Norwegian health authorities could come in and sterilize men and women of the Travellers in accordance with the sterilization law of 1934. These questions are in 1994 taken up by the Helsinki Committee for Human rights and the Norwegian State has agreed to look into them.

ETHNICITY

Contemporary discussion about what constitutes an ethnic group has no relevance to public opinion. Popular definitions are linked to looks, language, ways of living. Both the Saamis and the Travellers are characterized by such distinctions as being different from the Norwegians (MATHISEN 1994a; 1994b).

The folklorist Stein Mathisen has in an enlightening study of folklore material about the Saamis interpreted different elements in folklore as symbolic factort of ethnic categorization (MATHISEN 1983). There are many elements in memorates and legends which, when interpreted with ethnicity in mind, gives new insight in the dynamics of folklore. Mathisens results have widened our understanding of stereotyping and the role of folklore in the mental process of defining "them" and "us".

The journal 'Fra landeveien' has in its first number an article titled "Who are they?" which starts off with these words:

„This is a natural question when one sees the genuine Travellers in our country. Their looks, their physiognomy, their mentality, everything points to a different race." The article then goes on describing the Gypsies, their language and theories of origin. In later numbers of the journal, other travelling groups, some of them of Norwegian origin, is incorporated in the group of vagrants who are believed to be travelling because they shy honest work and moral living.

To be resident, preferably living in the country and occupied with farm work in one way or other, has been a strong characteristic if being Norwegian. To earn one's living by reindeer nomadism or by moving from one place to another has been regarded as negative, non-Norwegian and therefore as a way of living one should work to end. The reigning ideology in the Norwegian society at the turn of the century and well into the 1920s and '30s was to turn both Travellers and Saamis into farmers. If they were unwilling to settle down, either as resident farmers or doing 'honest' farm work, they were doomed to die out as a people. A way of thinking inspired by Darwin's *Origin of the Species* (SALVESEN 1980: 32–35). This comes through both in speech and writings by respected scholars and other people of the State's elite (MATHISEN 1994a and b; SALVESEN 1980).

While the Travellers, under pressure, were offered to leave the road and to learn farm work, the Saamis have gradually lost control of their traditional land and their traditional use of land. Folklore material demonstrates the many sides of the conflicts which have arisen between the Saamis and the Norwegians because of this (MATHISEN 1983).

There is no doubt that the rich folklore material telling of conflicts between the Norwegians on the one hand and the Saamis or the Travellers on the other hand, simultaneously pictures people who are considered un-Norwegian both by their lack of Lutheran Christendom and by their different ways of living. One bad characteristic is heaped upon another, making the characteristics 'stangers' and 'different from us' stronger and the work to convert, both religiously and in regard to ways of living, legitimate. Folklore material connects ethnic difference with religious difference through accusations of witchcraft, making the religious factor by far the most laden. There is reason to believe, though, that the religious factor gradually has lost force in contemporary society, compared to the ethnic factor. Looking at contemporary folklore material expressing ethnicity, ethnic jokes, the main feature is characterization of different ethnic groups by their lack of ability to conform to the cultural standard of the majority. These traits seem to be significant pulling forces in the public stereotyping of immigrants and asylants (CLEMENTS 1986; DAVIES 1982; KLINTBERG 1986)

NATIONALITY

The ardent missionary work to convert Travellers to normal Norwegian citizens, carries in its ideology a core idea that they must become something they are not born to be. But except that the Travellers in 1683 were denied the right to serve as soldiers in the King's army, there are as far as I know, no significant signs in legal documents or authoritative actions supporting an opinion that the Travellers were not to be trusted from a national point of view, and that they were not of the right patriotic mentality.

The legend ML8000 about the courir tricking enemy soldiers has had its variants in Saami country until recent times, some of them underscoring the patriotic role of the Saami courir. This in contrast to the official authorities' distrust of the patriotic disposition of the Saamis, a distrust with historical roots (MATHISEN 1983, 147–158). When I grew up in the northern part of Norway, I as a very young girl heard rumours to the effect that the Saamis who had acted as war courirs, bringing people into safety in Sweden, were not to be trusted. Because they were Saamis. At the time, I did not question such rumours and no one contradicted them. Official documents corroborating such rumours have rested in the Norwegian Foreign Department. In a note dated May 27, 1945 from the Norwegian head of the reception camp for Norwegian refugees in Jokkmokk in Sweden, accusations equivalent to the rumours are listed. Norwegian historians have, however, strongly opposed these accusations and have even shown that the Saamis were both patriotic and very effective courirs (ULSTEIN 1977).

WHAT ABOUT CONTEMPORARY NORWEGIAN SOCIETY?

Traditional folklore material pictures Saamis and Travellers as non-Christian. In this view, it is both influenced and supported by the State Church and by Missionary organizations. The categorization strongly linked to the dichotomy Christian versus Pagan is

intermingled with an ethnic categorization differentiating both Saamis and Travellers from the Norwegian population also in looks and in style of living. Other sources supports that focus turns to a categorizing with a stronger emphasis on ways of living and of race (MATHISEN 1994a and b). The religious factor seems to lose force. Again we find how authoritative views on Saamis and Travellers influence popular attitudes to them as groups.

VIOLENCE AND CRIME

Traditional folklore material pictures both Saamis and Travellers as criminals, begging and stealing when not given what they want. The tendency to link violence to religion, or lack of the right religion, is a forceful influence of common opinion. In a recent study of TV and religion, media's tendency to use religious terms for both religion and folk groups, leads to a linkage of religion and violence. Examples given are coverages of wars and unrest in Ireland, Bosnia, Sudan and The Persian Golf (STENSVOOLD 1992, 1993).

However, in contemporary Norwegian society, where religion has become a private matter, the accusation of crime is the most dominant factor in differentiating between "them" and "us". Together with the factor 'cultural difference' expressed in ethnic jokes, it is the most prominent stereotype connected to asylants and immigrants from foreign countries, especially to darkskinned people. During the last 20 years, police authorities have consistently underscored that the rate of violence and crime among people coming from Asia and Africa, in addition to Albanians from Kosovo, is much higher than it is for Norwegian citizens. Norway's strict regulations for immigration, effectively and partly heavy handedly effectuated by the immigration authorities, likewise transmits the official attitude towards specific groups of people. Again, authoritative opinion and the different authoritative measures taken against people categorized as different from us, will as by a law of nature be reflected in popular opinion and in popular action. A series of news reports underscores racist attitudes in our society. Foreign representatives visiting Norwegian firms have experienced embarrassing racism when visiting local restaurants on their own. Many of these Norwegian firms have made a rule of notifying passport control authorities when expecting foreign business visitors. Only 1 out of 510 cases of racism reported to the police has led to indictment during the period 1982 to 1989. Norway's lack of official measures against racism, has recently been reproved by UN's committee against racial discrimination.

Archive material demonstrates that the attitude taken by official authorities shape public opinion, rumours and folklore against those we consider different from us. In contemporary society, it is clearly necessary that an official attitude will be taken into use to work also the opposite way.

LITERATURE

- CLEMENTS, William M.
1986: The ethnic joke as a mirror of culture. *New York Folklore* 12, 53–61
- DAVIES, Christie
1982: Ethnic jokes, moral values and social boundaries. *British Journal of Sociology* 33: 3, 383–403
- FLÅRØNNING, Sigurd
1987: Taterjakten i Flå. Et 80 års minne. *Gauldalsminne* 4, 545–555
- Fra landeveien. *Maanedssblad for arbeidet med omstreiferne*. 1898–. 1–
- GOTAAS, Thor
1993: Holdninger til tater sett is historisk perspektiv. Hovedfagsoppgave i folkloristikk, Universitetet i Oslo. Oslo (T. GOTAAS)
- KLINTBERG, Bengt af
1986: Råttan i pizzen. *Folksägner i vår tid*. Stockholm, Norstedts
- MATHISEN, Stein R.
1983: „Det et forskjell på folk og finner”. En analyse av etnisk kategorisering i fortellertradisjonen. Magistergradsavhandling i folkloristikk. Bergen, Etnofolkloristisk institutt/Universitetet i Bergen
- MATHISEN, Stein R.
1944a: Modernitet og etnisk identitet i Nord-Norge. *Nord-Nytt* 54, 33–44
1944b: Etnisitet, nasjonalisme og modernitet. *Norsk sameforskning i “lappologiens” periode*. Dugnad 2 (1994) 17–30. Engl. summary
- SALVESEN, Helge
1980: Tendenser i den historiske sameforskning – med særleg vekt på politikk og forskning. *Scandia* 46: 1, 21–52
- STENSVOLD, Anne
1992: Religion in television. A view on NRK television from 4th to 10th March 1989. Diss. Bergen, University of Bergen
1993: Når TV koplar religion og vald. *Syn og segn* 99: 4, 332–337
- TRANØY, Joar
Bekjempelsen av taterne og det “erervsløse proletariat. *Materialisten* 16: 3 (1988) 62–82
- ULSTEIN, Ragnar
1977: Samane i Tysfjord 175–211 i Ulstein, Ragnar. *Svensketrafikken III*. Flyktningar frå Trøndelag og Nord-Norge til Sverige 1940–45 Oslo, Det Norske Samlaget

FROM ETHNICITY TO NATIONALISM: TURMOIL IN THE RUSSIAN MINI-EMPIRE

Marjorie MANDELSTAM BALZER

Department of Sociology,
Georgetown University
Washington DC, 20057, USA

The break-up of the Soviet Union into fifteen separate states left academic and policy analysts scrambling to learn lessons from a Soviet "nationalities policy" gone awry. Was the Soviet "empire" like or unlike other empires? Were regional economic fissures more salient than previously understood? Were historical and cultural sub-strata predictably reasserting themselves after a mere hiatus of 50-75 years? Was the development of nationalism, out of a relatively more inchoate, unfocused ethnic consciousness, a predictable phenomenon? As scholars take positions on these critical issues, and as deconstructivist or reconstructivist post-Soviet politics emerge, a further question is being urgently asked. Will the Russian Federation itself survive?

My anthropological approach to Russian Federation survival is to review the political and cultural history of five major republics, Chechnia, Tatarstan, Tuva, Buriatia and the Sakha Republic (Yakutia), in order to demonstrate the messiness and non-inevitability of secession movements. Rather than assuming that Russia is an analogue of the Soviet Union, or that Russia's nationality politics consistently resemble the imperial polarizing style of past multi-ethnic empires, judgement is suspended until specific cases can be described, analysed, and at least partially understood. I consider long-term legacies of communism and short-term aftermaths of Soviet collapse to be intertwined, and potentially both positive and negative from the perspectives of non-Russian peoples. This view derives from the position that the Soviet so-called "system" fell apart both "from above" and "from below". Nationalism, only part of the collapse, was both repressed and stimulated by Soviet policies, which played out very differently in various regions, despite the superficial assertions of Soviet propaganda and of some analysts.¹

Towards the end of Gorbachev's rule, Yelstin-leaning intellectuals criticized Gorbachev's nationalities policies by sarcastically suggesting: "If he keeps this up, he will have nothing left but Moscow." Their flippancy revealed an underlying savvy: various

¹ To sample perspectives on the Soviet demise, cf. Edward L. KEENAN "Rethinking the U. S. S. R., Now That It's Over," *New York Times* Sept. 8, 1991, section 4, p. 3; Paul GOBLE "The Imperial Endgame: Nationality Problems and the Soviet Future," in *Five Years that Shook the World*, Harley BALZER, ed. Boulder: Westview, 1991, pp. 91-104; Bohdan NAHAYLO and Victor SWOVODA *The Soviet Disunion: A History of the Nationalities Problem in the USSR*, New York: Free Press, 1990; Marjorie MANDELSTAM BALZER "Nationalism in the Soviet Union: One Anthropological View," *Journal of Soviet Nationalities*, Vol. 1, Fall 1990, pp. 4-22.

national bids for partial sovereignty or full independence have been intertwined in the center-periphery dynamic. Given such complex interactions, each case must be examined in historical context. Claimed injustices must be reviewed, indigenous leaders heard, and inter-republic relations assessed before generalizations can be made about whether a given Russian federal republic is likely to become a secessionist "nationalist" domino.

One of the conceptual lynch-pins of any argument stressing center-periphery interaction is the issue of political polarization, and its accompanying psychological ramifications in relation to nationalism. When key crystallizing political events cause people who had previously thought of themselves as mildly aware of their ethnic identity to become dramatically defensive and passionately angered, precisely these people become the fulcrum of more radical brands of nationalism. Issues of leadership, land claims, historical grievances, refugees, national chauvinism and popular front strategy then become mixed into a potentially incendiary interethnic dynamic. The most obvious cases of nationalism crystallization in recent Soviet history include aftermaths of the violent April 1989 repression of a peaceful Tblisi demonstration in Georgia, the January 1990 troop occupation of Baku in Azerbaidzhan, and the January 1991 TV tower massacre in Vilnius, Lithuania.

A second more subtle conceptual issue involves the word "periphery". Any periphery clearly implies the existence of a center, which in both the Soviet and Russian Federation context has been Moscow. Yet the degree to which the inhabitants of "peripheries" accept a marginal view of themselves varies, by individuals, by groups and by situation. Some prefer the word "frontier", seeing themselves as vanguards and a special breed within a given political context. Others, without outside borders, yet still far from Moscow, are not in positions to see themselves so romantically. They must deal more pragmatically with new-found emergence from marginalization into multilateralism and sovereignty, or at least sovereignty claims. A fruitful exercise for readers is thus to shift focus from analytical Moscow-centrism to sympathy with, even empathy for, those in periphery or frontier positions. This is not a condoning of radical, chauvinist, militaristic brands of nationalism, but rather a plea to fracture one's own perspective into multiple views in order to emerge with a relatively more in-depth analysis of what is "central" and "peripheral".²

Eighteen ethnically-based republics signed the March 1992 Russian Federal Treaty, consolidating a status upgrade for five republics, the Adigei, Gorno-Altai (now Altai),

² My view of nationalism is situational and variable, so that emphasis is placed on multiple forms of nationalism, only some of which are negative and chauvinist (cf. Eric HOBBSBAWM "The Perils of the New Nationalism," *The Nation* November 4, 1991, pp. 538, 555-556; and Ernest GELLNER *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983). Since literature on nationalism is reviewed elsewhere in this volume, a summary is not attempted here. However, it is important to note that the dichotomy between "primordialists" and "modernists" that Anthony D. SMITH has presented in *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, pp. 6-18 is too simplistic. For examples of theoretical discussions of "frontier" and "borderlands" issues, see Alfred J. RIEBER "The Reforming Tradition in Russian History," *Perestroika at the Crossroad*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1991, pp. 3-30; Fredrik BARTH *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, Boston: Little, Brown, 1969; Robert F. BERKHOFER *The White Man's Indian*, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1978; Calvin MARTIN, ed. *The American Indian and the Problem of History*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987; Eric R. WOLF *Europe and the People without History*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.

Ingush (without Chechnia), Karachai-Cherkess, and Khakas (see chart). About 35 non-Russian ethnically-based political entities (republics and districts, some trying to upgrade their status or divide) are under the jurisdiction of the Federal Treaty. However, non-Russian ethnic groups within Russia are considerably more numerous. Depending on how they are counted, 126 non-Russian groups were represented within Russia in the 1989 census, and some researchers have revised this to about 160.³ The non-Russian population in Russia, based on the 1989 census, is approximately 30 million, or about 20% of the population of Russia (147 million).

The five cases outlined here are in roughly decreasing order of secession-mindedness and turmoil, although the first two cases are nearly tied for first place and the placement of the last two relatively quiet, could possibly be switched (see chart). Other cases could easily be incorporated in this continuum. Since the center-periphery dynamic is constantly changing, some of these cases, for example Daghestan, Bashkortostan, Karelia, and the Republic of Komi, are increasingly salient.

THE CHECHEN REPUBLIC

In the incendiary North Caucasus tier, the Chechen Republic was joined to Ingushetia until 1992, and together they formed the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, within Russia and the Soviet Union, from 1957 until 1991. The placing of the Chechen and Ingush together in an Autonomous Republic was culturally logical (unlike some North Caucasus political matches), for the Chechen and Ingush consider themselves as Nakh, or Nakhchuo, peoples, speaking dialects of one Nakh language (the Veinakh group of the Northeast Caucasian language branch). The Chechen and Ingush are generally less Russified, in linguistic terms and way of life, than many of the peoples of Russia. The terms "Chechen" and "Ingush" derive from Russia designations of the two groups on the basis of their main villages, after the mid-19th century Caucasian Wars, in which the Chechen had fought against the Russians, while most Ingush, sometimes called Western Chechen, sought to remain neutral.⁴

In the 1989 census, the Chechen numbered 956 879, and the Ingush 237 438, respectively 58% and 13% of their republic's population. The remainder includes a large Slavic population (about 25%), as well as other North Caucasus peoples. In the early 1990s, relations with local Cossack groups, of Russian and Ukrainian backgrounds, became so tense that several thousand of the Slavic population felt threatened enough to emigrate.

In Spring 1992, Chechnia formally seceded from Russia, refusing to sign the Federal Treaty and voting in its newly formed parliament to fully restructure its ties to Russia.

³ See L. M. DROBIZHEVA "Kazhdomu—svoi," *Rodina* 1991, pp. 19–22; Irina KRASNOPOLESKAIA interview with Solomon BRUK "128 ili 500?" *Soiuz* No. 16, April, 1991, p. 14. Statistics here and below are from *Natsionalnyi sostav naseleniia SSSR*, Moscow: Finance and Statistics, 1991.

⁴ Ronald WIXMAN *The Peoples of the USSR: An Ethnographic Handbook*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1984, pp. 43–44, 82–83; Ronald WIXMAN *Language Aspects of Ethnic Patterns and Processes in the North Caucasus*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

Ingushetia legally remained in Russia by signing the Federal Treaty. Critical border negotiations and decisions about state property ownership are to be resolved by 1994, according to a Russian Supreme Soviet law on forming the Ingush Republic adopted June 4, 1992. But the Chechen government, disputing Ingushetia's split, has not recognized this law.

Chechen political status, under a controversially elected President, General Dzhokhar Dudaev, was in limbo by mid-1992. Neither part of the Russian Federation, nor of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the Chechen were struggling for international recognition of their Declaration of Independence. Only then, claimed General Dudaev "can we enter the CIS voluntarily, with the rights of founding members. We do not need to be prodded or forced... Our main goal is the achievement of full political independence."⁵ By mid-1993, Chechnia was effectively functioning as an independent state, having warded off a confrontation with Russian troops in Fall 1992 over the Ingush-Ossetian border.

Both Chechnia and Ingushetia have a sad legacy as home to two of Stalin's "punished peoples", who were accused *en masse* of Nazi collaboration during Word War II, deported to Central Asia in 1944, and then returned in the 1950s to a cropped territory corresponding neither to their self-defined homelands nor to the territory they inhabited before the war.⁶ This harsh historical legacy was exacerbated for many Chechen by a particularly brutal (though hardly unique) famine and collectivization experience in the 1930s, by memory of bitter civil war from 1919–21, and by a 19th century history of violent Russian conquest. Indeed, a major culture hero for the Chechen and most other Caucasus mountain peoples remains the Avar leader Shamil, who united various peoples of the Caucasus to fight the Russians for 25 years in the mid-19th century.⁷ While some Soviet history books tried to present the acquisition of the North Caucasus by the Russian Empire as peaceful and willing, oral tradition and much local scholarship proclaimed Shamil, an Islamic *imam* [religious leader], to be an anti-Russian freedom fighter locked in a *ghazavat* [holy war] that he lost only after enormous bloodshed.

When the Chechen leader General Dudaev campaigned for divorce from Russia, he played on some of the painful historical memories of his people, evoking Shamil and also Islamic (Sunni) tradition. Yet his political strategy has been more complex. In his presidential campaign, he employed the rhetoric of Islam, yet also advocated state secularism. He insisted on priority rights for the Chechen language, yet backed a Chechen law that makes both Russia and Chechen state languages. He has urged cultivating diverse Middle

⁵ A. KORZUN interview with Dzhokhar DUDAEV "Linii sviazi luchshe linii ognia," Komsomol'skaia Pravda June 4, 1992, p 1.

⁶ Cf. Alexander NEKRICH *The Punished Peoples*, New York: Norton, 1978; Ralph T. FISHER review of Alexander NEKRICH *The Punished Peoples*, in *Slavic Review*, Spring 1982, Vol. 41, pp. 140–141; James CRITCHLOW "Punished Peoples" of the Soviet Union: The Continuing Legacy of Stalin's Deportations, New York: Helsinki Watch, 1991; and *Anthropology and Archaeology of Eurasia*, Spring 1993, Vol. 31, No. 4.

⁷ DUDAEV is rumored to have said if Shamil had been Chechen, he would have never lost to the tsarist empire. For sources on Shamil, see I. N. ZAKHARIN *Kavkaz i ero geroi*, St. Petersburg: Kolninskii, 1902; Paul HENZE "'Unrewriting' History – The Shamil Problem," *Caucasian Review* Vol. 6, 1958, pp. 7–29.

Eastern allies, yet employed a German economic advisor and expressed interest in travelling in the West. Some of his "Islamic Path" and "Veinakh Party" followers volunteered to fight on the Iraqi side in the 1991 Gulf War. Yet he sought to assure the Russians that he had no intention of misusing Soviet weaponry left on his territory and did not take strategic nuclear weapons from his previous Baltic post.⁸

Given his Islamic rhetoric, his previous high status in the Soviet air force, and his vivid anti-Russian positions, General Dudaev has come to symbolize Russians' worst renegade nightmares. The Russian press has portrayed him as more of a militaristic, fundamentalist, nationalist pariah than was perhaps wise or valid.⁹ And Dudaev himself was furthered in his polarizing secessionist cause when Yeltsin declared a local state of emergency in Fall 1991. After angry Russian parliamentary debate, Yeltsin, and the speaker of the Russian parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, a Russified Chechen, backed down. A few Russian troops in the region were surrounded by Chechen forces and sent packing. But great damage to maintaining the federal tie was done: moderate Chechens who had been hesitating to back Dudaev felt angered enough at the troops to become radicalized and more sympathetic to Dudaev's nationalist positions. This process was then further exacerbated by Russian troops in the region in Fall 1992.

The crystallization of Chechen nationalism has come from a number of sources, only partially enumerated here. Religious revival has included the restoration of various Sufi sects, some of which do advocate the eventual institution of an Islamic state. Relations with the Ingush have soured due to mutual territorial claims, made even more complex by some of these being in the Prigorodnyi Region of North Ossetia and others being in Daghestan. The date of February 23 has become an official memorial to the victims of Stalin's deportation campaigns, with some Chechen seeing the secession movement as the avenging by younger generations of parental deportations.

Together with a rise in nationalism, internal definitions of national patriotism have become increasingly splintered. The issues of economic privation, ecological destruction, and human rights violations within Chechnia have become so divisive that "ordinary" people have been politicized, some against Dudaev. Armed struggles in the capital of Grozny and at various munitions depots have resulted in bloodshed and an internally declared state of emergency, periodically lifted and then declared anew.

Among the more significant developments, with ramifications for the evolution of a new version of old multi-layered regional identities, have been Chechen alignments with their Caucasian neighbors. The most well-known is Dudaev's harboring of the fleeing Georgian President Gamsakhurdia in 1992. But potentially more stable and lasting are developing alliances with other Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus. Joint Assemblies of

⁸ D. MIRZOEV "Dzhokhar Musaevich Dudaev," *Argumenty i Fakti*, No. 44, 1991, p. 8; Ann SHEEHY "Power Struggle in Checheno-Ingushetia," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Report on the USSR*, November 15, 1991, pp. 20–26; Center For Democracy in the USSR Bulletin 004, January 14, 1991.

⁹ See for example Irina DEMENTIEVA "After the Round-up," *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 44, No. 18, pp. 21–22, from *Izvestia* May 7, 1992, p. 3.

Chechen, Ingush, Abkhaz, Kabardin, Balkar, Karachai, Alegei (Cherkess), Ossetian, Svan, Lezgin, Avar, Lak, and other Daghestani peoples have met since 1989, resulting in the formation of an Independent Mountain Peoples Confederation.¹⁰

THE REPUBLIC OF TATARSTAN

The Tatar present a slightly less anti-Russian, anti-Moscow case than the Chechen. The Tatar geographic, demographic and political situation has been less conducive to full secession, and fewer Tatar have been radicalized to the same degree as the Chechen. By mid-1992, Tatar sovereignty had been expressed in several ways: a 1990 sovereignty-within-the-Soviet Union declaration; a December 1991 parliamentary resolution unilaterally declaring full membership in the CIS; refusal to sign the March 1992 Federal Treaty; and a narrowly passed March referendum that asked: "Do you agree that the republic of Tatarstan is a sovereign state, subject to international law, building its relations with the Russian Federation and other republics and states on equal terms?"¹¹ The 1992 Tatarstan Constitution proclaims dual citizenship for Tatarstan residents. Negotiations over separate Tatar-Russian bilateral treaties proceeded through Spring 1993, with participants on both sides affirming continued economic cooperation as crucial for this oil-rich and highly industrialized region.

Tatarstan, on the Volga in the heart of Russia, had a Tatar population of 1 765 404 million in the 1989 census, making them only 48.5% of the republic while Russians were 43.3%. The Tatars, however, numbered 6 648 760 in the former Soviet Union, so that nearly 75% of the Tatar population lived outside their republic in 1989, indicating a large Tatar diaspora. While some Tatars have returned to their once substantially greater homeland since 1989 (including a few from abroad), Tatarstan has remained a multi-ethnic republic with a large Slavic population, many mixed marriages, mixed youth gangs, and a legacy of accommodation with Russians. Tatar President Mintimer Shamiev, a former Communist Party leader elected in 1991, has thus straddled a very awkward line between catering to growing Tatar nationalism and favoring negotiations with the Russians of his republic and Moscow. The very existence of the Tatar diaspora mitigates against harsh treatment of Russians inside Tatarstan.

Tatar historical, especially territorial, grievances have played a considerable role in the evolution of Tatar nationalism. In 1936, when Stalin's nationality experts were ap-

¹⁰ Not all of the peoples names attended the first session, but by the third assembly in 1991, which elected a Kabardinian, Yuri Shanibov, as Confederation President, most Mountain. Caucasus peoples were represented. See Ann SHEEHY "More on Confederation of Mountain Peoples," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Daily Report, No. 210, November 5, 1992, p. 9; "The Chechen Republic," Express Chronichle, February 24-27, 1992, p. 8; Elizabeth FULLER "Georgia, Abkhazia, and Chechen-Ingushetia," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Report, January 23, 1992.

¹¹ The referendum margin was 61.4% in favor, 37.2% against, with a high 82% turnout. See Ann SHEEHY "Tatarstan Asserts its Sovereignty," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Report, Vol. 1, No. 14, April 3, 1992, pp. 1-4; "Tatarstan Announces Joining Commonwealth," FBIS, December 31, 1991, p. 50, from Moscow Radio; "Tatars, Adyge, Bashkirs Assert Sovereignty," Current Digest of the Soviet Press, Vol. 44, No. 8, 1992, pp. 5-6.

portioning union republics to peoples with over a million in population, the Tatars qualified, but were denied the status, given their geography and perhaps in retaliation against their already jailed "National Communist" leader Sultangaliev, who had sought Union status in 1922 as well.¹² In the early 1990s, Tatar activists, notably those involved with the Ittifak (Alliance) and Vatan (Homeland) Parties, plus the Azatlyk (Freedom) youth movement, staged demonstrations on the main square of the capital, Kazan, demanding secession from Russia, and, unrealistically, return of lands that had been under Tatar control before Ivan the Terrible defeated the Khans of the Golden Horde in 1552.¹³

The Tatar ethnic group was in part formed by historical mixing of peoples during the Golden Horde period, and before, during Mongol conquests. The Tatars are Turkic, descendants of various Kipchak-speaking groups who mixed with Finno-Ugrians, Bulgars, Slavs and Caucasians. Within the Tatar group are many local, territorial self-designations. In addition, numerous peoples were misidentified as Tatar by the Russians. The Volga Tatar form the core of the group that was, in the Soviet period, allowed to maintain its small "Autonomous Republic" since 1920, whereas the Crimean Tatar are among the most famous of the "punished peoples", deported like the Chechen by Stalin as Nazi collaborators.¹⁴

Within their own republic, the Volga Tatars were able to develop a sense of national identity that evolved from pre-revolutionary literary, cultural, merchant, and political traditions focused on the intellectual ferment of Kazan yet incorporating folk values, rituals and customs. In the Soviet period, this was overlaid with some Tatar involvement in energy and manufacturing industries as well as more traditional grain, milk and meat production. But many Tatars felt that without Union status, revenues were escaping to the center, depriving them of resources for education and social programs. Relative prosperity did not compensate for Tatar fears of linguistic and social assimilation, expressed in a 1989 language law requiring Tatar language education for all republic citizens, and provisions in the 1990 Tatar Declaration of Sovereignty and the 1992 Constitution that Tatar was the state language, with Russian. In 1989, over 1 million Tatars declared Russian, not Tatar, their native language.¹⁵

¹² Cf. A. ZIUBCHENKO et al. "O Tak Nazvyvaemoi Sultan-Galievskoi Kontrevoliutsionnoi organizatsii," *Izvestiia TsK KPSS*, No. 10, 1990, pp. 75–88; Alexandre A. BENNIGSEN and S. Enders WIMBUSH *Muslim National Communism in the Soviet Union*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979; Azade-Ayshe RORLICH *The Volga Tatars: A Profile in National Resilience*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1987.

¹³ Eg., "Tatarstan – Ploshad' Svoboda Kipet," *Pravda*, October 17, 1991, p. 1. A more full review of Tatar ethnic politics, and their ethnosociological context is Roza N. MUSINA "Sovremennye etnosotsialnye protsessy i etnopoliticheskaia situatsiia v respublike Tatarstan," *Women In International Security Prague 1992 Conference paper*.

¹⁴ Unlike the Chechen, the Crimean Tatar were not given back their homeland in the 1950s, and have subsequently created their own strong protest movement. On Tatar ethnic history, see R. G. KUZEEV and Sh. F. MUKHAMED'IAROV "Etnoyazykovye svyazi," *Sovetskaia tiurkologiya*, No. 2 1990: 48–60, translated in *Anthropology and Archaeology Eurasia*, Vol. 31, No. 1, 1992; A. KARIMULLIN *Tatary: etnos i etnonim Kazan: Academy of Sciences*, 1989; Alan W. FISHER *Crimean Tatars*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1978; Azade-Ayshe RORLICH *The Volga Tatars: A Profile in National Resilience*, Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1987; Edward J. LAZZERINI "The Volga Tatars in Central Asia, 18th–20th Centuries: From Diaspora to Hegemony?" in *Central Asia in Historical Perspective*, Beatrice MANNS, ed. Boulder: Westview Press, forthcoming.

¹⁵ This was especially true for Tatars outside their republic. Midkhat FARUKSHIN et al. "Ethnic Tension in the Republic of Tatarstan," project ms. Kazan, 1992.

Like the Chechen, many Tatars are Islamic, but some are proud of a reformist tradition, Jadidism, that at the turn of the century advocated education for women and sponsored a satirical journal called *Kha, Kha, Kha*.¹⁶ Leaders of the renewed Islamic reform movement, echoing the historical leader Ismail Bey Gaspraly (Gasprinski), advocate a sophisticated syncretism of Eastern and European traditions. They support professional women, encourage greater female participation in religious activities within local mosques, and are sometimes voices of calm and compromise when the nationalist anti-Russian debate becomes too shrill and chauvinist. The Tatar and Chechen cases thus illustrate the folly of lumping all Islamic peoples together in one fundamentalist, stereotyped category. While an Islamic revival movement has occurred in Tatarstan, it has not been a unified focal point of post-Soviet nationalist rhetoric.

Political rhetoric has both reflected and enhanced diverse levels of identity, from highly local to pan-Turkic. Various groups emphasize different aspects of their "national" heritage, and they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Some, for example, focus on 10th century Volga Bulgar roots, forming a group called Bulgar-al-jadid, or The New Bulgar. Other, stressing Tatar pride and achievements within the Volga area of their own republic, have organized the Tatar Public Center, a major Tatar activists umbrella organization that had great influence on the wording of the 1992 Constitution. Still others, sometimes in conjunction with the Tatar Public Center, stress the natural cultural, political and economic alliance of the Volga-Ural Turkic peoples, the Tatar and the Bashkir, advocating a Tatar-Bashkir Confederation.¹⁷

Finally, many are attracted to the philosophies of pan-Tatarism, the brotherhood of all dispersed Tatar peoples, as well as pan-Turkism. This has been reflected in Volga Tatar leadership in several Tatar (e.g. in Kazan) and Turkic (e.g. in Alma-Ata) Congresses. A Tatar Majlis held in Kazan in mid-1992 drew numerous Tatar business leaders and academics from abroad. The Western Tatar diaspora, officially condemned for years as bourgeois, nationalist traitors, are now looked to for both economic and spiritual revival.¹⁸ Yet striving for broader Tatar and Turkic cultural, economic, spiritual and political ties is not the same as expecting political unification in the splintered Turkic world.

Had Tatar street demonstrations been repressed violently, by Soviet OMON troops or, later, by Russian republic forces, the Tatar population could have become considerably more radicalized. Instead, they elected the moderate Mintimer Shamiev, and have avoided extensive militarization of Tatar opposition groups. But polarization remains a possibility: some nationalists, demanding a Grand Majlis, or Islamic Elders Council to

¹⁶ I am grateful to Edward LAZZERINI for first introducing me to this journal. See also his *The Promise of Some Certainty: Ismail Bey Gasprinski and the Fate of Turkic Culture in Late Imperial Russia*, forthcoming.

¹⁷ Ann SHEEHY "Tatarstan Asserts Its Sovereignty," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Report, Vol. 1, No. 4, April 3, 1992, pp. 1-4; Ann SHEEHY "Tatarstan and Bashkiria: Obstacles to Confederation," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Report, Vol. 1, No. 22, May 29, 1992, pp. 33-37; Azade-Ayshe RORLICH "Tatars or Bulgars? The New Winds of Glasnost Bring Back an Old Apple of Discord," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Report on the USSR, Vol. 1, No. 31, August 4, 1989, pp. 22-24; "The Tatar Public Centre (TOTs), Central Asian Survey, Vol. 9, No. 2, 1990, pp. 155-165.

¹⁸ This was clear from discussions with Tatar historian Shamil F. MUKHAMED'IAROV, June and August 1991. See also Serge A. ZENKOVSKY *Pan-Turkism and Islam in Russia*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960.

supplant the elected parliament, have called for Shamiev's arrest.¹⁹ Russian critics resent Tatar rhetoric and referendum behavior. A Tatar Minister, part of the new reformist cultural elite, explained recent dynamics of Kazan-Moscow politics as "our play for greater independence that got a little out of hand. What we really wanted was a Federal Treaty with a looser framework, so individual republics could have, within it, separate bilateral treaties. If all the autonomous republics had held out for this, we would have all been better off."²⁰

An insight into Tatar-Russian tensions and the need for delicate diplomacy can be glimpsed in a 1992 encounter between the then Russian chairman of the State Committee for Nationalities Policy, and members of the Tatar Public Center (TPC):

Valery Tishkov warned the TPC against any drastic actions against the Russian population of Tatarstan, saying that the point has now been reached beyond which the danger of disintegration in Russia could provoke a wave of protest from the Russian population... TPC activists hearing the minister's speech, saw undisguised threats in it, and did not fail to tell the guest so, reminding him that Tatarstan is not part of Russia, and never has been. "The struggle we are now waging for Tatarstan's independence", Damir Iskhakov, TPC Political Council chair, stressed "is a struggle for the liberation of the Tatar people from colonial oppression".²¹

REPUBLIC OF TUVA

Tuva, in the Sayan mountains and the Upper Enisei basin of Siberia, was a country, Tannu-Tuva, bordering on Mongolia, from 1921–1944. It was not part of the Soviet Union, although it was a client state calling itself a revolutionary "people's democracy", with Soviet interests in the area cemented by a 1926 treaty. In 1914, Urianghai Territory, including Tuva, had been placed under a weak Russian Commission, after Chinese and Mongol rule over the area disintegrated. The chaos of civil war in the region included attempts by Mongols, pan-Mongol Buriat patriots, and Chinese war-lords to re-take Tuva, but its independence was declared in 1921. Incorporation into Russia as an "autonomous oblast" in 1944 meant loss of some land, many resources (including gold, uranium and coal), and much dignity. While limited collectivization, in the form of "production associations", had begun earlier on a gradual basis, massive reorganization of the pastoral economy and settlement of Tuvan herders did not begin until the late

¹⁹ "Tatar Leaders react stormily to TV report" FBIS, January 31, 1992: 55–56, from Russian TV broadcast of January, 30, 1992.

²⁰ Ramil KHABRIEV, Minister of Health of the Tatar Republic, personal communication, May 1992.

²¹ Dmitrii MIKHAILIN "Tatarskii ysyk ne tol'ko v Tatarstane," Rossiiskaia gazeta, June 11, 1992, p. 4. For a sense of the background Valery TISHKOV had on Tatarstan, see A. N. IAMSKOV, ed. *Sovremennye problemy i veroiatnye napravleniia razvitiia natsional'no-gosudarstvennogo ustroistva Rossiiskoi Federatsii*, Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, 1992, pp. 34–36, a pamphlet produced for the Russian parliament by the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, which V. A. TISHKOV directs. His successor as minister of nationalities affairs is SHAKRAI.

1940s. Even in the late 1950s, some unaffiliated Tuvan herders still nomadized on territories they considered theirs by clan usufruct. Tuva did not become an autonomous republic inside of the Russian Federation until 1961.²²

Tuvan ethnic roots derive from a number of sources and should be considered in a context of diverse local economic adaptations, and as background for a more recent sense of nationalism emerging out of republic politics. The Tuvan people formed from several Turkic groups, as well as Turkified Mongols, Samoyedic and possibly Ket speakers. Tuva (Tuba) was used as an ethnonym (self-name) as far back as the 7th century, according to Chinese sources. The Tuvan language, sometimes called Urianghai, is classified as Uigur-Tukui (sometimes Old-Uigur), in the Uigur-Oguz division of Northern Turki, in the Ural-Altaic language family. It has many loan-words from Mongolian, and the Tuvan peoples traditionally used Mongolian and Tibetan literary languages. Tuvan-speakers are related to, and have gone into the formation of, the Soyot (Tuvans assimilated by the Buryat), the Beltir (a Tuvan-Khakas people), and the Todzhans (Tuvan-Tofalars). Soyot, Maad, Oorzhak and Kuzhuget tribes of the Altai-Sayan mountain region were part of Tuvan groupings, with some of these tribal names surviving in twentieth century Tuvan sociopolitical subdivisions. Such subdivisions have been particularly significant in the Tuvan case, given their region's series of isolated mountain valleys.²³

Mongol-Tibetan influence in the region was felt not only through language and politics, but also religion. By the eighteenth century, Buddhism had taken hold, syncretized with earlier traditions of shamanism. Just previous to the formation of the "people's democracy," twenty-two khure, or lamaist monastery jurisdictions, existed in Tuva, with the largest Buddhist monasteries being in the Chadan Valley, where Manchu administrative structure was also centered. Tibetan as well as local Tuvan lamas numbering about 3000, ran the daily worship, festivals and economy of the monasteries. Illustrative of religious syncretism was the cult of *ova*, or *oboo*, found through-out Tuva, Buriatia and Mongolia, which involved cairns in sacred natural areas, considered to be homes for spirits and ancestors of local social groups, accompanied by Buddhist iconography. *Ova* have been reported through the twentieth century, and have had a renaissance of open worship recently, along with some aspects of Buddhism, suppressed after 1929 but revived in the 1980s through a new Buddhist Society of Tuva.²⁴

²² See P. S. H. TANG *Russian and Soviet policy in Manchuria and Outer Mongolia, 1911–1913*, Durham: Duke University Press, 1959; M. G. LEVIN and L. P. POTAPOV, eds. *Peoples of Siberia*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, pp. 380–422; L. P. POTAPOV *Ocherki narodnogo byta tuvintsev*, Moscow: Nauka, 1969; and Sevyan VAINSHTEIN *Nomads of South Siberia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 39–45, and Caroline HUMPHREY's introduction, pp. 1–36. For an update to 1988 on Tuvan economic change, see Caroline HUMPHREY "Perestroika and the pastoralists: The example of Mongun-Taiga in Tuva ASSR," *Anthropology Today*, Vol. 5, No. 3, June 1989, pp. 6–10.

²³ See Bernard COMRIE *The Languages of the Soviet Union*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981, pp. 45–47; Ronald WIXMAN *The Peoples of the USSR: An Ethnographic Handbook*, Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, p. 201; M. G. LEVIN and L. P. POTAPOV *Peoples of Siberia*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, pp. 380–81; Caroline HUMPHREY "Introduction," in *Nomads of South Siberia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 4; and Sevyan VAINSHTEIN *Nomads of South Siberia*, pp. 39–45.

²⁴ See Vladimir KORNEV "Poznavaia vselennyiu: K 250 Letiiu Buddhizma," *Soiuz*, No. 30, July 1991, p. 14. See also Sevyan VAINSHTEIN *Nomads of South Siberia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 256 (note 4) and note 9, by Caroline HUMPHREY, pp. 256–257.

Tuvan national identity was formed out of patriotism toward their initial "people's democracy" and subsequent republic, with persecution of religion and closing of monasteries driving religious aspects of cultural-political loyalty well underground. Many Tuvans strongly identified with Buddhism or with the nobility and merchantry fled abroad after 1921, some assimilating in Mongolia. Historical memory of religious persecution, as well as resentment of sedentarization and collectivization, came into the rhetoric of political reform slowly and tentatively during the late 1980s.

A 1980s Tuvan cultural revival movement was led by scholars in the capital, at Kyzyl's Institute of Language, Literature and History, and by informal folk performance groups. It centered on the regeneration of the Tuvan language, and on folklore, especially the great Tuvan tradition of throat-singing. Tuvans passed a mild version of a language rights law in 1989, opening the way for increased Tuvan language training in republic schools for both Russians and Tuvans, but not requiring it.²⁵

By 1990, the Tuvans had joined what Soviet newspapers were calling the "parade of sovereignties," declaring unilaterally a relatively greater political status (real autonomy) within Russia as the Tuvan Socialist Republic, which their reformists saw as a bid for local economic control analogous to that of a Union republic. They agitated for boundary changes (of Krasnoïarsk Krai), ecological clean-up, and a changed taxation structure. Their Popular Front, with both moderate (accommodate Russians) and radical (Russians should have left yesterday) wings, was accused by local Communist Party leaders, especially Grigor Shirshin, of fomenting ethnic pogroms against the Russian population. As the moderate Popular Front leader Kaadyr-ool Bicheldei, an orientalist and elected deputy to the Russian parliament, tried to point out, this was far from the case.²⁶ However, serious inter-ethnic violence occurred in May–July 1990, and has broken out intermittently since, exacerbating an already scandalous crime problem in the republic.

Inter-ethnic fighting has been concentrated in areas of high unemployment and relatively recent Russian settlement. Beginning with a possibly provoked dance hall brawl, young Tuvans rampaged in the industrial town of Khovu-Aksy, site of a cobalt plant. In Kyzyl, where Tuvans are a minority, non Tuvan-speaking Russians have been shot by Tuvan youth gangs. In the settlement of Elegest, message were placed under Russian doors, suggesting that families leave within a month. Houses also have been burned or

²⁵ I am grateful to the Tuvan musician, folklore group leader and ecological activist Gennadii CHASH for background on Tuvan cultural and political trends, in June–July 1987 and June 1991. For an example of a cultural revival project, see S. V. KOZLOVA, ed. *Soveshchanie po problemam razvitiia khoomeiia* [throat singing], Kyzyl: Tuva Ministry of Culture, 1988. See also Aleksandra LUGOVSKAIA "V plenu konflikta," *Soiuz* No. 35, August, 1990, pp. 9, 16; and Ann SHEEHY "Russians the Target of Interethnic Violence in Tuva" *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Report on the USSR*, Sept. 14, 1990, pp. 13–17. In mid-1992, a new, more exclusionary language law was being considered by the Tuvan parliament. Tuvans have in general been less linguistically Russified than many Siberians.

²⁶ See, for example, Aleksandra LUGOVSKAIA "V plenu konflikta," *Soiuz*, No. 35, August, 1990, p. 16.

raided there. In addition, at the remote mountain lake of Sut-Khol, three Slavic fishers (one a boy) were murdered, at what may well have been a sacred site.²⁷

In 1990, Soviet troops (black baret MVD) were brought to quell the disturbances, angering Tuvans even further and creating polarization that led to increased nationalism. Russian refugees, estimated at over 10 000, since 1990 have been fleeing across the high Altai mountains, although local officials beg skilled workers and professionals to stay. In 1926, Tuvans were nearly 80% of their state's population, with Russian nearly 20%. In 1989, Tuvans numbered 206 629, and were 64% of their republic, with Russians 32%. By 1992, Tuvans were estimated at over 70% of a republic population of only about 300 000.²⁸

Numerous interrelated factors have contributed to the exceptionally tense inter-ethnic situation in Tuva, some of which are similar to factors in other regions, but their congruence and mutual reinforcement in the Tuvan context has made Tuva a dramatic case. Extractive central economic policies, large proportions of Russian settlers since 1944, and recent unemployment among Tuvan youths have been coupled with the demise of traditional Tuvan pastoralism under harsh sedentarization programs, the mandatory Russifying education of Tuvans in Soviet boarding schools, and the undermining of Tuvan spiritual values. Urbanization and industrialization have created contexts where newcomer Russian professionals live better (or are perceived to live better) than indigenous Tuvans. Russians also are a perceived linguistic and demographic threat and are blamed for ecological destruction. All this is compounded by a history of quasi-independence, followed by incorporation by Russia, Communist Party mismanagement through resented native elites, growth of a (split) opposition intelligentsia, Soviet troop misuse, and a folk memory (made rosy by time) of Mongol cultural and political affinity.

Tuvan regional orientation has increasingly turned toward Mongolia, which is struggling with its own impoverishment and difficult reform politics. By mid-1992, the more radical wing of the Tuvan Popular Front, renamed "Free Tuva," was demanding a

²⁷ Sadly, the dance floor origin for the initial flare has been repeated in many areas of Russia, including Northern Siberia. Similar incidents have led some native leaders to suggest local Party elites had an interest in stirring trouble so that indigenous youths could be threatened and jailed. For coverage of examples of violence in the Soviet press, see A. BOGDANOVSKY "Tuva's Troubles," *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 42, No. 27, 1990, p. 25, from *Izvestia*, July 3, 1990, p. 6; and V. DANILENKO "Situation in Tuva Deteriorates," *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. 42, No. 31, 1990, p. 29, from *Izvestia*, August 3, 1990, p. 29. Compare with Party Leader G. SHIRSHIN's defensive accusations against populist hooligans speculating on nation feelings in "I Want to Say with All Responsibility," FBIS, October 3, 1990, p. 192, from *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, September 29, 1990, p. 3. Cf. Aleksandra LUGOVSKAIA "V Plenu konflikta," *Soiuz*, No. 35, August 1990, p. 16; Ann SHEEHY "Russians the Target of Interethnic Violence in Tuva," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Report* on the USSR, September 14, 1990, pp. 13-17; M. Ia. ZHORNITSKAIA "Natsionalnaia situatsia v Tuvinskoi ASSR i Khakasskoi AO," *Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology*, 1990 ms.

²⁸ Cf. Robert A. RUPEN "The Absorption of Tuva," in Thomas T. HAMMOND, ed. *The Anatomy of Communist Takeovers*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975, pp. 148-50; and "Tuva Citizens Rally to Support Independence," FBIS, June 26, 1992, p. 70 from INTERFAX, June 23, 1992. The refugee figure is an estimate from ZHORNITSKAIA, M. Ia. "Natsionalnaia situatsii v Tuvinskoi ASSR i Khakasskoi AO," Ms. *Institute of Ethnography*, confirmed by ethnosociologist L. M. DROBIZHEVA, personal communication, April 1991.

referendum on the republic's "independence and secession from Russia" at a congress in Kyzyl, with wording to be decided later by a reconstituted Tuvan parliament, composed of representatives from each regional "commons."²⁹

THE REPUBLIC OF BURIATIA

In contrast with the previous three cases, nationalist politics in Buriatia have been relatively muted. Local Communist Party leaders have maintained a great deal of control into the 1990s, and legacies of territorial, economic and political grievances have been played down, though not ignored, by a cautious and small reform movement. Cultural regeneration has been a focus of movement leaders, who have described themselves as more "patriotic" than "nationalist". Nonetheless, because of Buriatia's geographical position on the border, its past history of pan-Mongolic activism, the Buddhist background of some of its people, and its territorial division under Soviet rule, it presents a case of potential radicalization depending very much on how center-periphery politics evolve.

Buriatia was gerrymandered in 1937. The homeland of the Buriats, surrounding Lake Baikal in Southeast Siberia, was split into the Buriat-Mongol Autonomous Republic and the Agin and Ust-Orda Buriat Autonomous Okrugs, with interspersed regions considered Russian. The republic became simply "Buriat ASSR" in 1958, symbolically discouraging Mongol connections. Buriats numbered 421 380 in 1989 but were only 24% of their republic population. This percent would rise if the lands that activist claim became part of an enlarged Buriat-Mongol Republic, but Buriats would probably still not have a majority. In 1926, the Buriat numbered 237 501 and were about 48% of a Buriat-Mongol Autonomous Republic, founded in 1923, that covered most of the territory that Western (Cisbaikal) and Eastern (Transbaikal) Buriat pastoralists (herding horses, cattle, sheep and camels) inhabited before the revolution.³⁰

Buriat cultural orientation developed historically in two different directions, with the Western Buriats more fully integrated into the Russian Empire and accepting, at least superficially, aspects of Russian Orthodoxy. The Eastern Buriat were more oriented toward Mongolia and Tibet, although by the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) with China, a substantial portion of the Transbaikal was ceded to the Russian tsar. At least some Eastern Buriat lamas were proselytizing Buddhism (Lamaism) by the 18th century. Buddhist

²⁹ "Tuva Citizens Rally to Support Independence," FBIS, June 26, 1992, p. 70, from INTERFAX, June 23, 1992. But moderates may be winning a more slow approach to sovereignty, with the argument that it is enough for the new Tuvan constitution to have a clause enabling future secession, without demanding a referendum. Ann SHEEHY "Tuvian Independence Claim Halted," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Daily Report, No. 1942, July 28, 1992, p. 4.

³⁰ For background on Soviet Buriatia, see I. S. URBANAEVA et al. *Natsionalnyi Vopros v Buriatii*, Ulan-Ude: Academy of Sciences, 1989, and Caroline HUMPHREY *Karl Marx Collective: Economy, Society and Religion in a Siberian Collective Farm*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983. Cf. K. V. VYATKINA "The Buryats," in *Peoples of Siberia*, M. G. LEVIN and L. P. POTAPOV, eds., Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, pp. 203–242. I am grateful to the philosopher and ecology activist Irina S. URBANAEVA and the then Soviet Parliament deputy Sergei SHAPKHAEV, for conversations on reform in Buriatia, July 21–26, 1990 at the Harrogate, England World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies.

culture gradually took hold in Transbaikalia, both merging with and partially supplanting shamanism, through a complex system of magnificent, well-supported monasteries, until the 1930s. By the 1920s, about 10 000 Buriats were lamas, a large number until one realizes these were the priests, doctors, scholars, and artists for a devout population with limited access to other schools and hospitals. Through Buddhism, literacy spread in Mongolian, with an adapted Buriat alphabet allowing for works of considerable range: on Buriat folklore as well as Tibetan curing. Buriat intellectuals, including orientalists such as nineteenth century Dorzhi Banzarov, ethnographer M. N. Khangalov, twentieth-century linguist lama Agvan Dorzhiev and the doctor of Tibetan medicine Zhamtsaran Badmaev, became known beyond Buriatia and eventually became symbols of a unifying Buriat national pride.³¹

The Mongolic-speaking Buriat people, whose roots in Baikalia trace at least to medieval times, were traditionally divided by five major tribal affiliations: Bulagat, Khori, Ekhirit, Khongodor and Tabunut. These had diminished in significance by the twentieth century but remained an aspect of complex self-identities for a people known for memorizing genealogies back seven generations or more. (In 1990 a contest was held at a festival, won by a young woman who remembered seventeen generations.) Early twentieth century reformists tried to overcome traditional political and social divisions through congresses demanding greater local governance, Buriat native schools, and land reform. Non-Bolshevik leaders, who established the Burnatskom (Buriat National Committee) and founded the 1923 Buriat-Mongol ASSR, envisioned a Mongolic state tolerant of religions, centered in the Russian trading town of Verkhneudinsk, which later became the capital Ulan-Ude.³²

The Buriat national movement of the 1980s inherited a shattered reform tradition, few remnants of Buddhism, and only dim awareness of pre-revolutionary intellectual flourishing. Buriats of the Academy of Sciences Research Center in Ulan-Ude used the opportunities of *glasnost* to make public the "blank spots" of histories that included massive looting of about 40 Buddhist monasteries, arrest of lamas and killing of Buriat-Mongol ASSR founders. Hidden family histories of persecution were revealed, and some began proudly admitting shamanic ancestry. In 1987, the Buriat poet Nikolai Daminov, in characteristically cautious tones, stressed the importance of returning to Buriat language education in the schools, creating Buriat journals and supporting Buriat museums. In 1989, S. B. Budaev instituted a Buriat language teaching column in *Pravda Buriatii*, and a Buriat Culture Center was established, with a broad spectrum of language and

³¹ Nicholas N. POPPE "The Buddhists," in *Genocide in the USSR: Studies in Group Destruction*, New York: Scarecrow Press, 1958, pp. 181–192; and N. N. POPPE, ed. *Letopisi khorinskikh buriatov*, Moscow: Academy of Sciences, 1935. See also M. N. KANGALOV "Iuridicheskie obychie u Buriatov," *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie*, Vol. 4, 1894, pp. 100–142; Caroline HUMPHREY Karl Marx Collective: *Economy, Society and Religion in a Siberian Collective Farm*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983, pp. 402–432; and Caroline HUMPHREY "Buryats," in *The Nationalities Question in the Soviet Union*, ed. by Graham SMITH, London: Longman Press, pp. 292–3.

³² I am grateful to Irina S. URBANAEVA for information on the revival of interest in genealogies. See also Caroline HUMPHREY "Buryats," in *The Nationalities Question in the Soviet Union*, Graham SMITH, ed., London: Longman Press, p. 292; cf. K. M. GERASIMOVA *Lamaizm i natsionalno-kolonialnaia politika tsarizma v baikalia v XIX i nachale XX vekov*, Ulan-Ude: Buriat Academy of Sciences, 1957.

spiritual revival goals.³³ Other informal groups included the Geser Society, named for the major Buriat epic, a branch of the People's Front for the Assistance of Perestroika, a school for the revival of shamanism, and Buddhist study circles.³⁴ One of the deputies elected to the Soviet Parliament in 1989 from Buriatiia was a Buddhist, and a few Buriat students were sent for religious training in Mongolia. The Buddhist *datsan* (monastery) at Ivolga, allowed to reopen after World War II as a show-place for peace initiatives and foreign relations in Asia, has become a center of revitalized Buddhism, as has the monastery at Aginsk, near Chita, which in 1991 welcomed back a sacred statue of Maitreia that had been taken in 1940. Ivolga opened a school with sixty initial spaces in Spring 1992, run by one of the young lamas trained in Mongolia. But the most public and dramatic manifestation of the Buddhist revival was the joyfully received visit of the Dalai Lama to Buriatia in July 1991 for a celebration of "250 years of Buddhism".³⁵

In addition to Buddhism, Buriatia is famous for the ecology movement focused on saving Lake Baikal from industrial (especially paper plant) pollution, which began with Russian scientists in the 1960s, and became a cause celebre for Siberian intellectuals, including the writer Valentin Rasputin. Buriats were part of the movement, especially by the late 1980s, but have not considered it an exclusive national issue.³⁶ On the contrary, international contacts have been courted, stimulated and shared in the region through Baikal activism.

Cultural and scientific ties have been solidified especially with Mongolia, yet Buriats periodically disclaim interest in union with Mongolia. An "all-Buriat" congress held in Ulan-Ude in 1991, including Bargu Buriats from Mongolia, nonetheless provided am-

³³ The first of the language training articles was "Slovo o Buriatskom ysyke," *Pravda Buriatiia*, January 17, 1990, p. 4. *Pravda Buriatiia* itself remained quite conservative until mid-1990, when its editorial staff was reformed, according to Sergei SHAPKHAEV, personal communication July 1990. For DAMDINOV's statements, see *Literaturnaia rossiia*, July 24, 1987. The Buriat paper Tolon (Sunrise) has since become a focus of cultural and political revival, and the children's journal Kharaagsai (Swallow) has encouraged both young Russians and Buriats to learn Buriat. On tension over language, see also "Buriat Ethnic Concerns Surface in Ulan-Ude Oblast," FBIS, February 28, 1989, p. 60, from A. ZHDANOV "On a Topical Theme," *Pravda*, February 20, 1989, p. 2.

³⁴ See Caroline HUMPHREY "Buryats," in *The Nationalities Question in the Soviet Union*, Graham Smith, ed., London: Longman Press, pp. 299–303. The shamanism school was founded by Taras MIKHAILOV, a scholar of shamanism, who has also become a practitioner of aspects of shamanic curing (from his report to a conference on nationality relations in Yakutsk, June 1991). See also his *Buriatskii shamanism*, Novosibirsk: Academy of Sciences, 1987.

³⁵ Scholars of religion in Moscow and Yakutsk talked excitedly of this visit, which was well-publicized through the country. See, for example Vladimir KORNEV "Poznavaia vseleennyiu" *Soiuz* No. 30, July, 1992, p. 14. See also R.E. PUBAEV *Istochnikovedenie i istoriografiia istorii Buddisma*, Novosibirsk: Academy of Sciences, 1986. For a sense of Ivolga before perestroika, see Kevin KLOSE "Soviet Buddhist Lamas Dwindle to a Cautious Few," *The Washington Post*, March 21, 1978, p. A12. On recent developments at Ivolga and Agin, see *Pravda Buriatiia*, February 25, 1991 and March 2, 1991.

³⁶ I am following the assessment of anthropologist Caroline HUMPHREY here, which fits with discussions I have had with several Buriat and Slavic residents of Buriatia. See Caroline HUMPHREY "Buryats," *The Nationalities Question in the Soviet Union*, London: Longman Press, 1990, p. 300. See also "Memorandum. Mezhdunarodnoi konferentsii po ekologicheskim problemam Baikalskogo regiona" (ms. outlining highlights from the international "Man At Baikal and His Inhabitation" conference in 1990). Irina S. URBANAEVA's *Chelovek u Baikala i mir sentralnoi Asii: Filosofsko-istoricheskoe issledovanie*, Ulan-Ude: Scientific Center of Buriatia, 1991 (ms.) is a comprehensive placement of Buriat history in an ecological context.

munition for Russian critics by unanimously condemning as unconstitutional the 1937 three-way split of the Buriat republic, and calling for greater "national-cultural autonomy to consolidate the Buriat people".³⁷ In August 1990, a group of Buriat intellectuals had sent a letter to the USSR Supreme Soviet requesting return of Buriat lands in Irkutsk and Chita Oblasts, but this appeal was rebuffed, given obvious concerns in Moscow about the domino effects of any border changes.

As with many "autonomous republics," the Buriat ASSR officially declared its sovereignty in 1990, within Russia and the Soviet Union. Buriatia, the third to create a draft for debate (after Tataria and Yakutia), passed its declaration in October, despite stormy controversy in a still-conservative republic Supreme Soviet. The declaration asserted that Buriatia was a multi-national Republic, equal in status to the Union Republics, reserving the right to suspend or contest laws of the Union or of Russia that "violate the interests of the people of Buriatia." All land, natural resources and economic potential of the republic were declared republic property. Both Buriat and Russian were declared state languages.³⁸

Inter-ethnic tensions have been under the surface in Buriatia for many years, surfacing in occasional drunken brawls, in Buriat demands that elected deputies speak the native language, in familial discouragement of interethnic marriages (which are nonetheless common), in surveys indicating preferences for mono-ethnic group dorm environments, and in Russian resentment over disproportional Buriat representation in the local government. (Buriats have maintained about 50% representation, though Russians remain nearly 70% of the republic.)³⁹ Moscow control has loosened but has not been eliminated, so that when a Moscow choice for local KGB chief was rejected by Buriatia's legislature and its Prime Minister Vladimir Saganov, central authorities were surprised.⁴⁰ Buriats demanded changes in the March 1992 Federal Treaty, to ensure control over local resources and primacy of most republic laws.

Admitting he was choosing a potential trouble spot, Boris Yeltsin travelled to Buriatia in May 1992 to reassure local peoples about the economy, the Baikal-Amur rail line, the ecology of Lake Baikal, and their "sovereign" rights within the federation. He also reaffirmed the significance of "the revival of the Buryat people's culture," especially Buddhism, and, at Ivolga, promised support for the restoration of monasteries. He was

³⁷ See Ann SHEEHY "All-Buryat Congress in Ulan-Ude," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Daily Report, February 25, 1991. See also congress coverage in *Pravda Buriatii* February 21–24, 1991. Several years earlier, Academy of Sciences ties with Mongolia were renewed. See for example, "O Nauchnykh svyaziakh dvukh akademii," *Pravda Buriatii*, January 15, 1989, p. 2.

³⁸ See *Pravda Buriatii*, October 9, 1990, p. 1. For a synopsis, see Ann SHEEHY "Buriatia adopts sovereignty declaration," Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Daily Report, No. 192, October 9, 1990, p. 8.

³⁹ On the surveys, and some other indicators of tensions, see A. PAKEEV "Chto stoit za tsiframi?..." *Pravda Buriatii*, February 2, 1989; and A. ZHDANOV "Buriat Ethnic Concerns Surface in Ulan-Ude Oblast," FBIS, February 28, 1989, p. 60, from "On a Topical Theme," *Pravda*, February 20, 1989, p. 2. An attempt to minimize tensions was evident in an article about a mixed ethnic family: A. GAMOV "Tak vedetsia vekami," *Sovetskaia Rossiia*, January 25, 1989, p. 3, in which the foster mother explained: "Buriat or Russian – really this is important? We live in the same yurt – that means we are members of the same family."

⁴⁰ Sergei TROFIMOV "Buriatia Rejects Moscow-Named KGB Chief," FBIS, January 17, 1991, p. 85, from TASS. Tiny protests against the local Supreme Soviet have been held by a few Democratic Union activists, e.g. "The Arrest of Andrei Kapitonov," *Express Chronicle*, February 4–10, 1992, No. 6, p. 1.

mostly cheered, but a few protesters from the fledgling Buriat-Mongolian People's Party waved placards with the slogans "We demand the reunification of the Buriat-Mongol lands," and "No Russia in Buriatia – Buriatia alone."⁴¹

THE SAKHA REPUBLIC (YAKUTIA)

Yakutia, declaring sovereignty in 1990, simultaneously signalled willingness to compromise with Russia by hyphenating its name as "The Yakut-Sakha Republic." "Yakut" is an outsider's (Russian corruption of an Evenk) name for the Sakha, who speak the farthest north Turkic language. When the elected Sakha president Mikhail Nikolaev accepted the Federal Treaty in March 1992, he signed in the name of "The Sakha Republic (Yakutia)," already a signal of determination to negotiate a more independent path, yet still within the framework of Russia. A further indication of this has been the adoption of a Sakha constitution by a reformist republic legislature, before Russia itself had managed to ratify a constitution. The Sakha republic of Easter Siberia, while one of the poorest per capita in Russia, has nonetheless been in a position of strength with central authorities because of its vast and under-exploited mineral (gold, diamonds, copper) and energy (oil, gas, coal) wealth.⁴²

Many Sakha are aware of their Turkic linguistic and cultural roots, and fascinated by ethnographic and archeological evidence of a mixed ethnic background that includes local northern peoples (Evenk, Even, Yukagir) plus ancestors who may have come from the area around lake Baikal, driven north by kin of the Mongolic Buriat.⁴³ Some compare their current cultural and political revival to that of the Buriat, suggesting that perhaps because of the particularly brutal repression of Buddhism, the Buriat until recently have been more timid than the Sakha. Sakha religion has evolved into a complex blend of Russian Orthodoxy, Turkic cosmology, animism, and shamanism, with focus on sacred sites and trees associated with traditional patrilineal clan territories. Though shamanism, as elsewhere, was driven underground in the Soviet period, it was not entirely destroyed, and has recently become one aspect of a Sakha cultural revival, symbolized by the founding of an Association of Folk Medicine. Another group, Kut-Sur (roughly glossed as Soul-Reason), has led a campaign for more general awareness of Sakha ritual and philosophical traditions of "folk wisdom."⁴⁴

⁴¹ "Yelstin Arrives in Buriatia," FBIS, May 28, 1992, p. 52 from ITAR-TASS; and other trip coverage, FBIS, May 29, 1992, pp. 43–45, especially "Yeltsin Meets Farmers, Buddhists," from INTERFAX and "Price Hikes," from Vera KUZNETSOVA *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, May 29, 1992, p. 1. See also "First Siberian Trade Exchange Established," FBIS, January 8, 1991, p. 30, from Vladimir SBITNEV "Creation of the Baikal Exchange," *Izvestia*, December 28, 1990; and "Buriatia Endorses Private Land Ownership," FBI June 18, 1992, p. 50, from Aleksei SUBBOTIN ITAR-TASS, June 11, 1992.

⁴² "Deklaratsiia" *Sotsialisticheskaia Iakutiia*, Sept. 28, 1990, p. 1.; "Konstitutsiia," *Iakutskie vedomosti*, February 27, 1992, p. 1–8. Interviews with Sakha leaders, June–July, 1991, June, 1992.

⁴³ A. I. GOGOLEV *Istoricheskaia etnografiia Iakutov Yakutsk*: Yakutsk University Press, 1986.

⁴⁴ Marjorie MANDELSTAM BALZER "Dilemmas of the Spirit: Religion and Atheism in the Yakut-Sakha Republic," in *Religious Policy in the Soviet Union*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, pp. 231–251. Kut-Sur ideas are expressed in L. Afanas'ev, A. ROMANOV, R. PETROV, and V. ILLARIONOV *Aiyy yorehe* (God-Spirit-Faith-Enlightenment), Yakutsk: Sakha Keskile, 1990.

The Sakha cultural and spiritual revival began before the Gorbachem era, but intensified in the late 1980s, leading to a campaign for rebirth of the Sakha language and literature. While only 5% of the Sakha listed their primary language as Russian in 1989, fear of linguistic Russification, especially in the capital Yakutsk, has led to sharp monitoring of politicians' language abilities, to language legislation mandating more Sakha training in the schools and to joint "state language" status for Sakha and Russian.⁴⁵

Historical memory recovery has been stimulated by a revision of the Soviet propaganda that stressed the peaceful incorporation of Yakutia into the Russian Empire in the 16th century and belittled the degree of economic efficiency and literacy among pre-revolutionary Sakha. The most passionate revisions have focused on twentieth century figures such as Platon Sleptsov – pseudonym Oiunsky (from the Sakha word for shaman) – revolutionary, folklorist and founder of the Institute of Languages, Literature and History, who died in Stalin's jails in 1937. Other revered Sakha intelligentsia of the period spanning the revolution include the writer and ethnographer A. E. Kulakovskiy, the ethnographer and activist P. V. Ksenofontov, the dramatist and reformist A. I. Sofronov, the writer N. D. Neustroev, and the jurist-dramatist-politician V. V. Nikiforov – all of whom were punished for nationalism in the Stalin era.⁴⁶

The Sakha republic encompasses territory four times the size of Texas, but the Sakha numbered only 381 922 in 1989, and were 33% of their republic population, while the Russians were 50%. In contrast, Sakha were 80% of their republic population in 1926, before massive influxes of Russian settlers. The Shaka too claim land (reaching to the Sea of Okhotsk) taken from them under Stalin, but this has not been the focus of ethnic politics. Rather, since 1990, a group called *Sakha Omuk* (the Sakha People) has sponsored cultural, ecological, political and economic rights campaigns. Led by the Minister of Culture, Andrei Borisov, Sakha Omuk has functioned like a Popular Front, bringing diverse groups together without being a political party. They were active in the elections of reformist deputies to various levels of legislatures, in the passing of sovereignty legislation, and in the election of the moderate and popular Sakha president Mikhail Nikolaev. Other, more radical political groups have been less effective in a republic with a majority Slavic population, and a greater-than-Russian-republic-average interethnic marriage rate. Many reform leaders have stressed unifying, not polarizing the republic population. Thus Andrei Borisov explained in 1991 "Sakha Omuk was formed in response to Gorbachev's call for new ideas. It is not a Party. Perhaps only now are people ready for another Party. Earlier, people were too afraid."⁴⁷

⁴⁵ See the language sections of the Declaration of Sovereignty, and the Sakha constitution, cited above. See also M. MUCHIN "Nuzhen li zakon o izykakh?" Sovety Yakutii, March 18, 1992, p. 6. Sakha language newspapers have blossomed, for example, Keskil, Sakha sire, and Sakhaada, with Kyym, the old Communist Party paper, adapting somewhat.

⁴⁶ E.g. I. I. NIKOLAEV and I. P. USHNITSKII *Tsentral'noe Delo: Khronika Stalinskikh repressii v Yakutii*, Yakutsk: Yakutsk Press for Sakha Omuk and Memorial, 1990; and the journal *Illin*, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1991, No. 2, 1992, sponsored by Sakha Omuk. See also A. E. KULAKOVSKY *Nauchnye Trudy*, Yakutsk: Institute of Languages, Literature and History, 1979.

⁴⁷ Excerpt from interview in Yakutia, June 1991. See also "Ustav Sakha Omuk," August 10, 1990, ms.; P. S. MAKSIMOV, ed. *Mezhnatsionalnye otnosheniia v regione (po materialam Yakutskoi ASSR)*, Yakutsk: Institute of Languages, Literature and History, 1990.

Both political and economic concerns have led some of the Slavic population to leave Yakutia in the early 1990s, although not in enormous numbers and often for purposes of claiming citizenship in new CIS states of the Baltic and Ukraine. As in many areas of Siberia, most of these came to Yakutia as temporary workers, to make a "long ruble" and then return to their homelands. Precisely such workers are often blamed by Siberians (both of Slavic and indigenous backgrounds) for creating a psychology of immediate gratification that has led to terrible ecological destruction in mining and lumbering areas, and to ethnic tension.

Tension between Sakha university students and Russian toughs erupted in Spring 1986, while the author of this chapter was living in a Yakutsk University dorm. Police mishandling of the fighting led to a street demonstration three days later by several hundred Sakha students, the first of a long line of such demonstrations in the Gorbachev period. While this incident was the most famous, categorized as "nationalist" in the Russian press, other cases of interethnic conflict were also well-known in Yakutia, going back to the late 1970s and even the 1960s. A street fight in early 1990, in which Sakha youths were shot, was also interpreted by some as a product of inter-ethnic tension, but may have been more a reflection of the widespread alcoholism and crime in Yakutsk.⁴⁸

The issue of interethnic tensions is intertwined with that of economic viability in Yakutia, for the Slavic newcomer population has dominated the energy and mining industries, while Sakha Communist Party leaders dominated traditional Soviet political positions. Some of these groups formed an uneasy conservative alliance that welcomed the August 1991 putsch, but their Party political credibility has been badly undermined. As demands for economic rights in sub-regions of the republic have reached strike proportions, the Sakha president has had to juggle political pulls of national rights on one side with economic ultimatums on the other. His compelling argument to stave off strikes has been that all will benefit if both Russian and Sakha republic leaders can negotiate successfully with the center for a greater share of Yakutia's phenomenal wealth, while still maintaining the ties that provide food subsidies to the North.⁴⁹ This strategy resulted in a 1992 agreement that the republic would control 23% of the diamond industry, dealing directly with foreign bidders like De Beers. The South Korean firm Khende has also signed a deal involving the Elgin coal deposits and a branch line off the Baikal-Amur railway. Japanese firms have negotiated for republic lumber and other possible investments. Thus, as Moscow has loosened its economic grip on natural resources, the Sakha

⁴⁸ I was falsely accused of being an outside agitator of the demonstrations and narrowly avoided being deported. Many Sakha, especially students, saw the incident as an effort to introduce perestroika into their republic. Their republic Communist Party leader, Iu. N. PROKOP'EV, e.g. in "Internatsionalnoe vospitanie – delo vsei oblastnoi partiinoi organizatsii" *Sotsialisticheskaja Yakutii*, May 18, 1986, pp. 2–4, made matters considerably worse by accusing the students of improper nationalist upbringing. A quota system was introduced in the university, allowing for greater numbers of Slavic students than had been the case previously, and several student leaders were arrested, but the Russian instigators of the fighting were not punished. Students were officially exonerated only in 1990.

⁴⁹ Mikhail E. NIKOLAEV "Nuzhen li Rossii sever?" *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, June 23, 1992, p. 5; P. SHINKARENKO interview with M. NIKOLAEV "Almaznyi moi venets," *Rossiiskie vesti*, June 2, 1992, p. 2. For background on NIKOLAEV, see *Lider reforma Yakutsk: Illin*, 1991 (pamphlet).

have been able to quickly turn toward direct, potentially profitable international contacts, especially in the Far East.⁵⁰ The danger for the rural Sakha, uneasily collectivized yet hesitant about privatization, is that they will trade economic and ecological exploitation by Moscow for similar exploitation by foreigners.

Yeltsin's government and the Russian parliament have been particularly sensitive to the political implications of the Sakha republic's wealth. Khasbulatov has acknowledged that workers in diamond mines should not have to live in wooden barracks. Central authorities conceded to some Sakha demands during negotiations over the Federal Treaty, and they promised other economic negotiations, which have proceeded through 1992. A symbol of Yeltsin's concern and respect was his invitation to President Nikolaev to accompany him to the US and Canada in June 1992. The new Sakha constitution, as Nikolaev has pointed out, places republic laws above Russian Federal ones, and has a provision for the republic's "right to leave the Russian Federation."⁵¹ Many Sakha say they would prefer not to exercise that right, unless a major upheaval in the center pushes them into it.

CONCLUSION

Within the Russian Federation, non-Russian populations have moved in the past decade from mildly politicized ethnic consciousness to various forms of nationalism. But this hardly means each republic is demanding the same degree of separation as the Chechen, Tatar or Tuva republics. Even these cases are not neatly falling nation-state dominoes, but rather examples of varied responses to constantly changing political and economic conditions and crises. These conditions have helped to foster the crystallization of national identities, the use of nationalist idioms to express a range of differences, the exploration of new sources of influence, and return to historical regional interconnections.

Population dislocations produced by increasing nationalisms have been considerable and painful, in numerous areas, yet thus far more Slavs in "ethnic" republics of Russia are staying than leaving. Of the areas examined here, tensions in the North Caucasus and Tuva have been most serious, resulting in an out-flow of embittered Slavic refugees. The Slavic majorities in Tatarstan, Buriatia and the Sakha Republic have also been shrinking, through out-migrations and especially due to declining in-migration. Out-migration has political, psychological and economic ramifications, often creating ethnic polarization and tragic personal hardships. Yet some of the new emigrants came as only temporary

⁵⁰ Uneasiness over how this wealth will be shared surfaced during Russian Parliament head Ruslan KHASBULATOV's 1992 visit to the Udachnyi diamond mine, which produces 80% of Russia's diamond output. Workers were leaving the region in radically increased numbers, as shown by applications for moving containers. See "Need for Drastic Action," FBIS, January 28, 1992, from "Misfortunes of the Diamond Storehouse," *Rossiiskaia gazeta*, January 27, 1992, p. 1.

⁵¹ P. SHINKARENKO interview with M. NIKOLAEV "Almaznyi moi venets," *Rossiiskie vesti*, June 2, 1992, p. 2.

workers, and many other would-be emigrants might stay in their current homes if given better economic opportunities.⁵²

The Russians constitute 83% of their Federal Republic, with most of the ethnically-based republics coping with a Soviet legacy that has turned their primary (titular) ethnic groups into minorities in their own lands. This demographic situation is an example of both unintended ramifications of policy, and a social legacy of policy, in a more direct, planned and long-term sense. The Communist philosophy that placed social "Progress" above "parochial" and "selfish" nationalism led to encouragement of multi-ethnic republics, of mixed ethnic marriages, of borders drawn and re-adjusted to incorporate, not exclude, multiple ethnic groups.

Like many experiments in social planning, especially those dealing with attempts to direct ethnic relations "from above," the Soviet Communist version of melting-pot ideology scalded its cooks, and in many areas did not even achieve for its people its fall-back recipe, propagandized by the late ethnographer Iulian Bromlei, of a metaphorical ethnic salad, a "vinaigrette" of mixed ethnic groups keeping their discrete identities and cultural flavors but tossed compatibly together.⁵³ On the contrary, the ironic consequence of Soviet ethnic policies was a heightened awareness of ethnicity, including establishment of conditions which led eventually, in extreme cases, to polarization and full-fledged, though not always chauvinist, nationalism. In retrospect, almost everything the Soviet leadership tied to do in the area of nationality relations led to heightened, not repressed, ethnic consciousness. This does not deny the existence of a de-ethnicized Soviet group of mixed background, who combine nostalgia for their lost empire with Soviet-style ethnic liberalism. It simply places them in their proper minority perspective. (Russian nationalists do not have a monopoly on nostalgia for empire.)

Conditions for nationalism were present from the outset of Soviet rule, with an ethnically-based republic hierarchical structure that created specific, often contested "autonomous republic" boundaries and supported educated, national (albeit mostly puppet) elites. Conditions were compounded by repressions of national leaders and, in extreme form, by deportations of whole ethnic groups. This succeeded in squelching national cultural and political life only temporarily and unevenly. Nationalism was even exacerbated by more mild and tolerant policies of paternalism that chafed as national elites came to know more about other people's human rights struggles both within and outside the Soviet empire. All of this nourished a potential for multiple expressions of ethnic identity, multiple manifestations of political activism, and, by 1990, new constitutions for "sovereign" republics. The explosion of ethnic and nationalist expression came not simply out of a newly created post-Soviet societal void, nor a thawing of frozen, pre-existing pre-Soviet identities, but rather as the result of a cumulative series of dynamic

⁵² Estimates of refugee populations in the whole of the post-Soviet deconstructivist world vary wildly (from 1-7 million), and require regional and comparative analysis. See P. RUDEEV, interview *Ekonomika i zhizn'*, No. 26, June 1991, p. 10; L. KRASNOVSKII "Russkie Bezhtentsy v Rossii," *Narodnoe Obrazovanie*, August 1990, pp. 21-23; Murray FESHACH "Soviet Population Movements: Internal, External and Nowhere," *Oxford Analytica*, 1991, ms.; Klaus SEGBERS "Migration and Refugee Movements from the USSR: Causes and Prospects," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Report on the USSR*, November 15, 1991, pp. 6-14.

⁵³ E.g. Iu. V. BROMLEI *Etnosotsial'nye protsessy: teoriia, istoriia, sovremennost'* (Moscow: Nauka, 1987).

interethnic encounters that evolved through-out the twentieth century. Communism helped shape the form and rhetoric of these encounters and the rationale behind them. Another kind of less hypocritical Russian hegemony would have yielded both similarities and differences.

Non-Russians inside the Russian Federation debate perceived legacies of Soviet-style communism in both negative and positive terms. Negative legacies could alternatively be described as residues of resentment: over linguistic Russification; over economic imbalances; over suppression of spiritual life; over the power habits, and outright corruption, of Party elites still hanging on to power as transformed businessmen; over a political culture organized to channel communication hierarchically and discourage communication horizontally between republics without Moscow – to name just a few. More positive assessments frequently include aspects of educational achievements, particularly in rural school and literacy programs; selected development and industrial attainments; stimulation of urban national elites on a fairly extensive scale; ideals of inter-ethnic harmony, even if they have not worked out in practice; increased chances for physical and job mobility; social welfare entitlements and some affirmative action programs for non-Russians, at least in theory if not practice.

In 1985, none of the republics in Russia (or in the SSSR) started perestroika from positions equality in relation to the center: economic conditions varied, the degree of geo-political boundary and ethnic group correlation varied, and legacies of “punishment” before, during and after Stalin varied, to name only a few of the most salient dimensions.⁵⁴ These differences meant national groups, and individuals within them, experienced different degrees of radicalization. Given pan-Soviet problems, similar kinds of formal and informal opposition groups evolved, yet nuances are significant here too. Ecological activism, for example, has been more tied to national consciousness in the Tuva and Sakha Republics than in Buriatia.

Given the situational, dynamic and sometimes volatile nature of post-Soviet republic politics, Russian (and a few non-Russian) authorities in the center face a delicate dilemma of balancing general legal principles with highly specific negotiated compromises.⁵⁵ Leaders of the ethnically-based republics that form Russia's Federal Council

⁵⁴ See A. N. IAMSKOV, ed. *Sovremennye problemy i veroiatnye napravlniia razvitiia natsional'no-gosudarstvennogo ustroistva Rossiiskoi Federatsii*, Moscow: Russian Academy of Sciences, 1992, for acknowledgement of these variable legacies, with stress on the “irretrievable” problems caused by the 1922 national-state hierarchical administrative system. Stress is laid here on the greater rights of republics over Russian “oblasts,” despite the nearly 80% Russian population of the Russian Federation (e.g. p. 7). Conflicts are seen as 1) over status; 2) territorial; and 3) internal political (pp. 11–19).

⁵⁵ YELTSIN's former advisor for nationality affairs, Russian parliament deputy Galina STAROVOITOVA, has suggested several criteria for legitimate secession: 1) a history of self-consciousness as a national group; 2) a demographic majority for that group within currently constituted republic boundaries; 3) a referendum in which a solid majority vote for unambiguous secession; and 4) adequate legal protection for all minorities (Kennan Institute, April 20, 1992, and personal communication, November, 1992). Only Chechnia and Tuva qualify in this scheme. Valery TISHKOV's “O kontseptsii i osnovnykh napravleniia natsional'noi politiki v Rossii” (ms. Winter 1992) is being modified by his successor minister for nationalities affairs, Sergei SHAKRAI. An analysis of the possible dismantling of the entire hierarchical republic-region-district federal structure in stages is contained in the Post-Factum report “Regionalizatsiia rossiiskoi federatsii” (Spring 1992), but is likely too radical for republics trying to maintain the federal treaty.

openly complain that stipulations favoring the republics in the Federal Treaty are ignored. Many are impatient to see a new Russian constitution that might alleviate the complexities and contradictions of the current gerry-rigged one that qualifies at once as a legacy, residue and aftermath of Communist rule. Chechnia has already in effect seceded, and Tatarstan, despite its uncondusive demographic and geographic situation, may follow. Tuva and others claim the moral right to secede, on the basis of historical legacy, but hold back waiting for better offers. They will not wait forever.

By examining specific cases in cultural, demographic, and historical contexts, regional as well as center-periphery interactions are revealed. In the Siberian cases reviewed here, tensions have emerged between Russian, sometimes called "Siberiak," regionalist aspirations and indigenous national ones. Far Eastern economic separatism, led by Slavic Siberians often of Communist Party backgrounds, already has provoked concern among numerous representatives of local nationalities for the protection of their minority rights.⁵⁶ Yet the Buriat and Sakha Republics present cases in which some of these internal tensions may be managed on the basis of a greater sharing of local resources newly wrenched from central control.

Many republic leaders, following as well as guiding the wishes of their multi-ethnic peoples, want better deals with Moscow, and are negotiating with government authorities from unaccustomed positions of relative strength. Their effectiveness has varied, given differences in electoral base, popularity, personality, background, republic wealth, and the receptivity to reform of republic parliaments. How the Russian parliament and the central government manage the details of genuine economic and political power-sharing with the republics will make an enormous difference in the potential transformation of Russia from a mini-empire to a relatively and unevenly democratic federal state. A constructive social legacy of Soviet-style communism would be to learn from the mistakes of attempted ethnic engineering.

⁵⁶ I am grateful to Evdokiia Aleksandrovna GAER, then USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, personal communication, November, 1991, for perspective on this. Samples of Siberian regionalism reporting include: Victor SEROV "Krasnoiarsk-Moskve: Idu na vy!" *Rossiskie vesti* July 7, 1992, p. 2; "Tyumen Votes No Confidence in Russian Government," FBIS, June 3, 1992, p. 44, from INTERFAX May 29, 1992; "Urals, Siberia, Far East Urged to Secede," FBIS, January 23, 1992, p. 83, from TASS, January 20, 1992; "Sakhalin Leads Privatization Process," FBIS, June 18, 1992, p. 49, from ITAR-TASS, June 16, 1992. Cf. Dmitri ORESHKIN "Wild Market for 'Wild' North?" *Nezavisimaia gazeta*, June, 1992, p. 6 (English version); and Jean RIOLLOT and Elizabeth TEAGUE "Siberian Separatists Cautioned," *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Daily Report* No. 57, March 23, 1992, p. 1-2.



The Russian Federation

Republics Asserting Independence And Negotiating Bilateral Treaties With Russia	Republics Signing The Federal Treaty, Bilateral Treaties	Ethnic-Based Regions, Districts
Chechnia	Adigei	Agin-Buriat
Tatarstan	Altai	Ust-Orda
	Balkaria	Buriat
	Bashkortostan	Chukotsk
	Buriatia	Evenk
	Chuvash (Chavash)	Eveno- Bytantaisk
	Dagestan	Evrei
	Ingushetia	Khanty- Mansi
	Kabardinia	Komi- Permiak
	Kalmykia	Koriak
	(Khalmg Tangch)	Nenets
	Karachai-Cherkessia	Yamalo- Nenets
	Karelia	Dolgan- Nenets
	Khakasia	Taimyr (Nganasan)
	Komi	
	Mari (Mari-El)	
	Mordva	
	North Ossetia	
	Sakha (Yakutia)	
	Tuva	
	Udmurtia	

Sources:

"Federativnyi dogovor," ITAR-TASS International Service, March 14, 1992; Ann SHEEHY "The Republics of the Russian Federation" Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty Research Report June 5, 1992, p. 14. Please note that separate legislatures for Kabardinia and Balkaria were created after the March 1992 Federal Treaty was signed. The Eveno-Bytantaishk district (raion) was created within the Sakha Republic as a homeland for the Even people in 1989. Several German Districts are being formed within Russia in 1992. Cossack Districts in the North Caucasus and Siberia are being discussed.

Demographic Profiles

	Population	Percent
Chechen-Ingushetia	1 270 429	
Chechen	734 501	58
Ingush	163 762	13
Russians	293 771	23
Ukrainians	12 637	1
Tatarstan	3 641 742	
Tatars	1 765 404	49
Bashkirs	19 106	0.5
Chuvash	134 221	7
Russians	1 575 361	43
Tuva	308 557	
Tuvans	198 448	64
Khakasy	2 258	0.7
Russians	98 831	32
Ukrainians	2 208	0.7
Buriatia	1 038 252	
Buriats	249 525	24
Evenk	1 679	0.2
Russians	726 165	70
Ukrainians	22 868	2
Sakha (Yakutia)	1 094 065	
Sakha	265 236	33
Evenk	14 428	1
Russians	550 265	50
Ukrainians	77 114	7

Source:

Natsional'nyi sostav naseleniia SSSR Moscow: Finance and Statistics, 1991, from the 1989 census. Please note that the major ethnic groups associated with a given republic are included here, but not every ethnic group. Also note that the Tatar and Buriat have substantial populations living outside their republics.

CONFLICTING IDENTITIES
IN CENTRAL EUROPE

ETHNIC POLES IN LITHUANIA AND BELARUS: CURRENT SITUATION AND MIGRATION POTENTIAL

Thomas S. SZAJNA

RAND

1700 Main Street, Santa Monica, CA 90407

INTRODUCTION

The social, economic, and political upheaval in the former USSR has given rise to expectations of an out-migration of population toward more stable and prosperous countries, most of all, the western part of Europe. However, Poland may also represent a destination country for many migrants from the former USSR. Its attractiveness as a country of destination has grown commensurably with the success and the rapid pace of its market reforms and the increasing gap between the standard of living in Poland and the countries that have emerged from the former USSR. Indeed, there is already a wealth of evidence that Poland acts as a destination country for many short-term labor migrants from the former USSR. Migration by ethnic Poles from the former USSR forms a special subset of the potential short- and long-term migration to Poland from the former USSR. The whole issue of Polish migration is a new one that has arisen because of the collapse of communism and the regaining of full sovereignty by Poland. The issue remains virtually unstudied.

ETHNIC POLES IN THE FORMER USSR

For a variety of reasons, ranging from boundary changes to forced deportations, a substantial ethnic Polish population inhabits the territory of the former USSR. Official Soviet census figures from 1989 claim that the ethnic Polish population amounted to 1 126 334, but most Polish scholars believe that the figure substantially underestimates the true number because of pressures during the Soviet era in favor of ethnic reidentification away from Polish ethnicity as well as because of incentives at the local and central levels to undercount the number of ethnic Poles. According to recent estimates of Polish researchers from the Polish Academy of Sciences, the real figure may be closer to 2.2–2.5 million.¹ The figure of 2.5 million seems to have become accepted as real in discussion among Polish officials.

¹ Hieronim KUBIAK, "Polacy i Polonia w ZSRR: kwestie terminologiczne, periodyzacja, rozmieszczenie przestrzenne, szacunki ilosciowe" (Poles and the Polish Diaspora in the USSR: Terminological Issues, Periodization, Spatial Distribution, Estimates as to Its Numbers), in Hieronim KUBIAK, Tadeusz PALECZNY, Jaroslaw ROKICKI, Malgorzata WAWRYKIEWICZ, ed., *Mniejszosci Polskie i Polonia w ZSSR* (Polish Minorities and the Polish Diaspora in the USSR), Jagiellonian University, Institute for the Study of Ethnic Poles Abroad; Wroclaw, Warsaw, Cracow: Ossolineum – Publishing House of the Polish Academy of Sciences, 1992, pp. 17–33.

Some four-fifths of the total ethnic Polish population in the former USSR inhabits the areas that used to belong to the Polish state (the First Polish Commonwealth) prior to 1772, i.e., prior to its partitioning and dismemberment by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. In contemporary terms, that means Lithuania, most of Belarus, about half of Ukraine and Latvia, and small portions of western Russia and northern Moldova. About two-thirds of the ethnic Polish population in the former USSR inhabits the areas that used to belong to the Polish state (the Second Polish Commonwealth) prior to 1939, i.e., prior to its occupation and dismemberment by Germany and the USSR. In contemporary terms, that means southeastern Lithuania, western Belarus and western Ukraine. Although two waves of post-World War Two repatriations (regulated by Soviet-Polish treaties) took place in 1944-48 and 1956-58 and led to the substantial thinning out of the ethnic Polish population in the USSR, Polish scholars estimate that about a third of the ethnic Polish population was unable or unwilling to use the opportunity to become repatriated to Poland and stayed on the territory of the USSR.

The Polish diaspora in the former USSR precludes any easy classification and a large gray area exists between "ethnic Poles," "former Poles," and "descendants of Poles." Some of the ethnic Poles live in rural environments in central Siberia, do not know Polish, and may already comprise a highly autochthonized fifth or sixth generation living in that area. Others, such as some of the ethnic Poles in Lithuania, are skilled urban workers who were born in what was then Poland, speak Polish fluently, and consider themselves to be more Polish than many of their ethnic brethren in Poland.

The ethnic Poles in the USSR in the post-World War Two era faced a situation analogous to that of the ethnic Germans in the USSR, in that both groups had a history of official Soviet persecution on the basis of ethnicity. Both were among the largest ethnic minorities without a formal "nationality"-based territorial-administrative unit, and as such, were exposed to open forms of discrimination based on ethnicity as well as to severe assimilatory pressures. One indication of the discrimination is in the low rate of knowledge of Polish language among ethnic Poles in the former USSR (according to official census figures, ethnic Poles in the former USSR have the lowest rate of native language speaking ability among all of the major ethnic groups in the former USSR). However, whereas many ethnic Germans had emigrated to West Germany for decades prior to the collapse of the USSR, no such "escape valve" existed for the ethnic Poles (except, of course for the two treaty-regulated waves of repatriation in 1940s and 1950s). Both Soviet and Polish communist authorities discouraged such movement and the attraction of a communist Poland to the ethnic Poles in the former USSR seemed low.

While the determinants of and motivation for ethnic German emigration from the USSR have received a great deal of attention from scholars for two decades, the situation of ethnic Poles and their potential for out-migration received virtually no attention. Immigration as such did not exist, and even the study of the potential for such migration was proscribed by the communist regimes. Now, the situation has changed dramatically, and potential exist for large migration of ethnic Poles from the former USSR to Poland in response to several factors, ranging from fear of physical harm due to ethnic tensions to economic well-being.

The potential for migration of ethnic Poles carries significant policy implications for Poland (and for Western Europe). Any massive, permanent migration of ethnic Poles from the former USSR to Poland would stretch severely if not swamp the limited resources that Poland has to deal with migrants. Yet, for a variety of reasons, some of which are ingrained in the understanding of ethnicity in the central part of Europe, politically it would be virtually impossible for any Polish government to bar or even to put significant obstacles to the emigration of ethnic Poles from the former USSR claiming persecution on the basis of ethnicity. Indeed, the Polish government has begun to prepare some contingency plans to handle a repatriation of ethnic Poles from the former USSR if such a flow were to materialize.²

There is another problem that is unique to the migration potential of ethnic Poles from the former USSR to Poland. Significant potential exists that many East Slavs (Byelorussians, Ukrainians, Russians) will claim Polish ethnicity in order to migrate to Poland (either as a final destination or as a gateway to the European Community) for economic reasons. Currently, few restrictions exist on temporary visits by citizens of the former USSR to Poland, though that may change if more citizens of the former USSR decide to stay in Poland for longer periods of time.³ Should the Polish government try to impose greater constraints on the movement into Poland from the East, incentives may arise for Byelorussians or Ukrainians to claim Polish ethnicity. Language does not present that great of an obstacle, either to assimilation or to determination of ethnicity. Although Polish is a West Slavic language and Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian are East Slavic languages, all of the Slavic languages are closely related and a Russian speaker could quickly gain proficiency in Polish. Since most ethnic Poles in the former USSR do not know Polish, knowledge of Polish cannot be used as a viable criterion to distinguish ethnic Poles from Byelorussians or Ukrainians. The practice of forced ethnic reidentification, widely reported to have been practiced by the Soviet regime against many ethnic Poles, also could strengthen any claim to Polish ethnicity by Byelorussians and Ukrainians, for they could claim to be rediscovering their Polish roots that the Soviet regime forced them to abandon.⁴

For all such reasons, should a large migration of ethnic Poles to Poland take place, it may be accompanied by a great many non-Poles claiming Polish ethnicity out of expediency. This has been a common pattern in the migration of "ethnic Germans" from Poland since the early 1970s, it has already been reported in the case of a limited resettlement of Volhynian Czechs from Ukraine to the Czech Republic between 1991–93,⁵ and there is

² Poland's civic ombudsman raised the issue publicly in early 1993. For more details, see *Rzeczpospolita*, February 23, 1993, translated in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Daily Report, East Europe (FBIS–EEU, from here on), No. 37, February 26, 1993, pp. 17–18.

³ According to Polish statistics, 7 788 700 persons from the former USSR visited Poland in 1992, an increase from 7 545 500 such visitors in 1991. *Rynki Zagraniczne*, No. 37, March 27, 1993, translated in Joint Publications Research Service, East Europe Report (JPRS–EER from here on), No. 37–S, May 4, 1993, p. 17.

⁴ The Polish researchers' and government officials' acceptance of much higher figures than the Soviet census findings regarding the presence of ethnic Poles in the former USSR amount to an explicit recognition that many ethnic Poles were forced to reidentify ethnically, usually as Ukrainians, Byelorussians, or Russians.

⁵ Prague CTK in English, April 14, 1993, as reported in FBIS–EEU, No. 73, April 19, 1993, p. 12.

no reason why it would not be the pattern in any potential migration from the former USSR to Poland. However, the malleability of ethnicity and the potential for use of Polish ethnicity for strategic reasons by non-Polish migrants from the former USSR greatly affects any predictions regarding the size of migration to Poland. If some of the worse case scenarios concerning the evolution of the former USSR come true, a situation may arise that the number of people claiming to be ethnic Poles in the ex-Soviet republics may climb as high as three or more times the official figures.

LITHUANIA

According to Soviet census figures from 1989, Poles amounted to 257 994, or 7.0 percent of Lithuania's total population of 3 673 400.⁶ According to Soviet statistics, the Poles in Lithuania amounted to 22.9 percent of the total ethnic Polish population in the then USSR and they comprised the second largest republican-level concentration of ethnic Poles (after Byelorussia). The number of Poles in Lithuania does not appear to have been considerably undercounted (probably no more than 10–20 percent) but, in view of the probable substantial undercounting of Poles in Ukraine, the ethnic Poles in Lithuania probably rank third, rather than second, among the republics of the former USSR. Poles formed the second largest ethnic minority in Lithuania, after the Russians, who comprised 344 455, or 9.4 percent, of the total population (Lithuanians amounted to 2 924 251, or 79.6 percent). Of the total number of Poles in Lithuania, 148 945, or 57.7 percent, lived in urban areas, while 109 049, or 42.3 percent, lived in rural areas. An overwhelming majority of the Poles in Lithuania – 219 322, or 85.0 percent – considered Polish their native language (23 829, or 9.2 percent of the Poles, considered Russian as native, and 12 951, or 5.0 percent of the Poles, considered Lithuanian as their native language). In addition, 57.9 percent of the Poles claimed fluency in Russian, while 15.5 percent claimed fluency in Lithuanian.

The ethnic Polish population in Lithuania is geographically concentrated in south-eastern part of the country, predominantly around Vilnius and in the strip of land to the south and east of Vilnius stretching to the border with Belarus (areas that had been a part of Poland between 1922–39). The concentration of the Polish community in one region of Lithuania means that ethnic Poles formed outright majorities in two *rajons* (Salcininkai, 79.6 percent; Vilnius *rajon*, 63.5 percent), and comprised substantial minorities in several other *rajons* (Svencionys, 28.8 percent; Trakai, 23.8 percent; Vilnius city, 18.8 percent; Sirvintos, 11.1 percent; Moletai, 10.1 percent; and four others with 5–8 percent). The Poles' low level of urbanization – lowest among all ethnic groups in Lithuania, including that of the Lithuanians – shows the long-term nature of the Polish presence in the area (and stands in contrast to the high level of urbanization among the

⁶ Changes that have taken place since the taking of the census have increased slightly the proportion of Lithuanians due to some Russian out-migration.

more recent arrivals in Lithuania, such as the Russians, who are 89.7 percent urban). Poles in Lithuania have the lowest educational attainment levels among the major ethnic groups inhabiting Lithuania.

ETHNIC TENSIONS

All of the interviewees showed a great deal of concern regarding relations between Poles and Lithuanians. They also drew a distinction between the situation in Vilnius city itself and the rural areas near Vilnius. All of them felt that the sharpest conflicts existed in the rural areas. The interviewees pointed to the influence of militant Lithuanian nationalists on the government and the policies of open discrimination against non-Lithuanians as the reason for the ethnic tensions. Most of the interviewees felt that Lithuanian nationalists pursued a conscious policy that aimed to force the ethnic Poles to either assimilate or emigrate. Most of the interviewees argued that the Lithuanians have used the process of economic reform to achieve those goals. While some of the interviewees felt that the interethnic relations had improved or at least stabilized since the ouster of *Sajudis* from power in the parliamentary election in the fall of 1992 and the subsequent election of Algirdas Brazauskas as President of Lithuania in February 1993, most of the interviewees felt that the same problems still existed; they only lost some of their saliency because of the catastrophic economic situation. The paragraphs below treat all of these issues in greater detail.

Negative Images. Virtually all of the interviewees felt that most Lithuanians perceived Poles as an unwanted "foreign presence," "occupiers," and a "destructive and threatening element to the Lithuanian state." While the activities of the Lithuanian nationalist organizations sparked the most resentment among the interviewees (more on that below), several felt that the anti-Polish beliefs had become deeply embedded in Lithuanian culture. For example, one interviewee opined that "all Lithuanians have an anti-Polish complex, whether they're from *Sajudis* or not." Similarly, another interviewee said that "a rightist and a leftist Lithuanian will close ranks when engaged against a Pole." Still another claimed that "Lithuanians see themselves as good patriots if they bother the Poles." Still another interviewee thought that Lithuanians jump to quick conclusions; in his words, "if you do not learn Lithuanian, then they consider you a 'Polish chauvinist.'"

Denial of Polish Presence. The interviewees especially resented the supposedly common Lithuanian attempt to deny the presence of ethnic Poles altogether by referring to them not as Poles but as "Polish-speaking." The rationale for such terminology apparently derives from an interpretation of ethnicity in a biological manner; namely, that today's Poles in Lithuania actually are Lithuanians "polonized" during the time of joint Polish-Lithuanian kingdom in the late Renaissance period. According to one interviewee, stories of "polonized Lithuanians" appeared in 1988 among *Sajudis* circles. The attempt, supposedly by "Vilnija," to create the so-called "-viches" ethnic group was a version of the polonized Lithuanians story and it evoked similar feelings of resentment among several interviewees. Apparently, stories surfaced that Poles whose names ended in "wicz" (a common ending of a Polish name), were actually "Lithuanians," whose names used to have the common Lithuanian ending of "-vicius," and who had been

“polonized.”⁷ To illustrate how widespread the attempt to deny the existence of ethnic Poles in Lithuania is, one interviewee showed the author the annual review of the Catholic Church in Lithuania for 1993 (the main Lithuanian Catholic church publication), where a description of a parish near Vilnius read: “the population of the parish is mixed; some are Lithuanians, while some consider themselves Poles.”⁸

Name Changes. The practice of name changes for ethnic Poles constituted another aspect of Lithuanian policies that sparked resentment among the interviewees. Apparently, with the issuing of personal identification papers by the new Lithuanian state, all non-Lithuanian names have been changed to fit into Lithuanian language. Such a change has caused orthographic changes to many names. Thus, in an example witnessed by the author, the name *Mieczewicz*⁹ was changed in the new identification papers to *Mecevičius*. First names also have been changed in a similar manner. Several interviewees told of cases of Lithuanian functionaries refusing to register a name as given. One interviewee claimed to know of cases where Lithuanian officials refused to register the first names of newly-born children on birth certificates as desired by their parents because the names were not Lithuanian. According to the interviewee, the practice was widespread and, whereas more educated Poles could protest and, after a few months, maybe manage to have the first names of their children written as they wished, the more common practice, especially among the less educated rural Poles, was simply to accept the Lithuanian names.

Nature of Tensions in Rural Areas. All of the interviewees drew a distinction between the type of ethnic tensions in urban areas – meaning the city of Vilnius – and the rural areas near Vilnius. Whereas most of them felt that the situation in the urban areas was tense but not alarming, all of them felt that the sharpest conflicts existed in the rural areas. (A few interviewees also differentiated further in terms of how bad the situation was between the various rural areas near Vilnius; for example, between northeast and south of Vilnius). In the words of one interviewee who claimed to travel a great deal in the countryside, the situation there was “quite bad,” while another interviewee described it as “most worrying.” A few interviewees even felt that the situation was “so politicized that only a spark was needed” and that an “explosion was coming.”

The interviewees claimed that the Lithuanian practice of taking away land from ethnic Poles in the rural areas surrounding Vilnius has caused the problems. According to the interviewees, Lithuanians fear the presence of the largely Polish population around Vilnius and they see it as a security threat. In that vein, several interviewees claimed that high-ranking Lithuanian officials had publicly commented that “we cannot let the Poles

⁷ The “-viches” theory has received some attention in the Polish press. For a longer explanation of the phenomenon, see *Trybuna Śląska*, February 22, 1993, translated in FBIS–EEU, No. 38, March 1, 1993, p. 34. For another, lengthier treatment of this and other Lithuanian–Polish controversies, see Piotr LOSSOWSKI, “The Polish Minority in Lithuania,” *The Polish Quarterly of International Affairs*, Vol. 1, Nos 1–2, Summer–Autumn 1992, pp. 69–88; Stephen R. BURANT and Voytek ZUBEK, “Eastern Europe’s Old Memories and New Realities: Resurrecting the Polish–Lithuanian Union,” *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 7, No. 2, Spring 1993, pp. 370–393.

⁸ *Katoliku Kalendaris Zinynas* 1993, p. 88.

⁹ The name has been changed to assure anonymity.

surround Vilnius,” or that “we cannot allow a Polish hand around the throat of Vilnius.” In the words of one interviewee, the Lithuanians “are still a hit mysterious and they are not here [in Vilnius] for good.”¹⁰ The same interviewee discerned historical continuity in such fears; thus, the interviewee claimed that the ideology behind the rise of the Lithuanian state in 1918 had a specific anti-Polish orientation, while the interwar Lithuanian foreign policy had virulent anti-Polish elements and it had only one goal – the recovery of Vilnius. The interviewee pointed out that the brief period (less than one year) of independent Lithuanian control of Vilnius in 1939–40 was characterized by widespread repression against the Poles inhabiting the city. Now, after the Soviet element has gone, the same ideology has returned. Many interviewees felt that the Soviet ploy in 1988–89 to threaten to allow Lithuanian independence but in pre-1939 borders (that is, with the Vilnius area either detached and a part of Byelorussia or, at the very least, with Polish autonomy in the area) had the effect of greatly elevating Lithuanian fears.

As a result, most of the interviewees were convinced that Lithuanians would “use every opportunity to ‘lithuanize’ the area.” Several interviewees interpreted the Lithuanian government’s decision in August 1991 to dissolve the local government councils in the two *rajons* with a predominantly ethnically Polish population (Vilnius and Salcininkai) and rule the two areas by decree through centrally-appointed commissioners as simply a tactic within the bounds of the larger Lithuanian strategy to destroy the Polish community near Vilnius. They claimed that the reasons given by the Lithuanian government for the action – that the councils in the two Polish *rajons* supported the coup attempt in Moscow and tried to have the area secede and join the USSR – were untrue and amounted only to a pretext.

Several interviewees offered reasons for the greater conflict in rural areas. The reasons generally centered on the alleged land seizure and an influx of Lithuanians into the largely Polish-inhabited areas. In the words of the interviewees, “the incoming Lithuanians are perceived as colonizers,” or that “Lithuanians are uninvited guests.” Furthermore, “land is all that people have in the rural areas, they depend on it for survival and they are willing to fight for it,” or that “land is the only means of living.” Accordingly the alleged seizures of land have already provoked clashes. In one alleged recent case, a group of Poles lay down on the ground to prevent the bulldozers from beginning construction of housing on a land claimed by a Pole. A paramilitary unit (the “Iron Wolf,” according to some accounts), broke up the protest, amidst some shots fired in the air. Other interviewees spoke of several scuffles that have broken out over disputes about alleged land seizures. According to one interviewee, the conflict over land has stimulated talk among the Poles of forming “self-defense committees.” Another interviewee also claimed that

¹⁰ In 1939, very few Lithuanians lived in Vilnius (or its environs). According to figures provided by a Lithuanian scholar, Leonas SABALIUNAS, the “nationality” breakdown of the city prior to the war was: Poles 58.6 percent, Jews 19.7 percent, Byelorussians 13.7 percent, Lithuanians 5.8 percent, Russians 1.8 percent, others 0.4 percent. Polish figures show an even lower percentage of Lithuanians in the city. For a lengthy discussion of the various figures, see Piotr EBERHARDT, “Przemiany Narodowosciowe na Litwie w XX Wieku” (Nationality Changes in Lithuania during the Twentieth Century), *Przegląd Wschodni*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1991, p. 449–485.

"every farmer has a rifle and they shoot intruders nowadays." Still another interviewee claimed that several shooting incidents, with the land issue as the reason, have taken place recently.

Nature of Tensions in Urban Areas. Although the interviewees felt that the inter-ethnic tensions were not as sharp in the urban areas (Vilnius) as they were in the rural areas, that did not mean that tensions in urban areas did not exist. A majority of the interviewees believed that the Lithuanians used the economic problems as an excuse to lay off Poles from workplaces. However, a few interviewees cautioned against sweeping conclusions that layoffs stemmed from ethnic reasons; for example, one interviewee said that "each incident must be judged on its own." Nevertheless, the interviewees generally agreed that, whether for reasons of discrimination or because of their lower educational attainment levels, Poles tended to suffer disproportionately in the current economic crisis. According to common statements, "the layoffs affect mainly Poles," "the Poles suffer the most," or "Poles are virtually the only ones laid off." One interviewee said that "everyone is experiencing economic problems but the non-Lithuanians are fired first, often because of legal loopholes." Another interviewee echoed these sentiments by claiming that "the Lithuanians have power and they use it; if there are economic problems, Poles and Russians are the first to be laid off." One interviewee supposedly personally knew of a case where a company laid off all the Poles on its payroll. Another interviewee feared for his job and felt endangered because he might not find another one. As a result, several interviewees felt that the economic reforms and the economic crisis have caused "socio-economic differentiation by ethnicity."

The Impact of the Economic Crisis. The interviewees differed in their overall interpretation of the impact of the economic crisis in Lithuania on interethnic relations. About half of the interviewees felt that the ethnic tensions had cooled a bit because "economic problems preoccupied everyone." In the words of another interviewee, "the economic situation has reduced the primacy of the Polish issue, and [the less nationalistic] Lithuanians around Kaunas have understood that the Poles simply want land to make a living." One interviewee, in a comment implicitly shared by several others, said that the economic problems have brought Poles and Lithuanians together in a certain way. However, several interviewees felt that the economic problems deepened the ethnic tensions at the political level. In the words of one of them, "all kinds of economic and other problems become transformed into ethnic tensions."

Perceptions of Russians. Throughout the interviews, the interviewees spoke of ethnic tensions only between Lithuanians and Poles. According to one interviewee, Poles in Lithuania do not have any animosity toward Russians and Polish-Russian relations are "not a problem," though many Poles tend to perceive the Russians as an "uncultured and a somewhat dimwitted bunch." Several interviewees explained the absence of anti-Russian tendencies among Poles in Lithuania as stemming from similarities between Polish and Russian languages, the "successful Russification efforts among the Poles," the Soviet intervention on behalf of the Poles in Lithuania in 1988-89, and the overall closer Polish-Russian interaction than Polish-Lithuanian interaction. For example, one interviewee mentioned that, as a result of the closer linguistic ties, there were many more Polish-Russian (and Polish-Byelorussian) marriages than Polish-Lithuanian marriages.

Similarly, another interviewee claimed, Lithuanian-Russian schools did not exist but Polish-Russian schools did during the Soviet era. Some of the interviewees also felt that a general symbiotic relationship existed between Poles and Russians in Lithuania during the Soviet era, as the Poles played the role of a tool in the Sovietization and Russification efforts (most Poles know Russian and they used Russian to communicate with Lithuanians) and, in return, Lithuania had by far the largest number of Polish schools of any Soviet republic. One interviewee felt that this was a deliberate Soviet policy of using the Poles for the Soviets' own ends of controlling Lithuania.

Self-Perceptions. While bitter about many of the actions allegedly prepared by Lithuanians toward the Poles, many interviewees differentiated between the nationalistically-inclined Lithuanians and the "more sober" people, and they also placed some of the blame for the rise in ethnic tensions on the Poles. According to one interviewee, "some Poles wanted a privileged status at first." Several interviewees said that the tensions result from "nationalism on both sides; it's a two way process" and that "some Poles and Lithuanians have an uncompromising stance." One interviewee placed the blame for the tensions on both Lithuanian and (local) Polish politicians "who stimulate the conflict." Another interviewee said that, in the current tensions, "whether you're Polish or Lithuanian, if you try to be open-minded, you're called a traitor by your own group."

Escalation Potential. Despite the tensions, most of the interviewees felt that the tensions will not escalate past a certain point and that, "while Lithuanian-Polish dislike will continue, it will not become any worse." According to several interviewees, "there will be no fighting here." In the opinion of many interviewees, the common Catholicism imposed "moral standards and strict limits on behavior" and it brought Poles and Lithuanians together. Several interviewees felt that the differences (with the main one linguistic) were not strong enough to cause open fighting. According to one interviewee, Lithuanians have said to him "we are too close together, there will be no Karabakh here." Indeed, some (but not all) of the interviewees felt that the situation had become somewhat stabilized since the ouster of *Sajudis* from power in the parliamentary election in the fall of 1992 and then the election of Brazauskas as President of Lithuania in February 1993, though they felt that the same problems still existed.¹¹

PERCEPTIONS OF POLAND AND POLES

Almost all of the interviewees expressed convictions that Poles in contemporary Poland differed from the Poles in Lithuania. Some of the interviewees said straight out that they felt "different from and superior" to the Poles in contemporary Poland, while others said that they felt as "different Poles, not better, but different." The main distinction drawn by the interviewees came through in their terminology; they referred to the central and eastern area of contemporary Polish state as "*korona* Poland" (the crown) and to most of the areas that used to form a part of the Polish Commonwealth (and presently a

¹¹ One interviewee addressed the *Sajudis* charges of recommunization under BRAZAUSKAS; the interviewee dismissed the charges as another way of *Sajudis* "saying to everyone else that 'we are good and you are not.'"

part of Lithuania, Ukraine, and Belarus) as "*kresy* Poland" (the frontier).¹² Most of the interviewees underlined that "the *kresy* [and Vilnius especially] are as much Polish as Warsaw or Cracow." Another interviewee claimed that "the *kresy* Poles, not the *korona* Poles, always defended Poland; they were on the cultural frontier of Europe, while the Poles in *korona* Poland sat fat and happy in Warsaw and Cracow."

Most of the interviewees felt a sense of estrangement from the Poles in contemporary Poland in the realm of beliefs and customs. For example, one interviewee described the Poles in contemporary Poland as "empty, hedonistic, and rotted." Another interviewee felt that the Poles in contemporary Poland were "too Europeanized." The estrangement came through in comments such as one interviewee saying that "I would not want my child to go to a Polish school in Poland." Another interviewee (male) felt that the Poles in contemporary Poland "acted strangely, and women there dressed funny." Many interviewees felt that the Poles in Vilnius area kept their traditional way of life that centered on "religion, family, and patriotism." They felt the Poles in contemporary Poland had lost that way of life. One interviewee said that the Poles in Vilnius were proud of their "sense of romanticism that the Poles in *korona* Poland lost." Another interviewee also felt that the sense of "national solidarity" was very deep among the Vilnius Poles and lacking among the Poles is "*korona* Poland."

Virtually all of the interviewees stressed that the Poles in Lithuania had a tremendous attachment to the land (which some contrasted with the lack of such an attachment by the Russians). The common understanding of the attachment to the land, in the German *Heimat* sense, came through in comments such as, "this is our land," "Poles have lived here for centuries," and that "we are proud of our roots here." Many interviewees also took great pride in their Polish "nationality." The sense of pride came through incidents of Poles asking to have such a note put in their new Lithuanian identification papers, although the new identification papers have dropped the "nationality" line (line five) in the old Soviet identification papers. The author personally examined the internal identification papers of an interviewee with such a stamp.

The pride in one's "nationality," a view of its importance, and a lack of knowledge about the way such issues are treated in some of the developed Western countries also came through in a question, posed to the author by one interviewee, of "what 'nationality' do you have stamped in your [U.S.] identification papers?" In this vein, a few interviewees did not show much fondness toward the United States. One even spoke in a rather disparaging manner about the U.S. as a "country, but not a nation," which, in the interviewee's view, was a major failing.

Several interviewees felt that many Poles felt superior to the Lithuanians and they found it difficult to treat Lithuania (and Belarus and Ukraine) as "real countries." Supposedly, to many Poles, Lithuania was "a geographical name for a region, not a country;

¹² The distinction refers to the lands that were predominantly ethnically Polish (*korona* Poland) and the lands to the east, where the Polish aristocracy played a dominant role but the areas were ethnically mixed. Another way of looking at the issue is the division between the original Polish kingdom and the lands gained as a result of the union with Lithuania and the consequent Polish expansion east. The division between *korona* and *kresy* Poland was one of the greatest political cleavages in the reconstituted Polish state after First World War.

references to Lithuania [and Belarus and Ukraine] as a country still cause a smirk" among the Poles in Lithuania. In the words of another interviewee, the Poles will have to go through a period of adjustment, for many of them "felt that they lived in the USSR, not in Lithuania," and becoming used to Lithuania will take time. None of the interviewees expressed any secessionist sentiments, though, according to one interviewee, "a small portion of the older Poles still hopes that Poland will return here."¹³

The interviewees expressed mixed opinions about contemporary Poland. In the words of one interviewee, Poland "is seen more as an idea or a concept." Another interviewee expressed the outlook as "Poland is the motherland (*macierza*), while Lithuania is the homeland (*ojczyzna*)." Most of the interviewees also expressed anger toward the Polish government for allegedly ignoring the Polish community in Lithuania. Several interviewees mentioned supposed quotes by Lech Walesa and other top Polish politicians to the effect that "we will sacrifice the Poles in the East for the sake of our entry into Western Europe and good relations with the countries to our east." Such comments evoked open resentment toward the Polish government and expressions of distrust. One interviewee claimed that the allegedly common image of Poland is that "it [Poland] has forgotten us." Another interviewee said, "after all these years, Poland is sovereign again, and the first thing it did after recovering sovereignty was to officially abandon us." In this vein, one interviewee said that "Poland is a foreign country beyond the mountains that just causes trouble occasionally." Still another interviewee thought that the Polish government should imitate Hungary in its attitude toward the Hungarian minorities in the countries surrounding Hungary; the interviewee thought highly of the ministerial-level Office of the Hungarians Abroad and felt that Poland should establish a similar institution.

One interviewee suggested that "the Polish government does not want a compact Polish community in Lithuania and it does not want to give anything to the Poles in Lithuania because it fears the Germans in Poland." The Polish government's support to what many of the interviewees thought was a discredited and conciliatory figure without much local support and its supposed ignoring of what they believed were local Polish organizations with widespread support also caused some resentment.

The visa-free and relatively easy travel to Poland, combined with economic crisis in Lithuania, have led to what many interviewees described as "numerous visits to Poland, mainly for commercial purposes." As a result, most interviewees believed that a great proportion of the Poles in Lithuania have traveled to Poland recently ("everyone goes to Poland"), usually to sell products at bazaars found in almost all Polish cities. Almost all interviewees expressed some hurt and resentment over the treatment of ethnic Poles at such bazaars by Poles in Poland. According to many interviewees, "the Poles in Poland treat all the sellers at bazaars, whether they are Russians, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, or Poles, as 'Russkies' and they call them that to their face." One interviewee said that even though a seller at a bazaar might say "I am a Pole from Lithuania" and he speaks Pol-

¹³ The phrasing is important, because the Poles in Lithuania tend to emphasize that "they did not leave Poland; instead, Poland left them."

ish, the Pole from Poland will still try to speak in his broken Russian to him." Another interviewee claimed that the contacts at bazaars with Poles in Poland "were not so good," and that the Poles in Poland were patronizing and spoke to the sellers in a condescending way, "like to cattle." Still another interviewee said that a common reaction to an ethnic Pole.

MIGRATION POTENTIAL

None of the interviewees expected any significant out-migration of ethnic Poles in Lithuania to Poland. They explained such a belief in a variety of ways. Most commonly, they said that "migration is not an option; those who wanted to leave already left," referring to the two major treaty-regulated waves of emigration to Poland. A sense of pride that they (or their parents) stayed came through in comments by several interviewees. They also emphasized that the two waves of emigration were not "repatriation," as the movements are usually referred to in Poland, but "expatriation," so as to bring attention to the fact that the migrants left their "homeland" for another country, rather than the other way around. The same point also came through in many interviewees distinguishing between "Poles" and "Polonia" (the Polish diaspora). The interviewees' terminology drew attention to the difference between Poles who emigrated (to the U.S., France, or Siberia), or "Polonia," and the Poles who inhabited the old Polish territories who became citizens of another country involuntarily because Polish borders changed. They considered themselves "Poles," not "Polonia."¹⁴ Such a line of thinking led to one interviewee commenting that "once Poland was here but it left; our homeland is here, it would be nice if Poland returned here but we are not going over there."

Several interviewees did not foresee any major wave of emigration because of the strong bonds and the compactness of the Polish community in Lithuania. In the words of one interviewee, "there is not enough discrimination here to leave and we have strong community ties and an organizational structure here, such as Polish radio, television, press, schools, possibility of higher studies in Poland, and lots of Polish language use." The sense of community and attachment to place came through in another interviewee's comments: "people will resign from everything but not from being here; they will not leave their old mother alone."

They saw the phenomenon as an example of brain drain and many felt that the Polish community in Lithuania desperately needed such people to return so that the community

¹⁴ Polish scholars make a similar distinction through their use of the terms "Polish minority" and "Polish diaspora." In the specific case of the former USSR, they use the term "Polish minority" to describe ethnic Poles inhabiting regions of pre-1772 Poland, and the term "Polonia," to describe the ethnic Poles inhabiting other areas. The difference is based on the distinction between migration (voluntary or involuntary) and the autochthonous nature of the Polish minority, who only became a national minority because of political re-drawing of boundaries, causing the Polish inhabitants to become citizens of another country without a choice in the matter.

could survive.¹⁵ The seeming pessimism about the ability to attract more educated Poles to stay also led one interviewee to comment that the “educated might leave.”

Several interviewees also claimed to know of a small but discernible migration flow. For example, one interviewee said that “a few intellectuals are leaving quietly,” another commented that “occasionally you hear of someone going to Poland for good,” and still another claimed to know of “one family who left.” Similarly, one interviewee claimed that “several thousand have gone to Poland permanently during the last few years.” In addition, some emigration by ethnic Poles from Lithuania to Belarus appears to have taken place.¹⁶

BELARUS

According to Soviet census figures from 1989, Poles amounted to 417 720, or 4.1 percent of then Byelorussia's¹⁷ population of 10 151 806.¹⁸ According to Soviet statistics, the Poles in Byelorussia amounted to 37.1 percent of the total ethnic Polish population in the then USSR and they comprised the largest republican-level concentration of ethnic Poles. While the first ranking of the Polish community in Byelorussia among the Soviet republics appears true, the number of Poles may have been considerably underestimated and the more accurate figure that takes into account all persons who feel they are ethnically Polish may be as high as double the official figure. Poles formed the second largest ethnic minority in Byelorussia, after the Russians, who comprised 1 342 099, or 13.2 percent (Byelorussians amounted to 7 904 623, or 77.9 percent). Of the total number of Poles in then Byelorussia, 200 635, or 48.0 percent, lived in urban areas, while 217 085, or 52.0 percent, lived in rural areas. Only a small minority of the Poles in Belarus – 55 727, or 13.3 percent – considered Polish as their native language (266 790, or 63.9 percent of the Poles, considered Byelorussian as their native language, and 94 204, or 22.6 percent, considered Russian as native). In addition, 44.7 percent of the Poles claimed fluency in Russian, while 17.8 percent claimed fluency in Byelorussian. The language proficiency statistics may be misleading in the sense that many ethnic Poles reported to speak Byelorussian actually use the *po prostu* Slavic dialect (a mixture of Byelorussian and Polish, with some Russian thrown in).

¹⁵ The educated class in Vilnius was decimated during the German occupation during World War Two, while the Soviets encouraged the more educated Poles to leave. As a result, many interviewees claimed that only the least educated stayed, and the educated were either “killed, exiled, or repatriated.” The low educational attainment levels of the Poles in Lithuania provide some evidence in support of such views.

¹⁶ Two Polish government sources mentioned that during the past two years, “about 200 Polish families from Lithuania have left for Belarus, since they did not have the possibility of going to Poland.” The reference to the “impossibility” of going to Poland seems to have been an exaggeration for the difficulties of travel to and adjustment in Poland.

¹⁷ As used here, the term Belarus refers to the state that has emerged as a successor to the Byelorussian Soviet Republic (or Byelorussia). Belarussians are the citizens of Belarus (of various ethnic backgrounds). Byelorussians comprise an ethnic group that mainly inhabits Belarus.

¹⁸ There have been only minor changes since the census.

The ethnic Polish community in Belarus is concentrated largely in western Belarus, in the areas that used to belong to Poland prior to 1939. The greatest concentration of Poles is in Grodno *oblast* (which borders on Lithuania and Poland), and the city of Grodno is the center of the Polish community in Belarus. According to Soviet statistics, 25.9 percent of the *oblast*'s population is ethnically Polish. Although sizable numbers of ethnic Poles inhabit every *raion* of the Grodno *oblast* (the *oblast* has 17 *raions*), the distribution is not even; the proportion of ethnic Poles to the rest of the population in the Grodno *oblast* is lowest in the southeastern and southern *raions* and it is highest in the northern and northwestern *raions*. Thus, ethnic Poles form substantial proportions of the populations in the belt of *raions* stretching from Ostrovets, Oshmyany, Ive, Voronovo, Lida, to Shchuchin, Mosty, Volkovysk, Grodno, Berestovitsa. In some of the *raions*, such as Voronovo *raion* (just south of the largely Polish Salcininkai *rajon* in Lithuania), ethnic Poles comprise an outright majority of the population.

Locally significant concentrations of Poles also exist in northern and western parts of Brest *oblast* (Brest, Kamenets, Pruzhany, and Baranovich *raions*), the westernmost portion of Vitebsk *oblast* (Braslav and Postavy *raions*), and western *raions* of Minsk *oblast* (Stolptsy, Volozhin, Vileyka, Nesvizh *raions*). Some ethnic Poles also inhabit eastern Belarus (areas outside of Polish pre-1939 borders) but their official numbers are quite low and they differ from the ethnic Poles in western Belarus by being predominantly urban (implying Soviet-era migration). The Poles' overall low level of urbanization – lowest among all the ethnic groups in Belarus – points to the long-term nature of the Polish presence in the area. Poles in Belarus have the lowest educational attainment levels among all of the major ethnic groups inhabiting Belarus.

ETHNIC TENSIONS

A majority of the interviewees claimed that relations between Byelorussians and Poles remained largely free of conflicts, with the exception of some sectarian tensions. The few interviewees who pointed to non-religion related problems in interethnic relations felt that the problems only existed between the various intellectual-national circles and not in the population at large. Many interviewees described the problems between Poles and Byelorussians as stemming from the previously inferior position of both groups (in relation to Russians) in Belarus and from the Byelorussian process of nation-building.

Negative Images. A majority of the interviewees did not notice any hostile or negative view toward the Poles on the part of most Byelorussians. Other than some irritants, based on different historical interpretations, most of the interviewees saw virtually no problems at the interpersonal level with the Byelorussians. However, almost all of the interviewees pointed to more strained relations with the more militant group of the nationalistically-oriented Byelorussian intellectuals. The groups most often mentioned by the interviewees as fitting into that category were Belarusian National Front (BNF), the Run Club, and the Society of Belarusian Speech, with the main mouthpiece of these views being the literary weekly *Literatura i Mastastvo*.

Although BNF was by far the most frequently mentioned organization described by the interviewees as "nationalist," most of the interviewees also pointed out that only a

part of BNF had "anti-Polish views," and that many members of the BNF cooperated with the ethnic Poles in Belarus and they had friendly and positive views toward the Poles. Several interviewees described the more militant portion of the BNF to have chauvinistic views best represented by the slogan "Belarus for the Byelorussians." As an example of the hostility toward the Poles, a few interviewees mentioned a comment supposedly made by Zenon Poznyak, the chairman of the BNF (and a member of the Belarus Supreme Council) in conversation with an ethnic Polish figure. According to the interviewees, Poznyak commented "you are a Pole? What a shame!"

Many interviewees mentioned that negative images of the Poles and derogatory expressions about the Poles had been common among the Byelorussians and they had been supported by official Soviet policies. Several interviewees felt that the negative, propaganda-induced images of the Poles were more ingrained in eastern Belarus (the part that had not been a part of the Polish state in the interwar period) because of the longer presence of the communist regime in that region. One interviewee claimed that history textbooks consistently portrayed the interwar Poland as the worst of all the capitalist states and an eternal foe of Byelorussians and Russians. According to the interviewee, references to the pre-1939 Polish state always contained the phrase "the bourgeois-landowner Poland," a unique label not applied to other capitalist states, such as Czechoslovakia. In the interviewee's opinion, the anti-Polish propaganda, which had been its strongest and crudest in eastern Byelorussia prior to 1939 had filtered down as a result of the Soviet seizure and annexation of the eastern part of the Polish state in 1939. Supposedly, the Byelorussian and Russian administrative cadre (and the military and their families) that had moved into the ex-Polish areas were imbued with the anti-Polish feelings and they looked down on Poles and all things Polish. The interviewee traced the proliferation of negative names for ethnic Poles in Belarus to that influx. Some of the negative names that came up during the interviews were: "polyachaya morda,"¹⁹ "psheky,"²⁰ and "bialopolski."²¹ According to the interviewee, the Byelorussian and Russian newcomers into western Byelorussia after 1939 also were filled with disgust for Polish language and, as they came as occupiers, the disdain towards the use of Polish became a *de facto* official policy. Several interviewees implicitly referred to that alleged anti-Polish bias as a contributing reason to the closing down of all Polish language schools in Byelorussia by the 1950s. Many interviewees claimed that in the communist days, they felt afraid to use Polish in public and, when they did so, they had faced comments, such as "why are you speaking Polish? Don't you speak Russian?" In the words of another interviewee, "it is not true that we could speak Polish in public previously; we could not do so on a bus, just privately with friends." Similarly, many interviewees gave examples of official pressure to reidentify ethnically (from Polish to Byelorussian or Russian) during the Soviet era. One interviewee claimed that if an ethnic Pole wanted to move to a city from a rural area, then "he would not be allowed to go unless he changed his records to say that he was a

¹⁹ The literal translation is a "Polish snout."

²⁰ This is a phrase making fun of the presence of many "psh" sounds in Polish language.

²¹ The literal translation is "white Polish," a phrase that denigrates the supposed capitalist orientation of the Poles and which questions the loyalty of the Polish population by associating it with the czarist forces.

Byelorussian." An interviewee in eastern Belarus claimed that, after World War Two and the first wave of repatriations, "all Poles living in [the specific locality] were written up as Byelorussians."

Historical Symbolism. Most of the interviewees pointed to cases of diverse interpretations of historical events that accentuated and reinforced some of the negative images. For example, one interviewee provided the example of 17 September, 1939 (the day of Soviet armed entry into eastern Poland as part of the Nazi-Soviet plan of destroying the Polish state); according to the interviewee, partially all Byelorussians see the day as a day of liberation, but ethnic Poles see it as a day of aggression. Many interviewees also felt that the divergent interpretations of the role of the *Armia Krajowa* (the AK, or the Home Army) had continued influence on contemporary events and the controversies it engendered stirred up interethnic tensions. For example, one interviewee felt insulted that the Belarusian media allegedly recently described the AK as a "fascist, anti-Byelorussian organization, mimicking the old communist propaganda lies, and without even mentioning that the AK was an anti-Nazi organization that fought the Germans." Another interviewee felt that the view of the AK as "fascists and bandits, or the old Soviet interpretation, is fairly widespread among the Byelorussian intelligentsia." According to many interviewees, the divergent interpretations of the AK stir up some tensions because the restoration of graves of AK soliders and the placement of monuments to the AK, carried out on the basis of local initiatives, have allegedly provoked widespread negative reaction among some Byelorussian nationalist circles. According to several interviewees, the placing of a monument on the site of an ambush by the Soviet NKGB of an AK unit in 1944 also stirred up local and even national controversy. Similarly, one interviewee claimed that a recent official Belarusian awarding of veteran status to the AK soliders had sparked some negative commentaries. The interviewee mentioned that the ongoing effort to change history textbooks to eliminate the alleged negative, Soviet-era references to the AK will keep the controversy alive. Another interviewee referred to an even earlier historical controversy by mentioning that the restoration in Grodno *oblast* of a cemetery of Polish soldiers who died in battle in the 1919–20 war against Soviet Russia had sparked letters that spoke out against the restoration as a move to rehabilitate the "Polish occupiers who conquered and divided us."

Several interviewees felt that the historical controversies constituted a symptom of the Belarusian nationalists' dislike for Belarus' Polish past and their efforts to look for the alleged attempts at "polonization" and "Polish eastern expansion." In this vein, several interviewees opined that some of the Belarusian media has portrayed the *Zwiazek Polakow na bialorusi* (ZPB, or the Union of Poles in Belarus, the main ethnic Polish organization in Belarus) as "separatist," and "a fifth column" that aims "to destroy Belarus' independence."

Sectarian Tensions and Ethnic Identity. Virtually all of the interviewees felt that the intertwined religious and ethnic issues complicated what most of them described as otherwise good relations between ethnic Poles and Byelorussian. Many interviewees explained the tensions as centered in the weak ethnic identity of Byelorussian. According to one elderly interviewee, who expressed the ideas of many others, "in the old days, there were Poles, Orthodox, and Jew here; the Poles were Catholics, but we used to say Ortho-

dox rather than Byelorussian.” Another interviewee put the issue of local ethnic identities on a continuum, from Polish (and implicitly Catholic), to Byelorussian Catholic, to Byelorussian Orthodox, to Russian (and implicitly Orthodox). As these two and most of the other interviewees pointed out, ethnic identity was perceived to be indissolubly linked with religious identity. Most of the interviewees felt that, in the absence of any significant linguistic cleavages (most of the inhabitants of Belarus communicate with each other in Russian or local dialects of Byelorussian), religious affiliations have become paramount to any ethnic self-identity. Interestingly enough, several interviewees commented that relations between ethnic Poles and Catholic Byelorussians were better than between ethnic Poles and Orthodox Byelorussians. One interviewee even felt that the sectarian (Catholic–Orthodox) split overshadowed other divisions in Belarus.

The language of the religious services provoked more emotional responses among the interviewees. According to all of the interviewees, the church had acted as the last refuge of “Polishness” for the ethnic Poles during the communist era. In the absence of Polish schools and widely reported discouragement of the use of Polish.

Most of the interviewees claimed that the whole issue of changing the language of Catholic religious services from Polish to Byelorussian has emerged due to political pressure from the militant side of the Byelorussian nationalist organizations, such as the BNF. Many interviewees felt that the falseness of the issue was evident because most of the Catholics in Belarus considered themselves ethnic Poles and that, in any event, few Byelorussians knew the Byelorussian language.²² One interviewee claimed to have taken a look at the local church during two Sunday masses, one in Polish and one in Byelorussian; supposedly, the church was full and overflowing (with several hundred people present) during the Polish mass but only 15–20 people showed up for the Byelorussian mass. One interviewee summarized the whole issue as stemming from the Byelorussian nationalists understanding the powerful role of religion in creating a Byelorussian “nation”. In the words of interviewee, “the Byelorussian nationalists want to make Belarus a Christian country but the byelorussianization process is to take place not only in schools but also in the churches; the role of the Catholic church as the only remnant of ‘Polishness’ in Belarus is troubling to them.”

According to one interviewee, the increasing number of Polish priests and the assistance provided by the Polish Catholic church to improving the Catholic church infrastructure in Belarus has led to increasing charges that Polish resources have caused a much greater relative strengthening of Catholicism in Belarus than that of the Orthodoxy and that the Polish assistance “is ‘polonizing’ the Catholic church in Belarus.” Taking this line of reasoning one step further, several interviewees claimed that the perception that

²² This assertion is not supported by the 1989 census findings but most interviewees believed it to be true. According to the census, 80.2 per cent of Byelorussians claimed Byelorussian as their native language. However, the census also showed that 60.4 per cent of Byelorussians reported fluency in Russian and that a further 19.7 per cent of Byelorussians claimed Russian as their native language. Thus, taken together, 80.1 per cent of Byelorussians reported being fluent in Russian, the highest such ratio of any non-Russian Soviet republics.

the Catholic church in Belarus was in effect a Polish trojan horse has led many Byelorussians to claim that "the Catholic church was 'polonizing' the people."²³

Denial of Polish Presence. Several interviewees reported that the militant Belarusian nationalists have denied the presence of ethnic Poles in Belarus altogether, referring to them as "polonized Byelorussians." The rationale for such terminology derives from an interpretation of ethnicity in a biological manner; namely, that today's Poles in Belarus are actually Byelorussians forced to convert to Catholicism and to take on Polish language during the long period of time that much of Belarus has been a part of Poland. One interviewee noted a personal experience of hearing such a view. In the interviewee's account, a Russian-speaking stranger expressed surprise upon hearing the interviewee converse with a friend in Polish at a bus stop. Supposedly, another, Belarusian-speaking stranger then commented "What Poles! They are not Poles, they are just Catholics." The interviewees especially resented the alleged printing of an article by *Literatura i Mastastvo* that contained such viewpoints and which used a play on words that seemed to equate "Catholicized" (*okatolicheny*) with "disfigured" (*okolicheny*). The interviewees did not feel that views denying the presence of ethnic Poles in Belarus altogether were particularly widespread, but the assertions did evoke the most negative reaction among the interviewees.

Extent of Ethnic Tensions. Despite the fact that virtually all of the interviewees discerned some problems in the Byelorussian-Polish interethnic relations in Belarus, most of the interviewees also hastened to add that the negative images of the Poles were only openly evident among the militant portion of the Belarusian nationalistic intellectuals. Almost all expressed skepticism about the importance and the potential for the controversies with an ethnic background to have an impact among the population at large. In the words of one interviewee, who aptly summarized most of the interviewees' outlooks on the topic, "the intellectuals are arguing about some issues, but the common man does not care about these issues." In that vein, another interviewee summed up the general assessment of the interviewees about the impact of *Literatura i Mastastvo*: "it tries to increase bad feelings, but it is an intellectuals' paper and it has not had much of an affect."

PERCEPTIONS OF POLAND AND POLES

Most of the interviewees were awed and impressed by contemporary Poland. Most of them did not think they differed significantly from the Poles in Poland, though they felt a sense of inferiority toward Poland and the Poles in Poland, thinking of themselves as poor country cousins while treating the Poles in Poland as more sophisticated and cultured. Most of the interviewees felt pride that contemporary Poland has done so well in transforming from communism to liberalism.

²³ The influx of Polish priests to Belarus and their alleged nationalist activities led in January 1993 to the Belarussian Council for Religion requesting the Vatican to recall all Polish priests from Belarus. *Rzeczpospolita*, January 6, 1993, translated in JPRS-EER, No. 10-S, February 19, 1993, p. 13.

The interviewees expressed almost exclusively positive opinions about contemporary Poland. The sense of awe over life in contemporary Poland came through in the interviewees' descriptions of economic prosperity in Poland. Many interviewees expressed a sense of amazement over the "clean and full stores," the "polite service," and the "friendly people" in Poland. One interviewee remarked that "Poland is like America now; it has stores full of all kinds of products." Some awareness that not all Poles in Poland could take advantage of the greater supply of products in the stores showed up in a few comments. For example, one interviewee commented that "people in Poland can buy anything, but everything is expensive; they earn more but they pay more." Nevertheless, the more cautionary comments represented a distinct minority view. One interviewee claimed that the opinions of the ethnic Poles in Belarus about Poland tend toward overly optimistic and one-sided because they stem from an "emotional fascination with Poland in general," which makes "any mixed portrayal of the situation in Poland seem insulting," as well as a lack of reliable information due to the continued difficulty of travel to Poland.²⁴

The interviewees' opinions regarding the policy of the Polish government toward ethnic Poles in the former USSR showed more mixed, though still largely positive, views. Several interviewees expressed some dissatisfaction over the Polish government's supposed insufficient activism on behalf of the ethnic Poles in Belarus. One interviewee claimed that "Poles here felt forgotten by Poland and they still feel that way; Poles [in Poland] do not care about us." Several interviewees also suggested that the Polish government could do more to help them by, for example, pressing for double citizenship for ethnic Poles in Belarus. Another interviewee opined that "we were very angry with the Polish [communist] government for forgetting about us; now we understand that they were communist too and could not do much, but we think that the present Polish government should be more active on our behalf with the Belarusian government." A few interviewees suggested that foreign policy considerations have led to the issue of ethnic Poles in the former USSR not having greater exposure in Poland. As an example, one interviewee claimed that the Polish media (radio and television) avoids *kresy* topics because of pressure from Lithuania, Belarus, and Ukraine. Another interviewee felt that most Poles in Poland do not care all that much about the ethnic Poles in the former USSR; in the interviewee's words, many Poles feel that "other than sending books, why should we trouble ourselves with them?"

However, a number of interviewees mentioned the existence of some resentment on the part of Byelorussians over the lack of products in stores in Belarus and the tendency of some of them to blame the problem on the alleged massive outflow of the products for sale in Poland, combined with the realization that the products are sold relatively cheaply in Poland. According to one interviewee, a common complaint over lack of products is that "it is not here because it was sold in Poland for next to nothing." Nevertheless, most

²⁴ Travel to Poland by citizens of Belarus requires an invitation from Poland. The practice is in contrast to travel by Lithuanian citizens to Poland, where no invitations are needed (Poland has signed agreements on travel documents with all three Baltic states but not with any other former Soviet republic).

interviewees felt that the frequent commercial visits by Byelorussians and Russians from Belarus to Poland have had a positive impact on them as well as on the situation of ethnic Poles in Belarus. According to one interviewee, Byelorussians return amazed and fascinated by the "full stores, friendly people, and order" and they ask "when will order be here, like there is in Poland?" Another interviewee claimed that people return to Belarus from Poland and "they wonder why it is so much better there than it is here?" One interviewee felt that some Byelorussians are humbled and ashamed by going to Poland for commercial purposes, but most are impressed. The same interviewee added that Russians and Byelorussians going to Poland for commercial purposes teach each other some Polish, including addressing buyers at bazaars as "Pan" or "Pani," a form of address that has an ironic ring to some Poles, when used by Russians.²⁵

MIGRATION POTENTIAL

Most of the interviewees felt that a substantial and permanent out-migration of ethnic Poles to Poland seemed unlikely. They either rejected the possibility outright or felt that only "a small percentage" of the ethnic Poles would migrate to Poland permanently. However, a majority of the interviewees felt that short-term stays in Poland (up to six months, sometimes longer) for purposes of illegal employment had a considerable attraction for many people in Belarus and that this type of migration was already very much in evidence.

Concerning the lack of potential for permanent out-migration, a few interviewees claimed that those who had wanted to leave already had left during the treaty-regulated two waves of emigration to Poland. In the words of one interviewee, "those who remained have persisted and will continue to do so." A sense of pride that they stayed came through in comments by two interviewees. One interviewee credited Radio Free Europe broadcasts, allegedly exhorting the ethnic Poles "not to leave their fathers' lands," in cementing the interviewee's family decision to stay. Another interviewee felt that historically, no one went to Poland for good enthusiastically; "even during the times when the options was deportation to Soviet Asia, people [disparagingly] referred to migration to Poland as an 'escape to Poland.'" However, one interviewee alluded to some misgivings about the decision to stay, by mentioning that some older Poles apparently feel that those who had gone to Poland were the lucky ones.

Several interviewees expressed worries that the ethnic Polish community in Belarus is not compact and not strong enough to prevent some out-migration. One interviewee expressly commented that there is a need for an intelligentsia and professional class in the ethnic Polish community in Belarus to prevent another wave of emigration.²⁶

²⁵ *Pan* or *Pani* are the formal ways of addressing each other in Poland. The communist regime in Poland objected to the use of these.

²⁶ The educated Poles in the part of Poland annexed by the USSR in 1939 were among the first victims of Soviet repressions. Following World War Two, the Soviets encouraged the remaining educated Poles to leave. As a result, only the least educated stayed. The low educational attainment levels of the Poles in Belarus has persisted.

CONCLUSIONS

The interview data reported in this study show differences in the type of potential migration by ethnic Poles from Lithuania and Belarus. Should ethnic tensions worsen further in Lithuania, then a possibly permanent outflow of ethnic Poles may ensue. The attraction of Poland for short-term labor migration of ethnic Poles from Lithuania does not appear to be strong. Western European countries seem to be much more attractive for such migration. In addition, there seems to be a considerable attachment to place and a sometimes condescending deep sense of national pride among the ethnic Poles in Lithuania that may keep them from migrating despite severe pressures. Some of the population seems more disposed to armed resistance against perceived discrimination along ethnic lines than toward emigration.

The main type of potential out-migration by ethnic Poles from Belarus to Poland appears to be temporary and labor-oriented, based on Poland's strong attraction for such an outflow. Some of the migration already seems to be taking place and it appears to be just as widespread among the non-Polish population of Belarus as among the ethnic Poles. Few tensions with an ethnic background appear to exist at this time in Belarus and there appears little desire among the ethnic Poles to migrate to Poland permanently. Due in part to their low levels of knowledge of Polish language, many ethnic Poles in Belarus probably fear significant problems in assimilating in contemporary Polish society.

Ethnic Poles in both Lithuania and Belarus seem to share the perception of Poland as a substantially different, Western country where they would have problems adjusting, culturally and economically. Both also appear to share some resentment over what they see as the Polish government's insufficient attention to their problems or outright abandonment. There appears to be little, if any, feeling among ethnic Poles in both Lithuania and Belarus that they would be welcome in Poland should they choose to emigrate there. Finally, other than knowledge and contacts between the ethnic Polish communities in Lithuania and Belarus, little or no direct contact with any other ethnic Polish community in the former USSR appears to exist.

The conclusions presented constitute a preliminary look at the issue. However, many of the responses of the interviewees correlate with survey research results conducted in Lithuania and Belarus during the last few years.²⁷ As such, the findings regarding migration potential presented in this study should lead to their testing in survey research. The research should assist the formation and implementation of policies that may be adopted

²⁷ For example, the results support the findings from recent large-scale interview data regarding Polish-Lithuanian ethnic relations and images of each other in eastern Lithuania; see Lech MROZ, "Problemy Etniczne w Litwie Wschodniej" (Ethnic Problems in Eastern Lithuania), *Przegląd Wschodni*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1991, pp. 487-506; Jacek KUSMIERZ, "Miedzy 'Wschodem' a 'Zachodem': Stosunki etniczne na Wilenszczyźnie w wypowiedziach jej mieszkańców" (Between the East and the West: Ethnic Relations in Vilnius Region According to the Responses of its Inhabitants), *Przegląd Wschodni*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1991, pp. 507-525; Magdalena ZOWCZAK, "Kultura Religijna Polskiej Wsi na Litwie: Raport z badań prowadzonych w rejonie wileńskim, w lipcu 1990 r." (Religious Culture of a Polish Village in Lithuania: Report from Studies Conducted in the Vilnius Region in July 1990), *Przegląd Wschodni*, Vol. 1, No. 3, 1991, pp. 507-525.

to deal with the potential migration of ethnic Poles from the former USSR to Poland or further West.*

* The data contained in this article was collected in May 1993. At the time, the breakup of the USSR was still fresh in memory and authorities in all successor states were still insecure about their newly-gained independence. Since that time, there have been some changes in interethnic relations in both Lithuania and Belarus. In Lithuania, the improvement in the economic situation of the country has ameliorated some of the tensions. But the ethnically-based stereotypes and the legacy of tense relations remain. In Belarus, the deterioration of the country into an increasingly authoritarian state has led to some ethnically-based tensions, because of the Polish minority's support for the BNF and the use of the "foreign threat" specter by President Lukashenka. The reader should keep the above caveats in mind.

HUNGARY AND HER NEIGHBORS: STEREOTYPES AND REALITIES¹

László KÜRTI

Department of Political Sciences, Eötvös Loránd University
H-1056 Budapest, Egyetem tér 1-3.

"To generalize is to be an Idiot.
To Particularize is the alone Distinction of Merit."
(William BLAKE)

This motto, taken from the poet and engraver William Blake (1757-1827), aptly summarizes the difficulties one encounters when discussing the topic of stereotypes. This problem is even more acute when these stereotypes represent ethnocentric statements about ethnic and nationality groups. To discuss the nature of stereotypes Hungarians possess about their neighbors, I must first admit my dissatisfaction about the usage of the term stereotypes. Most scholars agree that stereotypes are generalized statements with negative connotations yet with a possibility of a fair degree of accuracy as well. As we learn from western social psychological studies, mainly from the works of G. Allport, L. Hagendorn and H. Tajfel, stereotypes are natural givens, product of a society's flawed and inflexible thinking about minority groups, outcasts and strangers.²

However, when discussing stereotypes about a nation, national stereotypes, it must be kept in mind that not every statement carries a negative connotation or necessarily inaccurate.³ For example, the statement "Hungarians eat goulash" while sounds like a definite national stereotype is neither wrong nor ethnocentric especially in light of the facts that Hungarians do eat goulash and many like its various regional variants. Such stereotypes certainly may belong to either a positive internal stereotype Hungarians hold about themselves; but, at the same time, if we consider a vegetarian subculture, this could be a powerful negative cliché. As anthropologists have shown, stereotypes are deeply entrenched in self-identities of groups who, being in interaction with a number of groups,

¹ This article is a revised version of a paper presented at the Krakow conference "Stereotypes and Nations," 1993.

² The literature on the social psychology of stereotyping is, of course, vast. For a sample, see ALLPORT, G. *Az előítélet*, Budapest: Gondolat, 1977; TAJFEL, H. "Experiments in Intergroup Discrimination." *Scientific American* 223 (1970), pp. 96-102, and TAJFEL, H. ed., *Differentiation Between Social Groups* London: Academic Press, 1978; HAGENDOORN, L. and HRABA, J. "Foreign, Different, Deviant, Seclusive and Working-Class: Anchors to an Ethnic Hierarchy in The Netherlands." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12/4 (1989), pp. 441-468. The social psychology literature is summarized by BILLIG, M. *Social Psychology and Intergroup Relations*, London: Academic Press, 1976.

³ For the clarification of national stereotyping see REIGROTSKI, E. and ANDERSON, N. "National Stereotypes and Foreign Contacts," In L. KRIESBERG ed., *Social Processes in International Relations*, New York: John Wiley, 1968, pp. 63-82.

may reinforce or challenge others' self-identities as well.⁴ Such identities are never stationary and timeless. They are (1) negotiated, often with contestatory group mechanisms which bounce back from one another; (2) flexible which means that they are shaped accordingly to the moment and to the benefit of the each groups involved; and (3) stereotypes and identities are socially constructed which could mean that both groups and individuals may exhibit them with various intensities. In the work of the American anthropologist, Micaela di Leonardo, we learn, for instance, that Americans stereotype Italian-Americans but that they, too, distinguish between themselves based upon a set of agreed-upon stereotypes.⁵ Based on her studies among Californian Italian-Americans she concludes by suggesting that stereotypes "are products of boundary interactions (which) are continuously renegotiated over time as economic, demographic, and political factors change."⁶

With this in mind, I want to argue here that neither the psychological nor the political scientist's view on national stereotypes are particularly helpful to the anthropologist. We must therefore raise questions about such classic definitions about the nature of stereotypes. In specific, whether stereotypes are really timeless, or ageless, and whether they are always so inflexible as not to allow certain specificities to be included in them. For if we agree that cultures are what they are because they are flexible and constantly change, so too must cultural stereotypes change accordingly. In order to facilitate my analysis of stereotyped images Hungarians hold about their neighbors I must argue, furthermore, simplistic this may sound to many, that there are different kinds of stereotypes one could describe that are both time and space specific; and, as a cultural anthropologist, I may add, that all stereotypes are culture specific as well.

To begin with, I want to discuss, however briefly, the stereotypes I refer to as *historical stereotypes*, a category of highly emotional general statements one could read about nations in travelogues, poetry, and fiction written earlier. I want to stress this category of stereotypes for I believe that Tajfel and Allport, among others, focused too intensely on stereotypes which were inherited by a bygone era and which carried over into the value system of succeeding generations. Historical images of strangers and foreigners are old as the writings we have from the classic civilizations. Often described as semi-mythical beasts (the dog-headed man) or illusionary "monstrous" races, these historical images provide powerful testimonies that humans, no matter how isolated and fearful they were, had to exist in contact and with the knowledge of each others.⁷

One such early classic negative historical representation may be read in János TEMESVÁRI's song from 1571-ben describing the marauding Tatars:

⁴ See for example, DI LEONARDO, M. *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience: Kinship, Class, and Gender among California Italian-Americans*, Ithaca: Cornell, 1984.

⁵ *The Varieties of Ethnic Experience: Kinship, Class and Gender among Californian Italian-Americans*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984, pp. 109–111.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 110.

⁷ The notion of "monstrous races" has come to European imaginery through Pliny the Elder, who took classic descriptions of such peoples and wrote them down in his classic "Natural History"; see FRIEDMAN, J. B. *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981.

Igen hamar az vért nyersen is megisszák,
 Ha kenyeret kapnak, azt beleapritják,
 Sőt még embernek testét is megrágják,
 Amiből ők esznek, soha meg nem mossák.

(They even drink fresh blood,
 With pieces of bread they've got,
 Even human flesh they eat,
 But their utensils are never washed.)⁸

While such historical image describes the relationship between the Hungarian kingdom and the invading armies of Tatars, it cannot, and for that matter should not, be adopted for illustrating contemporary situations of Hungary and its external connections. Or, to go a bit further, it certainly could not be applied to the present-day relationship between Hungary and, say, Mongolia. Statements of past populations written in a narrative style bespeak of a relationship between the involved parties not only in a specific historical context but, more often than not, set in a distinctive style and a voice which must be taken into serious consideration. Yet there are a few some historical stereotypes which, despite the passage of time, seem to undergo little or no change.

This seems to be the case with regard to the Ottoman sultans, specifically Süleyman the Magnificent (1520–1566), and Ahmed III (1703–1730) and Abdülmedic I (1839–1861). The period illustrated with the name of the first was replete with incessant fighting between Hungarian and Ottoman forces. In fact, at the town of Szigetvár, in the southern part of Hungary, there is a statue erected by the Hungarian and Turkish governments in the early 1990s for Süleyman. Süleyman's international fame notwithstanding,⁹ this act provoked a host of opposition, notably from the Hungarian Zrínyi Historical Society, whose members claim that Süleyman does not deserve such a prestigious statue at a location which preserves the memory of a lost battle where thousands of Hungarian soldiers died. Moreover, since the Ottoman rule in Hungary is characterized by devastation, atrocities and terror such a representation is should be handled with a different notion in mind. The Zrínyi Historical Society even proposes that other Turkish rulers, namely Ahmed and Abdülmedic, should be revered for their courageous of providing political asylums to Count Rákóczy and Lajos Kossuth respectively.¹⁰ Thus we may easily observe from this that while there are positive stereotypes about Süleyman the Magnificent,¹¹ for Hungarians the negative stereotypes dominate, save those few Turkish rulers who are clothed with positive one.

⁸ See, *Históriás énekek és széphistóriák*, edited by Szabolcs MOLNÁR Bukarest: Albatrosz, 1981, p. 97.

⁹ TÓTH, Sándor László, "A szulejmáni "ideálkép" formálódása a 15 éves háború időszakában." *Acta Historica* XCII (1991), pp. 51–57.

¹⁰ "III Ahmed igen, II. Szulejmán nem. A szobor magyar önértetést sért." *Magyar Nemzet*, October 12, 1995, p. 16.

¹¹ For a special collection, see ATIL, Esin, *The Age of Süleyman the Magnificent*, Washington: National Gallery of Art and Harry N. Abrams, New York, 1987.

This may also be the case with contemporary styles of representations, including *literary and visual stereotypes*. Literary fiction and cinema (including documentary and alternative avant-garde genres) have their own inventions and topos as to what kind of poetic or cinematic forms are accepted (FELLINI's big-breasted women or the ragged-looking Clint Eastwood in Italian "spagetti-westerns"). Miklós JANCÓS's early cinema, to give another example, are also replete with images of the Hungarian *puszta* (prairie) and the nomadic horseman parading in pristine folkloric settings, creating a stereotyped vision of Hungarian rural life.¹² Literary and visual stereotypes may be even more important to consider for they have the potential to reaffirm or contest enduring historical images.

There are, however, current social stereotypes which may be analyzed according to their focus on ethno-national groups which are either *internal* or *external* to the country in question. The former consists of those utilized by a nation for its own populations; the latter for those of outside groups. Both of these categories are in a dynamic relations with those stereotypes I call *self-portraits* or *auto-stereotypes*, a special kind of convention generated by a particular nation about itself. These may be both positive and negative as well as critical. Intellectuals tend to swing to both extremes: on the one hand, they may argue that Hungarians are selfish, xenophobic, combative or depressed. Writers often presented specific Hungarian expressions and ideas which would prove this: for instance, the expressions "*sirva vigad a magyar*" (Hungarians celebrate while crying) or "*szalma-láng*" have often been cited as proves. In historical sources we can often read similar auto-stereotypes. It is said that György Szerémi (1484–1543), the chaplain of Lajos II, wrote that the Hungarians excel in three things: jealousy, blasphemy and murder (*quia Hungarii habent tres naturas: invidia blasfemia et homicidia*).

On the other hand, there are other popular stereotypes which manage to paint the nation in a more positive light: i.e. Hungarians are industrious, determined, hospitable and enduring. Some writers, among others the historian István DÉKÁNY, even argued that the above cited negative stereotypes may, depending on the context, be understood as positive, a mechanism providing individuals with mental strength and support in their thoughts and actions.¹³

National stereotypes are both larger and more complex than *ethno-stereotypes*, which concern a particular ethnic group either living within the borders of the nation-state or outside its confinements. As I will show later, some of these may coalesce to form a complex stereotype of Hungarians, or, contemporaneously, their neighboring nations, often in the image of a stranger or internal enemy.¹⁴ These stereotypes, despite some stubborn scholarly ideas to the contrary, are changing according to the changing

¹² For thorough discussions on Hungarian cinema, see Graham PETRIE, *History Must Answer to Man* (Budapest: Corvina, 1976), and Catherine PORTUGES, *Screen Memories: The Hungarian Cinema of Márta Mészáros* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993).

¹³ DÉKÁNY, István, *A magyarság lelki arca. Magyar néplélektani rajzok*. Budapest: Atheneum, n.d.

¹⁴ The notion of the "stranger" comes to us from G. SIMMEL the German sociologist who dealt with the subject matter earlier. For a discussion in a non-European context see SKINNER, E.P. "Strangers in West African Societies." *Africa* 33 (1963), pp. 307–320.

international climate.¹⁵ There are several scholars who take the social-psychological view – that stereotypes are immune to historical upheavals and political changes – for granted. For example, Jan BERTIG and Christine VILLAIN-GANDOSSI, in their chapter “The role and significance of national stereotypes in international relations: an interdisciplinary approach”, suggest that “National stereotypes show a *stubborn resistance to change and are demonstrations of ignorance*” (emphasis in original).¹⁶ No matter how this idea may be appealing, it is not supported by historical stereotypes.

For instance, if we look at the situation between Hungary and Austria, the historical stereotypes reveal a host of different, sometimes completely opposing stereotypes about the two groups concerning each other. During the Ottoman wars, when the Habsburgs united with some of the Hungarian nobility, the general image of the Habsburgs was that of the liberators. As soon as the Ottoman hegemony was replaced by that of the Habsburgs, this image soon turned to the contrary. Such a change in national characterizations is easily discernable in a painting executed in the early eighteenth century from Steiermark, Austria, and described as “Beschreibung und Konterfei der Europäischen Nationen.” Here we find the quintessential Austrian perspective concerning European nations (including the Muscovites and the Greeks) in addition to the Poles and the Hungarians.¹⁷ Neither the Poles nor the Hungarians receive high marks from the Austrian painter, who must, undoubtedly, have represented the thinking of his class and time. While Hungarians are described as disloyal, inhuman, treacherous, causing disturbances, having excesses in all things and are lazy as a people; the Poles do not fare any better: they are timid, disdainful, braggarts, believing in all things and people who love brawling. What was interesting that the painter also identified the two animals which characterized both nations: Hungarians were compared to the wolf; the Poles to the bear.¹⁸

At the same time, the German nation excels in all characteristics: it is open hearted, loyal, witty, superior, lawful, extravagant, and pious with the animal characteristic of (what else!) the lion. This positive auto-stereotype of the German nation is just as questionable as those descriptions of the other nations which, as we progress more to the eastern part of the Habsburg Empire, tend to become more and more negative as well as ridiculous.

Such a changes in the value system are also apparent in the nineteenth century. It is not, of course, without good cause: between 1848–49 and 1867 Hungary and the Habsburgs switched from being enemies to allies, and eventually friends. The first date commemorates the Hungarian War of Independence, when Hungary lost to the Habsburg army (with the help of the tsarist army), and the latter date signifies the Compromise (the *Ausgleich*), when Hungary was given a rather free rein in its internal matters, and from

¹⁵ In WALAS, T. ed., *Stereotypes and Nations*, Cracow: International Cultural Center, 1995, p. 17.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁷ Jack GOODY has dealt with this picture and descriptive stereotypes from the perspective of the printed page and its influence on collective thinking and education; see *The Domestication of the Savage Mind*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978, pp. 153–156.

¹⁸ What is interesting in these stereotyping is that in the same typology the Russians' animal characteristic is that of the donkey! And the Greeks and the Turks – eternal enemies for hundreds of years by then – were classified as one people!

which the Dual Monarchy may be counted. That the extreme negative stereotypes developed about the Austrians cannot be blamed only on the Hungarians: the Bach period and the first years after 1849 (known as the terror of HAYNAU) facilitated the development of the negative national stereotypes between the two nations. From the 1870s on, however, as Hungary began to modernize and industrialize, positive stereotypes became abundant – together with some of the negative ones which survived the changing times – about Austria and the Monarchy. The plethora of folksongs with Jóska Ferenc, hailing the health, long life and, after 1890, the military executive chief's grandeur attest to this fact.

One can go on and list several of national typecasts which reveal equally how sensitive and timely the making of stereotypes may be. The view of the Soviet Union and the Red Army has, similarly to the Habsburg Army earlier, undergone parallel mutations. During the Horthy era, from 1918 to 1944, the Soviet Union received an extremely negative treatment in the national media. This was only countered to a certain extent by intellectuals and organizers of the left. The picture took a hundredeighty degree turn after World War II, when the Soviet Union and the Red Army became the "liberators" of not only Hungary but the whole of Eastern Europe as well. During Stalinism the positive images of the heroic Soviet fighters received numerous treatments in films, books and on the stages of the Stalinist Soviet Bloc. This changes once more already in the 1950s at the time, when the first uprisings shook the whole Soviet Empire. After that, the Soviet Union, and its ageing leaders, became a laughing stock of the whole east. One only has to think of the thousands of jokes people manufactured about the stupidity of the communist party secretaries and their wives! These jokes are, I believe, fair reflections of the negative stereotypes about the Soviet Union.

In a recent interview Hungary's president, Árpád GÖNCZ, expressed his views concerning Hungary's relationship to Russia and the rest of Eastern Europe. In so doing he has also provided a continuation of an interesting historical stereotype. In his words:

Hungary may be a springboard for the West toward the East; for the Eastern countries (it may be a springboard) toward the West.¹⁹

This interesting metaphor aptly summarizes the way in which Hungarians in general are relating to their neighbors through the images of external stereotypes and the way in which they envision their position vis-à-vis their neighbors. It also suggests a continuity with a longer historical self-styled tradition: the notion that Hungary is between East and West, a situatedness that has earned various epitaphs among Hungarians. Earlier Hungary was thought of as the last bastion of "Christianity" and the defenders of Christian Europe, a reference to the Turkish invasion since the fifteenth century. This claim was also advanced by the Poles, the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Serbs and the Croats, but that does not diminish popular Hungarian imagination for such heroics.

Throughout much of eighteenth-nineteenth centuries Hungarians fashioned an image of themselves as the "freedom-loving" but "suffering" nation whose history speaks for itself: constant threats from the outside and internal divisions (the much-recognized

¹⁹ Magyar Hírlap, 1993, June 22, p. 1.

"thousand-year-old-curse" – *széthúzás*) made Hungary into a weak nation. This is, in fact, how we may interpret the notion of "truncated Hungary" and the loss of territories mourned by so many after the Paris Peace Treaty following World War I.

As the Hungarian President's "springboard-metaphor" suggests (although others use the "gate," or "intersection"), the idea of geophysical situatedness and, together with that, a special psychology has been quite a powerful popular auto-stereotype in Hungary. During the interwar years, many intellectuals also felt that Hungary existed as a "bridge" – it connected Slavic Europe (also the Balkans) with the more "civilized" and Habsburg-oriented Central Europe. This bridge, however, collapsed together with the end of the Hitlerite dream, and the establishment of Stalinism. Although Stalinism united many of the East European countries into a socio-economic and political system, by the late 1950s – with the uprising in Berlin, Budapest, and later Prague, and Poland – it became evident that "socialist internationalism" was neither a reality nor a future possibility. Although it must be admitted that Stalinism, both in its international and home-grown varieties, created many stereotypes: for example, the proletariat ("the workers' state," the "stakhanovites"), the regressive peasant harboring bourgeois and religious values (the "muzhik" and "kulak"), and the vanguard youth of "pioneers" and "komsomol".²⁰ These stereotypes are, however, reduced to the annals of history and while "the fat peasant" (*zsíros paraszt*) may be heard occasionally in joking conversations, its stalinist counterpart, the *kulák*, is almost never uttered anymore.

Since the late 1980s, when clear sings were on the horizons that the "state-socialist system" was waning, Hungarian national pride, as well as the intellectual aura created by the emerging opposition, described Hungarians as a nation in the forefront of challenging the system of communism. When asked, most people still believe that Hungarians were crucial players in starting the 1989 events. More specifically, when Hungarians celebrated the reinternment of the executed prime-minister Imre Nagy and when the Hungarian government decided to open the border and allow the tens-of-thousands of East Germans to pass freely into Austria. The euphoria following the 1988–89 events, helped to generate a positive sense of being Hungarian among the populace.²¹

1988–1989 may have been also responsible in developing peoples' sense of their enlarged national pride and identity. In a 1990 survey, the majority (77% and 63% respectively) of respondents selected overwhelmingly "descent" and "mother tongue" as the most important attributes of Hungarian identity.²² Such results are very different from the 1979 survey, where most respondents accepted "mother tongue" (64%) and

²⁰ See, for example, László KÜRTI, "The Wingless Eros of Socialism: Nationalism and Sexuality in Hungary," in Hermine G. DESOTO and David G. ANDERSON eds., *The Curtain Rises: Rethinking Culture, Ideology, and the State in Eastern Europe* (Atlantic Highlands: The Humanities Press, 1993), pp. 266–288, for some of the stereotypes created by the socialist utopias of the twentieth century in Eastern Europe.

²¹ For example, Misha GLENNY, Central European correspondent of the BBC's World Service, writes: "Hungary was the first country in Eastern Europe to renounce the system of one-party rule and prepare for multi-party elections with no strings attached;" see *The Rebirth of History: Eastern Europe in the Age of Democracy* (London: Penguin, 1990), p. 77.

²² György CSEPELI and Tibor ZÁVE CZ, "Conflicting Bonds of Nationality in Hungary; National Identity, Minority Status, and Ethnicity," *Innovation* 5/2 (1992), p. 80.

"citizenship" (60%) as the most important criteria of Hungarianness.²³ What is interesting about these surveys, and their concomitant values of a boosted sense of Hungarian national feeling, is the fact that Hungarian party politics of the late 1980s were successful in creating a renewed image of nationality based on nationalist rhetorics.

This redefinition of "Hungarianness" (*magyarság*) has been paralleled by the refashioning of Hungary's neighbors as well as the country's minorities in the minds of most citizens.²⁴ The creation of internal stereotypes of the various ethnic groups residing within the borders of the new Hungarian Republic went hand in hand with the attempt to create a Law on Nationalities and Minorities, a task seemingly impossible for the Hungarian parliament – for more than two years a debate has been ensued with no real result only to finalize in 1994. Glimpses on this new law provide surprising results. For instance, a new ethnic group, the Armenians, has been added to the officially recognized list of minorities residing in Hungary. While hardly anyone in Hungary is familiar with the Armenian minority (*Örmények*), Hungary's largest minority, the Roma, continues to be a problem. Anti-Gypsy sentiments escalated during the early 1990s, a pattern some of which were outright racist attacks on Gypsies and their settlements.²⁵

The negative internal ethno-stereotypes of Gypsies – but we may also add those of Jews as well – have been enduring not only in Hungary but elsewhere in Eastern Europe.²⁶ Hostility and prejudice are part of both antisemitism and anti-Gypsiness, two internal ethno-stereotypes which have a long history.²⁷ Yet such feelings tend to fluctuate and never exist with the same intensity.²⁸ What is rather disappointing is that among a large section of the Hungarian population, there are enduring negative external ethno-stereotypes concerning the Romany. Many people do believe, although rarely express it openly to the researcher, that the Rom (cigány), are dirty, lazy, amoral, and prone to

²³ György CSEPELI, "The Social Construction of National Identity in Contemporary Hungary," *Sociological Review* (Budapest), 7/2 (1991), p. 56.

²⁴ The literature on interethnic relations is vast even though the subject never received a central place in ethnography and folklore scholarship. For important recent contributions see: KUNT, E., SZABADFALVI, J. and VIGA Gyula eds., *Interetnikus Kapcsolatok Északkelet-Magyarországon*, A Miskolci Herman Ottó Múzeum Néprajzi Kiadványai XV, Miskolc, 1984; LISZKA, József ed., *Interetnikus kapcsolatok a Kárpát-medence északi részén*, *Acta Museologica* 1–2, Komárom: Duna Menti Múzeum, 1994; and SALNER, P. ed., *Ethnokulturális Prozesse in Gross-Städten Mitteleuropas*, Bratislava: Národopisný ústav SAV, 1992.

²⁵ See Zoltan D. BARANY, "Living on the Edge: The East European Roma in Postcommunist Politics and Societies," *Slavic Review* 53/2 (Summer): pp. 321–344.

²⁶ Barany for example writes: "In eastern Europe and elsewhere, the Roma have been surrounded by a hostile social environment which has compelled them to follow strategies, such as "pretending" assimilation by conforming to the dominant groups' demands, assuming lifestyles and customs alien to them, even denying their ethnic identity in censuses etc., while conserving their culture and traditions." "The East European Roma," p. 325. See also STEWART, Michael, "Gypsies, Work, and Civil Society," *The Journal of Communist Studies* 6/2 (1990), pp. 140–172.

²⁷ For a recent analysis of Hungarian antisemitism see CSEPELI, György, *És nem is kell hozzá zsidó az antiszemitizmus társadalom-lélektana*, Budapest: Kozmosz Könyvek, 1990.

²⁸ Some studies, however, indicate a decline in prejudiced stereotyping of Gypsies. See, Koos POSTMA, "A Comparison between 1987 and 1992 with regard to prejudice toward Gypsies." Unpublished manuscript. Such studies must be taken with extreme caution, however; bloody confrontation with Gypsies and Hungarians may be provoked and manipulated. The police sometimes may be involved with such activities. This seems to be similar in some ways to the treatment of African-Americans, Mexicans and Asians in certain neighborhoods in the United States.

criminal activity.²⁹ In this list xenophobia, ethnocentrism, and racism are all intertwined to form a powerful negative world-view concerning the Roma populations in Hungary.³⁰ On the contrary, the only positive stereotype which has survived in certain social and cultural circles has to do with the "Gypsies' ability to play music and be the entertainers of Hungarians."³¹

Foreigners living in Hungary have also been seen largely through negative ethno-stereotypes. Arabs and Chinese are two groups who have been battling xenophobic and racist views in Hungary. In addition, African students have also been targeted by racist individuals and chauvinistic skinheads. What is important to stress, however, is that most Hungarians do not have any close contact with these peoples. Those who are, for instance, buy cheap clothes at stores of Chinese merchants, and those Hungarians who prefer to exchange Hungarian currency with "Arab" black-marketeers. Yet, both of these groups are scape-goated: Chinese for bringing devalued goods into the country and, then, transport their whole family and kin to Hungary; and Arabs for supporting illegal activities and creating an underground, "maffia" business network.³² African students are easy targets for vicious attacks by bigots and frustrated, angry youth. Stereotypes about them, however, are few and far between.

As the result of the realignments of international relations Hungary's position vis-à-vis her neighbors also changed dramatically after 1989. However, it must be stressed that most Hungarians are extremely short-sided when it comes down to understanding the situation of internal difficulties of countries bordering Hungary. Of all the countries, Austria (the "in-laws" – *sógorok* as they are referred to in popular parlance) has probably the most advantageous position. Its Habsburg history now being partly mythologized, Austria receives a favourable rating by most Hungarians. While political and economic connections are expanded, tourism and cultural matters are blown out of proportion. It needs no special emphasis that Otto von Habsburg, and the Council of Europe, has a major role to play in such a current image-making.

In contrast to Austria, Hungary's situation toward two neighboring states seems to be clearly antagonistic, if not outright hostile: Czechoslovakia (currently reduced to Mečiar's Slovakia) and Romania. Neither the Turks nor the Habsburgs, nor the much-hated

²⁹ The list of negative stereotypes concerning the Roma is, sadly, rather long; see CSEPELI, pp. 76–78. For a more recent analysis see, SZUHAY, Balázs, "Cigány kultúra." *BUKSZ* 3 (1995), pp. 329–341.

³⁰ I cannot at this point but point out that similar racist stereotypes also exist in other cultures as well. In general, these concern an age-old tradition of conflict and political marginalization of a pariah group by the majority culture. For example, in Japan the Burakumin (the Eta) have been historically stigmatized as having a foul smell, a preposterous birthmark and an extra bone, physical characteristics which, in the eyes of the Japanese, made them racially completely different justifying their exclusion from political office and the economy. See DEVOS, G. and WAGATSUMA, H., *Japan's Invisible Race: Caste in Culture and Personality*. The Hague: Aldine, 1967.

³¹ For the situation of stereotyping urban Roma in Romania, see VERDERY, Katherine, "Nationalism and National Sentiment in Post-Socialist Romania." *Slavic Review* 42/2 (Summer, 1993), p. 197.

³² A stereotype of the Chinese is that they are not "European" (meaning not cultured) for they do not use handkerchiefs; see A. Zs., "Kínaiak Magyarországon." *Magyar Hírlap* September 22, 1995, p. 4. The killing of a Jordanian black-marketeer in mid-September, 1995, provided a proof in the eyes of many Hungarians that "Arabs" are involved with the mafia and that this killing, too, is just a sign that a mafia war is being waged between rival gangs fighting for their turf.

Soviet Union, exist anymore on the minds of millions of Hungarians as the enemy. Despite the hundreds of jokes which were fashioned about the Russians and the Soviets, it seems that the past few decades of "soviet-hatred" has stopped as soon as the last Soviet army units pulled out of Hungary in 1990.³³ In the post-1989 climate, Hungary, Romania and Slovakia, seem to be locked in a continuing battle over borders, minorities, ecological questions, and trade agreements. While with Romania the situation is worsening, talks between Slovak and Hungarian leaders seem to be stalling. Some of the reasons why relationship between Slovakia and Hungary is so inundated with "misunderstandings" has to do with current controversial issues, others are of an earlier vintage.³⁴

Politicians and the media in Hungary attempt to position Hungarians as the just ones and Slovaks as unjust. Thus, Hungarians appear to be more democratic and justified in their claim than the Slovaks whose inflexibility is interpreted by Hungarians as non-European and backward.

Yet, the negative external stereotypes of Slovaks in general is a constant pattern in Hungarian nationalistic discourse. This has a history which is worth examining in detail even if, for the moment, cursorily. Hungarian ethnocentric stereotypes about Slovaks are not an easy task to analyse. For the negative, and even racist, images are abundant. The saying "The Slovak is not human" (*A tót nem ember*) has a long history in Hungarian interethnic processes. Similar proverbs also reveal that anti-Slovak Hungarian identity is not a product of the post-1919 Hungarian state's irredentist and chauvinistic ideology. Ferenc FALUDI, an eighteenth-century writer and a Jesuit priest, collected many popular Hungarian proverbs of his time; in his work, we find several which attest to the fact that Hungarians and Slovaks already had a strained relationship in the middle of the eighteenth century, which were projected into and reproduced by the following aphorisms: "Give shelter to a Slovak, he will chase you out of it" (*Adj szállást a Tótnak, majd határt mutat*); and "One tree is not a forest, the wheel-barrow is not a coach, and the Slovak is not human" (*Szál fa nem erdő, taliga nem szekér, Tót nem ember*).³⁵ Similar ethnocentric clichés may be heard about other people as well; for instance, the Székelys of Transylvania have their own saying about the *csángós* ("One glass of beer is not beer, one child is not a child, and the csángó is not human"). Yet, it is clear that the manufacturing of such stereotypes do not have to be present in communities where there are mutual and positive understanding of each others; or when cultural identities are flexible, complementary, or mutually inclusive.³⁶

³³ Jokes and slurs have always been part of much social and national conflict-discourses. Among tribal societies, settled village communities and cosmopolitan city-dwellers jokes serve various functions among which distancing and increasing self-esteem may be important ones. For an interpretation of ethnic jokes as different from stereotypes, see, for example, Christie DAVIS, *Ethnic Humor around the World: A Comparative Analysis* (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1990).

³⁴ Hungary's denial of membership for Slovakia in the Council of Europe is precipitated by two considerations: the situation of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia and Slovakia's hesitancy in accepting the Hungarian plan to demolish the Bős-Gabčíkovo water dam on the river Danube. See, "Meciar szerint a magyar kormány önmagáról állít ki bizonyítványt," *Magyar Nemzet* June 28, 1993, p. 2.

³⁵ FALUDI, Ferenc, "Magyar köz mondások," In Faludi Ferenc prózai művei, Vörös, I., and URAY, P. eds., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1991, pp. 785–799.

³⁶ See, for example, the Slovakian village of Imely, in interethnic identity and mixed marriages created a healthy atmosphere; "Az Imelyi Példa," *Új Szó*, December 14, 1994, p. 9.

With Romania the source of conflict has been similar to Slovakia. However, not only the issues of borders and Hungarian minorities living there, but with the notion of superiority complex of Hungarians must be taken into consideration. Earlier historical stereotypes had different feel to them, an area I cannot go into detail here.³⁷ It will suffice to mention, that most Hungarians living as a minority in Romania have different stereotypes from Hungarians living in Hungary. As Romanians manufactured racist stereotypes about the Hungarians ("wild, Asiatic, Huns, homeless, *bozgor*"), Hungarians simply continue to use the Romanians' historic name (*oláh*) or "hairy-legged" (*szőröstalpú*). These racist views reveal that Hungarians living in Romania may be, curiously, closer to Romanians in their everyday interactions, yet, curiously, their stereotypes could be more distant than those of Hungarians in Hungary who do not deal with Romanians on an everyday basis. Older Hungarian proverbs are also abundant in which Romanians are represented as lazy, dirty, and liars, an image which is also fashioned for the Gypsies (Roma).³⁸

Yet, with reference the Hungarian ethnocentric stereotypes of Romanians we may observe the changes of moods in the relationships between the two nations. While the negative view has lasted for some time now, during the time of Christmas 1989, Hungarians in both Hungary and in Romania supported wholeheartedly the revolution in Romania, and especially the events in Bucharest. There was a feeling of camaraderie and joyousness and the negative expression about Romanians were heard less and less. In March 1990, this changed immediately as Hungarians and Romanians in Transylvania have begun to battle against one another. The negative stereotypes, both historic and recent, have been reproduced with a vehemence. When Hungarians and Romanians fought on the streets of the Transylvanian city of Tîrgu Mureș both the negative Romanian and their Hungarian parallels were heard.³⁹

At the moment, and as a result of the continuing antagonistic relations between the two countries, most Hungarians feel that Romania, together with Bulgaria, Serbia and Croatia, are left somewhere in a nationalistic cloud of their Balkan mentalities. Their economic and historical ties with their Balkan neighbors, and their current status quo, make these countries a prime suspect for enticing violence, war and chaos. One could, of course, argue that the continuation of the civil war in Bosnia, and the revolution of 1989 in Romania, provide ample evidences to support such claim. However, it is also evident

³⁷ This has been done by Béla BORSI-KÁLMÁN recently; see "The Romanians in Hungarian Eyes," In T. WALAS, ed., *Stereotypes and Nations*, pp. 73–78.

³⁸ In the proverb collection of Sirisaka there are many saying which target minority groups including Jews, Gypsies, Romanians, Slovaks, Serbs, Turks, and Germans; see SIRISAKA, A., and HIRT, J eds., *Magyar közmondások könyve*, Pécs: ENGEL Lajos, 1891. What is also interesting in this collection is that the editors proudly boast the rich heritage of Hungarian proverbs and not how biased and negative some of them are concerning minorities living in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. What is more, and judging from the names of the editors, both of them came from an ethnic minority origin, though their identity, similarly to the many thousands of assimilated intellectuals, was clearly magyarized! Although the editors note that these ethnocentric statements are not "serious but harmless joking caricatures of ethnic groups" (p. xxxi).

³⁹ There are literary support for the existence of both positive and negative stereotypes of Romanians; for the former, see GAZDA, J., *Megváltó Karácsony*, Budapest: Aura, 1990; and for the latter, see MAROSI, B. et al. eds., *Fehér Könyv az 1990. Március 19. és 20-i események Marosvásárhelyen*, Budapest: Püski, 1991. In this latter edition one could read anti-Hungarian slogans uttered by Romanians as well.

that ethnocentric stereotypes are also at work in separating Hungary from both its norther, Slovak, and eastern, Romanian neighbors.

The notion of Europeanness is also connected to these issues in the minds of many Hungarians. While Hungary is perceived as a country becoming more and more European – with stronger economic and trade ties with the West, availability of goods and services, a multi-party parliament has been accepted and is in working order –, Romania and Slovakia are seen as a source of constant tension and uneasiness. Hungarians interpret the lack of democracy as the lack of European values which in this case refers to the nonexistence of rule of law, a healthy workings of representative governments, the existence of corruption, legitimacy crisis of the Iliescu government, and strict central control of the media. More important however, is the fact that Romania and Slovakia seem to be resisting efforts to deal effectively with basic human and minority rights issues. This point affords members of the nationalist elites to continue the reproduction of hostile views and antagonistic relations between Hungary and its neighbors.

However, one needs to be a little critical when it comes down to the question of Hungarian sense of national pride, especially if that is on the expense of the country's neighbors. For when asked, most Hungarians will compare Hungary's achievements to the West and not to the Eastern neighbors'. At one point, however, the generally well-known "Hungarian depression" may take over, with a great amount of negative auto-stereotypes: "a nation of losers," citing its "backwardness," "lack of work discipline," "too much individualism," and introvert social behavior including alcoholism and suicide.

Needless to say, such categorization has always been a part of Hungarians' image of themselves. Their sense of pride was always a creation of a Janus-faced phenomena: on the one hand, Hungarians looked to the West to affirm their sense of direction (where we should be heading to) and looked back to their neighbors, with disdain or maybe some sympathy, of how far they have advanced already. Feeling more advanced is, of course, part of the images that representatives of national elites hold of their countries while they may view others' as backward, a proposition analyzed by Donald HOROWITZ.⁴⁰

In the case of Hungarian popular imagery, such a positioning reveals a sense of "where-we-were," "where-we-are," and "where-we'll-never-be." The fact is that this sort of stereotypical thinking provides the frame of reference for Hungarians in a culturally accepted way. It reminds them of their past – whether Turkish, Habsburg, or Ancient – and, at the same time, it warns them about the difficulties that lie ahead. In the self-portrayal of Hungarians general optimism exists with the general historical pessimism side by side.

I am rather in a difficult position to say what Hungary's relation to other countries is all about, a fact which has a lot more to do with misunderstanding and lack of studies than the existence or lack of national stereotypes. Polish-Hungarian relationship, for instance, is based on a sense of common history which has been mythologized out of

⁴⁰ See Donald L. HOROWITZ, *Ethnic Groups in Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 166–170.

proportion. However, the "Polak wenger – dwa bratanki" slogan does not reveal much to the present generation about the interconnectedness of the two nations; though the educated are aware that one could cite numerous examples from Stephen Bathory to the Polish soldiers in the 1848–49 War of Independence. JÓKAI Mór, Hungary's grand master of romantic nineteenth-century novel, must have contributed to this positive clichés Hungarians have held of the Poles. In several of his short stories he immortalized the heroic Polish freedom-fighter and General Henryk DEMBINSKY (1791–1864) who fought on the Hungarian side.⁴¹ However, this positive image received a serious blow right after 1989 when large groups of Poles entered Hungary and began to trade their goods, an activity which gave a rather bad reputation to both Poles and such markets (often referred to in Hungarian popular parlance as the new "CMEA market").

It seems that one could suggest a theory for the existence of positive and negative stereotypes Hungarian stereotypes: the immediate neighbors tend to receive the most negative treatments and the those further away are seen in more positive light. Consequently, national stereotypes by Hungarians concerning other nations may also be in proportion with this distancing. For example, German–Hungarian relationships are better today than ever before, though one cannot avoid remembering the dismal outcome and the atrocities committed during World War II. Similarly, Italian–Hungarian, French–Hungarian or Hungarian–British relationships seem to be always a part of a large international network which are reshaped at regular intervals; however, all are rather positive at the moment. All of these countries are thought to represent democracy, capitalism and fine, luxury items.

This case may be proven by focusing on the American–Hungarian stereotypes and relations. Interestingly but not surprisingly, this is a relationship which is perhaps the most complex. The refashioning of a general image of America has always been at the heart of much Hungarian thinking. The "western nations" (especially the United States and Germany) for the past hundred-two hundred years, have been always cited as economic stability, availability of money and democratic capitalism par excellence. To this the images of popular culture always have lent credibility and food for thought. Hollywood, MTV, international fashion, intellectual currents and artistic exchanges are a well-known phenomena in the globalization process currently underway.

In the nineteenth century, America was closer to Hungarians through printing and travelogues beginning with one of the most important one: Sándor Farkas BÖLÖNI, *Travels in North America (Útazás Észak Amerikában)* published in 1834. The Californian Gold rush already received much press coverage in Hungary in 1849. HARASZTI's travelogue of his 1830–31 trip to North America, however, was even available to the average reader offering a good sense of mid-nineteenth century American developments.⁴² Lajos Kossuth's trip to the United States was, perhaps, the second most important venue which

⁴¹ See, "Emléksorok," In Mór JÓKAI, *Elbeszélések* (1850), 2/B, LENGYEL, D. és NAGY, M. eds., Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1989, p. 191. JÓKAI even writes down a popular war-song referred to as the Dembinsky-march ("Jáci táci vojáci, Klapci Krakováci...").

⁴² The book was published in 1834 and in 1835 received the Gold Prize of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

ignited the popular imagination. Less important than these two were the waves of Hungarian immigrants to North America, a flow of economic and political refugees whose contacts with the old world (*ókontri*) provided the relatives in Hungary with images of what went on with their loved-ones in the new world. Yet, these realistic representations notwithstanding – which have ranged from letters to diaries, pictures and books – popular, that is stereotyped images of America has not been fundamentally altered.⁴³ Hungarians have, for the most part, thought of America as a land of gold and opportunity.⁴⁴

What are all these complex and highly emotional historical stereotypes reveal about Hungarians and their neighbors? It is obvious that Hungary's images of its neighbors have a lot to do with: (1) historical memory, i.e. how the nation remembers its past relations with its neighbors and how these historical stereotypes are manipulated at the present; (2) the current relationship and the nature of contact between the nations (economic, trade and cultural connections have a great deal of influence); and (3) finally, the international play of high-politics which may influence the relationship between smaller nations accordingly. All these are a dynamic sources for thinking about a nation's position vis-à-vis the others. This is a rather important point for the way in which Hungarians perceive their neighbors, the neighbors also react by fashioning an alternative image of Hungarians. This *external stereotyping* is created through a mirror-imaging. Nations, just as ethnic groups, see each other through a mirror, or prism, which distort the national images accordingly. National and ethnic differences are invented and politicized for the creation of what Max Weber and Emile Durkheim called an emotive "political solidarity" grouping which is always in opposition to other such groupings. Thus, if the Hungarian image of Romanians is rather negative and distorted, it would be unwise to expect a positive image of Hungarians by Romanians. Similarly, it must be taken into consideration that Hungarian negative stereotypes of Romanians and Slovaks are part of a larger image-making based on national and international relations between states which consider each other either as friend or enemies.⁴⁵

It remains to be seen whether Hungary, together with the former East Bloc nations, really will manage to evolve into a strong and healthy members of the international community, or, and this is the pessimist Hungarian in me, will follow in the footsteps of a stronger Big Brother of the future. To achieve the further and not the latter, Hungarians, Poles, Slovaks, Romanians, Christians, Protestants, and Jews, must understand the importance of education – both formal and informal – in combatting prejudice and racist stereotypes at home, in the schools and at the workplace. Parents and educators should be

⁴³ HARASZTI's book, for example, is filled with popular stereotypes: he even copies the antagonistic relationship between the whites ("fejeeres") and the indians ("indusok"), describing the former as civilized and cultured, and reserving the "wildness" and "simplicity" for the latter; see 1935 edition, Cluj: Tilsch János Tulajdona, pp. 95–98.

⁴⁴ Hungarian ethnography only discovered Hungarians in North America in the late 1970s; recently there has been a few publications which are, in fact, based on fieldwork among Hungarian communities overseas; see BAKÓ, Ferenc, *Kanadai Magyarok*, Budapest: Gondolat, 1988; and FEJŐS, Zoltán, *A Chicagói Magyarok Két Nemzedéke, 1890–1940*, Budapest: Közép-Európai Intézet, 1993.

⁴⁵ Vamik D. VOLKAN, *The Need to Have Enemies and Allies: From Clinical Practice to International Relationships* (New York: Jason Aronson, 1988).

encouraged to teach children *tolerance* and *respect* for each others' culture, emphasizing *similarities* rather than differences. In order to convince each other of a desire to establish genuine democratic relations, countries must demonstrate an understanding of *present realities*. With the unfolding spirit of democracy, the new powers in Europe must, I believe, discard the dangerous myths of the past and consider their common future *together* if they truly wish to signal an end to their historic enmities and current controversies. Cultural attributes, features and differences in themselves, in my opinion, do not cause people to kill each other; yet powerful negative stereotypes do assist in dividing them and keeping them at distance from each other. This is how stereotypes may hurt.

THE BIRTH OF A NEW NATION, OR THE RETURN OF AN OLD PROBLEM? THE RUSYNS OF EAST CENTRAL EUROPE

Paul Robert MAGOCSI

Department of Ukrainian Studies University of Toronto
100 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario M5S 3G3 Canada

At the close of the twentieth century, many societies throughout the world, from South Africa to Central America and from the Middle East to Europe, have already or are continuing to experience great changes in their political and socioeconomic structures. Perhaps no greater changes can be found than those that have occurred in the former Soviet Union and East Central Europe. This era of change has also reached the very heart of Europe, that is the Carpathian Mountains and foothills inhabited since time immemorial by people who have traditionally called themselves Rusyns but who recently have been known as Ukrainians. One aspect of the on-going changes in the Carpathian region has to do with what has historically been called the nationality question. Today, commentators refer to this phenomenon as the “problem of Rusynism” or *Carpatho-Rusynism-Rusynstvo* or *Karpatorusynstvo*.¹

ETHNICITY VERSUS NATIONALISM

Who are the Rusyns? Are they a separate people, or are they simply an ethnic group that is part of the Ukrainian people? Do they have – or can they have – a distinct Rusyn language, or is Rusyn simply a series of Ukrainian dialects? These are questions which most writers on the topic had thought were resolved long ago, and certainly by the last decade of the twentieth century. Since the revolutionary year of 1989, however, it has become obvious that not everyone living in the Carpathian region feels that these questions have been answered – or answered convincingly.

In this chapter, the term Rusyn refers to the indigenous East Slavs who inhabit primarily the northcentral Carpathian Mountains and who are likely to identify themselves in a variety of ways: Rusyn, Rusnak, Lemko, Ukrainian, Slovak, Czechoslovak, or Pol-

¹ The current debate could be said to have begun with a five-part article by the Uzhhorod State University professor of linguistics, Pavlo CHUCHKA, “Kak rusyny stali ukrainskimi,” *Zakarpatskaia pravda*, September 12–16, 1989. The debate has since then intensified in Ukraine’s Transcarpathian oblast, former Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia. Beginning in August 1990 and for nearly a year thereafter, the Transcarpathian oblast Ukrainian- and Russian-language daily, *Zakarpats'ka pravda/Zakarpatskaia pravda*, ran a popular column entitled, “The Ukraine and Rusynism” (*Ukraina i rusynizm*).

ish. The East Slavic Rusyns live within the borders of five countries, but because there is inadequate or simply no statistical data available, we can only speak in theoretical terms when discussing numbers.² In theory, there could be as many as one million Rusyns: 800,000 in the Transcarpathian oblast of Ukraine; 130,000 in the Prešov Region of northeastern Slovakia; 80,000 in the Lemko Region of southeastern Poland as well as other parts of that country; 20,000 in the Maramureş Region of Northern Romania; and 30,000 in former Yugoslavia (Serbia's Vojvodina and Croatia's Slavonia). There is even a small but still undeterminable number of Rusyns in northeastern Hungary.³ Using the above estimates, Rusyns make up 65 percent of the population of Transcarpathia. In all other countries they comprise only a miniscule proportion of the total population. Not surprisingly, there are similarities in the Rusyn experience regardless where they reside, but there are also differences precisely because they have lived for most of the twentieth century in different countries. Before turning to a discussion of Rusyns in individual countries, it is necessary to address a few general issues.

Let us begin with the basic theoretical question: are Rusyns a distinct nationality? And if they are simply an ethnic group, or a branch of another nationality, which one? Ukrainian? Or in the case of the Presov Region, the Slovak nationality? Or in the Lemko Region, the Polish nationality? Or are they simply a branch, as many writers used to think, of a "common" East Slavic people that had come to be called Russian (*obshcherusskii*)?

Before trying to determine the status of Rusyns, it would be useful first to define what is a nationality. Stated most briefly, a nationality is a group of people who may have certain characteristics, such as a distinct territory (but not necessarily statehood), language, historical memory, religion, and common social and ethnographic characteristics. Ethnic groups and branches of nationalities also may have many of these same common characteristics. What, then, distinguishes a nationality from an ethnic group? The primary distinguishing feature is not the presence or absence of one or more of the above common characteristics, but rather an awareness among members of a given group that they have such common characteristics and that it is these characteristics which distinguish them from neighboring nationalities. Thus, it is an awareness among a sufficient number of group members – an awareness passed onto future generations through the family and most especially schools – that ultimately defines nationalities.

Therefore, we return to our original question: are Rusyns a distinct nationality? The answer, with perhaps the exception of Rusyns in the Vojvodina, is no. Are Rusyns an ethnic group with numerous common characteristics that both define and distinguish

² After World War II, Rusyns were recorded in official statistics only in Yugoslavia (23 000 in 1981) and Romania (1000 in 1977). Most recently, they have been recorded once again in Czecho-Slovak statistics (see below, note 29).

³ The establishment of two Rusyn cultural organizations in Hungary in 1992 attests to a national revival among a segment of the population in northeastern Hungary that was long thought to have been completely magyarized. See Philip MICHAELS, "Rusyns in Hungary," *Carpatho-Rusyn American* Vol. 15, No. 3 (1992), p. 2; and István UDVARI, "Rusyns in Hungary and the Hungarian Kingdom," in *The Persistence of Regional Cultures: Rusyns and Ukrainians in their Carpathian Homeland and Abroad* ed. by Paul Robert MAGOCSI (New York, 1993), pp. 105–38.

them from their neighbors? In that case, the answer is yes. If, therefore, Rusyns are minimally an ethnic group (divided into many ethnographic sub-groups like Lemkos, Boikos, Dolyniany, Hutsuls), do they have the theoretical potential to develop into a distinct nationality or to become subsumed as part of another nationality? The answer to both parts of that question is yes. It is, in fact, the issue of whether to become a distinct nationality or to be a branch of another nationality that constitutes what has been called the “problem of Rusynism.”

It seemed that this problem was finally resolved during the second half of the twentieth century. Before then the issue was hotly debated, and of the many orientations three finally came to prevail. Some Carpathian East Slavs thought they were part of the Russian nationality, others argued they were Ukrainian, still others believed they comprised a distinct nationality called Carpatho-Rusyn or simply Rusyn.⁴ After World War II, however, with the establishment of Soviet rule first in Subcarpathian Rus’ (Transcarpathian Ukraine), and soon after in Poland and Czechoslovakia, the issue was resolved by governmental decree. Regardless of what the East Slavic population of the Carpathians may have thought, they were obliged to accept the official view (formulated in 1924 by the Fifth Comintern and in 1925 by the Communist party Bolshevik of Ukraine) that Rusyns, whatever they may call themselves, are a branch of the Ukrainian nationality.⁵ Moreover, anyone who did not accept this view was dismissed as having a low level of national consciousness, an insufficient education, or worse still, as being an anti-progressive type that might even be an “enemy of the people.”

Indeed, at least since the early 1950s, all of the media as well as the educational system in the Soviet-dominated Carpathian homeland were in the hands of those who accepted the Ukrainian understanding of the problem. Thus, for nearly forty years, the public was continually reminded that the nationality question among Rusyns was resolved. Many, perhaps most observers, whether in East Central Europe or the West, even believed their own rhetoric. But then came the Gorbachev era and the Revolution of 1989. Suddenly, so it seemed, Rusyns came out of the woodwork. In actual fact, the nationality question had never been resolved. Like numerous other problems in the former Soviet Union and communist-ruled East Central Europe, the Rusyn question was repressed but not suppressed.

But let us return to the question of whether a Rusyn nationality is theoretically possible. We may approach that question by examining the arguments used by those who argue that a Rusyn nationality is not possible. Here, in particular, it is the arguments of those who accept a Ukrainian understanding of the problem that warrant attention. One could also address those who in the past and even still at present might argue that certain Rusyn groups are really a branch of the Slovak (“Rusnaks are Greek Catholic Slovaks”)

⁴ The nationality question is discussed in detail in MAGOCSI, *The Shaping of a National Identity: Subcarpathian Rus’, 1848–1948* (Cambridge, 1978).

⁵ Influenced by a decision taken in December 1925 at the Ninth Congress of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, the Subcarpathian Communist party adopted one year later at its own Seventh Congress a resolution that read: “It is obvious that we are part of the Ukrainian people... and finally we will end... all ‘language questions’ [and dispense] with the names ‘Rusyn’, ‘rus’kyi’, or ‘russkii’”. Cited in *Karpats’ka pravda*, December 5, 1926.

or Polish (Lemkos are an ethnographic group of Poles) nationalities. To address such viewpoints seems superfluous, however, since today there is general scholarly consensus that based on linguistic, cultural, and ethnographic criteria Rusyns are East Slavs and, therefore, cannot be classified with the West Slavic Poles or Slovaks. And as for the view that Rusyns are a branch (*karpatorossy*) of a single East Slavic people called Russians, this is a theoretical construct that has had no practical significance since at least the early nineteenth century when Europe began to be divided according to nationalities. To say, moreover, as some do, that Rusyns are somehow the same people or closely related to Russians borders on the nonsensical. Thus, for those who argue the case for a distinct Rusyn nationality, it is only the Ukrainian alternative that deserves serious attention.

Often defenders of the Ukrainian view argue that "scholarly truth" provides unequivocal proof that Rusyns are a branch of Ukrainians,⁶ and to prove their point citations from modern encyclopedias and other "authoritative" sources are duly quoted. But what is "scholarly truth?" I would suggest that those who speak of "scholarly truths" belong to the mindset of pre-secular societies, whose beliefs were based on unquestioning religious dogmas, not on rational thought. In short, in order to understand human societies as well as the natural world, scholars cannot begin with the *a priori* belief that there is an absolute truth waiting to be discovered, but rather that there are constantly changing realities that need to be examined or, at best, that there may be approximations to truths that if found may help us to understand a given social or physical phenomenon.

The dubiousness of "scholarly truths" may be illustrated by one specific example. According to many scholars, a Macedonian nationality for all intents and purposes did not exist before 1944–1945. All the leading Slavists of our century – Lubor NIEDERLE, Jaroslav BIDLO, Miloš WEINGART – agreed that Macedonians were a branch of the Bulgarians.⁷ That was the "scholarly truth" before 1945. Moreover, it remains the "truth" among Bulgarian and Greek scholars to this very day.⁸ They are the exception, however,

⁶ For instance, referring to the administratively imposed Ukrainian national identity in the Prešov Region of Slovakia, one author argues that "from the standpoint of historical truth, this change was logical." Mykola MUŠYNKA, "The Postwar Development of the Regional Culture of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia," in *Persistence of Regional Cultures* ed. by MAGOCSI, p. 60. This same book includes an essay by Oleksa V. MYŠANYČ, "From Subcarpathian Rusyns to Transcarpathia Ukrainians," in which the author argues that the answer to the question of nationality is "provided by the historical record" and "reliance upon historical facts." *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷ Cf. NIEDERLE's "Ethnographic Map of the Slavic World," in Jaroslav BIDLO, et al., *Slovanstvo: obraz jeho minulosti a přítomnosti* (Prague, 1912); and Miloš WEINGART, ed., *Slovanské spisovné jazyky v době přítomné* (Prague, 1937). Serbian scholars at the time argued that Macedonians were a branch of the Serbs. Cf. T. R. GEORGEVITCH, *Macedonia* (London, 1918).

⁸ Since World War II, Bulgarian scholarly opinion has varied depending on the country's political relationship with Yugoslavia. For the current view, applicable since 1956, which considers Macedonians and their language to be "Western Bulgarian," see the study signed by the Institute of the Bulgarian Language at the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, "Edinstvo na bulgarskija ezik v minaloto i dnes," *Bulgarski ezik*, Vol. 28 (1978), pp. 3–43. Greek writers adamantly deny that there are any Macedonians within the boundaries of present-day Greece, and they argue that the Slavs in the former Yugoslav Macedonian Federal Republic are really Bulgarians. Most recently, Greece became the only country of the European Community that refused to recognize the newly-independent state of Macedonia unless it were to change its name to the Republic of Skopje or any other name that does not include the designation Macedonian. Cf. Nicholas P. ANDRIOTIS, *The Federative Republic of Skopje and Its Language*, 2nd ed. (Athens, 1966).

and there are few in the world who would deny that Macedonians exist as a nationality. Obviously, so-called scholarly truths can change. That being the case, it follows that some scholars might defend the proposition that Rusyns are a distinct nationality just as easily as others could argue they are a branch of Ukrainians. The point is that our understanding of social phenomena can and often does change depending on time and circumstances.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND BOUNDARIES

Another argument is that Rusyns should not be considered a nationality because they do not have their own language. One does not have to search far to realize that not all nationalities have their own languages. The Irish, the Scots, and the Brazilians are only a few of the many examples of thriving nationalities who never had or, for all intents and purposes, have lost their own languages. The issue, of course, is not spoken language but rather written literary languages. Nonetheless, a Rusyn nationality supposedly cannot exist because Rusyns do not have their own literary language, which – the argument goes – cannot be created because Rusyns speak a wide variety of dialects. Again, it seems redundant to repeat the obvious: that all peoples speak different dialects and that all literary languages are intellectual constructs. It is precisely the task of the intelligentsia to sort out the problem of dialectal differentiation and to resolve it. In that sense, all European peoples had their language question, not simply the Rusyns. The choice of one dialect as the basis for a literary standard, or the creation of an interdialectal *koiné*, or the return to some historic literary form – these were some of the options open to intelligentsias who were faced with the reality of dialectal differentiation when trying to create a literary language. This was the *questione della lingua* of Dante as he strove to create an Italian literary language. It was the same question faced by Hus for Czech, by Luther for German, by Štúr for Slovak, by Karadžić for Serbian, by Mistral for Provençal, and by numerous other national leaders who helped to create literary languages for their own purposes.

Rusyn leaders, in particular their nineteenth-century “national awakener” Aleksander DUKHNOVYCH, faced this question as well. While many commentators like to shower often uncritical praise on Dukhnovych, he does not always warrant it. It is certainly true that he created the most famous texts written in Rusyn vernacular, texts which have helped perhaps more than anything else to create for Rusyns a common sense of historical memory that is so important in defining national distinctiveness. But as a language theoretician, Dukhnovych’s contributions on behalf of Rusyn were basically negative. As a believer in the “high” and “low” language theory derived from the Czech Slavist Josef DOBROVSKÝ, DUKHNOVYCH wrote for the masses in the “low” Rusyn vernacular, but for educated people in a “high” literary language that derived from Church Slavonic mixed with Russian and some local Rusyn vernacular.

Regardless of the dubious value of his “high” language, Dukhnovych’s approach introduced another very unfortunate phenomenon: the belief among Rusyns that their vernacular speech lacked the prestige necessary for serious communication, and that for education and intellectual pursuit some other “higher” more “sophisticated” language had

to be used. At various times that "higher" language with the required *dignitas* was either Church Slavonic, Latin, Magyar, Russian, Ukrainian, Slovak, or Polish. It seemed anything would be better than the Rusyn vernacular. Such views from Dukhnovych helped to deter the Rusyn intelligentsia from doing what other intelligentsias did throughout Europe: create a literary language based on one or more of their own local dialects. True, there were some experiments in the twentieth century, and vernacular-based Rusyn readers and grammars were used in the schools of Subcarpathian Rus' (VOLOSHYN, PAN'KEYCH, HARAIDA) or the Lemko Region (TROKHANOVSKII), but these were limited to elementary education. A serious sociologically complete literary standard was never created, except among the Rusyns in the Vojvodina (KOSTELNIK, KOVACH).⁹

Some commentators might add that efforts at creating a Rusyn literary standard were and are still unnecessary because Rusyns are too small a people. This, too, is a spurious argument. There are numerous peoples in Europe smaller in number than the Rusyns, whose intelligentsias have had the desire and courage to create literary languages. Two examples, one from the Slavic and the other from the non-Slavic world, are illustrative: the Lusatian Sorbs of Germany and the Romansch of Switzerland. Like the Rusyns, both the Lusatian Sorbs and Romansch have been and are likely to remain stateless peoples. As for dialectal differentiation, they have resolved this problem by creating more than one literary language. The Sorbs, who number about 80,000 people, have two literary languages: Upper Sorbian and Lower Sorbian. The Romansch, who number only 50,000 people, have as many as five literary languages: Sursilvan, Sutsilvan, Surmiran, Vallader, and Puter – each, by the way, with its own grammars, dictionaries, newspaper or journals, and textbooks for use in schools. The Romansch case is of particular interest, since the five Romansch groups are divided geographically, as are Rusyns, by even higher mountains. Yet this did not deter the Romansch intelligentsia from resolving the language question in favor of the local vernacular. In any search for literary language among Europe's smaller peoples, the Rusyns themselves, at least one branch of them, should not be overlooked. These are the Rusyns in the Vojvodina/Bačka, who today number at most 30,000 and whose intelligentsia successfully created a sociologically complete distinct Rusyn literary language. The point is that dialectal differentiation or small size are not in themselves deterrents to the creation of literary languages.¹⁰ A literary language can be created if the local intelligentsia has the self-confidence and desire to achieve such a goal.

A third argument against the possibility of a Rusyn nationality is that Rusyns do not have their own state, and that to have their own state would require a change of international boundaries which in post-Helsinki Europe is inappropriate and even dangerous. It is not useful to encourage changes in international boundaries, especially since in the

⁹ For details, see MAGOCSI, "The Language Question Among the Subcarpathian Rusyns," in *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, ed. by Riccardo PICCHIO and Harvey GOLDBLATT, Vol. II (New Haven, 1984), pp. 49–64.

¹⁰ This principle, albeit with the cooperation of the governmental authorities, has been confirmed in the last decade by the example of the tiny Principality of Monaco. See MAGOCSI, "Monégasque Nationalism: A Terminological Contradiction or Practical Reality?," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism*, Vol. 18, Nos 1–2 (1991), pp. 83–94.

future Europe is likely to be based on regions instead of nation-states, with the result that present-day international boundaries will progressively decline in significance.¹¹

But boundaries are not the issue, because nationalities do not necessarily need their own states in order to survive. Many stateless nationalities in Europe are divided between one or more states, such as the Basques and Catalans in Spain and France, the Frisians in The Netherlands and Germany, or the Macedonians in former Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Greece. While it is certainly true that separation by international boundaries makes it more difficult for stateless nationalities to function, some nevertheless can and do exist.

Somewhat related is the issue of the use or misuse of the Rusyn idea by neighboring states for their own political interests. It is true that in the past the Hungarian government promoted the idea of an Uhro-Rusyn nationality not for its own sake but as a step toward further magyarization. It is also true that some Polish officials felt that by promoting a Lemko identity they might weaken the Ukrainian movement and eventually assimilate Lemkos. Finally, it is true that Rusynism was intrinsically advantageous to interwar Czechoslovakia because the central Prague government felt that orientation would help to guarantee the loyalty of its eastern province, Subcarpathian Rus'. And it is also possible that in the last two years of their existence, Soviet state and Communist party organs were interested in promoting Rusynism because they assumed it would provide a convenient counterweight to what for them was the even greater danger of Ukrainian nationalism. But whether or not all the above may have been wholly or even partially true does not negate the value of Rusyn distinctiveness for the Rusyns themselves. All peoples have a right to their own identity, regardless whether the existence of such an identity may at certain times coincide with the interests of outside powers that have their own political agendas.

RUSYNS IN TRANSCARPATHIA

Turning to individual Rusyn communities, we begin with the largest one in Ukraine's Transcarpathian oblast (Subcarpathian Rus'). The reemergence of Rusynism in 1988–1990, whether in the form of an organization like the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns (Obshchestvo Karpats'kykh Rusynov) or in the writings of individual activists came as

¹¹ MAGOCSI, "The Revolution of 1989 and the National Minorities of East Central Europe." Several translations of this essay have appeared in Slovak: "Pätnást' minút slávy-a dost!": národnostné menšiny strednej a východnej Európy dnes a zajtra," Kultúrny život, Vol. 25, No. 312 (1991), p. 8; in Romanian: "Revoluțiile din 1989 și minoritățile naționale în Estrul și Centrul Europei," Tribuna, (June 27–July 3, 1991), pp. 9, 12 and in Hungarian: "1989 és Kelet-Közép-Európa nemzeti kisebbségei," Regio, Vol. 2, No. 2, pp. 98–107. A revised bi-lingual version appeared as *The End of the Nation-State?: The Revolution of 1989 and the Future of Europe/La fin de l'état-nation?: La Révolution de 1989 et le futur de l'Europe* (Kingston, Ontario, 1994).

somewhat of a surprise. It was a surprise because unlike other Rusyn-inhabited lands, Transcarpathia was since the onset of Soviet rule in 1945 basically closed off to the rest of the world. There was little, if any access to Transcarpathia's local press, so that what was known to the outside world came from books put out by state-owned publishing houses that did little more than describe the "road to happiness" (*shliakhom do shechastia*) under Soviet rule.¹² Part of the idyllic scenario included descriptions of how the nationality question was supposedly resolved forever. Virtually all western observers accepted Soviet rhetoric, and, therefore, the view that after World War II the only national orientation which proved to be enduring in Transcarpathia was the Ukrainian one. I, too, supported this view, as summed up in 1978 in the conclusion to a major study on the nationality question: "Although any one of the three (Russian, Ukrainian, or Rusyn national) orientations might have been implemented, because of the specific culture of the region and the demands of political reality, only the Ukrainian orientation proved to be enduring."¹³ It seemed, therefore, that Rusynism was to go the way of the dinosaur or, at best, be maintained within small and inconsequential immigrant communities like those in the Vojvodina of Yugoslavia and the United States.

But what is Rusynism in Transcarpathia? Is it a movement, or is it just the stirrings of a few individuals? We really do not know the answer to that question. We do know, however, that there has been much discussion about Rusyn distinctiveness and calls for Rusyn-language grammars, dictionaries, literary works, new histories, and encyclopedias. Some have even moved beyond cultural goals to demand changes in the political status of Transcarpathia, specifically the return of autonomy for historic Subcarpathian Rus'.¹⁴ Not surprisingly, there has been swift reaction from the local pro-Ukrainian intelligentsia. At best, they grudgingly accept the cultural aims of Rusyn spokespersons (what Ukrainians refer to as "ethnographic or cultural Rusynism"), but they are quick to reiterate that such aims must be conceived solely as regional activity among a branch of the Ukrainian people. As for Rusyn political aims, pro-Ukrainian observers dismiss these outright, considering them to be one or more of the following: (1) the machinations of the former KGB; (2) the efforts of pro-Hungarians or pro-Czechs to return Transcarpathia to its former "colonial status" within Hungary or Czechoslovakia; or (3) the result of interference from "wealthy capitalist" elements in the West, in particular among Rusyns in the United States and Canada. Thus, for Ukrainians, the acceptable phenomenon of "cultural Rusynism" (which they view as a regional component of Ukrainianism) is juxtaposed

¹² This idyllic phrase was used as the title of the first substantial historical survey published during Soviet rule, *Shliakhom do shechastia: narysy istorii Zakarpattia* (Uzhhorod, 1973), while a variant, "On the road to the October Revolution," was the title of a multi-volume collection of documents on the region: *Shliakhom Zhovtnia: zbirnyk dokumentiv* 6 vols. (Uzhhorod, 1957-67).

¹³ MAGOCSI, *Shaping of a Nationally Identity* p. 275.

¹⁴ On September 29, 1990, the executive committee of the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns in Uzhhorod ratified a "Declaration for the Return to the Transcarpathian Oblast the Status of an Autonomous Republic," which was published in the society's organ, *Otchyi khram* (September-October, 1990), pp. 1-2, and sent to Soviet president Mikhail GORBACHEV, to the Supreme Soviets of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR, and to the United Nations. For the text of the "Declaration" and a discussion of its impact on current Transcarpathian political life, see the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (1991), pp. 4-5.

with “political Rusynism,” a negative phenomenon that ostensibly threatens the unity (*sobornost*) of the Ukrainian state.¹⁵

The Rusyn movement in Transcarpathia is spearheaded by the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns that is based in Uzhhorod and that has seven branches throughout the oblast. Since its establishment in February 1990, the Society has not yet resolved the following dilemma. Its members realize that knowledge of Rusyn history, literature, and culture – that is, pride in being a Rusyn – is lacking in broad segments of Transcarpathia’s East Slavic population. They do not, however, know whether to resolve the dilemma by carrying out popular cultural and educational work, or by trying to change the political system first, after which governmental financial and administrative support would become available to help create in the populace a clear sense of a Rusyn national distinctiveness. A crucial aspect of cultural work, it is argued, would be the creation of a standard Rusyn literary language.¹⁶

Aside from publishing newspapers in Rusyn (*Otchyi khram* and later *Podkarpats’ka Rus’*) and the opening of a Rusyn Center at its branch in Mukachevo, the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns has been more concerned with political than with cultural activity. Its leaders participated in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting held in Moscow (September 1991), and they have met on numerous occasions with Czechoslovak government officials in Prague as well as with leaders of a few minor Czech political parties who openly called for the return of Subcarpathian Rus’ (Transcarpathia) to Czechoslovakia.¹⁷ Nonetheless, whatever sympathies with its western neighbor may have existed, that option was invalidated when Czechoslovakia ceased to exist on January 1, 1993. As for Transcarpathia’s new neighbor, independent Slovakia, there are no Slovak political parties or activists who express any sympathy with Rusyn political goals.

The Society of Carpatho-Rusyns, in cooperation with several other organizations representing Transcarpathia’s national minorities (Magyars, Germans, Romanians, Gypsies), was also the most adamant force demanding that a special question on Transcarpathian autonomy be placed on the referendum on Ukrainian independence that was held

¹⁵ The pro-Ukrainian view is stated most forcefully in Vasyľ MEENYK, “Neorusynstvo i ioho interpretatory,” *Zakarpats’ka pravda* (August 18, 21, 22, 24, 1990); Iurii BALEGA, “Rusynstvo: ideolohy i pokrovyteli,” *Zakarpats’ka pravda* (September 6, 7, 9, 1990); Oleksa MYSHANYCH, “To khto zhe vony?: do ideinykh vy-tokiv novith’oho ‘karpatorusynstva,’” *Literaturna Ukraïna* (January 17, 1991); Iurii BALEGA and Iosyf SIRKA, *Khto my ie i chyï my dity?: polemika z prof. P. R. Magochi* (Kiev, 1991); Mykola MUSHYNKA, *Politychny rusynizm na praktytsi: z pryvodu vystupu prof. Pavla Roberta Magochi* (Prešov, 1991); and Oleksa Myshanych, “Karpatorusynstvo,” *ioho dzherela i evoliutsiia u XX st.* (Kiev, 1992).

¹⁶ The cultural aims of the Rusyn movement are best elaborated in the three-part essay by Volodymyr Fedynyshynets, “Ia-Rusyn, mii syn-Rusyn...,” *Zakarpats’ka pravda* (August 14, 15, 16, 1990); in English translation: Volodymyr FEDYNYŠYNEC, *Our Peaceful Rusyn Way* (Prešov, 1992), pp. 92–105.

¹⁷ Contacts with Czech political and other public figures have been encouraged and assisted by the Society of Friends of Subcarpathian Rus’ (*Spole nost’ P átel Podkarpatské Rusi*), established in Prague in October 1990. The Republican party had as one of its goals – at least until the break-up of the country – the “return of Subcarpathian Rus’” to Czechoslovakia: “Zpût do Československa,” *Republika* (Oktober 18–24, 1990); “Rozhovor s pŕedsedou SPR-RSX, PhDr. Miroslavem SLÁDKEM,” *Republika* (August 1991). The National Socialist party also took the position that Czechoslovak jurisdiction still applied to Subcarpathian Rus’: “NSS chtûjí Podkarpatskou Rus,” *Lidová demokracie* (September 3, 1991).

on December 1, 1991. Despite strong protests from local pro-Ukrainian activists, a question was included in the referendum, although "self-rule" instead of autonomy was the choice given voters. In the end, 78 percent of Transcarpathia's inhabitants opted for self-rule, while at the same time 92 percent supported an independent Ukraine. Such results proved to be inconclusive, however, because it was unclear whether those favoring self-rule were supporting Rusyn national distinctiveness or simply regional self-determination within Ukraine. The referendum results may have been more conclusive had the original proposal of the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns been adopted; namely, to provide a question with two options: (1) a distinct autonomous republic: or (2) autonomy within Ukraine. It is interesting to note that the single question of self-rule instead of autonomy reflected a compromise suggested by the then leading and subsequently successful presidential candidate, Leonid KRAVCHUK, who travelled especially to Transcarpathia the week before the referendum. It was during his visit that Kravchuk stated publicly his own preference that Transcarpathia "should be given special status [in Ukraine] as a self-governing territory," as well as his belief that "there is a Rusyn nationality (*natsionalnist*) and a Rusyn people (*narod*)."¹⁸

For its part, the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns considers the results of the December 1 referendum as an expression of Rusyn national sentiment. The call for self-rule, however, is only the first step toward the eventual creation of an autonomous republic within Ukraine, complete independence, or perhaps re-unification with some neighboring state. To achieve these goals, the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns and the recently-founded Subcarpathian Republican party (established in early 1992) called on Czechoslovakia to annul the June 1945 treaty with the former Soviet Union which recognized the cessation of Transcarpathia to the Ukrainian S. S. R. Instead they have proposed that a plebiscite under international supervision be held in Transcarpathia in order that the population might for "the first time freely decide its fate."¹⁹ In the spring of 1993, the Society's leaders created a Provisional Government of Subcarpathian Rus', which proclaimed the existence of a republic that wished to join on the basis of autonomy – and this time legally – a federal Ukrainian state. The Ukrainian government has stalled on the question of autonomy, in part, fearing another Crimean problem. It remains to be seen whether the populace of Transcarpathia will be satisfied with the status proposed by Kiev or whether they will favor one of the options proposed by the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns and the Subcarpathian Republican party.²⁰

The Ukrainian government in Kiev is also faced with a dilemma. In a genuine effort to address the concern of its multinational population, all national minorities – whether Russians, Poles, Jews, Germans, and Romanians among others – have been given legal guarantees that protect their languages and cultures. Rusyns, however, do not fall into the

¹⁸ From the stenographic record of a meeting with regional parliamentary deputies in Transcarpathia, cited in *Podkarpats'ka Rus'* (June 19, 1992), p. 1.

¹⁹ See the declaration of the scholarly seminar organized in May 1992 by the Rusyn Renaissance Society in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture of Slovakia, the Slovak Academy of Sciences, and the *Matice Slovenska: Narodný novynký* (May 20, 1992); and the "Prohrama Podkarpats'koï Respublikans'koï partii," *Respublika* (June 10, 1992), pp. 1–2.

²⁰ "Zakon Ukraïny 'pro samovriadne Zakarpattia,'" *Karpats'ka Ukraïna* (February 20, 1992), p. 2.

category of a national minority. In fact, the Ukrainian press and influential leaders within and outside the government (Dmytro PAVLYCHKO, Ivan DRACH, Mykhailo HRYN, Roman LUBKIVS'KYI) have without exception criticized Rusynism as little more than an artificial construct whose propagators are considered at best "unenlightened" and at worst "treacherous" to the Ukrainian nation. The local Greek Catholic Eparchy of Mukachevo has, in particular, been accused of "separatism" and "acting against the interests of Ukraine," because it wishes to retain its historic jurisdictional status under the Vatican and not be part of the Greek Catholic Church in the rest of western Ukraine.²¹

In theory, there is no reason why Rusyns could not be accepted as a distinct national minority and yet, at the same time, remain loyal citizens of a multinational Ukrainian state. For this to happen, however, long-standing Ukrainian attitudes about the concept of Rusynism would have to change. Based on the seemingly unending polemics from supporters of both the Rusyn and Ukrainian viewpoints, there is little to suggest that such change is in the immediate offing.

THE RUSYNS OF SLOVAKIA

In contrast to Transcarpathia, the rebirth of Rusynism in the Prešov Region of Slovakia did not come as a complete surprise. First of all, the Ukrainian orientation never had the strong roots that it did in 'Subcarpathian Rus' (Transcarpathia) during the inter-war years, and it was not imposed on the population of the Prešov Region until as late as 1951–1952. Moreover, during the few months of the Prague Spring in 1968, when censorship was lifted, numerous people in the Prešov Region called for an end to the Ukrainian orientation and for the return of Rusyn schools as well as the establishment of a Rusyn National Council. While it is true that these efforts, like other attempts to establish "socialism with a human face," were brutally crushed by Soviet tanks and that Rusynism was branded as "anti-progressive," "anti-Soviet," and therefore counter-revolutionary, it seems that the Rusyn idea did not die in the Prešov Region. It simply lay dormant until the Revolution of 1989.²²

What was perhaps surprising was the speed with which the Prešov Region's Rusyns and Ukrainians reacted in 1989. Within one week of the November 17 revolution, a new initiative group met in Prešov to demand greater democratization for Rusyns in Slovakia. Two months later, the Cultural Union of Ukrainian Workers (KSUT), a civic organization which had been created by Czechoslovakia's Communist government in 1952, was disbanded and replaced by the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainian of Czechoslovakia–SRUCH. But when some Rusyns felt their demands were not being met by SRUCH, in March 1990 they established their own organization in Medzilaborce, the Rusyn Renaissance Society (Rusyns'ka Obroda).

²¹ Karpats'ka Ukraïna (July 9, 1992).

²² On the impact of 1968 and subsequent developments before 1989, see Pavel MAČU, "National Assimilation: The Case of the Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia," *East Central Europe* Vol. 2, No. 2 (1975), pp. 101–32.

Both the pro-Ukrainian SRUCH and the pro-Rusyn Renaissance Society agreed that the greatest tragedy experienced by Rusyns in the Prešov Region was their slovakization. Both orientations also agreed that all efforts must be undertaken to reverse slovakization and to restore an awareness among the local population that they belong to an East Slavic Rus' culture. The two orientations disagreed, however, about the causes and ways to resist further national assimilation. The pro-Ukrainian SRUCH considers assimilation the result of: (1) pressure from the former Communist government in Slovakia, including veiled threats of deportation to Ukraine; (2) the unwise manner in which ukrainianization was forcibly – they say “administratively” – introduced in the early 1950s; and (3) the lack of commitment on the part of the local population toward their national identity and/or the incompetence of Ukrainian-language teachers.²³ In part, the pro-Rusyn Renaissance Society agrees with this explanation, but then asks why the Ukrainian orientation was such a failure after thirty years of strong support from a Czechoslovak Communist government that provided generous budgets for a Ukrainian-language theater, a university department and research institute, elementary and secondary schools, radio program, museum, newspapers, journals, publishing house, and other cultural organizations?

Czechoslovak authorities and non-governmental observers also asked about the results from such an investment that funded so many institutions and cultural activists. On the one hand, there have been some remarkably positive achievements, especially with regard to publications like the first-rate scholarly journal (*Naukovyi zbirnyk*) of the Museum of Ukrainian Culture. Moreover, cultural institutions like the Dukla Ukrainian Song and Dance Ensemble have given a certain renown to the group and to Czechoslovakia as a result of its several tours throughout Europe and North America.

But when it comes to the Rusyn population in general – as the Rusyn Renaissance Society suggests – all the arguments and justifications to the contrary cannot erase the reality of a Ukrainian orientation which after three decades has brought catastrophic results. For instance, during the interwar first Czechoslovak republic, there were over 91,000 inhabitants in the Prešov Region who declared themselves to be of Rusyn nationality (1930). Even under the supposedly oppressive and assimilationist Hungarian regime before World War I, more than 111,000 inhabitants in the Prešov Region declared their language to be Rusyn (1910). After 1952, however, when a Ukrainian orientation was introduced, the numbers steadily declined, so that by the census of 1980 there were less than 40,000 inhabitants who were willing to identify as Ukrainian. This figure represented less than one-third the estimated 130,000 persons of Rusyn background who actually inhabit the Prešov Region.²⁴

The prognosis for the future is even worse, because the all-important educational system, which is a primary means of preserving national cultures, is virtually non-existent. In 1947/1948, the last school year before a Ukrainian orientation began to be introduced, there were 272 elementary schools in Rusyn villages and 5 *gymnasias* in

²³ Anna KUZ'MIAK, “Polipshyt'sia stan natsional'noho shkil'nytstva?,” *Nove zhyttia* (October 19, 1990), pp. 7–8.

²⁴ A discussion of Rusyn nationality estimates is found in MAGOCSI, *The Rusyn-Ukrainians of Czechoslovakia: A Historical Survey* (Vienna, 1983), p. 64, n. 91.

nearby towns with a total of 22,000 students. Since that time the number of Ukrainian schools steadily declined, so that by 1990/1991 there remained only 15 elementary schools where some subjects were taught in Ukrainian to a total student body of only 908!²⁵

These developments, which have correctly been categorized as catastrophic from the standpoint of preserving an East Slavic Rusyn identity, are not the result of forced slovakization on the part of former governmental authorities (although it is likely that many Slovaks, especially in Eastern Slovakia, were not upset by the results). Nor are they the result of the administrative introduction of ukrainianization, or the lack of national awareness on the part of the population. They are the result of actions by the Rusyns themselves, who under a Stalinist regime spoke out in the only way they could. They did not want to be called Ukrainians and did not want to have Ukrainian-language schools. If, they concluded, they were not permitted to have their own Rusyn identity and schools as they had had before, then they would prefer to have a Slovak identity and Slovak schools instead. Such action was not the mark of a lack of national consciousness. Rather, it reflected a clear awareness of what one was – and also what one did not want to be. While it may seem paradoxical, the solution proposed since 1990 by supporters of the pro-Ukrainian SRUCh organizations has been to demand that more Ukrainian be taught in schools and to argue that the Rusyns of Slovakia should find their salvation by identifying with a newly-independent Ukrainian state in the east.²⁶

The new realities set in motion in 1989 and the implementation of democratic changes in Czechoslovakia forced the Prešov Region's pro-Ukrainian leadership to alter its views on the nationality question. They began to argue that the name Rusyn is acceptable and that the literary Ukrainian language used in their publications should employ more words from the local dialects. This proved to be at best a semantic compromise. Hence, while the name Rusyn might be used, it should only appear in the hyphenated form, Rusyn-Ukrainian. In short, the name Rusyn must be understood as a synonym for Ukrainian.

While still in the wake of euphoria from the November 1989 revolution, one of the Prešov Region's most active Ukrainian spokespersons and a primary defender of the hyphenated name *Rusyn-Ukrainian* revealed quite openly the real intentions of the Ukrainian orientation by using a classic Leninist image to make his point: "Sometimes it happens that in order to make two steps forward, it is necessary to take one step backwards. And we have taken this one step backwards... In the given circumstances we have moved from a purely Ukrainian position to a Rusyn-Ukrainian position. We had to do this, because if we would distance ourselves from popular (not political) Rusynism, we would simply lose what little we have. I would say that if there will be a group of Rusyns who want to be Rusyns and not Slovaks, then in ten years they, too, will sing (the

²⁵ Ivan VANAT, Mykhailo RYCHALKA, and Andrii CHUMA, *Do pytan' pisliavoiennoho rozvytku, suchasnoho stanu ta perspektyv ukrains'koho shkilnytstva v Slovacchyni* (Prešov, 1992), p. 13.

²⁶ See the 15-point declaration of the pro-Ukrainian intelligentsia in Czecho-Slovakia: "Stavlennia rus'-ko-ukrains'koï inteligentsii Chekho-Slovacchyny do suchasnykh protsesiv nashoho kul'turno-natsional'noho zhyttia," *Nove zhyttia* (December 21, 1990), p. 3.

Ukrainian national anthem) 'Ukraine Has not Yet Perished'; that is they will have become convinced Ukrainians."²⁷ Such statements remind Rusyn supporters of the attitude of Bulgarian chauvinists who occupied Macedonia during World War II: "You Macedonians are our Bulgarian brothers, even though you might not be fully aware of the fact, but you are backward and ignorant and must obey us, your elder and wiser brothers, without hesitation or question, until you learn to behave correctly, as proper Bulgarians."²⁸

In many ways, the Rusyn movement in Slovakia has been more successful than in neighboring Ukraine and Poland. First, it succeeded in getting a section of SRUCH's Ukrainian-language weekly newspaper, *Nove zhyttia*, to appear in Rusyn under the rubric, "Voice of the Rusyns" (*Holos rusyniv*). Then, in early 1991, when differences of opinion regarding the national orientation of *Nove zhyttia* could no longer be rectified, the editor-in-chief Aleksander Zozuliak and most of his staff resigned. Within a few months they joined forces with the Rusyn Renaissance Society and started a new newspaper (*Narodný novynký*) and illustrated magazine (*Rusyn*) published entirely in Rusyn. At the same time, the Ukrainian National Theater (established in 1945) changed its name to the Aleksander Dukhnovych Theater and the language of its productions became Rusyn instead of Ukrainian. Even the newly-established Museum of Modern Art in Medzilaborce, supported by the Andy Warhol Foundation in New York City, opened its doors in the summer of 1991 with emphasis on the Rusyn roots of the famous American pop artist and media figure whose prints and paintings now adorn the walls of what might otherwise have been a largely unnoticed provincial museum. The Rusyn Renaissance Society also lobbied successfully to have the name Rusyn added and recorded as a category distinct from Ukrainian in the 1991 decennial census. This latter achievement effectively meant that Rusyns were *de facto* if not *de jure* recognized as a distinct national minority in Czechoslovakia.²⁹

Perhaps the greatest symbolic achievement of the Rusyn movement in Slovakia was the decision of the Rusyn Renaissance Society to hold the First World Congress of Rusyns. It took place in March 1991 in the town of Medzilaborce in the new and grandiose cultural center which subsequently became the home of the Warhol Museum of Modern Art. Despite a history of interaction between Rusyns in the homeland and the immigrant community in the United States during the twentieth century, this was, in fact, the first time representatives from all countries where Rusyns live (Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, the United States) gathered together in one place. The congress constituted itself as a permanent umbrella organization, and its very existence had an enormous impact on instilling Rusyn national pride in the over 300 persons who at-

²⁷ Interview with Mykola MUŠYNKA, head of the Ukrainian Research Institute at Šafárik University in Prešov, following the founding Congress of the Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians in Czechoslovakia-SRUCH, cited in *Družno vpered*, No. 4 (1990), p. 2.

²⁸ Cited in Horace G. LUNT, "Some Linguistic Aspects of Macedonian and Bulgarian," in *Language and Literary Theory: In Honor of Ladislav Matejka*, ed. by Benjamin A. Stolz, et. al. (Ann Arbor, 1984), p. 112.

²⁹ The total number of East Slavs recorded in 1991 in the Prešov Region was 32408, divided into 16,937 Rusyns; 13,847 Ukrainians; and 1624 Russians. Preliminary Results of the Population and Housing Census: Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, March 3, 1991 (Prague, 1991), pp. 30–31.

tended, not to mention innumerable others who read about it through the generally wide-spread press coverage.³⁰

At present, the Rusyn and Ukrainian movements in the Prešov Region continue their rivalry to obtain the support of their East Slavic constituency and, in particular, funding from the Slovak government. Current government policy is to provide equal support to both Rusyn and Ukrainian orientations, and it remains to be seen which of the two will be more successful in its efforts to convince the people that they are either a distinct East Slavic nationality known as Rusyns or a branch of the Ukrainian nationality known as Rusyn-Ukrainians.

THE LEMKO-RUSYN QUESTION

Just north of the Prešov Region and beyond the crests of the Carpathian Mountains is the Lemko Region of Poland where even before the Revolution of 1989 a revival on behalf of Rusyn national specificity had begun. The Lemkos were unique among Rusyns in that they were deported (voluntarily and then forcibly) from their Carpathian villages between 1945 and 1947. Two-thirds went eastward to the Soviet Ukraine, the rest were resettled in the southwest (Silesia) and northwest (Pomerania) of Poland on territory that had formerly been part of Germany. Even when living in the Carpathians, the Lemkos were cut off from their Rusyn brethren in Slovakia and Transcarpathia by geographic and, in the twentieth century, by political borders. Nonetheless, ever since the first national revival in the late nineteenth century, Lemko writers and political activists always emphasized their cultural affinity with all the East Slavs of Rus', and in particular with the Rusyns living along the southern slopes of the Carpathians in the Prešov Region of Slovakia and Transcarpathia.³¹ It is not surprising, therefore, that Lemkos welcomed the revival of a Rusyn national orientation that took place in Slovakia and Ukraine's Transcarpathia after 1989.

The Lemkos had embarked on their own path of national rediscovery already in the mid-1980s, when a group of younger writers, who had already published a few collections of poetry in Lemko-Rusyn vernacular, established an annual cultural festival called the Vatra. As in the Prešov Region and in Transcarpathia, these young activists were criticized from the beginning by Ukrainian-oriented Lemkos and by Ukrainians in Poland. They prevailed, however, and in early 1989, established a cultural organization, the Lemko Association (*Stovaryshchia Lemkiv*) as well as a Rusyn-language magazine (*Besida*).³² The situation in Poland is somewhat similar to Slovakia in that the Rusyn orientation is headed primarily by younger people born and raised after World War II,

³⁰ Information on the First World Congress as well as its official declaration are found in the *Carpatho-Rusyn American*, Vol. 14, Nos 2–3 (1991), pp. 7–9.

³¹ The sense of affinity was further emphasized by the name "Rusnak," which Lemkos invariably called themselves until the introduction of the new name "Lemko" in the first decades of the twentieth century.

³² For details on the recent Lemko-Rusyn national revival, see the series of articles in the *Carpatho-Rusyn America* Vol 10, Nos 1–4 and Vol. 11, No. 1 (1987–88).

while the Ukrainian orientation is represented by older activists born before the war and who, in 1990, founded their own Union of Lemkos (*Ob'iednannia Lemkiv*).

Just as the threat of national assimilation affects Rusyns in Slovakia, so, too – but in the form of polonization – does it have serious implications for Lemkos in Poland. Similarly, Ukrainians as well as Ukrainian-oriented Lemkos in Poland and Ukraine use the same arguments: support of Lemko-Rusyn distinctiveness (they call it “separatism”) will ostensibly lead to further polonization.³³ Also as in Slovakia, the Ukrainian orientation in Poland has had more than thirty years to transform Lemkos into Ukrainians. Yet neither has Ukrainianization occurred nor has the trend toward polonization been halted. Finally, and again like Rusyns in the Prešov Region, the Lemkos have been at work trying to standardize a literary language. This, of course, raises a very practical side of the language question. Should each group of Rusyns create its own literary language, or should an effort be made to create a single standard for all Rusyns regardless of where they live?

LANGUAGE AND IDENTITY

Because languages have such powerful symbolic value as the embodiment of national cultures as well as the instrument by which those cultures are preserved for future generations, it is not surprising that the question of a literary standard has been raised in the publications and proclamations of virtually every new Rusyn organization founded since 1990. The only exception is the small group of Rusyns in former Yugoslavia, who already have a sociologically complete literary language that dates back to the 1920s and that since World War II has been recognized as an official medium in schools and public life.³⁴

In order to resolve the thorny issue of how to create a literary standard from among several dialects spoken by Rusyns in five countries, the Rusyn Renaissance Society in Slovakia, in cooperation with the Carpatho-Rusyn Research Center in the United States, convened a working seminar, or language congress, in November 1992. Journalists, writers, amateur grammarians, and scholars from all countries where Rusyns live agreed at the language congress on the principles and mode of action in language building.³⁵ The participants accepted the territorial principle adopted by the Romansch of Switzerland;

³³ The most prolific Lemko spokesperson for the Ukrainian viewpoint is Ivan Krasovs'kyi, who emigrated to Ukraine in 1945. See his recent volume, co-authored with Dmytro Solynko, *Khto my, Lemky...* (L'viv, 1991).

³⁴ The standard Vojvodinian or Bačka Rusyn grammars are by Havriil KOSTELNIK (1923) and Mikola KOCHISH (1971 and 1977). This fourth East Slavic language, as Vojvodinian Rusyn is known, has in recent years been the subject of intense scrutiny among Slavists worldwide, including Sven GUSTAVSSON (Uppsala, Sweden), Aleksander DULIŠENKO (Tartu, Estonia), Henrik BIRNBAUM (Los Angeles, California), Horace G. LUNT (Cambridge, Massachusetts), and Jiří MARVAN (Melbourne, Australia).

³⁵ The Rusyn language congress, which received wide coverage in the Slovak media, also included speakers representing the Romansch in Switzerland and the Monégasques of Monaco. For details, see the entire issue of *Rusyn*, Vol. 2, Nos 5–6 (1992) and MAGOCSI, “Scholarly Seminar on the Codification of the Rusyn Language,” *Österreichische Osthefte*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1993), pp. 186–88.

namely, that Rusyns in each region would: (1) create their own standard based on the region's main dialect; (2) use each of the new standards in publications and in schools; and (3) meet regularly to work on a single Carpatho-Rusyn standard, or *koiné*, for all regions. Since the Yugoslav Rusyns already have a literary standard, three others are to be created for Transcarpathia (Ukraine), the Prešov Region (Slovakia), and the Lemko Region (Poland).³⁶ In fact, language practitioners in each region have already prepared preliminary versions of grammars³⁷ and have used the local vernacular in newspapers. To coordinate the work of the codifiers, a Rusyn Language Institute was created in Prešov, Slovakia in January 1993.

THE RUSYNS OF YUGOSLAVIA

In terms of a literary language as well as an organizational infrastructure for a Rusyn national life, the Vojvodinian or Bačka-Srem Rusyns of Yugoslavia are – or were until quite recently – in the best situation. This is because the former Yugoslav government recognized them as a distinct nationality after World War II. Together with such favorable external support, their own intelligentsia created a whole host of schools, cultural organizations, publications, and media programs – all in the Vojvodinian variant of Rusyn. The language has been particularly well developed, and besides the works of local novelists and poets, there are Vojvodinian Rusyn texts that range from the Bible, Shakespeare, and Pushkin to Marx and Engels. All of this was created for what today number less than 30,000 people. Clearly the Vojvodinian Rusyns are an outstanding, if not unique, example of what can be done if the ruling authorities are favorably inclined and if the local intelligentsia is willing to work effectively.³⁸

Although it might seem that the nationality question has been resolved in favor of a Rusyn orientation, a closer look suggests that some spokespersons in Yugoslavia are uncomfortable with the idea that Rusyns form a nationality entirely unto themselves. These people basically consider Yugoslavia's Rusyns to be part of the Ukrainian nationality, even though they are reluctant to call their people other than Rusyn (in local parlance, *Rusnak/Rusnatsi*) or to use a literary language other than their own standard, for fear that they would lose the support of the ordinary masses who seem quite content with being Rusyn and nothing else.

Considering the fact that Rusyns have been able to maintain their own language and identity in Yugoslavia, it may seem difficult to understand why the Ukrainian orientation has gained some adherents. In part, the attraction of the Ukrainian orientation is a reac-

³⁶ Rusyn from Hungary also participated in the congress, but agreed to use in their publications the same standard adopted for Slovakia's Prešov Region.

³⁷ These include for the Lemko Region: Myroslava Khomiak, *Grammatýka lemktivskoho iazyka* and *Lemkivska grammatýka dla dity* for the Prešov Region: Iurii Pan'ko, *Normý rusyns'koho pravopysu* and for Transcarpathia: Ihor KERCHA and Vasyl SOCHKA-BORZHAVYN, *Rusyn'skiyi iazyk: ocherk kompleksnoi praktychnoi gramatyk*.

³⁸ There is an extensive literature on the Vojvodinian Rusyns. Cf. Vida ZAREMSKI, et al., *Bibliografiia Rusnatsokh u Iugoslavii* (Novi Sad, 1989).

tion to the fear of national assimilation that is inevitable for a people so small in number, regardless of the support they might receive from the state. Thus, local Ukrainophiles argue that Vojvodinian Rusyns would not assimilate to Serbian or Croatian culture if they could be taught to identify as Ukrainians and associate with a culture that is larger and, therefore, ostensibly more attractive than their own.

The existence of a Ukrainian orientation among the Vojvodinian Rusyns is also, in part, a result of the peculiar legal norms adopted by the former federal Yugoslav state. Despite their small number, the Rusyns were designated in 1974 one of the five official nationalities in Serbia's autonomous province of Vojvodina. Yugoslav law required, however, that a nationality could be considered as such only if it had a recognized "motherland" somewhere else beyond the borders of Yugoslavia. Since at the time there was no Rusyn state or officially recognized Rusyn nationality elsewhere, the motherland (*matichna zem*) of the Vojvodinian Rusyns became, by default, Ukraine – even though in actual fact most of the ancestors of the group did not come from Ukraine (Transcarpathia) but rather from what is today southeastern Slovakia.

In the wake of the Revolution of 1989 and the Rusyn national revival in the Carpathian homeland, the Vojvodinian Rusyns began to feel they could legitimately justify their own existence without reference to Ukraine but rather to a Rusyn nationality that was gradually coming to be recognized in Slovakia, Poland, and perhaps eventually in Ukraine as well. It was in large part these new post-1989 realities in the Carpathian homeland that encouraged the Vojvodinian Rusyns to revive an older organization, the Rusyn Matka Society (Ruska Matka), which came into existence the same year (1990) as the pro-Ukrainian Union of Rusyn-Ukrainians in Yugoslavia (Soiuz Rusinokh i Ukrainotskh Iugoslavii).³⁹ The increasing differentiation between the Rusyn and Ukrainian orientations among Vojvodina's Rusyns also became evident in the Department of Rusyn Language and Literature (established in 1975) at the University of Novi Sad, which includes scholars of both persuasions. On the other hand, the two existing Rusyn secondary schools (*gymnasium* and pedagogical institute) offer instruction exclusively in the Vojvodinian variant of Rusyn, and they remain a stronghold for producing new cadres of young people who are conscious of their distinct national identity.

The internal debates among this smallest group of Rusyns have been overshadowed, however, by the more recent unfortunate turn of events in Yugoslavia. Effectively, the Rusyns in former Yugoslavia are since 1991 divided by the boundaries of two states: Serbia (which includes the Vojvodina) and Croatia (the far eastern part of which includes the second Rusyn cultural center of Vukovar, virtually levelled in 1991 during Yugoslavia's civil war). Whether the new governments of Serbia and Croatia will be as supportive of national minorities as was the old federal state of Yugoslavia remains an open question, the answer to which will clearly have a profound impact on this smallest of Rusyn minorities.

³⁹ It was the head of the Rusyn Matka society who first began to question the need for a "Ukrainian motherland." See the conceptual/ideological statement of the Rusyn Matka Society by Liubomir MEDIESHI, "Programski osnov za dištvovanie Ruskei Matki," *Ruske slovo* (December 21–28, 1990), *dodatok*.

CONCLUSION: IS THERE A RUSYN NATIONALITY?

Having reviewed briefly the Rusyn movement in four countries, are there any common features that can be discerned? There are, indeed, several. We have seen that since 1989 each region has both pro-Rusyn and pro-Ukrainian orientations. But who are the individuals who have set the ideological tone for those orientations? Regardless of orientation, they comprise mostly university and *gymnasium* teachers, journalists, writers, and activists in cultural organizations, in particular the theater.

There is a difference, however, in the age and therefore attitude among the activists of each orientation. Most of the pro-Ukrainian activists are in the 55 to 65 year-old range, born before World War II.⁴⁰ As young adults, they experienced the worst years of Stalinist repression as well as the forced change to a Ukrainian national identity. The authoritarian nature of the environment in which they were formed also inculcated in them the belief that decisions about social policy are best made by an educated elite who has access to “truths,” historic or otherwise, that should subsequently be followed by the populace as a whole.

In contrast, the leading pro-Rusyn activists are mostly between 35 and 50 years old, that is they were born during or after World War II and acculturated for the most part during the 1970s and 1980s.⁴¹ That was a time when Communist rule had lost its authoritarian edge and when at least the inhabitants of Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia were exposed to more liberal influences from western Europe. It is also useful to note that almost all Rusyn activists were educated in Ukrainian schools and had accepted, passively if not actively, a Ukrainian national identity. Therefore, they had to “rediscover” their Rusyn roots. The point is that they became conscious Rusyns only after having known fully what it meant to be Ukrainian.

Partly reflective of the age differentiation is the fact that pro-Ukrainian civic and academic institutions, in particular in Transcarpathia and the Prešov Region, are still headed by individuals who held the same or similar positions during the pre-1989 Communist era. As for the pro-Rusyns, they were either too young to be part of the pre-1989 system or they held positions that were of no particular influence. Thus, in some ways, the Rusyn-Ukrainian dichotomy can be seen as a generational struggle between “fathers and sons” in which the older Ukrainian generation – and therefore orientation – is accused by its rivals, sometimes with justification, of being tainted by its “Communist” past.⁴²

⁴⁰ Biographical data on pro-Ukrainian activists in Transcarpathia and the Prešov Region are found in *Pys'mennyky Zakarpattia: biobibliografichnyi dovidnyk* (Uzhhorod, 1989) and “Avtory zhurnalu ‘Duklia,’” *Duklia*, Vol. 26, No. 1 (1978), pp. 57–79.

⁴¹ Of 10 members in the executive of the Lemko Association in Poland, 9 were born after 1942; of 10 executive members in the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns in Uzhhorod, 5 were born after 1942. The founding chairmen of the five new Rusyn organizations established in 1991–1992 were all in their thirties. See the biographies in “I Kongres Stovaryshnia Lemkiv,” *Besida*, Vol. 2, Nos 3–4 (1990), pp. 8–9 and “The Society of Carpatho-Rusyns,” *Carpatho-Rusyn American* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1992), pp. 4–5.

⁴² It is ironic that the founding chairman of the Society of Carpatho-Rusyns in Uzhhorod, Mykhailo M. TOMCHANI (b. 1946), and the founding chairman of the Initiative Group for the Remoulding of Czechoslovakia's Rusyn-Ukrainians, Aleksander ZOZULIAK (b. 1953), are the sons of the leading post-World War II Ukrainian-language writers respectively in Transcarpathia and the Prešov Region: Mykhailo I. TOMCHANI and Vasyli ZOZULIAK.

Another characteristic related in part to age is the intellectual basis of each orientation. The Ukrainian orientation has an established body of literature explaining how Rusyns gradually developed into Ukrainians in the course of the twentieth century. Those views, moreover, generally predominate in departments that specialize in the local language and ethnography at Prešov's Šafárik University in Slovakia and at the University of Uzhhorod in Ukraine.⁴³ In contrast, the Rusyn orientation was initially comprised of youthful enthusiasts whose demands for publications about Rusyns or for the creation of a Rusyn literary language were often little more than idealistic desires well beyond the intellectual resources of the group. That situation has just gradually begun to change with the recent creation of an Institute for Carpathian Studies (Instytut Karpatyky) at the University of Uzhhorod, a Rusyn Language Institute in Prešov, and a Department of Ukrainian and Rusyn Philology in Nyíregyháza (Hungary), all of which are staffed by academics sympathetic to the Rusyn orientation.⁴⁴ Scholarship and cultural activities were also the primary themes at the Second World Congress of Rusyns that took place in May 1993 in Krynica, Poland, and where specific proposals were made for closer coordination between Rusyn scholarly institutions and publications in all countries where they live.⁴⁵

Finally, we may return to the question posed at the outset of this chapter: are Rusyns a separate people or simply a branch of Ukrainians? At present, we still do not have an answer. All we do know is that there is a nation-building process taking place. Many of the classic building blocks needed to create a nationality-language, historical ideology, publications, cultural organizations, theaters – are indeed being developed. But whether those building blocks will be fully constructed, and whether the countries in which Rusyns live will remain sympathetic to such efforts,⁴⁶ and, most importantly, whether the masses themselves will embrace the idea of a distinct Rusyn nationality remain open questions.

⁴³ Among the pro-Ukrainian scholars at these institutions, all of whom have spoken out adamantly against the Rusyn orientation in newspaper articles and brochures are Iurii BACHA, Fedir KOVACH, Iurii MULYCHAK, Mykola MUSHYNKA, Mykola SHTETS', and Ivan VANAT in Prešov, and Iurii BALEGA, Pavlo CHUCHKA, Vasyf HANCHYN, and Mykhailo TIVODAR in Uzhhorod, joined by Academician Oleksa MYSHANYCH from Kiev.

⁴⁴ The Uzhhorod institute is headed by Dr. Ivan POP, former editor of the prestigious Moscow journal, *Slavianovedenie*; the Prešov institute by Dr. Iurii PAN'KO; and the Nyíregyháza department by Dr. István UDVARI.

⁴⁵ "Postanova z II. Svitovoho kongresu rusyniv u Krynitsi," *Narodno novynky* (June 2, 1993), p. 3.

⁴⁶ On the legal status of Rusyns in each of the countries where they live, see MAGOCSI, "Carpatho-Rusyns: Their Current Status," in *Minorities in Politics: Cultural and Languages Rights Bratislava Symposium II*, ed. by Jana PLICHTOVÁ (Bratislava, 1992), pp. 212–27, also in Slovak translation with commentaries by Ľudovít HARAKSIM, Mykola MUŠYNKA, and Andrzej ŻIŻBA in *Slovensky národopis*, Vol. 90, Nos 2–3 (1992), pp. 183–204, 317–22.

RELIGION – IDENTITY – ASSIMILATION

Gábor BARNA

Department of Ethnology of József Attila University
H-6722 Szeged, Egyetem u. 2, Hungary

In this essay I shall deal with the connections and changing relationship between religion, nation, language and individual and community identity. I would like to present the findings of my research on a single small community but perhaps the conclusions that can be drawn from them also have a wider validity.

In the last decade in Hungary too there has been an increase within ethnology research in investigations examining the link between religion and national consciousness. These studies have shown, mainly for linguistically and ethnically mixed regions, that religion, ethnic identity, language and sense of national belonging play a mutually reinforcing role.¹ On the other hand, they have also drawn attention to areas where the close, mutually reinforcing link between religion and language has ceased to exist. Religion became the most important expression of group identity, but the distinguishing role of language and ethnicity and, parallel with these, of the differing culture, has shrunk to a minimum. We consider the role occupied by religion in the structure of identity to be the characteristic of a more traditional cultural level in which there is less scope for the national and ethnic components. This important role of religion changed after the emergence of the bourgeois nation, but even in the changed and highly secularised circumstances of the 20th century has not entirely disappeared. Hungarian ethnology uses the notion of “csángóisation” to designate this process, that is, it describes the phenomenon through the analogy of the social processes occurring within the Hungarian ethnic group living in Moldavia, in the region between the Carpathians and the Seret/Dnieper Rivers. One of the essential features of this is the loss of the mother tongue and abandonment of the Hungarian ethnic identity, but strong attachment to the religion (Roman Catholic). (The surrounding Romanians are all Orthodox.) Religion has become the most important expression of collective and individual identity, while the structure of the identity and the links between its other components (ethnicity, language, culture) have changed radically.²

The link between religion and ethnicity can in cases be so strong that it produces stereotypes and in the general awareness *Poles are Catholics, Finns are Lutherans, the Russians are Orthodox* and the *Hungarians are Calvinists*. And although the links be-

¹ BARTHA 1984, 1987; NIEDERMÜLLER 1985; MOLNÁR 1990.

² MAGYAR 1994; MURÁDIN 1994; SZABÓ T. 1994. See also: GAZDA 1993.

tween religions and ethnic groups are rarely so clear-cut, these stereotypes in many respects serve as a correct guide. This is true even in the case of Hungarians, even though only around one quarter of the people speaking Hungarian are Calvinists and more than two-thirds are Roman Catholic. However, approached from the angle of social history and in regions with a mixed ethnic population, this classification is justified and true.³

During the Reformation the greater part of the population of the Kingdom of Hungary followed Protestantism on an ethnic basis: the Germans in Hungary became Lutherans and the Hungarians embraced the Calvinist Reformation. The Calvinists played a big role in creating a network of primary, secondary and higher schools where the teaching was in the national language, that is, Hungarian, and through these schools they also shaped public thinking. The centuries of resistance against Islam and above all against the Catholic Habsburg House and the aspirations for independence in the 16th to 18th centuries for a long while were decisive in Hungarian public thinking and the approach to history. Protestantism also played a political role. It was in this way that the *Calvinist religion became the Hungarian religion*. Despite the strong Catholic restoration and the gradual emergence of a Roman Catholic majority, this role and interpretation of history have remained determining in Hungarian public thinking right up to the present.

In this short essay I would like to present the findings of my research in a few villages of what was once Abaúj County and is now the district of Košice (Kassa) in Slovakia. These settlements (their Hungarian names are: Magyarböd, Petőszinye, Györke and Beszter) were, and still are, in a fringe situation as regards both language and religion since from the 19th century the settlements to the north of them were Slovak-speaking and (largely) Roman Catholic or Lutheran.⁴ (I shall not refer here to the question of the Slovak Calvinists of the area; I have already written about this earlier.⁵) At present this group of villages lying along the 45th parallel still represents the northernmost group of Hungarians living in the Carpathian Basin – if this area can still be regarded as Hungarian.

Censuses and statistics that have survived from the late 18th century on show that the Calvinist religion and the Hungarian language were dominant in these villages, although they also indicate the existence of a Roman Catholic and Slovak-speaking minority in the villages of Petőszinye and Beszter.⁶ The villages are small. Magyarböd, the largest, had a population of 500 in the mid-19th century and 1065 in 1970; Györke had 460 and 256 inhabitants respectively, Petőszinye had 630 and 933 and Beszter had 400 and 486.⁷ Up to the 20th century each village had only a Calvinist parochial church; a Roman Catholic church was found only in Beszter. The Catholic church in Petőszinye was not built until after the Second World War. Each of the settlements is of an agrarian

³ Cf.: KÓSA 1993: 14–20.

⁴ FÉNYES 1851: I/163 (Magyarböd), I/73 (Györke), I/127 (Beszter), II/137 (Petőszinye); VARSIK 1977: 44–48 (Györke), 49–56 (Petőszinye), 57–60 (Magyarböd); VLASTIVĚDNI SLOVNIK 1977: I/163 (Magyarböd), 370 (Györke), III/9 (Beszter), 112 (Petőszinye); BALOGH 1926

⁵ BARNÁ 1994 where a summary is given of the earlier literature on the Slovak Calvinists.

⁶ See note 4: FÉNYES 1851. Their Slovakian name are: Svinica, Byster.

⁷ See note 4. Their Slovakian name are: Bidovce, Ďurkov.

character. Industry of any size can be found only in the nearby town of Košice (Kassa). Magyarbőd and Petőszinye lie on the main route leading to Košice (Kassa), while the other two small settlements are more isolated.

I have been studying these settlements, especially Magyarbőd, since 1980.⁸ A process of rapid Slovakisation, rapid assimilation and the marked retreat of the Hungarian language can be observed in these villages. In my research I am trying to find the causes and the motivations for this process. A question that especially interests me is: *what role has been and is played by the Calvinist religion and church, regarded as the Hungarian religion, in this process? Why has it been unable to halt, slow down or reverse this process of assimilation? What, then, was and is the role of religion and the church in this change?*

Besides studying the social history of the villages in archive sources,⁹ I have conducted and continue to conduct many life history interviews in an attempt to grasp the individual fates and the individual life strategies reflected in them and through these to find trends and laws of assimilation that can be regarded as having general validity.

Let us consider briefly the social and church history of the region.

Following the First World War these villages were taken from Hungary and assigned to the new state of Czechoslovakia.¹⁰ It was this circumstance that set off the social processes examined below. Under the first Vienna Award of 1938, Györke and Beszter were returned to Hungary, while Magyarbőd and Petőszinye became part of Slovakia. In the autumn of 1938 women demonstrated for a week in Magyarbőd, demanding that the village be made part of Hungary. The authorities refrained from taking reprisals on that occasion. In my experience the separation of the group of villages did not lead to their development in differing directions as could be observed elsewhere (e.g. Zoboralja). After the Second World War both settlements became part of the territory of the second Czecho-Slovak Republic.

For the purpose of church administration, until the Treaty of Trianon the Calvinists belonged to the Abaúj diocese of the Cis-Tisza Calvinist Church District, then in 1922 the part of this diocese falling in Czechoslovakia was formed. In 1938 they were again merged with the Hungarian church district and after 1945 once again became independent organisationally.¹¹

In these villages before the First World War there were only Calvinist schools with Hungarian as the language of instruction. As the Czechoslovak state set up its apparatus in the region, it used every means to influence the use of language in the schools. Above all it set up state schools teaching in Slovak in all settlements, and a ministerial decree issued in 1931 stipulated that pupils attending the Slovak schools could be given religious instruction exclusively in the Slovak language. In addition, the new state encouraged the introduction of Czech and Slovak as the languages of instruction in the church schools too. It was able to achieve results too: a survey conducted in the 1922/23 school

⁸ BARNÁ 1981.

⁹ Okresný archív Košice; parochial archives in the villages.

¹⁰ PÉTER 1926.

¹¹ PÉTER 1926; TÁRNOK 1939; SZABÓ 1990.

year found that of the 195 Calvinist schools in the villages of the church district assigned to Czechoslovakia, Slovak was already the language of instruction in 25 schools and Slovak and Hungarian were used together in 2.¹² The church schools in the villages studied were still using Hungarian, but state schools where teaching was in Slovak had already been set up beside them. As early as 1926 the Calvinist minister of Magyarböd noted that "religious instruction in Hungarian for children who have been educated in the Slovak language is already coming up against difficulties. Later, when they grow up, they themselves will demand Slovak religious services."¹³ However, the measures of force taken by the state could not be entirely successful as long as the churches were autonomous and the Calvinist congregations maintained their financial independence. The years following the Second World War brought a fundamental change in this social situation.

The Czechoslovak state, once again establishing its institutions in the region, declared the Hungarians to be – like the Germans – collectively war criminals.¹⁴ Although the Slovak state authorities of the time regarded the women's demonstration of 1938 in Magyarböd as an action directed against the Czechs, in 1945 they held the women of the village, specifically those in the 30–50 years age group, in detention for weeks on the charge of disrupting the republic. With the collaboration of the Czechoslovak authorities, many Hungarians from this area too were taken away to Soviet labour camps. The Czechoslovak state banned the use of the Hungarian language and imprisoned or drove out the Hungarians' political leaders. The resettlement action directed against the Hungarian population only partly affected the villages studied. The people of Magyarböd were able to evade this, even taking material sacrifices upon themselves. However, the Hungarian schools everywhere were closed. (As a result, four grades of children were not enrolled in school.) During those years many people did not attend the Calvinist church services either and they did not want to attend the services held in Slovak, a language that many of them did not understand. The population was forced to undergo what was called "reslovakisation":¹⁵ This was the only way they could obtain employment, permits to engage in trades activities and even food coupons at a time when supplies were scarce. It was only by paying this price that the women of Böd, against whom criminal charges were brought, were able to avoid imprisonment. Among the arguments in their defence, they stressed their attachment to the town, Košice (Kassa) as a market centre. These years from 1945 to 1948 were the years of fear. And these fears, disillusionments (they were not returned to Hungary in 1938) and humiliations (detention, reslovakisation under constraint) have left a deep imprint. These were the decisive life experiences of those now over 60.

The communist take-over in 1948 put an end to most of these discriminative measures but by nationalising the land and industry and bringing the churches under total state control, it created the basis for far more radical interventions. The tendencies towards Slovakisation that began in the time of the first Czechoslovak Republic, reached a peak after 1948, when the state had broken the force of civil society. In the villages studied, the forced creation of kolkhoz-type co-operative farms¹⁶ ruined the Hungarian farmers

¹² CSOMÁR 1940: 123; STOLCZER 1942: 85.

¹³ PÉTER 1926: 176.

who had been the mainstay of the church: many of them were imprisoned or forced to migrate. It was during this period that many of them moved into the nearby town of Košice (Kassa) from where part of the Hungarian middle class had been deported and which, under the influence of the socialist industrialisation that was starting, was increasingly becoming a town with a Slovak majority.¹⁷

In the course of the 1960s the co-operative farms in the Hungarian villages studied were merged with the co-operatives of the neighbouring Slovak villages (Rozgony, Nádas, Györgyi, Beszter, Györke). As a result, besides the obligatory use of Slovak for official administration, Slovak also increasingly became the language of everyday working contacts.

The church schools were nationalised in 1948. Although in the villages studied Hungarian remained the language of instruction in these schools for shorter or longer periods, they had steadily larger Slovak classes and were soon transformed into Slovak-language schools. In Magyarböd the 1st to 4th grades were taught in Hungarian up to 1964; in Györke the Hungarian school ceased to exist in 1968. The Hungarian school was not even reopened in Petőszinye in 1948. Those families who did not want to send their children to Slovak schools enrolled them in the Hungarian school in Kosice. However, because of the 15–20 km of travel by bus every day and the additional costs, the number of children involved steadily dwindled. (Looking back, besides the eldest generation it is largely these people who, for example, declare themselves to be Hungarian when the census is taken.) Teaching in the Slovak-language schools was compulsorily atheist and Slovak in spirit. The children heard nothing or learnt only negative things about the Calvinist religion and church and about Hungarian history and literature. In 1964 a so-called district school was organised in Magyarböd. This meant that it is also attended right up to the present by students in the upper classes from the neighbouring Slovak villages. In 1994 a total of 417 children were enrolled in the 1st to 8th grades of the district Slovak school serving children in the 12 villages; of this total, 123 children were from Magyarböd.

The use of the Slovak language became increasingly important in religious instruction too for the children who were unable to write or read Hungarian. State intervention in the life of the church was so strong that the state offices for church affairs even dictated the occupancy of the presbyteries. This meant that, in the spirit of class struggle, they specified how many of the presbyters had to be poor peasants. During the periods when agricultural work was at a peak (spring sowing, grain harvest, autumn harvest,

¹⁴ JANICS 1992. This discriminative measure is still in force!

¹⁵ VADKERTY 1993. Of the 3546 Hungarians figuring in the 1930 statistics in the district of Košice, 3500, that is, 98.7%, applied for "reslovakisation"! On the relationship between Slovakisation and the churches, see: VADKERTY 1993: 135–140.

¹⁶ For the data, see VLASTIVEDNI SLOVNIK in the places indicated.

¹⁷ The composition of the population of Kosice by nationality has evolved this century as follows: in 1910 the total population was 44,211, out of which 33,350, or 75% were Hungarians; in 1921 the total population was 52,898, of which 11,206 or 21.2% Hungarians; in 1930, of 70,117 inhabitants 11,504 or 16.4% were Hungarians; in 1970 Košice had a population of 144,445, of whom 10,197 or 7.1% were Hungarians; in 1991 out of 235,160 inhabitants, 14,804 persons, that is, 6.3%, declared themselves to be Hungarians. GYÖNYÖR 1994: tables 76 and 35.

hoeing maize, etc.) it was forbidden to hold a religious service on Sunday "during working hours" since all efforts had to be concentrated on the harvest. (In the 1950s and 60s, for example, communion could only be given at the evening service even on the anniversary day of the Reformation.)

As a result, the internal cohesion of the Calvinist congregations was weakened; first generational and then ethnic differences arose in the practice of religion. For the younger generations there was a weakening in the orienting role of religion and its power to organise the community. They saw it as the religion and church of the old people who had fallen behind the times and of the reactionary Hungarians. The young people still exercising their religion, who had been educated in the Slovak language, attended Slovak-language religious services. In Petőszinye and Beszter religious services are now held only in Slovak, while in Magyarböd and Györke they are held alternately in Hungarian and Slovak. However, for other liturgical occasions – marriages, christenings and confirmation – the young generation now generally asks for a service in Slovak. Hungarian has remained in use the longest as the language of funerals, indicating that it is precisely the Hungarian-speaking elder age groups that are now dying out. Nevertheless, because of the Slovak colleagues and the growing numbers of "Slovak kin", some of the funeral ceremonies are now held in the Slovak language.

Religious instruction is now given only in Slovak in all of the villages. This shows that the change of languages between generations has largely been accomplished. The greater freedom in the social situation in Czechoslovakia after 1990 and then in the independent Slovakia now strengthens this frame. Although the number of persons practising religion fell during the decades of communism here too – around 10% of the people of Magyarböd attend church today – because of the change of generation these people increasingly give priority to religious services held in the Slovak language. According to the 1991 census, of the 1005 Slovak and 59 Hungarian inhabitants of Magyarböd, 533 persons declared themselves Slovak Lutherans. (Calvinist did not figure on the statistical sheet.) Obviously, these people are the Calvinist Protestants in the village. Besides these, a few Roman Catholics and Jehovah's Witnesses can be mentioned. The latter have a prayer-house and a "priest". The language used for meetings in the Calvinist church presbytery is still Hungarian. Generational reasons can be seen in this: the majority of the presbyters are elderly men.

The orienting role of religion in general has also diminished in the past decades. With the general decline in the prestige of religion, the frames of religious endogamy (marriages between persons of the same religion) have also weakened. The significance of religious allegiance in the choice of partner has declined. This trend has been further strengthened by the large scale of social mobility and migration. The mixed marriages further diminished the role of the Hungarian language as well as that of the Calvinist congregation. The non-Calvinists in the district are generally Slovaks. If they embrace the Calvinist church with marriage, they add to the numbers of Slovak-speaking Calvinists and if, on the contrary, the spouse embraces the Catholic or Lutheran church for their sake, then to a certain extent this weakens the Calvinist congregations still using the Hungarian language. In the interwar years spouses of other religion and Slovak mother tongue moving into the villages studied quickly learnt Hungarian; nowadays use of the

Slovak languages is becoming the general practice in more and more families because of the outsiders moving in. The large number of religious and ethnic mixed marriages shows that for decades now there has been a change in marriage strategies. The aim of Slovakisation and its extent indicates the strength of the assimilation. There is mixed language use in a number of families – on a generation basis.

Of the four settlements, Magyarböd, Györke and Beszter have their own minister, while the minister from Beszter holds services in Petőszinye. Each of the ministers is Hungarian and of Hungarian identity, but the family of two is now bilingual through the spouse. This means that their own personal example also strengthens the assimilation life strategy mentioned above: they no longer teach their children Hungarian. The wife of one of the ministers is a doctor. Her determining role both within the family and outside also shows the social weight and prestige of the occupations. This is also a signal regarded as an example to follow in these communities. Although their personal situation is ambivalent: while they are of Hungarian identity, spreading the Christian teaching in whatever language, in their case in Slovak, is more important than cultivating use of the Hungarian language. These examples indicate the importance of the role played by the ministers in these processes.

The opinion emerging from the life history interviews conducted in the villages is that the process of Slovakisation of these settlements is unstoppable. This is the image of the future formed by members of the elder generations. They experience this as a loss since they know that with their death the change of language will become final. On the basis of their own experiences they look to the restoration of the church schools for a certain solution. But there is no chance of this at present; there is no support for the idea among the young families of Magyarböd. The Böd minister would like to organise a church kindergarten, offering English and also Hungarian as optional languages. However, the members of the elder generations accept the bilingualism they find in their families or the increasing predominance of the Slovak language and do nothing against it. The generations over 60 were educated in Hungarian and a greater percentage of these people practice their religion. Hungarian identity and the Calvinist religion are closely linked in their personal identity. Many of those in the 40 to 60 years age group, including even those who regard themselves as Calvinists, were educated in the Slovak language; they know less about Hungarian history and literature and have difficulty writing and reading Hungarian. These are the age groups who have preserved their religion but are changing their language and who have a mixed sense of identity. But the younger people are now either indifferent to this process or it is precisely Slovakisation that represents a positive future image. Their ethnic identity is Slovak, with a minor degree of uncertainty that may arise because their parents and grandparents speak Hungarian and they regard themselves as Calvinists. However, religion now plays no role or only a very small role in this new identity model.

As a result of the modernisation of social and economic life and the steady advance of technical civilisation, traditional culture or even its individual elements now play no part at all in shaping and preserving the distinctive local identity. In particular the genres of Hungarian oral culture, tales and songs are disappearing rapidly; the customs and the community frames in which they lived have been transformed long ago. The traditional-

ising groups organised in the 1950s and CSEMADOK were disbanded under pressure from above in the 1960s. At the same time, there were instances during those years of guests being fined for singing the Kossuth song at wedding feasts. This atmosphere was another factor accelerating the process of abandoning the traditional culture. Although a folklore group was formed recently in Magyarböd with mainly elderly members, only the years to come will show whether their activity has any success in cultivating tradition and preserving folklore in the Hungarian language.

Summing up, it can be said that in the Carpathian Basin the Calvinist religion has been closely linked to the Hungarian nation, both historically and ethnically and it has played an important role in shaping, cultivating and preserving culture in the Hungarian language. In the settlements studied in Slovakia, political, ideological and social causes specific to the 20th century resulted in a separation between the Calvinist religion and church, and Hungarian ethnic identity. As a consequence, the Calvinist religion and church has become a vehicle of Christian values not associated with a single ethnic group and language. However, by relinquishing its ethnic association it is also indirectly strengthening the process of Slovakisation and of relinquishing the Hungarian language and culture. Nevertheless, the Calvinist church is no longer the decisive factor influencing social processes, only one of the institutions involved since its earlier dominant role has been greatly weakened in the secularised world of the 20th century. It can be said that the earlier historic role of the Calvinist religion and church has been reversed: once a Hungarian religion, in a number of places in Slovakia at the end of the 20th century, including the villages of Abaúj County I studied, Calvinism has become the instrument and institution of demagyarisation and assimilation.

This investigation also has a more general lesson and timeliness: if the mother tongue is excluded from public life and the schools, that is, from the learning process, if it is excluded from religious life, there are no longer any barriers to ethnic and linguistic assimilation. Seen in this context it is easier to understand the strong protests made by the Hungarians in Slovakia against the so-called alternative schooling, that is, the use of Slovak as the language of instruction.

LITERATURE

- BALOGH, Pál
1926: *A népfajok Magyarországon.* (Races in Hungary.) Budapest
- BARNA, Gábor
1981: *Néprajzi gyűjtőúton Kelet-Szlovákiában.* (An ethnographic collecting trip in Eastern Slovakia.) *Honismeret* IX. 15–17.
- BARNA, Gábor
1991: *Vallás és nemzeti tudat. Jegyzet a szlovákiai magyar reformátusság sorsáról.* (Religion and national consciousness. Note on the fate of the Hungarian Calvinist congregations in Slovakia.) *Új Hírlap*, XIX. 5–6, 79–82.
- 1994: *Vallás és identitás. Szlovák reformátusok.* (Religion and identity. Slovak Calvinists.) (Manuscript. Paper presented at a session in Debrecen of the Church Ethnography Section of the College of Doctors.)
- BARTHA, Elek
1984: *Etnikus különbségek és a vallás integráló ereje.* (Ethnic differences and the integrating force of religion.) In: Szabadfalvy, József–Viga, Gyula (eds.) *Interetnikus kapcsolatok Északkelet-Magyarországon.* Miskolc, 97–101.

- BARTHA, Elek
1987: Vallás és etnikum. Adatok a dél-bánsági magyarság identitásához. (Religion and ethnicity. Data on the identity of the Hungarians of the Southern Banat.) Vallási Néprajz III. Budapest, 194–217.
- CSOMÁR, Zoltán
1940: A csehszlovák államkeretbe kényszerített magyar református egyház húszéves története (1918–1938). (The twenty-year history of the Hungarian Calvinist church forced into the frame of the Czechoslovak state, 1918–1938.) Ungvár
- FÉNYES, Elek
1851: Magyarország geographiai szótára I–II. (Geographical dictionary of Hungary I–II.) Pest
- GAZDA, József
1993: Hát én hogyan siratnám. Csángók sodró időben. (I cannot help but lament. Csángó people swept along by time.) Budapest
- GYÖNYÖR, József
1994: Terhes örökség. A magyarság lélekszámának és sorsának alakulása Csehszlovákiában. (Grave legacy. The number of Hungarians in Czechoslovakia and their fate.) Bratislava
- JANICS, Kálmán
1992: A hontalanság évei. (The years of homelessness.) Bratislava
- KÓSA, László
1993: Egyházi hagyomány – protestáns vallási néprajz. (Church tradition – protestant religious ethnography.) In: Egyház, társadalom, hagyomány. Societas et Ecclesia 1. Debrecen, 11–52.
- MAGYAR, Zoltán
1994: Vallás és etnikum egy moldvai csángó faluban. (Relationship between religion and ethnicity in a Csángó village of Moldavia.) Néprajzi Látóhatár III. 1–2. 75–88.
- MOLNÁR, Ambrus
1990: A református vallás szerepe a magyarságtudat őrzésében a szlavóniai Szentlászlón és Kórógyon. (The role of the Calvinist religion in the preservation of Hungarian identity in the Slavonian villages of Szentlászló and Kórógy.) A Magyarságkutatás Könyvtára (Vallási néprajz IV.) Budapest, 211–226.
- MURÁDIN, László
1994: A kétnyelvűség sajátos megnyilvánulása a moldvai csángómagyarok nyelvi tudatában. (A special manifestation of bilingualism in the linguistic identity of the Csángó Hungarians of Moldavia.) Néprajzi Látóhatár III. 1–2. 307–310.
- NIEDERMÜLLER, Péter
1985: Egyházi élet, vallás és kulturális hagyomány egy amerikai magyar közösségben. (Church life, religion and cultural tradition in a Hungarian community in America.) Vallási néprajz II. Budapest, 274–306.
- PÉTER, Mihály
1926: A szlovenszkói tiszáninneri református egyház képe. (The state of the Slovensko Cis-Tisza Calvinist Church.) I–V. Református szemle XIX. (1926) Cluj
- STOLCZER, Lajos
1942: A szlovákiai magyar iskolaügy. (Hungarian education in Slovakia.) In: A szlovákiai magyarság élete 1938–1942. Budapest
- SZABÓ, Antal
1990: A Szlovákiai Református keresztyén Egyház története. (History of the Calvinist Christian Church in Slovakia.) I–II. Regio. Kisebbségtudományi Szemle, 3–4.
- SZABÓ, T. Ádám
1994: A moldvai csángó-magyarság nyelvtalasa. (Language atlas of the Csángó Hungarians of Moldavia.) Néprajzi Látóhatár III. 1–2. 311–317.
- TÁRNOK, Gyula
1939: Magyar reformátusok a csehszlovákiai kisebbségi sorsban. (Hungarian Calvinists in minority status in Czechoslovakia.) Pápa
- VADKERTY, Katalin
1993: A reszlovakizáció. (Reslovakisation.) Bratislava
- VARSÍK, Branislav
1977: Osídlenie kosicej kotliny III. Bratislava
- VLASTIVEDNI SLOVNIK
1977–1978: Vlastivedni slovník obci na Slovensku I–II. Bratislava

COLLISION OF IDENTITIES

Bertalan PUSZTAI

Department of Ethnology of József Attila University
H-6722 Szeged, Egyetem u. 2, Hungary

The following paper draws on contemporary material and even the indispensable historical background has to do with events of the past fifty years. The subject-matter investigated is a conflict, the origins and evolvement of which I wish to survey. With regard to my method of approach I have to say, however, that as a student of a social science I cannot accept as a base that a research can arrive at some objective truth. Though a researcher, I remain a human being and accept my limitations: the turbulent emotions aroused by the conflict have had an affect on me, too. Not speak of the fact that during my investigations everyone wanted to convince me of his or her truth, and then I have not even mentioned what a fractured image we manage to create of reality as a result of our limitations and how its colour and variety are changed as we put them into the prison of our balking words.

Global changes have mobilised forces in Central Europe deemed by both Eastern and Western observers not to exist anymore. National feelings emerged anew with immense force. The several decades of experimentation with replacing it by internationalist propaganda have proved to be a failure. In this national renewal, which, it must be stressed, is not by principle a negative process, religion has played a significant role.

In what follows I shall analyse the field-work I carried out in the ethnically varied Sub-Carpathia. The subject of my investigation is a conflict; the origins and evolvement of which I wish to survey. However, I cannot and do not wish to do justice in any form whatsoever, because I do not think justice exists in such situations. I find these conflicts interesting because they afford an understanding of social processes and necessities.

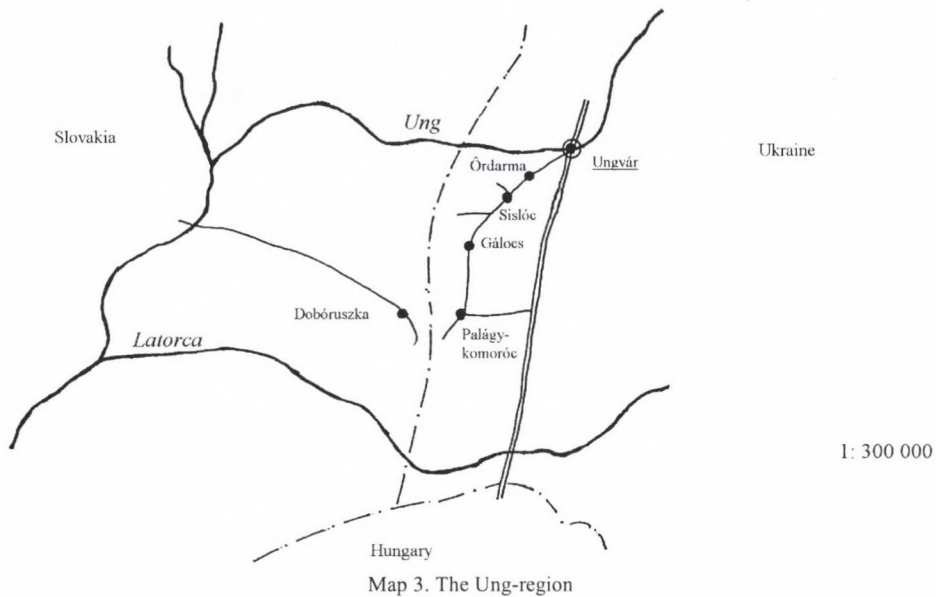
The Hungarian name of the territory, "Kárpátalja" (Sub-Carpathia), refers to the southern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains. Today the territory belongs to the Ukraine and is called "Trans-Carpathian Region" (Zakarpats'ka oblast). It is surrounded by Hungary, Romania, Slovakia, and the Carpathian Mountains themselves. As it can be seen, it is neither a historical nor a geographical region. It emerged as a result of the dissolution of Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918. With this name and with these artificial borders (splitting up linguistic and ethnic boundaries and counties that had been historically formed much earlier) it is a political region. Until 1918 it belonged to the historical Hungary, between 1918 and 1938 to Czechoslovakia, and after the Second World War it



Map 1. The territory of the Hungarian Kingdom before 1918



Map 2. Sub-Carpathia



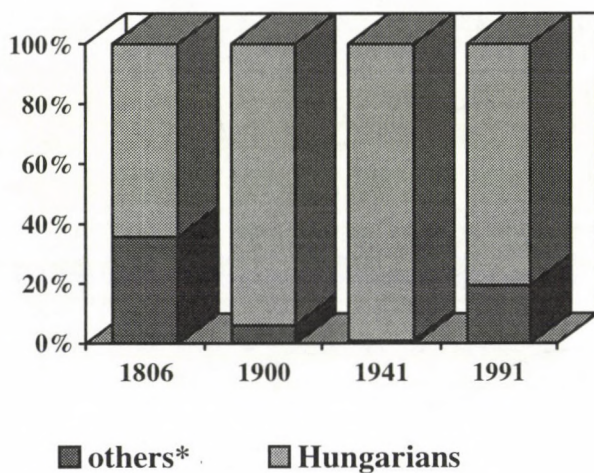
was incorporated by the Soviet Union. Today it is part of the Ukraine (see maps 1 and 2).¹

By way of introduction, I should like to emphasise that what I am going to discuss is a conflict not between two nationalities. The subject of my investigation is a strife among Hungarians. Ethnic and religious identities usually support one another. The case to be considered at first sight seems to prove that this is no immutable law: I am going elaborate on a conflict between religious and ethnic identities within one ethnic group.

Sislóc, Gállocs and Palágykomoróc are still dominantly Hungarian settlements south of Ungvár, near the Ukrainian and Slovak border (see map 3). According to late 18th century censuses 25–40% of the population of these villages was Ruthenian, hence Greek Catholic (Uniate). However, by 1806 Ruthenians were assimilated to Hungarians to such an extent that in certain settlements and in respect of languages used for preaching Ruthenian became second to Hungarian. At the turn of this century the population of these very villages were fully Hungarian and remained so even at the 1941 census. (The process is illustrated on Fig. 1–3).²

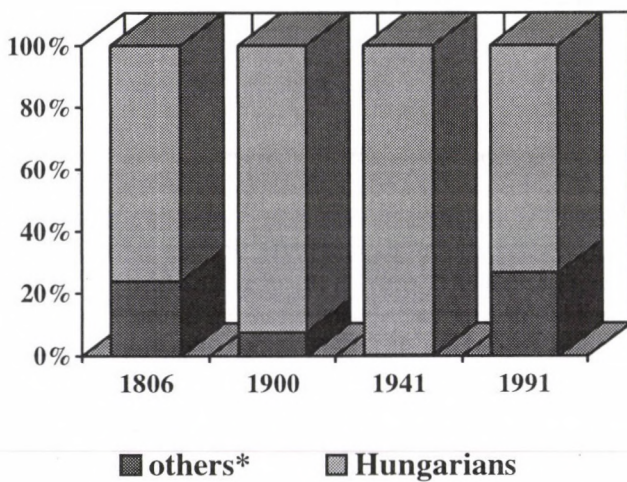
¹ Magocsi considers the territory to belong to Transcarpathia. We define it as a political region, while Magocsi in attempting to define the Ruthenian ethnic group uses the name because of the Lemks living north of the Carpathian ridge. See MAGOCSI, Paul Robert: *The Birth of a New Nation, Or the Return of an Old Problem? The Rusyns of East Central Europe*. Forthcoming in this volume of *Acta Ethnographica*, Budapest.

² With the purposely summary "others" in the Tables I wish to emphasise that in my paper it is of no importance what nationalities lived in the settlements. As I investigated the mentality of the Hungarian populace, the tables are meant to evidence how the rate of non-Hungarian nationalities changed in each village, because this was what could have aroused a feeling of being threatened among the Hungarian villagers. "Others" means Slovaks, Ukrainians and Ruthenians.



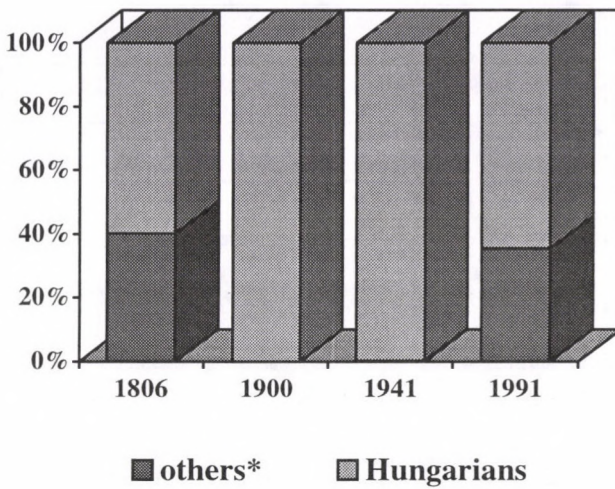
* See footnote 2

Fig. 1. Changes in the Rate of Nationalities in Palágykomoróc
Total population in 1991: 927 persons



* See footnote 2

Fig. 2. Changes in the Rate of Nationalities in Gálócs
Total population in 1991: 545 persons



* See footnote 2

Fig. 3. Changes in the Rate of Nationalities in Sislóc
Total population in 1991: 282 persons

Besides their “Hungarianisation”, Greek Catholics also went through the process called “Latinisation”, both their domestic culture and cults were adjusted to those of Roman Catholics. Thus by the middle of the 19th century the “other”, the “alien”, and, to use local idiom, the “mountaineers” (“hegyiek”) and the “Tóts”³ disappeared from these villages, which thus became ethnically, linguistically and culturally homogeneous. Members of the older generation, i.e. those borne between the two world wars, do not mention other nationalities in any significant number when recollecting their childhood and youth. According to these elderly if any came, they married into Hungarian families and tried to learn Hungarian as soon as possible.⁴

In the studied settlements, the Reformed populace constituted the religious majority, the number of Roman and Greek Catholics was roughly the same, however, only the Greek Catholics possessed a church of their own in all the three villages examined, with one priest residing in one of them. On top of it all, the Roman Catholics lost their parish as it was annexed to Slovakia in 1945. (See Fig. 4.)

As Greek Catholics began to speak Hungarian as their mother-tongue, strong inter-denominational ties developed in the first half of the 19th century. Ample proof of this is

³ The word “Tót”, of unknown, possibly Celtic or Thracian-Illyrian, origin, generally means “Slovak” and has a pejorative connotation.

⁴ On the process of assimilation with Hungarians in Gállocs, see: PUSZTAI, Bertalan 1993: Gállocs történeti etnodemográfiaja. (The Historical Ethno-Demography of Gállocs.) – Magyar Egyháztörténeti Vázlatok (Essays in Church History in Hungary) 3–4, pp. 27–44.

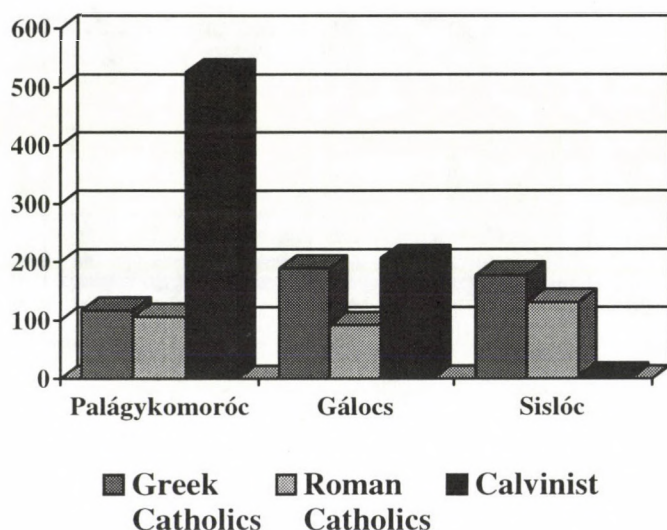


Fig. 4. Religious composition in 1941

preserved in a record dating back to before 1826 and stating that even the Roman and Greek Catholic children went to be taught by the Reformed minister. The Reformed Church school was built at this time and even afterwards the Greek and Roman Catholic children continued to go to school there.⁵ According to recollections there used to be a lively connection between the two Catholic denominations between the two World Wars: the Roman Catholics sometimes attended Greek Catholic mass, and when only a Roman Catholic mass was celebrated, in e.g. Gálóc) the Greek Catholics would participate in it. Inter-marriages were also quite regular among them.

After the Second World War the functioning of the Churches was severely constrained in the Ukraine and Sub-Carpathia, both belonging at the time to the Soviet Union. The authorities struck down upon the Greek Catholic Church most harshly: it being reunited with the Russian Orthodox Church at the Council of Lvov, presided over by the secret police, in 1946.⁶ The most important – though by no means the sole – reason for its proscription was that during the Second World War the Greek Catholic Church, being a

⁵ HARASZY, Károly (ed.) 1931: Adalékok az ungi református egyházmegye történetéhez. (Data Concerning the History of the Reformed Church District of Ung.) Nagykapos, p. 194.

⁶ HIMKA, John-Paul 1993: The Greek Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Nation in Galicia. – In: NIESSEN, J. (ed.): Religious Compromise, Political Salvation. The Greek Catholic Church and Nation-building in Eastern Europe. Pittsburgh, pp. 7–27; p. 18.

BOCIURKIV, Bohdan R. 1965: The Uniate Church in the Soviet Ukraine: A Case Study in Soviet Church Policy. – Canadian Slavonic Papers pp. 89–113.; MAGOCSI, Paul Robert 1988: Religion and identity in the Carpathians. – Cross Currents Vol. 7, pp. 87–107.

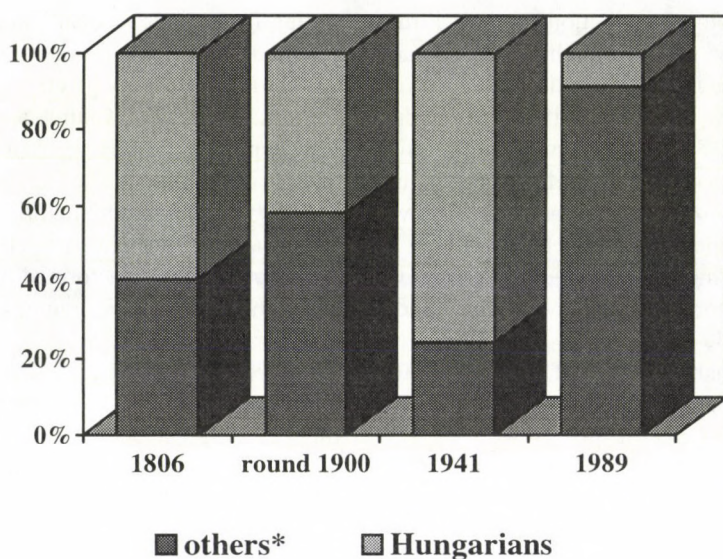
Ukrainian national institution, supported those fighting for an independent Ukraine. And as such it was one of the chief obstacles of the Ukraine being incorporated within the Soviet Union. Greek Catholic ministers and communities were thus given a chance to practice religion but only within the bounds of the Russian Orthodox Church and according to its rite. Priests not conforming to this were all deported.⁷ The Hungarian speaking Greek Catholics naturally did not opt for the Orthodox rite in Slavic. The Russian Orthodox rite was not attractive for them, as it was for many Ruthenian communities, since it was in a language completely, or almost completely, alien. Thus the first church was turned into a training hall, the second one was closed down, then transformed into a museum never to be visited by anyone, and the third-one became the gymnasium of a nearby school.

The Roman Catholics of all three villages were bereft of priest and church alike. But the circumstances of the two Catholic Churches were entirely different: even though some Roman Catholic priests were deported, their theological seminary was closed, priests were not replaced, the Roman Catholic Church at least *existed*. Though far away (in Ungvár), it functioned, its believers did not need to look for a place, to ask permission to enter, in order to worship at all. They could worship according to their creed and receive the sacraments. The Hungarian Greek Catholics of the Ung region, also, went to worship, to be baptised and wed, in the same Ungvár Roman Catholic church. Though their choice is understandable, their forced adaptation, in spite of the long-standing concord between the two denominations, must have resulted in the humiliating feeling of being sheltered.

Two significant changes occurred in these decades (1946–1990) that have a bearing upon our discussion. Firstly, in due course, the two Catholic communities were gradually moulded into one. The dividing line between them disappeared as a result of the sense of being endangered and of the acquiescence in the immutable. Due to this fusion, when I first went to the region in 1991, the villagers described their religious affiliations as only Roman Catholic or Reformed. Those who knew solely of the Roman Catholic rite were in their fifties at the time, but it was also for fifty years that their elders practised this faith, observed its holidays.

The other important change from our point of view was that not only did the ethnic composition of Sub-Carpathia alter fundamentally, but the micro-region was also transformed dramatically. Instead of referring to the dubious and mostly inaccessible data of censuses, I should like illustrate the changes in the ethnic situation by way of a characteristically ethnographic-anthropological method. The changes in ethnic composition can clearly be observed in how the villagers became more sensitive to who was settling down in their village. Since vacant houses, the number of which steadily increased, were occupied by non-Hungarian speaking people the Hungarians developed several methods of

⁷ For the martyrs of the Munkács diocese see: PEKAR, Athanasius B. 1985: "You Shall Be Witnesses Unto Me". Contribution to the Martyrology of the Byzantine Catholic Church in Subcarpathian Ruthenia. Pittsburgh, p. 3. For the final days of the Munkács diocese, see: SALACZ, Gábor 1975: *A magyar katolikus egyház a szomszédos államok uralma alatt*. (The Hungarian Roman Catholic Church under Neighbour States.) Munich, p. 9.



* See footnote 2

Fig. 5. Changes in the Rate of Nationalities in Ördarma
Total population in 1989: 2080 persons

self-defence. In one of the villages it was seriously considered that the village assembly should decide whether to allow people to move into the village or not; to another community it occurred that they should deter members of other nationalities from buying houses by having them and their families explain to the representative body of the village why they wanted to settle in the village and where they came from. The villagers are fully aware of the fact that in the past decades Hungarians emigrated from Sub-Carpathia in astonishingly high numbers. They also do not believe that their conditions could be significantly improved by some external power. (And in this they are proven quite right, if we come to think e.g. of the long drawn-out matter of the Sub-Carpathian autonomy, which was approved of by not only the Hungarians but also the Ruthenians, though has still not been ratified in Kiev.) The Hungarians of Sub-Carpathia are fully conscious of the fact that they have to fend for themselves; and this explains these, at first sight, astonishing ideas of theirs. (The changes in ethnic composition are well illustrated by the data concerning 1991 on Fig. 1–3, and Fig. 5, in which the dramatic changes taking place in Ördarma, a neighbouring village of Sislóc, can be observed.)

It was among such circumstances that things began to thaw, and in 1989 a possibility to reclaim churches arose. However, as the Russian Orthodox Church had a dominant position in the Soviet Union at the time, the closed churches could only be re-opened as Roman Catholic ones. Naturally, all three villages immediately reclaimed their churches, and an old Roman Catholic priest, serving several affiliated churches and travelling from

50 kilometres afar, conducted liturgies in all three villages. The fact that occasions of worship came into being brought about a new group formation among the villagers: all those who thought of themselves as Roman Catholics after so many decades took part in mass and helped restore and furnish the church, thereby showing their belonging to the new group. In order to supply conditions of worship a churchwarden and other responsible persons had to be chosen. With masses held in increasing numbers, the office of the churchwarden acquired a special value, and its social prestige grew even further with the first Holy Communion and the first confirmation. Churchwardenship and membership in local church councils were increasingly seen as new sources of social prestige in the 1990s and seeking these offices was a natural and primary goal of people with a propensity to partake of public life, if they had not achieved their aims in the newly elected municipalities or in the leadership of the local schools, in other words, in the new legitimate organisations. With the further development of organisations, the increase in the number of priests and masses held, and amidst the fractured society of these villages, a new community, organised on a purely voluntary basis, the Roman Catholic parish, appeared and its vitality far outmatched that of the worldly organisations.

In 1991, however, word spread that the Greek Catholic Church existed, and that it could reclaim its former churches, the humiliation of being sheltered could thus be terminated.⁸ But the formerly Greek Catholic churches were now administered by the evolving Roman Catholic community. From without, it seemed the changes would have no effect on these village communities, as no underground Greek Catholic had existed, it had no extant community (church council or warden), and, as a result of the dissolution of denominational differences, all Catholics, Greeks and Romans, saw themselves as members of the Roman Catholic Church just undergoing reorganisation. Still, it was the authorisation of the Greek Catholic Church that fatally divided the village communities. This conflict, as far as I see it, constitutes the symbolical struggle for high-prestige positions, or, seen at another angle, the process of the homogeneous village community falling apart into several communities of different mentalities and interests. The struggle is symbolical because the different "parties" are not openly attempting gain one another's positions, to question one another's honesty. Everyone is fighting for the church, for the legitimacy springing from the possession of the church. Today the most important source of legitimacy and power, indeed, the most important resource is the church. The way to reach these legitimacy sources leads through the parish community and its leadership. Thus, churchwardens became the chief targets of the competing parties. For everyone the others' churchwarden became the "informer", the "immoral" one, the "self-appointed", the "inept" one. It was not only believers but to some degree even priests that were involved in the fault-finding, frailty-reciting concerning the wardens as well as one another, even by being taken in by clearly malicious rumour.

As it is not my task to do justice to anyone, let us review how each party explains its own and the other party's deeds. This should cast light upon how differently members of

⁸ Though the Greek Catholic Church had been permitted to function again in the Soviet Union already in 1989, the problem only surfaced in the villages studied from 1991.

a community interpret the phenomena, the events, of their little world, the significance of their own and their group's role. The first local crisis broke out when the Greek Catholics of Sislóc attempted to take possession of their former church. As a result the Roman Catholics began to build their own church. The new church was completed, thus it became a living symbol of community discord. The Greek Catholics would have been ready to share their church with their Roman Catholic brethren, but they insisted on it being a Greek Catholic church again. Instead, the Roman Catholics decided they would rather build their own new church, and the Greeks were thus left to renovate the church by themselves. It is worth mentioning that when the Greeks speak of the time consuming and painstaking renovation of their church, they always bring up the fact that they never received so much help as the Roman Catholics did, that the Roman Catholics were, in truth, given a lot from Hungary. The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, have different accounts of the same story. They say that the Greeks – according to them, a handful of old persons – forcefully demanded it back, practically re-occupied it, and did not allow the Roman Catholics to enter the church again. All this, of course, happened when the renovation of the church, to which they had significantly contributed, neared completion. The conflict in this village has now more or less abated. The construction of the new church has pacified opinion and clarified what rights people are entitled to and where. The Roman Catholics, with the building of their church, assigned themselves a new goal, and the new church has come to symbolise their community. They gave up the old and, until recently, only as well as common church, which by now has no import for them anymore, it does not constitute an element of their local identity.

In Palágykomoróc the church was returned to the Greek Catholic Church without any ensuing crisis. However, there is clearly visible tension with respect to space usage. During one of my field-trips the Roman Catholics were preparing for Sunday mass, and some of their members moved the altar, used for counterfacial mass, to the centre which had been placed at the side. They themselves find it iniquitous to have the altar placed at the side in between Roman Catholic masses. I was still present when the Greek Catholic vicar arrived and emphatically warned the removers of the altar that in the future this could only be done with his permission. He believed this was mere "table-worship", not the worship of God. I suspect the debate concerning the possession of the church is yet unresolved, as, according to a recent survey, 86% of all Catholics are Roman and only the remaining 14% are Greek in Palágykomoróc. (See Fig. 6.)

The greatest and still unresolved crisis began in Gállocs when the churchwarden refused entry to the church for the Greek Catholic minister and his followers on the second day of Christmas to hold their first Holy Liturgy. He justified himself by saying that the Roman Catholic priest pastoring the village had not notified him of this, therefore he could not open the church. The Greek Catholic mass was thus held in the cemetery in the late December cold. To date the church is in the possession of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Greek Catholic community attends worship in the very same church and is not preparing to build a new one. The Greek Catholics have accepted that the church is presently in the ownership of their Roman Catholic brethren, but in the 'long run they hope for a more viable solution. The image the two groups have created of each other is interesting also: the Roman Catholics are convinced only a few old people consider

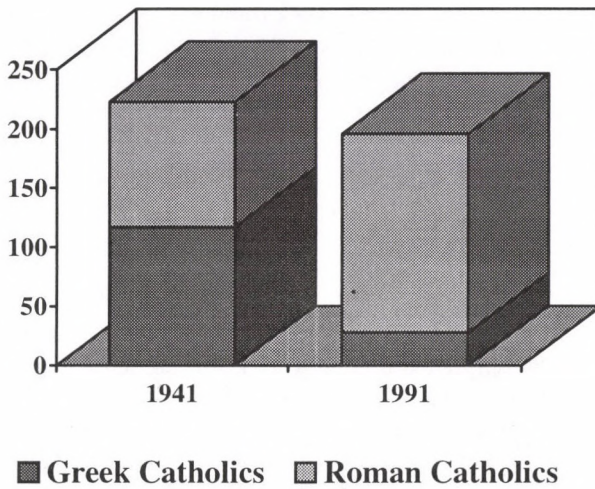


Fig. 6. The Changes in the Rate of Roman and Greek Catholics in Palágykomoróc

themselves Greek Catholics, while the Greek Catholics believe only a few people have remained Roman Catholic and that the majority attending mass according to Roman rite, out of mere nostalgia, is in fact Greek Catholic.

The opinion of the Roman Catholics can be summarised as follows: the majority of Greek Catholics in Sub-Carpathia are Ruthenians as nationality is concerned. Their majority, as a result of fifty years of propaganda and prohibition, consider themselves to be Ukrainian. The meagre Hungarian Greek Catholic populace is not recognised by either public opinion nor politics: wherever there is a Greek Catholic church this implies for them that Ukrainians live there. The Roman Catholics doubt whether the Munkács diocese under the direct supervision of the Holy See (*ecclesia sui iuris*) shall be able to maintain its status. They are positive that in the long run the will of Lvov will prevail and the Munkács diocese will lose its independence and be incorporated in the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church organisation.⁹

According to their version the following happened in Sislóc: the weak, old and few Greek Catholics wished their church back, primarily because of individual ambition and self-assertion and not because they so much remembered the Greek rite, they in fact had practised the Roman one for fifty years. Now that the Roman Catholics have built their

⁹ In the case of such a change Elemér Ortutay Hungarian Greek Catholic priest gives voice to similar fears concerning the curtailment of the rights of non-Ruthenian speaking minorities: "...if we were to give up our status, the Hungarian, Romanian and Slovak [i.e. Greek Catholic] believers would necessarily be thrust into the background." Cited by BOTTLIK, József and DUPKA, György 1993: *Magyarlakta községek ezredéve Kárpátalján* (A Thousand Years of Hungarian Communities in Sub-Carpathia) Ungvár and Budapest, p. 49.

own church and do not bother about the Greek Catholic church, the old Greek Catholics are unable to maintain it. And the Ruthenians have already arrived, for the time being all they want is to have the sermon and the Gospel readings in their mother-tongue during the mass celebrated in Hungarian, but the time will come when the whole mass will be said in Ruthenian. Nothing more is needed for this than a little encouragement for them, than for them to realise that more of them go to church and that they also participate in the financial support of the church, which will take place anyway if we think of the few old Hungarian Greek Catholics.

The case of the neighbouring Sislóc village is important for the Roman Catholics of the other villages because they refer to it as warning example. As a matter of fact, of the three villages studied it was here that most Ruthenians have settled and this settlement is an affiliated church of the highly "Ukrainianised" Órdarma (cf. Table 5). The case of Sislóc is a good example of how the Churches can come to be involved in, and even cause, ethnic conflicts. As the neighbouring Órdarma has a Ruthenian majority, there the Julian calendar is in use. This is, naturally, followed by the affiliated Sislóc, too. And this is regarded by Gregorian calendar using Hungarians who live here as well as in the neighbouring villages as a proof of forced "Ukrainianisation", since these Hungarian Greek Catholics have to observe holidays together with alien Ukrainian Greek Catholics and not the familiar Hungarian Roman and Greek Catholics. This is the reason why the Hungarian Greek Catholics of Sislóc celebrated their church-feast, the Birthday of the Blessed Virgin Mary, on the 24th of September, i.e. three weeks after the date prescribed by the Gregorian calendar!

I believe, hearing these opinions – some are even talking of a religious war going on –, we all sense the harm the schematic image made by politics is creating.

In this respect I have to call attention to another phenomenon. A good number of people with a Greek Catholic background think of the role of Greek Catholicism in a similar fashion. They explain their adherence to the Roman rite, their not returning to the Greek, by saying that in the past fifty years they have been living in the Roman Church, they do not know, nor do they remember, the Greek rite. I, however, sense a different, probably deeper reason. Three years ago, while studying the historical ethno-demography of Gállocs, I came to the conclusion that the ancestors of the Greek Catholics had once been Ruthenians and had been assimilated to the Hungarians in the course of the 19th century. My acquaintances in the village told me to forget this nonsense, it has nothing to do with the truth, that I should discard what I had written. Today I know why it was so embarrassing for them to face this: they do not wish accept their past. What motivates escape from Greek Catholicism – a Ukrainian denomination in the public eye –, the endeavour to impede the rebirth of Hungarian Greek Catholicism in Sub-Carpathia, and to achieve the full coverage of ethnic and religious boundaries (i.e. Greek Catholics are Ukrainians, Reformed Protestants and Roman Catholics are Hungarians) is the same. Namely the way public opinion and politics conceive of national identity in the Ukraine, and, alas, the whole of Central and Eastern Europe. This mentality considers a change in identity almost to be a sin. On the contrary, if we believe in the freedom to change identity, the Ruthenian ancestors of present day Greek Catholics in these villages do not license in any form whatsoever the majority nationality to seek Ukrainians in

Hungarian Greek Catholics.¹⁰ It is not the denomination of a church but the conscious decisions of people that determine the ethnic composition of a settlement.¹¹

In approaching the end of my analysis I have to turn back to a fact I started out from, namely that ethnic and religious identities in most cases support each other. At first sight my paper seems to suggest just the contrary. The motives of those attempting to obstruct the rebirth of Hungarian Greek Catholicism can, in fact, be explained by the former and seemingly disproved principle. Those fighting against Hungarian Greek Catholicism in Sub-Carpathia want to equate religion and ethnicity exactly because they want them to support each other, because they do not want local Hungarians, as they say, to "pull apart". Religion, i.e. the preference of "Hungarian [= Western] religions" as opposed to the suspect Greek Catholicism, is, in fact, the primary means of preserving an ethnic group in this situation.¹²

The subject-matter of my investigation was a conflict. I have tried to present its pre-conditions, its evolvement and existence as well as how it changed the life of villages, these closed and solidary communities.

An important element in the evolvement of the conflict was one of historical and political significance and wholly beyond the control of the villagers. Their sole choice was the acceptance of the given and the adaptation to the new situation. Naturally, such changes can always upset many small worlds. However, according to my knowledge such conflicts have only taken place in a small area: these significant historical changes have only resulted in crisis only in this area. Therefore it seems to be a specific phenomenon.

But the phenomenon is also general. It is general because the germ of the conflict is present in many settlements that have been disrupted by the significant historical changes.

Coming to the end of my paper I have to call special attention to the role the church takes. Having heard the many arguments, it is all too clear that the church is a source of power and legitimacy. The church is a visible sign proving who live in a given settlement. Why do native villagers not want members of other nationalities to have their own church in their village? In their unexpressed opinion the newcomers would thus possess a symbol which the constant and stabilised community owns. The occupation of the sacred space would sanction their appropriation of real space. At the time of finishing this paper came the news that in the tense situation in Mostar, the Croats have begun building a

¹⁰ A similar instance of seeking legitimacy by way of "searching out ancestors" is given by the mayor of Kolozsvár, George Funar, considered an extremist even by many of his compatriots, when he tries to make the great Renaissance King, Mathias Corvinus, a Romanian by fixing memorial placards round the city with such content.

¹¹ At the end of the last century Géza Petrassevich reported of a similar, though reverse, phenomenon concerning the assimilation of the Ruthenians of Budapest: "...why are they ashamed of ... admitting who their parents were? ... he who is ashamed of, and denies, his father is not worthy of respect. Still, 78.7% of the Greek Catholic intelligentsia does this." Cited by MAYER, Mária 1977: *Kárpátukrán (ruszin) politikai és társadalmi törkevések 1860–1910.* (Carpatho-Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Political and Social Endeavours.) Budapest, p. 146.

¹² GANS, Herbert J. 1994: Symbolic ethnicity and symbolic religiosity: towards a comparison of ethnic and religious acculturation. – *Ethnic and racial studies* Vol. 17, pp. 577–592, 584.

Roman Catholic church at the heart of the divided city. It is highly probable that the mechanisms presented above are at work in the occupation of sacred ground as well.

This conflict arose out of a collision of identities. A community, which thought of itself as united and solidary, in one given significant issue reacts in different ways: some of them wish to re-animate their old church while others think of this wish as endangering the whole community and driven by mere nostalgia and individual ambition. The community is then divided, and the two groups begin to be differentiated by their norms too, they almost begin to behave as though they were enemies, occasionally even fist-law being used to convince dissenters. The difference of their mentality is well illustrated by how they view settlers of other nationalities: should they be allowed in the church, should they be permitted to take part in its sustenance, may they take care, be guardians, of it?

How can a community be discordant in its reactions? Naturally, because it is made up of different persons. And the difference is a result of the divergent experiences they had had and the divergent motives and goals they have. In our case the differences had previously existed, but were like time-bombs, which are silent until they go off. In other words, this was a difference that could not exert any influence for several decades. The experiences could only be brought to the fore by a significant change that transformed local society to such an extent that everyone had to define his or her position anew. Formerly important and prestigious elements of identity either disappeared or became causes of negative discrimination (e.g. Communist party membership) and formerly branded public roles (churchwardenship and activity in the Hungarian Cultural Association of Sub-Carpathia) and conditions (church membership) now acquired valuable elements of identity for everyone.

Besides creating their own structure, the communities begin activities with which they can indicate their having established themselves. They constructed or renovated communal buildings. These buildings are indispensable signifiers of a vigorous community for these villagers. In such a (critical/conflict-ridden) situation the building itself becomes a symbol. What is more, my impression is that it was primarily the building transformed into a symbol that finally divided the community, and thus its symbolic nature was further fortified. The construction or the existence of a building manifests the falling apart of a community and the birth of a new one, in other words the transformation of a village society.

What is this story then about? Individual ambitions, jealousies, unto which the external observer projects the conflict of identities? Was this really more than just the reshuffling of positions, the seeking of social roles? Or is this another proof of the fact that Greek Catholicism is very much involved with searching for its position, role and identity in Central Europe? My investigations in neighbouring countries and in Hungary support the latter. The strongest Greek Catholic Church is the one in Hungary, because it was not proscribed, but her youth have had enough of the "Latinisation", and the Second Vatican Council had opened the way for them to seek out their eastern roots, had, in fact, compelled them to do so: they want now to erect iconostases, cleanse their churches of sculptures, make their believers leave off their rosaries, "table-worship". Priests of a pre-council mentality do not, however, think that if they continue to follow the old way with regard to relations with Roman Catholicism, they will lose their self-consciousness and

give up their identity. Greek Catholics in neighbouring countries, on the other hand, very well remember how Orthodoxy threatened their very existence by claiming that with reunification they would only return to their roots. Who are the Greek Catholics then: are they a bridge or a wall between Catholicism and Orthodoxy? What is their role in Central Europe?

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank dr. Gábor Barna (Department of European Ethnology – József Attila University, Szeged, Hungary) for valuable comments on a draft of this article.

CULTURES – NATIONS – LANGUAGES
IN THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

BRATISLAVA UND PETRŽALKÁ ZWEI GESTALTEN EINER STADT

Peter SALNER–Viera FEGLOVÁ

Institute of Ethnology of the Slovakian Academy of Sciences
SK-81364 Bratislava, Jakubovo nam. 12, Slovakia

Schon ein flüchtiger Blick auf den Stadtplan von Bratislava zeigt, daß die Donau die Stadt in zwei deutlich unterschiedliche Teile teilt. Am linken Ufer liegt das historische Zentrum mit den anliegenden Vierteln, am rechten die ehemalige Gemeinde Petržalka. Zu Bratislava kam sie erst nach dem II. Weltkrieg, und seit den sechziger Jahren wächst hier die größte Siedlung der ganzen Slowakei heran.

Bei unseren ersten Betrachtungen zu diesen wechselseitigen Beziehungen zwischen verschiedenen Teilen der Stadt haben wir uns vor allem mit den historischen Stadtvierteln beschäftigt. Hier waren die Eingriffe in die Stadtstruktur und die Reaktionen der Bevölkerung markanter. Es zeigte sich aber immer stärker, daß man bei der Lösung der untersuchten Problematik nicht das Phänomen des rechten Donaufufers umgehen kann. Die rasche Umwandlung des einstigen Dorfes in einen „Betondschungel“ oder einen „Kaninchenstall“ u.ä. ist ethnologisch mindestens ebenso anziehend.

Bei der Analyse müssen eine diachrone und eine synchrone Ebene in Betracht gezogen werden:

a) Auf der synchronen Ebene ist signifikant, daß menschlich und siedlungsmäßig gewissermaßen zwei Bratislavas parallel existierten – das alte und das neue: Ihre Charakteristiken wandeln sich historisch, die Unterschiede aber bleiben. Sie spiegeln sich einerseits in den unterschiedlichen Haltungen jener Menschen, für die Bratislava „ihre“ Stadt ist, resp. Zuwanderer, die sie als etwas Fremdes bewerten, andererseits im Charakter der historischen und Siedlungsviertel wider. Der letzte Widerspruch dokumentiert sich häufig im Kontrast Altstadt – Petržalka.

b) Aus der Sicht der Diachronie sind gesellschaftliche und politische Prozesse zu berücksichtigen, die im 20. Jh. die Stellung Bratislavas und das Leben seiner Einwohner beeinflußt haben. Das „Provinznest am Rande Wiens, derer es in Österreich-Ungarn viele gab“ (HRUŠOVSKÝ 1963), wurde zur zweitwichtigsten Stadt der ČSR. In den Jahren 1939–1945 bzw. seit 1. 1. 1993 wurde sie Hauptstadt der selbständigen Slowakischen Republik. Man kann sagen, daß Bratislava hinsichtlich seiner Bedeutung im 20. Jh. von einer indirekten Proportionalität charakterisiert wird. Es entwickelte sich von der Provinzstadt in der großen Monarchie über das bedeutende Zentrum eines mittelgroßen Staates zur Hauptstadt einer kleinen Republik. Die politische Bedeutung Bratislavas wuchs somit ständig, der politische Raum, den sie beeinflußte, hingegen verkleinerte sich.

Trotz dieser paradoxen Erscheinung kann man konstatieren, daß die Bedeutung Bratislavas im Laufe des 20. Jh. objektiv gewachsen ist. Das beweisen auch die Zahlen über das Bevölkerungswachstum. 1890 erreichte die Einwohnerzahl der Stadt rund 52 000, in den zwanziger Jahren überschritt sie die 100 000-Grenze, 1960 waren es über 300 000, und gegenwärtig leben hier 445 000 Einwohner. In mehreren Studien haben wir dokumentiert, daß die politischen Prozesse sich nicht nur in der Quantität niederschlugen. Sie waren auch von Strukturwandlungen der Stadt und einem Bevölkerungsaustausch begleitet.

Insbesondere der Druck der totalitären Regime nach 1938 bewirkte freiwillige oder gezwungene Abgänge, die in erster Linie die stadtbildenden Schichten betrafen. Von 1938–1946 verließ die Mehrheit der jüdischen, ungarischen, tschechischen und deutschen Alteingesessenen die Stadt. Nach dem Antritt der Kommunisten (1948) mußten zu Beginn der 50er Jahre im Rahmen der sog. Aktion B die Vertreter der Intelligenz und Bourgeoisie aufs Land gehen. Sie wurden durch Menschen aus verschiedenen Gebieten des slowakischen Landes ersetzt. So mußten sich die Alteingesessenen wie jede neue Welle von Zuwanderern an die veränderten politischen und gesellschaftlichen Bedingungen anpassen.

In Gesprächen betonten vor allem ältere Menschen nicht selten ihre positiven Beziehungen zu Bratislava. Allerdings nicht zur Abstraktion, sondern zur konkreten Vorkriegsform der Stadt. Bratislava, charakterisiert durch Dreisprachigkeit, kulturelle Pluralität und Toleranz, stellte eine wichtige Position in ihrer Werthierarchie vor. Mit verschiedenen Worten brachten sie die gleiche Ansicht zum Ausdruck: „es war früher nicht wichtig, ob wir Slowaken, Ungarn oder Deutsche waren, wir waren in erster Linie Preßburger“. Die jüngeren Generationen reagieren anders. Den gegenwärtigen Zustand bewertet ein heute über 80jähriger Mann anders: „jeder von uns stammt von sonstwoher, nur nicht aus Bratislava“. Eine weitere Zeitgenossin meinte: „Nie hat es in Bratislava so viele akademisch gebildete Menschen gegeben wie heute, aber nie waren die Straßen so schmutzig und bespuckt wie heute“. Auf den ersten Blick scheint es, daß die Unterschiede Generationswurzeln haben. In Wahrheit haben sie jedoch einen politisch-kulturellen Charakter.

J. SATINSKÝ (1990:96) verallgemeinerte die Ansicht, daß die Ideale der Pluralitätstoleranz, die die Stadt in den Zwischenkriegsjahren charakterisierten, für viele allmählich keinen Wert mehr hatten. Ihre Funktion übernahm die Ethnizität: „Die Slowaken aus der Slowakei kamen, um Bratislava zu erobern ... Die Preßburger galten nicht als Slowaken, sie stellten sich über sie. (Der slowakische Schriftsteller Poničan sagte: Sobald wir nach Bratislava kamen, begannen wir aufzuwiegeln ...) In Bratislava entstanden wie Pilze nach dem Regen verschiedene landsmannschaftliche Enklaven – fast wie in Amerika. Nach heute gibt es in der Wintersaison jede Woche im Kultur- und Erholungspark PKO einen Ball – jeweils für die Menschen aus dem Gebiet Podhradie, Zips, Šariš, Zemplín, Záhorie, Liptau ... und was weiß ich für wen noch. Sie halten sich nicht für Bratislavaer. Die Wurzeln blieben und die einzelnen Enklaven vereinten sich nicht. Die Neuansiedler versuchen diese unglückliche Stadt ihrem Geschmack anzupassen, und der ist verbunden mit den megallomanischen Vorstellungen der Dörfler von der Hauptstadt“. (1991 sprach J. Satinský den Wunsch aus, die Tradition eines Preßburger Balls in dem

repräsentativen Gebäude der Redoute wieder zu begründen. Seinen Aufruf nahmen die Anwesenden mit Begeisterung auf, der Ball der Preßburger hat allerdings erst im 1996 stattgefunden.)

Die Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung in allen Teilen Bratislavas war die Folge politischer und nicht kultureller oder wirtschaftlicher Faktoren. Die ursprünglich multi-ethnische und bürgerliche Stadt verslowakisierete und verproletarisierete sich rasch. Da unter sozialistischen Bedingungen kein Wohnungsmarkt existierte, war auch die Migration im Rahmen der Stadt begrenzt. Infolge der Bürokratie und des Wohnungsmangels gab es keine Möglichkeit, eine Wohnung kaufen, nur einzutauschen. Deshalb lebten sozial, kulturell und lokal heterogene Familien unter einem Dach. In dem relativ übersichtlichen Milieu der kleineren Häuser funktionierte dennoch die Institution der einstigen Kultur der Stadt. In Petržalka ist der Kristallisierungsprozeß noch im Gange. Die kurze Zeit des Zusammenlebens von Menschen, unter denen die erste Generation der Zuwanderer überwiegt, kompliziert den Prozeß der Adaptation an das Stadtmilieu.

Aus den Angaben über den Bevölkerungszuwachs folgt, daß die heutigen Bratislavaer zum größten Teil die Beziehung zur Stadt nicht „von der Wiege an“ erworben haben, da sie anderswo aufwuchsen. In gewisser Weise gilt das auch für die gebürtigen Bratislavaer. Viele mußten die Stadt zeitweilig oder dauernd verlassen, andere zogen unfreiwillig von einem Stadtviertel ins andere. Weitere blieben zwar, aber ihre „Umgebung“ ging weg. Sanierungen, Neubauten und die Zuwanderungsrate veränderten so das Zentrum wie auch andere Viertel, einschließlich der Vorstadtgemeinden. Das Milieu, in dem sie aufwuchsen, existierte oft nicht mehr. Sie leben eigentlich in einer anderen Stadt, als in der sie geboren wurden und die Kindheit verbracht haben.

Kein Wunder, daß die Zuwanderer (auch einige Landsleute) die positive Beziehung zur Umgebung nur schrittweise, gewissermaßen stets von neuem aufbauen. Die Umweltschützerin und Architektin Z. Paulíniová führte in einem Interview an: „Etwa vor einer Woche wurde ich mir bewußt, daß ich gern über den Hauptplatz zu gehen begann. Ich erappte mich dabei, daß er mir zu gefallen beginnt, denn er lebt, und in einem Augenblick blitzte mir der Gedanke durch den Kopf – vielleicht beginne ich Bratislava wirklich zu mögen ... Ein etwas unerwarteter Gedanke nach dreißig Jahren, nachdem ich hier geboren, aufgewachsen, in die Schule und zur Arbeit gegangen bin und Kinder erzogen habe“ (VRBKOVÁ 1994).

Dir angeführten Tatsachen weisen auf dramatische Veränderungen hin, die das Gedankengut der Einwohner in der historisch kurzen Zeit von einigen Jahrzehnten beeinflusst haben. Die gegenseitige Entfremdung der Stadt und ihrer Einwohner ergab sich aus dem Austausch der Bevölkerung und der bevorzugten Werte. Damit hing auch das gefühllose Herangehen der Behörden an die historischen Dominanten zusammen. Der Verfall des Lokalbewußtseins hatte politische und kulturelle Wurzeln. Er begann zwar schon in der Zeit der 1. ČSR (denken wir an die Streitigkeiten um die Sanierung der Burg), steigerte sich jedoch erst während des II. Weltkrieges und vor allem nach seinem Ende. Damals wurden umfassende Umbauten im Stadtzentrum realisiert. Die menschlichen Dimensionen dieser Prozesse zeigen Aussprüche wie „wir waren vor allem Preßburger“ bzw. „nur aus Bratislava stammte eigentlich niemand“.

Der Zerfall der Monarchie rief eine Veränderung der ethnischen und politischen Prioritäten hervor. Die Folge davon war, daß die „Preßburger“ (vor allem deutscher und ungarischer Abstammung) in eine Meinungsopposition zum Regime gerieten, das vor allem von tschechischen und slowakischen Zuwanderern repräsentiert wurde. An der Beziehung zu den Sportklubs läßt sich illustrieren, daß der ethnische, kulturelle oder religiöse Ursprung damals nicht über die Beziehung zur Stadt, in der sie lebten, gestellt wurde.

Kurz nach der Entstehung der ČSR, am 29. 3. 1919, wurde die Fußballsparte des I. Tschechoslowakischen Sportklubs Bratislava gegründet. Schon die Bezeichnung signalisiert seine politisch-ethnische Orientation und Zusammensetzung seiner Anhänger. Die ersten Spiele des neuen Klubs mit den Rivalen des „anderen“ (ungarischen) nationalen Lagers hatten Prestigecharakter. Die Situation wandelte sich Mitte der dreißiger Jahre, als der Sportklub als erste Mannschaft vom Gebiet der Slowakei in die gesamtstaatliche Liga aufstieg. Obwohl nach den geltenden Regeln nur Spieler der „tschechoslowakischen Nationalität“ darin spielen durften, nahmen die Bürger ihn schon nicht mehr als Vertreter des Ethnikums (des eigenen oder fremden) wahr, sondern als Repräsentanten der Stadt, dessen Bestandteil alle ohne Unterschied waren (MAŠLONKA–KŠIŇAN 1988).

Wenden wir jetzt die Aufmerksamkeit der jüngsten Vergangenheit zu. Eine der Folgen des Wachstums der Stadt Bratislava nach dem II. Weltkrieg war die Massenzuwanderung. Zur Lösung der Wohnungskrise sollten ab der Mitte der 50er Jahre die Plattenbausiedlungen beitragen. Die größte davon ist Petržalka, „eine Stadt in der Stadt“, geplant für 150 000 Einwohner. In ihr überwiegen Zuwanderer, doch leben hier auch Nachkommen der Alteingesessenen und ursprüngliche Einwohner des Dorfes.

Petržalka (Engerau, ung. Pozsonyligetfalu) war einst eine selbständige Gemeinde am rechten Donauufer. Obwohl auch vorher Beziehungen zu der nahen Stadt bestanden haben, wurde sie administrativ erst 1946 zu Großbratislava eingemeindet. Die einzige Landverbindung über die Donau war bis 1974 die heutige Alte Brücke. Bratislava und Petržalka verband aber seit jeher eine Vielfalt von gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen. Hier gab es Ausflugs- und Naherholungszentren, die von allen Schichten der Bratislavaer Gesellschaft aufgesucht wurden, das Bootshaus, das Lido-Bad, die Nebenarme der Kleinen Donau, der heutige J.-Král'-Park, der berühmte Prater, das Aucafé, das Wirtshaus Leberfinger oder die vor allem von Soldaten und Prostituierten besuchte Tanzgaststätte „Amerika“ usw.

Trotz der Kontakte zur Stadt hatte die Gemeinde vor- und nachher eine eigene Geschichte und eigene Probleme. Zur Illustration sei angeführt, daß noch Ende August 1919, also 8 Monate nach der Ankunft der tschechoslowakischen Legionäre in Bratislava, das rechte Donauufer zu Ungarn gehörte. Eine ähnliche Situation wiederholte sich auch 1938: Nach dem Wiener Schiedsgericht wurde Petržalka Bestandteil des Großdeutschen Reichs. Im Ausland befanden sich nun Menschen, aber auch die Stadtwälder, Obstgärten, Felder, Erholungseinrichtungen usw. im Wert von 23 Millionen Kč (Slovenský deník, 16. 12. 1938).

Die Mehrheit der ursprünglichen Einwohner von Petržalka sind von der Tatsache, daß sie unvermittelt Teil der Bratislavaer Siedlung wurden, gar nicht begeistert. Bis dahin lebten sie in einer typischen Vorstadtgemeinde, in der kleine Häuser mit Vorgärten überwogen. In der Lebensweise spielte die Landwirtschaft eine wichtige Rolle.

Bratislava mit seiner Geschichte, seinen Dominanten, seiner städtischen Lebensweise und seiner eigenen Identität wurde von den Landsleuten aus Petržalka vor allem funktionell wahrgenommen: als eine Stadt, wo sie arbeiten, einkaufen und zur Kultur fahren. Die hiesigen Ansässigen identifizieren sich bis heute nicht als Bratislavaer. Eine Informantin (geb. 1950, also schon „in Bratislava“) konstatierte: „Ich bin in Petržalka geboren und aufgewachsen. Im alten Petržalka. Hier spielte ich als Kind und besuchte die Schule. Nach Bratislava gingen wir nur mit der Schule in das Museum, auf den Slavin und so. Erst als ich die Studentin war, begann ich auch das Stadtzentrum, seine Dominanten kennenzulernen. Aber ich unterscheide stets, ob ich ‚nach Bratislava‘ gehe oder ‚zu Hause‘ bin. Das ist für mich ein Unterschied.“

In einer solchen ländlichen Atmosphäre begann der Aufbau der Großsiedlung, die mit ihren 128 000 Einwohnern (1991) eigentlich die drittgrößte Stadt in der Slowakei ist (nach Bratislava und Košice). Die meisten ursprünglichen Häuser fielen dem Abriß zum Opfer. Ihre Besitzer erhielten Wohnungen in anderen Vierteln. Zwischen den Plattenhäusern überlebten nur einige ältere Straßen. Unzufrieden sind alle, die heute im Petržalka leben. Die Preßburger (weil sie „aus der Stadt“ wegmußten), die Alteingesessenen von Petržalka (weil das Dorf, an das sie gewöhnt waren, nicht mehr existiert) und viele Zugewanderte: sie erhielten zwar das ersehnte Dach über dem Kopf, aber zur Zufriedenheit fehlt ihnen noch viel.

Der Identifizierungsprozeß mit der Umwelt wurde durch die Tatsache kompliziert, daß nach verschiedenen Untersuchungen hier die Negative überwiegen (RATICA 1992). Es zeigt sich eine hohe Scheidungs- und Kriminalitätsrate. Eine der Analysen konstatiert u.a.: „Es kam zu einer Devastation vieler Werte der Lebensumwelt. Wohl am deutlichsten spiegeln sich diese im Bewußtsein der Bevölkerung von Petržalka wider. Sie können sich schwer mit der Anonymität, Indifferenz und Inhumanität der Umgebung abfinden“ (ŠIMKO–MLÁDEK 1993:212).

In welchem Maße den Menschen von Petržalka konkrete kulturelle, gesellschaftliche und architektonische Dominanten fehlen, die ihnen die Identifikation mit der Gesamtheit ermöglichen würden, illustriert wiederum ein Beispiel aus dem Sportbereich. Während am linken Donauufer die Sympathien zum traditionellen Slovan (dem ehemaligen ČSŠK) überwogen, waren sie in Petržalka etwa zu gleichen Teilen zwischen beiden Bratislavaer Ligaklubs (Slovan, Inter) verteilt. Eine neue Situation entstand, als der damals „uninteressante“ Kovasmalt Bratislava seinen Namen in ZŤS Bratislava – Petržalka und später in FC Petržalka umänderte. Für viele Einwohner des rechten Ufers (einschließlich des Teils der hier lebenden Bratislavaer Ansässigen) wurden die Fußballer ein Symbol. Sie brachten zum Ausdruck: Wann sie die Möglichkeit haben, dann identifizieren sie sich mit ihrer Umgebung.

Ein ähnlicher Prozeß vollzog sich auch am anderen Ufer. Die Einwohner der Altstadt identifizierten sich nicht mit Bratislava als einem abstrakten Ganzen, sondern nur mit konkreten Teilen, in denen sie sich real bewegten (SALNER 1992). Man kann von der Rückkehr zum Ausgangszustand sprechen: in einer Zeit, als die Einwohner sich „vor allem als Preßburger fühlten“, war das Milieu, in dem sie lebten, klein und übersichtlich. Nach einem der Zeitgenossen konnte man, wenn man in den dreißiger Jahren durch die Straßen des Zentrums ging, nicht den Hut auf dem Kopf behalten. Jede Minute mußte

man nämlich einen Bekannten grüßen. Heute ist Bratislava viel größer. Trotzdem kann man angeblich stundenlang spazieren und braucht den Hut überhaupt nicht zum Gruß zu ziehen. Die wachsende Anonymität der Stadt bewirkte, daß die neuen Einwohner nur wenige Möglichkeiten hatten, um eine Beziehung zur Stadt, ihrer Kultur und Lebensweise zu entwickeln. Den Adaptationsprozeß verlangsamte auch die Tatsache, daß die Stadt administrativ in die unpersönlich benannten Bezirke Bratislava I bis IV eingeteilt wurde. Später kam Petržalka, bezeichnet als fünfter Bezirk, hinzu.

M. HUBA (1987:23) konstatiert, daß die Zuwanderer, die heute die Mehrheit der Bevölkerung bilden, keine Beziehung zu den Werten „ihrer (und gleichzeitig nicht ganz ihrer) Stadt“ erwarben. Das gilt für das linke Ufer und in noch größerem Maße für Petržalka. Viele ihrer Einwohner bevorzugten intensive Kontakte zu der Umgebung, aus der sie stammen (FEGLOVÁ–SALNER 1985). Mehr als andere identifizieren sie sich nicht mit der konkreten Umgebung des Wohnortes oder mit der Stadt, wo sie leben, sondern mit größeren, abstrakten Symbolen. Als höchsten Wert heben sie die slowakische Ethnizität hervor. Die Unterschiede zwischen Petržalka und den alten Stadtvierteln äußerten sich auch in den Wahlergebnissen. In den Kommunalwahlen von 1990 wurden als Oberbürgermeister der Stadt (P. Kresánek) wie auch als Bürgermeister des Altstadtviertels (M. Zemková) Kandidaten gewählt, die sich als Vertreter der nichtnationalen, bürgerlichen Plattform deklarierten. In Petržalka wiederum gewannen die national orientierten Kräfte das Übergewicht. Bürgermeister wurde A. Doktorov von der Slowakischen National Partei. Den gleichen Trend bestätigten auch die Parlamentswahlen von 1992. Während in der Altstadt 21,7% der Stimmen Parteien der Bürgerplattform gewannen (zusammen mit Košice am meisten in der Slowakei), wählte jeder fünfte Einwohner von Petržalka (19,9%) die Slowakische Nationale Partei. Gerade hier erzielte sie überhaupt den höchsten Gewinn in der ganzen Slowakei (KRIVÝ 1994). (In den Parlamentswahlen 1994 gewann die Slowakische National Partei in der ganzen Slowakei 5,4%, in Petržalka 10,0%).

SCHLUSSBEMERKUNG UND PERSPEKTIVEN

1) Infolge der politischen Prozesse wurde aus dem deutsch-ungarisch-slowakischen Preßburg eine slowakische Stadt Bratislava. Zu ihm kam erst 1946 Petržalka (zunächst als Vorstadtgemeinde, später als Siedlung). Jeder dieser Begriffe repräsentiert bestimmte Werte der Kultur und Lebensweise, mit denen sich verschiedene Bevölkerungsgruppen identifizieren. Nach dem II. Weltkrieg entwickelt sich stufenweise die neue Bratislavaer Identität als Folge dieses Prozesses.

2) Die Zunahme der Einwohnerzahl (verbunden auch mit den Abgängen der stadt-bildenden Schichten) führte dazu, daß diejenigen, die die Identität des Vorkriegs-Bratislava annahmen, sich zahlen- und bedeutungsmäßig in der Minderheit befanden: Als „nichtslowakisch“ lehnen viele Zuwanderer die Elemente dieser Vergangenheit, die traditionellen stadttypischen Erscheinungen der Lebensweise, aber auch die Benutzung des Bratislaver Dialekts ab. Eine wichtige (negative) Rolle in den Prozessen der Herausbildung der Stadt spielt die Anonymität in den zwischenmenschlichen Beziehungen.

3) Die Veränderungen nach dem II. Weltkrieg bewirkten, daß die Zuwanderer (sowohl quantitativ als auch durch den politischen Einfluß) eindeutig zur Spitzenkraft der Stadt wurden. In der „Opposition“ befanden sich nicht nur einzelne Bewohner, sondern auch das einstige Pluralitätsmodell der Kultur und Lebensweise als Ganzes. Die damaligen Ämter nahmen die alte Stadtkultur (und ihre Träger) als „fortschrittshemmend“ und „feindlich“ wahr.

4) Die Bewertung der Entwicklungsperspektiven wird durch eine Vielzahl veränderlicher Faktoren kompliziert, deren Folgen heute nur schwerlich abzusehen sind. Wir nehmen an, daß in der Mehrheit der Stadtteile (Petržalka inbegriffen) sich allmählich die Zusammensetzung der Bevölkerung stabilisiert. Es werden kleinere Siedlungseinheiten entstehen, in denen sich die Anonymität verlieren und persönliche Beziehungen zur nächsten Umgebung und später auch zur Stadt als Ganzem entwickeln werden. Man kann also erwarten, daß auch die heutigen „Fremden in der eigenen Stadt“, sich (vor allem nach der Geburt von Kindern) nach und nach adaptieren. Auch dank der permanenten Wohnungskrise, deren Lösung nicht greifbar ist, kann man eine Stabilisierung der Bevölkerung und die Entstehung adäquater Stadtformen der Lebensweise annehmen.

5) Mit einer gewissen Reserve beurteilen wir dieses Entwicklungsmodell gerade in der Altstadt, also in einem Viertel, das sich heute als kulturell und in der Bevölkerungsstruktur am stabilsten zeigt. Die ursprünglichen Besitzer mußten die Häuser in den Jahren 1939–1950 verlassen. Die neuen Mieter, die nach 1938 hierherkamen, vor allem in der Zeit von 1945–1955, wurden nicht nach marktwirtschaftlichen Prinzipien ausgewählt, sondern nach anderen (politischen) Kriterien. Die Restituten und die erwartete Liberalisierung der Miete wird früher oder später eine Welle der inneren Migration erzwingen. Die älteren (und sozial schwächeren) Mieter, die hier überwiegen werden kaum die neuen finanziellen Ansprüche erfüllen können und werden ihre Wohnungen verlassen müssen.

LITERATUR

FEGLOVÁ, V.–SALNER, P.

1985: Svätocňé príležitosti v súčasnom mestskom prostredí (Festliche Gelegenheiten im heutigen Stadtmilieu). Slovenský národopis, 33, S. 347–354.

GINDL, E.–ZAJAC, P.

1990: Na slovo s Júliusom Satinským (Im Gespräch mit Július Satinský). In: Slovenské pohľady, 106, č. 1, S. 65–80.

HRUŠOVSKÝ, J.

1963: Umelci a bohémi (Künstler und Bohemiens). Bratislava

HUBA, M.

1987: Spor o kultúrne dedičstvo pokračuje. Príloha k zápisnici z výročnej schôdze SZOPK č. 6, (Der Streit um das Kulturerbe geht weiter. Anlage zum Protokoll der Jahresversammlung der Naturschützer). Bratislava, 5. 2.

KRIVÝ, V. A KOL.

1994: Slovensko a jeho regióny: vzorce volebného správania a ich sociokultúrne pozadie (Die Slowakei und ihre Regionen: Formeln des Wahlverhaltens und ihr soziokultureller Hintergrund). Bratislava (mit Unterstützung der J. Hus-Stiftung. (Anmerkung: die mit dem Einverständnis des Autors zitierte Studie ist Teil des Manuskripts der fertiggestellten Arbeit)

MAŠLONKA, Š.–KŠŇAN, J.

1988: Zlatá kniha futbalu na Slovensku (Das goldene Buch des Fußballs in der Slowakei). Bratislava

RATICA, D.

1992: Psychologische Aspekte der Adaptation in der Umwelt einer Wohnsiedlung. In: Ethnokulturelle Prozesse in den Großstädten Mitteleuropas, Bratislava S. 57–65.

SALNER, P.

1992: Die Stadt zwischen Mensch und Politik. In: Salner–Luther (eds.): Ethnokulturelle Prozesse in den Großstädten Mitteleuropas. Bratislava S. 69–78.

ŠIMKO, D.–MLÁDEK, J.

1993: Petržalka – životné prostredie a jeho humanizácia (Petržalka – die Lebensumwelt und ihre Humanisierung). In: Slovenský Národopis, 41, S. 201–215.

VRBKOVÁ, M.

1994: Dnes: Zora Paulíniová, architektka, ochranárka (Heute: Zora Paulíniová, Architektin und Naturschützerin). In: Staromestské noviny. č. 13, S. 8–9.

ATTEMPTS TO DENY THE BUNJEVCI OF BAČKA (VOJVODINA) THE RIGHT TO BELONG TO THE CROAT NATION

Milana Černelić

Department of Ethnology, University of Zagreb
41000 Zagreb, Ivana Lučića 3, Croatia

As an introduction to the theme of the study, the basic data on the history and the ethnic structure of the province of Vojvodina should be given, with special emphasis on the immigration of the Croat population into the region of Bačka and the ethnic changes in the 20th century in the area.¹

The province of Vojvodina is a constituent part of the so-called United Republic of Yugoslavia. It borders Hungary in the north, Croatia in the west (along the Danube mostly), Romania in the east and along the Danube and the Sava rivers, and the so-called "narrowed Serbia" in the south. The name of Vojvodina appeared for the first time in 1948. It applied to the regions of Bačka and Banat (which were the older names of the regions) and a part of the region of Srijem, which was included in Vojvodina after 1860 when it was given the name of Serbian Vojvodina. After the creation of the Kingdom of Serbs, and Croats and Slovenes, its borders slightly changed: the region of Croatian Baranja became a constituent part of Vojvodina, while some territories of the Bačka and Banat became parts of Hungary and Romania. The whole region of Srijem was placed under the administration of Croatia. After the Second World War, when the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was created, Baranja again became a constituent part of Croatia, with the eastern part of the region of Srijem still attached to Vojvodina. During that period, right up to the moment of the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia in 1991, Vojvodina existed as an autonomous province within the Republic of Serbia.

After the Slavs settled in the south, the territory of Vojvodina was largely populated by South Slavs, Serbs and Croats, and Magyars, the proportions changing according to the historical circumstances. The area of Vojvodina, as integral part of the Hungarian Kingdom from the 10th century until 1918, was by its position historically predestined for periodical resettlements through the exodus of the inhabitants or their settling and organized colonization. Turkish wars and occupation had caused the frequent abandoning of large areas and their resettlement in relatively more peaceful periods. After that time the territory of Vojvodina was largely populated by South Slavs, mainly Serbs and Croats, moving in smaller or larger groups up to the present days. The Šokci, a Croat group inhabited the western parts of the region of Bačka along the Danube in the 15th

¹ I deal with these problems in more detail in the article: "Ethnic Changes in Vojvodina in the 20th Century with Special Reference to the Bunjevci Croats", 1994.

century, moving in from Bosnia and in the 16th century from Slavonia, where they had settled earlier. The ethnic name Šokci refers to the native Croat population that inhabited Slavonia, Srijem and the northern regions of Bosnia along the Sava river during Turkish occupations (for example, see PAVIČIĆ, 1953: 43–101; SEKULIĆ, 1984: 122; REM, 1993: 18–25). The greatest mass immigration of the South Slavs occurred in the 17th century. The Serbs under the settled in Vojvodina (the well-known migration of the Serbs under the patriarch Arsenije Čarnojević in 1690), as well as the Croats, mainly the Bunjevci, the migrations occurring in several big waves, the last and the greatest being the 1687 migration (for example, see IVIĆ, 1929: 292–297; PEKIĆ, 1930; SEKULIĆ, 1986: 37–40, 44–58). One branch of the Bunjevci ethnic group migrated to the north into Bačka and along the Danube area in the surroundings of Budapest, having moved there from south-western Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. The other branch migrated to the west, settling in the regions of Lika, Hrvatsko primorje and Groski kotar in western Croatia. The Bunjevci are the most compact ethnic group in the northwestern and northern parts of Bačka, in Vojvodina, and in the Hungarian part of Bačka (Bács-Kiskun district), most likely because they have lived in the area for centuries together with various peoples. The ethnic name of Bunjevci is also known in the area of their potential homeland; it does not always denote a specific ethnic group there. It is used along with other regional names to denote Catholic Croats in the area. As the term had not always been well accepted, it was dropped and almost forgotten. The ethnic Bunjevci is not known nowadays in Herzegovina. In the regions of Lika and Hrvatsko primorje it is still used to differentiate the Bunjevci from the other Croat populations in the region.

In the 18th and 19th centuries, the Austrian state initiated and implemented the settlement of a number of German inhabitants and some other nationalities (first of all Magyars, Czechs, Slovaks, Ruthenians) from the larger territories of the Austrian empire. All these settlements represent the basis on which the multiethnic structure of Vojvodina had been formed (JANKULOV, 1961; ŽULJIĆ, 1989: 109, 119; LAUŠIĆ, 1991: 184 and so on).

The ethnic structure of Vojvodina has changed during the 20th century. After World War I, the new state government organized colonization of Vojvodina. The new settlers were mainly so-called “dobrovoljci” – volunteers – citizens of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes who entered the Serbian army up to November 18, 1918, remaining in it till the demobilization. During World War II, at the end of the war and in the after-war years up to 1948, there were further ethnic changes in Vojvodina. After the deportation of the German settlers and settling of the inhabitants from the South Slav ethnic expanses, the Serbs increased from the most numerous people to the majority people. The significant number of Serbian (162,000) and Montenegrin (40,000) colonists greatly contributed to justifying the inclusion of Vojvodina into Serbia owing to its nationality structure at that time (ŽULJIĆ, 1989: 114, 119; LAUŠIĆ, 1991: 190; LAUŠIĆ, 1937: 97; ČERNELIĆ, 1994 and so on).

A short account of the basic characteristics of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes provides an explanation of the political and social context in which the manipulation with the ethnicity of the Bunjevci Croat group occurred (concerning partly also other Croat groups, the Šoksi). The period preceding the constitution of the new state was

characterized by strong "Magyarization" of the area. One of the reasons why the Kingdom of SCS had been created was quite certainly the resistance to the Magyar terror and hegemony. Arpad Lebl concisely summarizes the basic characteristics of both periods. The following short quotation illustrates well the political character of the Kingdom of SCS and the mentality of Vojvodina: "From 1919 to 1941 – a similar element was moving into Vojvodina from the south, mainly from Serbia, and it was the agent of Greater Serbia hegemonistic policy, central and centralist reaction, the bearer of the state and private terror all in areas for Greater Serbia, anti-minority chauvinism and against everything that remotely resembled progress. It had developed a kind of mentality since perhaps the time of the Bach system or even earlier in Vojvodina – it was opposed to everything that was not domestic: from Vojvodina and coming from above, from the government ... our peoples – below – never felt spontaneous hate towards each other. If it came to that, leading to extermination even, it was the hate planned and then planted by the mentioned agent of the classes in power of the dominant nation, and it was never a spontaneous occurrence. People do not hate each other" (LEBL, 1962: 28, 29).

This short quotation points to two levels that we should take into consideration: the level form "above" and the level form "below". As an ethnologist and former inhabitant of Bačka, I have been well acquainted with the "below" level of everyday life of the population, and the very specific feature of the interethnic tolerance in this multiethnic community. In my frequent ethnological researches on the Bunjevci ethnic group I have never made special investigations on their national feelings, because these feelings have not been demonstrated inasmuch on the "below" level of their everyday life activities. But I have never talked with any narrator informer who denied his Croat ethnicity. The ethnic Bunjevac implied his belonging to the Croat nation. At the same time they talked with pride and respect about their ethnic name. People made some general remarks on the fact that it was better not to express one's national and religious feelings during the communist regime. For common people the ethnic name Bunjevac never excluded their Croat nationality.²

My study will deal with the "above" level, the manipulations from above, with the fact that the Croats in Bačka are devoted to their traditional ethnic name, as well as with their religious feelings. This also concerns the other Croat ethnic group, the Šokci in Bačka, but there it was rather less evident. The reason for that might lie in the fact that Bunjevci are a more numerous group of Croats in the region, in some parts of Bačka representing the absolute majority. Moreover, Šokci were largely peasants while the Bunjevci society there had developed a middle class which had been participating in the

² Some groups of the Bunjevci intellectuals have been very sensitive to the Greater Serbian attempts (especially in the periods when the pressures were extremely high, which appears also to be the case nowadays), which might be the reason why they did not find the right way to oppose and defend the belonging of the Bunjevci to the Croat nation; nevertheless, they pointed to and disapproved of such attempts, and tired to defend the belonging of the Bunjevci to the Croat nation, which will be documented in the present study. There could be various reasons for such sensitiveness and insecurity: for example, the peripheral position of Bunjevci in relation to the other Croats; the fact that the Bunjevac ethnic name has been emphasized in the past instead of their national name (which is not a Bunjevac feature exclusively, as it is well known); different names used to describe their language (for example, Rac, Dalmatian, Illyric) and so on.

social, cultural and political life, particularly in the cities of Subotica and Sombor. The Bunjevci were, as opposed to the Šokci, primarily the owners of the larger estates.

The tendency to neutralize and subordinate the Croats started very soon in the new state, through the so-called "nationalization" of Vojvodina. The term primarily denoted the increase of the Serbian ethnic element in the province, and the true aims were covered by the expressions such as "South Slavs", "Yugoslav", "our people". The term "Yugoslav Roman Catholics" for South Slavs who are not of the Orthodox religion, i.e. the Croats, appears very indicative in the survey of the history of the Serbs in Vojvodina (POPOVIĆ, 1925).

The tendency to neutralize and turn the Bunjevci into Serbs should be considered in the context of the outlined characteristics of the period. The basic means used for the purpose lay in the handling of their traditional ethnic name. Under the cover of the common "name Yugoslav" for three people living in one state, three basic forms of manipulations with the ethnic name of the Bunjevci came to light:

1. Neutralization of the Bunjevci by emphasizing their distinctiveness: they are neither Serbs nor Croats, one explanation being that they are the fourth tribe of the single Yugoslav people, and the other one that they are the fourth nation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

2. The Bunjevci can be both Serbs and Croats, which is a matter of individual choice; it is anyway unimportant, because both the Serbs and the Croats are in fact Yugoslavs.

3. Denial of the Croat ethnicity of the Bunjevci and the Šokci, by the claim that the Bunjevci as well as the Šokci were Serbs of Catholic religion.

Manipulations of the kind can be found in different forms in various published sources, newspapers and scientific articles, especially in the period between 1920 and the early thirties, and again in 1939 and 1940. The survey of these attempts will be documented through quotations from all the available sources. These articles caused the reaction in the Bunjevci circles who were definite about their Croatian ethnic origin. Their efforts to oppose the Greater Serbian attempts to deny their belonging to the Croat nation and to defend it, will be documented by extracts from the articles in the local newspapers of the Croatian orientation.

The newspapers of the period mainly assumed the same general attitude that the Bunjevci are Yugoslavs. The viewpoints about their closer national identity were different. Some of the newspapers emphasized only the importance of the unity of the Serbs and Croats, without any further discussion about the ethnicity of the Bunjevci and Šokci (for example, *Glas naroda* "The Voice of the People"). The other opposed the Serbian attempts as well as the efforts of the Bunjevci to declare themselves to be Croats, because "they spread evil seed among us who live mixed with so many nationalities" (quotation from the newspaper *Vojvodina* 1/1927, No. 3, August 14). For example, the newspaper *Narodna reč* ("People's Word") condemns everyone who tries to force the Bunjevci to incline either to the Serbs or to the Croats, because such determination could only cause confusion among ordinary people. There is no need for that, because "today the Yugoslav idea can be freely manifested. There is no doubt that the Bunjevci are one of the branches of the two tribes of our people, as well as that the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

are together one branch of the big Slav tree" (5/1936, No. 140, January 14th, Ivan Bunjević in the article "The Attitude of Bunjevci Concerning their Tribal Identity").

Most of the newspapers with general Yugoslav orientation, have an anti-Croat attitude, emphasizing the closeness of Bunjevci with Serbs: the newspapers *Narodna reč/rič* ("People's Word"), *Subotički glasnik* ("Subotica Herald"), *Bunjevačke novine* ("The Bunjevac Newspaper"), *Smotra* ("Review"). For example, the Subotica Herald constantly makes use of the well-known slogan "the Serbs and the Croats are one and the same people", accusing the Croats for their intention to "croatize" the Bunjevci. The editors of the Bunjevac Newspaper, in an answer to the accusations of some other local newspapers that they are trying to convert the Bunjevci into Serbs, use the slogan: "The Bunjevci are the Bunjevci and they must remain only the Bunjevci". Furthermore, they have constantly tried to point to the closeness between the Bunjevci and the Serbs, using for example expressions such as: "The Bunjevci belong to the inseparable moral and cultural sphere of Serbs" (1/1926, No. 37, September 10); "The Bunjevci and the Šokci have considered themselves exactly what they have been from time immemorial, i.e. a Serbian tribe" (4/1927, No. 5, January 28) and so on. They deny the Croat ethnicity of the Bunjevci by very frequently repeating that no Croats live in the town of Subotica. The Bunjevac Newspaper appeared again in 1940 without any change in the attitude concerning the question of the nationality of the Bunjevci. In order to deny in every way the Croat national identity of Bunjevci they submitted the Bunjevac language features to an analysis in the article "Serbian Jekavian Dialect and the Bunjevac Croats" (3/1940, No. 3, March 8). The analysis is based on the theory of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić who proclaimed all Croats Who speak "štokavian" dialect to be Serbs (KARADŽIĆ, 1849: 1–27). Calling Karadžić to mind in this article only underlines the fact that the Serbs had manipulated with the ethnic names and the ethnicity of the Bunjevci and Šokci as far back as the middle of the 19th century. The attempts of Karadžić on the cultural level counterpoised the ideology of Milutin Garašanin on the political level (for example, see STANČIĆ, 1968–1969; ŠIDAK, 1973; VALENTIĆ, 1993). All the later attempts after the creation of the Kingdom of SCS were simply the reflection and extension of the intentions rooted in the ideology of Karadžić and Garašanin.

The editors of the newspaper Review follow the essential idea that the Bunjevci cannot be Croats. In order to prove such claims the quote, for example the book of Albe M. Kuntić *The Bunjevac to the Bunjevci and about the Bunjevci* from 1925 in several chapters. The author's basic idea was that Bunjevci had settled in Bačka under the leadership of the Franciscans from the region of the Buna river, where there has never been any trace of the Croats. Their religion was originally Orthodox, and the Franciscans forced the Bunjevci to convert to Roman Catholicism (1/1936, No. 33, August 21; 1/1936, No. 34, August 28). In the last chapter of the quoted book the author claims the "unique spirit of the Yugoslav nation" (1/1936, No. 35, September 14).

The editors of the newspaper *Naše slovo* ("Our letter") have a different attitude to the nationality problem of the Bunjevci. They state the viewpoint according to which the Bunjevci are neither Serbs nor Croats. The Bunjevci should not be separated, their national feelings should be a matter of individual choice; it is not a mistake to consider them either as Serbs or as Croats. The Bunjevci "are neither against the Serbs nor the

Croats, because they are the most distinct Serbocroats, and nobody has a right to forbid any Bunjevac to say that he is either Serb or Croat, because it is anyway all the same" (5/1938, No. 20, April 3, in the article "We are one People"). At the same time they do not blame those who emphasize their Croat national identity because they admit that "as a tribe of the Yugoslav nation – we are closest to the Croats by religion, alphabet ... and so on" (3/1936, No. 141, November 29, in the article "The Croatian Question among the Bunjevci"). "This question should not be the means of bargaining, each individual should be allowed to decide for himself to what nationality he belongs. If he feels he is Croat, let him be Croat; if he feels he is Bunjevac, let him be Bunjevac. It is important for every individual to be conscious of his belonging to the Serbo-Croat nation" (6/1939, No. 258, November 19, Lazar Stipić in the article "The Truth about the Bunjevci").

All the quoted writings in the local newspapers seem to be the reflections of the attempts which were initiated in certain Serbian scientific circles, whose intention was to prove that the Bunjevci and the Šokci are Serbs who have been converted to Catholicism at one point in the past, or, at least, to persuade the members of the two ethnic groups to neglect their Croat ethnicity. The local review *Književni sever* ("Literary North") from 1927 was primarily dedicated to the Bunjevci group. Ivo Milić writes that when asked about their ethnicity the Bunjevci do not seem to be able to offer an answer, explaining that, by language, they are nearer to the Serbs, and by religion to the Croats, therefore they welcome the common South Slav name (MILIĆ, 1927: 101). In the article "From the past of the Bunjevci" Aleksa Ivić takes for granted that the Bunjevci are Catholic Serbs (IVIĆ, 1927: 103). The author tried to prove the statement in one of his earlier articles in the same review, but at that point he uses the usual expression often employed at that time: "From the viewpoint of the state it is all the same whether the Bunjevci accept the Serbian or Croatian name, because they are the identical names of one and the same people" (IVIĆ, 1925: 164–265). In the ethnographic survey of Vojvodina from the period, Radivoj Simonović claims that the Bunjevci and Šokci were Serbs converted by force into Roman Catholics (SIMONOVIĆ, 1924: 13–16).

The book by the Serbian ethnologist Jovan Erdeljanović *On the Origin of the Bunjevci* from 1930; follows the same attempts in the final chapter one of the conclusions of the book specifies that the Bunjevci are Serbs of Catholic religion. In spite of the shortcomings of the book, it should be said that it is a significant ethnological contribution to the knowledge of the Croatian ethnic group known as the Bunjevci; the final statement of Erdeljanović is neither documented nor evidenced as the text preceding the statement does not offer any foundations, let alone the evidence for such a conclusion (ERDELJANOVIĆ, 1930: 394).

All the authors mentioned base their "evidence" on the historical archive sources according to which the Bunjevci and Šokci were described as Catholic Rascians by Austrian and Magyar authorities. The term *Rac*, *Rascian* is a Magyar name for a Serb. For example, Erdeljanović concludes the following: "The Bunjevci have therefore in many respects made the same impression as the Orthodox Serbs on the Magyar and the Germans" (ERDELJANOVIĆ, 1930: 202).

In his review of the book by Petar Pekić *The history of the Croats in Vojvodina from the most ancient times up to 1929*, the Serbian historian already mentioned, Dušan

Popović writes the following: "It is impossible for us to define what is specifically Serbian, and what is specifically Croatian; as far as the Bunjevci are concerned an examination should be made of the level to which both components have been included. The opinion of Mr. Pekić is that the Bunjevci had moved from the cradle of the Croatian state. The Bunjevci have, in fact, arrived from territory that did not belong either to Serbia or to the Croatian state. They are the population originating from the Bosnian territory in the political sense; therefore they represent the population in transition from the Serb to the Croat, as well as the Moslems and Šokci" (POPOVIĆ, 1930: 325–326).

At the time of the late thirties, when the Bunjevci predominantly become conscious of their Croatian origin, some newspapers reopened all over again the same questions about their national identity. One of the authors, a certain Vel. Vujović, continues in the same manner as his predecessors, repeating the well-known theories about the ethnicity of Bunjevci, such as: "Scientific ethnological researches have proved that the Bunjevci in Dalmatia were not natives ... When the Turks occupied these territories, many Croats were expelled, and Turks settled the orthodox population from Bosnia and Herzegovina there. A large number of these real Serbs in northern and central Dalmatia adopted the Catholic religion under the influence of Rome ... As far as their general characteristics are concerned the Bunjevci have basically features of pure Serbian origin, in some aspects mixed with the Croatian, such as language, life, customs and character" (*Pančevačka nedelja* "Pančevo Sunday", 7/1939, No. 332, December 31, in the article "Who are the Bunjevci").

Another pamphlet soon appeared, entitled *The Truth about the Bunjevci and Šokci*, written by Aleksandar Martinović. Following the idea of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, the author summarizes the well-known greater Serbian views about: the propaganda of the Catholic church; the Serbian character of the "štokavian" dialect for example: "Croats have extended the Croatian name to many Catholic Serbs in Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Herzegovina by the use of the Serbian 'Štokavian' dialect supported by the Catholic region"; how Magyars regarded the Bunjevci and Šokci national identity and so on. The author offers many senseless "arguments" for the Serbian origin of the Bunjevci and Šokci ethnic group. Later, D. Aleksijević repeats all the recognizable "arguments" in the newspaper *Narodna odbrana* ("National Defense"). The author gives one more "evidence" for the Serbian origin of Bunjevci, based on the anthropological characteristics of the Bunjevci, which is according to his opinion one more evidence that the Bunjevci as an ethnic group belong to the genuine Serbian anthropological type (15/1940, No. 45. November 10, in the article "Who are the Bunjevci").

As opposed to Greater Serbian views on the national identity of the Bunjevci group some other local newspapers insisted on the viewpoint that the Bunjevci are Croats. In many articles the anti-Croat propaganda about the Bunjevci problem has been pointed out with strong insistence on and defense of the Croat national feelings of the Bunjevci. The typical examples are *Hrvatske novine* ("Croatian Newspaper"), later renamed *Subotičke novine* ("Subotica Newspaper"), and *Neven* ("Marigold"). *Marigold* was the first newspaper that pointed to the attempts to turn the Bunjevci into Serbs, evident in the newspapers which printed articles written in the Greater Serbian manner. For example, in the article "The answer to Minister Vesnić" (who claimed that he will not allow anyone to

create any separate Bunjevac nation) the unsigned author comments: "What separate Bunjevac nation? Who is creating it Mr. Minister? Have not the Bunjevci taken part in the revolution in 1918 under the Croat flag, as a symbol of their nationality? Have not the Bunjevci manifested clearly on every occasion that they are what they are, i.e. Croats ... Anyone considering that is is the result of influence of the intellectuals or the propaganda can check among the Bunjevac peasantry whether they feel they are a separate nation or Croats" (33/1920, No. 280, December 21). *Marigold* was the first newspaper that warned its readers, for example: "Some leaders of the tripartite nation cannot give up their hegemonistic aims" (33/1920, No. 281, December 22 in the article "Mr. Vesnić and the Bunjevci"). Besides, the editors of the *Marigold* pointed to the attempts to turn the Bunjevci into Serbs, manifested in the school system and other fields of public life: "It has become quite evident that we stand in the way of the Serbs in achieving their goal, which is: absolute influence in all fields of public life. In 'Serbian' Vojvodina the Serbs are the only ones to govern, the others are to remain silent" (34/1921, No. 20, January 27, in the article "Let us Understand"). Another example could be the commentary on the speech of Janko Šimrak, a representative in Parliament, in which he held out against the Serbian imperialism and hegemony. In the unsigned article the following statement could be found: "We did not expect to be treated as the conquered province of the fallen Monarchy, to be turned into subordinate inhabitants of the state and the Croatian history and Croatian name to be wiped from the face of the earth ... What is even more embarrassing, they mislead the larger mass of population with false information that the Croats are nothing but Catholic Serbs, who have been captured and given the Croat name by foreigners" (34/1921, No. 37, February 17). During the period from 1920 to 1923 many articles in the *Marigold* were censored.

In the later years *Marigold* continued more and more to oppose and criticize the Serbian attempts to deny the Bunjevci the right to belong to the Croat nation and the tendency to treat them as a separate people: "We live in the State of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, not in the state of the Bunjevci. Therefore the creators of our constitution do not regard the Bunjevci as a separate people or tribe, which is quite in accordance. We wonder why some Greater Serbs try to convince us that we are neither Serbs nor Croats, but simply the Bunjevci. Because they want us to become Serbs in the end ... We Bunjevci are Croats and Catholics and that is what we shall be as long as there is air on the Earth (37/1925, No. 11, April 16 in the article "Croat Identity, Catholicism and the Bunjevci). The editors of the *Marigold* are especially critical of the articles appearing in the *Bunjevac Newspaper*, because the authors insist on trying "by force to persuade the Bunjevci that they cannot be Croats, but only Bunjevci; when they did not manage to turn them into Serbs. Their intention is to separate the Bunjevci from the Croats first and then to trick them into becoming Serbs and accepting 'holy Orthodoxy' (38/1926, No. 11, March 8, in the article "The Bunjevac Separatism"). *Marigold* also reacts to the similar attempts towards the Šokci. Their attempt to proclaim the Šokci to be Serbs of Catholic religion is "the result of ordinary tribal megalomania ... As members of the Roman Catholic church the Šokci came from Bosnia, and therefore any statement that the Šokci have abandoned the Orthodox religion under the pressure of certain Magyar official circles, cannot be

accepted as a serious judgment" (39/1927, No. 12, March 24, in the article "Šokci are Also Croats").

After the period from 1933 to 1936 during which *Marigold* was not published, it appeared again at Christmas in 1936. From then up to 1939 the newspaper had a different basic orientation, which now became similar to those newspapers previously opposed to *Marigold*. In 1939 the editor of the newspaper Joso Šokčić admitted that he had made a mistake in the article "The end of one delusion" (51/1939, No. 41, December 1).

That was the period when Croatian national feeling prevailed among the Bunjevci. At that time Serbian propaganda revived again, as already discussed. *The Subotica Newspaper* warned the reading public. For example an article published in the newspaper *Hrvatski narod* ("Croatian people"), edited in Zagreb, contained the following: "Some Greater Serbian circles cannot accept the ethnic facts in the Slavic South. Having lost the battle, which was started by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, supported by the Czech slavists, some hundred years ago, to prove that three-quarters of the Croats – all those who speak the "Štokavian" dialect – are Serbs, they are now trying to break off some peripheral branches of the Croatian people and make them into Serbs. It is especially difficult for the Serb chauvinists to admit that the Croat Bunjevci have managed to reject all attempts at artificial and forceful assimilation." The unsigned author of the article also pointed to the ideas of the already mentioned Vel. Vujović, which he regarded as an expression of the undisguised hatred towards the Bunjevci and a foolish act (21/1940, No. 6, February 9, in the article "Bunjevci and Babbling. The Serbs about the Bunjevci").

Furthermore, the *Subotica Newspaper* reprinted the article from the newspaper *Srijemski Hrvat* ("The Croat of Srijem") with a critical approach to the mentioned booklet of A. Martinović *The truth about the Bunjevci and Šokci* with already well-known Greater Serbian ideas, proclaiming the Bunjevci and the Šokci to be Serbs of Catholic religion, primarily on the basis of their being "Štokavian" dialect speakers. The unsigned author of the article rejects these claims with counter arguments, for example: It can be judged only by their old homeland around the Buna river in Herzegovina, in Dalmatia and Lika, from where they moved to inhabit Bačka and Baranja, that they are a branch of the Croatian people", and besides "they have persisted in trying to demonstrate their Croatian consciousness despite certain regimes that did not approve of that" (21/1940, No. 25, June 21, in the article "On the Origin of the Bunjevci and Šokci").

In the article "Who are the Bunjevci" in the *Subotica Newspaper* Petar Pekić gives a final evaluation of the persistent Serbian attempts, commenting on the article mentioned earlier written by V. D. Aleksijević, who "on the basis of the falsified historical facts wants to impose Serbian nationality by force on the Bunjevci ... Why should the public be deluded with such big mystifications? ... It is the last moment for the Serbs to accept the fact that they cannot turn the Bunjevci into Serbs by force Those who believe that the Bunjevci do not want to accept Serbian nationality because they hate the Serbs are mistaken. The Bunjevci do not hate the Serbs. All they want is that the injustice that has been done to them since 1920, be corrected" (21/1940, No. 48, November 29).

It seems to be appropriate to end the survey of the Greater Serbian manipulations and the reactions caused by them among the Bunjevci during the existence of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, with the quoted statement. The fact that the Serbs

never wanted to accept the principle of equality with the other peoples in the common state was the reason why they tried to convert the Croats into Serbs in order to give the region of Vojvodina a predominant Serbian character. This was the only way to achieve that goal. The constant Serbian tendency to be predominant is also the reason for the contemporary situation in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. The local problem we have been dealing with is the reflection of the greater Serbian conception in general and of the plan that Serbs have been trying to achieve by different means from the period of the foundation of the Kingdom of SCS up to the present.

The Greater Serbian attempts were neutralized after the Second World War in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia through the officially proclaimed "unity and brotherhood", with temporary tendencies to be awakened during the existence of the state. Its evil effects have been fully manifested through the war in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as in the contemporary Serbia (or the so-called United Republic of Yugoslavia) on the question concerning Croats in Vojvodina. Namely, the status of the Bunjevci and Šokci is not yet defined; they are treated neither a minority nor as nation. Their ethnic name has again became the object of manipulation, the attempts to separate them from the Croats as a separate ethnicity have been reinforced. This time Serbs used the traditional ethnic names of the Bunjevci and Šokci in the 1991 census to denote nationality (Statistic Bulletin No. 1934, 1991). This form of manipulation with the ethnicity of the Bunjevci and Šokci, not known officially, at least, in both former Yugoslav states, is similar to the methods of the former Magyar regime, that used these ethnic names in the census, putting them in the category of peoples without nationality, along with other forms of manipulations with the peoples living in the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy.

The means of manipulating is different today, but its essence has remained the same: the devotion and loyalty of the Bunjevci and Šokci Croat groups to their ethnic names has been counted on, as well as the fact that these names had been used in the past without emphasizing their national identity. I am not in the position to have knowledge of the contemporary Serbian press, but all the indicators discussed above clearly point to the fact that the old games with the traditional ethnic names of the Croat groups in Bačka have been resumed.

LITERATURE

ALEKSIJEVIĆ, D. Vlastoje

1940: Ko su Bunjevci?, *Narodna odbrana* 15/1940, br. 45 od 10. XI.

Bunjevačke novine

1926–1927: Organ zemljodilske i radikanle stranke, Subotica, 3/1926, 4/1927.

Bunjevačke novine

1940–1941: Organ nezavisnih Bunjevaca, Subotica, 3/1940, 4/1941.

ČERNELIĆ, Milana

1994: Ethnic Changes in Voivodina in 20th Century with Special Reference to the Position of the Croats Bunjevci, U: Ethnocultural Processes in Central Europe in 20th Century, Bratislava, 55–86.

ERDELJANONVIĆ, Jovan

1930: O poreklu Bunjevaca, Beograd

1930: O poreklu Bunjevaca, *Književni sever* 6, Subotica, 185–203, 1/1933, 2/1934, 3/1935.

Glas naroda

1933–1935: Nedeljovi list Jugoslovenske Nacionalne Stranke u Subotici, Subotica.

Hrvatske novine

1925–1929: Subotica, 6/1925, 7/1926, 8/1927, 9/1928, 10/1929 (do br. 23).

IVIĆ, Aleksa

1925: Bunjevci, Srbi i Hrvati, *Književni sever* 1, Subotica, 264–265.

1927: Iz prošlosti Bunjevaca, *Književni sever* 3, Subotica, 102–107.

1929: Istorija Srba u Vojvodini od najstarijih vremena do osnivanja potisko-pomoriške ganice (1703), Knjige Matice Srpske 50, Novi Sad.

JANKULOV, Borislav

1961: Pregled kolonizacije Vojvodine u. 18. i 19. veku, Novi Sad.

KARADŽIĆ, S. Vuk

1849: Srbi svi i svuda, u: Kovčežić za istoriju, jezik i običaje Srba sva tri zakona, Beč, 1–27.

KUNTIĆ, M. Alba

1930: Bunjevac – Bunjevcima i o Bunjevcima, Subotica.

KUJUNDŽIĆ, Ivan

1969: Bunjevačko – šokačka bibliografija, *Rad JAZU* 355, Zagreb, 667–769.

LAKATOŠ, Josip

1914: Narodna statistika, Zagreb.

LAUŠIĆ, Ante

1991: Iz povijesti folksdojčera i njihova egzodusa na tlu Jugoslavije, Migracijske teme 7/2, Zagreb, 183–192.

1993: Uzroci i posljedice agrarne reforme i kolonizacije 1945–1948, u: Slavonija, Srijem, Baranja i Bačka, Zbornik, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb, 91–98.

LEBL, Arpad

1962: Socijalno-istorijski aspekti etničkog pluralizma u Vojvodini, *Ethnološki pregled* 4, Beograd, 22–31.

MARTINOVIĆ, Aleksandar

1940: Istina o Bunjevcima i šokcima. Izdanje Srpskog kulturnog kluba u Subotici 1/1, Subotica.

MILIĆ, Ivo

1927: O bačkim Bunjevcima, *Književni sever* 3, Subotica, 95–102.

Narodna reč

1932–1936: Nezavistan list javnog mišljenja, Subotica, 1/1932, 2/1933, 3/1934, 4/1935, 5/1936.

Narodna rič

1920: Subotica, 1/1920.

Naše slovo

1934–1941: Subotica, 1/1934, 2/1935, 3/1936, 4/1937, 5/1938, 6/1939, 7/1940, 8/1941.

Neven

1920–1940: Subotica, 33/1920, 34/1921, 35/1922, 36/1923, 37/1925, 38/1926, 39/1927, 40/1928, 41/1929, 42/1930, 43/1930, 44/1932; 1936–1939; from nr 15: 51/1939, 52/1940.

PAVIČIĆ, Stjepan

1954: Podrijetlo hrvatskih i srpskih naselja i govora u Slavoniji, Zagreb.

PEKIĆ, Petar

1930: Povjest Hrvata u Vojvodini od najstarijih vremena do 1929. godine, Zagreb.

POPOVIĆ, Dušan

1925: Vojvodina. Prilozi proučavanju naše zemlje i našega naroda. Opšti deo. Posebni deo 1. Bačka. Prilozi proučavanju etničkih odnosa od sredine XVI veka do 1921. godine, Beograd.

1930: Petar Pekić, Povjest Hrvata u Vojvodini od najstarijih vremena do 1929. godine, Matica hrvatska, Zagreb, 1930 Glasnik istorijskog društva u Novom Sadu 3, Sremski Karlovci, 322–327.

REM, Vladimir

1993: Tko su šokci?, Slavonska naklada "Privlačica", Vinkovci.

SEKULIĆ, Ante

1941: Listovi i časopisi bačkih Hrvata od Ivana Antunovića do, Migracijske teme 6/3, Zagreb, 1990, 407–414.

1984: Bački šokci i njihova naselja, Radovi Centra za znanstveni rad Vinkovci 5, JAZU, Vinkovci.

1986: Narodni život i običaji bačkih Bunjevaca. Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena 50, Zagreb.

SIMONVIĆ, Radivoj

1924: Ethnografski pregled Vojvodine, Novi Sad.

Smotra

1936: Nezavistan nacionalno-politički list, Subotica, 1/1936.

STANČIĆ, Nikša

1968–1969: Problem “Načertanija” Ilije Garašanina u našoj historiografiji, Historijski zbornik 21–22, Zagreb, 179–196.

Statistički bilten, br.

1934: Prvi rezultati Popisa stanovništva, domaćinstava, stanova i poljoprivrednih gazdinstava 1991. godine. Nacionalni sastav stanovništva po opštinama, Savezni zavod za statistiku, Beograd, 1991.

Subotički glasnik

1925–1927: Subotica, 1/1925, 2/1926, 3/1927.

Subotičke novine

1929–1941: Subotica, 10/1929 (do br. 24), 11/1930, 12/1931, 13/1932, 14/1933, 15/1934, 16/1935, 17/1936, 18/1937, 19/1938, 20/1939, 21/1940, 22/1941.

ŠIDK, Jaroslav

1973: Studije iz hrvatske povijesti XIX stoljeća, Institut za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb.

VALENTIĆ, Mirko

1993: Garašanin i vizija Velike Srbije – prvi scenarij oblikovanja Velike Srbije, u: Slavonija, Srijem, Baranja i Bačka, Zbornik, Matica Hrvatska, Zagreb, 51–57.

Vojvodina

1927: Politički list Bunjevačko-šokačke stranke, Sombor, 1/1927.

VUJOVIĆ, Vel

1939: Ko su Bunjevci?, *Pančevačke nedelja*, 7/1939, br. 31 od 31. decembra.

ŽULJIĆ, Stanko

1989: Narodnosna struktura Jugoslavije i tokovi promjena, Ekonomski institut, Zagreb.

ETHNIC TRADITIONS IN HUNGARY IN THE FIELD OF WORK ACTIVITY

Attila PALÁDI-KOVÁCS

Institute of Ethnology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
H-1250 Budapest, P.O. Box 29, Hungary

“Economic community” is accepted as one of the most important criteria of the ethnic-social organization of the national type. In his famous book, *Bromley* explains that ethnos, interpreted in a wider sense of the term, may unquestionably possess a common system of economic relations – common, that is, in certain respects.¹ Having said that, an excessively abstract handling of the web of reciprocities between *ethnos* and *economy* cannot yield real results unless accompanied by an analysis of the concrete relationships and forms of contact. One of the manifestations of that complex fabric of interrelationships is work specialization, the life of production experience within an ethnic community and its transmission from generation to generation.

Work specialization not only determines an economic form or type: it also leads to changing patterns in the way of life, conditioning the tenor of the community’s entire culture. On further analysis of the question, we may find that the position occupied in social production also has a significant impact, on the psychological character of particular communities. Ethnology offers numerous examples of coincidences between ethnic communities and occupational groups. The majority of the “ethnic attributes” mentioned in the 19th-century European national categories show a close link with the work traditions of the individual peoples and their specialization in production.

It is enlightening, from this point of view, to examine the occupational traditions of the peoples of the Carpathian Basin, pre-1920 Hungary. The area – excluding Croatia – was home to six larger (Hungarian, German, Romanian, Slovak, Serb, and Carpathian-Ukrainian) and five smaller peoples (Croatian, Slovenian, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian). In addition, there were smaller or larger colonies or diasporas of Jews, Greeks, Armenians, Gypsies, Shokac etc. The Southern portion of the country, in particular the settlements of the Banat and Bacska, were patchwork quilts of ethnic groups. (In the 18th century, even Spanish, Italian, and French settlers came to the Banat; these were subsequently absorbed into the German community.) Indeed, the 19th-century statistician-ethnographer Johann CSAPLOVICS aptly described Hungary as “Europe in miniature”.²

¹ BROMLEY, Ju. V.: *Etnosz és néprajz* (Ethnos and ethnography). Budapest, 1976. 56–67.

² CSAPLOVICS, Johann: *Ethnographiai értekezés Magyarországról* (Ethnographic treatise on Hungary). Tudományos Gyűjtemény, Pest, 1822. III. 43.

In the 19th century, the peoples of Hungary had a well-functioning division of labour, work specialization, and exchange of products. A close connection between ethnos and occupation was especially evident in the sphere of trade. Statisticians wrote that it was impossible to establish the number of merchants, given that not only the merchants registered in the towns and villages – people having business establishments and paying taxes on them – had to be taken into account. In the middle of the last century, there were, in Hungary “entire peoples... who earned their livelihoods almost exclusively from commerce or speculation, e.g. the Jews, Greeks, the Tsintsar (a Macedo-Romanian group) and, for the most part, the Armenians too”.³

Feudal society was neither really able nor eager to integrate these trading peoples. They remained outsiders, excluded from the mainstream of society, a condition deepened by their religious differences. In the 18th century, the *Greeks* controlled not only Balkan trade but also the export to the West of Hungarian beef cattle and the export of pigs and sheep. The export of wine, too, mainly increased the profits of Greek merchant groups. The Romanian group called the *Tsintsar* had immigrated from Macedonia. Adopting the language and merchant spirit of the Greeks, they mainly joined in the trade in pigs and sheep. The so-called “Greek merchants” also included families of Serb and Bulgarian extraction. Their integration was facilitated by their common Orthodox of Eastern Christian religion. Their communities, which were not large but very prosperous, erected fine Baroque churches in the small towns they had chosen as their place of residence (e.g. Miskolc, Tokaj, Hódmezővásárhely, etc.).

The *Armenians* formed independent colonies mainly in Transylvania. Prince Mihály Apaffy brought them in from Poland in 1669. They were granted numerous privileges and commercial monopolies and quickly strengthened economically. They dealt chiefly in transit trade, in the import and export of horses, cattle, and sheep. Their separate religious allegiance ended in the early part of the 18th century when they formed a union with the Roman Catholics, speeding up their integration into the Hungarian population. In the 19th century, they were scattered from the Armenian towns of Transylvania (Szamosújvár, Erzsébetváros, Gyergyószentmiklós), finding new homes in the Hungarian settlements of Transylvania and the *Alföld*, the Great Hungarian Plain.⁴ In Transylvania, with the exception of the Saxon districts, there were Armenian shopkeepers and grocers operating virtually everywhere. In the 1850s, there were not yet any Jews living in the Transylvanian villages, for instance in the land of the Szeklers (Székelyföld); therefore there were no inns or taverns there either.

In the Western and central parts of Hungary, the Jewish population had a role in commercial life as far back as the Middle Ages. In the 16th–17th centuries, however, the Jews were forced out of the Great Plain which had come under Turkish domination, and Transylvania, too. In the 18th century, the village tradesmen and grocers of Transdanubia and the Great Plain were mainly Jewish. They were also involved in the buying up of agricultural produce; but in the export-import trade they did not touch the positions of the

³ FÉNYES, Elek: Magyarország statistikája (Statistics of Hungary). I. Pest, 1842. 114.

⁴ SZONGOTT, Kristóf: A magyarországi örmények ethnographiája (Ethnography of the Armenians in Hungary). Szamosújvár, 1903.

Greeks. In the 19th century, Jewish society already underwent a marked differentiation, as it also included wholesale merchants, industrialists, and bankers. The rest continued to pursue retail trade in the villages. Records from Baranya county from 1845 show that trade in wool, raw hide, and tobacco was entirely controlled by the Jews.⁵ In Heves county, at the same time, they engaged in buying tobacco, wool, and leather, selling haberdashery, and renting inns and taverns. They spoke Hungarian, and their dress, too, was Hungarian. Indeed, they preferred to dance Hungarian dances rather than the waltz.⁶ In many regions, the distilling of brandy was, in the 18th–19th centuries, a characteristically Jewish cottage industry. By the mid-19th century, Jews had, by and large, completed the change of language (from German or Yiddish to Hungarian) and cultural assimilation. Their ethnic character was primarily determined by their religion and, secondarily, by their involvement in trade.

Hungarian Jewry was instrumental in the modernization of economic life and in the creation of capitalism. In Debrecen, they completely controlled the collecting of wool and the buying up of tobacco, and the first tobacco factory in the town, too, was established by them.⁷ In 1853, the Jewish colony in Kecskemét already numbered close on one thousand. They were all of the Jewish religion, Hungarian speakers, and they were all merchants.⁸ And so the list of examples goes on.

In 1867, the Hungarian Parliament enacted the full equality of Jews. Following that, the Jews of the villages flocked into the towns, and a massive migration from Galicia began. That influx affected mainly the eastern parts of the country and Transylvania. At that time, there was still no anti-Semitism. Hungarian folk poetry depicted the Jew of the first half of the 19th century as a poor man wily but not disagreeable, engaging in door-to-door trade, regularly going to the market to sell, or innkeeping.⁹ It was in 19th-century Hungarian that the word *zsidó* (Jew) became a synonym for *merchant*, which it remained for a long time to come. Up until World War Two, Jews represented the majority of retailers. It is worth mentioning that earlier the ethnic identification *görög* (Greek) was used in the sense of “shopkeeper”; while, in Transylvania, the word *örmény* (Armenian) was applied to describe the same occupation.

Of the peoples of Hungary, the *Gypsies* were known for special occupations. They are mentioned, as early as the 17th century, as blacksmiths leading an itinerant lifestyle and working for the castles and villages. In later periods too, they were mainly itinerant tradesmen who produced special products (e.g. drills, nails, sickles, bells), while some of their clans mended pots and pans or washed for gold in the rivers. According to the census of 1891, fifteen per cent of the total adult Gypsy population still practised the black-

⁵ After HAAS, Mihály 1845. Cf.: PALÁDI-KOVÁCS, Attila: *Magyar tájak néprajzi felfedezői* (Ethnographic discoverers of Hungarian regions). Budapest, 1985. 100.

⁶ After TAHY, Gáspár 1837. Cf.: PALÁDI-KOVÁCS op. cit. 242.

⁷ After VAHOT, Imre 1853. Cf.: PALÁDI-KOVÁCS op. cit. 290.

⁸ Cf.: PALÁDI-KOVÁCS, op. cit. 252–253.

⁹ SCHEIBER, Sándor: *Zsidók* (Jews). *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* Vol. 5. Budapest, 1982. 633. By the same author: *The Legend of the Wandering Jew in Hungary*. *Midwest Folklore*, Vol. IV. 1954. By the same author: *Folklór és tárgytörténet* (Folklore and the history of objects). Vols I–II. Budapest, 1977.

smith's trade.¹⁰ By that time, however, the majority of Gypsies lived a settled life, dealing with adobe- and mudbrick-making, taking on odd jobs and doing unskilled labourer's work. By the late 18th century the musicians' occupation had emerged as an occupation on its own. The Gypsy census of 1782 already recorded 1582 Gypsy musicians in Hungary.¹¹ To this day, the musician's job is the Gypsy occupation with the highest prestige.

The structure of Gypsy society is built primarily on the occupational groups, and shows a close correlation with linguistic and genealogical (tribal, clan) affiliations. In earlier times, the occupation of horse-dealer (*lovári*) was a high-prestige and lucrative job. The carving of wooden implements (tubs, vessels and spoons), as well as basket-weaving, broom-making, etc. provided a meagre livelihood.

A part of the Gypsy population have retained their traditional occupations in recent decades, too. Their nail-smiths have formed their own cooperatives;¹² while their best bands play music in expensive hotels and restaurants. The horsedealers, however, have become hauliers, on they buy up agricultural produce (feather, hides, etc.). Large numbers of them now work in industry, too; but they have not become farmers, market gardeners, or livestock-breeders – even though, in 1782, the Habsburg ruler Joseph II decreed that the Gypsies be accustomed to agriculture, and that they should be given a religious education.

In the 18th–19th centuries, the Slovak population, too, had characteristic groups of itinerant artisans and itinerant vendors. Some trades, such as mining, forest work, rafting, and carting, had earlier been traditional occupations of the Slovak people. The ancestors of itinerant tinkers and glaziers had, for the most part, previously been the workers of glass-works and forges. They came from the poorest regions of the Carpathians. The census of 1900 found some 7.000 itinerant artisans in Hungary. Almost half of these were Slovak tinkers (2.226 persons) and glaziers (1.543). The greatest number was based in Trencsén county, and others in Nyitra, Szepes, and Sáros counties. There were also numerous glaziers, from Liptó, Árva, and Gömör counties. In the area of present-day Hungary, there were a few Slovak villages in Zemplén where the men practised the tinker's and the glazier's trade up until the 1960s.¹³

The Slovak itinerant artisans divided amongst themselves the markets, the entire Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The tinkers of Trencsén used to go regularly to Bohemia and Moravia, with others travelling back and forth between Austria and their homes. From Szepes county, they would go to Serbia, Bulgaria, and Romania. There were even villages whose tinkers used to pay visits to the US and Canada to ply their trade.

¹⁰ BODGÁL, Ferenc: A Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén megyei cigányok fémművessége (Metalwork of the Gypsies of Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county). *Ethnographia* LXXVI. Budapest, 1965. 527.

¹¹ SÁROSI, Bálint: Cigányzene... (Gypsy music). Budapest, 1971. 56–57.

¹² ERDŐS, Kamill: Fémműves cigányok (Metalworking Gypsies). *Néprajzi Értesítő* XLIV. Budapest, 1962. 289–306. By the same author: A classification of Gypsies in Hungary. *Acta Ethnographica* VI. Budapest, 1958. 449–457.

¹³ PETERCSÁK, Tivadar: Vándoriparosok a Zempléni-hegységben és a történeti Felső-Magyarországon (Itinerant artisans in the Zemplén Mountains in historical Northern Hungary). *Ethnographia* XCII. Budapest, 1981. 437–439, 444, 449. FERKO, V.: Svetom, moje svetom...Slovenski drotári doma i vo svete. Bratislava, 1978.

As far back as the 18th century, there were masses of Slovak itinerant vendors travelling around Europe. The most data is available on the "olejkár" (itinerant oil-sellers) who travelled around Russia. They were sellers of remedies and quacks who peddled medicinal herbs, roots, oils, and ointments. In 1786, there were some 3.000 oil-sellers living in the territory of the Monarchy. The Slovak itinerant vendors even reached St. Petersburg and were admitted into the presence of the czar; they went to Moscow, the Crimea, and as far as Central Asia and Siberia. In 1842, the czar issued a decree prohibiting the oil-sellers from entering Russia. The simple people, however, continued to welcome them. At this point, they gave up their trimmed Hungarian dress, so as to avoid attracting notice. In Russia, Slovak vendors were mostly called *vengerets* (Hungarians), as they had arrived from Hungary.¹⁴ Tinkers were known under the name of *majstershke vengertsov* (Hungarian masters). Their way of life, mobility, and bent for enterprise must have been a factor in the emigration to America and Canada of large numbers of Slovaks.

Let us take an example from agriculture as well. In Hungary, market gardening culture preserves three ethnic traditions: Hungarian, German, and Bulgarian. German market gardeners appeared in the towns of Western Hungary in the 17th century. It was in the middle of the 18th century that they settled in Pest and its environs. They formed guilds, preserving their guild traditions until the middle of the present century. They formed a closed community, marrying only amongst themselves. They specialized in early, out-of-season products, mainly vegetables. They irrigated their gardens with well-water, using horses to draw the water from the wells in large buckets. They also used forcing-beds, forcing-houses and mushroom-houses.¹⁵ Those German market gardeners who were pushed out of Pest as the city expanded, continued their activities on the margins of the towns of Kecskemét and Nagykőrös, where their gardening tradition, which took root in the middle of the last century, survives to this day.

The first groups of Bulgarian gardeners appeared around the towns of Southern Hungary in the 1870s. In the early part of the 20th century, their numbers, in certain years, reached the ten thousand total. Initially, they used to go home to Bulgaria every autumn. Instead of purchasing, they only leased the land. They obtained the water for irrigation by means of water-wheels built on riversides (Bulg. *dolap*); the Hungarians call these wheels *Bulgarian wheel*. During the Balkan Wars (1908, 1912), the Bulgarian gardeners were called home. Their places were taken by Hungarian gardeners who had earlier worked alongside the Bulgarians, and who had learnt their skills. By the time of World War One, the majority of "Bulgarian gardens" were Hungarian-owned. The Bulgarian garden embodies a distinctive system of gardening traditions. To this day, there

¹⁴ GUNDA, Béla: Az orosz vengerec 'házaló kereskedő' jelentésének néprajzi vonatkozásai (Ethnographic aspects of the meaning of the Russian vengerets "itinerant vendor"). *Ethnographia* LXV. Budapest, 1954. 76–87. By the same author: *Ethnographische Beziehungen des russischen Woertes 'vengerec' (Wandernder, Hausierender Händler)*. *Acta Ethnographica* III. Budapest, 1953. 421–435.

¹⁵ BOROSS, Marietta: Német kertészek (German gardeners). *Magyar Néprajzi Lexikon* Vol. 3. Budapest, 1980. 703–704.

are Bulgarian-speaking market gardeners living in Hungary. They have a prosperous farming cooperative at the edge of Budapest.¹⁶

An interesting ethno-social division of labour may be observed, too, amongst the craftsmen of old Hungary. Mining and metallurgy developed principally through the efforts of the Germans. Guild handicraft trade, too, was most advanced in the towns founded by Germans. It is instructive to note that the structure of industry was entirely different in the Hungarian towns of Northern Transylvania from that in the German towns of Southern Transylvania. The Saxons tended to specialize in cloth-making and textile weaving, with Hungarians active in the various branches of leather processing (tanners, furriers, boot- and shoe-makers).¹⁷

In the 18th–19th centuries, the so-called “Hungarian” and “German” artisans lived side by side in the towns of Transdanubia and the Great Hungarian Plain. There were Hungarian and German tailors; Hungarian and German furriers; Hungarian and German harness-makers, etc. In these cases, we are dealing not simply with ethnic differences but also with separate systems of working procedures, tools, products, and technical jargon. That separation survived even after the assimilation of the masters of German origin. German craftsmen catered for the bourgeois strata, while their Hungarian counterparts worked for the peasantry. The products of German craftsmen conformed to the Western Baroque style and bourgeois fashion. Hungarian craftsmen, by contrast, continued the local traditions.¹⁸ In the age of capitalism, we see the advent, too, of so-called English and French tailors, who worked according to the respective fashions of those nations. Ethnically, they had nothing to do with the English or the French people.

In the 18th–19th centuries, German craftsmen and journeymen arrived in large numbers from the Western provinces of the Monarchy and also from more distant German regions. The German population within Hungary also produced many artisans, as, in conformity with the legal custom of primogeniture, one of the sons would inherit the paternal estate and the land, while the rest would learn a trade. The establishment of manufacturing industry also entailed bringing in many German skilled workers. I know from my immediate relatives that, in the town of Ózd the descendants of the German-, Czech-, and Silesian-born masters of the iron-works used to be secretive about the tricks of the trade even as late as the 1930s. In the 18th–19th centuries there was a steady stream of emigration by Hungarian craftsmen from Hungary to Transylvania, Moldova, the Balkans, to Romanian, Serbian, and Bulgarian towns.

¹⁶ BOROSS, Marietta: *Bolgár és bolgár rendszerű kertészetek Magyarországon* (Gardens of the Bulgarian and Hungarian type in Hungary) 1870–1945. *Ethnographia* LXXXIV. Budapest, 1973. By the same author: *Acta Ethnographica* XXIX. Budapest, 1980. VARGA, Gyula: *A bolgárkertek és a magyar konyhakertkultúra* (Bulgarian gardens and Hungarian market garden culture). *Bolgár tanulmányok*, Déri Múzeum. Debrecen, 1974.

¹⁷ MISKOLCZY, Ambrus: *A dél és délkelet-erdélyi kézműipar a kelet-európai regionális munkamegosztásban a múlt század derekán* (The handicrafts industry of Southern and South-eastern Transylvania in the East European regional division of labour in the mid-19th century). *Ethnographia* XCIII. Budapest, 1982. 390, 396.

¹⁸ BÁLINT, Sándor: *A szögédi nemzet. A szegedi nagytáj népelete* (The people of “Szöged”. Life of the people in the Szeged region). In: *Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve 1974/75–2*. Szeged.

We could cite many more examples of ethnic working traditions. However, it would be more important to decide whether those traditions could have a role in the present and the future. As long as the ethnic communities exist, passing down their own traditions, the presence of these traditions must probably be reckoned with. We see how, even today, the Germans stand out in their Hungarian environment with their industry, strick work ethic, and high level of organization.¹⁹ It is well known that in Hungary in the 19th century German farmers were quicker than others to react to the booms, adapting their farms to them; they led the way, too, in purchasing new machines and introducing industrial plants into the crop rotation systems. By virtue of their innovative spirit and practical turn of mind, the farms of German farmers even today rank among the best. Positive examples might be mentioned, too, of the utilization of the occupational traditions of other ethnic communities.

However, it would be a grave mistake to overemphasize or attach absolute value to ethnic traditions. There is no doubt that – as a result of the loosening of ethnic communities, the modern organizational forms of schooling and vocational training, and the acceleration of technological development – ethnically coloured production traditions – in Hungary, no less than in other countries – are exerting their impact within an ever narrowing framework.

¹⁹ ANDRÁSFALVY, Bertalan: Nyugat-baranyai német telepesek történeti-néprajzi kérdései a levéltári források tükrében (Historical-ethnographic questions of German settlers in the Western Baranya region in the light of archive sources). In: Baranyai Helytörténetírás, Pécs, 1978. 335–346.

ETHNICITY AND/OR NATIONAL IDENTITY – ETHNIC GERMANS IN HUNGARY

Györgyi BINDORFFER

H-2000 Szentendre, Római temető u. 19, Hungary

INTRODUCTION: FROM ETHNICITY TO ASSIMILATION

One definition of ethnic identity suggests that it rests upon the subjective feeling of belonging to a group who share a sense of their similarity. This special knowledge is based on a common set of traditions available only to the members of that particular ethnic group. Anthropologists dealing with identity claim that ethnic membership is “given by birth”¹ and may be determined “by primordial attachments.”² Furthermore, ethnic identity has often been defined as an essentially “past-oriented”³ form of identity, embedded in the cultural heritage of the individual or group. The actual history of a given group (including a sense of unbroken biological continuity over generations) very often trails off into mythology.

Further characteristics of this identity may be religious beliefs and practices, mother tongue and the various customs of everyday life. Rites and ritual practices as well as cultural performances which serve as means of remembering and symbolically representing the past are of particular importance to this identity.⁴ These cultural manifestations help to maintain a belief in continuity,⁵ to awaken a feeling of an undying loyalty toward the group, and thereby contribute to the cohesion of the group.

Ethnic identity is at the same time a way of defining the self in opposition to others. In this conception, differentiations such as ethnic markers and symbols are used to set boundaries between groups.⁶

With the collapse of communism and its concomitant rapid mobilization and social change, the answer to the questions “who am I?” and “where do I belong?” have become

¹ D. L. HOROWITZ, “Ethnic Identity,” in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, ed. by N. GLAZER and D. P. MOYNIHAN (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 113.

² C. GEERTZ, “The Integrative Revolution: Primordial Sentiments and Civil Politics,” in *Old Societies and New States* ed. by C. GEERTZ (New York: The Free Press, 1963), p. 109.

³ The past-oriented ethnic identity “contrasts with a sense of belonging linked with citizenship within a political state, or present-oriented affiliations to specific groups demanding professional occupational or class loyalties.” Future-oriented identities are the function of ideological commitments. See G. DE VOS and L. ROMANUCCI-ROSS, “Ethnicity: Vessel of Meaning and Emblem of Contrast,” in G. DE VOS and L. ROMANUCCI-ROSS (eds.), *Ethnic Identity: Cultural Continuities and Change* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), pp. 363–64.

⁴ P. CONNERTON, *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁵ H. E. ERIKSON, *Identity: Youth and Crises* (New York: Norton, 1968).

⁶ KI-TAEK CHUN, “Ethnicity and Ethnic Identity: Taming the Untamed,” in *Studies in Social Identity*, ed. by T. R. SARBIN and E. SCHEIBE (New York: Praeger, 1983).

more complicated. Ethnic identity, or as Bell specifies the term, "ethnicity," is "... not a primordial phenomenon in which deeply held identities have reemerged, but it is understood as a strategic choice by individuals..."⁷ One can choose his or her "identification or attachment in a self-conscious way even in the case of ethnic belongings"⁸ and can be a member of different identity groups at the same time. Ethnic identity can be intersected by identities of social class, status, occupation, sex, and in certain cases national feeling.

At the same time – with the collapse of the Soviet Bloc, war in the former Yugoslavia, and German unification – "cultural heterogenization" versus "cultural homogenization" as well as globalization versus localization have multiplied into a whole new series of "imagined worlds." These multiplied worlds are constituted by "the historical situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe"⁹ and have resulted in the appearance of new forms of identity constructions. As a consequence of these developments, representation of different identities has become highly determined by the particular situation, in terms of both time and place. As Bell states, "at particular times ... one specific identity becomes primary and overriding."¹⁰ Thus the "roles selected in response to any given situation depends upon the definition and perception of the particular events."¹¹

What is meant, however, by a "given situation?" Following Young's argument, I would define a "given situation" as that social context in which messages (including rules, norms, expectations of the society) are transmitted, and more importantly, the specific manners in which they are transmitted. Political pressure is such a message, too. Social and political contexts involve different activities of persons and groups together with the possible reactions and consequences which these actions may produce. In particular, in the case of majority group response to ethnic minorities, this message may take the form of assimilationist policies.

One possible response by a minority to such an assimilationist message on the part of the majority society, may be assimilation. In this chapter, I will examine the nature of responses to assimilationist policy of one particular minority group, namely the Germany-speaking Schwabians in Hungary. Prior to this case study, I will discuss in-depth the concept of assimilation.

Park and Burgess write:

assimilation is a process of interpretation and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memories, sentiment and attitude of other per-

⁷ D. BELL, "Ethnicity and Social Change," in *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*, ed. by N. GLAZER and D. P. MOYNIHAN (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), p. 171.

⁸ BELL, p. 153.

⁹ A. APPADURAI, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," in *Global Culture*, ed. by M. FEATHERSTONE (London: Sage, 1990).

¹⁰ BELL, p. 159.

¹¹ C. YOUNG, *The Politics of Cultural Pluralism* (Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), p. 38.

sons or groups and by sharing their experiences and history they are incorporated with them in common cultural life.¹²

In a later definition of assimilation Park confines the meaning of the term to cultural behavior only. According to this definition assimilation is "the name given to the process by which people of diverse racial origin and different cultural heritage occupying a common territory, achieve a cultural solidarity sufficient at least to sustain a national existence."¹³

A special group of social anthropologists including Redfield, Linton and Herskovits declared already in the 1930s that acculturation (synonym for assimilation in anthropology) "comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups."¹⁴ These definitions all emphasize the cultural aspects of assimilation.

More recently however, Gordon extends the concept of assimilation by outlining several sub-processes:

- 1) Acculturation (cultural or behavioral assimilation): Change of cultural patterns to those of the host society;
- 2) Structural assimilation: Large scale entrance into cliques, clubs and institutions of the host society;
- 3) Marital assimilation: High rate of intermarriage;
- 4) Identity-based assimilation: Development of sense of peoplehood¹⁵ based exclusively on host society;
- 5) Attitude reception assimilation: Absence of prejudice;
- 6) Behavior reception assimilation: Absence of discrimination; and,
- 7) Civis assimilation: Absence of value and power conflicts.¹⁶

Gellner suggests that "two men are of the same nations if and only if they share the same culture, where culture in turn means a system of ideas and signs and associations and ways of behaving and communicating;" and moreover, "if and only if they recognize each other as belonging to the same nation... [which] are the artifacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities."¹⁷ If Gellner is correct, then I would argue that assimilationist tendencies and practices are necessary to create one's national identity if he or she has a minority status.

¹² R. E. PARK and W. BURGESS, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), p. 735.

¹³ R. E. PARK, "Assimilation, Social," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. 2, ed. by E. R. A. SELIGMAN and A. JOHNSON (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938), p. 281.

¹⁴ R. REDFIELD, R. LINTON, and M. J. HERSKOVITS, "Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (1936) p. 149.

¹⁵ Under "sense of peoplehood" a kind of collectives feeling is understood (Cf. M. M. GORDON, *Assimilation in American Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

¹⁶ GORDON, pp. 70-71.

¹⁷ E. GELLNER, *Nations and Nationalism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p. 7.

Thus, from the point of view of group-membership, belonging to a nation is a transformation of belonging to an ethnic group.¹⁸ This statement can relate, however, only to cases of majority ethnic groups, who have the historical possibility of undergoing a development into a nation.¹⁹ But the inverse process has developed with a significant number of minority ethnic groups, groups who have never found themselves in a historical situation that would allow them to even consider nation state formation.

REMAKING SCHWABIAN IDENTITY

During anthropological fieldwork in 1993 in Dunabogdány (*Bogdan an der Donau*),²⁰ a Schwabian-speaking village in Hungary, I examined current concepts of ethnicity, assimilation and national identity as well as their relation to the everyday life of the villagers.

In contemporary East and Central Europe, following the decline of communism, the "most important problems" of the region seem to center on new ethnic identities and social formations. I shall analyze ethnic identity, assimilation and national identity and their relations to each other on the basis of my field work carried out in 1993 in Dunabogdány, Hungary. Special attention will be given to the question of how past-oriented ethnic identity still functions in the present. I shall examine to what extent mother tongue (held to be a boundary marker in differentiating the "we" group from the "others,"²¹) is an important indicator of belonging to an ethnic group.

Assimilation will be examined on the basis of Park and Burgess' definition as well as Gordon's seven stages. In my analyses, however, I shall distinguish between assimilation on a group level and on an individual level. While on the one hand "group level" refers to the ethnic community as a whole, an entity which does not want to disappear even though it has lost many of its traditions, the individual level in this context is considered through the views of members of the ethnic group. The individual level that I will address refers to the individual person who has to adapt his or herself to the challenge of assimilation and finds other means for comparison with the majority.²²

Officially, all groups of settlers who came to Hungary from the *Römisches Reich* (the Holy Roman Empire) or the Habsburg Empire are called either "Hungarian Germans" or "the German national minority of Hungary."

¹⁸ Gy. CSEPELI, *Nemzet által homályosan* [Deluded by Nation], (Budapest: Századvég, 1992).

¹⁹ See Crowther and Schwartz, this volume for examples of national identity leading to the formation of a new national state in post-communist East Central Europe. [Editor's note.]

²⁰ Schwabian inhabitants in this village have never wanted to rename their settlement as was the case with other Schwabian communities in Hungary. *Bogdan* is a Slavish word and means "given by God". They only added "an der Donau" (along the Danube) to the original name. In everydaylife when speaking Schwabian, however, they only say "Bogdan".

²¹ F. BARTH, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1969).

²² H. TAJFEL, ed., *Differentiation Between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (London: Academic Press, 1974).

We must take into consideration, however, that immigration began already during the reign of Stephen I around 1000 A.D. and has lasted up to the end of the nineteenth century. The Saxons immigrated in the Middle Ages and the Schwabians, mostly peasants, settled after the Turkish occupation in the eighteenth century.

Even though the first settlers in the eighteenth century came from Schwabian provinces and some of these settlers stayed in Hungary, a good number of them continued on towards Russia. After this, Germans came to Hungary from all over Germany as a consequence of two further organized waves of settlement to recruit peasants for agricultural work in Hungary. These Germans nonetheless were consistently labeled "Schwabians" by Hungarian natives. In this way they ethnonym for this ethnic group was given to them by outsiders. These eighteenth century settlers, however, did not consider this to be a pejorative designation and accordingly they accepted and adopted it for their own use. Moreover, these Germans began to insist on use of the Schwabian label in spite of the fact that currently all people of German origin who immigrated to Hungary regardless of when they came are simply called Germans. Thus for our purposes the terms Schwabians and Germans are synonymous.

In defining the group under consideration here, I should clarify that "Germans" engaged in industry from Austria also arrived in Hungary in the second half of the nineteenth century. These craftsmen in no way considered themselves Schwabians, and the Schwabian label was not used for or by the German bourgeoisie of that time either.

As far as language is concerned, Schwabian and German are distinct languages. Schwabian includes those dialects which developed from the original native dialects of the German language spoken in Hungary and these dialects were the mother tongues of the eighteenth century settlers. German, on the other hand, is the literary and standard language and the former mother tongue for the already totally assimilated German craftsmen and bourgeoisie. In spite of the differences mentioned, German is very often noted as the mother tongue in the literature as a generic term for all dialects. If the German minority is referred to as a whole, either by layman, or in official documents, then the label "German" is often used. This does not reflect, however, the internal differences that members of these two distinct German-speaking minority groups hold.

As a consequence of immigration from different parts of the Habsburg Empire at different time, the minority population of German origin in Hungary does not form a homogeneous ethnic community with a common language, history or culture. Of course there are smaller regions with individuals speaking the same dialect or sharing the same cultural traits, but owing to their different places of origin, heterogeneous culture, dialects and socio-economic background, the Germans on the whole are comprised of different ethnic units. In addition to this the dispersed nature of their settlements made it impossible for them to develop a common language throughout Hungary and as a result they never underwent social, cultural or political unification.

There were attempts to unify the Germans and Schwabians in Hungary into one ethnic group (*Volksgruppe*), namely, during the reign of the Nation Socialists in Germany, the Third Reich. They organized the *Volksbund* (People's Association) for the Germans living in Hungary and promised them land in the Ukraine after the victory of

the German army in the Second World War. Since this organization was supported by Hitler, all Germans were collectively punished after the Second World War by being resettled in Germany. The communists also tried to make a homogeneous ethnic group from all of the local village communities with different dialects, habits, traditions and culture, too. The government considered literary German to be the official language and accordingly there were opportunities to study this literary German language. In 1979 in Dunabogdány a German language course was organized for adults, but a lack of interest resulted in the course never even starting.

After the Second World War thousands of Schwabian speaking people were resettled in Germany as collective punishment for Germany's role in the War. They were forced to leave all their possessions behind in Hungary. Those who were allowed to stay, were forbidden to speak their mother tongue and most of them lost their property. Their houses and land were expropriated and they were compelled to move elsewhere. In the context of this extreme post-war repression of the German minority, their number decreased. The ethnic revival program of the 1970s initiated by the Communist Party formed dance groups, choirs or brass-bands in an attempt to "preserve" German culture. The real aim of this program, however, was not to encourage the rebirth of the German ethnic identity, but instead to ameliorate inter-ethnic problems still plaguing relations between the majority "nation" and minority "nationalities."

At a conference on inter-ethnic relations in 1988 between the Hungarian majority and the German minority (groups of which are still speaking different dialects all over Hungary), the German participants defined themselves as a "language community" with their own socio-cultural traditions and they declared their common desire to maintain cultural traditions and mother tongue while continuing to speak the Hungarian language of the majority. This meant that they wished to maintain their ethnic identity but without excluding the possibility of belonging to the Hungarian speaking majority.

According to church records, Schwabian inhabitants of Dunabogdány arrived in Hungary in the first part of the eighteenth century. Their settlement in this village was organized by the local nobility to repopulate the lands left vacant following the Turkish occupation. They called themselves Schwabians and most of them considered Schwabian to be their mother tongue. Their dialect is a hybrid of the Rhenish Franc and the Danubian Bavarian dialects. It is spoken in only five settlements and is considered one of the most difficult dialects for outsiders to understand.

There often are, however, discrepancies between statements made by conference participants, official statistics and various academicians. For example, 75 percent of Dunabogdány is of Schwabian origin. The memory of post-war repression, however, still results in a certain unwillingness or hesitancy in expressing ethnic origin. In the 1990 census only seven people identified themselves as Schwabian.

Kloss argues that the German speaking minority in Hungary is a language group that is in the process of continuous reduction.²³ My field experiences in Dunabogdány support

²³ H. KLOSS, *Die Entwicklung neuer germanischer Kultursprachen von 1880 bis 1950* (München: Pohl, 1978).

Kloss' proposition, and the Schwabian inhabitants of the village clearly state that one of the features of their ethnicity is speaking Schwabian. Having lived in Hungary for three hundred years, however, even the oldest generation is bilingual. Depending on the social situation, they easily switch back and forth between Schwabian and Hungarian. Considering Schwabian as their mother tongue connects them nostalgically to their past, their youth, their family, relatives and old friends in the village. Since, however, this dialect has not experienced a revival through contact with literary German, it lacks words and phrases for the newest phenomena of the world. Thus they are compelled very often to speak Hungarian.

Members of this first generation, people between sixty-five and eighty years old, were the last whose ethnic acculturation was continuous. The repression after the Second World War resulted in an interruption in the continuity of handing down their language, traditions, norms and community rites. As a consequence of this, Schwabians went "underground." In spite of the fact that they taught their children to speak Schwabian, they were not fully successful in transmitting their culture as a whole. While ethnic consciousness actually strengthened in the face of this repression, today we see this Schwabian consciousness being limited to a small sphere of folk traditions (marriage, funeral, music and dance) as modernization and an ever increasing trend towards globalization feed a desire to assimilate.

The members of the second generation I examined, aged forty to sixty, use both Schwabian and Hungarian as well. They speak Schwabian at home especially with their spouse and with members of the same generation. Their children, the third generation (ages twenty to forty), understand Schwabian and could speak it, but in practice prefer not to use it. Grandparents or parents talk Schwabian to their grandchildren and they typically answer them in Hungarian.

Let us now examine more closely the role and significance of Schwabian as a mother tongue in the ethnic identity of the Schwabian population in Dunabogdány. We will first notice that the overall tendency is one of decreasing importance afforded to language, as we move from the oldest to the youngest generation.

While in the first age group the mother tongue still plays an important role, for the ethnic identity of the second generation the importance of Schwabian depends on whether the individual with recognized Schwabian heritage counts him or herself as a member of this ethnic group or not. For those, who say: "Yes, I am of Schwabian origin and I am a Schwabian, too," the Schwabian mother tongue is important and they try to speak it as often as possible. On the contrary, those who say "though I am of Schwabian ethnic origin, I consider myself a Hungarian national" are not as inclined to use languages other than Hungarian. In spite of the fact that they learned Schwabian at home from their parents, they still consider Hungarian to be their mother tongue, a fact indicating a stronger national identity than an ethnic one. Such an interplay of identities presents a nice example of the "constructed Hungarian" ethnicity.

There are people in the second generation, however, who insist upon their Schwabian origin, consider themselves as members of this ethnic group, but still did not claim Schwabian as their mother tongue. As we can see, there is a correlation between the subjective feeling of belonging to an ethnic group and having Schwabian ethnic identity, but

it is not necessarily a function of language. We have to distinguish practice from attitude. Whether they speak Schwabian or not, they consider themselves members of the Schwabian community.

Similar characteristics can be observed among members of the third generation of Dunabogdány Schwabs. Though they do not deny their Schwabian origin, they consider Hungarian to be their mother tongue. They have, indeed, learned Hungarian as a mother tongue even though they frequently heard Schwabian spoken at home (mostly among members of the first generation). In spite of the fact that they understand Schwabian, they do not think it is of any use to know Schwabian since it is a "dead language" with a very limited vocabulary. As can be seen, the Schwabian mother tongue is not present in their construction of ethnic identity. Signs of ethnic identity for this generation are manifested instead through a few traditional customs; for example, the traditional Schwabian wedding with brass band music and the dances of their grandparents.

Ethnic identity, however, does allow one to exhibit a strong sense of belonging to one's ethnic group, interpreted as a local group, more so than an ethnic group *pre se*. Losing the mother tongue is a very important indicator of the process of ethnic assimilation. Mihok, for instance, argues that the cause of this language-based assimilation is the consequence of changes in the socio-economic structures and modernization. For her, to be able to take part in the economic, political and cultural life of Hungary, and to be able to function as full citizens, language assimilation was both a necessary and compelling force.²⁴

I contend that assimilation to the language of the majority is the initial step, but by no means the final stage of assimilation. In this intermediate stage signs both of ethnic identity and of assimilation are simultaneously present in the lives of individuals of a given ethnic community. As I mentioned above, there were cases in Dunabogdány where the mother tongue was known though no longer spoken.²⁵ Independently of this, people continue to define themselves as members of a Schwabian minority group. At the core of their ethnic identity is not the Schwabian language, but rather their ethnic affiliation and self-definition as Schwabian. This ethnic identity is not represented by language use but instead by traditional customs and habits. These do not only function as boundary markers for the Schwabish community but through their conscious maintenance they represent very important symbols of ethnic identity for each generation. Schwabian weddings and funerals with brass band music, religious festivals honoring their two patron saints (St. Bernardus and St. John of Nepomuk), Schwabian balls, the "sramli" (accordion music), brass bands and old folk dances are all interwoven into their everyday life to form recognized symbols of their Schwabianness.

²⁴ B. MIHOK, *Ethnostratifikation im Sozialismus aufgezeigt an den Beispielländern Ungarn und Rumänien*, (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990), p. 129.

²⁵ This is an example of what bilingual researchers call passive bilingualism; for them, also a sign of the move towards monolingualism and monoculturalism in the language and culture of the majority group. See Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism* (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1989).

REMAKING ETHNIC IDENTITY AND/OR ASSIMILATION

As far as language is concerned, we should turn to the role of standard and literary German for the Schwabian inhabitants of Dunabogdány. Today the majority of the Schwabian villagers do not speak standard German, even though this language was and is taught at school, it is without much success. Since there is no literary Schwabian, their basic contact with literary German came through the use of German language Bibles and prayer-books. Therefore, up until recent years, Schwabians learned to pray in either German or Hungarian, and not on their local Schwabian. In this way there was no chance for literary German to evolve into a substitute language. In everyday life it is not uncommon in a Schwabian conversation to interject with Hungarian, a discourse pattern which does not occur in those rare instances when literary German is being used. Not knowing literary German adequately encourages the development of a Hungarian national identity and the acknowledgment of Hungary as their only homeland.

Thus, Schwabians in Dunabogdány struggle for their ethnic survival through the maintenance of selected cultural traditions. When these individuals are outside of the village, there is no apparent visible marking of their ethnic identity. In order to maintain a balanced identity they strive to preserve their ethnicity within the context of their native village.²⁶ Even in those cases when Schwabian villagers no longer consider themselves part of the Schwabian ethnic community – and have adopted a Hungarian identity – they still refrain from abandoning the feeling of common origin and shared and deep-rooted traditional values. This phenomenon seems to support the theory that ethnic identity is given by birth and characterized in the minds of many informants by “primordial attachments”.

Considering once again Park and Burgess’s definition, I would argue that in the case of Dunabogdány, there are traces of acceptance of collective Hungarian sentiments and attitudes. They share the experiences and history of the majority population. In addition to preserving their own ethnic traditions, they can simultaneously enjoy the benefits of a shared cultural life with the majority Hungarians, thus furthering the process of their assimilation. This can be characterized as an example of biculturalism.

In the course of three hundred years of co-habitation and social interaction with Hungarians, certain elements of Schwabian culture have totally disappeared (traditional clothing and houses) while changes have occurred in other cultural patterns and habits. Residents of Dunabogdány can clearly identify that which is uniquely Schwabian, German or Hungarian. The assignment of specific traits to specific ethnic identities, differs, however, from one generation to the next. According to my Schwabian informants in

²⁶ During my fieldwork, however, I did come across a certain number of people who, although they did not deny a Schwabian heritage, identified themselves as Germans. Those who insisted on this change of ethnonym were not too popular in the village and were regarded by the others as assuming such an identity for the purpose of obtaining financial assistance from Germany. Nonetheless, they were proud of their being German and stressed this identity outside of the village, too.

Dunabogdány, cultural traits and traditions of ethnic character belong to the Schwabian group. Positive self-stereotypes such as purity and diligence fell into both Schwabian and German groups. Those elements associated with modernization and already present for several generations – clothing, housing, food, furniture – were classified as Hungarian, even by members of the first generation. Now, during the 1990s members of all three generations read the same Hungarian newspapers and books, watch the same Hungarian television programs and listen to the same Hungarian radio as majority Hungarians.

Despite the fact that these characteristics have been totally interwoven into their lives, members of the first generation stress a Schwabian identity – an identity based on origin, language, common historical background, habits and traditions – which hark back to the primordial conception of ethnicity.

The second generation, with a higher level of education and corresponding social status than their parents,²⁷ revealed that inside the village they consider themselves Schwabians, but outside the boundaries of their ethnic enclave, they represent themselves as Hungarians. Outside of the village nobody is interested in their origin, mother tongue, or in the nationality of their husband or wife. Even German family names do not draw attention to their ethnic affiliation out of the village. Nonetheless, having a traditional German family name is a important feature of ethnic identity within the confines of their village. With the exception of participating in traditional cultural activities (weddings, balls) and working diligently, they claim that for the most part their lives vary little from those of Hungarians.

Though this duality can already be observed among members of the second generation, it becomes even more striking in the third generation. These grandchildren call themselves “Hungarian” both inside and outside of the village, though aware of the Dunabogdány ethnic borders, do not take them into consideration. The duality “we” and “others” so pertinent in other new ethnicities in East Central Europe is wholly absent from this third generation’s mode of thinking. They are not willing to follow the traditional norms of marrying only Catholic Schwabians, holding instead, the view that marriage should be based on love and not on perpetuating the Schwabian community. For the most part, though, third generation Schwabian identity is rapidly disappearing.

Returning now to Gordon’s seven stages of assimilation, we can see that in spite of the fact that there are behavioral and cultural differences between generations, the acculturation process has not yet been completed on either the personal or the group level.

We can find acculturation differences between the personal and group level within each generation. On the personal level, acculturation is in an advanced stage in each generation, while on the group level ethnic characteristics are more strongly preserved.

Structural, marital and identity-based assimilation occur in Dunabogdány only at the personal level. Members of the second and third generations have already entered Hungarian societal and institutional networks and many of them have intermarried. Despite

²⁷ The settlers of the village were originally peasants, but since the land was quite poor, the men had to work in the stone-mine near the village or go to the city in order to be able to earn enough money for their families. Some people specialized in transporting food. These people had contacts in Austria and Germany and could speak standard German.

these measures of assimilation, however, these Schwabians have yet to develop a complete sense of belonging to Hungarian society. The traditional exclusiveness of Hungarian society, especially with respect to minorities, likely contributes to this distance. Being Hungarian is also an ascriptive characteristic, one that cannot be simply chosen by Schwabians. Moreover, identification with exclusively Hungarian values would be tantamount to self-denial of their ethnicity and heritage for the Schwabians.

Gordon's attitude and behavioral assimilation occurs on both individual and group levels. There are no specific prejudices against Schwabians in post-communist Hungary in the way such prejudices manifest themselves against other ethnic or religious minority groups.²⁸ There are no claims that members of the Schwabian minority prevent Hungarians from getting the best jobs or that some sort of germanization trend is imminent. There is no societal or political discriminatory behavior directed against Schwabians.²⁹

As for civic assimilation, we can observe an absence of value conflicts on the individual level. In certain spheres of life value conflicts are no longer at play between members of the host Hungarian society and the Schwabian minority. For example there is no difference in how judgments are made with respect to Hungarian industry or central tragic events of Hungarian history. These shared value judgments can be viewed as being indicative of a desire to assimilate in the part of most Schwabians in Dunabogdány.

The absence of power conflicts is rather a group level phenomena, and it would be inaccurate to say that all power conflicts have already been abolished. For example, even though any member of an ethnic minority can be a member of the Parliament, once there, he or she does not have the right to represent their ethnic community there. In order to achieve community rights on the political level, minorities in Hungary will have to develop interest groups. In fact, beginning with the fall of 1994, the Hungarian Parliament passed a law, which allows for representation of minority political groups, at both the local and the national level. The extent to which the Schwabian minority will take advantage of this law remains to be seen.

NATIONAL IDENTITY AND THE PROBLEM OF HOMELAND

In spite of evidence of assimilatory trends, the question should still be posed, can a member of an ethnic minority group claim a dual identity, encompassing both a Hungarian national identity and a Schwabian ethnic identity? On the basis of the current Hungarian

²⁸ Following the collapse of state communism, strong prejudices can be experienced in Hungary against, among others, Gypsies, Jews, Krishna-believers, alcoholics and homosexuals.

²⁹ In the period immediately following the Second World War "German" was synonymous with "Nazi." Discriminatory measures against the German minority only gradually came to an end. Resettlement was completed by 1948. Even though the study of German was allowed once again from the end of the 1950s, no one dared enroll their children in German language courses. In the 1960s, the Association of Hungarian Germans was organized under the leadership of the Communist Party. Prejudice and discrimination practically disappeared only in the 1970s when the Hungarian Communist Party initiated its ethnic revival program.

ian Minorities Law, passed in 1993, the Schwabian population is officially considered a German national minority on the basis of language, and accordingly, it can be also considered as a part of the German nation.

Inhabitants of Dunabogdány refuse this politicized categorization. They claim that they are Schwabians by origin and as such form an ethnic minority, but simultaneously not only are they citizens of the Hungarian state but they also consider themselves to be members of the Hungarian nation. They live in Hungary and do not claim any membership to any other nation. Literary German was never their mother tongue (though some did indeed study it in school along side Hungarian classmates) and they are able to express themselves better in Hungarian than in Standard German. Furthermore, Schwabians in Hungary simply do not relate to German national culture or history. Indeed, they are more familiar with Hungarian kings, politicians and historical events than with their German counterparts. A common history with the Hungarian people bonds them to the Hungarian nation.

Schwabians share the same symbols of the Hungarian state and they practice the same Catholic religion as the majority of the Hungarian population. They honor St. Stephen, the first king of Hungary, and his Sacred Crown as the symbol of the Hungarian state. Since the Schwabians' arrival in Hungary in the first half of the eighteenth century precludes present generations from partaking in any German historical consciousness prior to that time, as there was no German nation at that time, they have adopted the "accepted" Hungarian historical consciousness for those missing centuries. Acceptance of the history of the majority was an important step towards feeling membership in the Hungarian national community.

The Schwabians, having lived in Dunabogdány since 1724, have no image of Germany as homeland. For them, Hungary is their "*Vaterland*" (Fatherland). Their ancestors were born, died and were buried in this village. They never wanted to leave and their forced re-settlement following the Second World War had tragic consequences. They could not understand why they were forced to leave their homeland. They have consistently argued that they have always been faithful citizens of Hungary and have shared in its historical fate. They feel as their diligent work and agricultural advances have contributed to Hungary's economic successes. The Schwabians feel at home in Hungary because they have always been much more involved with Hungarians than with members of other German speaking groups in the country or with Germany itself.

ASSIMILATION AND THE FUTURE OF SCHWABIANS IN HUNGARY

The Schwabian minority exhibits a unique equilibrium between the national identity of the majority and the ethnic identity of the minority. The boundary between these two identities fluctuates with the interplay of different phenomena and is dependent upon on those elements of the Hungarian national identity which can be incorporated into their own traditions and customs.

The Schwabian community accepted and adapted all values of Hungarian national identity which were absent from their own identity and did not conflict with their everyday ethnic life. They share a substantial history with Hungarians, have common opinions of historical events. They fought together in 1848 against the Habsburgs and served in the Hungarian Army in the First World War. The only point of historical contention centers on the question of the forced re-settlement of Germans following the end of the Second World War. The Schwabians feel that they were chased out of their own country.

They have also adapted elements of identity which are present in both ethnic and national consciousness and demonstrate compatibility and cohesiveness. Through Catholicism they share a religious identity with Hungarians, including religious devotion to the Blessed Virgin as the Patron Saint of Hungary and they also partake in the adoration of the right hand of Saint Stephen.³⁰ The common features of Schwabian and Hungarian Catholicism have helped the Schwabians to balance their ethnic and national identities.

On the other hand, the Schwabians have not accepted any elements of the so-called "Hungarian national peasant culture" with its eighteenth century origins,³¹ and have preserved their brass bands as well as their accordion music for folk dances (polkas, waltzer, hupfedlis).³²

Beyond maintaining cultural traditions on the group level, Schwabians have incorporated those cultural elements of Hungarian society on an individual level which have made upward social mobility possible. We must not disregard the fact that assimilation of language and culture is dependent upon the necessity and demand for its usage in the social life of the Schwabians. Positive experiences in these fields awake positive feelings toward "Hungarianness," too, and this has important consequences for the development of a Hungarian national identity as well as for the dissolution of a Schwabian ethnic identity.

Ethnic Schwabians live with a special double-identity. This includes both ethnic and national elements and is open in both directions. The emergence of this dual identity construction is indicative of the strong assimilative desires of this community. The Schwabian case, however, proves that assimilation does not automatically mean the loss of ethnic identity. The Schwabians, indeed, are not "foreigners wedged" into the "body of the nation," but rather they are equal members of the Hungarian nation.

³⁰ The right hand of Saint Stephen, the first king of Hungary, was detached from his corpse some years after his death and guarded in the treasury of the Cathedral as a sacred relic. It is shown to the public on August, twentieth, Saint Stephen's Day.

³¹ T. HOER, "The Creation of Ethnic Symbols from the Elements of Peasant Culture," in *Ethnic Diversity in Eastern Europe*, ed. by P. SUGAR (Santa Barbara, California: ABC Clio, 1980).

³² Though Gypsies cohabitate most villages where Hungarian peasantry live, they were never allowed to settle in Dunabogdány. Gypsies by tradition are brick makers but not even this work has been offered to them in Dunabogdány. Instead, Schwabians made their own bricks. Gypsies are also traditionally musicians by profession. But Gypsy music "was laughed at in our village, because we have our own sramli to accompany our dances. They could not come in to play here" – said one inhabitant. Even today only brass band and sramli music is played during various church ceremonies, public holidays or festivals.

TAUSCHKINDER UND TAUSCHBURSCHEN AUS CSONGRÁD

Judit SZÜCS

Tari László Museum
H-6040 Csongrád, Iskola u. 2, Ungarn

Der Kinderaustausch zum Zwecke des Sprachenlernens war bei den Familien verschiedener Muttersprache im Karpatenraum schon seit dem 16. Jahrhundert üblich.¹ Im 19. Jahrhundert „tauschten“ nicht mehr nur Grundbesitzer- und Bürger-, sondern auch Handwerker- und Bauernfamilien ihre Kinder aus, um ihnen auch damit das Lernen einer Fremdsprache in muttersprachlicher Umgebung zu ermöglichen. Das erläuternde Wörterbuch nimmt seinen Beispielsatz von Mór Jókai. Ihn gab sein Vater als 10–12jährigen 1835–37 nach Preßburg (Pozsony, Bratislava) zum Lyzeumslehrer Sámuel Zsigmondy, damit er dort Deutsch lerne.²

Der von Csongrád nach Pest gekommene László Makai organisierte 1835 als Hauslehrer einen Austausch zwischen seinem Brotgeber, einem Handwerker namens Richter, und dem Notar von Csongrád István Tóth: Die Tochter des Handwerkers ging zum Ungarischlernen in die Stadt in der Großen Ungarischen Tiefebene und Sándor Tóth zum Deutschlernen nach Pest. Später arbeitete er, in Pest bleibend, als Gehilfe bei einem Pester Kaufmann namens Siebrech.³ Die vom Austauschkind gelernte deutsche Sprache wurde also zur Voraussetzung, einen Beruf erlernen zu können.

In der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts konnte ein Austausch also nicht nur zwischen transdanubischen Städten, sondern auch zwischen Pest und einer Tieflandsiedlung zustande kommen.

Im 19.–20. Jahrhundert finden sich aus mehreren Landesteilen Beispiele für den Austausch zwischen Bauern- und Handwerkerkindern. Aus der Tiefebene, aus Zsadány, gingen Bauernburschen in Gebiete mit rumänischer Muttersprache, und die slowakischen Bauern aus der Umgebung von Nyíregyháza schickten ihre Söhne zu ungarischen Bauern von Hajdúnánás zum Lernen.⁴ Der durch den Handel entstandene Kontakt zwi-

¹ László KÓSA 1986, 175–181, Attila PALÁDI-KOVÁCS 1988, 147, Zoltán ÁCS 1984, 204.

² A magyar nyelv értelmező szótár (Erklärendes Wörterbuch des Ungarischen). 1978, I, 873, József SZINNYEI: Magyar írók élete és munkái (Leben und Werke ungarischer Schriftsteller) V, 1897, 539.

³ László BARTA 1989, 167, István KOVÁTS 1981, 384. Zu den von Barta mitgeteilten Angaben aus Csongrád ähnliche von 1861.

⁴ Gyula NAGY 1965, 610–612, Zoltán ÁCS 1984, 204.

schen Tiefebene und Zips ist bekannt. Es gibt auch Angaben für den Austausch zwischen dem Komitat Arad und Szeged.⁵

Auch die ungarisch-slowakischen Wirtschafts- und Handelsbeziehungen im früheren Oberungarn wurden durch das mittels Kinderaustausch gesicherte Sprachenlernen gestärkt.⁶ Bei dem Austausch zwischen den slowakischen und ungarischen Dörfern im Túróc-Tal lernten die Mädchen und Jungen nicht nur die Sprache, sondern auch Lieder und Bräuche.⁷

Im Bergbauggebiet Nord-Mecsek gab es den Brauch des Kinderaustauschs zwischen Ungarn und Deutschen, und auch zwischen den Ungarn im Káler Becken und den deutschsprachigen Bauern- und Händlerschichten der Őrség.⁸ (1995, vor Abgabe des deutschsprachigen Textes, hörte ich in der Szenteser Mittel- und Großbauernfamilie Bacsó-Tárkány Szűcs [aus Hódmezővásárhely durch Heirat nach Szentes gekommenes Familienglied]-Vajda, daß man sich an Austauschkinderkontakte aus der Zeit um die Jahrhundertwende erinnerte.)

Für die jüngere Generation der Csongráder Familien war der Austausch an zwei Altersabschnitte gebunden. Der Austausch der Elementarschüler diente dem Sprachenlernen der aufwachsender Kinder in fremdsprachlicher Umgebung. Daneben bedeutet er auch das Kennenlernen einer von der eigenen abweichenden Kultur und deren System von Bräuchen. Der Austausch in der Burschenzeit gab vor allem Gelegenheit, entwickeltere Wirtschaftsweisen als die heimische kennenzulernen.

1908 geboren, wurde Lajos Ormos während des Ersten Weltkrieges Austauschkind. Sämtliche Söhne und Schwiegersöhne seines Großvaters László G. Forgó waren als Soldaten eingezogen, so auch Lajos' Vater. Die Frauen, die Ehefrauen, blieben mit den Kindern dort. Der Großvater erledigte den Austausch brieflich. Er brachte die Enkel zu Familien im Banat, nach Jánosföld, südlich von Zsombolya, 70 km von Temeschwar (Temesvár, Timișoara). Dort besuchten sie die Grundschule, auch mein Gewährsmann beendete dort die 2.–4. Klasse (laut beiliegender Zeugniskopie). Dabei lernte er auch Deutsch. Die am Austausch teilnehmenden Schwabenkinder brachte er in seinem Haus in der Schul-Straße unter, von wo sie die Bürgerschule des Ortes besuchten.

Zwischen 1915 und 1918 waren außer Lajos Ormos (früher Ornyik) sein Bruder Sándor Ornyik, sein Vetter István Forgó, Viktorka Forgó (nicht verwandt), Mihály Berkes, Emma Bodor, János Fekete, György Oláh (alle Kinder von Bauern), László Pintér (Sohn des Sparkassenkassierers) in der Fremde. Ferenc Oláh ging 1918–19 hinaus, er stellte folgende Namenliste zusammen: Lajos Ormos, Sándor Svettye, Imre Gózon (sein Vater war Obermüller) und vier Oláh-Jungs, Vettern: György, Imre, Ferenc und János.

Der 1909 geborene Ferenc Oláh hat seinen eigenen Aufenthalt in der Fremde weiter präzisiert: ein Jahr verbrachte er 1916–17 als Zweitkläbler in Jánosföld (per Luftlinie 120–130 km von Csongrád) und wohnte bei der Familie von Miklós Guth, den Eltern

⁵ László KÓSA 1986, 177, Sándor BÁLINT 1975, II. 196. Das deutsche Stichwort. In den Bänden von A Szögedi nemzet finden sich keine Angaben. Antal Juhász' mündliche Angabe mit Berufung auf Sándor Bálint. Gyula SOMOGYI 1912, 368. Auf diese Angabe machte mich László Kósa aufmerksam.

⁶ Attila PALÁDI-KOVÁCS 1988, 146–155.

⁷ Zoltán UJVÁRY 1977, 125.

seines Austauschpartners. Das nächste Schuljahr verbrachte er als Drittklässler in Zombolya. Dort lebte er gemeinsam mit seinen Vetter István Szabó beim Bankdirektor Dr. Károly Galgonya. Hier lernte er sogar Klavier spielen. Für die anspruchsvolle Versorgung konnten sie in Geld oder Naturalien bezahlen, die die aufnehmende Familie unterstützte damit vermutlich ihren in Pest die Universität besuchenden Sohn.

Auch György Oláh berichtete, wie er ein Austauschkind wurde: Es geschah im Juni 1917. Sein Vater war Soldat, Hilfsgendarm, und begleitete einen Deserteur nach Nagybecskerek. Da traf er János Guth, dessen einer Sohn schon in der Bürgerschule von Csongrád lernte. Er suchte einen Platz für seinen jüngeren Sohn. Die beiden Männer warteten auf den Zug, unterhielten sich und tranken Wein. Der Vater von György Oláh entschloß sich, seinen Sohn zum Lernen fortzuschicken. Sie vereinbarten sich. Aber der Guth-Junge, Hansi, lernte nicht, so daß sie ihn nach Hause holten. So hat im ersten Jahr György Oláhs Vater für seinen Sohn „Kommention“ gegeben. Im zweiten Jahr wurde dieser das Austauschkind für den Sohn eines Guth-Verwandten, Mátyás Guth. György Oláh und Imre Gózon blieben bis 1919.

Der Großvater von Lajos Ormos und Sándor Ornyik, László G. Forgó, und der Großvater der Oláh-Jungen, Gergely Oláh, waren Besitzer von mehreren hundert Morgen Land. (In beiden Fällen lebte die drei Generationen umfassende Großfamilie in Gütergemeinschaft.) Die in der AustauschKinder-Namenliste vorkommenden Bauern waren als Besitzer von 40–60 Morgen Land registriert.

In der Pintér-Familie hatte der Vater sein Gewerbe während seiner Wanderschaft gelernt. Er hatte also selbst „die Welt bereist“ und hielt die Kenntnis fremder Kulturen und Sprachen auch für seine Kinder für wichtig. Drei Mädchen von seinen Kindern kamen noch vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg nach Jánosföld, zu einer wohlhabenden deutschen Bauernfamilie namens Kifer. (Die jüngeren Söhne konnten nach dem Krieg diese Möglichkeit nicht mehr nutzen.) Julianna Pintér blieb in der Nachkriegszeit noch eineinhalb Jahre bei der Familia Kifer (Ferenc Pintér).

In der deutschsprachigen Bauernfamilie konnte auch eine Handwerkerstochter nützliche Dinge lernen. Die Bräuche der Haushaltsführung einer anderen als der eigenen Kultur konnten dem jungen Mädchen als Muster dienen. Sie waren im weiteren Leben gut zu verwenden. (Hier können nur allgemeine Schlußfolgerungen gezogen werden, da ich mit ihr nicht mehr sprechen konnte.)

Von der Lajos Ornyik (Ormos) aufnehmenden Familie Krier blieb ein Foto erhalten und sind einige nähere Angaben bekannt. Der Familienvater war 1915–1918 an der Front, die Mutter arbeitete mit ihren zwei halbwüchsigen Töchtern in der Landwirtschaft, der Junge auf dem Bild, „Vili“, ging in Csongrád zur Schule. Das Foto entstand anlässlich eines Festtagsbesuches zu Hause, s. Abb. 1.)

Die befragten noch lebenden AustauschKinder erinnerten sich mit Rührung an die 1, 2 oder 3 bei den Schwaben, in fremder Umgebung verbrachten Jahre. Lajos Ormos hatte sogar den ersten Tag nicht vergessen, den auch die anderen ähnlich erlebt und sich das Recht des Andersseins erkämpft haben mochten, die Anerkennung ihres Ungarseins in schwäbischer Umgebung. Denn am ersten Tag auf dem Rückweg von der Schule umstellten und verspotteten ihn die Kinder des Dorfes. Er nahm seine Tasche und trieb mit ihr die spottenden Kinder auseinander. Seine Bücher trug er in der Hand nach



Abb. 1. Familie Krier in Jánosföld. Rechts das aufgenommene Austauschkind Lajos Ormos (Ornyik)

Hause, aber von da an wagten sie ihm nichts mehr zu tun. Er hatte sich Anerkennung verschafft.

Die 6–12 ungarischen Kinder mußten zusammenhalten, aber auch mit den Gastgebern und den schwäbischen Kindern Beziehungen aufbauen. György Oláh erinnert sich an ein Schlagballspiel außerhalb des Dorfes.

Jánosföld, dieses Banater Schwabendorf im Komitat Torontál, lag im Gebiet der österreichisch-ungarischen Monarchie an einer Nebenlinie der Eisenbahn von Temeschwar über Zombolya nach Párdány. Heutzutage, in der nach dem Ersten und dann dem Zweiten Weltkrieg entstandenen Lage, befindet es sich an der rumänisch-serbischen Grenze auf rumänischer Seite und trägt den Namen Jonel (die Eisenbahnnebenlinie ist inzwischen eingestellt). Das Dorf war im Laufe der organisierten Besiedlung des 18. Jahrhunderts entstanden.

In Jánosföld wirtschafteten die Bauern auf kleinen Gütern organisiert, „schön“, die Bewohner waren begütert. Die Milch lieferte man an drei Sammelstellen ab, die Jung- rinder brachte man jährlich nach Wien. Gänse wurden bereits damals maschinell gestopft und ebenfalls organisiert geliefert. Die entwickeltere Wirtschaft ist damit zu erklären, daß die Bevölkerung der nach der Türkenzeit geschaffenen Kammersiedlungsdörfer

bei ihrer Ankunft erhebliche Unterstützung erhielten, also einen Vorteil gegenüber den spontanen Siedlern genossen. (Über die Tatsache der bedeutenden Hilfe wird in der Fachliteratur gestritten, doch besteht kein Zweifel an der Tatsache der Entwicklungsunterschiede.)

Im Dorf gab es eine kirchliche Schule, die Religionspraxis war strenger als in Csongrád. Das Gemeinschaftsleben war bei der Arbeit und bei den Vergnügungen sehr lebendig. Auch die 7–12jährigen Kinder sahen den Unterschied in der Wirtschaftung und Lebensweise der beiden Siedlungen. Diese Jungen nahmen an der Arbeit in der Familienwirtschaft zu Hause mit 5–6 Jahren und in der Gastgeberfamilie als einige Jahre Ältere entsprechend ihrer physischen Kräfte teil, so bemerkten und registrierten sie die Unterschiede.

An den Beginn des Spracherlernens, an das Lernen des ersten Satzes, erinnert sich Lajos Ormos noch: In der Schwäbischen Familie bestrich die Mutter eine Schnitte Brot mit Honig, welche sie in der Hand hielt und sagte: „Ich birth konichbrot“, bis der sechsjährige ungarische Junge den Satz wiederholte. Dann durfte er das Brot essen. (Die einstigen Austausch Kinder verkehren auch nach 75 Jahren mit den Familienmitgliedern auf Deutsch.) Der Mann der „Mutter“ war damals Soldat, der jüngere Sohn war in Csongrád, der größere in Temeschwar Handelsgehilfe und die Mädchen bereits heiratsfähig. Die drei Frauen waren für das Sprachenlernen des 7–10jährigen Jungen ein auch gefühlsmäßig reiches, angenehmes Medium.

Alle, mit denen ich persönlich sprechen konnte, behaupteten, sie hätten nach ihrer Rückkehr noch jahrelang deutsch gedacht. (Ja als Ältere träumten sie wiederholt davon. Wer dort einen Besuch machte, bei dem verschwanden diese Träume.) Nach ihrer Rückkehr verstärkten der Deutschunterricht in der Bürgerschule und die Möglichkeit, mit den Geschwistern deutsch zu sprechen, die Sprachkenntnis weiter. Das mochte auch die Ursache für unangenehme Erlebnisse sein: Den in der ersten Stunde in der Bürgerschule deutsch zählenden Jungen „belohnte“ der Mathematiklehrer mit einer gewaltigen Ohrfeige.

György Oláh nahm 1928 an „Hansis“ Hochzeit teil. Bis heute erinnert er sich an die in der dortigen Wirtschaft binnen 10 Jahren eingetretenen positiven Veränderungen. Danach folgen sie mit seltenen Briefwechseln den jeweiligen Veränderungen ihres Lebens. György Oláh weiß von der Verschleppung der deutschen Familien und ihrer Umsiedlung nach Deutschland.

Mihály Bozó heiratete ein sudetendeutsches Mädchen, bis heute korrespondiert er deutsch und frischt seine Kenntnisse an Sprachbüchern auf. Auch Ferenc Pintér verfolgte die Gestaltung des Lebens der Familie Kifer: sie gingen nach Amerika.

Die zum Lernen und der Kenntnis der Fremdsprache der Austausch Kinder geknüpften Kontakte haben also jahrzehnte lang, ja bis zum Tode bestanden und sich fallweise auch auf die folgenden Generationen vererbt.

Es ist vorgekommen, daß jemand seinen Deutschkenntnissen das Leben verdankte. György Oláh kam dadurch 1945 schwerkrank aus sowjetischer Gefangenschaft nach Hause.

In die Familie Bozó kamen aus Perjámos (im Komitat Torontál, von Csongrád in der Luftlinie ca. 60–80 km entfernt) zwei Jungen, „Hansi“ und „Nandi“ Bandenburg. Sie

besuchten die Bürgerschule, waren aber keine Austausch Kinder, sondern zahlten für den Unterhalt. Die während des Krieges vaterlos gewordene Familie brauchte das Geld oder die Bezahlung in Naturalien. Die Summe konnte nicht hoch sein, da auch die Ansprüche nicht hoch waren, wie Mihály Bozó sagte. Er hält für die Grundlage der guten Kontakte zwischen den ungarischen und den „schwäbischen“ Kindern die ungaarische Sprachkenntnis der Schwaben (mit der sie bereits ankamen) und den gemeinsamen Glauben, wie er wortwörtlich sagte: „Alle beide waren gute Katholiken“.

Lajos Ormos brachte aus einer früheren Altersgruppe seinen in Gyertyámos als Austauschkind weilenden Onkel, den Bauern Antal Forgó, als Beispiel. Dieser habe noch im Alter ein wenig Deutsch gekonnt. (Gyertyámos war ebenfalls ein deutsches Dorf im Komitat Torontál, in der Luftlinie ca. 90–100 km von Csongrád entfernt.)

Laut der Statistiken zweier Jahrbücher der Bürgerschule vom Ende des Jahrhunderts waren im Schuljahr 1891–92 drei Schüler aus dem Komitat Torontál mit deutscher Muttersprache und 1892–93 zwei aus dem Komitat Torontál und zwei deutsche Schüler an der Schule. Aufgrund des Vergleichs der mündlichen Angaben mit den Jahrbuchstatistiken läßt sich sagen, daß dies die zum Ungarischlernen geschickten deutschen, „schwäbischen“ Kinder waren.

Beim Blättern in den Jahrbüchern der Bürger-Jungenschule fanden sich vom Schuljahr 1876–77 (dem 4. Schuljahr der Schule) bis zum Jahr 1912–13 unter den 71–208 Schülern 3–5 deutschsprachige (1900 auch zwei serbische). An der Jahrhundertwende kommen auch schon 6–9 Jungen in je einer Jahresstatistik vor.⁹

In der 1899 eröffneten Bürger-Mädchenschule fanden sich in den Jahrbüchern von 1901 bis 1914 (mit Ausnahme der Jahrbücher 1910–11 und 1912–13) zwischen 96–150 Schülerinnen 2–3 mit deutscher Muttersprache. (In den letzten beiden Jahren auch je eine slowakische Schülerin.) In der Siedlung mit 26 000 Einwohnern am Jahrhundertbeginn mögen 8–10 Austausch Kinder (Jungen und Mädchen) dem Durchschnitt von 2–3 Austauschkindern pro Dorf entsprochen haben.¹⁰

Meine Gesprächspartner haben auch ihre Austauschgeschwister in den Jahrbüchern wiedergefunden. Der Austauschbruder von Lajos Ormos, Vilmos Krier, findet sich in der Namensliste des Jahrbuchs von 1915–16 als Zweitkläßler. György Oláhs Tauschpartner, Mátyás Guth, war im selben Jahr ebenfalls Zweitkläßler in Csongrád. Von den aus Perjámos zur Familie Bozó gekommenen Bandenburg-Jungen kommt Miklós 1912–13 als Zweitkläßler und János 1914–15 gleichfalls als Zweitkläßler in der Namenliste der Jahrbücher von. Die von der Familie Pintér aufgenommenen Kifer-Kinder werden die Csongráder Bürgerschule ab Herbst 1916 besucht haben, doch unter den Kriegsverhältnissen wurden damals keine Jahrbücher mehr gedruckt. (Für die betreffenden Angaben möchte ich mich hiermit bei Lajos Dudás bedanken.)

⁸ Bertalan ANDRÁSFALVY 1972, 128, Zsigmond CSOMA 1988, 156–160.

⁹ Die Zusammenstellung wurde aufgrund der im Ortsmuseum und dem Archiv vorgefundenen Jahrbücher der Jahrgänge 1876/77, 1877/78, 1884/85, 1888/89, 1889/90, 1890/91, 1891/92, 1892/93, 1899/1900, 1901/02, 1906/07, 1908/09, 1912/13, 1913/14 vorgenommen.

¹⁰ László KÓSA 1986, 176.

Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg sind einige Kinder, Jungen und Mädchen, im Banat geblieben. Aber bei den neuen Grenzen und unter den neuen politischen Verhältnissen brach – jedenfalls zwischen Csongrád und den schwäbischen Siedlungen im Komitat Torontál – der Austausch der Kinder ab.¹¹

Der Austausch der Unterstufenkinder ging unter Teilnahme vor allem von Handwerker- und Bauernfamilien gleichen Glaubens zwischen ungarischen Grund- und deutschen Bürgerschulkindern vor sich. Was die Organisationsweise betrifft, sind weder schulische noch kirchliche Organisation noch Handelsbeziehungen an der Wende und zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts zu finden. Andererseits mochten in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts gelegentliche wirtschaftliche, Handels-, schulische und kirchliche Beziehungen Auslöser gewesen sein. Auch eine in anderen Gegenden entdeckte Kontaktaufnahmeform, die Zeitungsanzeige, kommt dafür in Frage.¹²

Der Grund bzw. die Erklärung für den Tausch zwischen Gegenden liegt im damaligen Unterrichtssystem, denn die Ungarndeutschen konnten in ungarischsprachigen Mittelschulen weiterlernen.¹³ Den Aufstieg der Banater deutschen Kinder förderte also die in Csongráder Familien und der Bürgerschule erworbene ungarische Sprachkenntnis. Von hier aus gingen sie nach Arad oder Temeschwar ins Gymnasium, wo zu jener Zeit das Ungarische die Hauptunterrichtssprache war. (Das Deutsche durfte nur als Hilfsprache benutzt werden.)¹⁴

Die allgemeine und fachliche Bildung in der Landbesitzer- und Bauerngesellschaft sah in der Periode zwischen Jahrhundertwende und Zwischenkriegszeit folgendermaßen aus: Durchlaufen der vier bis sechs Grundschulklassen in der Stadt und auch in der Welt der Einödhöfe. Die Wirtschaft der Lehrer konnte den Schülern als Muster dienen. In der Wiederholungsschule wurden landwirtschaftliche Kenntnisse gelehrt. Die Wirtschaftsvolkschule lehrte die oberen Klassen der Grundschule und hielt die Wirtschaftskundestunden der Bürgerschule. Die seit 1927 wirkende Ungarische Königliche Winterwirtschaftsschule führte Gold- und Silberähren- Wirtschaftskurse ein.¹⁵

In der angegebenen Zeit konnten die, welche den Goldähren-Wirtschaftskurs absolviert hatten, Austauschburschen werden. (Der Ausdruck Austausch Kinder wurde mehrererseits auf sie bezogen.) Wenn eine Familie es wollte und sich leisten konnte, ging ihr Sohn als Bursche für ein bis drei Jahre nach Deutschland, um eine modernere als die häusliche Wirtschaft kennenzulernen und sich die Sprache anzueignen. Während dieser Zeit nahmen seine Eltern zu Hause den Sohn der deutschen Familie auf. Diese Wege wurden nach Aussage des Sekretärs des einstigen Wirtschaftsvereins Lajos Ormos durch die Landes-Landwirtschaftskammer über die Vereine organisiert.

¹¹ Ebd., 179. Die Siebenbürger Intellektuellenfamilien schickten ihre Kinder bis in die 60er Jahre in die Sachsendorfer Südsiebenbürgens.

¹² Ebd., 178.

¹³ Magyarország története 1890–1918 (Geschichte Ungarns 1890–1918). Hrsg. von Péter HANÁK. Budapest 1988, 1008.

¹⁴ István MÉSZÁROS: Középszintű iskoláink kronológiája és topográfiája 1906–1948 (Általános képző középiskoláink). (Die Chronologie und Topographie unserer Mittelstufenschulen (Unsere allgemeinbildenden Schulen)). Budapest 1988, 151, 267–268.

¹⁵ Lajos DUDÁS o. J. 1, 7–10, 2, 10, Judit SZÜCS o. J. 1.

In den 20er und 30er Jahren nahmen am Austausch mit Deutschland István Greskovics, Sándor Ornyik, Ferenc Pölös und Mihály Tyúkász teil. István Greskovics war als Sohn eines Besitzers von mehreren hundert Morgen 1926 bei einer deutschen Familie. Sowie er nach Hause kam, schaffte er nach deutschen Vorbildern Maschinen an, richtete eine Gemüsegärtnerei ein und begann Kunstdünger zu verwenden. Er führte bei sich einen Herdbuch-Viehbestand ein. Dies alles fand auf einem von der Stadt gepachteten mehrere hundert Morgen großen Besitz statt.

Die Präliminarien solcher in der Jugendzeit unternommenen Deutschlandreise mögen ein Austausch in der Grundschulzeit gewesen sein. Personenbezogene Spuren davon waren aber nur im Falle von Sándor Ornyik zu finden. Er konnte mit seinen in muttersprachlicher Umgebung erworbenen Sprachkenntnissen in eine Wirtschaft bei Weimar aufbrechen. Er weilte wie sein Tauschpartner, der Sohn eines deutschen Bauern, ein Jahr in der Familie bzw. Wirtschaft des anderen. Für Sándor Ornyik d. Ä. diente die der ungarischen gegenüber entwickeltere deutsche Wirtschaft als Vorbild bei Düngerverwendung und dem Einsatz moderner Maschinen. (Sie betrieben eine elektrische Dreschmaschine und lieferten die maschinell gemolkene Milch organisiert ab.)

Heimgekehrt begann er als Landwirt auf zehn Morgen unter den hiesigen Bedingungen zu verwirklichende Dinge durchzusetzen, setzte veredeltes Saatkorn ein, ließ mit Herdbuchvieh decken und verschaffte sich Bäume aus der Baumschule bzw. über die Hochwasserschutz-Vereinigung. Er war der Ansicht, was er produziert oder züchtet, das soll wertvoll sein.

Ferenc Pölös hatte 1931 das Abitur abgelegt, war danach Soldat und ging dann für drei Jahre nach Deutschland. Sein Vater als Mittelbauer wollte nicht, daß sein Sohn daselbe bliebe. Als aber sein Sohn die Wirtschaftung in Deutschland sah, hätte er sie gern auch zu Hause verwirklicht. Er heiratete, wurde Bauer auf zwanzig Morgen und organisierte und lenkte als „Herrenbauer“ seine Wirtschaft von der Stadt aus. Den Obstgarten seines Vaters erneuerte er, begann mit bulgarischer Gärtnerei und mechanisierte. (Dies reicht bereits in die Zeit nach 1945 hinüber. Sein Obst betreute er als Genossenschaftsbauer bis zu seinem Tode.)

Mihály Tyúkász (geb. 1906) kam als einziger das Erwachsenenalter erlebender Sohn eines Bauern mit 52 Morgen nach anderthalb Jahren in der Landwirtschafts-Fachmittelschule von Hódmezővásárhely 1927 nach Deutschland. Vom Frühjahr bis zum Herbst lebte und arbeitete er bei Hugo Kästner im Dorf Ebenleben zwischen Erfurt und Gotha. Bei seinem Vater verbrachte „Vili“ Kästner (Abb. 2) ebensoviel Zeit. Die niedrigerstehende Landwirtschaft als zu Hause konnte sich der Junge als Gast begucken. Der ungarische Bauernjunge arbeitete in der moderneren Wirtschaft als der zu Hause gern selbständig mit zwei Pferden, wie es auch Mihály Tyúkász tat. Dies beweisen auch die Fotos (Abb. 3, 4 und 5).

Die von der Familie aufbewahrten Fotos bezeugen, daß man sich auch aus anderen ungarischen Dörfern auf solche Reisen begab.¹⁶ (Abb. 6)

Der Sohn von János Tyúkász übernahm nach seiner Rückkehr aus Deutschland die Leitung der väterlichen Wirtschaft. (Abb. 7) Das im Ausland Erfahrene probierte er zu

¹⁶ Den Austausch deutscher Bauernburschen habe ich in der ethnographischen Literatur nicht gefunden.



Abb. 2. „Vili“ Käßner, Tauschpartner von Mihály Tyúkász, in seiner Burschenzeit



Abb. 3. Während der Arbeit in der Wirtschaft der Familie Käßner



Abb. 4. Während der Arbeit in der Wirtschaft der Familie Kästner



*Abb. 5. Die Frauen und Kinder der Mihály Tyúkász aufnehmenden Familie Kästner.
In der Mitte die Mutter, rechts die Schwiegertochter und links die Tochter*



Abb. 6. Mihály Tyúkász in Ebenleben als Austauschbursche (links auf dem Bild) mit seinem Kameraden aus Oberungarn Sonntag nachmittag beim Bier



Abb. 7. Der junge Mihály Tyúkász im bürgerlichen Feiertagsanzug. Dieser war bei der ungarischen Bauernschaft nicht allgemein verbreitet. Bei dieser Art Kleidung kann auch die Austauschreise nach Deutschland eine Rolle gespielt haben



Abb. 8. Mihály Tyúkász in den 70er Jahren, nach 50 Jahren auf Besuch bei der Familie seines einstigen deutschen Tauschpartners

Hause aus und führte es ein. Dort wurde das Vieh schon im Selbsttränkesystem gehalten, und das versuchte er zu verwirklichen. Den Dung brachte er in einen geschlossenen, überdachten Raum und ließ ihn reifen, ebenfalls nach deutschem Muster. Dort hatte man das Getreide in schmalen Reihen gestät und gehackt; dies durchzusetzen, gab er auf.

Nicht nur über die Unterschiede in der Wirtschaftung sprach er mit den Familienmitgliedern, sondern öfter auch über die ebenfalls unterschiedliche Ernährung, die fünfmaligen leichten Mahlzeiten, die zivilisiertere Weise der Vergnügungen und Bälle sowie über die sparsame Lebensführung. Wie sich diese Bräuche in die hiesigen Verhältnisse eingliederten, konnte ich mich wegen der weiten zeitlichen Entfernung dieser Erlebnisse und des Todes des einstigen Austauschburschen nicht mehr überzeugen.

Mihály Tyúkász wurde als tüchtiger Bauer um Vorträge gebeten, seine Wirtschaft wurde im Film aufgenommen und dieser in den Einödhof-Schulen bei populärwissenschaftlichen Vorträgen vorgeführt. Auch die übrigen Austauschburschen gaben ihren Gefährten ein Beispiel mit der Einrichtung ihrer Wirtschaft.

Zwischen den Familien Tyúkász und Kästner wurden auf Anregung des einstigen ungarischen Tauschburschen die Beziehung in den 70er Jahren wieder aufgenommen. Einer der Söhne von Mihály Tyúkász, Imre, erzählte, sein Vater habe an die alte Adresse einen Brief geschrieben, und Wilhelms Frau habe geantwortet. Sie schrieb, Hugo, der Vater, sei in den dreißiger Jahren gestorben. Wilhelm, der einstige Tauschpartner, sei an der Front gefallen. Im alten Haus lebte der andere Sohn. Mihály Tyúkász sehnte sich zurück nach Ebenleben und sie sind auch hingefahren. (Abb. 8) Mit dem Sohn „Vilis“, „Alibert“ (Kosenamen für Albert) halten sie Verbindung, wechseln jährlich drei bis vier Briefe und besuchen einander manchmal. Seit 1990 setzen in beiden Familien die Nachkommen der einstigen Tauschburschen die Beziehungen fort: sie schreiben einander Briefe und planen gegenseitige Besuche.

Zum Austausch kam es ebenso bei Besitzern mit mehreren hundert Morgen wie bei 40–60-Morgen-Bauern und in Handwerkerfamilien. Bei den Vermögendsten aber war das Interesse an solchen Reisen nicht allgemein. Der Sohn eines 100-Morgen-Bauern sagte, er habe von dem Austausch gehört und gewußt, daß von seinen Altersgenossen auch manche solche Studienreisen unternahmen, aber ihn habe das nicht interessiert. Seiner Ansicht nach hätten sie es sich auch nicht leisten können. Die Ausnutzung der Austauschmöglichkeit war nicht nur eine Frage des Vermögens. Ihr Grund mochte sein, daß der Austausch, das Fremdsprachenlernen in der Familie Tradition hatte, daß die Familie für die Ausbildung des Sohnes oder der Tochter Opfer brachte und auch die Kinder es wollten.

Aufgrund dieser Beispiele läßt sich sagen, daß ein Bauernsohn, der die Bürgerschule besucht hatte, eventuell Abitur gemacht, den Goldähren-Wirtschaftskurs besucht, eine der ungarischen überlegene Produktion kennengelernt und sein Land in anspruchsvoller Weise bewirtschaftet hatte, einen möglichen Weg zur Verbürgerlichung des Bauernlebens beschritt.¹⁷

¹⁷ Judit Szűcs o. J. 1, 1989, 125–131, László Kósa 1987. Neuerdings in Magyar Nemzet, Nr. vom 19. Nov. 1990 in der Beilage mit dem Titel Citoyen és burzsuázia. Zuletzt befaßte sich 1995 in der gleichen Zeitung eine besondere Rubrik mit der Verbürgerlichung in Ungarn.

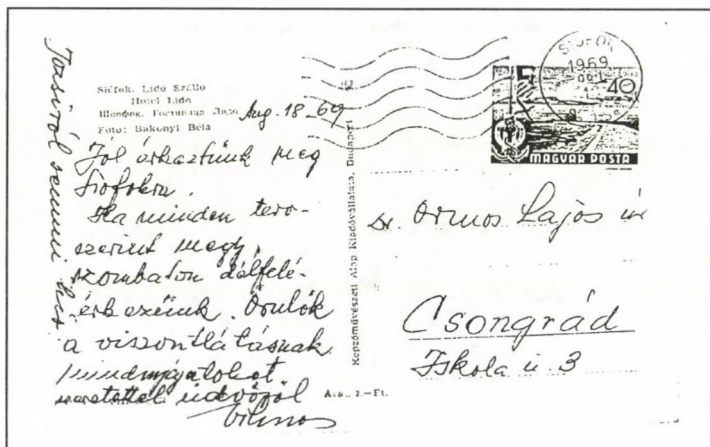


Abb. 10. Die ungarisch geschriebene Postkarte von Vilmos (Wilhelm) Krier über die Ankunft seiner Familie in Csongrád (1969)

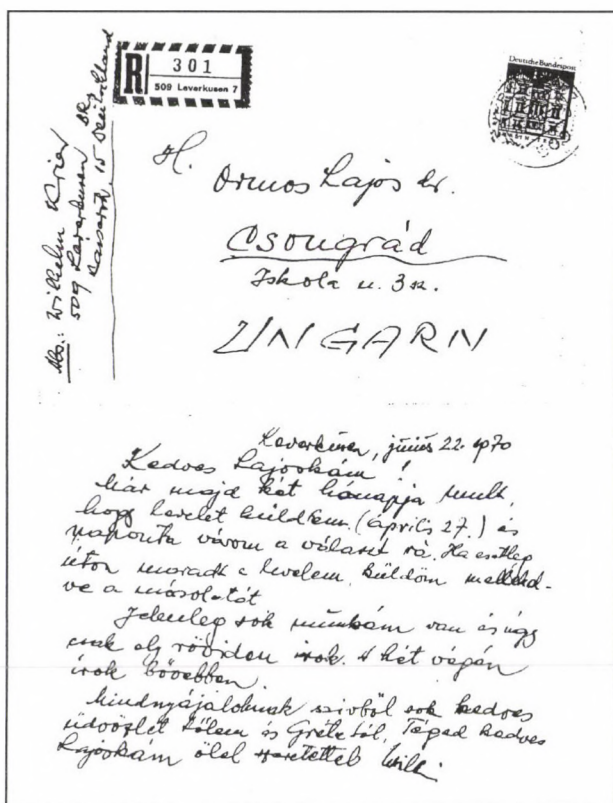


Abb. 11. Die Postkarte von Vilmos (Wilhelm) Krier an Lajos Ormos zwischen zwei Briefwechseln (1970)

Liebe Familie Tyukász

Haben die Postk von Ihnen erhalten,
 dafür bedanken wir uns recht vielmals.
 Leider ist die Familie Káshner ein wenig
 schreibfaul. Aber leider hat sich bei uns
 in den letzten halben Jahr einiges geändert.
 Tochter Ines ist krank, sie war seit Juni
 8 Wochen im Krankenhaus, Im Stuhl bei ihr
 ist Blut vorhanden. Es sollen sich in den
 Darmwänden kleine Geschwüre ^{Ulceration} gebildet haben.
 Sie ist zur Zeit zu Hause und wird täglich
 durch eine Krankenschwester behandelt. ^{kurzt}
 Man behandelt sie mit Tabletten und Einläufe.
 Meine Mutter hatte auch pech, sie ist beim
 Wintereinzug im November gefallen. Dabei hat
 sie das rechte Handgelenk ^{verletzt} gebrochen. Man hat
 ihr vor ein paar Tagen den Gips wieder entfernt.
 Sie macht alles mit der rechten Hand. Sonst ^{ist} ^{es} ^{mit}
 müssen wir ^(Hilfskraft) tüchtig bei Seite stehen.
 Sohn Jens geht nun in die Lehre nach Erfurt.
 Er erlernt den Beruf als Maschinenbauer. Wohn?
 dort in ein Internat und kommt erst zum
 Wochenende nach Hause.
 Und nun zu uns, die Arbeit wird immer mehr.
 Renate und ich haben in unseren 15 Urlaubstagen
 den Stall verputzt und habe vor im Mai 1981
 das Wohnhaus auch zu verputzen. Aber dazu
 nehme ich mir noch ein paar Kollegen,
 die mithelfen.

Und nun zu Erika und Georg, sie haben
 nun die Flitterwochen beendet und nun
 kommen die Gewitter- und Litterwochen.
 Das Bild gefällt uns sehr. Es war bestimmt
 auch eine große Hochzeitgesellschaft?
 Wir wünschen nachträglich dem jungen Paar
 alles Gute, Gesundheit in ihrer Ehe, sowie
 recht viele Kinder.
 Sollte Erika und Georg eine Hochzeitsreise planen
 und diese noch nicht durchgeführt haben.
 So sind sie recht herzlich nach Gräfenbrunn
 eingeladen anzukommen.
 Somit möchte ich für diesmal schließen.
 Es grüßen die Gräfenbrunner

Abb. 12. Brief der Familie Kästner an die Familie Tyúkász (1981)

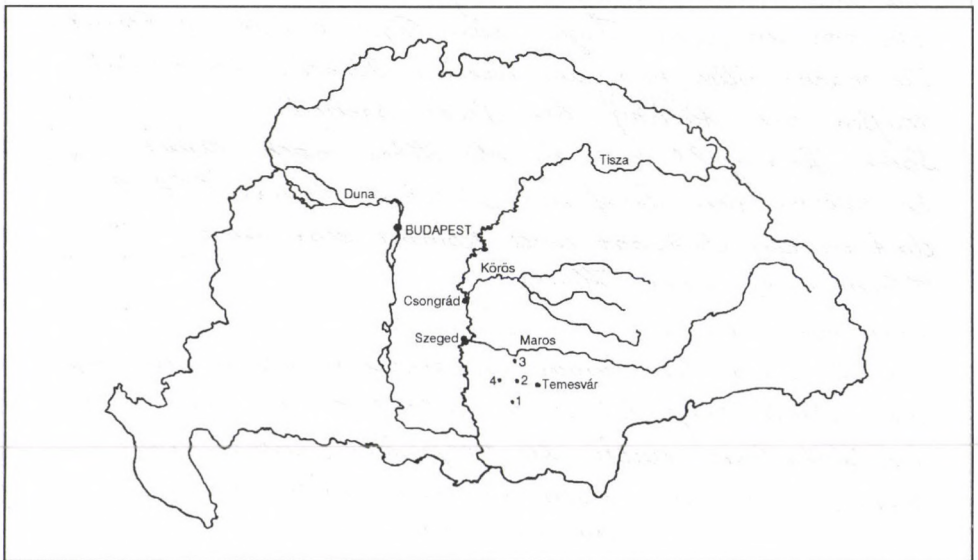


Abb. 13. Csongrád und die erwähnten deutschen Siedlungen im Bácska auf der Karte des Königreichs Ungarn (vor 1920)

Seit dem Ende der 1980er Jahre setzte in den Städten ein kürzerer oder längerer Austausch mit dem englischen oder deutschen Sprachgebiet in privater, (Landes-) Stiftungs- und schulischer Organisation ein.

GEWÄHRSLAUTE

Mihály Bozó, geb. 1905	István Greskovics, geb. 1906
Ferenc Oláh, geb. 1909	György Oláh, geb. 1907
Lajos Ormos (Ornyik), geb. 1908	Sándor Ornyik sen., geb. 1907
Sándor Ornyik jun., geb. 1930	Frau Ferenc Pölös, geb. 1921
Ferenc Pintér, geb. 1911	Imre Tyúkász, geb. 1939
Frau Imre Tyúkász, geb. Erzsébet Szepesi, geb. 1914	

LITERATUR

ÁCS Zoltán

1984: Nemzetiségek a történelmi Magyarországon (Nationalitäten im historischen Ungarn). Budapest. 204

ANDRÁSFALVY Bertalan

1972: Néprajzi jellegzetességek az Észak-Mecsek Bányavidék gazdasági életében (Ethnographische Charakteristika im Wirtschaftsleben des Bergbaugebietes Nord-Mecsek). In: Az Észak-Mecsek Bányavidék regionális vizsgálata. Hrsg. von Dr. Lajos RUZSÁS, Budapest. 123–167

BÁLINT Sándor

1957: Szegedi Szótár (Szegeder Wörterbuch). Budapest II. 196

BARTA László

1989: Csongrád város jegyzője (Notar der Stadt Csongrád). In: Tanulmányok Csongrád megye történetéből. XIV. Szeged. 159–173

CSOMA Zsigmond

1988: Gazdasági, kulturális és családi kapcsolatrendszer a Káli-medence és Stájerország, valamint a nyugatmagyarországi Felső-Őrség (Dél-Burgenland) között (18–20. század) (Das wirtschaftliche, kulturelle und familiäre Beziehungssystem zwischen dem Káler Becken und der Steiermark bzw. der Oberen Örség in Westungarn (Südburgenland) (18.–20. Jh.). In: Kapcsolatok rendszere a Káli-medence falvaiban. Hrsg. von Emőke LACZKOVICS. Veszprém. 133–163

DUDÁS Lajos

o. J. 1: Közoktatás és közművelődés (Unterricht und Bildung). In: Csongrád város monográfiája. I. 1–33

o. J. 2: Iskola és művelődés (Schule und Kultur). In: Csongrád város monográfiája. II. 1–53

KÓSA László

1986: Gyerekcseré és nyelvtanulás (Kinderaustausch und Spracherlernen). In: Hungaro-Polonica. Tanulmányok a magyar-lengyel történelmi és irodalmi kapcsolatok köréből. Hrsg. von Csaba KISS GY. und István KOVÁCS. Budapest 175–181

1987: A magyar népi kultúra táji megoszlása, 1880–1920 (Die landschaftliche Aufteilung der ungarischen Volkskultur, 1880–1920.) Budapest. Thesen einer Doktordiss.

KOVÁTS István

1981: Egy szegény pórfüü önéletrajza (Autobiographie eines armen Bauernjungen). Budapest. 384

NAGY Gyula

1965: Csere gazdaleányok (Austausch-Bauernburschen). Ethn. 610–612

PALÁDI-KOVÁCS Attila

1988: Életmód, foglalkozás, nemzetiség (Lebensweise, Beruf, Nationalität). Gömör néprajza. XIV. Debrecen. 147

SOMOGYI Gyula

1912: Arad vármegye néprajzi leírása (Ethnographische Beschreibung des Komitats Arad). Arad, 368

SZÜCS Judit

- o. J. 1: Paraszti polgárosulás Csongrádon (A szak- és általános műveltség megszerzésének lehetőségei) (Bäuerliche Verbürgerlichung in Csongrád – Möglichkeiten der Erwerbung der Fach- und Allgemeinbildung). Gehalten bei der Vortragstagung 1989 des Komitats Csongrád am 27. Nov. 1989. 1–7.
- o. J. 2: Mskr. Dessen frühere Aufarbeitung: A paraszti polgárosulás életstratégiai és megvalósulásuk Csongrádon a két világháború között. 1–30. Erscheint im ethnographischen Band des Móra Ferenc Múzeum Évkönyve.
- 1989: Paraszti polgárosulás kezdetei Csongrádon (Die Anfänge der bäuerlichen Verbürgerlichung in Csongrád). In: Mozaikok Csongrád város történetéből. Csongrád, 125–131

UJVÁRY Zoltán

- 1977: Gömöri népdalok és népballadák (Volkslieder und Volksballaden aus Gömör). Herman Ottó Múzeum Miskolc. 125

VARIOUS STUDIES, DISCUSSION

WHAT MAKES A WAYANA?

ETHNICITY AND IDENTITY IN THE GUYANAS. FIRST IMPRESSIONS AND CONSIDERATIONS

Diana SZÁNTÓ

“Atelier”, Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities
H-1052 Budapest, Piarista köz 1, Hungary

Since 1991 research has been carried out by a team of the Department of Cultural Anthropology of the ELTE University in Budapest amongst the Wayana Indians living in French Guyana, Northern Brazil and Surinam.

One classic question the fieldwork raised concerns the definition of the culture-bearing unit and the nature of the ethnic boundaries. The Wayana case – certainly not unique in the Guyanas – seems to contribute to the relativisation of these two inherently problematic concepts.¹

To start with the difficulties: even the ethnic name cannot be said to be unambiguous and permanent over time. The very first descriptions from the 17th century mentioned the “Roukouyene”, “Urukuyana” for which “Oayana”, or “Wayana” became the accepted synonym only later, in the 19th century. According to CREVEAUX,² this second term was used by other Indians groups to refer to the Roukouyenes. But the fact that the meaning of “Wayana” in the Wayana language is “people” suggests that it is rather an autode-nomination.

At the same time, the Roukouyenes – or we can call them the Wayana – was never an ethnically homogenous unit. It has been made up of a number of culturally and linguistically affiliated smaller groups. This multiethnic quality was usually not emphasised. However the two main subgroups, the Kukuyana (the real Wayana) and the Upuluy were clearly distinguished.³

We know little for certain about these two groups. There is a tradition though, according to which originally they lived separately until they had to share their territory as a result of a military conflict. That is how the Upuruy who were not only fewer in number, but were also considered culturally inferior by the Kukuyana for not having any

¹ About the subject, cf.: NAROLL, Roul: On Ethnic Unit Classification. In: Current Anthropology, October 1964; Fredrik BARTH: Introduction in: Ethnic Groups and Boundaries, 1969; COHEN, Ronald: Ethnicity: Problem and Focus in Anthropology. In Annual Review of Anthropology, Vol. 7. 1978.

² CREVEAUX, J.: Les medients de l'Eldorado. Paris, 1987. “Les Roucouyennes... sont connus par les autres Indiens sous le nom de Ouyanas”, p. 266.

³ GRENAND, P.: Les relations intertribales en haute Guyane de XVIII^e s. a nos jours. Paris, 1971.

agricul agricul-ture, eventually became intermingled with the former through intermarriages.⁴ However in the genealogies the original difference has been maintained until recently.

It required a newer, more pertinent difference to make them forget the previous one. This new distinction differentiates today above all, the Wayana and the Apalay, another Carib Indian group, whose fusion with the Wayana seems to have reached its last phase.

At first sight it is very difficult to tell a Wayana from an Apalay. If there are still cultural traits making them somewhat different, these remain practically indiscernible for an outside observer, the language being the only criterion permitting any distinction. Even the linguistic aspect can be quite misleading, since today all Wayana-Apalay are bilingual almost without exception and there is hardly a family where intermarriages have not taken place. Despite the functional irrelevance and practical impossibility of maintaining an ethnic border, it is obviously very important for the Indians to maintain at least the fiction of it.

There seem to be some similarities between the fusion of the Kukuyana and Oupoulouy which occurred in historic times and that of the Wayana and Apalay taking place today.

First of all, in both cases the mixing of the two groups, however complete, did not wipe out the basic differentiation for a long period. In fact, such an ideological differentiation survived without any clear practical reason, while the smaller intermingling processes going on in the background eventually all became absorbed by the dominant dual distinction.

It is also interesting that twice the same logical pattern was repeated. According to this the relationship of the two parties can be conceptualised in terms of bipolar oppositions, such as minority-majority and barbarian-civilised. The basic opposition expressed as a conflict will be overcome at the end by a double procedure involving "defeat" and "taming".

This pattern is very nicely illustrated by the myth accounting for the fusion between Wayana and Apalay. As the story goes, the two groups used to live on different parts of the same river. They were hostile to each other, since every time someone tried to pass the imaginary border dividing their territories he disappeared, and his friends had good reason to believe that it was the people of the other tribe who had killed him. But one day a man discovered that actually it was a beast living in the middle of the river who had devoured the Indians. He rushed back to his village, gathered a number of warriors and together they went to where the monster lived. They kept shooting with their bows and arrows until he died and sank below the water. By that time the people of the other tribe arrived, too, but they arrived late, so they could only see a small part of the sinking back of the animal. His back was full of beautifully colourful ornaments that the Indians cop-

⁴ This motif appears in: HUREAULT, J.: *Français et Indiens en Guyane 1604 à 1972*. Paris, 1972. "C'est ainsi que les Oupoulouy, actuellement fusionnés avec les Wayana se souvenaient, lors du voyage de Coudreau (1888) du temps où leurs ancêtres n'avaient pas d'agriculture", p. 35; also in: GALOIS: *Migracao, guerra, commercio*, Sao Paulo, 1986.

ied later. This was how they learnt all the motives of their artwork. The second group, however, because of their delay, could not learn the motives so well.⁵

In amore democratic version the two groups arrive at the same time, but it is probable that the variation expressing hierarchical difference is the original one, where the hierarchy is important only structurally, since the roles of the two groups can be freely changed depending on the ethnic affiliation of the story-teller.

The motive of taming can be traced here, too. It again equals defeat, but not a defeat meaning annihilation. On the contrary, it implies the "appropriation" of the alterity, the possibility to transform the hostile into familiar, eventually to turn nature into culture, taming being here the synonym of civilising.

For behind the concept of alterity one can always detect the negative quality of not being civilised, i. e. being barbarian, which is to say not totally divorced from nature. Thus "identical" and "different" correspond to the dichotomy of "civilised" and "barbarian".

In the Indian mind there is one safe test to tell one from the other. The barbarian differs from the civilised primarily in gastronomic terms: he does not eat what should be eaten and he eats what should not. In other words he does not grow manioc, so he does not know how to make manoc cake either. On the other hand he is generally known to be anthropophagous. The first quality clearly binds him to the animal world, while the second makes him similar not only to the beasts but also to most of the spirits inhabiting the forest and the rivers. It is no wonder then, if a well-educated civilised person draws the conclusion that the different, the barbarian is not really human. However the concept of the barbarian is far from being an absolute category. it goes through different degrees from the two extremes of the totally identical, which is "us" to the totally different, which is the "non-human".

These degrees are not strictly separated from each other. Transformations are possible. The barbarian can be tamed, the different appropriated. The borderlines can become extremely thin, yet may still prove to be suprisingly resistant. They have a strong tendency to survive even when they turn absolutely transparent. The difference appears then not only as the contrastive concept structuring identity from outside, but as an integral part of it, constructing it from inside.

The possibility of shifting from alterity to identity is expressed even more clearly by the basic social category of "*peito*". Travellers and ethnographers have for centuries struggled to translate the term *peito* and its different versions like *peitori*, *peiti*, *pito* and *poito*.

To give one equivalent of the concept is difficult because it does not cover one single category, but rather a certain relationship implying alterity and hierarchy in a world which tends to integrata the difference and to avoid hierarchy.

But *peito* is not a uniquely political category. Since politics and kinship are closely linked together it is not surprising that it is above all connected to the kinship system.

⁵ This is the simplified summary of various versions, collected and transcribed by the author.

The kinship system of the Wayana is of cognatic character, like in very many societies in the Amazonian region. This means that it lacks permanent social units, the borders of which can be clearly defined, irrespective of the people behind them, such as lineages, clans or moieties.

Without these institutions the Wayana society appears at first sight quite atomistic and fluid, almost as if it had no structure. In fact, the only structural force to organise the society is the dichotomic differentiation between consanguines and affines, coextensive with the archetypal pair of identity and alterity. This distinction divides the whole social universe into two non-objective categories, having no meaning in themselves, only from the point of view of a given Ego, being temporarily and relativistically the centre of the system.

At the same time, the categories are relational, too, since the preferential marriage of the cross-cousin results in a series of affinal relationships between cognates, sometimes making the borderline between consanguines and affines surprisingly blurred. By and large it is through marriage that the society articulates itself, though it is not true that affines are created in marriage, since actual marriages only confirm previously existing relations. It is safer to say that affinity is realised in marriage.

In connection with affinity, marriage has another important organisational role: it is the only institution in which a politically significant hierarchical relationship is created, namely between the father-in-law, "wife-giver", and the son-in-law, "wife-taker". This relationship is expressed by the term *peito*, which designates the son-in-law, implying his numerous obligations vis-a-vis the father of his wife.

First of all, he has to move into the latter's village, living in his house or next to it. He has to help him in various chores, like house building and clearing the plantation. In case of conflict he has to act as an ally.

The term *peito* has another slightly different meaning, not necessarily involving kinship ties. The cacique of the village also calls his men "peito", i.e. all adult males that he can rely on in similar situations, irrespective of whether he actually gave his daughters to them or not.

His prestige and authority is directly reflected by the number of his *peitos*. If there is competition between two caciques, it is never over territories to occupy, but over *peitos* to win. "The political economy of the region is concerned with the management of human resources."⁶ And without any coercive power the only way to control human resources is by collecting as many *peitos* as possible. So one can obtain *peitos* by the marriage of one's daughter or by settling independent men in one's village. At least in theory – but theory was once in all probability born out of practice – there is a third way: getting slaves or prisoners of war. This radically differs from the first two only at first sight, since prisoners of war necessarily settle down in their captor's village and the latter often given them his daughter to make sure that they are bound to him. Bearing all this in mind it may become more understandable why the Carib *peito* covers such a wide semantic

⁶ RIVIERE: Individual and Society in Guyana. A comparative study of Amerindian social organisation. Cambridge University Press, 1984.

field, ranging from the children of a same sex sibling through cross-cousins, youth, independent men, client and vassal to war prisoner, slave and enemy in general.

The categories are relative, the borderline between enemy and member of the family is not rigid. Again transition is possible, namely by the act of marriage, which is the equivalent here of taming.⁷

The Wayana – and in general the Carib – social organisation is not dual in the classic sense, but it is characterised by a dichotomic thinking based on the dual categories of identity and alterity, as is also expressed by the terminology.

The categories are always relative and the borderlines between them are flexible and transparent, which does not mean that they have a tendency to disappear. Alterity is dangerous but its internal presence is vital to the system, since it forms an integral part of it. These rules apply equally to interethnic relations as well as to the kinship and political system, making the Wayana a dynamic society constantly under formation and reformation.

Their implications point in two different directions. On one hand they not only permit but in a way encourage the integration of the external. On the other hand they prevent the borderlines from complete dissolution, making sure that there is always one main axis along which the whole social universe is organised between the two poles of the totality of all the conceptually possible relations.

⁷ “*Tapamhe*” in Wayana meaning at the same time “married” and “tame”.

BRAUN ODER SCHWARZ

VOLKSKUNDLICHE THEORIEN IM DEUTSCHEN SPRACHBEREICH. REFLEXIONEN EINES UNGARISCHEN ETHNOGRAPHEN ÜBER EIN KAPITEL DER GEISTESGESCHICHTE: DIE „VÖLKISCHE WISSENSCHAFT“¹

Tamás HOFFMANN

H-1035 Budapest, Berend u. 11, Hungary

Häufig bezeichnen wir Institutionen oder geistige Bewegungen, das öffentliche Denken gestaltende Gremien und besonders politische Parteien mit Farben. Es gibt unter ihnen rote und schwarze, seit neuerem auch grüne. Früher hatten diese Farben ganz andere Bedeutungen. Schwarz wird beispielweise erst seit der Aufklärung mit der Rückständigkeit verbunden. Es war wohl Voltaire, der den Klerus als schwarz und zugleich reaktionär bezeichnete. Julien Sorel machte Karriere im Heer und in der Kirche (im roten und schwarzen Medium). Dann wurde 1814 – in der Revolution – Rot zum Symbol radikaler Veränderungen. Ungeachtet dessen bestand man in vielen Königreichen darauf, daß Rot weiter die Farbe der Macht bleiben solle. Und ebenso betrachtete auch die katholische Kirche Rot als den Repräsentanten der Freudenfeste. Gleichzeitig entfaltete man in den marxistischen Parteien die rote Fahne – das an die Farbe des Blutes erinnernde Stück Stoff wanderte von den Barrikaden auf das Dach der Parteihäuser hinauf.

Im Gegensatz dazu beharrte man auf der Farbe Braun sozusagen ausschließlich in der Requisitenkammer der Partei Hitlers. Die Braunhemden waren nicht der Grundfarbe, nicht Färbung treu, sondern dem Machtwerk. An ihrer Erinnerung hängt zweifelhafter Ruhm.

Trotz allem können wir braun oder schwarz dennoch im vergangenen halben Jahrhundert zusammen erwähnen. In Mitteleuropa erinnern alle beide an konservative Korporationen. Schwarz achtet traditionell die Ordnung – oder weckt zumindest diesen Anschein. Die den schwarzen Anzug schätzenden Politiker lieben das Zeremoniell und vermeiden jeden Anschein von Radikalismus. Dem Radikalismus sind sie derart abhold, daß sie – vor zwei Generationen – auch mit den Braunhemden in unlösbare Konflikte gerieten. Hitlers Ideologen schaden dem Klerus, wo sie nur konnten. Natürlich versuchten sie mit den übrigen Gremien des geistigen Lebens dennoch auszukommen. Die Toleranz – kann man sagen – war gegenseitig. Die Mehrheit der schwarzen Konservativen paßte sich der bestehenden Ordnung an und überlebte den Nationalsozialismus auch. Infol-

¹ JACOBET, Wolfgang–LIXFELD, Hannjost–BOCKHORN, Olaf (Hrg.): Völkische Wissenschaft. Gestalten und Tendenzen der deutschen und österreichischen Volkskunde seit der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts. Böhlau Verlag, Wien–Köln–Weimar, 1994, 733 p.

*

Alle – in meinen Artikel – erwänte Angebe sind aus dem rezensierenden Band ausgenommen. Infolgedessen zitierte ich sie in meiner Studie nicht.

gedessen blieb im vergangenen halben Jahrhundert fast jede konservative Richtung dem Irrtum verfallen, es sei alles gut so, wie es ist, und bedürfe nur gewisser Korrekturen. Radikale Änderungen seien nicht nötig, an den grundlegenden Werten sei nicht zu rütteln, noch weniger seien sie umzustößen, ganz im Gegenteil müßten die Grundlagen bewahrt werden, und es sei nur eine gewisse Umgestaltung des Gebäudes nötig, um sich den geänderten Ansprüchen gemäß in der Welt einzurichten, die kaum mehr dem ähnele, was früher war.

Im Grunde ermutigten und bewahrten diese sich aus sehr alten Traditionen speisenden Illusionen die Hoffnung, man könne den „ewigen Werten“ gemäß leben, und die Wissenschaft sei dazu da, die Zuverlässigkeit der Prinzipien zu beweisen.

Dieser Glaube durchzieht die Aufarbeitung der gesellschaftlichen Probleme der Wissenschaften. Vor allem in den Geisteswissenschaften (aus ihren ideologischen Gründen) stößt man auf die durch Illusion und den Anschein von Zuverlässigkeit verdeckte Rückständigkeit. Ebenso verhält es sich auch mit der Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Ethnographie. Denn die sich vor allem aus ethischen Überlegungen speisende Disziplin hielt fast immer den Beweis der Bewahrung der Kontinuität, der Werte für ihre Aufgabe.

Kürzlich haben es fünfzehn deutsche und österreichische Volkskundler unternommen, einen Überblick ihrer Wissenschaft, also über die Geschichte der in deutscher Sprache geschriebenen Volkskunde zu geben.¹ Alle Autoren suchen eine Antwort auf die Frage, warum sich die Volkskunde (also die legitime ethnographische Wissenschaft) mit den Phantasmagorien der Braunhemden verflochten hat. Es fällt kein Wort von den Veränderungen im Ideensystem der Volkskunde, der Leser wird nur über die Geschehnisse innerhalb der Volkskunde informiert. Mit ausgezeichnete Detailliertheit und ideologischer, politischer Sensibilität teilen sie ihre Kenntnisse über die Wissenschaftspolitik und jene geistige Hinterlassenschaft mit, die als Schande dieser schrecklichen Jahre auf uns überkommen ist. Von Deutschland und Österreich ist die Rede. Es fehlt eine wissenschaftshistorische Bewertung, wie sie über die ethnographischen Untersuchungen der deutschsprachigen Bevölkerung der Schweiz, Ost- und Südosteuropas und Nordamerikas zu geben wäre. Dieser Verlust ist aber zu verschmerzen.

Um die Zusammenhänge zwischen der nationalsozialistischen Ideologie und der Geschichtsauffassung der Volkskunde aufdecken zu können, müssen sie vor allem die ideengeschichtliche Funktion der Romantik darstellen. Dieser Aufgabe unterzieht sich in erster Linie Wolfgang JACOBET, zugleich Redakteur (und ebenso Spiritus rector) des Bandes. In seinem Rückblick auf die Anfänge hebt er als besonderes ideengeschichtliches Merkmal der Romantik hervor, daß die romantischen Denker den historischen Prozessen gegenüber stets aufgeschlossener waren als jene, die – rational, ursächliche Zusammenhänge postulierend – die Dinge als einheitliches System, allerdings statisch betrachteten und so die uns umgebende Welt interpretierten. Schwierigkeiten tauchten dadurch auf, daß nach der Geschichtsauffassung der Romantik die Sachen im Schicksal je eines Volkes zur Geltung kommen, wodurch dies die Tradition ist, allerdings nur und ausschließlich die Eigenleistung jenes Volkes, dessen Untersuchung man gerade vornimmt. Hier ist also vor allem anderen von der Tradierung der Kultur die Rede, nur von der Kultur, so, wie sie ist (bzw. wie es sie aufzufassen gelingt, auf jeden Fall) getrennt von der sozialen Organisation der Gesellschaft und jenen Wirtschaftsprozessen, die – in

gegensätzlichen Interessen zum Vorschein kommend, im Laufe der Lebensäußerungen einzelner Gesellschaftsgruppen – mit bestimmender Kraft das Verhalten aller zusammengehörigen Menschen, ihre bewußten oder oftmals unwillentlichen Handlungen motivieren. Die deutschen Romantiker vor zweihundert Jahren (und später auch andere auf ihren Spuren an der Peripherie der Zivilisationen) entdeckten den Bauern. In ihm sahen die noch den Garanten der Tradition, den repräsentativen Vertreter der Merkmale der Volkscharakterologie. Sie kamen zu dem Schluß, das Schicksal des Volkes werde so sein, wie sich die Zukunft des Bauern gestalten werde. Und da die Aussichten keinesfalls rosig waren, mußte dringend etwas gefunden werden, mit dem sich das durch Vernichtung bedrohte bäuerliche Schicksal wenden ließ. In dieser Theorie entdeckte niemand die Bewohner ferner Kontinente, man interessierte sich auch nicht für den „guten Wilden“ und noch weniger für das Schicksal entfernter Zivilisationen – man kann sagen, niemand war auf weltgeschichtliche Perspektiven neugierig. Das Elend der Gegenwart beschäftigte sie, und sie waren fest davon überzeugt, daß es zu beseitigen sei; wenn man die Werte der Vergangenheit, das traditionelle Erbe von dem darauf abgelagerten Schmutz reinige, werde die – im Bauern vollständig wohnende – „Volkseele“ bald in ihrer wahren Schönheit prägen.

Wenn wir all das vereinfachen, was eine Motivation für die Theorien über die Entwicklung der Gesellschaften darstellt, dann fallen uns zwei Haupttendenzen in der Geschichte des europäischen Denkens auf. In den Kolonialländern entdeckte die Intelligenz die Gesellschaften ferner Kontinente und stellte sie, indem sie in erster Linie mit ethischen Maßstäben maß und mit ihnen das Verhalten der eigenen Gesellschaft kritisierte, als Vorbild hin. In anderen Fall dagegen wurde – mangels Kolonien – die Provinz zum moralischen Vorbild und der Bauer zum Pfand der gesellschaftlichen Erneuerung. Die Stadt, die Industriegesellschaft, das Elend, die lockeren Moralvorstellungen, der Verfall der Familie, statt der Familienwirtschaft die neue industrielle Organisation der Großbetriebe und Fabriken waren für sie drohende Alternativen, die keinerlei Traditionen und deshalb auch keinerlei Zukunft hatten. Und da sich die in der Provinz Verbliebenen (vor allem die Bauern) ihrer Lage nicht bewußt seien, sei es die Aufgabe der Wissenschaft, sie aufzuklären, wozu sie auf der Erde sind. Dies sei um so mehr nötig, als die Garanten einer Zukunft der Nation, die Bauern, aus einer alten Welt, aus der Ständegesellschaft kamen, in der die Kohäsionskräfte der Nation nicht wirkten, dagegen jeden zwischenmenschlichen Kontakt die Bande des verwandtschaftlichen Zusammenhaltens verstärkten, der religiöse Glaube das Denken der Menschen und jenes Bewußtsein von Abhängigkeit durchwob, als dessen praktische Folge jeder gezwungen war, einem anderen, potenteren Steuer zu zahlen, der dafür dem ihm Steuerzahlenden garantierte, daß er arbeiten, zahlen und überhaupt am Leben bleiben könne. Das System (wie VOLTAIRE spottete) „der besten aller möglichen Welten“ wurde von der Kirche sanktioniert. Die Religion war berufen, die in der Welt wirkenden (und häufig gegensätzlichen) Interessen auszugleichen, zu allen Zeiten war (und blieb) die Kanzel das wirkungsvollste Forum der Indoktrination. Wenn es nicht mehr gelang, die Emotionen zu zügeln, erreichten die Priester mit ihren Predigten mehr als die Grundherren mit dem Knüttel, die Beamten mit Verordnungen und Gefängnis und die Soldaten mit der Waffe. Deshalb haben sich dann die Priester auch sozusagen in alles eingemischt und sogar noch in

solchen Angelegenheiten ihre Meinung kundgegeben, wie die Bauern ihre Wohnhäuser bauen und verzieren sollen, wie ihre Festtracht aussehen solle, wie das Brauchsystern des Kalenderjahres gestaltet werden solle, und ganz allgemein, wann und weswegen die Leute feiern dürfen. Selbst wer sich mit seinem Boot in den Seitenarmen der Aufklärung bewegte, konnte seine Heilslehren nur vermischt mit religiösen Belehrungen vortragen. Erst seit Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts (nach den Revolutionen) kann man offen über die Spannungen der Gesellschaften und die Ursache der Übel sprechen. Auf ein anderes Blatt gehört, daß was die Therapie betrifft, die Rezepte sich nicht immer bewährten. Soviel ist aber sicher: Man muß die wirtschaftlichen Zusammenhänge ändern, wenn man den Fluß einer Gesellschaft in ein neues Bett umleiten will.

Die Verkünder der sich auf die Bauern, die Traditionen, die Vergangenheit und Zukunft der Nation berufenden romantischen Ideale kümmerten sich allerdings nicht allzu sehr um Ökonomie. Die Kultur beispielsweise sagte ihnen um vieles mehr zu. So hat man z.B. in Deutschland seit dem ersten Drittel des 19. Jahrhunderts fast jede einzelne neue Gesellschaftstheorie aus der Kultur abgeleitet, ganz zu schweigen davon, daß H. W. RIEHL auf seiner Suche nach einer Lösung der gesellschaftlichen Übel, d.h. (mit seinen eigenen Worten) nach einer „wissenschaftlichen Sozialpolitik“, seine moralisierenden Gedankengänge ausschließlich von der Kultur und den Traditionen ausgehend vortrug. Die Stadt, die Fabrik, der Proletarier waren der Gegensatz zur Provinz, die Heimat, Gott und Familie waren Garanten des Glücks, eine Insel im schmutzigen Strom der modernen Welt, die Stützpfeiler der Vergangenheit, Geschichte, Tradition und Kultur, und auf diesen ruht die gesunde Gesellschaft.

RIEHL'S Heilslehre war keine literarische Schöpfung, kein Märchen, sondern eine als wissenschaftliche Grundlegung gedachte Abhandlung, sie war das Kredo der Ethnographie.

Neben all dem verdanken wir den Leistungen der Romantik des 19. Jahrhunderts, daß die Männer der Wissenschaft die schöpferische Tätigkeit des Volkes anerkannten, ja manche wollten anderen Faktoren fast keine Wichtigkeit beimessen. Letztendlich haben wir diesen Anstrengungen zu verdanken, daß wir heute schon recht viel über den Tradierungsprozeß der im kollektiven Bewußtsein vorhandenen Schöpfungen wissen, obwohl doch deren Probleme die Intelligenz der Aufklärung und die vor ihnen Lebenden überhaupt nicht interessiert hatten. Infolge der Verbreitung der Ideale der Romantik haben wir erkannt, daß die kulturelle Umgebung der kleinen Leute, die sich in ihr abspielenden Modewellen, die als zeitgemäß angenommenen Bewußtseinäußerungen sich mit ähnliche Funktionen versehenen Lebensäußerungen der jeweiligen herrschenden Gruppen in Verwandtschaft setzen lassen, weil zwischen ihnen Wechselwirkungen bestehen und wir in vielen Fällen sogar feststellen können, welche Chronologie und Verbreitungsrichtung die betreffenden Wirkmechanismen haben. Wie wirken die beiden Kulturen aufeinander? Das ist eine Frage, die vor der Romantik eigentlich niemals theoretisch oder mit historiographischem Anspruch gestellt worden ist, obwohl man doch unzähligemal den gesamten Prozeß mit all seinen Folgen durchlebt hatte. Aber ungeachtet dessen, daß unsere Kenntnisse erheblich zugenommen haben, hinderte uns die Romantik dennoch am klaren Überblick. Vor allem haben nämlich die der romantischen Auffassung Verpflichteten sich niemals vom Ideal des „Volkstums“, von diesem unklaren Begriff befreien können,

der seit den frühesten Anfängen des wissenschaftlichen Denkens die Vorstellungen über die Gesellschaften eingefärbt hat, und seit sich die Nation und ihre Charakterologie auf den Äußerungen der Schriftsteller, Juristen, Geschichtsschreiber und aus ihnen hervorgegangenen Politiker als dichter Nebel niedergelassen haben, konnten sie auch nicht aus ihm herauskommen. Es hat die Durchsicht immer erschwert, dennoch berief man sich darauf – sozusagen als auf ein Axiom. Besonders die Demagogen, die Populisten argumentierten auf eine Weise, daß das „Volkstum“ (Deutschtum, Slawentum, Galliertum, Ungartum) nie in ihren Äußerungen fehlte. So machten es die Nationalsozialisten, die einfach jede Überlegung den Phrasen vom „deutschen Volkstum“ unterordneten. Im Grunde deshalb mag W. H. RIEHL im Dritten Reich eine Renaissance erlebt haben.

Seither ist ein halbes Jahrhundert vergangen, gut eineinhalb Generationen. Recht vieles hat sich in unserer geistigen Umwelt gewandelt, vor allem aber in der Wirkung der das Denken beeinflussenden Faktoren. Deshalb ist jede Initiative zu begrüßen, die uns die Vergangenheit unserer Wissenschaft klarer sehen läßt, durch die Ursachen und Zusammenhänge deutlicher werden, und deshalb ist jeder Versuch aus gegensätzlichem Interesse für alle irritierend, die die Geschichte der Wissenschaft kritisch unter die Lupe zu nehmen beabsichtigen. Auch die Verfasser der „Völkischen Wissenschaft“ sind darum bemüht, daß wir die Vergangenheit unserer Wissenschaft klar sehen können: Der Nebel soll sich auflösen! Die fünfzehn Verfasser legen Wissenschaft und Politik, Kultur und Ideologie, die Ergebnisse der Lehren und der Indoktrinationsprozesse auf die Waagschale, sie bemühen sich, die Rolle der Wissenschaft in der Erkenntnissen und Irrtümern, ihren Einfluß auf die herrschenden Ideale und das öffentliche Denken selbst zu klären. Ein sehr zeitgemäßes und sehr bedeutendes Werk ist dieser Studienband!

Diese Unternehmung des deutschen und österreichischen Autorenkollektivs wird über das Gesagte hinaus auch durch die historischen Veränderungen der nahen Vergangenheit bestätigt. Das Zustandekommen der deutschen Einheit, die Nähe der europäischen Union und die mit ihr in Beziehung stehenden Programme lassen die Aufdeckung der schädlichen Folgen des Erbes der Romantik aktuell werden. Andererseits macht das Wiederaufleben aller Arten von Nationalismus an der Peripherie und Halbperipherie, nicht nur in der Dritten Welt, sondern auch in den in die Dritte Welt abrutschenden Ländern Europas, darauf aufmerksam, daß man die Rolle der Gesellschaftswissenschaften unserer Zeit neu bewerten muß! So ist es beispielsweise offensichtlich, daß in Europa im Verlauf des vergangenen halben Jahrhunderts die letzten Überbleibsel der traditionellen Gesellschaften beseitigt wurden. Es gibt auf unserem Kontinent keinen – modellwertigen – Bauern mehr. Schon R. REDFIELD stieß auf ihn erst in Lateinamerika. Seine Schüler und die Nachfolger seiner Methode kartierten seither die Dritte Welt, vor allem eine Antwort auf die Frage suchend, zu welchen Änderungen das Eindringen der modernen Zivilisation in dieses Medium führt, wie sie die Merkmale der bäuerlichen Existenz beseitigt. Mit anderen Worten, die Problematik ist fast identisch mit dem, worauf die Forscher des letzten Jahrhunderts in Europa neugierig waren, nur daß sich in unserem Jahrhundert der Fokus des Interesses schon von unserem Kontinent entfernt hat, weil sich die Gesellschaft selbst geändert hat. Unterdessen muß man feststellen, daß die Ethnographie (bzw. die „europäische Ethnologie“, oder die Volkskunde der einzelnen Länder) immer weniger für die Darstellung einer (um mit der immer klassischer wer-

denden Formulierung von Károly POLÁNYI zu sprechen) „großen Umgestaltung“ (the great transformation) geeignet ist. Es tauchen Zweifel an ihrer Glaubwürdigkeit auf, und sie durchlebt krisenhafte Jahrzehnte. Infolge der epochalen Umgestaltung der Gesellschaft steht die Volkskunde so vielen Herausforderungen gegenüber, daß sie ihre Aussagen mit anderen Fachzweigen zu teilen gezwungen ist. Seit einigen Jahrzehnten läßt sich beobachten, daß aus der Feder von Historiographen Abhandlungen erscheinen, in denen wir über die Lebensumstände kleiner Leute, über die stereotypen Äußerungen ihres geistigen Lebens, über die Gestaltung des Modemechanismus der Kultur, also über die Themen lesen können, die früher nicht die Historiker, sondern die Volkskundler beschäftigten. Nur bestehen zwischen den von beiden Gruppen verwendeten Verfahren erhebliche Unterschiede. Die Volkskundler (bzw. die Vertreter der europäischen Ethnologie) interessierte der Tradierungsvorgang, von der Prähistorie bis zur modernen Zeit, und in ihm die Wirklichkeit des Volks- und nationalen Antlitzes (zumindest aber das Ensemble von Erscheinungen, in deren Zusammenhang sich die ausschließliche, alle anderen Faktoren an Dominanz übertreffende und sich nur auf die zum Studium ausgesuchte ethnische Gruppe beschränkende Äußerung des ethnischen Charakters voraussetzen ließ), die Historiker dagegen die Darstellungsmöglichkeit der Probleme einer bestimmten Periode, oftmals mit einem Ausblick über die nationalen Grenzen, einen Überblick über das Ganze eines Winkels des Kontinents bietend. Der Anspruch, die „Geschichte der Alltags“ darzustellen, hat also vieles von den Annäherungsmethoden von Ethnologie und Soziologie übernommen, weicht aber von deren wissenschaftlichem Verfahren, deren Ausgangspunkt und Schlußfolgerungen ab. Wie es sich auch verhält, sicher ist, daß die Vertreter der „Geschichte des Alltags“ erkannten: Die Lebensumstände der kleinen Leute und ihre Kultur, vor allem ihre Ideen ändern sich um vieles langsamer als das Verhalten der gesellschaftlichen Elite. Eigentlich ist dies der Grund dafür, daß wohl keine der Fachwissenschaften allein in der Lage ist, das vollständige kulturelle Leben der Gesellschaft darzustellen. Es fehlen die Mittel, die beiden kulturellen Gesichter der Gesellschaft gleichzeitig zu zeigen, obwohl es nicht zu leugnen ist, daß wir dank der Anstrengungen der vergangenen zwei bis drei Gelehrten generationen sehr vieles von den Wechselwirkungen zwischen beiden Kulturen erfahren haben.

Diese Problematik hat vor allem die Volkskundler beschäftigt, und auch heute erscheinen die meisten Fachmonographien zu diesem Thema. Die Historiker wiederum verwenden mehr Aufmerksamkeit darauf, daß die Menschen – indem sie den Mechanismus der Wechselwirkungen der beiden Kulturen in Gang halten – sich in jeder Generation andere Umstände schaffen, als welche sie von den Vorfahren geerbt haben. Der Prozeß verläuft im breiten bäuerlichen Fundament der Gesellschaftspyramide meistens freilich langsamer als in der Spitze, im kleinen Kreis der Machtelite, woraus wieder neue Widersprüche entstehen und diese die Geschichte der Gestaltung der Kultur weitgehend beeinflussen.

Mit dieser Darstellungsweise – der Untersuchung der Geschichte der Kultur, der Traditionen und der Lebensäußerungen kleiner Leute – wurde die Aufrechterhaltung der Konventionen ethnographischer Analysen in Frage gestellt. Die das „Volkstum“ als höchstes Ordnungsprinzip akzeptierenden Richtungen stellen zwar fest, daß die Kraft der Tradition das uralte kulturelle Erbe nur als Kohäsionsfaktor von Geschlecht zu Ge-

schlecht weitervererbt, sie vermochten aber keine Erklärung für die Entstehung von Modewellen geben. Möglicherweise schien die Routieantwort der zentralen Fragen der Geschichte zur Zeit der sich entfaltenden Romantik neuartig zu sein, heutzutage bestehen nur mehr jene darauf, die dazu neigen, ihre alte brüchige Barke – mit der schwarzen Fahne – auf der populistischen Modewelle schwimmen zu lassen. Eine weit zeitgemäßere Lösung versprechen jene, die mittels Anwendung der Methoden der Kulturosoziologie hoffen, die Volkskunde von der drückenden und überflüssigen Last der Vergangenheit befreien zu können. H. BAUSINGER hat schon 1958 auf einem Soziologenkongreß in Nürnberg seiner Überzeugung Ausdruck verliehen, daß sich die Volkskunde nur erneuern könne, wenn sie sich von ihrem Vergangenheitserbe befreit und sich in ihrer Fragestellung und ihren Methoden der Soziologie angleicht. Sie werde fernerhin keine vergangenheitszentrische Disziplin sein, sondern danach streben, ein Bild von den sich in der Gegenwart abspielenden Prozessen zu geben. Sie tauscht den engen Rahmen des peinlich störenden Provinzialismus gegen die europäischen Perspektiven ein. Empirische Untersuchungen werden vorgenommen, das Kenntnissfeld der Wissenschaft wird nicht mehr mit Marginalität gefüllt, sondern mit jenen Erfahrungen, die man aus dem breitesten Querschnitt der Gesellschaft gewonnen hat. Zu all dem werden die Volkskundler auch durch die humane Verpflichtetheit der Wissenschaft gezwungen.

Ich muß noch hinzufügen, daß dies Bestreben im Einklang mit den Veränderungen in den Geisteswissenschaften steht, mit der (nach dem Muster der „harten Wissenschaften“ eingetretenen) Dominanz der statistischen Methoden, mit der ausschließlichen Herrschaft der die einstige Mode – die durch die Philologie ausgegrabenen Angaben beliebig in eine Arbeitshypothese zu stellen – ablösenden „exakten“ Verfahren, darüber hinaus mit den auch an mitteleuropäischen Universitäten verbindlich gewordenen Lehren, den Ansichten ADORNOS, POPPERS und MARCUSES. Die Vertreter der Volkskunde haben sich jedoch mehrheitlich nicht unter diese neue Fahne gestellt. Sie waren darum bemüht, die früheren Methoden etwas zu modifizieren, sie wollten das Erbe der Wissenschaft der Vergangenheit vermehren. Diese Haltung kennzeichnet auch noch die Mitglieder des „Tübinger Kreises“ (wie BAUSINGERS Schule genannt wird) zutreffend. Auch sie schlossen Kompromisse, die Motivforschung, die Variantenuntersuchungen sowie die Struktur- und Funktionsanalyse blieben erhalten (nur daß sie im Vergleich mit den früheren auf viel breiterer Basis geschehen!), auch die Lebensweguntersuchung wurde nicht vernachlässigt – mit einem Wort, sie verwendeten vieles von dem, was früher die Vertreter der Folkloristik ihr eigen nannten. Lebensumstände, Kultur der Umgebung, materielle Kultur, also die Untersuchung der handgreiflichen Beweise der Geschichte, bleiben ihnen fremd. Die Grenzen ihres Tätigkeitsbereiches wurden von einstigen Folkloristen gezogen! Die Untersuchung der Gesamtheit der Lebensäußerungen (für die sie sich als Theoretiker einsetzten) unterblieb, das Ergebnis war nur eine modernisierte und verbesserte Ausgabe der Folkloristik.

Dementsprechend legten die Mitglieder des „Tübinger Kreises“ auch kein so militantes Verhalten gegen die früheren Leistungen der Volkskunde an den Tag. Diesen Ton eines Glaubensstreites schlug bloß H. MAUS 1956 an. Mit Berufung auf den Nazi-Mythos und die Schutzlosigkeit der Volkskunde (besser gesagt, auf die wilde Ehe zwischen denen, die einst die Braunhemden getragen hatten, und denen, die die Mode des

schwarzen Herrensakkos an den Unilehrstühlen eingeführt hatten), verlangte er, die Volkskunde aufzulösen und von nun an alles nach den Regeln der Soziologie zu untersuchen. Die meisten Volkskundler beeilten sich, diesen dissonanten Ton zu überhören oder ihn zu vergessen. Einzig Will-Erich PEUCKERT trat ihm entgegen, indem er betonte, die Wissenschaft „soll rein von der Politik bleiben“. (Diesen Streit wärmten auch BAUSINGERS Schüler wieder auf und gaben Peuckert recht.) Die Mehrzahl der Volkskundler suchte jedoch (wenn sie überhaupt mit theoretischen Problemen befaßt waren) Antwort auf ganz andere Fragen.

Vor allem waren sie in den Jahren um die Jahrhundertwende und nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg mit Fakten im Zusammenhang mit ihren theoretischen Thesen beschäftigt. Die Schriften vom Philologen E. HOFFMANN-KRAYER, vom Psychologen L. LÉVY-BRUHL und vom Philologen H. NAUMANN übten die größte Wirkung auf Zeitgenossen und Nachwelt aus. Ihre Theorien enthalten viele gemeinsame Züge. Sie stimmen darin überein, daß es der letzte Zweck der Volkskunde sei, „den seelischen Kräften nachzugeben, die bei der Bildung, Übertragung und Wandlung volkstümlicher Anschauungen im allgemeinen in Tätigkeit treten ... Diese Erscheinungen alle auf ihre Ursachen zurückzuführen und aus den einzelnen Fällen allgemeine Gesetze zu abstrahieren, ist die Aufgabe der allgemeinen Volkskunde.“ Der Gegenstand der volkskundlichen Forschung sei der „vulgus in populo“, dessen „primitive“ Anschauungen sie wie die volkstümliche Überlieferung darstellen sollte. Der „vulgus“ hat eine „generell-stagnierende“ geistig-seelische Haltung, die Oberschicht dagegen eine „individuell-zivilisatorische“. Volkskunde beschäftigt sich mit der „primitiven“ Unterschicht (also mit dem „vulgus in populo“) der Kulturvölker (HOFFMANN-KRAYER). NAUMANN formulierte als Theorie der Volkskunde, wie man die Beziehung „primitives Gemeinschaftsgut“, das aus der „geistigen Oberschicht“ übernommenes „gesunkenes Kulturgut“ sei, interpretieren soll. Volk sei eine „primitive Gemeinschaft“, die Volkskunde „in erster Linie Bauernkunde, Großstadt und Proletariat spielten in der Volkskunde keine Rolle“. Nach LÉVY-BRUHL ist die Grundlage der Kultur die „primitive Mentalität“, deren Nachleben die Kulturgeschichte sei. Diese Erklärung akzeptierten auch die Nazi-Ideologen (auch wenn LÉVY-BRUHLs Vorfahren keine Arier waren).

In diesen Kulturtheorien spielte die These die entscheidende Rolle, daß sich die primitive Kultur mit der Zeit um der höheren Schichten „gesunkene Kulturgüter“ bereichert (NAUMANN), die „wie die Krümel vom Tisch der Herren herabfallen“ (HOFFMANN-KRAYER). Im Grunde stellt dieser Doppelmekanismus die Tradierung dar, denn „das Volk produziert nicht, es reproduziert nur“. (Philosophisch findet sich diese Theorie viele früher in NIETZSCHES Schriften, die Vertreter der Fachwissenschaften lösten auch jetzt, wie schon oft, den Biankoscheck der Theorie ein, während die Wissenschaftsgeschichte dem Fachgelehrten die Entdeckung zusprach.) Auf jeden Fall hat die widersprüchliche Lage NAUMANN keineswegs daran gehindert, in die NSDAP einzutreten und dann, die Gewogenheit hoher Gönner genießend, den größten Teil der unheilvollen 12 Jahre mit Gastvorlesungen an verschiedenen europäischen und kanadischen Universitäten zu verbringen.

Man mußte sich um Bekanntheit in der großen Welt bemühen, denn der Bewegungsraum war eng geworden. So wurde z.B. 1881 eine Gesellschaft gegründet, die sich die

Pflege der Beziehungen des Deutschtums zur großen Welt zur Aufgabe stellte. Und später, nicht lange, bevor der Erste Weltkrieg verloren ging, öffneten sich in Stuttgart in einer alten Kaserne die Tore des „Deutsche-Ausland-Instituts“. Da man die Kolonien verloren hatte, sollten die kulturellen Beziehungen gepflegt werden. Die Aufgabe der Politiker und Militärs war gleichzeitig die Neuverteilung der Einflußzonen in der Welt. Von dieser aber blieben die Deutschen ausgeschlossen. Für sie blieben die Minderheitsfragen in Osteuropa, die mit Hilfe der Kulturbeziehungen angenähert werden konnten. Neben der Ausdehnung der Kulturbeziehungen entdeckte man noch die ostmitteleuropäischen Deutschen, eine Minderheit, um die sich kurz zuvor noch niemand gekümmert hatte. Als dann die Nationalsozialisten an die Herrschaft kamen, erhob man die Sache der Minderheit auf die Ebene der Regierungspolitik. Für das „Deutsche Volkstum“ entstanden kulturelle und Unterrichtsprogramme, es wurden Lehrstühle, Schulen, Bibliotheken, Fachzeitschriften und Museen gegründet, von Königsberg über Prag bis Budapest sorgten als Universitäts- oder Mittelschullehrer, Bibliotheks- und Museumsangestellte militante Agenten für die Pflege des Bewußtseins der „völkischen Zugehörigkeit“ der Minderheit. Die fachwissenschaftliche Argumente dafür zu liefern, waren die Vertreter der Volkskunde berufen. Spenden von Banken, das Budget und sogar Bewilligungen von Gewerkschaften deckten die Kosten. Während des Krieges war das gesamte Netz dem Amt des SS-Auslandsmeldestendienstes unterstellt. Schon 1936 wurde in der Stuttgarter Zentrale (wo sich auch heute der Rechtsnachfolger des Amtes befindet) eine ständige Ausstellung siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Möbel und sudetendeutscher Volkstrachten eröffnet. Mit den eilends zusammengekauften Kollektionen wollte man beweisen, daß die deutsche Volkskunst jenseits der Grenzen Jahrhunderte hindurch ihren Charakter bewahrt hatte, das „deutsche Volkstum“ in ihr durchschlägt. Der Hamburger Museumsdirektor Otto LEHMANN behauptete schon 1927, das die Volkstrachten in Osteuropa anschaulich den kulturellen Vorrang und die Überlegenheit der Deutschen beweisen.

In der NS-Zeit wurde die ideologische Kontrolle fast sämtlicher in die Befugnis der Volkskunde gehörenden Institutionen organisiert. Die Angestellten zweier wichtigerer miteinander rivalisierender Parteiämter hielten die Lehrer der Universitäten, die Museumsdirektoren, wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften und Akademie-Gremien im Auge. Diese Ämter wurden von Typen besetzt, die – bevor sie an die Macht kamen – ihre Zeit in Bierkellern verbracht hatten und mit denen sich die Vertreter der Wissenschaft anfangs nur ungern in Gespräche einließen. Aber später änderten sich die Zeiten! Recht bald besetzten die Stammgäste der Bierkeller die Barrikaden der Popularisierung der Wissenschaften und sehr bald auch die Lenkungsstellen. Und die Wissenschaftler konnten, wenn sie arbeiten wollten, bei ihnen Klinken putzen. Diese Typen wirkten teils unter HIMMLERS, teils unter ROSENBERGS Oberleitung. Sie saßen in den Räumen der „Forschungs- und Leshrgemeinschaft des ‚Ahnenerbes‘ und in der „Dienststelle des Beauftragten des Führers für die Überwachung der gesamten geistigen und weltanschaulichen Schulung der Nationalsozialistischen Arbeiterpartei“.

Unter den miteinander konkurrierenden Parteiämtern hatte die Bürokratie des Reichsführers den größten Machteinfluß. HIMMLERS Leute siegten. Jene Fachleute, die früher die Unterstützung der Männer ROSENBERGS genossen, fielen von einem Tag zum anderen in Ungnade. Andererseits ist zu berücksichtigen, daß es in den Parteiämtern auch

– für sich kaum eine wissenschaftliche Karriere erhoffende – Beamte gab, die ihren Vorgesetzten mit „fachlichen“ Garantien der Zuverlässigkeit der aus dem Wissenschaftsbereich beauftragten Fachleute dienten. Sie standen für die „wissenschaftliche Fundiertheit“ der Vorhaben ein. Denn die Politik ist immer auf die Wissenschaft angewiesen, und die nationalsozialistische Politik brauchte die Volkskunde ganz besonders. In ROSENBERGS Amt wurde bereits 1936 der Plan für die Parteihochschule ausgearbeitet, die am Chiemsee errichtet werden sollte. (Der Plan wurde aus Geldmangel nicht verwirklicht, die Akten verbrannten 1943 in Berlin bei einem Luftangriff.) Diese „hohe Schule“ sollte nicht nur Lehrstühle, sondern auch Forschungsinstitute beherbergen. Nach Philosophie, Soziologie und Pädagogik folgte in diesem Entwurf in der Hierarchie der Wissenschaften die Volkskunde, die Reihe setzte sich fort mit der Geschichte, vor allem der Zeitgeschichte und deren als wichtigstem betrachteten Zweig, der Geschichte der NSDAP, und endete mit der Weltgeschichte.

In diesen und anderen Planungen trennte die Ordnungsprinzipien der Parteiideologie und der Volkskundetheorie nur eine niedrige Wand voneinander. Die einzelnen Bereiche waren – vor allem für die Parteikoryphäen – durchlässig. Infolgedessen ergab sich für die durch das Rosenbergamt 1936/1937 geschaffenen Forschungsabteilungen eine spezielle Situation. Sie dehnten ihr Interesse auf sehr vieles aus: Von der Wettervorhersage bis zu Katalogen der Märchenmotive und Sagentypen hielten sie ihre Zuständigkeit für selbstverständlich. Jede Abteilung wurde durch einen Ober- (Unter-, Haupt-)sturmbannführer geleitet, unter denen auch einige Volkskundler waren, die dadurch zu „fachlichen Faktoren“ wurden. Alle hatten die Aufgabe, „Raum, Geist und Taten der nordischen Indogermanen“ zu erforschen, und mochten es als ihre Verpflichtung betrachten, die auf diesem Gebiet erzielten „Ergebnisse lebendig im öffentlichen Bewußtsein zu pflegen und dem Volk zu Kenntnis zu bringen!“ Bereits 1936 erschien das Periodikum GERMANIEN, in dessen erster Nummer HIMMLERS Günstling, der Volkskundler J. O. PLASSMANN, den Leitartikel schrieb. Seiner Ansicht nach war die Zeitschrift das Organ einer Wissenschaft mit folgenden Aufgaben: „Das Ahnenerbe hat die Aufgabe, Raum, Geist und Tat des nordischen Indogermanentums zu erforschen, die Forschungsergebnisse lebendig zu gestalten und dem deutschen Volke zu vermitteln.“ Später meldete sich auch HIMMLER zu Wort: Die Wissenschaft diene „dem Nachweis der arischen, vom zentralen Deutschland und dem Ostseebecken ausgehenden nordischen Menschheit in fast allen Teilen unserer Erde und dem Nachweis auch, heute wenigstens der geistigen Weltherrschaft des arischen Germanentums näherzukommen“.

Der schreiende Gegensatz der verwirrten Hirngespinnste war auch in diesem Fall der Provinzialismus der alltäglichen Faktoren. So geschah es, als an der Universität Frankfurt a.M. eine Abteilung „Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für Volksforschung und Volkskunde“ geschaffen wurde, der man das Büro des „Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde“ angliederte, daß man zum Leiter der ganzen Organisation Obersturmbannführer H. HARMJANZ ernannte, dem man auch den Professorentitel nicht vorenthielt. Gleichzeitig damit schuf man an der Wiener Universität (als vorgeschobene Garnison) die Organisation „Lehr- und Forschungsstätte für germanisch-deutsche Volkskunde“, auch an ihre Spitze stellte man – als Professor – einen Volkstanztheoretiker, R. WOLFRAM, der seinem durch den Anschluß zustande gekommenen neuen Vaterland als Mitglied der Waffen-SS diente.

Dies hinderte ihn nicht daran, seit 1940 die – unter seiner Mitwirkung gegründete – Arbeitsgruppe „Kulturkommission Südtirol“ zu leiten. (Es ergab sich also die Situation, daß der Führer großmütig Zugunsten des Duce auf die betreffende Provinz verzichtet hatte, seine Prätorianer aber mit allen Mitteln an dem „uralten Boden“ festhielten.) Nach dem Kriegsende stellte sich in Wien mit der II. Österreichischen Republik eine neue Lage ein. Professor WOLFRAM verließ sein Katheder erst in den sechziger Jahren, als er – in Anbetracht seines Alters – in Ruhestand ging. Anfangs registrierte man im Südtiroler Forschungszentrum selbst noch die Museumssammlungen und arbeitete Richtlinien für die effektive Funktion dieser Institutionen aus. Es entstanden volkskundliche Dokumentarfilme in der Hoffnung, auch diese könnten überzeugend die ethnische und nationale Zugehörigkeit der erforschten Provinz beweisen. Und um was alles kümmerte man sich nicht noch? Der Volksmusikforscher namens QUELLMATZ z.B. bombardierte die Zuständigen mit Eingaben, weil er im Besitz des Melodienschatzes der Südtiroler Volksmusik „die Basis einer musikalischen Stammeswissenschaft“ niederlegen wollte, weil – seiner Ansicht nach – die Melodien „den Ausdruck des Stammescharakters“ bewiesen. Aus dieser Klügelei folgte, daß die Analyse der Südtiroler Kultur eine Wasserscheide zwischen den angenommenen Nachkommen der germanischen Vorfahren und ihren Nachbarn zu ziehen helfe, ja sogar die Garantie biete, daß kein Zweifel an der wissenschaftlich belegbaren, historischen Glaubwürdigkeit der Grenzen entstehen könne.

Vergangenheit, Wissenschaft und Traditionen waren das Dreieck, in dem man sich bewegte, und den Nutzen von allem hatte die Politik. Und da die Wissenschaft auf schwachen Füßen stand, konnte auch die Politik daraus keine offensichtlichen Erfolge verbuchen, z.B. als HIMMLER 1942 ausheckte, daß man den den Heldentod Gestorbenen gemäß dem aus den germanischen Traditionen bekannten Ritual die letzte Ehre geben solle. Diese Herausforderung an die Wissenschaft beantworteten die Betroffenen damit, der Termin für die Antwort sei zu kurz bemessen und im übrigen sei die Kostendeckung für die erforderlichen Forschungen ungenügend. Es war jedoch nicht ratsam, dem Reichsführer zu widersprechen. Deshalb lieferte R. WOLFRAM nach zwei Monaten eine Abhandlung, mit deren Ergebnissen HIMMLER sehr zufrieden war. Ungeachtet dessen führte man die Zeremonien dennoch nicht ein, weil die Vorschläge der Wissenschaftler im Dickicht der Bürokratie verloren gingen.

Als noch am ehesten lebensfähige erwiesen sich vermutlich die wissenschaftliche Grundlegung des Atlas der Deutschen Volkskunde und die praktischen Überlegungen zu seiner Verwirklichung. Die Methoden der Atlasuntersuchungen hatten Sprachwissenschaftler ursprünglich in Nordamerika ausgearbeitet. Sie beabsichtigten, die Eigenheiten und Gesetzmäßigkeiten der indischen Stammessprachen aufgrund der Angaben einer bestimmten Zahl von Forschungspunkten zu untersuchen. Die Lösung versprach so fruchtbar zu sein, daß auch die kulturelle Erscheinungen untersuchenden Ethnologen (bzw. Athropologen) sie übernahmen und mit Erfolg anwendeten. Dann machten sie sie in Europa bekannt, wo in England und Frankreich eigentlich nur die Dialektologen Gebrauch von ihnen machten. Die Anwendung in der Volkskunde war vor allem das Ergebnis der Bemühung der Deutschen. Hier probierte man wiederum die früheren Überlegungen aus. In welchem Maße kann man aus den in unserem Jahrhundert wahrgenommenen Fakten die kulturellen Eigenheiten der germanischen Stämme rekonstrui-

eren, gibt es – geographisch abgrenzbare – kulturelle Zonen in der deutschen Volkskultur und welche sind ihre Ursachen? Rückschlüsse ziehen, Jahrhunderte überschreiten, die vom Nebel der Geschichte bedeckt sind – das war als das große Abenteuer der Wissenschaft, und die Nationalsozialisten säumten nicht, jene zu unterstützen, die genügend Mut hatten, ins Dunkel zu springen, ohne zu wissen, wo und wie sie den Boden erreichen.

Das Ziel der deutschen Atlasuntersuchungen ergab sich aus dem Erbe der Wissenschaft der vergangenen Jahrhunderte. Man wollte Jahrhunderte überbrücken, aus der jüngstvergangenen (oder gegenwärtigen) Kollektiverinnerung die uralte Tradition heraus Schälen, erfahren, was die Geistigkeit der germanischen Ahnen im Bewußtsein der Bauern sei. Was sich in dem Feld zwischen Alpha und Omega befand, interessierte eigentlich gar nicht. Man nahm die Hypothese als Faktum, daß das gesamte dazwischenliegende Medium völlig von der Tradition ausgefüllt wird, auch wenn man damit rechnete, daß deren Kraft ständig schwächer wird und die Untersuchung jetzt brennend notwendig sei, weil die uralte Energie sich bereits erschöpft. Die Karteien mit der Verbreitung der Fakten der „traditionellen Kultur“ nahmen die Fachleute in bisher unbekanntem Maße in Anspruch, das Programm beschäftigte viel mehr Forscher und freiwillige Laienmitarbeiter als jedes andere zuvor. Die Karriereinteressen der Großen der Volkskunde (und Sprachwissenschaft) trafen sich also notwendigerweise mit den leistungsorientierten Zielen der Wissenschaftsorganisatoren (in erster Linie der Leiter der von Nationalsozialisten besetzten Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft). Schon 1934 erarbeitete man – unter Leitung John MEIERS – einen Plan, in welcher Weise diese große Unternehmung organisiert werden solle. Die Theoretiker (und die Ideologen der Nationalsozialisten) hatten die Hoffnung, auf den Karteien würden sich dann die Verbreitungsgrenzen der germanischen Stämme abzeichnen und durch sie die des „deutschen Volkstums“ bzw. des „germanischen Stammestums“, dadurch ließe sich letztlich die „volkrassische“ Identität offensichtlich beweisen. Neben all dem war die einen großen Apparat erfordernde Atlasforschung Bestandteil eines internationalen Prozesses, dessen Strom die ganze zivilisierte Welt überflutete, sie war eine Mode, eine Strömung, der man sich kaum entziehen konnte, jedermann hatte das Gefühl, dies sei die „moderne Untersuchungsmethode“. Sehr wahrscheinlich ist das der Grund, warum das ganze Programm den Nationalsozialismus überlebte und erst in den fünfziger-sechziger Jahren seinen Zenit erreichte, als niemand mehr – taktlos – nach in den früheren Jahrzehnten entstandenen politischen und ideologischen Bindungen fragte. Die Arbeiten am Atlas erweckten den Anschein der Zuverlässigkeit, man kann sagen, der Risikofreiheit, des „goldenen Mittelweges“, und deshalb wurden sie in fast allen europäischen Ländern zur Mode. Dabei waren viele auf die romantischen Perspektiven gar nicht mehr neugierig. Die Stadt-Land-Beziehungen, die Regeln des Zusammenlebens von Adeligen, Bürgern und den kleinen Leuten im Lande und besonders deren kulturelle Folgen, das waren Themen, deren Aufarbeitung (vor allem das Lebenswerk von G. WIEGELMANN) aus den Arbeiten am Atlas erwachsen war. Man kann sagen, daß von den dreißiger bis zu den sechziger Jahren jede bedeutendere Karriere in Mitteleuropa und in erster Linie im deutschen Sprachraum mit den Atlasarbeiten verbunden war. Infolge der Tatsache, daß die Prinzipien dieser Programme und die Thesen der nationalsozialistischen Wissenschaftsklitterung fast zusammenfielen oder zumindest einander recht nahe kamen, brach der

Karrierebogen mehrerer dennoch auseinander. Der nationalsozialistische Apparat betrachtete die „Wanderer auf dem Mittelweg“ mit Argwohn, der Konflikt der Braunhemden mit den „Schwarzen“ wurde unvermeidlich. Dafür dient der Lebenslauf von A. Spamer sozusagen als Beweis.

SPAMER (der seine Laufbahn in Dresden begann) zog auf den Ruf durch nationalsozialistische Wissenschaftspolitiker hin nach Berlin und nahm dort an den Atlasarbeiten teil. Damals brauchte man noch einen „nichtverpflichteten“ Gelehrten, so sehr, daß man zwar anfangs in ROSENBERGS Umgebung seine Mitarbeit gar nicht begrüßte, aber um den Preis gegenseitiger Kompromisse SPAMERS fachlichem Programm dann keine Hindernisse in den Weg gelegt wurden – jedenfalls eine Zeitlang! Denn auf der vierten Vollversammlung der Ethnographischen Gesellschaften – in Bremen 1936 – legte SPAMER den Plan für ein Institut vor, in dem von den Archäologen über die Märchenforscher bis zu den Experten für Haustypen Spezialisten aller Art Platz finden sollten, selbstverständlich auf dem „goldenen Mittelweg“ zum Fernziel der Wissenschaft voranschreitend. Er fand kühle Aufnahme, den Nationalsozialisten sagte dieses Programm nicht zu. Sie wünschten sich von dem Gelehrten mehr Ideologie und Politik. SPAMER warf seinen Plan in den Papierkorb. Im weiteren erhielt er wenig Fachleute, Geld und politische Unterstützung, so nahm er seinen Versuch auch später nicht wieder auf. Aber schließlich ist ein volkswundliches Spitzeninstitut, in dem alle Fachzweige zur Erleichterung der theoretischen Verallgemeinerung der Forschungen vereinigt werden, ein solcher Plan, der eben nicht einfach im Archiv verschwinden kann. In den wissenschaftspolitischen Anstrengungen einer anderen totalitären Diktatur in der deutschen Geschichte, der DDR, läßt sich in den sechziger Jahren die Vorbereitung der Gründung eines solchen „komplexen wissenschaftlichen Institutes“ – nach „sowjetischem Beispiel“ – beobachten. W. STEINITZ (der damals als Vizepräsident der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Ostberlin das Ethnographische Institut leitete) wendete viel Energie auf, die Basis für ein solches Institut zu schaffen. Sein Tod machte allerdings einen Stirch durch die ganze Rechnung. Wieder einmal hatte sich erwiesen, daß für Institutionen in der Wissenschaft Leute nötig sind, die sich gleichermaßen sicher in der Politik wie im öffentlichen Leben bewegen. Das frühere Institut von Professor STEINITZ wurde in der wissenschaftlichen Hierarchie den historischen Instituten untergeordnet, und als Hauptaufgabe wurde seinen Mitarbeitern die Sammlung der Erinnerungen im Zusammenhang mit der Entstehung der einstigen Arbeitermärsche zugeteilt. Einst war das Schiff der Volkskunde ähnlicherweise auf einer Sandbank gestrandet, damals aber hatte Professor SPAMER das Steuer in der Hand. Denn vor Kriegsausbruch hatten ROSENBERGS Mitarbeiter die „Nationalsozialistische Bibliographie“ zusammengestellt, in der das Lebenswerk des Professors als „nicht empfehlenswert“ qualifiziert wurde. Gleichzeitig hätte die zweite Ausgabe von SPAMERS Handbuch „Deutsche Volkskunde“ erscheinen sollen. Über das Manuskript wurde in der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften eine Debatte geführt, wo mehrere Gelehrte (unter ihnen auch Fr. RANKE) den Autor beschuldigten, die Volkstraditionen „sub specie orientis“ darzustellen, obwohl es doch keinen Zweifel an ihrer nordischen Herkunft gebe. Einer seiner Fachkollegen, der Volkskundler M. ZIEGER, behauptete gar, Professor SPAMER sei klerikal eingestellt, sein Denken stehe dem Geist des „Völkischen Beobachter“ (das zentrale Presseorgan der NSDAP) fern. SPAMER konnte nichts anderes tun als

zurücktreten. Er legte sein Amt in der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft nieder, lenkte also von nun an die Volkskundeforschungen nicht mehr, wenn man ihm auch als Entschädigung die Kontrolle der Atlasarbeiten anvertraute.

Bei allem konnte man damals das Schicksal des Atlas noch nicht absehen. Rückblickend scheinen die Geschehnisse zu bestätigen, daß er die am ehesten risikolose Unternehmung unter den wissenschaftlichen Initiativen der Volkskunde, sogar der sowjetischen Ethnographie (und der ihrer Satellitenstaaten Böhmen, Polen, Rumänien, Slowakei, Ungarn) gewesen ist. In dem halben Jahrhundert seit dem Krieg wurden in vielen Ländern die mit ihm in Zusammenhang stehenden Aufgaben durchgeführt, auch wenn es nirgendwo gelang, seine einheitliche Thematik und ein gleich dichtes Forschungsnetz anzuwenden, aber überall akzeptierte man, daß die auf den Karteien dargestellten kulturellen Erscheinungen Traditionen sind, die aus der Ordnung der Stammesgesellschaft der fernen Vergangenheit einzelner Völker stammen. Damit war es gelungen, die oberflächliche Geschichtsauffassung der Romantik aus dem 19. Jahrhundert in unsere Tage hinüberzuretten: eine mit großem Apparat und niemals für anderes aufgewendeten Summen unterstützte, teure Illusion – statt Kenntnisnahme. Zudem vertrug sie sich recht gut mit dem Provinzialismus, der – besonders bei den im deutschen Sprachraum durchgeführten volkskundlichen Forschungen – in den Jahrzehnten nach dem Krieg herrschte. In dieser Atmosphäre konnten viele einst dem Nationalsozialismus verpflichteten Volkskundler sich und ihre Gesinnungsgenossen hindurchretten. Zu ihnen gehörten der schon erwähnte Volkstanzforscher R. WOLFRAM, der Siedlungshistoriker und Atlantenspezialist A. HELBOK (früher einer der Hauptbefürworter der Atlasarbeiten in der nationalsozialistischen Partei, der den voraussichtlichen ideologischen und politischen Nutzen dieser wissenschaftlichen Unternehmung betonte) und der Märchenforscher K. HAIDING, der einst in dem von der NSDAP unterhaltenen Forschungsinstitut die hypothetischen Gesetze des arischen Charakters des Märchengutes geprüft hatte. Diese Reihe ließe sich – leider – noch lange fortsetzen. Sie alle überstanden die Nachkriegsjahre und setzten bruchlos dort fort, wo sie aufgehört hatten – beim Zusammenbruch.

An der Grazer Universität z. B. hatten die volkskundlichen Forschungen (inspiriert vor hundert Jahren von sprachgeschichtlichen Überlegungen) im Hinblick auf indoeuropäische Perspektiven begonnen. Auch die Arbeitsrichtung „Wörter und Sachen“ war auf die Kulturgeschichte Europas ausgerichtet. Nach solchen Präliminarien aber wurde bereits in der Zwischenkriegszeit die Messung der Abweichung zwischen den ethnischen und den politischen Grenzen in den Alpen zur täglichen Arbeitsaufgabe. Später dann mußten Abhandlungen über das Vorhandensein der „großdeutschen Nationalkultur“ und die Folgen ihrer Verwirklichung geschrieben werden. Selbst ein menschlich ehrenhafter Professor mit so solidem Wertsystem wie V. GERMAI entdeckte sehr bald, daß er seine geliebte Wissenschaft in RIEHLs Geiste erneuern müsse, denn „solange wir in der Wissenschaft das deutsche Volk nicht darstellen, nicht beschreiben, was seine Kultur ist, wissen wir nichts von der deutschen Nation selbst“. So kann man das Echo auf Österreich von der Losung „Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer!“ erfahren. (Es gelang ihm auch, die Volkskunde in die Zwangsjacke der Politik zu pressen: er erfand die Identitätskategorie des „kleinen Österreich“.) An der Salzburger Universität bemühte man sich zur gleichen Zeit, die dortige Werkstätte zum Zentrum der „Alpenforschungen“ zu machen. Der

Lokalpatriotismus in dieser seit Menschengedenken dem Drill durch die katholische Kirche unterworfenen Universitätsstadt mündete zumeist in Rivalitäten und ging selbstverständlich jedes „europäische Perspektive versprechenden Wertes“ verlustig. Nicht weit davon, an der Innsbrucker Universität, betrachteten es H. WOPFNER und A. HELBOK als Zweck der Wissenschaft, den „Anschluß zu unterstützen“! Auch in Wien wurde die Periode der sich auf Europa erstreckenden volkskundlichen Untersuchungen abgeschlossen. S. HABERLANDT (der gar nicht lange zuvor eine fachliterarische Tätigkeit in diesem Themenkreis ausgeübt hatte) beeilte sich, in die NSDAP einzutreten, und der noch vor seinem dritten Lebensjahrzehnt stehende Museumsdirektor suchte nun schon (ein Jahrzehnt nach seiner Ernennung) darauf eine Antwort, aus welchem Grunde das deutsch sei, was österreichisch ist. Die Antwort versuchte er dadurch zu geben, daß er mit dem Begriff „österreichischer Volksstamm“ operierte. Er verwies also die zentralen aktualpolitischen Probleme in die Bindungen der Gesellschaft vor einem Jahrtausend. (Wegen offensichtlicher Demagogie entfernte man ihn sofort nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg aus seinem Museumsamt, obwohl die übrigen nationalsozialistischen Laufbahnen im Fachbereich nicht modifiziert wurden.) Auch er glaubte, das Programm sei durch die Ausbreitung des Volkskundeatlas zu verwirklichen. Die ihnen von den Nazis aufgebene Hausaufgabe erledigte in der Nachkriegszeit die auf dem „goldenen Mittelweg“ voranschreitende Generation.

Auch damit gelang es nach und nach, die Unternehmungen der mit nazistischen Vorstellungen allzusehr belasteten Volkskundler zu entpolitisieren. Das Dritte Reich war aber noch in zu lebhafter Erinnerung, als daß nicht von Zeit zu Zeit manche die Notwendigkeit gespürt hätten, den aus der Vergangenheit kommenden Weg zu reinigen, ihn vom Abfall der gestürzten Politik freizufegen! Die Offiziellen der DDR formulierten vor allem das Recht, mit dem nationalsozialistischen Mythos und all dem abzurechnen, was diese Ideologie mit der Wissenschaftstheorie der Ethnographie (oder der Volkskunde) verband. Sie taten dies geleitet von dem Regierungsprogramm, daß sie als Bürger des „ersten freien, demokratischen deutschen Staates“ berufen seien, die in die Tiefenschichten hinabreichenden „antifaschistischen Wurzeln“ des Regimes nachzuweisen und die Ziele der weiteren Pflege der Wissenschaften, der Ideologien festzulegen. H. STROBACH (der Leiter des Forschungsinstituts der Akademie der Wissenschaften Ostberlins) publizierte im vergangenen Vierteljahrhundert mehrere Studien, in denen er die Ethnographie (bzw. die ostdeutsche Volkskunde) von der retrograden Politik und vom nationalsozialistischen Erbe „abgrenzte“ und seine Wissenschaft, d. h. die erneuerte Volkskunde, vor allem „mit den fortschrittlichen Ideen“ verband. Viel Erfolg hatte er damit nicht, da er seine Aussagen nur politikhistorischen Bewertungen entlehnte und es nicht als seine Aufgabe betrachtete, die romantischen theoretischen Grundlagen der Ethnographie (s. W. H. RIEHL) darzustellen, es also nicht unternahm, das aus der Romantik stammende Übel, die Gesellschaften und die Widersprüche des geschichtsbezogenen Denkens zu behandeln. Auch sonst versuchte man in diesem Bereich, ebenso viele Illusionen zu wissenschaftlichen Wahrheiten aufzuwerten, wie überall, wo mit direkten Mitteln der Politik die Wissenschaft manipuliert wird. So war W. STEINITZ überzeugt davon, daß das deutsche Volkslied „demokratischen Charakters“ sei, daß also die „Volkstradition“ dazu geeignet sei, ein Gegenmittel gegen die nationalsozialistische Brunnenvergiftung zu sein.

Die Volkskultur sei Bestandteil des „nationalen Kulturerbes“, Volkskunst und Volksdichtung seien Vorgänger und Rohmaterial der im „Arbeiter-und-Bauernstaat“ geschaffenen „demokratischen“ Kultur. Die Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands entfaltete schon in den fünfziger Jahren eine große Propaganda, damit der „westliche verfallene, bourgeoise, kosmopolitische Formalismus“ kein Bestandteil des Kulturlebens der DDR wurde. (Diese Doktrin entsprach auch den Stellungnahmen sowjetischer Offizieller.)

Alles in allem waren die Voraussetzungen gegeben, eine wissenschaftliche Konferenz unter Teilnahme derer abzuhalten, die die Problematik der nationalsozialistischen Lehren und der Volkskundetheorien zu analysieren beabsichtigten.

Ein halbes Jahrhundert nach der Machtübernahme der Nazis, 1983, kam man in Ostberlin zusammen. Bald kam es zu einer weiteren Veranstaltung, und zwar 1986 in München. Die Teilnehmer begnügten sich allerdings damit, in einer Abwägung von Politik und Geschichte die auch theoriegeschichtlich zu bewertenden Fakten der Volkskunde zu klassifizieren, sie waren also nicht bemüht, das sich aus der Natur der Romantik ergebende Urübel der Ethnographie und dadurch die widersprüchliche Natur dieses Denkens selbst zu analysieren. Dadurch fand die konservative, aber sich als zuverlässig anbietende Wissenschaft, das überholte „schwarze“ Mittelmaß, Gelegenheiten, eine Rehabilitation der Nazis und allgemein all dessen zu versuchen, was die deutsche Vergangenheit kompromittiert. Die Phrase von der „nationalen Verpflichtung“ kam (wer weiß, zum wievielten Mal) erneut auf, vor allem bei den öffentlichen Auftritten von Professor W. BRÜCKNER.

Beim ersten Anlaß organisierte der Würzburger Universitätslehrer (um den Wind aus den Segeln zu nehmen) schnell eine Beratung in Zusammenarbeit mit der Abteilung „Gegenwartsvolkskunde“ der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, in der man deklarierte, daß seine Auffassung von der Fachwissenschaft eine – politikfreie – „akademische Wissenschaft“ sei. Bei der Berliner Zusammenkunft – in seinem Schlußreferat „Berlin und die Volkskunde – stellte er dann die Behauptung auf, man dürfe die Tätigkeit der während des Krieges an der Universität der Hauptstadt lehrenden Volkskundler nur „vom unpolitischen Aspekt her“ beurteilen. (Darauf hin machten ihn mehrere auf die Tatsache aufmerksam, daß jene, um die es sich handele, militante Mitglieder der NSDAP gewesen seien, worauf der Professor seinen Vortrag zurückzog, um ihn dann in seiner eigenen Ausgabe zu veröffentlichen.) Später, in München, führte er aus, die faschistische und die marxistische Ethnographie seien Geschwister, weil beide aus dem ideologischen Arsenal der totalitären Staatlichkeit stammen. Daß man einen Unterschied zwieschen den ideologischen Aspekten der Wissenschaftstheorien um den politischen Interpretationen der Staatsorganisation machen muß und dies eine elementare Pflicht dessen ist, der sich mit Wissenschaft beschäftigt, zog er überhaupt nicht in Betracht. Die „reine Wissenschaft“ erfuhr der Leser schwarz auf weiß in der Sprache und auf dem Niveau der Boulevardpresse. Wer den „goldenen Mittelweg“ gewählt hatte, bekam jetzt, was er verdiente. Auf jeden Fall wollte niemand, als J. DOWS im Dezember 1987 in San Francisco in einem Vortrag vor der Modern Languages Association von den Berliner Entwicklungen berichtete, als ungeschehen akzeptieren, daß die einstigen Ver-

treter der „Volkstumswissenschaft“ der Romantik letztlich die Völkervernichtung erklärt hatten. In den USA wußte man, was das Erbe der Nazis war.

Bei all dem ist die „Wissenschaft vom Menschen“ viel mehr eine Sammlung abstrakter als konkreter Kategorien, als daß man mit ihrer Hilfe die Spuren des Gemisches von Romantik und der nationalsozialistischen Seuche begraben könnte. Das Übel beruht darauf, daß mit dieser Mischung das volkskundliche Gedankengut in Europa durchtränkt ist. Eigentlich ist die Situation gar nicht ausschließlich den Vertretern der Volkskunde zuzuschreiben. An diesem Erbe sind fast alle Geisteswissenschaften beteiligt, doch sind es wohl nur die Vertreter der Volkskunde (manche sogar der „europäischen Ethnologie“), die sich gar nicht so sehr davon befreien wollen. Damit das doch eintreten kann, braucht es viele Initiativen. Als Ergebnis eines entscheidenden Schrittes liegt nun der Band „Völkische Wissenschaft“ vor. Wer in ihm Studien veröffentlicht hat, legte nicht nur sein wissenschaftliches Gewissen in die Waagschale, sondern (und das ist vermutlich schwerer) auch seine menschlichen, patriotischen Empfindungen und vielleicht gar seine berufliche Existenz.

Nach meinen persönlichen Erfahrungen sind die Probleme der Volkskundetheorien in Ungarn nicht fernliegend vom hier Erwähnten. In dem dicken Band der „Völkische Wissenschaft“ verhandelte Situationen aus der Vergangenheit der Volkskunde kennen sie gar nicht. Selbst jene, die damals mit reifem Verstand die wissenschaftspolitischen Fieberphantasien des Dritten Reiches erlebten, hatten (oder haben) eine „selektive“ Erinnerungsfähigkeit und ließen deshalb in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten keine gründliche Sachkenntnis der Fachgeschichte erkennen. Ganz zu schweigen von jenen, die – die nach dem Krieg entstandene, nun nicht mehr braune, sondern elegant und erhabene schwarzgekleidete professorale – Wissenschaft als ihr zu befolgendes Vorbild betrachten mögen! Diese neuen Generationen haben kaum einen Begriff von den – aus der Romantik entstandenen – politischen Aspekten der Wissenschaften. Als junger Anfänger schrieb ich eine ziemlich kompliziert verfaßte Studie darüber, daß die Gedanken der deutschen Romantik in der zeitgenössischen deutschen Volkskunde noch keineswegs überwunden seien, und verschieß auch nicht, daß den NS-Mythos keine Große Mauer von den gesellschaftstheoretischen Illusionen der Romantik trenne. (Gerade ist die neueste Ausgabe von A. BACHS Handbuch „Deutsche Volkskunde“ erschienen. Die Umarbeitung erstreckt sich darauf, daß der Verfasser seine Schwärmereien für das Nazi-Regime herausgelassen und – nach fleißiger Gelehrtenweise – die fehlenden Teile durch die Referenzen der inzwischen erschienenen Literatur ersetzt hat. Das klassische Beispiel eines braunen oder schwarzen Paradigmenwechsels konnte jedermann studieren.) In meiner Studie habe ich diesen gesamten Prozeß (von der Wiege der Romantik bis zur Zeitgeschichte) negativ bewertet. Die Arbeit erschien – nach langem Hin und Her – in der Zeitschrift ETHNOGRAPHIA, aber ich durfte keine Hoffnung hegen, daß der Artikel in irgendeiner – in Europa allgemeiner verständlichen – Sprache erscheinen würde. Der ungarische Akademiker der Volkskunde erklärte mir sogar, den ungarischen Text verstehe man woanders gar nicht, deshalb werde sich die Meinung der ausländischen Kollegen über die ungarischen Verhältnisse nicht ändern, wie düster das von mir gemalte Lagebild auch sei. Seither sind vier Jahrzehnte vergangen. Jetzt, beim Lesen der Studien in der „Völkischen Wissenschaft“, erfüllt mich ein Gefühl der Befriedigung, weil die

wichtigeren Feststellungen in beiden Publikationen übereinstimmen. (Vgl. ETHNOGRAPHIA, LXVIII, 319–336.) Nur weiß ich eben auch, was vor gut zweitausend Jahren in Rom aufgezeichnet wurde – als Neuformulierung all der Weisheiten, die seinerzeit sogar die Straßenjungen kannten: „consilium post facta imber tempora frugum“.

*

Den antiken Autoren schien die „Germania libera“ eine völlig andere Welt zu sein. Hier ist es kalt – schrieben sie –, es regnet oft, häufig ballt sich Nebel zusammen, deshalb ist alles unfreundlich, ja sogar aussichtslos. Germania ist von Wäldern bedeckt und von unzugänglichen Sümpfen. Die Studien des Bandes „Völkische Wissenschaft“ wecken den Verdacht, daß man selbst heute noch – fast zwei Jahrtausende später – nicht leicht aus dem Morast herauskommen kann.

CONFERENCES, RESEARCH CENTRES

HUNGARIAN CULTURE AND CHRISTIANITY

THE 4TH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF HUNGARIAN STUDIES

(ROME–NAPLES, 9–14. SEPTEMBER 1996)

The International Congress of Hungarian Studies, the greatest and most dignified occasion for exchange of views on Hungarian studies has been organized every five years by the International Association of Hungarian Studies. After Budapest (1981), Vienna (1986) and Szeged (1991) in 1996 Rome and Naples gave place to the congress "Hungarian Culture and Christianity". The choice of subject was influenced not only by the millecentenary of the Hungarian conquest and the millennium of the Hungarian school but the scene itself, Rome, the center of Western Christianity and Naples, the seat of the Anjou-dynasty, which had had a great part in the mediaeval Hungarian history. The question of the interrelation of the Hungarian culture and Christianity was discussed by 450 Hungarologists coming from Hungary, Transylvania and a lot of countries of the world to Italy. One hundred and fifty lectures were held in 7 sections on Hungarian linguistics, literature, ethnography and art history mainly in Hungarian language and partly in Italian, French, English and German. According to the previous practice the lectures will be published by the International Association of Hungarian Studies.

Two exhibitions joined to the congress. Hungarian literary, art and scientific books published in Italian in the 19th–20th centuries were exhibited in the National Library in Rome. In the University of Rome Zoltán Moser's photographs on the mediaeval wall-paintings of the St. Ladislaus-legend were showed.

In the history of the congresses of Hungarian studies the first papal audience was a memorable event. Two hundred participants of our congress were received in audience in Castel Gandolfo, the summer residence of Pope John Paul II, who had arrived just then from his visit in Hungary. In the ceremonial hall of the papal summer residence the Pope was informed about the subject and aim of the congress of Hungarian studies by József Bratinka, the Hungarian ambassador in Rome in French and Péter Sárközy, Hungarian professor at the University of Rome in Italian. In his speech in Italian Pope John Paul II summarized the history of the Hungarian church and culture, the main subject of the congress. His speech confirmed our impressions that both the Italian political, scientific, cultural and church life and the press followed with close attention the congress of Hungarian studies.

László LUKÁCS

DIE SIEBENBÜRGER SACHSEN IM UMGANG MIT IHRER GESCHICHTE UND KULTUR

Die Siebenbürger Sachsen gehören zu den ältesten deutschen Ansiedlergruppen im Osten Europas. Die ersten ihrer Vorfahren wurden vor etwa 850 Jahren vom ungarischen König Géza II. ins Land gerufen.

Die damals noch sehr heterogenen Siedlergruppen kamen wohl überwiegend aus dem moselfränkischen Gebiet. Unter ihnen war das deutsche Element bestimmend, anderssprachige Siedlergruppen allerdings ebenfalls vertreten.

Die Ansiedlung erfolgte in verschiedenen, voneinander unabhängigen Schüben. Neben gezielter Anwerbung von bäuerlicher Bevölkerung durch die Ungarn fanden auch andere gesellschaftliche Schichten eine neue Heimat. Schon der erste ungarische König, der heilige Stephan, rief deutsche Ritter mit ihrem Gefolge ins Land. Im Laufe des zweiten Kreuzzuges, dessen Weg durch Ungarn führte, verbreiteten sich Kenntnisse über Ungarn in Westeuropa, was die Ansiedlungen sicherlich begünstigte. Für kurze Zeit konnte sich auch der *Deutsche Orden* im Lande niederlassen.

Gemeinsam war den überwiegend bäuerlich geprägten Gruppen anfangs nur der Rechtsstatus. Neben der freien Richter- und Priesterwahl bestand dieser in der direkten Unterstellung der persönlich freien Siedler unter die ungarische Königsmacht. Diese auch territorial abgesicherten Rechte dehnten sich im Laufe der Zeit auf größere Teile Südsiebenbürgens sowie auf eine Siedlungsinsel im Norden aus. Bevorrechtungen im Handel und beim Abbau der Bodenschätze trugen zum Prosperieren der Ansiedlungen bei.

Im Laufe des 13. Jahrhunderts bürgerte sich in der ungarischen Kanzleisprache für alle Siedler dieses Rechtsgebietes der Name „Saxones“ ein (mit dem germanischen Stamm der Sachsen bestehen also keinerlei direkte Verbindungen). Bald übernahmen ihn auch die Siedler selbst. Die siebenbürgisch-sächsische Identität bildete sich also in Siebenbürgen heraus. Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts bestätigte der ungarische König Matthias Corvinus die sogenannte Nationsuniversität als oberstes politisches Gremium der Sachsen. Diese Institution sollte bis 1867/1878 bestimmend für die Geschichte dieser Gruppe sein.

Nach der Dreiteilung Ungarns aufgrund der Niederlage gegen die Osmanen im Jahre 1526 errang Siebenbürgen für etwa 150 Jahre den Status eines relativ unabhängigen ungarisch geprägten Fürstentums, das von drei Ständen, dem Adel, den Szeklern sowie den Sachsen, unter ungarischen Fürsten regiert wurde.

Neben der kulturellen und wirtschaftlichen Bedeutung der Sachsen prägte besonders diese Zeit das Selbstverständnis der Siedler und verhinderte ein Aufgehen in der mehrheitlich nichtdeutschen Bevölkerung. Der Besuch westlicher Universitäten und auch die Pfarrerausbildung im deutschen Sprachraum sicherte zudem ständigen Kontakt zur deutschen Sprache und Kultur.

Die sächsische Identität enthält auch eine religiöse Komponente. Die Reformation erreichte Siebenbürgen sehr früh, und unter der Führung ihres Reformators Honterus schlossen sich praktisch alle Sachsen der evangelischen Kirche augsburgischen Bekenntnisses an. Die feste Bindung von Ethnikum und Religion verhinderte einen Zusammenschluß mit den seit dem 18. Jh. nahe Siebenbürgen, im Banat lebenden katholischen Schwaben. Auch die Habsburger, die nach der Zurückdrängung der Osmanen die Herrschaft über Siebenbürgen erlangten, scheiterten bei ihren Rekatholisierungsversuchen nicht zuletzt an den Siebenbürger Sachsen. Nicht einmal die Nationalsozialisten erreichten einen tragfähigen Zusammenschluß aller Deutschen der Region.

Siebenbürgen war mit anderen Landesteilen Ungarns nach dem ersten Weltkrieg Rumänien zugefallen. Die Zurückdrängung der Sachsen wie auch aller anderen Nichtrumänen aus dem öffentlichen Leben, forciert nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg, entzog den Siebenbürger Sachsen die Zukunftsperspektive und führte zu verstärkten Auswanderungsbewegungen. Dem Sturz des Diktators Ceausescu im Dezember 1989 folgte mit der Öffnung der Grenzen die fast fluchtartige Massenauswanderung.

Nach rund 850 Jahren in Siebenbürgen siedeln sich die Nachfahren der Auswanderer wieder in Deutschland an. Die ausgeprägte Sonderidentität der älteren Generationen verzögert trotz perfekter Sprachkenntnisse und hohem Bildungsgrad die schnelle Integration in der heutigen Bundesrepublik Deutschland.

Anstatt spurloser Integration bleibt die Bindung an Siebenbürgen stark, was sich in der Vielzahl der sächsischen Organisationen in Deutschland zeigt.

Im folgenden sollen einige dieser Vereinigungen mit ihren Tätigkeitsfeldern vorgestellt werden.

Die *Landsmannschaft der Siebenbürger Sachsen* versteht sich als Vertretung gegenüber der Bundesrepublik in sozialen, rechtlichen und kulturellen Belangen. Sie versuchte bis 1989 auch als Sprecher der noch in Siebenbürgen lebenden Landsleute aufzutreten.

Sprachrohr der Landsmannschaft ist die *Siebenbürgische Zeitung*.

Zahlreiche Vereine widmen sich karitativen Aufgaben, wie der Altenpflege, in eigens für Siebenbürger Sachsen eingerichteten Altenheimen. Heimatortsgemeinschaften versuchen die Verbindungen der Aussiedler der jeweiligen Ortschaften untereinander aufrechtzuerhalten und gegebenenfalls Monographien der Heimatorte zu veröffentlichen. Auch im Bereich der Seelsorge sind verschiedene Vereinigungen aktiv.

Durch die Sonderentwicklung der evangelischen Kirche in Siebenbürgen scheint eine einfache Verschmelzung mit den binnendeutschen Varianten schwierig.

Durch die anhaltenden Auswanderungswellen ist der Anteil junger Menschen im Gegensatz zu anderen Landsmannschaften, recht hoch. Dies spiegelt sich auch anhand der Verbände wider, von denen sich drei den Belangen der Jugend und des Nachwuchses widmen und auch von diesen geleitet werden. Eine rührige Kulturstiftung, päda-

gogische- und kulturpflegerische Vereinigungen runden das vielseitige Bild der Aktivitäten ab.

Die genannten Tätigkeiten sind für alle Landsmannschaften typisch und geben Hinweise auf den Stellenwert den sie im gesellschaftlichen und politischen Leben Deutschlands einnehmen. Einerseits wird damit versucht, die Leistungen dieser Gruppen im gesamtulturellen Kontext möglichst deutlich herauszustellen, um als wesentlicher Teil der deutschen Kultur anerkannt zu werden. andererseits aber sollen die spezifischen Anliegen der Gruppen deutlich gemacht werden.

Ein wesentlicher Teil der Kosten wird dabei von staatlichen Stellen getragen. Basis dafür ist unter anderem das nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg verabschiedete Bundesvertriebenen- und Flüchtlingsgesetz.

Bei der Gruppe der Siebenbürger Sachsen fällt der hohe Stellenwert der Wissenschaften ins Auge. Seit Jahrhunderten war die Position sächsischer Forscher in Siebenbürgen bedeutend, so daß eine Weiterführung dieser Tradition in Deutschland nahelag. Heute finden wir in den verschiedensten Disziplinen, vor allem dort wo, Landes- und Sprachkenntnisse Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas vonnöten sind, siebenbürgisch- sächsische Wissenschaftler. Diese Tatsache hat einen nicht zu unterschätzenden Einfluß auf Forschungsfelder und -positionen der deutschen Wissenschaften. Daher scheint es geboten, die wichtigsten Vereinigungen siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Wissenschaftler vorzustellen.

SIEBENBÜRGISCH-SÄCHSISCHER KULTURRAT E. V.

Als Dachorganisation wissenschaftlicher und kultureller Vereinigungen wurde 1982 der Kulturrat gegründet. Er koordiniert größere übergreifende Projekte und versucht deren Finanzierung durch staatliche Stellen zu gewährleisten. An dieser Stelle wäre z.B. das Projekt zur „Dokumentation siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Kulturgüter“ zu nennen.

ARBEITSKREIS FÜR SIEBENBÜRGISCHE LANDESKUNDE E. V. HEIDELBERG

Der Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde e. V. (AKSL) wurde 1962 in Heidelberg von ausgewanderten Siebenbürger Sachsen gegründet. Er steht in der Rechtsnachfolge des Vereins für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde, der zwischen 1840 und 1947 eine rege Forschungstätigkeit in Siebenbürgen entwickelte. Sächsische Organisationen gehören zu den ältesten und entwickeltsten wissenschaftlichen Vereinigungen der Herkunftsregionen. Die engen Bindungen an die geistigen Entwicklungen in Westeuropa hoben den Standortnachteil an der Peripherie weitgehend auf und wirkten auch auf die anderen Ethnien der Region befruchtend. Der ursprünglich gesamtsiebenbürgische Ansatz des Vereins, der sich auch in der bedeutenden Anzahl nichtsächsischer Mitglieder ausdrückte, konnte sich im nationalistischen Klima des 19. Jahrhunderts jedoch nicht

lange behaupten. Bald hatte jedes Ethnikum sein eigenes Forum, das nicht zuletzt der historischen Legitimation der jeweiligen Ansprüche diente.

Trotz dieses geistigen Klimas sind die wissenschaftlichen Leistungen des Vereins nicht hoch genug einzuschätzen. Diese fanden ihren Niederschlag in den über 50 Bänden des Archivs des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde (Band 1–4, 1843–51, Hermannstadt; NF Band 1–50, 1853–1944, Kronstadt, Hermannstadt, Bistritz) sowie in den 53 Jahrgängen des Korrespondenzblattes des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde (1878–1930) und seinem Nachfolgeorgan *Siebenbürgische Vierteljahrschrift* (1–11, 1931–1941). Hiermit sind nur die wichtigsten wissenschaftlichen Organe genannt.

Der bundesrepublikanische Arbeitskreis hatte also nicht nur ein bedeutendes Erbe zu erhalten, sondern auch einen qualitativen Maßstab vorgegeben. Relativ schnell gelang es ihm, sich aus den ethnozentrischen Fesseln zu befreien und ethnisch übergreifend zu arbeiten. Die heute über 800 Mitglieder widmen sich mit Hilfe zeitgemäßer Fragestellungen und Methoden der Gesamtregion, in enger Kooperation mit wissenschaftlichen Einrichtungen in aller Welt, besonders natürlich solchen aus Rumänien und Ungarn.

1955 erfolgte die Gründung der *Siebenbürgischen Bibliothek* mit Archiv, die sich heute auf Schloß Horneck in Gundelsheim befindet. Sie weist einen Bestand von etwa 48 000 bibliographischen Einheiten auf, enthält mehrere Sonderabteilungen und ein umfangreiches Archiv. Der *Transylvanica*-Bestand ist der größte außerhalb Rumäniens und Ungarns. Die Bibliothek ist an den Fernleihverkehr der Deutschen Bibliotheken und an den Südwestdeutschen Bibliotheksverbund angeschlossen.

Der Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde gliedert sich in 14 wissenschaftliche Sektionen und deckt damit ein weites Spektrum der Forschung ab. In Siebenbürgen selbst konnte sich inzwischen eine Zweigstelle des Arbeitskreises etablieren.

Die Publikationstätigkeit des Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde konnte an die berühmten Vorgängerorganisationen anknüpfen. So sind seit 1962 schon 32 Bände des *Siebenbürgischen Archivs*, 22 Bände der Reihe *Studia Transylvanica* und 21 Bände der *Schriften zur Landeskunde Siebenbürgens* erschienen. Weitere Reihen sind: *Kulturdenkmäler Siebenbürgens* 4 Bände, der *Historisch-Landeskundliche Atlas von Siebenbürgen* 5 Veröffentlichungen, sowie die Reihe der Sonderveröffentlichungen, die bisher 20 Bände umfaßt.

Daneben vervollständigen Periodika die Reihen. Die *Zeitschrift für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* seit 1978 (Vorgänger war das *Korrespondenzblatt des Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde* 1971–1977) informiert über die gesamte Siebenbürgen-Forschung. Die Sektion Genealogie des AKSL gibt seit 1984 die Zeitschrift *Siebenbürgische Familienforschung* heraus.

Über die Tätigkeit des Siebenbürgen-Institutes informieren die *Mitteilungen aus dem Siebenbürgen-Institut* (seit 1994).

Der Arbeitskreis für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde veranstaltet wissenschaftliche Jahrestagungen, Symposien und Seminare in Kooperation mit Universitäten und ist an verschiedenen staatlichen Forschungsprojekten zu Fragen der Region federführend beteiligt.

STUDIUM TRANSYLVANICUM

Im Rahmen des Arbeitskreises für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde etablierte sich ab 1986 eine Arbeitsgruppe für Jugend- und Studentenseminare. Seit 1992 tritt sie unter dem Namen Studium Transylvanicum (S. T.) als eigenständiger Zusammenschluß junger Forscher und Studenten auf.

Studium Transylvanicum versteht sich als überethnische Vereinigung von an der Landeskunde Siebenbürgens im gesamteuropäischen Kontext Interessierten. Die Einbeziehung von Nichtsachsen in die gemeinsame Arbeit ist ausdrücklich erwünscht.

Das Programm besteht aus Workshops und Ferienakademien. Die Ergebnisse werden in einer eigenen Zeitschrift, den *Siebenbürgischen Semesterblättern*, zweimal jährlich veröffentlicht (bisher 10 Jahrgänge). Daneben bietet die kleine *Schriftenreihe der Siebenbürgischen Jugendseminare* Publikationsmöglichkeiten.

Der interdisziplinäre Ansatz von Studium Transylvanicum erstreckt sich auf alle Bereiche der Landeskunde, insbesondere interethnische Fragen stehen im Vordergrund. Ziel ist nicht nur die Heranbildung von jungen Wissenschaftlern, sondern auch die allgemeine Verbreitung von Wissen an Multiplikatoren möglichst vieler Bereiche. Siebenbürgen wird hier als Beispiel einer multiethnischen Region im europäischen Zusammenhang verstanden, aus deren besserer Kenntnis Schlüsse auf ähnliche historische Landschaften gezogen werden können.

Aus der Arbeit von Studium Transylvanicum ging 1990/1991 der gemeinnützige Jugendreiseverein Transylvania Tours e. V. hervor. Jährlich 3 bis 4 Fahrten zu äußerst günstigen Tarifen eröffnen nicht nur für die Teilnehmer der Veranstaltungen von Studium Transylvanicum die Möglichkeit, Siebenbürgen unter fachkundiger Anleitung genauer kennenzulernen.

Zum Programm gehören die touristisch wenig oder gar nicht erschlossenen Gegenden Siebenbürgens sowie die Siedlungsgebiete der Minderheiten (nicht nur der sächsischen). Außer eigenen Reisegruppen betreut und organisiert Transylvania Tours auch Fahrten anderer Organisationen, etwa Universitätsseminare, nach Siebenbürgen.

Das Reiseprogramm erstreckt sich auch auf andere Teile der ehemaligen Habsburgermonarchie und Altrumäniens. Die thematischen Schwerpunkte hängen von den jeweiligen Reisegruppen ab.

SIEBENBÜRGEN-INSTITUT

Im Zuge der Neuorientierung und -bewertung der Siebenbürgenforschung nach 1989 konnte als Rahmen der bisherigen Einzelorganisationen 1992 ein eigenes Institut gegründet werden.

Das Siebenbürgen-Institut, Forschungs- und Dokumentationsstelle für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde führt die Arbeit der Siebenbürgischen Bibliothek mit Archiv, der Geschäftsstelle des Arbeitskreises für Siebenbürgische Landeskunde und des Siebenbürgisch-Sächsischen Kulturrates fort und erweitert sie im Bereich der wissenschaftlichen Forschung und Dokumentation.

Gemeinsame Kontaktadresse der obengenannten
Verbände und Institutionen:

Schloß Horneck
D-74831 Gundelsheim/Neckar
Tel. Zentrale 06269/4210-0 Fax: 06269/4210-10

SIEBENBÜRGISCHES MUSEUM

Die Museumskultur der Sachsen kann auf eine lange Tradition zurückblicken. Schon das erste öffentliche Museum Südosteuropas wurde 1817 aufgrund der Testamentsverfügung des kaiserlichen Stellvertreters (Gubernator) Baron von Brukenthal, eines Siebenbürger Sachsen, in Hermannstadt (Sibiu) gegründet. Im 19. Jahrhundert kamen weitere sächsische Museen hinzu. Die beachtliche Zahl von Museumsfachleuten konnte diese Tradition nach ihrer Auswanderung in Deutschland fortsetzen.

So gehört zu den zentralen Einrichtungen auf Schloß Horneck in Gundelsheim das Siebenbürgische Museum. 1968 als Siebenbürgisch-Sächsische Heimatstube gegründet, entwickelte sich daraus im Laufe der Jahre eine wissenschaftliche Einrichtung, die inzwischen im Rang eines Landesmuseums arbeitet. Die ursprünglich ethnozentrische Ausrichtung des Museums wich einer regionalen, gesamtsiebenbürgischen, mit einem Schwerpunkt bei den Siebenbürger Sachsen.

Damit tritt es aus dem landsmannschaftlichen Umfeld heraus und öffnet sich moderneren Themenkreisen der Ethnographie.

Einen nicht unerheblichen Anteil an diesen Veränderungen hatte dabei das Ende der Ceausescu-Diktatur in Rumänien. Die seitdem erheblich verbesserten Möglichkeiten, mit den Institutionen des Landes zusammenzuarbeiten, wurden konsequent genutzt. Inzwischen bestehen feste Kooperationen mit Museen in Siebenbürgen. Das Museum ist an Projekten zur Sicherung und Dokumentation von Kulturgut in Siebenbürgen beteiligt. Über zwischenstaatliche Verträge konnten die Museumsbestände mit Material aus Rumänien ergänzt werden. Durch verbesserte staatliche Finanzierung konnte eine erhebliche Erweiterung der Räumlichkeiten erreicht werden, so daß neben einer ständigen Ausstellung in einem Trakt des Schlosses ein weiteres Gebäude im Ort zur Verfügung steht, das für Sonderausstellungen genutzt wird.

Neben der ethnographischen Sammlung beherbergt das Museum kunsthistorische und kunstgewerbliche Bestände sowie Sammlungen aus dem Bereich der Bildenden Künste.

Siebenbürgisches Museum Gundelsheim

Heilbronner Straße 13
74831 Gundelsheim
Tel.: 06269/8341
Fax: 06269/90523

DINKELSBÜHLER SACHSENTREFFEN

Einmal jährlich am Pfingstwochenende findet seit über 40 Jahren der „Heimattag der Siebenbürger Sachsen“ in Dinkelsbühl (Süddeutschland) statt. Diese Heimattage halten alle Landsmannschaften der Deutschen aus den ehemaligen deutschen Ostgebieten und anderen Siedlungsregionen Ost- und Südosteuropas ab.

Den Sächsischen Heimattag kennzeichnet die betonte politische Mäßigung, die sich auch in der Teilnahme offizieller Vertreter Rumäniens sowie aller deutschen Parteien ausdrückt.

Die Veranstaltung hat natürlich stark folkloristische Züge. Durch die Teilnahme vieler tausend Siebenbürger Sachsen aus Deutschland, Österreich, Übersee und seit 1990 auch aus Rumänien hat der Heimattag als Treffpunkt und Nachrichtenbörse große Bedeutung.

Neben dem obligatorischen Folkloreprogramm bieten sich hier auch den wissenschaftlichen Organisationen der Siebenbürger Sachsen Möglichkeiten, ihre Arbeit vorzustellen, um ihren Landsleuten die wissenschaftlichen Sichtweisen der eigenen Geschichte und Kultur zu vermitteln. Die Präsentation von Neuerscheinungen, Autorenlesungen, Kunstausstellungen und wissenschaftliche Informationsveranstaltungen vermitteln ein gutes Bild der verschiedenen Tätigkeitsfelder. Seit der Wende wird auch in Siebenbürgen selbst, in der alten Bischofsresidenz der evangelischen Kirche A. B. Birthälm (rum. Biertan), ein Sachsentreffen veranstaltet.

*

Insgesamt bleibt festzuhalten, daß die Regionalkultur der Siebenbürger Sachsen wohl zu den am besten dokumentierten Kulturen aller auslandsdeutschen Siedlungsgruppen zählt. Die in diesen Kreisen häufig vorkommenden nationalistischen Tendenzen spielen bei den Sachsen kaum eine Rolle. Ganz im Gegenteil zeigt sich bei ihnen die positive Rolle, die Minderheiten bei der Pflege zwischenstaatlicher Beziehungen spielen können. Daß sich die Siebenbürger Sachsen nicht immer ausschließlich als Opfer der historischen Entwicklung sehen, sondern eigene Verstrickungen, sowohl im Nationalsozialismus als auch im Kommunismus, eingestehen und thematisieren, verdient besondere Beachtung und könnte wegweisend für andere sein.

Die wissenschaftliche Kenntnis Siebenbürgens und auch anderer Teile Ostmittel- und Südosteuropas in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart fußt zu ganz wesentlichen Teilen auf den Arbeiten siebenbürgisch-sächsischer Gelehrtenvereinigungen. Jüngstes positives Beispiel dieser Arbeiten ist die Regionalmonographie: ROTH, Harald: Kleine Geschichte Siebenbürgens, Köln; Weimar; Wien, 1996 im Renommierten Böhlau-Verlag.

Daniel Gy. BEIN

D-20149 Hamburg, Sophienterrasse 18, Deutschland

REVIEWS

Carol LEMS-DWORKIN: *African Music. A Pan-African Annotated Bibliography*; Hans Zell Publishers, London–Melbourne–Munich–New York; 1991, 382 pages

Research into traditional African music is represented today by a quite considerable body of specialised literature. This becomes apparent in the number of catalogues and bibliographies which deal with published music and recorded materials of this kind. It can be no casual afterthought, then, for Carol Lems-Dworkin to emphasise at the beginning of her 1,703-item bibliography that her collection of data covers mainly the period after 1960. Understandably, since material relating to earlier periods is principally covered in L. J. P. GASKIN's: *A select bibliography of music of Africa* (London, International African Institute, 1965, 83 pages) – which relies on a variety of preceding accounts, and which contains some 3,370 bibliographical entries.

The present volume is a valuable contribution towards continued research into traditional African music, a field which enjoys ever increasing recognition today, providing the starting point necessary for both the newly initiated and those requiring more detailed information. The explanatory notes or annotations are a fortunate addition, providing useful directions regarding the content and precise publishing details of given entries, and cross-referencing between certain themes, works and authors.

Despite all the above, a few things are still missing. Firstly, it would have been worthwhile publishing in the introduction a separate list of all the bibliographies and periodicals (the latter with an indication of the volume referred to) from which the author derived information in the course of compiling her bibliography (although of course these can be gleaned from the book itself). Lems-Dworkin does nonetheless partly make up for this deficiency by listing each of the periodicals as entries in their own right, while enumerating in the explanatory notes those publications which appear in yearly volumes (for the most part as individual entries).

As far as the linguistic areas dealt with is concerned (and here I mean the language of the works listed in the bibliography), the author clearly points out that English is the dominant, although works also feature which are written in French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Arabic, Yoruba, and on rare occasions, other African languages. However, the scattered research from East European countries, as well as Russian language books

in the field in question, are conspicuous by their absence. Even if it is not Lems-Dworkin's stated undertaking to gather together the specialised literature from these countries, this should still be regarded as a shortcoming. It occurs to me now to draw attention to at least one outstanding Russian scholar, D. Mihailov, who besides publishing a study of his own which contains numerous valuable pieces of new information, has also compiled an anthology of essays from the pens of African writers, prefaced by an extensive introduction (Михайлов, Д.: Очерки музыкальной культуры народов Тропической Африки, Издательство "Музыка", Москва, 1973). Worthwhile reading in this field can also be found in Polish, Czech, Hungarian and Croatian. Moreover, of these latter a great many have also appeared in English translation (see for example the studies of the Hungarian scholars Bálint Sárosi and János Kárpáti).

As regards the selection contained in this volume as a whole, our general concern is what we might reasonably expect to be included in such a bibliography: clearly the kind of works which deal with the musical material itself. The question then arises of what, on the other hand, we cannot include, as although the title might contain the word "song", in truth there is often no discussion of the musical aspect of the folk-poetry form in a given article or monograph. The problem is particularly obvious in the case of the otherwise valuable publications of S. A. BABALOLA (see among others: *The Content and Form of Yoruba Ijala*; Oxford, Clarendon, 1966). The Nigerian Yoruba *ijala* published therein, with which folklorists the world over are familiar, are hunting songs delivered in live performance not to a melody, but in a characteristic declamatory style. The situation is similar in the case of the published material of the Belgian missionary Gustaave Hulstaert (who passed away not long ago at a grand old age), a tirelessly painstaking chronicler of the language, traditions and folk-poetry of the Zairean *nkundo-mongo* people. The songs, lullabies and dancing songs which he published in various volumes and essays are not accompanied by a single observation regarding the musical aspects of their performance. And we could continue the list some way further.

At the same time there is something lacking as far as full coverage of the life's work of certain notable authors is concerned. Although it is true, for example, that in Gerhard KUBIK's case – the compiler points out – this noted Austrian ethnomusicologist is happy to send a complete catalogue of his works on request, it does nevertheless seem that in this particular instance a broader selection might have been given (even if not including full details of each individual study by that author). Also surprising is that in the case of such as Gordon INNES, details should be missing of an article of his dealing with one of the most original of African genres, the so-called *song-stories* (*The Function of the Song in Mende Folk-Tales*, *African Language Review*, 4/1965, pp. 54–63). [A smaller error, one might add, is that although the present volume does – fortunately – include details of his third major collection of African epic poetry (Kelefa SAANE: *His Career Recounted by Two Mandinka Bards*; London, Soas, 1978), the number of this work – 851 – has been omitted from references under Innes's name.] Similarly surprising is the fact that the essential articles by the world-renowned comparative ethnomusicologist A. M. JONES, which contain musical transcriptions of Swahili epics, are not mentioned in the book at all. These have appeared in the South African periodical *African Music* (published in Grahamstown and known the world over), which even the author lists in

her bibliography: JONES, A. M.: Swahili Epic Poetry: A Musical Study, *African Music*, 5, 4, pp. 105–129; also JONES, A. M.: The Singing of a Swahili Epic, *Review of Ethnology*, Vienna, 4, 1974, pp. 3–4; JONES, A. M.: Unusual Music for a Swahili Epic, *Afrika und Übersee*, LX, 4, 1977, pp. 295–309; JONES, A. M.: The Music of the “Wajiwaji”, *South African Journal of African Languages*, Pretoria, 10, 4, 1990, pp. 193–211.

Speaking of the latter author in particular, we should emphasise even more strongly the need for added attention in the research into traditional African music to be devoted to publications which contain musical notation, since in spite of the ever richer body of specialised literature in the field in general at present, the volume of faithful musical transcriptions is slender indeed even to this day – although in the absence of large amounts of musical sheet notation, ethnomusicological research of the scale and type pursued by Béla Bartók cannot even begin. The uncertainties, stumblings and errors of written musical descriptions which use the impression of sounds as their basis arise precisely from the fact that the starting point for such analyses is not the accurate picture given by a musical score. In the case of the outstanding English researcher John BLACKING – who died so tragically young (see for example: *Venda Children's Songs*, Witwatersrand University Press, 1967; *How Musical Is Man?*, Faber & Faber, London, 1976), or the noted French ethnomusicologist Simha AROM (collected works: *Polyphonies et polyrythmies instrumentales d'Afrique Centrale*, Vols I–II, Paris, SELAF, 1985), the most important lesson to be drawn from their life's work is precisely this: musical transcription cannot be neglected, as only this can be the starting point for any authoritative analysis. It is quite another matter that one can see from the essential publications of both these authors that research into traditional African music should consist not merely of the dogged musical transcription of examples, but should, in the context of musical practice, often include consideration of the model-technique (as with the Arab *makâm*). The scales, melodic and rhythmic models gleaned from musical transcriptions are perhaps the most important results of both Blacking's and Arom's research.

All these considerations must, however, be borne in mind when first establishing the criteria for a bibliography. Partly when deciding on the choice of entries (Lems-Dworkin has provided us with what amounts to a “selected bibliography”), but more importantly as regards the content of annotations. In the event of a possible enlarged republication of this volume, it is this consideration, i.e. the placing of special emphasis on existing musical transcriptions and the drawing of attention to the availability of concrete musical analyses, which should be kept to the forefront.

Szilárd BIERNACZKY

Magyar Néprajzi Atlasz (Atlas der ungarischen Volkskultur) I–IX. Herausgegeben von Jenő BARABÁS; Redaktionskomitee: Jenő BARABÁS, Vilmos DIÓSZEGI, Béla GUNDA, Judit MORVAY, Lajos SZOLNOKI. Budapest 1987–1993.

Die ungarische Volkskunde ist in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten bei den großen Synthesen angelangt. Es erschienen die fünf Bände des Néprajzi Lexikon (Ethno-

graphisches Lexikon, 1977–1982), von der auf acht Bände geplanten großen Zusammenfassung (Magyar Néprajz, Ungarische Volkskunde) sind fünf bereits erschienen und zwei im Manuskript fertig, und nun liegen auch die 634 sorgfältig erarbeiteten Karten des Atlas vor. Diese geben der ungarischen Volkskundeforschung in vieler Hinsicht Auftrieb, beeinflussen sie und stellen sie auf sicherere Grundlagen, wobei sie zugleich auch neue Perspektiven eröffnen. Ein Dank gebührt Béla Gunda, der diese Arbeit vor mehr als einem halben Jahrhundert anregte, denen, die den detaillierten Plan erarbeiteten, sowie denen, die die Sammlung auf sich nahmen und vielfach nur unter großen Schwierigkeiten auch zu den Ungarn jenseits der Grenzen gelangten. Eine große Arbeit leisteten die Redakteure der Atlaskarten, vor allem aber Jenő Barabás, der die gesamte Arbeit leitete, sich durch die vielen Mißerfolge und Schwierigkeiten nicht entmutigen ließ, sondern auch die materiellen Schranken überwand und so diese für die ungarische Volkskunde unerschöpfliche Quelle schuf.

Der Volkskundeatlas stellt mittels der kartographischen Methode die geographische Verbreitung der einzelnen kulturellen Elemente mit Hilfe semantischer Zeichen dar. Diese Methode wurde in der Dialektforschung erstmals in Frankreich, in der Schweiz und in Italien angewendet, während im Bereich der Ethnographie die ersten Versuche damit am Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts unternommen wurden. In Ungarn machte am Ende der 1920er Jahre Elemér Schwarz auf die Wichtigkeit solcher Forschungen und Bearbeitungen aufmerksam. 1939 faßte Béla Gunda die Bedeutung des Atlas so zusammen: „Die Erstellung des Ungarischen Volkskundeatlas ist eine unserer wichtigsten wissenschaftlichen und nationalen Aufgaben. Wir können mit ihm nicht nur der Volkskunde dienen, sondern einer ganzen Reihe anderer Wissenschaften und der gesamten ungarischen Nationalkultur“ (Néprajzi Értesítő 31: 300). Ich glaube, dies trifft heute noch eben so zu, und diese Grundprinzipien spiegelten sich in der Erarbeitung einheitlicher Gesichtspunkte und der die Sammlung fördernden Wegweisung.

Die 1939 einsetzende Arbeit wurde durch den Zweiten Weltkrieg verhindert, und nach seiner Beendigung war die Sammlung unter den Ungarn jenseits der Grenzen mit Schwierigkeiten verbunden. Deshalb konnte sich der Redaktionsausschuß für den Ungarischen Volkskundeatlas erst 1955 konstituieren und stellte sich die Klärung dreier Fragen zur Aufgabe: 1. prinzipielle Fragen, 2. Zusammenstellung des Fragebogens, 3. Festlegung des Netzes der Forschungspunkte. Die vier Hefte des Fragebogens erschienen 1958 und das Sammlungsprogramm im Jahr darauf. Festgelegt wurden 423 Forschungspunkte, davon 258 innerhalb und 165 außerhalb der Grenzen des heutigen Ungarn. Die Sammlung wurde ausschließlich von Volkskundefachleuten vorgenommen, Amateure wurden nicht einmal ausnahmsweise mit einbezogen. Für jeden Forschungspunkt waren 10 Tage vorgesehen. In insgesamt 1600 Fragebogenheften wurden mehrere Millionen Angaben notiert und über 40 000 Fotoaufnahmen wurden gemacht. Diese gewaltige Arbeit wurde zum überwiegenden Teil von 25–30 gut ausgebildeten Fachkräften durchgeführt. Der Fragebogen umfaßte etwa 200 Themen, die sich folgendermaßen verteilten: Ackerbau 36, Viehzucht 14, Siedlung und Bauwesen 30, Lastentransport 9, Hanfverarbeitung 11, Gesellschaftsvolkskunde und Brauchwesen 25, Volksmusik 1, Glaubenswelt 25 (Lexikon der ungarischen Volkskunde). Die einzelnen Themengruppen enthielten zahlreiche Unterfragen, die zusammen die Zahl 1000 erreich-

ten. Auf den Karten im Maßstab 1:2 000 000 wurde außer dem Zustand zum Zeitpunkt der Sammlung auch der von der Jahrhundertwende verzeichnet. Der Maßstab stimmt mit denen des polnischen und der verschiedenen südslawischen Atlanten überein und ermöglicht einen nord-südlichen Vergleich. Die am weitesten voneinander entfernten Punkte in ost-westlicher Richtung liegen 850 km und in nord-südlicher Richtung 500 km auseinander. Die Sammlung fand 1959–1969 statt, und recht lange Zeit nahmen auch die Kontrollen ein. Die ersten Probekarten erschienen bereits 1967, doch erstreckte sich die Kartenredaktion noch bis in den Beginn der 1980er Jahre. Dann stieß die Herausgabe auf finanzielle Schwierigkeiten, aber schließlich war 1993, fast vier Jahrzehnte nach dem Beginn, das ganze Werk, diese unverzichtbare Quelle, veröffentlicht.

Béla Gunda hatte bereits 1939 betont, welch große Bedeutung bei der Grenzziehung der ethnischen Gruppen die Volkskundeatlanten besitzen. Dies läßt sich gut am Beispiel der Paloczen darstellen, die an der Nordgrenze des ungarischen Sprachgebietes leben und sich in ost-westlicher Richtung über eine große Entfernung hinziehen. Nach der Türkenherrschaft wanderten im 18. Jahrhundert Gruppen von ihnen nach Süden und ließen sich an vielen Orten jenseits der heutigen Landesgrenzen (Wojwodina) nieder. All das verfolgt der Atlas auf je einer Karte.

Die *Holzrahmeneggen* haben bei den Paloczen Trapezform und enthalten in quer drei und längs vier Reihen 30–36 Eisenzähne. Sie erstrecken sich westlich bis zum Fluß Neutra (Nyitra, Nitra), während die Grenze im Osten vor allem der Sajó (Slaná) ist. Hier läßt sich eine Sonderform der *Rutenegge* beobachten, die sich als schlittenförmig bezeichnen ließe. Sie erstreckt sich im Westen fast bis nach Preßburg (Pozsony, Bratislava), im Osten ist ihre Grenze irgendwo im Komitat Heves, und im Süden stimmt sie mit der des von Paloczen bewohnten Gebietes überein. Hierzu läßt sich noch ein Phantasiewesen beziehen, paloczisch *markoláb* 'Phantasiewesen des Volksglaubens, das die Sonne bzw. den Mond bei ihrem Abnehmen auflöst und mit dem man vor allem die Kinder zu schrecken pflegt'. Dieses findet sich im ungarischen Sprachgebiet nur bei den Paloczen, an der Theiß zieht es sich aber weit nach Süden und taucht auch in zahlreichen Siedlungen in der Wojwodina auf, in denen bis heute die Nachfahren der einstigen paloczischen Siedler leben. Vilmos Diószegi, der frühverstorbene hervorragende Erforscher der Glaubenswelt des Volkes, schreibt über *markoláb*: „Eigentlich bezweckte unsere Studie ... nicht die Feststellung der Grenze und der Ausbreitung der Paloczen, sondern die Untersuchung der Grundfragen der sich landschaftlich gliedernden Gruppe der Volkskultur, der sog. ethnischen oder ethnographischen Gruppe." (A palóc etnikulturális csoport határa és kirajzása – Die Grenze und die Ausbreitung der ethnokulturellen Gruppe der Paloczen. In: Népi kultúra – Népi társadalom I, 1968: 244). Schließlich beziehen wir noch ein Wort mit ein: *lagzi* 'Festmahl, Vergnügen anlässlich einer Hochzeit'. Dies findet sich im gesamten Paloczengebiet von der Gran (Garam, Hron) bis zum Sajó im Osten und im Süden im ganzen Ausbreitungsgebiet der Volksgruppe. Seine Daten lassen sich im Ungarischen Sprachatlas finden, und dies zeigt, wie gut sich die Angaben des Volkskundeatlas mit denen des zwei Jahrzehnte früher erschienenen Sprachatlas harmonisieren lassen. Über die Paloczen ließen sich noch weitere Angaben aufzählen, welche belegen, daß sich die für diese ethnische Gruppe typischen Erscheinungen in östlicher wie westlicher Richtung noch etwas weiter erstrecken, als bisher angenommen wurde, während

sich Richtung Süden der Weg ihrer Ausbreitung im 18. Jahrhundert ganz genau verfolgen läßt.

Der Ungarische Volkskundeatlas untersucht nicht nur die Gegenstände in ihrer geographischen Verbreitung und stellt sie dar, sondern bemüht sich auch, ihre historische Entwicklung nachzuzeichnen. Bei den meisten Fragen wird auch die Lage um 1900 kartiert und darauf der Zustand zur Zeit der Sammlung angegeben. Karte 227 zeigt die *Perioden der Kenntnis und Herstellung des Pfettendaches*. Sie gibt die Daten des Vorkommens vom Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts, dann zwischen 1850 und 1880 und schließlich von der Jahrhundertwende an. Extrazeichen geben die Zeiten zwischen den beiden Weltkriegen und nach 1945 an. Es sind auch die Dörfer bezeichnet, in denen es keine Spuren des Pfettendaches gibt. Aufgrund dessen läßt sich die Umgestaltung und Verdrängung vorzüglich sichtbar machen. Karten dieser Art kommen der Historizität sehr zugute, die in den letzten Jahrzehnten eine der führenden Tendenzen der ungarischen Volkskunde wurde. Aus früheren Perioden hat sich über einzelne Geräte und Erscheinungen eine gewaltige Datenmenge angesammelt, die man schon zu Kartieren versuchen könnte. Eine solche Darstellung haben die Russen schon vor Jahrzehnten erfolgreich durchgeführt. In Ungarn bietet das Landwirtschaftliche Arbeitsgeräthistorische Archiv mit seinen 120 000 Kartons und Fotos von den archäologischen Zeiten an eine entsprechende Basis, ebenso auch ein hervorragendes Quellenwerk (Róbert Müller: *A mezőgazdasági vaseszközök fejlődése Magyarországon a késővaskortól a törökkor végéig* – Entwicklung der landwirtschaftlichen Eisengeräte in Ungarn von der späten Eisenzeit bis zum Ende der Türkenzeit. Band 1–2, Zalaegerszeg 1982). Sehr viele historische Angaben lassen sich Attila Szabó T.: *Erdélyi magyar szótörténeti tár* (Historisches Wörterbuch des siebenbürgisch-ungarischen Wortschatzes) entnehmen, von dem bereits sieben Bände mit fast 9000 Seiten Umfang erschienen sind. Der nun vollständig vorliegende Ungarische Volkskundeatlas enthält also nicht nur Angaben historischen Bezuges, sondern regt auch zu weiteren Forschungen an.

Der Fragebogen und das Programm des Ungarischen Volkskundeatlas hatten auch einen gewissen Einfluß auf die später einsetzenden Atlasarbeiten der umgebenden Länder. Dies ist auch deshalb von Wichtigkeit, weil die Ungarn mit diesen Völkern an vielen Orten zusammenleben und somit eine Wechselwirkung natürlich ist. Es sei auch hierzu ein Beispiel erwähnt über die Volksinterpretation der auf dem Mond sichtbaren Flecken. Der allgemeine ungarische Volksglaube besagt, daß man in ihnen die Gestalt des biblischen König David erkennen könnte, der gerade Geige spielt. Aus der Bibel wissen wir, daß David nicht nur ein vorzüglicher Geiger war, sondern auch Harfe spielte. Nach Beendigung der Sammlung für den Ungarischen Volkskundeatlas hat diese Karte ebenfalls Vilmos Diószegi bearbeitet (*Néprajzi Értesítő* XLIX/1967) und festgestellt, daß man in einem großen Teil Transdanubiens einen stroh- oder reisertragenden Mann darin gesehen hat. Diese Vorstellung läßt sich im relativ nahen deutschen Sprachgebiet nachweisen.

Der holztragende Mann ist vielleicht aus den mittelalterlichen Kalendarien in die Glaubenswelt des Volkes gelangt. Der seine Fußlappen trocknende Hirt ist vor allem im östlichen ungarischen Sprachgebiet beheimatet und weist auf rumänische Beziehungen hin. Die Parallelen der Szene des mit Ochsen pflügenden Mannes sind von den Slowenen

bekannt, und dementsprechen finden sich deren ungarische Varianten im südwestlichen Zipfel des Landes.

Den gewaltigen Quellenschatz des Ungarischen Volkskundeatlas können wir heute nur erst kosten und vermuten, daß sich darin Antworten auf viele Fragen finden, die wir noch gar nicht abschätzen können. Wir haben die ehrliche Hoffnung, daß wir bei Vergleichen mit den auch in benachbarten Ländern vor der Vollendung stehenden oder gerade verwirklichten (polnischen, österreichischen) ähnlichen Unternehmungen Antworten auf zahlreiche bisher ungelöste Fragen bekommen werden.

Ivan BALASSA

VERES, Péter: *The Ethnogenesis and ethnic history of the Hungarian People. Problems of ecologie adaptation and cultural change.* Budapest: Ethnographical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 1996. 50 S. 1 Tafel, 2 Karten. Occasional papers in anthropology. 5. Editor: Gábor VARGYAS.

Der Verfasser revidiert in seiner Abhandlung mehrere in Fachkreisen fast einstimmig angenommene Konzeptionen über die Lokalisation der finnougri-schen Urheimat aufgrund neuer linguistischer, archäologischer und palynologischer Erkenntnisse. Er überprüft der Reihe nach die Konzepte, die das Siedlungsgebiet der Finnougrier im Altai-Saian-, Wolga-Kama- oder Wolga-Oka-Gebiet, im Westsibirien, Mittelasien, und sogar im Karpatenbecken zu finden gehofft haben. Veres vertritt die Ansicht, daß keine dieser Hypothesen der Prüfung unseres heutigen Wissensstandes standhält. Ebenso unakzeptabel findet er die Annahme eines frühen Erscheinens der Finnougrier in Fenno-Skandinavien oder im Baltikum im Mesolithikum oder Neolithikum. Er widerlegt mit beweiskräftiger Argumentation die Thesen von T. F. Köppen über die biogeographische Grundlage der Urheimattheorie. Die Thesen von Köppen galten mehr als hundert Jahre lang in Fachkreisen als unwiderlegbar. Köppen vertrat in seinem um die Jahrhundertwende erschienenen Werk den Standpunkt, die Urheimat der Finnougrier sei in Europa, westlich vom Ural, am Mittellauf der Wolga zu finden. Den Beweis für seine Behauptung sah Köppen darin, daß die Wörter 'Biene' und 'Honig' bereits in der finnougri-schen Grundsprache vorhanden waren. Er vermutete irrtümlicherweise, daß es in Sibirien bis zum Erscheinen der Russen die wild lebende Honigbiene (*Apis mellifica*) nicht gegeben habe. Die Thesen von Köppen wurden jahrzehntelang kritiklos übernommen.

Veres führt anschaulich vor, wie die Präkonzeption von Köppen dazu führte, daß sogar Daten und Angaben, die zur ihrer Widerlegung geeignet waren, außer acht gelassen wurden.

Köppen vertritt den falschen Standpunkt, die honigbiene sei erst am Ende des 18. Jh. von den russischen Einwanderern in Sibirien verbreitet worden, und sogar die Waldbeienen seinen verwilderte Exemplare aus diesen Bienenskörben gewesen. Deshalb sei das finnougri-sche Siedlungsgebiet keinesfalls auf der asiatischen Seite des Ural zu finden. Der These widersprechen die Aufzeichnungen von N. Witsen aus dem Jahre 1692, in denen er über die Waldbienenzucht der Ostjaken am Irtsch berichtet. B. Bahrusin inform-

iert darüber, daß von den Wogulen bereits am Ende des 17. Jh. die Waldbienenzucht im Tagie-Becken praktiziert wurde. Weitere Beweise gegen die Köppen-These findet Veres in der Verbreitung der Baumgarten des Laubwaldes – vor allem der Linde – in Westsibirien bis zum Mitellauf des Ob und Irtsch und die reiche Bienenzucht-Terminologie der sibirischen Ureinwohner. Die Forscher, die sich vor allem der biogeographischen Methode bedient haben, ließen – wie der Verfasser beweist – außer acht, daß ein Refugium der Laubbäume der südliche Teil des Ural-Gebirges ist, von wo aus Ulme, Linde und Eiche am Anfang des mittleren Holozäns ins Gebiet östlich des Ural gelangten.

Veres beweist in seinem Werk aufgrund paläoklimatologischer, linguistischer, archäologischer und anthropologischer Angaben, daß die Ungarn als einziges finnougri-sches Volk aus der Waldzone in die Steppenzone gewandert sind. Die Abwanderung der Ungarn aus dem Norden, aus der ugrischen Urheimat, nach Süden, vom Rande des Waldgebietes in die Steppe, wurde nicht durch die Verschiebung des Waldgebietes verursacht sondern durch die gewaltige Versumpfung des ethnischen Gebietes der Ugrier am Ende der subborealen Klimaperiode. Dies geschah, als im Norden in der Waldzone die humide Klimaperiode, in Süden dagegen in der Steppenzone, die warme aride Klimaperiode eintrat. Das xerothermische Maximum letzterer determinierte die Entfaltung des eurasischen Reiternomadentums an der Wende vom 2. zum 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr. Die Klimaverschlechterung in der Waldzone um das 12. Jh. v. Chr., die größte Abkühlung im Holozän, hat eine Wirtschaftskrise im ethnischen Gebiet der Ugrier verursacht. Die Ahnen der Ungarn waren also gezwungen, ihre immer mehr versumpfende Urheimat zu verlassen, als am Ende der Bronzezeit das humide Klima die südlichen Baumsteppe, die ehemalige finnougri-sche Urheimat, erreichte hatte.

Veres behauptet weiterhin, daß die Ahnen der Ungarn um das 12.–10. Jh. v. Chr. aus ihrer westsibirischen Urheimat in den Süden gelangt und Nomaden geworden sind. Sie sind das einzige Volk finnougri-scher Herkunft, das ein der Entfaltung des eurasischen Reiternomadentums teilgenommen hatte. Diese Migration spiegelt sich in den archäologischen Befunden der Tscherkaskul-Kultur wider, deren Bevölkerung zum uralischen anthropologischen Typ gehörte. Die ungarischen Nomaden, die um 895–896 im Karpatenbecken eintrafen, haben sich anthropologisch im Zeitraum vom 12. bis zum 2. Jh. v. Chr. im Steppengebiet der nordkaspischen Region im Dreieck zwischen Aral-See, Unterlauf der Wolga und südlichem Ural herausgebildet. Sie gehörten zum europäischen, dem sogenannten andronowischen Typ an, sie hatten ein breites Gesicht ohne mongoloiden Einschlag.

Der Verfasser beweist, daß der Volkesname der nomadischen Ungarn gerade in nicht-finnougri-scher Umgebung sinnvoll herausgebildet worden ist, mit der Bedeutung: 'sprechender Mensch'. Es kann auch keineswegs dem Zufall zugerechnet werden, daß das rekonstruierte Ethnonym der Ungarn aus der ugrischen Zeit eine starke Ähnlichkeit mit dem Volksnamen der Wogulen *māńsí* und dem ostjakischen Fratriennamen *moś/ mońt'* aufweist. Die rekonstruierte Form des Volksnamens aus der ugrischen Zeit (**mońćä*) ist isomorph mit dem finnougri-schen Nomenverbum 'Sage: Märchen erzählen'.

Der Weg der Ungarn führte am Unterlauf der Wolga, am Nordkaukasus und Schwarzen Meer entlang ins Karpatenbecken, wo sie auf der Flucht vor einer gewaltigen Dürrewelle an der Wende des 9.–10. Jh. im Jahre 895 angekommen sind.

Das Werk von Péter Veres erörtert schwierige Themen mit tiefer Erudition und in elegantem Stil.

Ágnes HUSZÁR

Adelheid WEISER: Die Völker Nordsibiriens unter sowjetischer Herrschaft von 1917 bis 1936. Klaus Renner Verlag, Hohenschäftlarn 1989, 325 Seiten

Der Titel der beachtenswerten Studie von Adelheid Weiser ist etwas irreführend. Ihre Gegenstand ist nämlich nicht die Gestaltung des Lebens der nordsibirischen Völker im angegebenen Zeitraum, sondern die Geschichte jener sowjetischen ideologischen Veränderungen, Einrichtungen, Verordnungen und Modernisierungsanstrengungen, welche notwendigerweise Auswirkungen auf das Leben der erwähnten Völker hatten, aber weder diese Völker noch ihre traditionellen Lebensformen zum Verschwinden brachten.

Die Arbeit ist also eine charakteristisch historische Studie, deren Schwerpunkt auf Erscheinungen liegt, die sich über die schriftlichen Quellen annähern lassen. Dementsprechend findet sich in ihr ein sehr gründlicher Überblick der auf diese Periode bezüglichen Quellen und der Sekundärliteratur. Dieser ist an sich schon von großem Wert und zugleich ein Beweis der weiten Perspektive und des Eifers der Verfasserin.

Im Laufe der Aufarbeitung der Angaben konzentriert sie sich vor allem auf zwei ideologische Überlegungen, deren Herauskristallisierung eben in die behandelte Periode fällt, die aber von unterschiedlicher Bedeutung für die gesamte Periode waren.

Die eine ist der Gedanke des „nichtkapitalistischen Entwicklungsweges“, der hier „außerkapitalistisch“ genannt wird. Nach dieser Theorie ist der Übergang von präkapitalistischen Verhältnissen zur sozialistischen Produktionsweise mit bewußter Umgehung, durch Überspringen des Kapitalismus zu verwirklichen. Dieser in der ersten Periode der sowjetischen Revolution aufgetauchte Gedanke wurde jedoch in der stalinistischen Periode des Aufbaues des Sozialismus in der Sowjetunion in den Hintergrund verdrängt, und seine Ausarbeitung als Strategie für die in kolonialer Unterworfenheit Lebenden war in nicht geringem Maße schon mit den chinesischen Erfahrungen und mit der Person Mao Tse Tungs verbunden (wovon in der Arbeit nicht gesprochen wird). Zur Wiederentdeckung dieses Gedankens kam es dann in der Chruschtschow-Ära, deren Untersuchung nicht das Thema der Studie war.

Die andere Überlegung ist die Modifizierung bzw. Vereinfachung der Leninschen Nationalitätenpolitik in Stalins Interpretation: die Durchsetzung einer der Form nach nationalen und inhaltlich sozialistischen, d. h. einer im Zeichen des Sozialismus modernisierenden und vereinheitlichenden (und auf ihrer institutionellen und Abstraktionsebene notwendigerweise russischsprachigen) Nationalitätenpolitik.

Diese ideologischen Veränderungen spiegelten sich in der Entstehung, im Verschwinden und der Umwandlung von Institutionen, in unterschiedlichen gesellschafts-

politischen und kulturellen Strategien (wie z. B. der anfänglich lateinischen und später kyrillischen Umschrift der Sprachen kleiner Völker) wider, mit deren gründlicher Analyse (vor allem der der Tätigkeit des Komitees zur Hilfe für die Kleinen Völker des Hohen Nordens) Adelheid Weiser all denen eine große Hilfe bietet, die bestrebt sind, die Gestaltung des Lebens der Völker dieses Raumes zu verstehen.

Mihály SÁRKÁNY

Thomas RAKOCZY: Böser Blick, Macht des Auges und Neid der Götter. Eine Untersuchung zur Kraft des Blickes in der griechischen Literatur. Tübingen, 1996. Gunter Narr Verlag, IX, 309 S. (Classica Monacensia – Münchener Studien zur Klassischen Philologie – Band 13)

Der böse Blick (in anderen Sprachen, wie auch dem Englischen, einfach 'böses Auge') ist eine in vielen hundert Kulturen, aus vielen dutzend Jahrhunderten belegte Aberglaubengruppe. Ihre Fachliteratur ist so unüberblickbar reich, daß bereits Van Genep's nie als vollständig zu nennende Bibliographie mit ironischen Bemerkungen versehen wurde.

Rakoczy zeigt sich in diesem Fragenkreis wohlinformiert, dabei überblickt er nur ein einziges seiner Kapitel: Wie erscheint der böse Blick (und einige direkt an ihn anknüpfende Motive: Neid der Götter, Macht des Auges und des Blickes usw.) in antiken griechischen Quellen. Seine Dissertation von 1994 bietet keinerlei neuartige Theorie an. Sie behandelt die wichtigsten Quellen in chronologischer Reihenfolge und gibt eher Textinterpretationen zu ihnen als einen folkloristischen oder ethnologischen Kommentar.

Weswegen diese sehr präzise Kleinmonographie (die ihr Thema betreffend zwar nicht die erste, aber seit langem dennoch die einzige gründliche Übersicht ist) auch für uns wichtig ist, das beruht auf der bekannten Tatsache, daß neuerdings in der europäischen Kulturgeschichte (und sogar der ungarischen Folkloristik) die Zahl der Studien wieder zunimmt, die „ein Weiterleben antiker Elemente“ in Erwägung ziehen. Hexen und Zauberer, geburtshelfende Frauen tauchen auf – meist jedoch nur derart, daß man zu den aus der modernen Zeit bekannten Angaben verstreute antike Parallelen erwähnt –, und der Zusammenhang ist selbst im Falle jeder bis in die Antike zurückzureichen scheinenden ethnischen Kontinuität zumindest fragwürdig.

Rakoczy ist dagegen genau und phantasielos. Er beginnt mit der Gestalt Agamemnon's, auf den die Götter voll Neid sahen, setzt mit dem Begriffskreis des *Wolf-sanblickes* fort (wenn der Mensch das gefährliche Tier zuerst erblickt, wird dieses unschädlich – wenn das Tier den Menschen erblickt, kann es ihn besiegen), mit dem *schiefen Blick* (gr. λοξός, lat. *obliquo oculo*), den prächtigen Mitteln, den Blick auf sich zu ziehen (z. B. purpurne Kleidung), mit der 'bösen Hand' auf Analogie vom 'bösen Blick', mit den vielleicht als Ebenbild zu bezeichnenden εἰδωλα 'Idolen', mit dem besonders auf böse Aberglaubenwesen bezogene Wort βαδκανία (das bereits ebensowenig ein konkreter, sondern ein abstrakter Begriff war wie im Ungarischen), mit den bösen Blick abwendenden Bewegungen, mit der beim Menschen oder bei Tieren vorhandenen

Fähigkeit des bösen Blicks und mit weiteren Themen. Diese sind vor allem aus literarischen Werken bekannt, sie haben aber auch ihre „Theoretiker“, und zwar nicht irgendwen: Solon, Demokrit, Plato, Aristoteles, oder diesen zugeeignete Werke. Sehr kurz behandelt er die ersten Neuinterpretationsversuche dieses Gedankensystems bei den bereits christlichen Autoren. Zu diesen kam es schon recht früh, steht das genaue griechische Wort doch im Matthäusevangelium (6:23), und Paulus fragt im Galaterbrief (3:1) direkt: Wer hat die Gläubigen mit dem bösen Blick verhext? Interessanterweise haben die kommentierenden Kirchenväter nicht nur die bösen Dämonen, sondern noch immer auch „den Neid der Götter“ damit verbunden. Diesen Themenkreis faßt der Autor noch einmal am Ende des Bandes zusammen. (Zuvor geht er noch kurz auf den entgegengesetzten Begriff ein, auf die Beispielsammlung des wohl überraschenderweise sehr viel seltener vorkommenden ‘guten Auges/Blicks’.)

Die wichtigste Lehre des nüchternen Lesers (und erst recht des Folkloristen) aus diesem Buch ist, welch seltsame und vielschichtige Veränderung, Entwicklung die allbekannten Ansichten schon in diesem umgrenzten Quellenmaterial durchlaufen haben.

Das wiederholte Aufblitzer-Lasser der „antiken folkloristischen Motive“ ist eine nicht immer ungefährliche Produktion halbgebildeter Leute. Hier ziemt es sich, in zweierlei Hinsicht vorsichtig zu sein. Manchmal gibt es die „Berufungs“-Angabe gar nicht oder sie beruht auf einem Mißverständnis, einer Fehlübersetzung. Ein zufälliger Einklang wiederum kann irreführend sein (so auch im Ungarischen das üblicherweise in zwei Teile gegliederte *boszorkány* ‘Hexe’ und das gr. *βάδκαος*). Andererseits gibt es keine unveränderte (unbewegliche) entwicklungslose „Antike“ – diese große Epoche hat viele Jahrhunderte gedauert, in mindestens hundert Kulturen, und wandelt sich auch dort mit den historischen Perioden. (Jedenfalls soweit wir das belegen können, denn in der Antike hat man seine Kenntnisse nicht nach dem Geschmack der heutigen „Alteuropa-Folkloristen“ aufgeschrieben.) Im Falle des bösen Blicks verfügen wir über viele Hunderte von Angaben. Endlich! Dieses Folklorelement gab es schon damals tatsächlich und gibt es auch heute. Wann aber können wir mit einer wie direkten Beziehung oder Kontinuität rechnen? Rakoczy hat keine religionsgeschichtliche Monographie geschrieben, darauf geht er nicht ein. Doch meine ich, keiner kann annehmen, wir hätten – sagen wir mal – die Geste der mit beiden Händen gezeigten „Feige“ zur Abwehr des bösen Blickes aus dem Werk des Bakchylides (5,188) übernommen. Und die Beziehung der Menstruation hierauf mag wohl nur ein Einfall des Aristoteles gewesen sein.

Die „alteuropäische Folklore“ hat es selbstverständlich gegeben, Rakoczys Buch illustriert gut, wie weitbekannt diese allgemein gängigen Dinge in der Belletristik waren, welch reiche Theorie sie in der vielschichtigen Gesellschaftswissenschaft der Zeit besaßen. Auch hier bemühte sich der Autor nicht derweise um Vollständigkeit, daß er das illustrative Material der bildenden Künste nicht erwähnt. Und da er keine mythologische Dissertation geschrieben hat, beschäftigte er sich auch nicht mit dem Blick der *Meduse/Gorgo*. Was sich in dem Buch findet, darüber informiert eine sorgfältige Autorenliste. Bedauerlich ist aber, daß ein Sachverzeichnis fehlt.

Das Problem des Weiterlebens der antiken Folklore läßt sich nicht einmal hypothetisch an einem einzigen Werk oder Themenkreis darstellen. Das Weiterleben des Zirkus, des Karnevals, erst recht der Herkunftslegende/ätiologischen Legende und schon gar des

„spättrömischen Kunstgewerbes“ – um nur einige bekannte Beispiele herauszugreifen – ist jeweils anders. Im Falle des bösen Blicks ist auf jeden Fall daran zu denken, daß dieses kognitive System nicht mit der griechischen Polis oder sogar dem Ende der Antike verschwand. Daneben ist jedoch auch vorauszusetzen, daß bereits im europäischen Mittelalter nicht der Aberglaube oder der Brauch selbst kontinuierlich ist, sondern man von dem hochangesehenen Autor auch die solcherart erklärbaren Teile lehrte/lernte – wie etwa den, daß man dem schlafenden Kleinkind (ganz sicher auch gegen den bösen Blick, als Abwehrtritt) dreimal ins Gesicht spucken muß (*terna adspui in os* – Plinius: *Historia naturalis* 28.39). Die heutige katholische Taufpraxis deutet diese heute nur mehr an.

Und selbst wenn der Zusammenhang offensichtlich ist, wird es davon auch nicht einfacher. Das ung. *szemmel verés*, wörtlich ‘mit dem Auge schlagen’, ist unseren sprachgeschichtlichen Handbüchern gemäß erst seit 1783 belegt, und da auch aus einer beletrisistischen Übersetzung. Offensichtlich zeigt hier *ver* als ‘schlägt’ und nicht ‘prügelt’ einen früheren Sprachgebrauch. Etwa wie im Festetich-Kodex (um 1493) *átver* ‘(hin-)durchstechen’. So konnte das Verb *ver* – im übrigen (als seltene Ausnahme unter den alten ungarischen Verben) unbekannter Herkunft – von jeder möglichen Zeit an die strahlenförmige Ausbreitung und Wirkung des durchdringenden Blickes bedeuten. Das ist klar. Aber wann dies wer und wie als erster so unter den Ungarn verstanden hat, genau das wissen wir nicht. Wir wissen nicht, wer die ersten („uralten“) ungarischen Mit-dem-Auge-Schlagenden waren.

Ich hoffe, daß meine Kollegen auch so erfrischend nüchterne Bücher lesen und von den sehr vielen Angaben weiser werden. Und was noch wichtiger ist: Gerade weil die Feststellungen dieses Werkes haltbar erscheinen, wird der Leser über übereilte Gedankenflüge noch spektischer (!).

Vilmos VOIGT

INFORMATIONS

The Estonian Academy of Sciences and University of Tartu
announce
a new international journal of the humanities and social sciences

TRAMES

and welcome contributions from any country and any scientific school

"Trames" intends to accumulate the best scientific thought from or about the Eastern Europe and bring it to the reader in the West. The journal is pre-reviewed. The criteria for the acceptance of papers are the originality of ideas, weight of arguments and clarity of presentation. The editorial board will give its preference to papers with broader theoretical attitude and a possible interdisciplinary approach. Review articles featuring the great names or events in the history of the humanities and social sciences in the Eastern Europe, and book reviews covering recent books published in or about the region are also welcome. "Trames" is published quarterly, its language of presentation is English. Further information and the style sheet for authors can be obtained from the editorial board.

EDITOR:

Martin Ehala (Tallinn)

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Jüri Allik (Tallinn)

Arvo Krikmann (Tallinn)

Wolfgang Drechsler (Tartu)

Priit Raudkivi (Tallinn)

Priit Järve (Tallinn)

Jaana Ross (Tallinn)

ADDRESS:

7 Estonia Blv
Academy of Sciences Publishers
Tallinn EE 0100
Estonia

Phone: + 372 (22) 454 156

Fax: + 372 (2) 64 66 026

E-mail: ehala@lin.tpu.ee

With all the good intentions, "Trames" aims for making the world broader to the scientists in the East as well as in the West.

ARV

ARV means heritage. **ARV**, Nordic Yearbook of Folklore, presents our mental heritage, folklore, as the foundation of our culture, our patterns of interaction and our world view. Folklore, i. e. popular poetry, belief and custom, is an important identity factor for every nation in historical as well as recent times.

ARV was founded in 1945 as a common Nordic journal and it is still published by the Royal Gustavus Adolphus Academy in Uppsala, Sweden.

Read **ARV** and keep in touch with recent Nordic folklore and neighbouring disciplines. During the last decade scholars such as Gustav Henningsen, Lauri Honko, Åke Hultkrantz, Bengt R. Jonsson and Bengt af Klintberg have contributed.

We will be pleased to supply any interested customer on a standing order basis. **ARV** appears once a year. Subscriptions are USD 28 (SEK 200 + postage, USD 14 (SEK 100) + postage for students. Back numbers are USD 7 (SEK 50) + postage.

Subscription

Ulrika Wolf-Knuts (editor)
Åbo Akademi University, Folkloristics
FIN-20 500 Åbo, Finland

Telefax +358-2-2654902 email: uwolf@abo.fi

YES, I/we would like to subscribe to **ARV** starting with volume 51 (1995)

Name:.....

Address:.....

I am a student ☐

Printed in Hungary

Akadémiai Nyomda, Martonvásár

301.156

Acta

8

Ethnographica Hungarica

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Volume 42

Numbers 3–4

1997

Studies on Surgut Ostyak Culture



Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

ACTA ETHNOGRAPHICA HUNGARICA

A PERIODICAL OF THE HUNGARIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES

Acta Ethnographica Hungarica publishes contributions describing recent scientific advances in the field of ethnography, folklore and cultural and social anthropology. Emphasis is laid on subjects related to Hungarian ethnography and folklore as well as on works presenting Hungarian folklore in the context of East European and Eurasian cultures.

Editorial Office

ACTA ETHNOGRAPHICA HUNGARICA

MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézet

H-1014 Budapest, Országház u. 30.

Phone: (36-1) 175-9011

Fax: (36-1) 179-9764

Manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to

ACTA ETHNOGRAPHICA HUNGARICA

H-1250 Budapest, P.O. Box 29

Orders should be addressed to

AKADÉMIAI KIADÓ

H-1519 Budapest, P.O. Box 245

Subscription price for Volume 42 (1997) of 4 issues US\$ 112 including normal postage,
airmail delivery US\$ 20

Acta Ethnographica Hungarica is abstracted/indexed in Current Anthropology, Current Awareness in Biological Science, Current Contents/Arts and Humanities, International Bibliography of Periodical Literature, Social Sciences Citation Index.

© Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1997

ACTA ETHNOGRAPHICA HUNGARICA

AN INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF ETHNOGRAPHY

Editor-in-Chief

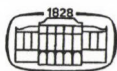
BERTALAN ANDRÁSFALVY

Executive Editor

GÁBOR BARNA

Members of the Editorial Board

IVÁN BALASSA, ENDRE FÜZES, ESZTER KISBÁN,
ATTILA PALÁDI-KOVÁCS, MIHÁLY SÁRKÁNY,
ATTILA SELMECZI KOVÁCS, ZOLTÁN UJVÁRY, VILMOS VOIGT



Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest

MAGYAR
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
KÖNYVTÁRA

Contents

STUDIES ON SURGUT OSTYAK CULTURE

Márta CSEPREGI: General Information about the Ostyaks. An Introduction	275
Márta CSEPREGI: Samples from the Genres of Ostyak Folklore	285
Ágnes KEREZSI: Characteristics of the Life, Culture and Beliefs of the Ostyaks of the Surgut Region	349
Katalin LÁZÁR: Vocal Folk Music of the Eastern Ostyaks	415

REVIEWS

Edit Vértés: Szibériai nyelvrokonaink hitvilága (Belief -world of our Siberian linguistic kindred) (Márta CSEPREGI)	455
V. M. Kulemzin–N. V. Lukina: Znakomtes': Khanty; A. M. Takhtueva: Material'naja kul'tura yuganskikh khanty (Márta CSEPREGI)	458
Bibliotheca Pápayensis I–VI. József Pápays ostjakischer Nachlaß (Vilmos VOIGT) ..	461
Bibliotheca Pápayensis VII. József Pápays tschuwaschischer Nachlaß (Vilmos VOIGT)	463
Beke Ödön: Mari nyelvjárási szótár (Tscheremissisches Dialektwörterbuch) I–II. (Vilmos VOIGT)	464
Folia Uralica Debreceniensia 1–4 (1989–1997) (Vilmos VOIGT)	465

STUDIES ON SURGUT OSTYAK CULTURE

GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE OSTYAKS

AN INTRODUCTION

Márta CSEPREGI

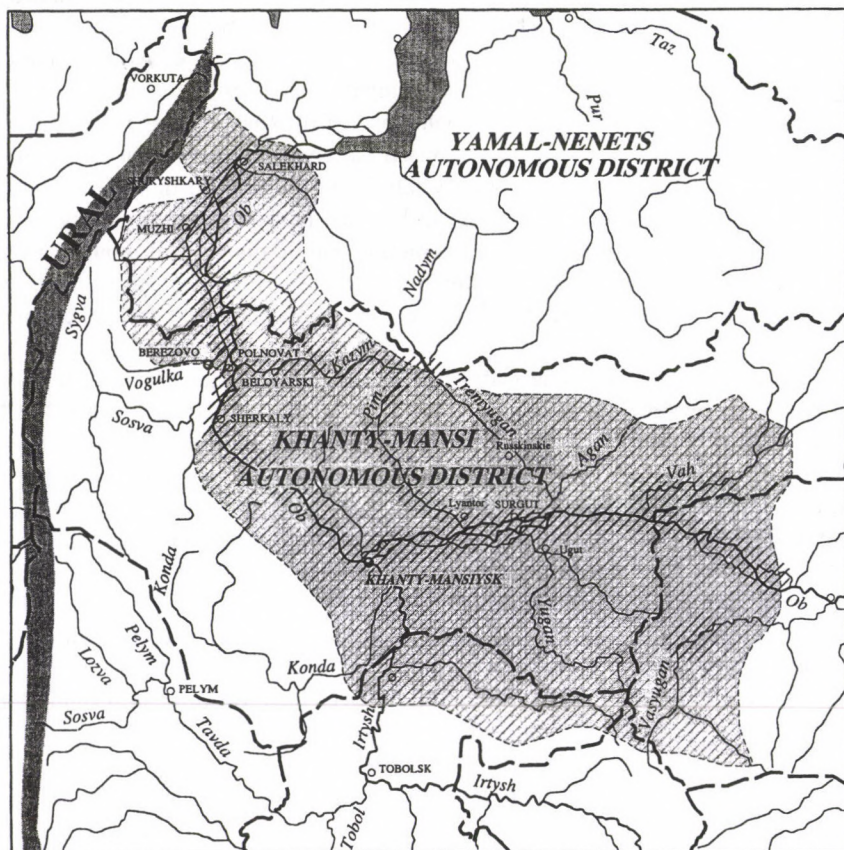
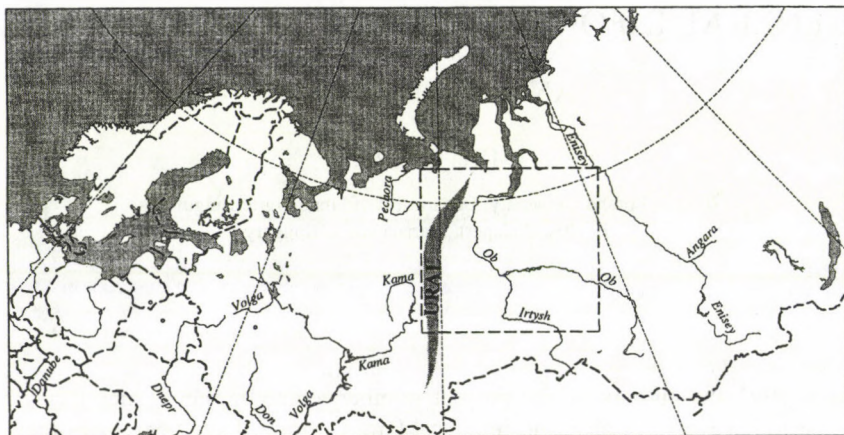
Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Finno-Ugric Linguistics
H-1052 Budapest, Piarista köz 1. Hungary

Since 1991 the authors of the present number, ethnographer Ágnes Kerecsi, folk music researcher Katalin Lázár and linguist Márta Csepregi have been investigating the culture of a group of the Eastern Khantys living in the district of Surgut. They have visited the area several times, either together or separately. Partial results have already been published elsewhere. In the studies below they attempt to summarise their findings.

The Ostyaks (Khantys) and the Voguls (Mansys) or, by collective designation, the Ob-Ugrians, who are the closest relatives of Hungarians, live widely scattered over about half a million square kilometres in the Tyumen area of Russia, by the river Ob and its tributaries. They number scarcely thirty thousand altogether. Besides them, the other natives of this area are the Nenets and the Zyrian (Komi) to the North, Siberian Tartars to the South and Selkups to the East. The Ob-Ugrians have interacted closely with their neighbours for centuries. Traces of this interaction can be discovered in all areas of language, culture, social organisation and economy.

Following the settlement of the Russians, assimilation started from the South and spread by the waterways to the North and the East. The region of the Irtysh, with its arable lands was the first to become Russianised. At the point where the Irtysh flows into the Ob, the latter changes its direction: instead of the West, it flows towards the North. Since the junction of the two giant rivers also connects the four cardinal points, this is the place where foreign influences have been the strongest. The towns founded at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century along the Ob and the Irtysh, – Surgut, Samarovo, Berezov, Obdorsk (today's Salekhard) – were at first only insignificant garrison settlements, but they soon became important administrative and trading centres of the area. To make use of the opportunities provided by the waterway, the town of Khanty-Mansiysk, the centre of the Khanty-Mansy Autonomous District, created in 1930, was also founded at the junction of the Ob and the Irtysh, near Samarovo.

Due to the industrialisation of Siberia, the natives have become an insignificant minority in their own homeland, compared to the Russian-speaking settlers. Today the proportion of Khantys and Mansys is not less than 1.5 per cent of the population in the Khanty-Mansy National District. Moreover, while earlier in regions with a mixed population the use of several languages was taken for granted and did not pose a threat to the existence of any of the languages, today learning the Russian language seems to lead to surrendering the mother tongue.



The Khanty-Mansi Autonomous District in Siberia

THE OSTYAK DIALECTS

The self-designation of the Ostyaks, *Khanty*, is related to the Hungarian word *had*, whose original meaning is 'clan', kin'. The origin of the term *Ostyak* is unclear, and was used by the Russians to designate several Siberian peoples. Its general meaning might have been "Siberian people". For example, the Kets were called "Yenisey Ostyaks" and the Selkups "Ostyak Samoyeds" by the Russians, until they adopted their internal names.

Due to the great distances and their relative isolation, the language of the Ostyaks developed a number of dialects. Dialectal differences extend to phonology, morphology and the vocabulary as well, and can occasionally hinder mutual intelligibility. The Ostyak dialects can be divided into three large groups. At the lower reach of the river Ob, north of Sherkaly the so-called Northern dialects are spoken (their more important groups are the Kazym, the Shuryshkar and the Obdorsk). South of Sherkaly, along the Irtysh and its tributaries (Konda, Demyanka) the Southern group of dialects can be found, and at around the middle reaches of the Ob, east of the river Salym, up to the rivers Vakh and Vasyugan, the Eastern dialects are used. The Southern group of dialects can today be considered practically extinct. The Northern and Southern dialects show several common characteristics, so these can also collectively be called the Western group. One of the noticeable differences between the Eastern and the Western dialects is that the velar 'k' sound of the Ugrian parent language was preserved in the Eastern dialects and became a 'χ' in the Western ones. So the Eastern Ostyaks call themselves *Kantyg* (approximately) instead of *Khanty*.

THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH OF THE OSTYAK LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Following the first sporadic and unreliable accounts, the study of the Ostyak language began in the middle of the last century, when two scholars, the Finn Mathias Aleksanteri Castrén and the Hungarian Antal Reguly spent several months in the Ostyak language area. On his field trip beginning in 1845, Castrén became acquainted with the Irtysh and the Surgut dialects, and Reguly, in 1843–45 covered in one and a half years the Northern Vogul and Ostyak territories. Both of them died young, at the age of 39, and the task of publishing their collections was largely that of the generation following in their footsteps (CASTRÉN 1849, HUNFALVY-REGULY 1864, MUNKÁCSI 1892–1921, PÁPAY 1905, REGULY-PÁPAY 1944–1965). In the first generation of researchers, the Finn August Ahlqvist, who visited the Northern Ostyaks on his study tour in 1858–59 and 1877, was luckier, and could publish his collections in his lifetime (AHLQVIST 1880, 1883). It is typical of both the first researchers and their followers that they did not merely examine linguistic data, but also, enchanted by the richness of the poetry of these peoples, did valuable research in the areas of ethnography, folklore and mythology.

The golden age of the study of Ob-Ugrian languages and cultures was the turn of the century. The Finno-Ugrian society residing in Helsinki had judged the Ob-Ugrians doomed to extinction, and therefore it sent experts who spent years in the Ob region col-

lecting an immense amount of linguistic and folklore material. Between 1898 and 1902 K. F. Karjalainen travelled around the whole of the Ostyak language area and returned home with a rich collection of vocabulary, grammar and texts (KARJALAINEN–TOIVONEN 1948, KARJALAINEN–VÉRTES 1964, 1975). At the same time Heikki Paasonen visited several Finno-Ugric peoples and studied the Konda and Yugan dialects of Ostyak (PAASONEN–DONNER 1926, PAASONEN–VÉRTES 1965, 1980). Artturi Kannisto collected a vast material of Vogul folk poetry and vocabulary (KANNISTO–LIIMOLA 1951–1963). The Hungarians working in this region at the time were Bernát Munkácsi and József Pápay. Their primary goal was to decipher the Ostyak and Vogul texts collected by Antal Reguly, but beyond the completion of this task they also contributed to making known the language and poetry of these peoples by their own large amount of collected material (MUNKÁCSI 1892–1921, PÁPAY 1988–1995). At the same time the Finn U. T. Sirelius as well as the Hungarian Károly Pápai and János Jankó also collected ethnographic and anthropological data (SIRELIUS 1983, PÁPAI 1890, JANKÓ 1900). Among the Russian scholars of the time, S. Patkanov's linguistic-folkloristic collection was outstanding (PATKANOV 1897–1900). And though the Ob-Ugrians did not die out as early as it had been predicted, the above mentioned travellers recorded the documents of several dialects that are no longer spoken today.

Local collection was hindered for decades by the First World War and the changes in Russia in its aftermath. As a rare exception, the German Wolfgang Steinitz and the Hungarian Éva Schmidt had the opportunity to do field-work (STEINITZ 1976–1980). Foreign scholars could only get information about the language from students studying in Leningrad. In this way Béla Kálmán's Vogul chrestomathy, János Gulya's Vakh Ostyak and Károly Rédei's Kazym Ostyak chrestomathy were born (KÁLMÁN 1976, GULYA 1966, RÉDEI 1965). At the same time, the publication of posthumous collections also required serious scholarly efforts. An outstanding editor of these posthumous papers is Edit Vértés, who has so far published thirteen volumes of the grammatical records and Southern Ostyak texts of Karjalainen and Paasonen as well as József Pápay's collections. Her studies on Ob-Ugrian and Samoyed mythology are also significant (VÉRTES 1990).

THE SURGUT KHANTYS

The authors of the present volume acquainted themselves with the language and culture of the Khantys during their study tours. The Surgut group of dialects is situated in the middle of the Eastern group. The Easternmost Khantys live by the rivers Vakh and Vasyugan (in the Nizhnevartovsk district of the Tyumen region and in the Tomsk region), to the West of the Surgut, however, along the river Salym (in the Nefteyugansk district of the Tyumen region) an intermediate dialect – between the Eastern and the Southern) is spoken.

The Surgut dialect area is about the size of Hungary. It is about 500 kilometres long in the north-south direction and about 300 kilometres wide in the east-west direction. It is divided in two almost in the middle by the Ob, which flows in this part towards the West. Its tributaries to the right-hand, Northern side are the Tromagan (Tremyugan or Tromye-

gan in other sources) and the Agan, the Pym and the Lyamyn; on its left-hand, Southern side the Small- and the Great-Yugan flow into it. Surgut is a district town, but the area of the Surgut district does not exactly coincide with the dwelling places of the speakers of the Surgut dialect. The valley of the river Agan belongs to the neighbouring Nizhnevar-tovsk district. 2800 Khantys live on the territory of the Surgut district. The population of the town of Surgut numbers 300 000 people. This Siberian small town was a drowsy little place up till the last 20 years, when, due to the production of oil, it has grown by leaps and bounds. Apart from the town of Surgut, another 78,000 people live in the district, most of them also working in the oil industry. Among the Khanty natives, about 1000 people live in the traditional way. From the thirties onwards, several village centres have developed on the territory of the district, where the inhabitants of the neighbourhood have been moved. The so-called "national villages" are the following. Russkinskie on the Tromagan, Ugut beside the Yugan and Lyantor beside the Pym.

Our research team (Ágnes Kerezi ethnographer, Katalin Lázár folk music researcher and Márta Csepregi linguist) have visited the Tromagan and Yugan Khantys. We collected together twice, in the summer of 1992 and 1993, and all three of us have visited the area separately as well. Our informants are partly from the region of the Tromagan and its tributaries (Agan, Imi-yagun, Ort-yagun, Yinku-yagun, Voky-rap-yagun) and partly from the region of the source of the Great-Yugan. These two areas can be considered rather homogeneous linguistically, yet, due to geographical distances, there are some economic and cultural differences. The people of Tromagan live in the forest-tundra belt, supplementing the hunting-fishing-plant-gathering way of life with keeping reindeer, which means that they are nomadic. They change their dwelling places by the seasons, moving with the reindeer. The region of the Yugan river-head, however, belongs to the taiga belt. The main source of income for those living here is hunting: they also do some fishing for food, but they do not have reindeer, so they have a settled way of life. The difference of female costume in the two regions is conspicuous. North of the Ob the general clothing is the one-piece, slip-on flared dress with long sleeves, embellished with pearls or applied ornaments, whereas South of the Ob, probably due to the influence of peoples further to the South, the caftan-like, colourful, straight robe is worn, held together with a cloth belt of a different colour, tied at the back. The form of other pieces of clothing, like footwear, is also different, as well as the material of cradles: North of the Ob they are made of birch-bark, and of wood in the South.

THE HISTORY OF RESEARCH ON THE SURGUT KHANTYS

Despite the fact that Castrén attempted the description of the Surgut dialect first (see the bibliography at the end of the chapter), Ostyakology has until recently not produced an introduction to the Surgutians. Most of the researchers have visited the Northern Khantys, and it is primarily the Northerners who have their own scholars, who can and will act for the development of these languages and cultures in the future as well. Since the publication of Karjalainen and Paasonen's Southern texts, the Irtysh, Konda and Dem'yanka dialects are also known. Among the Eastern dialects, the Vakh-Vasyugan one is

the best studied, the Surgut one is less known and the Salym dialect the least familiar. We know Karjalainen and Paasonen's Tremyugan and Yugan grammatical records, but their texts, in manuscript form, still await editing. Comparing the grammatical notes from the beginning of the century with our present knowledge, we might conclude that this dialect has changed considerably during the last 90 years. Vowel harmony has disappeared as well as certain sounds, and some morphological and syntactic changes have also taken place. Research shows that there are changeless periods in the history of languages, and at other times many novelties appear in a short period. Quick change is typical of languages on the verge of extinction. Lacking familiarity with the texts from the beginning of the century we cannot state anything for certain, but we may claim that the Surgut dialect today is at the same level where the – since extinct – Southern Ostyak dialects were at the turn of the century. A lot has been done for making the Surgut dialects known by László Honti, who has published his material collected in Leningrad in several parts (HONTI-RUSVAI 1977, HONTI 1978), and our own collection serves the same purpose. Among the Ostyak researchers, N.I. Tereshkin has enriched the Surgut bibliography with his dictionary, spelling-book and school reader (TERESHKIN 1959, 1975, 1981). A contribution was also made to the latter by A. S. Pesikova (later Sopochina), whose poems as the first-fruits of Surgut Khanty literature have been published in Hungary in Erzsi Winter's photo-album (SOPOCHINA 1995). The Surgut prose writer Yeremei Aypin has published only one of his novels in two languages, the others only in Russian (AYPIN 1981).

THE PRESENT LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN KHANTYLAND

According to statistics, about half of the Khantys today speak their mother tongue. The dividing line is not between the younger and the older generations, but between those leading a traditional and a so-called "civilised" way of life. The old and the young of those living in the forest use their mother tongue, but those in the villages and towns become irreversibly Russianised. In the latter case the younger generation undergoes Russianisation even if both parents speak the mother tongue. What usually happens is that both Ostyak parents speak Russian to the child if they live in a town, so the children cannot communicate with their grandparents if the elder people speak only their native tongue. Mixed marriages are also frequent, and in these cases the family use Russian even when the mother is, say, Khanty and the father a Tartar. Due to the great dialectal differences, Northern and Eastern Khantys can communicate most easily in Russian.

This rapid loss of language has several causes. One of them is the low prestige of the Ostyak language. The other is that the Ostyak language, whose extremely rich vocabulary makes it possible to express each nuance of the traditional life in the most exact manner, is not suited to describe the manifold phenomena of city life. The language used in the towns is full of Russian words. And while earlier loan words were adapted to the sound system of the borrowing language, this does not happen in the case of newer Russian borrowings. So we cannot really talk about loan-words, rather some kind of a mixed language.

The most effective scene of Russianisation is the school. Frequently children from a forest-tundra home enter school at the age of seven speaking only Ostyak. In the schools, however, the language of education is Russian. If, fortunately, there are suitable specialists, there are native language lessons in the lower forms. During their schoollyears the children live in boarding schools and can only visit their homes during vacation. The foreign language, environment and way of life cause such shock to the children that very few of them are able to survive unharmed. More than one of our acquaintances have told us that they ran away from school. Many of those who get used to it, however, give up their own culture and mother tongue.

An attempt has been made to reduce the destructive effect of schooling on Northern Khantys by the founding of a so-called "cultural-anthropological" school in the village of Kazym where they try to create an environment suited to the traditional lifestyle. The elderly of the village look after the children like grandparents, to prevent their alienation from the world of their parents.

OSTYAK LITERATURE

The Ostyak language is one of the languages that have late written records. Apart from the 19th century Bible translations, which did not become widely known among the Khantys, Ostyak does not have written documents. The creation of literacy began in the thirties. First the Latin alphabet was used, then, from 1936, they started to use Cyrillic letters. Textbooks were published in four Northern dialects (Middle Ob or Sherkal, Kazym, Shuryshkar and Obdorsk), and in two Eastern dialects (Vakh and Surgut). The formation of a single literary language has been an objective from the beginning. At present the bulk of literary products are published in the two most viable Northern dialects, Kazym and Shuryshkar; besides textbooks, general writings and fiction are also available. In the Eastern dialects, however, no original work has been published since the first spelling-books.

Considering the Ostyak linguistic situation, we must distinguish between the notions of written language and literary language. Here literary language is primarily the language of folklore, which is exclusively oral. This language with its characteristically archaic vocabulary, grammar and style is indeed so different from the spoken language that it may remain indecipherable even for a Khanty who speaks his native tongue properly, but who is not well-versed in his culture. Written language, however, can be encountered in the textbooks used in the schools. The authors of these are linguistically qualified specialists, so the typical features of these textbooks are formal, orthographical exactness together with simplicity of content. The language of textbooks is, however, an artificial, oversimplified language. The attempt to unify the dialects inevitably entails simplification and impoverishment. The aim therefore should be to preserve the richness of the language of folklore in the written language, but the problem is that the people who know folklore best are usually illiterate.

The Khanty writers and poets who use the dialect of their native land in their writings preserve the plurality of dialects. The problem here, too, is that the writers are not

always aware of the rules of Khanty spelling and use the Cyrillic letters in an autonomous manner. Publishers do not have linguistic advisers, and printing houses cannot produce special signs. So literary pieces, despite the rich content, are published in a humble form. Also, Khanty-language literature has a small circle of readers, so Khanty poets and writers must publish their works in Russian to ensure that they reach their readers. Yereimei Aypin's only bilingual book has an orthography which does not harmonise with the spelling system developed for the Surgut dialect.

THE CHANCES OF PRESERVING KHANTY CULTURE

Khanty intellectuals – similarly to the sons and daughters of other Northern peoples – are the alumni of the Northern Peoples' Institute established in Leningrad in the mid-twenties. Today this institute operates under the auspices of Herzen University. Those Siberian youth who will hopefully serve their nations as teachers still study there. For decades, the publishing house of the Northern peoples also operated in Leningrad, so the fate of the culture of these peoples was decided several thousand miles away.

The worldview mirrored by the textbooks was often contradictory to the ideas of Siberian peoples. Understandably, each school desired to educate Soviet citizens as well, so each textbook included topics like Lenin's life, the celebration of 1 May or the Red Army. Even the seemingly harmless animal tales served the destruction of traditional culture, perhaps unwittingly. In one of them, for example, the dog, looking for a master, ends up with man after trying the wolf and the bear, saying that "man is the strongest in the world". The Khanty hunter of the traditional culture, however, must never forget when in the forest that his life and well-being depend on natural powers greater than himself, and it is in his own best interest to secure the favour of the gods and guardian spirits.

The illustrations also contain a number of mistakes in spite of the fact that they try to attain anthropological authenticity. Khanty children notice what the illustrator in St. Petersburg does not know, that, for example, the person in the picture is not wearing the clothing appropriate to the season, or is holding the tool in his hand in the wrong way. Because of such pictures children do not regard the textbooks as their own and they do not think they are about them or for them.

In the past few years, however, Ob-Ugrian intellectuals have been trying to gain control over their culture. A number of new institutions have been founded in the national district. In Khanty-Mansysk, besides the teachers' training college, a section of the Nizhnevartovsk College of Education has been opened, as well as a scholarly research institute for the rebirth of the Ob-Ugrian peoples. This institute, opened in 1990 and led by E. A. Nemysova, endeavours to serve the cause of the Khantys and the Mansys in matters of language, culture and economy, and draws on the contribution of Vogul and Ostyak researchers. The institute is responsible for the collection and documentation of material as well as publishing and practical counselling. A planned language reform is also under way: Khanty expressions suited to the demands of the changed life first appear in the paper "Khanty Yasang" (Khanty Language) and are expected to spread in every-

day use as well. This is where the latest textbooks are written, in which, also, the Ostyakisation of grammatical terminology is attempted.

Near the river-head of the Kazym, in Beloyarski, Folklore Archives have been created, with the directorship of Éva Schmidt. A similar institute operates in Salekhard, and the founding of the Lyantor institute on the bank of the Pym is also under way. There is a great need for the latter, since Northerners are in the majority among Khanty scholars, and most consider the Eastern dialect and culture as outside their sphere of interest.

The Ob-Ugrian specialists have good relations with the researchers of the Novosibirsk section of the Russian Academy of Science as well as the University of Tomsk.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

AHLQVIST, August

1880: *Über die Sprache der Nord-Ostjaken*. Helsingfors

1883: *Unter Wogulen und Ostjaken*. *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*. Helsinki

AYPIN, Yereimei

1981: *V teni starogo kedra*. Na khantyjskom i russkomazykah. Sverdlovsk

CASTRÉN, Mathias Aleksanteri

1849/1969: *Versuch einer ostjakischen Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichnis*. St. Petersburg/Leipzig

CSEPREGI, Márta

1993a: Lintunen ja hänen sisarensa. Hantilainen satu Tromaganjoen varrelta. Festschrift für Raija Bartens. *Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne* 215. 49–52. Helsinki

1993b: Az összeférhetetlen egér (Tromagani osztják mese. A Tromagen Ostyak Tale). *Hajdú Péter 70 éves*. *Linguistica Series A/15* Budapest 59–64. I.

1995a: Die Schriftlichkeit im Ostjakischen – Probleme in der Textherausgabe in der Surguter Mundart des Ostjakischen. *Zur Frage der uralischen Schriftsprachen*. *Linguistica Series A/17*: 135–139. Budapest

1996: *Surgutin hantien karhulaulujen kielenpiirteitä* (Linguistic Features of Surgut Ostyak Bear-feast Songs). *Congressus Internationalis Fenno-ugristarum 8/IV*: 271–275. Jyväskylä

GULYA, János

1966: *Eastern Ostyak Chrestomathy*. *Uralic and altaic Series* 51. The Hague – Bloomington

HONTI, László

1977: Beobachtungen über die Laut- und Formenlehre gegenwärtiger Surguter Mundarten des Ostjakischen. *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27. 271–286. Budapest

1978a: Tromagani osztják szövegek (Ostyak Text from Tromagan). *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 80. 127–139

1978b: Szurguti osztják szójegyzék (Surgut Ostyak Words). *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 80. 327–345

1984: *Chrestomathia Ostiastica*. Budapest

1988: Die ostjakische Sprache. *The Uralic Languages* 172–196. Leiden–New York–Kopenhagen–Köln

1993: Khantyiskijazyk. *Yazyki mira. Ural'skie yazyki* 300–319. Moscow

HONTI László–RUSVAI Julianna

1977: Pimi osztják szövegek (Ostyak Text from Pimi). *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 79. 223–232

HUNFALVY Pál–REGULY Antal

1864: *A vogul föld és nép* (Land and People of the Voguls). Budapest

JANKÓ János

1900: *A magyar halászat eredete I–II* (Origin of the Hungarian Fishing). Budapest–Leipzig

KÁLMÁN Béla

1976: *Chrestomathia Vogulica*. Budapest

KANNISTO, Artturi–LIIMOLA, Matti

1951–1963: *Wogulische Volksdichtung I–VI*. Helsinki

KARJALAINEN, K. F.–TOIVONEN, Y. H.

1948: *Ostjakisches Wörterbuch I–II*. Helsinki

- KARJALAINEN, K. F.–VÉRTES, Edith
 1964: *Grammatikalische Aufzeichnungen aus ostjakische Mundarten*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne 128. Helsinki
 1975: *Südostjakische Textsammlungen*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne 157. Helsinki
- MUNKÁCSI Bernát
 1822–1921: *Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény I–IV* (Folk Poetry of the Voguls). Budapest
- PAASONEN, H.–DONNER, K.
 1926: *Ostjakisches Wörterbuch nach den Dialekten and der Konda und am Jugan*. Helsingfors
- PAASONEN, H.–VÉRTES, Edith
 1965: *Ostjakische Grammatikalische Aufzeichnungen nach den Dialekten an der Konda und am Jugan*. Journal de la Société Finno-ougrienne 66
 1980: *Südostjakische Textsammlungen I–IV*. Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne 172–175. Helsinki
- PÁPAI Károly
 1890: *A vogulok- és osztjákoknál* (Visit to Voguls and Ostyaks). *Ethnographia* I. 117–130. Budapest
- PÁPAY József
 1905: *Ostják népköltési gyűjtemény* (Folk Poetry of the Ostyaks). Budapest–Leipzig
 1988–1995: *Ostják hagyatéka* (His Ostyak Heritage). Közzéteszi Vértés Edit. Debrecen
- PESIKOVA, A. S.–ERMAKOVA, R. I.–SMIRNOVA, F. I.
 1996: *Khantyjskij yazyk*. Uchebnik i kniga dlya chteniya dlya 2 klassa. Sankt-Peterburg
- PATKANOV, Serafim
 1897–1900: *Die Irtysch-Ostjaken und ihre Volks poesie I–II*. St.-Petersburg
- RÉDEI Károly
 1965: *Northern Ostyak Chrestomathy*. Uralic and Altaic Series 47. The Hague – Bloomington
- REGULY Antal–PÁPAY József
 1944–1965: *Ostják hősnékek I–III*. (Heroic Songs of the Ostyaks) Edited by M. Zsirai and D. Fokos
- SOPOCHINA, Agrafena
 1995: *Poems in the photo album of Erzsi Winter “Szibériai rokonaink”*. Budapest
- SIRELIUS, U. T.
 1983: *Reise zu den Ostjaken*. Übersetzt und herausgegeben von Ingrid Schellbach. Travaux ethnographiques de la Société Finno-ougrienne XI. Helsinki
- STEINITZ, Wolfgang
 1976–1989: *Ostjakologische Arbeiten (OA) I–IV*. Budapest–Berlin–Den Haag
- TERESHKIN, N. I.
 1959: *Bukvar’ dlya podgovitel’nogo klassa khantyjskoj nachal’noj shkoly*. Leningrad
 1975: *Khantyjskij yazyk*. Uchebnik dlya podgovitel’nogo klassa. Leningrad
 1981: *Slovar vostochnokhantyjskikh dialektov*. Leningrad
- TERESHKIN, N. I. – KULINICH, E. D. – VENGO, M. V.
 1992 *Bukvar’ dlya 1 klassa khantyjskikh shkol (surgutskij dialekt)*. Sankt-Peterburg
- VÉRTES Edit
 1990: *Szibériai nyelvrokonaink hitvilága* (Beliefs of our Siberian Linguistic Kindred). Budapest
- ZSIRAI Miklós
 1937/1994: *Finnugor rokonságunk* (Our Relation to Finno-Ugric Peoples) Budapest

SAMPLES FROM THE GENRES OF OSTYAK FOLKLORE

Márta CSEPREGI

Eötvös Loránd University, Department of Finno-Ugric Linguistics
H-1052 Budapest, Piarista köz 1. Hungary

The number of Surgut Khanty folklore texts in the collection that have been written down and interpreted at present (Spring 1997) amount to 92. These texts vary greatly in length, from cradle songs a few lines long to bear-feast songs several hundred lines in length, and from short animal tales to long and complicated legends. Some of the texts were not collected by me, but Ágnes KEREZSI or Katalin LÁZÁR. However, I wrote them down. In fortunate cases the actual performer helped with writing down and interpreting the texts, but in all cases I had the assistance of someone who is an Ostyak native speaker. We have much more material on tape, but I have not counted texts that have not yet been written down as part of the collection because it is very doubtful whether it will be possible to make use of them. Since hardly any linguistic or folkloristic studies had been previously carried out in the territory we visited, we were unable to plan the collecting in advance. As a result, the recordings were made in a rather haphazard way, depending on what our informants were moved to narrate or sing. This means that only very cautious statements can be made on the basis of the existing material; it is not possible to draw far-reaching conclusions.

During our field-trips we established contact with two larger families and the inhabitants of a village. One is the Sopochin family living on the tributaries of the Tromagan and the other is the Kurlomkin family, living on the upper course of the Yugan. In addition, I had the opportunity one summer to collect material in the village of Russkinskie, also beside the Tromagan, from Khantys living there who are still familiar with their traditions.

The head of the Sopochin family, Ivan Stepanovich died in March 1993. He was a famous shaman who knew and cherished the traditions of his people and was a practised informant of scholars from Russia and abroad; that is how Ágnes KEREZSI met him in 1991. Those of his sons, daughters, sons-in-law and daughters-in-law who still live in the forest are also active practitioners of the traditional genres, the songs and the tales. Those members of the family who have moved to a town because of their studies still understand the songs and tales, but they themselves no longer sing. If they do, they sing the songs learnt at school, which are in the Khanty language, but have Russian melodies and structure, and mirror a Russian way of thinking. After the death of the old shaman, his youngest son Yosif has taken over the role of *pater familias* and the task of preserving their tradition.

The dwelling place of Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin can be found on the territory of the Sopochin clan. He is a nephew of Ivan Stepanovich mentioned above and is also

a shaman. During the short time we could spend together, he seemed to have an inexhaustible supply of tales and mythical songs. In his wider family circle also, singing and telling tales is an everyday event.

Petr Vasilevich Kurlomkin lives and hunts by the upper reaches of the Yugan. His family consists of two grown sons from his first marriage, his second wife, her mother and two daughters. Only the head of the family can sing – at least we failed to establish rapport with his wife so as to be able to find out whether she knows any songs. Petr Vasilevich learnt the songs from his father, and he claims that his father used to know a lot more of them than he does. The younger members of the family, who speak only Ostyak at home, did not understand the language of bear-feast songs. They could, however, tell tales learnt from their father.

In the village of Russkinskie I was helped by the members of the local traditionalising ensemble, the retired woman teacher and a student on vacation. They are all from families living in the traditional way; they learnt the songs and tales from their environment.

Our informants include all age groups, from an eight-year-old child to an eighty-year-old person. Children around the age of six still need prompting from their parents, but by the time they are eight they are able without help to tell tales they have heard from their parents, grandparents and elder family members. However, only adults undertook to sing. The 92 texts are from 23 persons, divided almost evenly between the genders: 12 men and 11 women.

Since the material collected so far is not sufficient to make a clear distinction between the different genres, I have classified the existing texts in the following three main groups: profane songs, sacred songs and prose epic genres. The majority of the texts in group of the profane songs are individual songs, but the few songs of Russian origin which were recorded practically by chance or as a joke and which are related to Khanty folklore only because of their language, can also be classified here. Group of the sacred songs comprises the various bear-feast songs (bear songs, animal songs, songs of the gods, lyrical songs performed at bear feasts). I have placed all the genres narrated in prose in one group (tales, legends, mythical stories, recollections). It is very difficult to distinguish these from each other since the types are frequently mixed, and in fact, because of their parallelistic structure, the tales with a set form and song inserts represent a transition between groups 2 and 3. In addition to the above, I also noted nine riddles and a saying. There are also a few sacrificial prayers on tape but their text has not yet been written down. We did not record shamanic songs because there was no singing in the shamanic ceremonies we attended. Among the bear-feast genres, our collection lacks the bear-feast play, and among the prose genres there are no sacred myths (mythical narratives recounting the origin of the world or the origin of the gods) because women are not allowed to hear these.

The following table shows the distribution of texts by genre and gender of the informants:

	Men	Women	Total
Profane songs	4	38	42
Sacred songs	11	4	15
Prose	21	14	36

The three genre groups differ from each other somewhat as regards the occasions on which they are performed and the way they are passed on. The threshold is the lowest in the case of the individual song. It is easy to learn, variations can be made at will, it can be hummed at any time and does not require an audience. The only time it is forbidden to sing such songs is in times of mourning as we found when we visited our acquaintances one month after the death of the old shaman. But even then, songs recorded elsewhere could be heard and translated. Individual songs appear to be more popular with women; at least we collected more songs from women than from men. However, the reason for this could be that sacred songs and mythical tales are forbidden for women, and when men brought themselves to speak into the microphone they turned to these more serious genres. The individual song is always associated with a known person, whose name occurs in the song. Women may also sing men's songs, and vice versa. Our informants generally sang songs about others. Apart from a few cradle songs which they said they had composed themselves, they did not sing their own songs, giving the impression that they do not have songs of their own. Only on my fourth collecting trip, in 1996, did I learn that the individual song is such an intimate genre that even if it is performed in the immediate family circle they do not sing it into the microphone because they cannot follow its subsequent path on tape. They warned me to be very careful about who I played my earlier recordings for, because no one likes to hear his or her own song performed by someone else. It would be like hearing gossip about oneself. One of my hosts wanted to forbid me from noting down the title of the song (the owner's name), saying that it was not a fitting thing to ask after the owner of the song. It would only be right to tell the name of the owner if the person concerned were no longer alive. I then recalled an incident in 1992 when I had someone listen to her own song which had been sung earlier by one of her relatives, and asked her to sing it too so that I could compare the two variants. She evaded the task, complaining of a sore throat, saying only that her song is quite different. This is conceivable since songs can change in different performances to the point of being unrecognisable, as I will soon show with an example.

In Summer 1996 I came across a surprising piece of information about the way the sacred genres are passed on. Irina, the youngest daughter of Ivan Stepanovich, the shaman who died in 1993, told me that she would have liked to learn her father's songs while he was still alive, but he would not allow it, saying that it was not a fit thing for a woman. After her father's death she and her husband talked a great deal about how much knowledge, how many songs and tales the old man took with him to the other world. On one occasion Irina's father appeared to her in a dream and said: "I know, my daughter, that you think about me a lot, worry a lot about how many songs and tales I took with me to the grave. I am going to sing you a few of them now. Listen carefully, note them, pre-

serve them and pass them on to your children.” According to Irina’s account, she woke up shortly after, tried out whether she still remembered the songs and found that she did. She sang those songs for me too on tape. More precisely, she began four sacred songs, but was only able to finish three of them. She tried twice to sing the fourth, which is a variation of the one figuring in the present study in a performance by a Yugan informant, but broke off both times. The following day she also gave the reason why she was unable to sing the whole song: “My father doesn’t want that song to be recorded. When I sing it to myself I know exactly what comes after each line, but when the microphone is in front of me everything becomes confused. My father was persecuted and ridiculed a great deal in his life for his shamanic knowledge. As long as this generation lives, he doesn’t want his songs to be heard by people who did harm to him. Besides, I think that if I were able to sing that song, I would suddenly be in possession of all my father’s knowledge. My father doesn’t want that either.”

The notion that sacred songs can only be learnt with the help of supernatural forces was expressed on another occasion too. Irina’s elder brother, Yosif listened to the recordings made by the Yugan singer-narrator several times with great enjoyment. “He sings differently from us, but he does it well,” he admitted. “He must be a shaman.” And when I tried to convince him that Petr Vasilevich Kurlomkin could not be a shaman because he himself heard a shaman drum for the first time in his life on our recording and even asked us to make a copy of the cassette for him, Yosif suspected a trick of some kind. “He was only keeping his shamanic knowledge a secret from you, for some reason he knows best. Otherwise, how could he know these songs if he wasn’t a shaman? They can’t be learnt. If someone knows them he is in contact with the spirits.”

They regard not only the sacred songs but also tales as being of divine origin. In this respect they make no distinction between mythical legends about the forest spirits and tales that are quite clearly of Russian origin. When I remarked in connection with one of the tales in which, among others, the clever thief had to steal the mattress from beneath the tsar and the tsarina, that this was a Russian tale and I would rather hear their own tales, they did not agree with me. “This is our tale. Our gods did it,” they assured me. Where the text of a tale included archaic, folklore words not used in the spoken language and the meaning of which they did not know precisely, the explanation was: “This word has remained in the tale from the language of the gods.”

Tales are told in the evening, often even at night. One reason is because it more rarely happens during the calm of the evening and night that a tale has to be interrupted, something that brings trouble for the family. The same applies to mythical songs. Another reason is that since the gods live in the opposite time schedule to that of humans, people must sing and tell tales about them at night when they are awake. They also entertain each other with tales during winter hunting or in bad weather when the community is forced to remain idle. They recounted that in the past, storytelling often lasted for days and they did not repeat themselves. “Nowadays, if we come together, we don’t tell tales, we only complain,” they say.

The items collected from the store of tales of the Surgut Ostyaks are almost all derived directly or indirectly from Ivan Sopochin, the old shaman. This is the case even for those which László Honti published in the seventies (HONTI 1978a). His children and

grandchildren tell the tales and regard themselves as the rightful inheritors of the tales. When one of his sons-in-law, Dmitri Kechimov, told these tales the direct descendants were indignant, saying that he distorts and shortens the tales of their father and grandfather.

The tales and legends still serve as an explanation for the phenomena of the world. The Dmitri Kechimov mentioned above, for example, told the legend which holds that the moon was originally a man who was torn in two by his two wives and when one of them grew tired of her husband's shrinking to half then growing again, she tossed him up into the sky to live there as the moon. At the end of the tale the storyteller added: "You see, if this tale didn't exist, I wouldn't know how the moon came to be in the sky."

When Yosif Sopochin was taken to visit a cultic site from heathen times in Eastern Finland where there is an unusual, enormous rock in the shape of a human face, he immediately knew where he was: the hero of one of his father's tales is turned to stone. What else could this place be but the one the tale tells about.

INDIVIDUAL SONGS

The individual song ("song of fate" in an earlier terminology) is a form in which the Ob-Ugrian poetic talent is revealed. It is an improvisatory genre, which provides an opportunity for anyone to sing about their joy or sorrow. It gains its poetic quality from the alternation of words with meaning and filling elements without meaning. At the same time, the personal names and place-names occurring in the song links it unmistakably to its owner. These are the most constant parts of the song since melody and text may be varied with each performance.

The singer most frequently sings about family and property relations and living conditions. The singer introduces herself (Yosif Karemkina's eldest daughter-in-law, Uncle Page's youngest daughter), tells her occupation (I catch many fish and game on the good banks of the idol river), how many children she has (four girls with plaited hair, five sons with shaved heads), and complains (reindeer lichen forest, my big dear forest, reindeer grazing forest, my big dear forest, Russians have taken it away). The individual song is very frequently about asking for a girl's hand, from the angle of either the bride, the groom or the parents. This gives an opportunity for boasting (my sled drawn by three little reindeer bulls, loud bell on my loud sled, my sled decorated with seven bells; my big white shawl embroidered with the moon, my big white shawl embroidered with the sun, etc.).

Individual songs are the collective memory of the Khantys. The songs consisting of a few lines of text have a content much richer than the story told by the mere words of the text. When the song is heard, the community remembers the hero of the song, his character and his deeds. The song expresses the whole life of the individual, even if the text only says that he has three reindeer. Once a retired teacher in Russkinskie, when listening to the songs we had collected the previous week, was as excited as if she had received fresh news from her relatives and acquaintances. She recognised them from the text – "he

really has three reindeer” – she said – and the song conjured up the characters in such a life-like way as though they had indeed met.

I would like to illustrate the above with two songs. We were able to record the first (The Song of My Mother’s Mother) on several occasions, in performances by different persons. There is only one variant of the second (The Song of Uncle Nati), but it was interpreted in several phases.

ANKANKEM AREG – THE SONG OF MY MOTHER’S MOTHER

We first came across the song when it was sung by Fekla Ivanovna, the eldest daughter of the old shaman, for Katalin Lázár in June 1992 and after a brief conversation she sang it a second time. After the first singing Fekla’s sister added the following explanation to the song:

“These are the words of our grandmother who says to her husband’s sister as a kind of last will: ‘I have two children, who are very dear to me; I live only for them. If something happened to me, I know you won’t abandon them, but you will adopt them.’ And indeed she died, if not immediately but a short while afterwards, and this woman looked after our mother and her younger brother. Our grandmother’s name was Aipina Varvara, her maiden name was Pokacheva and she lived beside the Agan. She died at the beginning of the thirties.”

I present the text of the song below. Its melody was written down by Katalin Lázár and she classified the musical motifs as well (see next to the lines of the text as well as in the appendix at the end of the chapter). The filling elements are in round brackets, while the ones which are missing although they would fit the context are given in square brackets; the musical motifs are divided by a vertical line.

Variant I

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. <i>e-eja-aγa-joγo</i> <i>γə-jə-ja-γo-an</i> | a_1b_1 |
| 2. <i>ānnə</i> (γ-) <i>ānnə</i> <i>ma kǎltamnə(-ja)</i> <i>jəm pijnə(-γo)</i> | $a_1b_2b_3$ |
| 3. <i>kat moḱḱəlam(-aγ-)</i> <i>ənəmtəγəlo</i> (γ) <i>ənəmtəγəlo(-γo)</i> | $a_2b_2b_2$ |
| 4. <i>ānnə</i> (γ-) <i>ānnə</i> (-γ-əja) <i>āltəli(ja-oγo)</i> <i>ma kǎltamnə(-jo-jiγ)</i> | $a_1b_2b_4$ |
| 5. <i>jəm pijnə(-γo)</i> <i>kat moḱḱəlam(o)</i> <i>tǎjəγala</i> (-η -η-γa) (γoγ) | $a_2b_2b_2$ |
| 6. <i>ānnə</i> (γo) <i>āltələ(-ja)</i> (γ) <i>āltələ(-ija-γo)</i> <i>kat moḱḱəl[i]-(a)m(a)</i> <i>ənəmtə[γi](ja)le(γ)</i> | $b_1a_3b_2b_2b_2$ |

Variant II

- | | |
|--|----------------|
| (əja-oγəγə) <i>ānnə</i> (γ) <i>ānnə(jo)</i> <i>o-ηə-ja-ηa</i> | $a_4a_1b_2$ |
| 1. <i>ma kǎltamnə(-jo)</i> <i>jəm pijnə</i> <i>kat moḱḱəlam(o)</i> <i>tǎjəγala(γo)</i> | $b_5b_5b_5b_3$ |
| 2. <i>āltələ(γa)</i> (γ) <i>āltələ(γa)</i> <i>kǎltamnə(jo)</i> <i>jom pijnə(γ)</i> | $a_5a_3b_2$ |
| 3. <i>kat moḱḱəlam</i> (aγ) <i>ənəmtələγəle</i> (γo-jo-γo-jo-aγ) | $b_2b_2b_2$ |
| 4. <i>ānnə</i> (γ) <i>āltələ(ja)</i> (γ) <i>āltələ(joγa)</i> | b_2b_1 |
| 5. <i>kǎltamnə(ja)</i> <i>jəm pijnə(γo)</i> <i>ənəmtəγəlo(ta)</i> | $a_3b_2b_2$ |

Variant 1

1) *a*₁ 
(c - ja - ya - jo - yo)

*b*₁ 
(γə - jə - ja - γə - - - an)

2) *a*₁ 
án - nə (γ)án - η - ə

*b*₂ 
ma kǎλ - tam - nə - (ja)

*b*₃ 
jəm pír - nə - (γə)

3) *a*₂ 
kat mok - kǎ - lam - (aγ)

*b*₂ 
ə-nəm - tə - γə - λə

*b*₂ 
ə-nəm - tə - γə - λə - (γə)

4) *a*₁ 
án - nə (γ)án - nə - (γa - ja)

*b*₂ 
áλ - tǎ - li - (ja - γə - γə)

*b*₄ 
ma kǎλ - tam - nə - (jo - jir)

Fjokla-1b

5) a_2

jəm pīr - nə - - - (γo)

b_2

kat moḵ - kə - lam - (o)

b_2

tā - ja - ya - la - (ṛ)

b_1

(ṛ - ya - γo) (γ)ān - nə - (γo)

6) a_3

ā - t'ə - lə - - - (ja)

b_2

ā - t'ə - lə - (i - ja - γo)

b_2

kat moḵ - kə - lam - (a)

b_2

ə - nəm - tə[γi] - (ja) - le(γ).

Variant 2

1) a_4 
(ə - ja - o - γə - γə)

a_1 
ān - nə (γ)ān - nə - (jo)

b_2 
(o - ηə - ja - ηa)

b_5 
ma k̄āl - tam - nə - (jo)

b_5 
jə - ηi p̄ir - nə

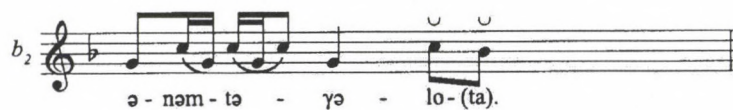
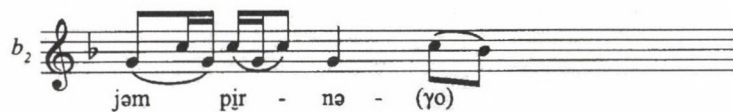
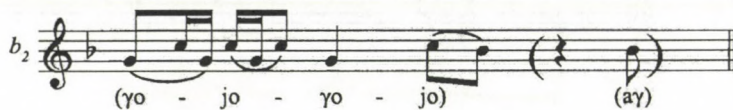
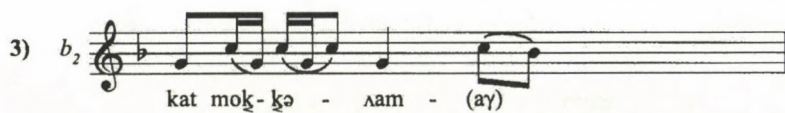
b_3 
kat moḵ - k̄ə - lam - (o)

b_3 
tā - jə - γə - la - (γo)

2) a_5 
āl - t̄ə - lə (γ)āl - t̄ə - le - (γa)

a_3 
k̄āl - tam - nə - (jo)

b_2 
jo - ηi p̄ir - nə(γ)



The meaning of the words occurring in the song:

<i>ānnə</i>	– female name
<i>ḱaḱa-</i>	– to die
<i>ma ḱāḱtamnə</i>	– when I have died
<i>jəm</i>	– good (only a filling element in this song)
<i>pījənə</i>	– after
<i>kat</i>	– two
<i>moḱ</i>	– child, kid, young
<i>moḱḱəḱam</i>	– my two children (dual possessed, singular possessor)
<i>ānəmtə-</i>	– bring up
<i>ənəmtəḱəḱəḱa</i>	– bring them up (2nd Ps Sg imperative, dual object)
<i>tāj-</i>	– have
<i>tajəḱəḱəḱa</i>	– have them (2nd Ps Sg imperative, dual object)
<i>āḱḱ</i>	– cousin, sister-in-law, the husband's sister
<i>-li</i>	– diminutive suffix

The translation of the song:

Variant I	sentence elements
Anne, Anne	Voc
after my death	Adv
bring up, bring up	O
my two children	V
Anne, my little sister	Voc
after	
my death	Adv
my two children	O
let them be yours	V
Anne, sister, sister	Voc
my two children	O
bring them up	V
Variant II	
Anne, Anne	Voc
after my death	Adv
my two children	O
let them be yours	V
My sister, my sister	Voc
after my death	Adv
my two children	O
bring them up	V

Anne, sister, sister	Voc
after my death	Adv
bring them up	V

Examining the constant and varying elements in the song, we find that in both variants the call is repeated three times. The structure of the sentence is always the same: Address (Vocative) – Adverbial of time (Adv) – Object (O) – Predicate (V). The third sentence is incomplete in each of the versions. In the first, the adverbial is missing, in the second, the object.

The text and the melody follow different courses. The division of melodic lines does not follow that of the sentences, moreover, melodic stress and word stress do not always coincide. Any part of speech can be at the beginning of the melodic phrase, except for the predicate. The addresses, however, begin a new phrase in each case, except for the first sentence of the second version, where the address merges with the starting meaningless elements. The second variant seems more structured than the first one. The text and the tune are in greater harmony, and the structure of the three sentences is more harmonious too: the singer calls her sister-in-law first by her name, then by her kinship term and finally both.

The third variant was sung in July 1996 by Fekla Ivanovna's youngest sister, Irina Ivanovna Kechimova (née Sopochina). She too gave the song the title of: *Ankankem Areg* – Song of My Mother's Mother).

Variant III

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1. <i>ajəɣajəɣa – ɣajəɣa – ajəɣa</i> | |
| 2. <i>ɣajəɣajəɣa – oɟ</i> | |
| 3. <i>ānnə(ja) (ɣ)ānnə(ja) (ɣ)ānnə(-əjo)</i> | Anne, Anne, Anne |
| 4. <i>nəptam(a) jəwtam(a) jəɣmaɬ(ija)</i> | my life has some to an end |
| 5. <i>wanɣə jəɣmaɬ(a) jəɣmaɬ(ija)</i> | it has been short |
| 6. <i>(no) wənt pələk(a) (ɣ)imi(ja)</i> | old woman at the edge of the forest |
| 7. <i>čaməɬtəm(a) čamɬam(a)</i> | has placed a curse on me |
| 8. <i>mafi jəwti(ja) ɬətam(ijoɣa-ɣa)</i> | I have arrived (to my death) |
| 9. <i>ānnə(ja) (ɣ)ānnə(ja) (ɣ)ānnə(-əjoɣa)</i> | Anne, Anne, Anne |
| 10. <i>kat moḵkəɬam(a) urəmtiɣəɬən(a)</i> | help my two children |
| 11. <i>ajəɣajəɣa – ɣajəijo-o</i> | |
| 12. <i>nəptam(a) jəwtam(a)</i> | my age has come |
| 13. <i>wanɣə jəɣ(əna)</i> | it has been short |
| 14. <i>kat moḵkəɬam(a) ɣifiɬətin(a)</i> | my two children survive |
| 15. <i>ɣajəɣajəɣaɣə</i> | |
| 16. <i>ɣajəɣajə-əɣa</i> | |
| 17. <i>wənt pələk(a) (ɣ)imi(ja)</i> | old woman at the edge of the forest |
| 18. <i>čaməɬtəm(a) čamɬəm(a)</i> | has placed a curse on me |
| 19. <i>mafi jəwti(ja) ɬətam(ijoɣo-ɣo)</i> | I have arrived (to my death) |
| <i>ɣanəjoɣan</i> | |

20. *ānnə(ja)* (γ)*ānnə(ja)* Anne, Anne,
 21. *mustəmin(a)* *kolən(a)təlaγə(jo-o)* listen to me
 22. *ajəγajəγo*

A new motif in the text is the cause of the early death: the curse of the old woman at the edge of the forest. However, the main idea is the same: the mother is making her will and entrusts her children to her husband's younger sister. Although the melody and verse structure are different from Fekla Ivanovna's variant, the division of the song into three parts is a constant feature: the mother addresses her relative three times, and the third address is incomplete here too, as it is in the first variants.

NATI IKI AREG – THE SONG OF UNCLE NATI
 (IGNAT YEFIMOVICH POKACHEV)

Uncle Nati's song was sung by his son, Kyrill Ignatievich Pokachev for Katalin Lázár in 1992. At the same time his sister-in-law, Feoktista Ivanovna Smirnova attempted to write down and translate it, and the family also told the background of the story: Uncle Nati was a postman, he delivered letters by boat on the Ob and the Tromagan. Since I still had a lot of problems with transcription, in 1994 I asked Kyrill to help me translate it. "All right," he said "I'll translate it. I'm going to dictate, and you write it down." He said the following in Russian:

"My father delivered letters from the village of Old Tromagan to Surgut. He travelled on the Ob when the weather was clement. There were also islands on the Ob, and from time to time he had to spend three or four days on one or other of these islands, until the wind died down. At such times it was impossible to cross the Ob. The most difficult part of the journey was near the village of Shirokov. Sometimes he had to wait three or four days. In periods of calm it took him seven days to reach Old Tromagan. As he was travelling in the boat, he could hear only the splashing of the oars in clement weather. At that time we used to live at the place where the river Agan flows into the Tromagan. During the trip, when my father arrived at an inhabited area, he dragged the boat to the bank and talked to the people. 'It has been a long time since you were here last,' they would say; 'the wind has slowed me,' he would answer. He spent the night and started out the following day. At times he had to drag the boat after him on dry land, at other times he had to row against the current.

We were small at that time. My mother would say: 'your father should arrive today'. We would run to the bank of the Tromagan. We would sit on the bank, waiting for our father's boat to appear. All of a sudden we see him coming. We are delighted and pull the boat ashore, and help him out too, and we are happy that the family is together again."

After this we listened to the song once more, and Kyrill's wife, Fekla Ivanovna dictated it line by line. With her help it then became possible to write down the song, whose lyrics as can be heard on the tape are not identical with either the first notes or the dictation.

English translation of the text

2. the splashing of a small oar can be heard from afar
3. a small oar
4. very windy, very windy is the surface of the Ob, very windy Ob-surface,
Shirokov, windy Ob, very windy
5. the wind on the Ob blows for three or four days
I'm thinking of my darling Galya mummy (wife)
when shall I arrive
6. at the time of the coming of a small rolling of the waves I hang on
at the coming of a big rolling of the waves I hang on
7. when I turn onto the small river
the sound of my small oar, the oar,
8. if I, "latteko", travel,
the splashing of my small oar can be heard from afar,
9. I'm thinking of my little sister-in-law,
she is sitting at the river-mouth
she may be sitting at the meeting of two rivers
10. I'm thinking of my little sister-in-law. Nenets sister-in-law
latteko he arrives to his sister-in-law
11. he will indeed always be brought (by the boat)
12. I pull the post-boat to the bank
I myself am going to get out indeed
13. on the top of the hill "the wind-bent tree"
a little cottage on the top

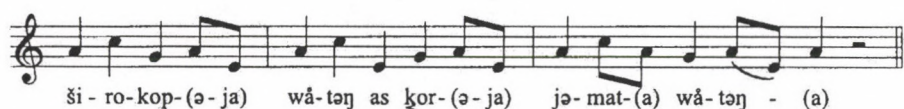
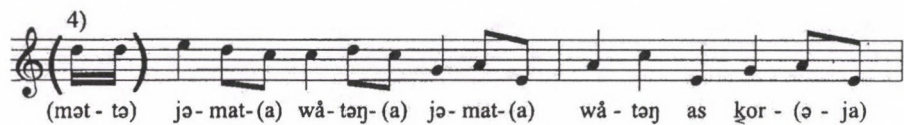
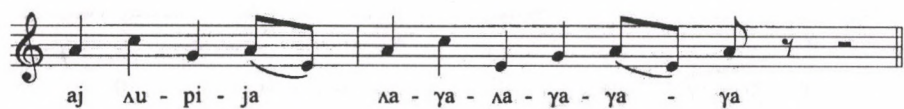
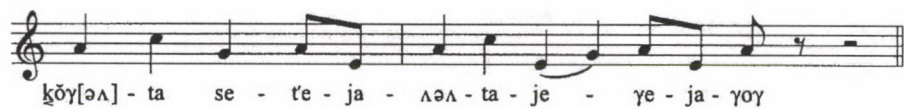
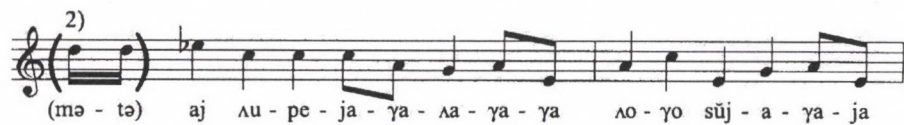
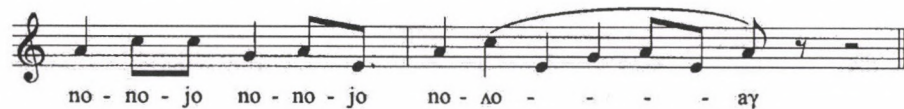
"latteko": the Ostyak name of the Pokachev family

The first verse is only tuning, searching for the mood. The second and the third also give the impression that the singer is deliberating where to start. The melody, as noted down by Katalin Lázár, is given below. Each line of the melody is also a line of thought, which is started by the modifier *mette* (or possibly the shorter forms *mt*, *(m)te*). Its meaning is something like "hey" or "let's see". Verse 11 starts with a shout meaning "he will indeed".

The song must have meant for Kyrill what he said about it in Russian. In this respect the word-group "very windy Ob" means that Uncle Nati has to row very hard to reach the opposite bank. In another song, which is, say, about fishermen, the same expression might evoke struggling with the drag-net.


In short, individual songs, together with the text, the filling elements and the tune evoke the figure of the owner of the song and all that is known about him. As a result, the songs have a much richer informational content than simply the meanings of the words in them.

nati iki arey-1.



nati iki arey-2.

(5)




(mät-tə) k̥o- ləm-(a) n̥ə- lə-(ja) k̥ä- tən-(a) (γ)as to- lo- to- lo- ja

ti - (jo) nom - ləm - (a) - təl - (o) - m(i - jo)

i - čək ka - l̥a - γa aŋ - ke - lam - (i - jo)

k̥un - tə - (γa) jöγ - ti - (ja) - l̥(o - lo) - m(i - ja)

(6)



(mät - tə) aj k̥um-p(ə-ja) jə- tə-(ja) l̥a- tən-(a) ma kat-l̥əl-(γə- ja- γa)

k̥ot - (o - γo) k̥on - ti - (ja) - l̥ə - ləm - (i - jo - γo)

γən[ə]l̥ k̥um - p(i - ja) jə - tə l̥a - tə - (lo - γo)

wan - na - (γa) to - γa - ja kat - l̥ə

nati iki arey-3.

7)



jă - ɣən - (a) ʌəɣ - pi - ja ʌəŋ - tam - (a) ʌa - tən - (ə - jo mə - tə)



aj ʌu - pi - (i - ja) (ɣ)aj ʌām - pəŋ - (ə - ja - ɣa)



sū - jəm - (a - no - ja) [ʌām]pəŋ - (ʌo - mi - jo)

8)



(mə - tə) (ɣ)aj ʌat - tə - ɬo mən - taʌ wəʌ - ʌo - ʌo



(ɣ)aj ʌu - pi - (jo) ʌām - pəŋ sūj - (ə - ɣa) ɬöɣ[əʌ] - ta se - ti - jəʌ -



(əʌ - ta - ji - jo - - ʌə - ʌə - ʌə - ʌə)

9)



(mət - tə) (ɣ)aj ki - ʌə - ʌəm - (a) tã - ɣə - ja nom - ʌəm - təʌ - (i - jo)



jă - ɣən ʌŋ - (ən) - nə (ɣ)ām - wəs - ti - (jo - ɣo)



kat jā - ɣən - ɣən - (a) kit - ɣə mə - nəm - (i - ja) tã - ɣə - nə am[ə]s ʌəm - (a) tã - ɣə - nə - ja

nati iki arey-4.

10)

(mə-tə) aj ki - ʌə - le-mən-(ə) jār-yan-(a) ki - ʌə - ʌəŋ-kəm-(ə-jə)

nom - ʌəm - (ʌə - ʌə) - - - ʌi - (ʌə - ɣa)

ʌat[tə] ɬo ki - ʌəm - (a) jōŋ[ti] - ʌəʌ - (o - ɣa)

11)

(ʌŭŋ - ja wə - ʌə) wi - čə - (ja) tu - ɣi - (ja) - ʌən - taʌ - (a)

ton - toŋ - (ji - ʌə - ʌə) ʌə - jo - to - ɣo - jo - ʌə - ʌə - ʌə - jo

12)

([mə]tə) poč - ta ri - təʌ - (a) (ɣ)u - tə - (ja) n̩ə - rəm - tə - ʌə - ɣəm - (ja)

pan - pə wə - ʌə - (ja) nōŋ wi - ɣəʌ - ʌi

13)

(mət-tə) ʌuŋ ju - ɣə - (ja) ɣo - wa - ra) rāp ōŋ - tə - ja - (ɣa)

(ɣ)aj ɬá - tə - li - (ja) (ɣ)ōŋ - tə - nə - (jo).

MYTHICAL SONGS

The occasion for the performance of mythical songs is the bear-feast. During the four or five days of this event not only songs about the origins, life and death of the bear are performed, but songs of the idol spirits and simple lyrical songs can also be heard. The variants of the song are born in the moment of performance. Since here we have a case of a given story built up from given motifs, improvisation plays a smaller part than in the case of individual songs. The songs, frequently several hundred lines long, are usually based on two melodic lines and their variations. Improvisation is called upon when the text and the tune are put together. The lines of the text are fitted to the melody with the help of meaningless filling elements. It is due to these dummy syllables that the stress of the tune and that of the lyrics coincide, and, similarly, a line that happens to be shorter can be lengthened by these filling elements, so that one syllable falls on each note. If, however, the text is the longer, one or another of the syllables might be omitted. Other dummy words highlight the predicate, the main part of the sentence. Meaningless forms that extend over whole lines serve the purpose of proportioning the content.

The song presented below was sung by Petr Vasilevich Kurlomkin and recorded by Katalin Lázár in July 1992, at the upper reach of the Great Yugan. The melodic skeleton of the song is as follows (LÁZÁR 1996: 85):



According to the information given by the singer, this is the first song sung at the bear-feast. Reference is made to all this only in the introduction (lines 1-33). This song is also known in the region of the Tromagan, where the informant also gave its title: *Sot langeltep owel langeltep* (First Song of One Hundred Mythical Songs). It is possible that our Yugan informant, P. V. Kurlomkin, also knows the song by this title, but it was not mentioned when we met and we were unable to check it later. The main character of the song, although his name is not mentioned, is the smallest (seventh) son of Father Heaven, *Sorni kan iki* (Golden Prince-Old-Man). His name remains unmentioned also because, like the songs of the idol spirits, this one is also presented in the first person singular. Only in lines 80-81 is there an allusion to the fact that he is a god, who has been here already before the appearance of humans: "first man swaying his head, first man dangling his hands". Our informants beside the Tromagan also recounted the circumstances of the song's birth: Golden Prince-Old Man arrives in the house of the bear-feast where his siblings are already seated (seven people loving one another, six good people loving one another), but they don't know how to begin the feast. Then *Sorni kan iki* begins to sing, and he not only teaches his siblings and humans who are to be born in the future how to sing, but also how to hunt. Golden Prince-Old-Man is the ablest hunter, and the song is about the two hunting seasons. The autumn hunting season (lines 36-118) begins with the first snowfall, when the thin layer of snow does not yet prevent the dogs from running or the hunter from skiing. At this time smaller fur animals, sable and squirrel are

hunted. In the middle of winter, during snowstorms it is impossible to move around in the forest; the hunters sit at home and trade (lines 120-177). Towards the end of the winter, when the layer of snow has hardened enough to bear the weight of a man and his sleigh, the second hunting season begins (179-300). This is the time of hunting for big game, elk, at the sources of the rivers, where the catch is processed on the spot and, after the breaking up of the ice, the dried and frozen meat and the hide are carried by water to the summer lodgings at the riverside. The second hunting season is also followed by trading (lines 301-432). This is when Roman Grigorich, the best friend of the main character, arrives on a ship, to pay for the meat and the hide with cloth and money. The obviously ancient layers of the song are shown by the phrases widespread in the whole of Ob-Ugrian folklore: "on the square of my squarely village", "nourishing Ob run on by twenty reindeer bulls" etc. Trading with the Russians is a later motif, but that also must be at least a hundred years old. Romenka, the son of Grishka is the best friend of Golden Prince-Old-Man, the smallest son of Father Heaven, in several Eastern Khanty songs we have collected, and they drink together on the best possible terms.

The translation of the text of the song:

- 1 *ankentiken an kentiken*
 ankentiken an kentiken
 entongeltonga tongeltong
 entongeltonga tongeltong
- 5 Seven people loving one another,
 six good people loving one another
 you have prepared nicely
 the festive house of the animal of the marsh.
 In the house of spirits fallen silent,
- 10 in the house of spirits fallen speechless
 lo, here you are sitting around.
 ankentiken an kentiken
 The playhouse of the forest animal
 you have already prepared.
- 15 Goose lake with frozen edges,
 game lake with frozen edges
 you are swimming around in these (in your thoughts).
 ankentiken an kentiken
 Your marsh animal's playhouse,
- 20 your open house has a precious (door) opening
 which I am about to open.
 ankentiken an kentiken
 In my time once upon a time,
 in my time lived beforehand
- 25 When I went a-hunting
 I found little words,

- when I went a-fishing
I found little sentences,
my words from the game track,
30 my sentences from fishing
In the playhouse of this forest game
let them be moulded into
a beautiful song (stemming from) the roots of my teeth.
ankentiken ankentiken
35 *entongeltonga tongeltong*
Once upon a time
while I was watching,
for earthly men with dogs
a dog's feet (deep) snowy autumn,
40 for earthly men with horses
an autumn with hard snow that carries horses' hooves
all this was prepared nicely
by our great god-man good father.
ankentiken ankentiken
45 At that time
I prepare nicely
a big butt of forest birch-bark,
lo, I prepare
a nice cloth with a pinewood pattern,
50 I also prepare
a hairy ski with gummed wood.
ankentiken ankentiken
After all this
in one part of my big butt of forest birch-bark,
55 my big butt of the bark of a big birch,
in one part of my good butt
dried fish cut by an Ob man,
dried fish cut slantwise,
food covered by a fir blanket,
60 all this I store up.
In the other half of my butt
edible food made from sifted flour,
made by a blue-eyed noble Russian,
made by a noble Russian man,
65 that I also put in.
After all this
my big butt of forest birch-bark
on the square of my squarely village
onto my wood-carrying strong shoulders
70 I snatch it up.

- After that
 my hairy big dog
 the size of the thighbone of an elk
 at the end of a thin rope
 75 to my herring-bone patterned belt
 I tie it.
 On a path cut by our fathers,
 on a path marked by the blade of an axe,
 in the direction of the forest by the water,
 80 first man swaying his head,
 first man dangling his hands,
 this is how I walk.
ankentiken an kentiken
 Turning the forest branches bending down,
 85 shaking down the snowy forest branches
 I walk.
ankentiken an kentiken
 At the edge of the forest by the water
 I spend a day,
 90 across many rivers with sabled sources
 I cross with skis on my feet
 I wander all over them,
 I cross with my feet on skis,
 I wander all over them.
 95 My one day passes,
 earthly clawed many sables,
 these sables are scurrying in vain,
 I kill many of them.
 Snowy eyed forest squirrel,
 100 foggy eyed forest squirrel,
 I bring many of them down.
ankentiken an kentiken
entongeltonga tongeltong
 After all this,
 105 in my contemplation
 our good father, great god
 what he had prepared
 for earthly men with dogs,
 the snowy autumn with dogs' feet deep snow,
 110 or earthly men with horses
 the freezing autumn carrying horses' hooves,
 they wore away like bootsoles,
 they passed nicely.
ankentiken an kentiken

- 115 Just as I am looking around like this,
the sons of many townsfolk,
the sons of many village folk
in the long, snowy winter untreadable on skis
near a village with marriageable daughters
120 they are sitting around comfortably.
Towards home, my plaited-haired head
I turn it towards home.
Villages with daughters near one another,
125 villages with sons near one another
in the snowy winter covered with snow
we are sitting around nicely.
ankentiken an kentiken
entongeltonga tongeltong
130 After all this
a long snowy winter covered with snow
fit for a Nenets to sit around
at the time of our living through it,
all of a sudden,
135 on the square of the squarely village
thin-tailed wolf-dogs
started barking in a shrill voice,
what can it be that bothers them.
On the square of my squarely village
140 I run out
walking upwards by the river-bank
to the upper part of the tsar's road
my shining eyes (like that of many game)
I cast them in that direction.
145 At the same time
from the lower part of the tsar's road
the twinkling sound of a little bell
lo, it sounded.
It seems that
150 a blue-eyed noble Russian man,
the son of a noble Russian man
into the house filled with furs
he came to do business.
As I was sitting there,
155 on the square of the squarely village
there they stopped.
Where I was sitting,
into the house the size of a small pond,
like fish into the pot

- 160 lo, they entered.
ankentiken an kentiken
With the sons of a noble Russian,
a blue-eyed noble Russian man
in the house filled with furs
165 we did good business with furs.
What I had,
a lot of black fur, unmeasurable with eyes,
they flow like a river.
To the sons of a blue-eyed noble Russian man,
170 a noble Russian man
with an iron-edged sharp shovel
I simply shovel over.
What they had,
silver money shining like fish-scale
175 and wool, broadcloth and other riches,
with an iron-edged sharp shovel
they simply shovel over to me.
ankentiken an kentiken
After all this,
180 after we had sat through
the long winter snowy with snow,
(fit for) the Nenets to sit around
as I was looking round
he blows from above,
185 the windy-mouthed great god
the great god-man our father
to the people of the lower earth,
he has lowered
a slippery wind fit for skiing.
190 At this time
a narrow sleigh narrow like an arrow
I prepare.
My sleigh narrow like an arrow,
one half of my good sleigh
195 I load up well
with nourishing food made from sifted flour.
The other half of my good sleigh
I charge well with
sifted nourishing food
200 made for a blue-eyed noble Russian man,
a noble Russian.
On the road cut by our ancestors
marked by the blade of an axe

- 205 the narrow sleigh narrow like an arrow
 on a wide strap made of soft fur
 I put it well.
ankentiken ankentiken
ankentiken ankentiken
 To the edge of the waterside forest
 210 when I arrive
 a camp-ground clear for lighting a fire
 a camp-ground clear for setting the fire aflame
 I make it properly.
 At the edge of the waterside forest
 215 my day has passed,
 cross many rivers with sources of sable (rich in sable)
 I pass with skis on my feet,
 I wander through all of them.
 At the edge of this waterside forest
 220 in my many rivers with sabled sources
 there lives a heavenly elk with a berry-coloured hide.
 A day of mine has passed,
 I have become a man, the killer of the game killed,
 a good hunter.
 225 I cut some forest branches,
 I load them well with the meat
 of meaty game,
 with the hide of the long-haired game
 the forest branches I have cut
 230 I load them nicely.
 After all this
 once upon a time
 while I was contemplating,
 the windy-mouthed great god,
 235 great god-man our good father
 his two quick snow-melting hands
 he lowers upon us.
 At places it seems
 (as if) there (was) the skin of a mottled dog scattered around,
 240 the skin of the mottled dog is growing,
 melted spots the size of the hide of an elk,
 more and more of them appears.
entongeltonga tongeltong
ankentiken ankentiken
 245 I fill up vessels of bark
 with dried meat, a lot of them.
 the meat of my meaty animals,

- the fur of my furry animals
 I carry them to the bank.
 250 To the bank of the boat-ended lake, the narrow river
 I carry them.
ankentiken ankentiken
entongeltonga tongeltong
 The thick ice of this boat-ended lake, narrow river,
 255 frozen in winter,
 seems as if it was running out.
 (like)The spine of an elk
 it has broken into many pieces,
 let it break.
 260 Whatever is left of it,
 the strong ice frozen in winter,
 an ice pack looking like the craw of a duck,
 looking like the tops of Nenets tents,
 like Nenets tents scattered around.
 265 After the hills of ice have disappeared,
 the Nenets tent-tops have scattered,
 after a while,
 it is as if nothing was left,
 that hard ice frozen in winter
 270 along the straight line of the long river
 like the row of sleighs of Nenets girls,
 like the row of sleighs of Nenets boys
 after all of it has drifted away,
 many bunches of last year's grass,
 275 many logs mixed with soil
 after they have been carried away,
 a beamed tow-boat fortified with a cross-beam
 I make (well).
 The meat of my meaty animals,
 280 the fur of my furry animals
 I carry onto
 the beamed tow-boat fortified with a cross-beam
 onto the water.
 With the quick current of water
 285 like a fish, I swim with the current,
 sit there.
 After I had swum with the current
 for many a moony week,
 after I had swum with the current
 290 for many a sunny week,
 to the wooded water of nourishing Ob

- run by twenty reindeer bulls
I arrived.
At my arrival
295 to the wooded water of nourishing Ob
at my arrival
to the birch-bark covered house
the lots of meat of my meaty animals,
the lots of fur of my furry animals
300 I carry them to the bank.
anketiken anketiken
entongeltonga tongeltong
Once upon a time,
on a cloudless, shiny day,
305 cleared to the third heaven,
what a wonderful day,
as if a visitor arrived,
a cloudless, shiny day,
what a beautiful day we ended up with.
310 *anketiken anketiken*
At this time
we arrived
to the noon of the noony day.
To the wooded water of nourishing Ob,
315 run by twenty reindeer bulls,
going down to the water
from the lower reach of the Ob
a throaty sound like a ship's honk
or something, is heard.
320 Then, like
many bushy hills
crammed with spits for drying fish,
a lot of bushes appear.
A noisy ship with a tarred bow,
325 its god-faced carved pillar
can be seen well by now.
A god-faced carved pillar
from the side it looks like
a sunlit crow's beak
330 it shines beautifully.
And now
the noisy ship with the tarred bow
gets stuck into the narrow bend like a fish
from behind the narrow bend
335 it appears.

- The good bow of the bowed ship,
 the panting throat of forest game,
 the panting throat of forest game
 it is panting heavily.
- 340 The two sides of the wide ship
 its many wheels moving like water-fowl
 stir up the water.
 The stern of the sterned ship
 the two halves of a water-monster
- 345 they keep following each other.
 As I am sitting like this,
 into the clean harbour with no fallen leaves
 the ship arrives.
 A lad approaches
 as he walks, his gait
- 350 it's Grishka's son, Romen'ka
 my friend, the lad.
 On board the boarded ship
 in a protruding peaked cap
- 355 he stands nicely.
 In a cloth-coat cut at the back
 he stands there.
 his two boots with studded soles
 (creak like) two ermines carrying their cubs,
- 360 he wears those.
ankentiken an kentiken
 The noisy ship with the tarred bow
 in the comfortable harbour with no fallen leaves
 presses close to the bank like a beam
- 365 and so it lands.
 Many soldiers with close cropped hair
 sharp-ended long boughs
 hey stick them into the ground on the bank.
 A long-cut plank
- 370 they pull to the bank,
 they push it to the bank.
 With my friend, the youth
 Roman Grigorich
 we meet
- 375 at the end of the long-cut plank,
 at the (good) end of the plank.
ankentiken an kentiken
 Being a man coming
 from the land of the worthless money

- 380 he holds his mug with a handle
in his hand,
it contains many glassful,
he pours it right away:
pol-pol-pol-pol-pol.
- 385 *ankentiken an kentiken*
ankentiken an kentiken
Roman Grigorich,
my dear friend
while I am sitting here
- 390 into my birch-bark topped house
he entered to see us,
in my house filled with furs
we started doing business.
ankentiken an kentiken
- 395 Whatever I have
my black furs, unencompassable with the eyes,
my coloured furs, unmeasurable with the eyes,
like water, they pour,
Roman Grigorich,
- 400 my dear friend,
I pour everything on him.
Whatever he has,
colourful woollen cloth,
colourful broadcloth
- 405 the goods are poured like water,
all of them flow onto me.
ankentiken an kentiken
entongeltonga tongeltong
Shining money, like fish-scale
- 410 is shovelled to me
with an iron-edged sharp shovel.
After this,
onto the noisy ship with the tarred bow
the close cropped haired many soldiers
- 415 they carry onto the water
the chests of meat of meaty animals,
the many furs of furry animals.
After this,
turning back his beautiful head
- 420 he turned around there.
Grishka's son Romenka
when he boarded,
the noisy ship with the tarred bow

- looking at it from the side
 425 it dipped into the water like a wild duck,
 it had been loaded well,
 it had been burdened well.
ankentiken ankentiken
 In the direction of the Ob's lower reach
 430 (accompanied by) the throaty sound of the ship's honk
 indeed he left.
ankentiken

The explanation of certain expressions:

line 7: *animal of the marsh*: bear

lines 7, 9, 19: *house of feasts, house of spirits, playhouse*: the house where the bear-feast is held

lines 64, 200: *nourishing food made from sifted flour*: bread, which spread among the Khantys due to Russian influence

lines 99-100: *snowy-eyed, foggy-eyed squirrel*: the adjectives refer to the fact that it is difficult to hit them

lines 111, 131, 180: the *Nenets* are mentioned here because they have a longer winter

lines 143, 146: *road of the tsar*: highway

line 257: as the ice melts and freezes again, it becomes ridged like the ribs of a deer

lines 320-324: the ship with its chimneys and masts resembles a hill overgrown by bushes and with spits stuck all over it

line 378: *land whose money is worthless*: a rich country, where money does not matter

PROSE NARRATIVE GENRES

I have chosen six texts to illustrate the Surgut legends and tales. The first three are heroic legends displaying mythical features. The forests and towns are peopled with man-eating monsters with one, two or three heads, but the hero who defeats them also has supernatural powers: he grows up quickly, is capable of assuming animal figures, and revenges the death of his parents. The second three texts are rather tales, variants of types known in the folklore of other peoples (Katalin Benedek classified them according to the Aarne-Thompson tale catalogue and I take this opportunity to thank her for this and other expert help). Mythical elements occur in the tales too: the hero takes the humans who are to appear in the future into account in his actions. The narrator uses the metaphor of "puppets the size of a cembra-cone or pine-cone" as a metaphor for the humans who are to appear. The explanation given by the informants for this image was that the gods looking down from the upper world see humans bustling about on the earth as pinecones. The image also expresses man's tiny size and fragility. The larch is the attribute of the forest spirits, the *menks*: their skis and their houses are also made of larch, and ac-

cordin to some beliefs also their heads which taper upwards to end in a peak – which is why they are so stupid.

The eponymous hero of the second and third texts is the Nephew of the Woman. This tale hero is known everywhere in Ob-Ugrian folklore, differing in phonetic form from one dialect to another (Kaz. *imi-khili*, Sherk. *ime-khite*, Surg. *imi-kaleg*, etc.). Since in the Western dialects, e.g. that of Kazim, *khil-ne* and *khili* can mean both “grandchild” and “nephew” or “niece”. The name of the hero of the tale has been translated by some as “grandchild of the woman” and by others as “nephew of the woman” (STEINITZ 1976: 249-250). In the region of the Tromagan, the word *kaleg* does not designate direct descent but is used for the children of a sibling, without indication of gender, so the Ostyaks of the Surgut region unequivocally interpret the expression to mean “nephew of the woman”. In the Surgut tales, *imi-kaleg* is an orphan boy whose family has been killed; when he grows up, despite being forbidden to do so by his aunt, he seeks out the murderers of his parents and takes revenge on them. At the end of the tale *imi-kaleg* announces that after the appearance of humans he will live on as an idol spirit, as the Golden Prince (Man Overseeing the World). Different variants of this legend are also known among the Western Ostyaks. However, the Grandchild/Nephew of the Woman also appears in obviously more recent tales where the hero is a trickster with magic power who outwits everyone. This same duality is also found in Vogul folklore. There the name of the hero is *ekwa-pigris* “young son of the woman”. In the Surgut region, in the texts I collected the Nephew of the Woman is always the hero of the more archaic legend type, while the role of the cunning trickster is played by a character called *imengen-ikengen-pag* “son of old woman-old man”.

The tales are set in typical West Siberian countryside: marshland with sparse forest, pine forests with reindeer lichen, the home of reindeer and elks, although it is true that wild reindeer are now extinct in the Surgut region and hunters no longer use bows and arrows. Otherwise the environment is described with almost ethnographic authenticity: the area behind the cottage or tent is still the place of prayer and the place where sacrifices are made, while the men sit along the rear wall of the cottage or tent and keep their tools on the side bench. The descriptions of how the shaman’s drum is made or reindeer are caught are similarly authentic.

The language of the tales bears witness to the talent of the narrator. The first two of the texts given here have the most poetic features: the narrator, Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin is outstanding in both song and prose genres. His texts are rich in parallels and repetitions and could be divided into lines of verse. It makes practically no difference to him whether he says prose or sings. This can be seen in the second text with song inserts. The narrator obviously originally intended to sing only the magic words of heroes, but at one point he forgot this and continued the narrative part too as a song. The style of the narrator of the third text is slightly long-winded and the repetitions tend to loosen the structure of the tale rather than enhance its poetic character. The fourth text was narrated by an experienced storyteller but since it was late in the evening she was a little tired. The narrator of the fifth text was a thirteen-year-old girl who told a tale she had learnt from her father, successfully reproducing it even though with slight uncertainties. The sixth text could also be called a reconstruction: because the narrator stuttered the original re-

cording was useless, and A. S. Sopochina who wrote it down read her interpretation onto tape.

The formulas always used in Khanty tales (this is how they lived, this is how they died; they walked for a long time, or they walked for a short time; then they lived with this good fortune-wealth, etc.) recur in each of the texts.

A few of the first sentences in text 1, given here also in the original language, serve to illustrate the tale language based on repetitions and a parallel mode of structure:

*ajmāta latnā,
tem meta latnā,
tem meta kujāηko nōpātñā,
tem meta jāwān ko nōpātñā
aj latnā
āntpāla sōsām aj pāγali wōl.
tī āntpāl pātāla sāsām aj pāγali
sōkkāη āntāp,
kāwāη āntāp pātāla wōl.
sāmγāl tāγā tī ātγān:
jōm jāηk jeñtmin āmāsΛ,
wāt jāηk jeñtmin āmāsΛ,
tī tāγānā āmāsmāla tākā
tōrām-pāγ jōmγā jāl tōrām asi.
nomāla jōm jāηk pāsmelΛ,
jōm jāηk lūlāla kōγāl.
sāmāl nāmākka jāl.
āntāpā kit katΛ wōlām pijñā,
āntāpā kolām katΛ wōlām pijñā
arāk ko,
māñt ko
kōtāl wōkkāηkēcāk jēta jāγ,
kūrāl wōkkāηkē jētaγā jāγ.
lūwat nōk kilāl, iāl kōčāl.
porāñā lejāγāl –
temi puγāl kārinā āmāsΛ.
porāñā kāw iūtān wāsāt nūla riγālāt
tūmint ānāl kāt –
oγāñnam oγā kāt,
ānālñnam ānāl kāt.*

Once upon a time,
at that time
in those manly times of men
in those famous times of many a man
once there was
a little boy dried in a cradle.
This little boy dried in the bottom of the cradle
moss-cradle
was in the bottom of the stone cradle.
He was born:
he lived drinking rainwater,
he lived drinking stormwater.
Living this way
divine father gives rain to divine boy.
Sprinkles rainwater from above,
rainwater drops into his mouth,
his belly gets full.
Perhaps two days later,
perhaps three days later,
the singing man,
tale-telling man,
his hands began to strengthen,
his legs began to strengthen.
He gets up, he unties himself.
He looks around,
he is sitting in the centre of a village.
Beside him stone-windows broken,
a big house,
tall house by height,
sizeable house by size.

TEXT 1: THE SHAMAN'S DRUM

Told by Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin in June 1992 in the village of Voki-Rap-Yagun (Surgut district) to Ágnes Kerezsi. The first half was written down and translated by Raisa Ivanovna Ermakova in June 1993 in the village of Ugut. The second half was

dictated and interpreted by Dmitri Ivanovich Kechimov in July 1996 beside the Chikli Yaven stream.

Once upon a time, in those manly times of men, in those famous times of many a man there was a little boy in a hard cradle. After having been born this little boy was sitting in that hard-bottomed moss-cradle, in that hard-bottomed stone-cradle. While sitting he was drinking rainwater, he was drinking stormwater. And so this divine boy was sitting, until he changed into rain. The divine father sprinkles rainwater from above and the rainwater is dropping into his mouth, so his belly gets full.

After about two days, after about three days the hands of the singing man, the legs of the singing man, the hands of the tale-telling man, the legs of the tale-telling man became stronger. He was getting up, he was sitting up. He looked around and saw he was sitting in the centre of a village. He looks out from the stone-window and what does he see – a large house, a high house by height, a sizeable house by size. When he was strong enough to get out of the cradle, he got out of the cradle and crawled to the house, because he could crawl by then. He went in and saw the house had no tie-beams, he looked around and saw there were no tie-beams in the house. The house had a door-opening, the house had a roof-window.

How many days and how many nights did he spend in this house with a door-opening, in this house with a roof-window – who knows? Then he crawled further. He says to himself: "How come there is nobody around except me? I am alone like God of the Earth, like God of the Heaven having no mother, having no father." After having crawled long, after having crawled for a short time he reached a food-providing rivulet, he reached a fish-providing rivulet and at the side of this small river there was a drag-net.

There was a woody marsh there good for elks, good for reindeer bulls. When he reached crawling the edge of this marsh he saw a big wild reindeer bull its hide shining, its fur shining as it stood there in the middle of this marsh. The bull stood there and grazed weed and grazed grass and was looking for food with its fore legs it grazed. There was autumn. As for thinking the little boy thinks: "How shall I do it, how shall I bring down this bull?"

Guess what, he bit out a small bone from his foot and made a bow. He made a bow or rather an arrow. He took out a sinew from his leg and made string out of it for his bow. He drew this bow made of his foot-bone with the string made of the sinew of his leg and crawled closer. He shot his arrow which pierced through the heart of the reindeer and the bull fell. With the bone-tip of the arrow he skilfully skinned the bull. He skinned the big-headed and long-haired wild bull leaving its legs unskinned. The unskinned legs of the bull and its hide with meat or without it he took home. The unskinned legs of the bull and its hide he took home. In the right side of the house, beside the bed-site there lay an axe, its size being as big as the shoulder-blade of an elk, as large as the shoulder-blade of a reindeer. And under the dish-shelf there is a whetstone, its size being as big as the shoulder-blade of a reindeer. He took out the whetstone, he took out the axe and sharpened one side of its blade. Having done so he sharpened also the other side of the blade. When you lay down this axe on its one side, it cuts the horsehair in two, when you lay down this axe on its other side, it cuts the blade of grass in two. The boy crawled out and

went behind the house to the site of the praying cottage, to the centre of the central cottage, to a woody place, to a grassy place he went. Then he fell a spruce-tree there. Out of one part of the spruce-tree he made a drum-stick and the other part of it he bent into a frame for drum and then he started to dry it. Meanwhile he soaked the hide and removed the hair from the legs and the hide of the bull. Then he stretched it on the frame of the drum. He couldn't wait until it was dry, but started to beat it immediately. How wonderful, how good it was! No married woman turned to wife needs anything else, no married man turned to husband needs anything else. Beating the drum he shamanized.

By the time the drum was perfectly dry, the snow fell and a cold autumn came with frost. There was an autumn without fish, an autumn without game. The boy took his drum and headed to the food-providing rivulet, to the fish-providing rivulet crawling along the rivulet while drawing his drum. Having crawled for long or having crawled for just a short time while drawing his reindeer-hide drum along this food-providing rivulet, along this fish-providing rivulet the boy was just crawling and crawling along the meandering rivulet, along the rivulet full of basses, until he came to a wide meadow smooth as the palate of a bull, smooth as the palate of an elk.

He looked at the upper end of the meadow and saw tents standing there: high tents by height, sizeable tents by size. There were seven of them. So the boy crawled there carrying his drum. He went closer and came to a slippery opening. Having arrived at the edge of that slippery opening trodden by reindeer he thought: "What a shame! A guest came and brought a drum with himself. I swear I'll leave my drum here in this place trodden by reindeer." He laid it there in the snow behind that slippery place. He went further crawling. He crawled and crawled and reached the entrance of the first tent and crawled in. "What a shame – he thinks – there came a guest and he enters crawling." So he stood up at the entrance, he stood up on his feet and entered the door. He entered and stepping along the bed-site he took steps, crawling along the bed-site he crawled. An old man and an old woman were sitting at the bed-site. On the other side of the bed there hung a curtain. The boy sat down on the bed and greeted the old couple. And there hung a curtain on the other side of the bed and from behind this curtain one could hear breathing, one could hear groaning. It was such a faint breathing that could not have blown away a blade of grass. The old couple set the table full of elk-fat, full of reindeer bull-fat. If they had fine food, they put fine food on the table, if they had poor food, they put poor food on the table. The boy drank some tea or something like that. Six men came in from outside. Six men came in and sat down to the place for men, to the unoccupied place of the bed-site in the rear side of the tent. The old man asked:

– Where did you come from, my boy? Maybe you are a dream-reader, you have a job to make me a father-in-law. You know we have – he says – a little daughter after our six sons and she is our last child at the breast. She fell seriously ill yesterday. Her breathing is guarded by the tip of a blade of grass, by the tip of a blade of grass from the barren peak. (Only her breathing tells us she is alive.) She takes breath gasping. Maybe you can see a dream about her and make me a father-in-law. Maybe you can say a prayer for her.

– How could I know – says the boy – whether I have a magic power or not. As to myself I came here crawling, crawling I came here. How could I do the deeds of a shaman? And I can't pray either – says he. – But you have her as your only daughter, ha-

ven't you? And I have a drum. I left this drum at the edge of a trodden place. I felt it was a shame to bring in here the drum. But if you bring it in here for me, just for the sake of its sound I can beat it once or twice.

The old man speaks to one of his sons, the oldest one or the youngest one saying:

– Come now, my son, and bring in here the drum for our guest!

So his first son went out and stayed there for a long time. When he did not return for long, the next son of the old man went out. Then went the third man, the third son. And so went the fourth, then the fifth and the six son, too. Suddenly at once, a heavy noise of groaning was heard. It came from outside. They opened the door and saw the six men dragging and rolling the drum. Seeing all this our little boy stood up, jumped to the door-opening and grabbed the drum and lifted it with his one hand and put it down in the rear side of the tent. What six men together could not do, our little boy accomplished alone. Inside the warm house they put the drum, the drum made of raw wood, the new drum with the newly stretched hide on it, the hide dried at home, the drum to be dried was drying outside for long. They took the bull-hide with legs, made the bed and our boy sat down to the hide; he began to shamanize and was going to get in trance. Having shamanized long or having shamanized only for a short time, having beaten his drum for long or having beaten it for just a short time he began to speak out like this:

– The days ordered by Mother *Puges*, the days ordered by Mother *Keltas*, the days ordered by Mother *Shining Heaven*, the days of human beings are long. In between she fell seriously ill, she fell mortally ill. Maybe after two days or maybe after three days she grows better – says he.

In the evening the girl has a bit of food, has a sip of water. After his shamanizing her groaning has stopped. She did not gasp for breath so much, her breath was heard much less. In the evening her mother gave her a bit of food, gave her a sip of water. She took some food, she took some fish and began to talk and said cheerful words. Next day she grew much better. The sixth day she carries her watery burden, she carries her woody burden. She chopped wood, she carried water. Her hands are busy, her legs are busy. During these days the little boy was there as their guest. The old man began to speak:

– Oh, dear son! If you had not come here, we would have been left without our daughter. We have almost lost our only child, our suckling – says the old man. – Take her, you can have her without paying kalim for her. She will make tea for you. If you will be our relative, you will take more than one step, you will kill more than one ermine. You see we have lots of sons. Once a girl has grabbed her needle, once a girl has put on her thimble, she wants to go to another house, she wants to move into another house. We shall make you our son-in-law, if you want it. We shall treat you as one of our sons and then we'll have seven sons.

So he became their son-in-law and began to live in their house as a man who paid his kalim. After having lived this way for long or just for a short time they set out for game, they set out for fish and began to harness their reindeer. His wife says:

– You go together hunting. My brothers will catch a few reindeer for you, but you shouldn't accept these. I will catch reindeer for you.

They dressed up and went out. They went out to find wild reindeer. Her brothers are hurling their lasso where the reindeer are resting, a man or two would catch them. But he

does not move to harness them. When all their sleds were ready to go, his wife came out. She caught two small, shaggy, razor-backed reindeer with a catching sack, then she harnessed them for him and said:

– Now you shall go. I have to tell you my brothers are not honest people. In the forest you will see wild reindeer running, but you shouldn't shoot them. My brothers will force you to shoot, but you should resist, let them do shooting.

They are wandering through the forest, they are walking through a swamp having no trees, having no grass. They are wandering long, they are wandering for a short time, then they send the boy ahead. His wife gave him an advice: "Never go in front!" When they send him ahead, he says:

– It is an unknown place for me and I can move free only in my waters, only in my grounds. You are coming from this land, you go ahead.

So he doesn't go in front. Once they ran into a herd of reindeer.

– Well now, our little brother-in-law, shoot them.

– I never killed wild reindeer. You shoot them.

And they were shooting and shooting, they shot all your arrows, but killed no reindeer. The herd ran away and hid. And then when they ran out of arrows they found another herd of reindeer.

– Well now, our little brother-in-law, you have a lot of arrows, what do you keep them for? We don't have any more arrows to place on the string of our bows. You shoot now.

He took an arrow and aimed at the running reindeer. When he shot his first arrow, two reindeer fell, three reindeer fell. When he shot his second arrow, three reindeer fell, four reindeer fell. He used only half of his arrows, but killed so many reindeer, who knows how many reindeer. When he aims at a reindeer, his arrow pierces through two bulls, pierces through six bulls. "Come on, people, shoot now!" After a while he got enough [of shooting]. They skinned these bulls and headed home with the sleds full of meat, full of hides. His brothers-in-law have a talk between each other: "Our little son-in-law doesn't let us approach him. If we disturb him, he'll get angry. He'll make an end to our days. We are afraid of him."

Whether they lived this way long or they lived for a short time, once the little boy addresses his father-in-law:

– Oh – says he – I am a man having a house of my own, I am a man having a land of my own. I want to go home. If you give me your daughter, it is all right, if you don't give me your daughter, it is your decision. I shall not give a needle for your daughter – says he.

– Of course we give you our daughter, you are our beloved child, you are our beloved son-in-law. Our daughter hasn't learned the art of sewing, hasn't learned the art of preparing animal hide two days ago or three days ago. You should join twenty sleds. The reindeer know the way and they run themselves, they are smart. You get as many reindeer as you can take. When you are making the caravan [of sleds], don't touch the reindeer. The animals that follow you will be yours.

So they make a caravan of twenty or thirty sleds, his father-in-law put four more white reindeer oxen in front of the caravan. They join the sleds with a rope doubled

twice, with a rope tripled thrice, they took their leave and went away. So they were going and behind the caravan the reindeer followed them as a lash. Half of the reindeer of that land went together with them. After having gone long or just for a short time they arrived home at the sable river, at the turf river, at that little river. One morning after having spent there one day or two days or three days the boy said to his wife:

— Now I set out for forest game, I set out for forest fish.

He put on his skis covered with otter-skin and went. He went downstream along the river, along the forest river, along the uninhabited river, he went across a forest. He walked long or he walked just for a short time, he looked forward and saw a ski-track. One of them could have been made by a piece of larch-wood cut in two, the other of them could have been made by a piece of spruce-wood cut in two. Maybe someone was there on larch-wood skis, on spruce-wood skis the previous day. The boy followed this track. Looking ahead once at the end of the road lined by larch-trees, lined by spruce-trees he saw a large house made of spruce-tree timbers, a large house made of larch-tree timbers standing. Arriving at the opening in front of the house he could not see any skis. He entered the garden-gate and threw his skis into a sled, then he entered the house, but found no one in there. Someone had given the house a good sweeping with feathers of a bird-wing. He went out, walked around the house and noticed that someone had fled that place in that morning. He saw a ski-track, one half made by larch-wood skis, the other half made by spruce-wood skis. He put on his skis and followed the track. Did he go for long or just for a short time, who knows? Anyway, he looks ahead: in the middle of the day, precisely at noon someone comes towards him. Coming closer he can see it is a one-headed forest giant. He does not seem to look ahead or to look back. The boy discovered a thick tree and quickly stood behind it, then he took out an arrow and placed it on the string of his bow. This giant was a spirit in corslet, a spirit with a sabre. And when he came even closer, the boy saw a mesh is missing from his coat of mail, he saw the uppermost button of the giant's shirt is missing. Then he shot the giant at his collar-bone and he fell immediately. The boy drew out his arrow or he did not draw it out from him, anyway he went on. He arrived at a house. Entered, found no one inside. He went around in the yard and saw that someone had hastily fled the house in that morning on larch-wood skis, on spruce-wood skis. In the middle of the day, precisely at noon he went on further. He went on and on in a forest full of elks, in a forest full of reindeer and suddenly he looked ahead: a two-headed forest-giant was coming toward him. The snow was just whirling after his larch-wood skis, after his spruce-wood skis as if it was smoking. The giant does not look ahead and does not look back. The boy discovered a thick tree and stood behind it. He took out an arrow and placed it on the string of his bow. The uppermost button of the giant's coat of mail was missing, but it wasn't known whether he had put on a double-meshed coat of mail or a triple-meshed coat of mail. The boy shot him anyway at his collar-bone and the giant immediately fell. The boy drew out his arrow or he did not draw it out from him, anyway he went on further. He didn't go long, he didn't go for a short time until he saw a large house made of long larch-tree timbers, a large house made of long spruce-tree timbers. He looked around, there was no one in the yard. He went in, untied his skis and took them off, he saw neither skis, nor boots around.

He entered the house and found an old woman sitting, tears were flowing down on one of her cheeks, tears were flowing down to the ground.

– My dear son, what kind of a song, what kind of a tale brought you here? I can see you have not been killed, you are not dead and have come here alive.

Then his mother hugged him and kissed him. Feeding him with good food she fed him with good food, feeding him with bad food she fed him with bad food, after having consumed all that fish and food she said to her son:

– Go away, if your step-father comes it will be bad for you. In this large forest full of elks three forest-giants have been living. The ones you killed were his younger brothers. The oldest brother is away now and looks after the fence for elks, the fence for reindeer. He will soon be back.

– Be damned the cock of his father, be damned the cunt of his mother – he says – this dog killed my paternal ancestors. But he won't kill me, no way.

He said these words, he spoke this sentence and stayed no longer, but went out. He listened to the forest of elks, to the forest of reindeer. And heard the crackle of thin twigs and heard the crackle of thick twigs. Thin twigs are falling down. He is listening and listening until he hears a voice approaching.

– Oh – says somebody – this large forest of mine full of elks, this large forest of mine full of reindeer has become a frightening place as if it had eyes, as if it had ears. Oh – says he – those days when I ate his paternal ancestors, the boy remained back as if dried to the bottom of his cradle, as if dried to the bottom of his basket, as if dried to the dirty bottom of his cradle. Is it his ghost who has come back to haunt me?

One of the boy's eyes looks ahead, the other of his eyes looks back, so he can see the three-headed forest-giant coming. He is dashing along on his larch-wood skis, on his spruce-wood skis so fast that the snow is smoking after him. He is moving at such a speed that even his head is in smoke. He is coming so fast he cannot see ahead, he cannot see back. The boy stands at the garden-gate and places an iron-headed arrow on the string of his bow. He can see: the giant does not look ahead, does not look back and it seems the giant cannot see the tree either under the cover of which the boy is hiding. The uppermost button of the giant's coat of mail is missing. The giant put on a seven-meshed or a six-meshed coat of mail. The boy shot and the giant fell on his back.

– Oh, boy, I would never have thought you can be so mean to me.

The boy went up to him and hit him on his head with the flat side of his sabre saying:

– Wasn't it you who ate my ancestors? Be damned the cock of your father, be damned the cunt of your mother, you dog! It was nothing you've got for your deeds! For the tenderness of my hands you hadn't eaten me, for the tenderness of my legs you hadn't eaten me and you won't eat me now either!

Together with his mother the boy made a big larch-tree fire, he made a big spruce-tree fire and they put the giant onto it. Meanwhile evening came, so they spent the night there. They slept there together with his mother. Next morning they went home. The large houses inhabited by the giants and everything and all the money, silver and gold these had they brought home. And with all this fortune and richness they went on living.

And this high house by height, that sizeable house by size with all that fortune and richness is still standing.

Explanations:

Mother Puges, Mother Keltas: protective spirits of women in childbirth and the children to be born. The goddess Keltas (Kaltēs in other dialects) is one of the most revered female gods. She also determines in advance how long each person can live.

TEXT 2: THE NEPHEW OF THE WOMAN – A

Told by Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin in the village of Voki-Rap-Yagun and recorded by Katalin Lázár in June 1992. Dictated and interpreted by Ereimei Ivanovich Sopochin in July 1996 in the town of Kogalim.

Once upon a time lived a woman together with her nephew. Whether they lived long together or just for a short time who knows. Anyway they lived this way for a while, until the boy was strong enough to carry a bow and a quiver. In the beginning, he shot animals at close range, later he shot animals and birds at long range. Once when he was setting out for stalking animals his aunt said to him:

– Don't go toward the northern (praying) side of the cottage! Your paternal relatives had disappeared behind this cottage, they were your ancestors and they never came back, once they had left for a day or two.

One morning the boy says to himself:

– Hold, I shall go there anyway. My aunt should not learn about it, so I'll go around one tree or two trees and then I'll go behind the cottage. I'll go toward the praying side, toward the central side of the cottage. Why doesn't she let me go there? I have never been there anyway. Maybe I can find more game and fish there.

So that morning the Nephew of the Woman set out for game, set out for wild ducks. He left from the door of the cottage, meanwhile his aunt was looking at him. He went on along the door-side and went around one tree or two trees, until his cottage disappeared. Then he turned and went around toward the praying side of the praying cottage, toward the central side of the central cottage. Having arrived at the praying side of the praying cottage, at the central side of the central cottage he found a trail trodden by a forest giant, trodden by a spirit. He went along the trail trodden by the forest giant, trodden by the spirit. Having gone long, having gone short he looks ahead and sees a house built of larch-timbers, a house built of pine-timbers, a house large by size, a house long by length, a house high by height. He is thinking: what is it in there, why didn't my aunt let me there? It seems there are people other than us and who knows which girl was getting married, which boy was getting married. The Nephew of the Woman thinks while walking: what kind of a spirit lives in this house, what kind of a giant lives in this house I am going to enter? He opens the door and enters. Entering he sees an iron-nosed hag, a copper-nosed hag lying in the middle of the house having her legs crossed. Her nostrils are like those of a thick-skinned bull, like those of a fur-skinned

bull and she is snoring so that the timber-house, the shaky house almost tumbles down. The boy enters and says:

– Good day! Good day! I say.

No answer, she didn't wake up. So the boy speaks out loud:

– Good day! How long are you going to sleep?

So she wakes up sighing.

– Oh – she says – good day! How tasty raw-and-rare mouthful a man and he is brought here by his own feet, brought here by his own hands! – says she. – So I have got something to eat

She gets up and goes out singing:

„Now

I go out to find

my two-pole poplar club

the two poles of my poplar club

fit for knocking down humans

I go out to find

my poplar club

fit for knocking down humans”.

And she is outside. As she goes out, as the iron-nosed, the copper-nosed hag closes the door, the Nephew of the Woman starts singing:

„If I am a song-providing man,

if I am a tale-providing man,

then I want to become

a dry leaf driven by a light breeze,

a thin piece of leather blown fast by a swift breeze.

While the swift breeze rustles

I want to be driven

to the smoke-hole of the cottage

I want to be lifted

to the smoke-hole of the cottage”.

And then he turns around and around and becomes a dapple-cropped little gosling. The dapple-cropped little gosling begins to flutter his wings: he is soaring at the height of rainy clouds, at the height of windy clouds and while flying so he sings:

„If I am a song-providing man,

if I am a tale-providing man,

then let me be carried away as a man

along the road of my ancestors,

let me be taken back as a man

along the road of my ancestors.”

Having flown long or maybe

having flown just for a short time

at the height of rainy clouds,

at the height of windy clouds

he looks down

at the lower furry land
and catches sight of
a cloudy hill with endless raining,
a cloudy hill without ending.
Upon this hill there stands
a large princely town,
a large heroic town.
At one end of
the leafy town,
at one end of
the pine-needle town
the dapple-cropped little gosling,
the little gosling with swift wings,
the landing gosling with little landing
lands.
Immediately he turns around,
he turns into a full-grown man
he turns

and starts walking. Having reached the edge of this leafy town, this pine-needle town he sees this town being full of icy heads of dead corpses and devouring and biting spirits. While he ambles along a small street of the town, along a large street of the town, devouring spirits, biting spirits are attacking him as mosquitos and they are pushing him. He shakes himself, the mosquitos fly away in all directions, one breaking its hand, the other breaking its leg. Having walked along a small street of the town, along a large street of the town he looks for a large house for a town house, a large house for a village house. Entering he sees the terrestrial-celestial sovereign lying on his side. He speaks out:

– Good day! – says he telling the host he has come to see him.

– Good day! Arriving you have arrived, my little nephew, so you are welcome. What did you do, you hand-breaking, leg-breaking man who has broken the hands and legs of my town-dwelling, my village-dwelling subjects?

The Nephew of the Woman answers:

– What kind of town-dwelling, village-dwelling subjects do you have? They attacked me! Didn't they have enough princely flesh, hero-flesh to devour? They attacked me from all sides. What should I have done to them? I only drove them off. It is not my fault that their hands and legs are so frail.

– You are a dog, you cock-of-your-father, you cunt-of-your-mother! You have come here to teach me a lesson?

In that very moment he turns around grabbing his kettle-iron black sword, grabbing his kettle-iron black armour. The Nephew of the Woman takes him by his hair and drags. He pulls him down to the floor and starts hitting and striking him and trampling on him. – He hit him and rolled him in his own blood.

– You cock-of-your-father, you cunt-of-your-mother, you have devoured many of my great-grand uncles, several of my great-grand aunts and wanted to devour me as well

and planned to devour my bloodstained bits of flesh. You cock-of-your-father, you cunt-of-your-mother, you dog! Many of my great-grand uncles, many of my great-grand aunts had turned into brave geese, into a big pack of birds and if you won't change them back into healthy human beings immediately, I'll destroy you.

The man lies on the ground and begging he cries:

– Little brother, little brother, my princely human prince, don't destroy me, my heroic human hero, don't destroy me, the large pack of your many great-grand uncles turned into geese, the large pack of your great-grand aunts turned into geese I shall change back to human beings for you. When you leave this place, you'll find a living watery lake, a living golden grassy lake at the wide edge of a wide town, at the wide edge of a wide village. The large pack of brave geese has settled there long ago. They are your great-grand uncles and your great-grand aunts. Please, let me go.

The Nephew of the Woman pounds at the ground so that the planks of the cottage are scattered. He himself flies away through a hole so fast that his boots are glittering. While flying he hears: "When cone puppets of cembra pine, when cone puppets of pine will appear on the Earth lighted by the Sun, lighted by the Moon, then I won't take human shape in this World permeated by the souls of seven princes, permeated by the souls of seven heroes any more". He turns around and goes behind the back of the backside town, to the edge of the edgy town. Having arrived behind the town he turns head over heels and into a dapple-cropped little gosling. He flies behind the back of a backside town, behind the edge of the edgy town. Arriving behind the back of the backside town he sees a lake of golden water, a lake of golden grass and in the lake a large pack of brave geese swimming. As if they were his great-grand uncles long gone, as if they were his great-grand aunts long gone. They greet each other and together with this large pack of the brave geese he flies away. Whether they flew long at the height of rainy clouds, at the height of windy clouds or they flew just for a short time at the height of rainy clouds, at the height of windy clouds, in the end they were approaching a cottage, the cottage of the iron-nosed hag, the cottage of the copper-nosed hag and then the Nephew of the Woman told his many great-grand uncles and his many great-grand aunts:

– Go home quickly! I'll come after you later. I go to the cottage of this old hag of mine who has been waiting for me long.

When his relatives are gone, he turns around and descends upon the roof of the cottage. He turns head over heels and changes to a man. He straightens out. He jumps off the roof and enters. The old woman sits up.

– Oh, my boy – she says. – Last time you escaped, but this time you won't be so lucky – says she sitting up.

It seems she has already found her two-pole poplar club, since it was there on the side-bench. The hag is reaching out for it. The Nephew of the Woman grabs the hag by her pigtail, spins her around and flings her down on the floor of the timber cottage. Whether he flings her down long or just for a short time, it doesn't matter, only that her blood starts to drip. He stirs her blood and makes a soup.

– You dog! You cock-of-your-father, you cunt-of-your-mother! – he scolds her while beating and hitting her. – You have destroyed many of my great-grand uncles,

many of my great-grand aunts, but you won't get a bit of my flesh. One of the two poles of your poplar club will reach you – he cries out shedding her blood.

– I beg you, Nephew of the Woman, don't destroy my princely soul, don't destroy my heroic soul!

The man beats her anyway until the floor-planks split up. Then he lets the hag fall and leaves her lying in her blood on the ground. Then such a proclamation, such a word is heard sounding: "No more shall I appear in the shape of princes, in the shape of heroes in this world dominated by a sovereign having seven princely souls, having seven heroic souls. In a time when cone puppets of cembra pine will appear, when cone puppets of pine will appear I shall change into a woman bringing a hundred and seventy diseases (...)".

Then the Nephew of the Woman goes out and home. Having gone there he meets his many great-grand uncles, his many great-grand aunts. The Nephew of the Woman changes his many great-grand uncles and his many great-grand aunts back to healthy humans. With so much of luck and fortune they go on living thereafter.

Explanations:

1. *The praying side of the cottage*: in the tent or in the cottage the place of the idols is either at the wall opposite to the entrance or behind the cottage (which is also the place for sacrifice), on the sacred sled. Since human shelters are usually built along a North-South axis in the Ostyak settlements, the hind walls face evidently North and the front walls face South.

2. *The cottage built of larch timbers, the cottage built of pine timbers*: it is a permanent phrase designating the residence of supernatural beings.

3. *If I am a song-providing man, if I am a tale-providing man*: in the interpretation of Yeremei Sopochin the meaning is: if my fate is to hand songs and tales down to the younger generation, i.e. to continue life. Steinitz interprets the corresponding Northern Ostyak expression as "man praised in song" (im Lied gepriesener Held, STEINITZ 1976: 258) and also cites Vogul parallels.

4. *Leafy town, pine-needle town*: a dirty, untidy town.

5. *Town of icy heads of dead corpses*: a town inhabited by all kinds of strange creatures.

6. *Cone puppets of cembra pine, cone puppets of pine*: present-day people.

7. *A sovereign having seven princely souls, a sovereign having seven heroic souls*: The Father of the Uppermost Heaven, the supreme god of the Ob-Ugrians. The Nephew of the Woman in the human world is the smallest son of the supreme god, called the Man Overseeing the World by the Voguls, while his name is Golden Prince-Old-Man among the Surgut Ostyaks.

TEXT 3: THE NEPHEW OF THE WOMAN – B

Told by Yosif Ivanovich Sopochin in August 1996 to Márta Csepregi beside the Voki-Rap-Yagun. A few days later in the same place he dictated and interpreted it. Steinitz also recorded the Kazym version of the legend (STEINITZ 1989: 440-456).

There was once a woman who lived together her nephew. So they lived until the boy came of age as a fisher and a hunter and set up fish-traps, burbot-traps. Seeing these fish-traps the woman realized her nephew had grown up to quite a big size in all directions.

Once the aunt says:

– Don't go to the southern side of our fish-trap, our burbot-trap! It is forbidden to go downstream from the fish-trap. Don't go downstream! – says she.

That is what the little old woman told him. Well, well. If it is forbidden, then I won't go there. Why should I go there? But when he went to see his fish-traps, he starts thinking: why doesn't my aunt let me go there, after all much more good hunting-fishing places are there than here. Maybe she is trying to keep me away from the good hunting-fishing places, that is why she speaks so.

– Hold – says he one day. – I'll go there all the same. No matter how she tries to keep me away. Why the hell she wanted to hide those places from me, I don't care about her admonition and go.

And he went. He went to see his fish-trap. Going toward his fish-trap he thinks: "I'll see that fish-trap later, on my way back. Now I'll go to the other direction, I'll go downstream". Having gone long or having gone just for a short time, he doesn't go far away at all when he sees a cottage. It is a very old cottage, built of timbers of larch, built of timbers of spruce. The cottage is on the verge of collapse: it is an old cottage.

The boy sees the smoke, a thin streak of smoke is drifting upward. Having come to himself again he cautiously opens the door and enters. At the opposite wall lies a very old couple, an old man and an old woman. Their sight and their hearing are failing badly. The old couple lie at the rear wall. The boy cautiously opens the door with one hand and shuts it with his other hand. He sits down silently at the edge of their bed. What will they do now? He thinks the old couple don't see him, the old couple don't hear him.

The old woman and the old man begin to stir, yawning and ask each other whether it is noon. The old woman says:

– Sure, it is noon already.

– Well, granny, are you hungry? – asks the old man.

– Sure I am – says the old woman.

– If you are, then let us play music – says the old man. – Light the resinous log.

The old woman lit the resinous log and the old man says:

– Keep the spear upward against the smoke-hole, while I play music.

And the old man begins to play music.

– What do you think we should eat? – he says. – Let us call a three year old bull.

And he starts singing:

"Three-year-old – oh

reindeer bull – oh

come here – oh

fly here – oh".

Maybe from the height of stormy clouds or from the height of windy clouds, while the little old man is playing, the boy sees through the smoke-hole a bull driven inside the smoke-hole either by some strong wind or by some strong wave. So that is the meaning of this song, a three year old reindeer-bull should come here, that is. When the reindeer-

bull comes closer, they pierce him through with the spear. The old man and the old woman start to skin the bull in the rear centre of the cottage. The boy is sitting and looking at them. Although he is sitting there and looking at them, the old couple don't see him.

The old woman lights the resinous log and takes the seven-handled, six-handled big kettle and chops up the bull and starts cooking it. The boy sees how damned fatty a bull it is! While the kettle is boiling, the boy is cutting a spit.

The kettle was taken from the fire and the old couple begin to eat in the middle of the floor. The Nephew of the Woman with his freshly cut spit sticks on the fatty pieces so that the spit is full of them. Then the boy sits down to eat. Meanwhile the old couple eat soup, so he also eats from the soup and eats it up. Having finished with the soup, the old man asks the little old woman:

– Have you had enough?

– Not at all – says the old woman – sure it was not enough. How come that we have become so heavy eaters in this old age of ours? Earlier we were satisfied with much less food. How could this happen to us?

– Hold, tomorrow we shall call a three-year-old legged animal, a three-year-old elk. How the hell could this happen to us?

The boy thinks they couldn't see him. And when he is going out, he tickles the chin of the old man.

– Listen, granny! Why did you tickle my chin?

– Me tickled your chin? Nonsense – so they quarrel for a while, until they calm down. Then the boy tickles the chin of the old woman.

– Listen, granddad! Why did you tickle my chin? – so they quarrel again. – You said before: “why did you tickle my chin” and now you tickle my chin!

Meanwhile the boy opens the door with one hand and shuts it with the other hand. And goes away.” And my aunt told me not to come here! What a good place she wanted to keep me away from! Tomorrow I am going to cut an even longer spit. The old man said he would call a three-year-old elk. Now I'll go home. Hell with the fish-trap, hell with the burbot-trap, I'll take home meat!”

So he didn't go to see the fish-trap, but took the meat and went home. Carrying the spit with a lot of meat on it he comes home.

– Sure you have been away for long to check the fish-trap, the burbot-trap. What is it you are bringing? – asks his aunt.

– You just eat it, eat it and eat it!

– Didn't I tell you not to go there? – says his aunt. – You son-of-a-devil, what did you do? You think decent people live there? Those creatures have devoured the relatives of your father. Did you go there, you didn't?!

The aunt scratches her head.

– What will happen to you? I am the one who has raised you. You are courting your own ruin. Your parents went away in the same direction. Who told you to go there?

– Hold it, I haven't gone anywhere. Eat, eat that fatty meat!

The woman could do nothing else, but eat that meat.

A day went by. Next morning at daylight the woman asks him:

– Where are you going now?

– I am going to see the fish-trap, the burbot-trap.

– Don't go anywhere else! See your fish-trap and come back immediately!

Passing the fish-trap the boy goes on. While wandering he cuts a big bough for a spit. He comes to the cottage, opens the door with one hand and shuts it with the other hand, by now he has learned what to do. They'll play music, he sits down at the edge of the bed. They wake up, but cannot see him. The sight of the old man and the old woman has become very weak. Awakening the old man says:

– Are you hungry, granny?

– Sure I am – says she.

– Me too – says the old man. – What happened to us yesterday, what the hell happened to us in this old age of ours? We ate a three-year-old reindeer bull and we didn't have enough. It seems that old people eat much and this we haven't experienced earlier. Today we'll call a three year old elk, a three-year-old legged animal. Granny, light the resinous log! – The old woman lights the resinous log. – Keep the spear against the smoke hole!

The old woman keeps the spear against the smoke hole. The old man begins to play music:

“Three-year-old – oh

young elk – oh

come here – oh

fly here – oh!”

The boy sees a three-year-old young elk, a legged elk, an almost full-grown legged animal flying at the height of windy clouds, at the height of stormy clouds. It is carried by some strong wind, by some strong wave. It is carried toward the central part of the roof of the cottage of the old man and the old woman. When the animal comes inside the smoke-hole and near the tip of the spear, they pierce it through. It groans, falls down into the cottage and collapses. The old man and the old woman immediately start to skin the animal. Since from the day before the boy knew the old couple could not see, he himself also set to skin the animal, grabbing it by the legs. The old man says:

– Put the seven-handled, the six-handled big kettle on the fire! – the resinous log is lit already. The three year old legged animal, the young elk is put into the seven handled, six handled big kettle. The boy as we know has prepared a spit. When the legged animal is cooked, the little old man and the little old woman sit down to eat and so does the boy nicely. The legs and hands of the old man and the old woman touch one another. The boy puts all the fatty pieces of meat on the spit, the spit is full with them. He eats and eats and tastes the soup, too. The old man and the old woman eat the soup and so does he. Finishing the meal the old man asks:

– Well, granny, have you had enough?

– Not at all – says the little old woman. – I don't understand it, I haven't had enough.

– How come? – says the old man. – I haven't had enough either. Earlier we were not as heavy eaters as we are now. Earlier a beautiful elk was enough for us. What happened to us that we became so heavy eaters. Tomorrow we'll call a three-year-old bear – they

say –, a bear. Then we'll have enough of it, we'll have enough of the nourishing animal. Tomorrow we'll call a bear, you bet!

The boy thinks: tomorrow I'll throw a big dinner. While sitting he says to himself: I'll tickle the chin of the old man. And so he tickles the chin of the old man. The old man gets angry:

– Why the hell did you tickle my chin? Yesterday you said it was me who tickled you. Now, why the hell do you tickle my chin? Being old people as we are, why do you tickle me?

They start quarrelling. When they calm down, the Nephew of the Woman tickles the chin of the old woman. The old woman gets angry:

– Why the hell do you tickle my chin?

Then the old man snaps:

– When did I tickle your chin? – and so they quarrel, almost grabbing one another's hair. – Why did you tickle me?

After a short time has passed, the boy opens the door with one hand and shuts it with the other and quietly he leaves. Going ahead he runs home. He doesn't throw a glance at his fish-trap. He brings home [the meat], the woman gets angry.

– Where did you get that spit full of meat?

– Come on, auntie, you just eat this fatty elk-meat, eat it now! Just think of eating! Why do you ask me that?

The woman doesn't think of eating and says:

– They have devoured your paternal relatives and you still run after them. I have raised you with great difficulty and that's all the thanks I get!

– You just eat – says he to his aunt. – I don't go there in vain, look, I got hold of this meat from there.

It grew dark, then it was getting light again and he says to his aunt:

– I am going to see my fish-trap, my burbot-trap.

– Come on, where are you going? – says the woman.

“My fish-trap, my burbot-trap is empty, there is no fish in there, why is there no fish in there?” – and he passes the fish-trap, he passes the burbot-trap. Yesterday he heard them calling a bear for today. He carves a spit nicely to pierce fatty pieces of meat on it. Arriving at the cottage he sees hardly any smoke coming out of it. Cautiously he opens the door with one hand and shuts it with the other, then sits down at the edge of the bed. He knew they'll play music that time of the day. And really, they wake up yawning. The old man says:

– Well, granny, are you hungry?

– You bet, I am – answers the old woman.

– Me too – says the old man. – Yesterday we called a three-year-old elk and yet, as if we had nothing of it (it completely avoided us). I wonder why didn't we have enough? That is why we'll call a bear today. We'll call a three-year-old bear. We hope we'll have enough of it. Now we'll call a fatty, nourishing something, we'll call a bear. Since bear is a fat animal. Come – says he to the little old woman – and light the resinous log!

The old woman lit the resinous log.

– Keep the spear upward! – the old woman keeps the spear toward the smoke-hole and the old man begins to play music:

“Three-year-old – oh

bear – oh

come here – oh

fly here – oh!”

And then from the height of windy clouds, from the height of stormy clouds a bear is driven fast toward the smoke-hole of the cottage of the little old man and the little old woman. It flies on the top of the heaven. The bear is coming and coming and it is pierced through with the tip of the spear inside the smoke-hole. The bear is on the floor. The boy learned the trick yesterday and now he helps to skin the bear. He carries now a knife. He is beginning to know everything.

They skin the bear and they set up the seven-handled, the six-handled big kettle and put the whole bear into it. When the meat was cooked, the boy put all the fatty pieces on the spit. He had made a bigger spit than ever before. This way he could put all the fatty pieces of meat on. They are eating and drinking, and he eats all the soup. Nothing has been left in the bottom of the stone-kettle.

– Listen now – says the old man – have you had enough?

– No, how should I have enough? – says the old woman – I haven’t had enough at all.

– How come, we cannot, in any way, eat enough? – say the old couple. And no time was left for tickling, since they continue speaking by saying again. – How come, we cannot, in any way, eat enough?

The old man says to the old woman:

– Being old, as we are, we can’t eat enough for some reason. Something is wrong here, someone is watching us as we live our life. We went blind, we went deaf and we failed to notice the man who is watching us. The day before yesterday we called a three year old reindeer bull and it was not enough. Yesterday we called a three year old elk and it was not enough. Today we called a three year old bear and it was not enough either. Granny, you asked me these days why I tickled you. Then somebody tickled my chin, too. Could somebody be watching us? Something is wrong here – says the old man. – Think of those days when we ate the paternal relatives of the boy who was left behind living with his aunt. Since then the Nephew of the Woman may have grown up, may have become a full-grown man. Is it not him who did something?

– Oh, you are right! – says the old woman. – Though he was small then, having grown up he may do something.

– Let us call them here tomorrow – says the old man. – It has been long since we ate human flesh. Let us call them, we liked human flesh before, so let us call them here.

How the hell it happened now, he doesn’t even tickle the chin of the old woman, but hearing all this he goes out. He opens the door with one hand, and shuts it with the other. For the spit full of bear-meat his aunt gets angrier than ever before. She is almost blinded by her rage.

– Where have you been? Where did you get that meat?

– Shut up! – says he to the woman. – Eat it, eat it, I tell you, eat it!

He himself can't sit, can't lie in bed either. The Nephew of the Woman is thinking: maybe tomorrow we'll end up on the tip of the spear. He heard the talk between the old man and the old woman and knew tomorrow in the middle of the day of the middle, at noon of the day of noon the woman and him, her nephew will be summoned there. First I call the Nephew of the Woman who became a full-grown man. Then I call his aunt.

The auntie got frightened. She senses some trouble is lurking. She says:

– Where are you going? Why don't you go to see your fish-trap?

– Come now, there is no fish in the fish-trap anyway.

In the morning, at daylight he says to his aunt.

– There was a stone on the side-bench, where is it now? I need that big stone.

– It is still there on the side-bench – says the woman.

He takes that axe-honing stone. He keeps it to his belly measuring. It is as big as his belly or even somewhat bigger. He tries to hide it in the fold of his shirt and it fits well. His aunt asks him:

– What are you doing? What are you doing with that stone?

– You just shut up!

Cautiously he puts the stone under his shirt. It covers his breast and his belly as well. He thinks: when we are going to fight, I'll turn the stone against the spear. As he sits there in the cottage he suddenly feels he is being lifted. What the hell can it be? The Nephew of the Woman is being lifted upward and upward. Suddenly, together with the stone he is carried away through the smoke hole. His aunt tries to catch him.

– For god's mercy, it was in vain to forbid you to go there! See how your visiting that cottage will end now! – cries the woman weeping and he answers:

– Don't cry, don't weep!

The woman tries to catch him by his hand and leg in vain, her nephew is taken away through the smoke-hole. Being lifted he rises over the top of the trees and hovers at the same height as clouds do. A strong wind, a cruel wind carries him toward the cottage of the little old man and the little old woman. He is carried by this celestial wind which makes his belly turn toward the tip of the spear. When the spear reaches his belly, the stone slips sideways and he falls into the cottage on the side-bench. When he stands up from the bench, he shoves aside the stone like hell and kicks the deaf and blind old man who is playing music and hits him on the face and ear. The old man falls to the ground. The Nephew of the Woman takes his instrument out of his hand and with it he hits the little old woman on the head.

– Now you won't escape! To hell with you, you have devoured my paternal relatives, a plague on you, I'll put you into a kettle. And you wanted to devour me, too! Now I've caught you!

He takes the music-playing wood and stabs the spear into the ground and begins to play music:

– May my aunt fly here – oh, fly here – oh!

And so his aunt is carried fast at the height of windy clouds, at the height of stormy clouds. When she falls through the smoke-hole into the cottage, her nephew catches her and puts her on the ground.

– You have admonished me and told me to be careful wherever I go. They devoured

my paternal relatives and they also wanted to devour me. You were right in saying: don't go downstream from the fish-trap! But if we don't know anything about them, they would have devoured us, too. Now I've caught them. I'll skewer them on the tip of my spear as they did to my parents. Take that resinous log! Take that seven-handled, six-handled big kettle! Take everything! Grab the spear! Now I am going to summon them. How many forest animals, how many human beings they have devoured! Now we are going to pierce them with the spear. Sit down here!

Saying these words the Nephew of the Woman goes out. They went home to their cottage. His aunt asks him:

– What are you doing?

– What am I doing? Don't light the resinous log, these are not edible animals, only take the spear and keep it against the smoke-hole.

While the auntie is keeping the spear against the smoke-hole, her nephew starts to sing these words: may the deaf and blind old man come here, may he fly here! From the height of windy clouds, from the height of stormy clouds the little old man was carried to the smoke-hole where he was stabbed with the spear. He wanted to cry out, but could not, he fell down on his back. The boy grabbed him at once and threw him out. He begins to play music again: may the deaf and blind old woman come here, may she fly here! From the height of windy clouds, from the height of stormy clouds she is carried down to the smoke-hole in the cottage. There she is stabbed with the tip of the spear and she falls down on her back. She is dragged out and they make a fire of larch-wood, a fire of spruce-wood and put fire both of them on it. The old man and the old woman are burnt in that larch-wood fire, in that spruce-wood fire. They gather everything the old man and the old woman have collected throughout their life, furs of black fox, furs of black sable and other treasures and take all that home. Since then they summon only winged animals, legged animals with the help of music. They summon whatever animal-fish they want to eat. From then on the Woman lives together with her Nephew with so much of luck and fortune.

TEXT 4: THE TWO WOMEN (AaTH 480)

Told by Fekla Ivanovna Pokacheva in the village of Voki-Rap-Yagun in June 1992. Written down and translated into Russian by Agrafena Semenovna Sopochina in April 1994 in Budapest.

Once upon a time there lived two women. On the banks of the river-*Nyoksang*-river-*Mokkang* there lived two women. They lived in two houses, with no man living with them. This is how they lived, visiting each other from time to time. Once one of them thought to herself: "I wonder what a man is like. I'll go and find him. It's bad to be living all alone." She didn't say a word to the other woman, just left.

She walked and walked, whether for a short or a long time, and once night was falling. It was getting dark. Soon she got to some stumps cut in the previous year. Going further she reached some other stumps cut that year. Looking ahead, she saw a house, and indeed, there was a house there. She was so tired that she thought to herself: "No

matter who is inside, I'm going in." And so she did. Going in, she entered with her face uncovered. She thinks to herself: "I wish there was somebody here." As soon as she enters, she sees an old woman sitting inside. The old woman called to her:

– Dear woman, living by the river-*Nyoksang*-river-*Mokkang*, who has called you here? Why did you come to this place?

The woman looks around: half of the cottage is dark, the other is light. There are cradles on both sides, and only the front part of the cottage is suitable for dwelling there.

The old woman produced some food and drink, fed her guest and then she made a resting place for her. She said:

– You must be tired, go to bed (says she). – What could the woman do, she lay down. When she woke up, the sun was already high. She sees that the old woman has already got up. She was busy with her cradles. Some of them she carried to the right side of the house, the others to the left. The newcomer got up, thinking: "I'd better get up, because I've got to go." The old woman served her food and fish and said to her:

– I can see you are in search of a mate, in search of a husband. Look, there is a path behind my house. It is well trodden. Start out on that path. As you go, you will hear three cries: "Hey, look here! We are pretty, we are beautiful!" But don't you look over there! Just keep your eyes on the road. You'll be called like this at three places. As you go, you'll arrive at a house. Go inside, but enter with your face covered. You will see some dirty, worn suitcases on your right. Pick one of these suitcases, leave with it at once, and bring it here. There are lovely gilded chests on the left, but don't touch any of those. Take one dirty, worn suitcase and come. Come back on the same road. As you come, you will hear cries again: "Woman living at the river-*Nyoksang*-river-*Mokkang*, look over here: we are pretty, we are beautiful!" But you are not to look at them. When you arrive, put the suitcase up onto the roof of the porch.

And so the woman left, as the old woman had advised. She walked and walked. Sure enough, she was called at three places: "Hey, woman, living on the river-*Nyoksang*-river-*Mokkang*, look over here! We are pretty, we are beautiful!" And she did look. As she looked, what she saw was a half-nose and a half-mouth. Three times she heard the cries, and each time she looked. And lo, she did arrive at the house. Indeed, as she went, she did not need to go a long way before she reached the house. When she arrived (in vain had the old woman warned her: "Pull down your kerchief as you go in!"), she entered with a bare face. As she enters, looks around, indeed there are some battered old suitcases standing on the right. On the other side are the beautiful gilded chests. They are really pretty! She thinks to herself: "Why, you have deceived me, old gossip! Why should I take a battered suitcase? I'll choose from the nicer ones, I'll take one of the chests!" And lo, she picked up a chest from the left. It was a very pretty gilded chest. She quickly took it outside. As she took it outside, she lifted it on her shoulder and started carrying it. On her way back she heard the cries again: "Look here! Take a look! We are pretty, we are beautiful!" She looked. She walked along until she almost reached the old woman's house. She thinks to herself: "What on earth can be inside this chest? It's so heavy." She tried to break the chest open. But what should she use? She tampered with the keyhole of the chest using a knife or something – and lo, there was blood leaking out. "What the deuce?" – she thinks to herself. She put the chest on her shoulder again and

continued the journey. She reached the old woman's house. Following the old woman's advice, she put the chest onto the roof of the porch. It was very heavy as she lifted it. Then she went inside to the old granny. The old woman was sad about her, she could see it on her face. She said:

– Woman from the river-head of the river *Nyoksang*, from the river-head of the river *Mokkang*! I can see that you haven't brought any long songs, any long tales! – “What on earth can this mean?” – the woman wonders to herself. After a while the old granny fed her some food of some sort, tea of some kind, and prepared the bed. They went to sleep. When morning broke, the woman got up. It was as if the old woman had got up a long time before. She was dragging some of the cradles to the right-hand side of the house, others to the left. And the woman thinks: “I must go!” The granny served her food and fish, and she set out. As a farewell, the old woman said:

– When you go to sleep, place this chest of yours taken with your own hands and feet next to you.

So the woman left. As she walked, she felt the chest so heavy that it made her think to herself: “It must be full of gold coins. I wish I was home at last!” Whether she walked for a long or a short time, she finally arrived home. By the time she got to her house, she was very tired. When she went to bed, she laid her chest beside her. This is how it happened. Let us now get on with the story of the other woman.

The two women lived in one village. Once the other woman realised that she hadn't seen her friend for a long time. “What can she be doing? I'll go and see her. Can she be ill? What's with her?” She went to her friend's house. As she enters and opens the door, lo, there is a one-eyed man-eating forest spirit sitting at the back of the house, at the holy place, and her friend's bones are above the fire, on a skewer.

– Well, well, – the forest spirit says – there seems to be another bloody, gristly, nice little bite here! – The woman got so frightened that she shut the door and ran home. She thinks: “I cannot live here any longer. I'm going away somewhere, or else the forest spirit will destroy me.” She packed, dressed and set out on her way. Her feet were carrying her. She thinks to herself: “I may find a man someplace. What can a man be like?” She started out in some direction. She walked along, whether for a long or a short time, and suddenly the night fell. The woman was tired.

All of a sudden she got to some stumps cut the previous year. As she went on, she saw stumps cut that year. “The house may not be very far from here – she thinks – there must be somebody living here.” She walked and walked, and soon a cottage appeared. She thinks: “I'm going inside, whoever should be living here. I've reached the end of the world this tired. Whoever lives here, I'm going inside.” And she entered the house. The old granny was again busy with her cradles. She was dragging some of them to the right-hand side of the house, some others to the left. The woman goes in and sits down. She bowed, they greeted each other. The granny asks:

– Woman from the river-head of the *Nyoksang*, from the river-head of the *Mokkang*! What has sung you here, what has told you here?

The woman answered:

– I am all alone, I don't ever see a soul. I thought I would set out and find myself a man somewhere. It's bad to be living alone.

The old woman made tea and prepared some food and laid the table. They ate and drank. The granny made the bed and said:

– Go to sleep, tired woman.

The woman went to sleep. When she woke up, there was light everywhere. The old woman seemed to have been up for a long time. She was busy with the cradles. Some of them she pulled to the right side of the house, others to the left. She was bustling about like this. She prepared food, fish. They ate and drank, and the old woman instructed her guest:

– There is a path behind my house. It is a well-trodden path. Set out along that road. As you go, you will hear three cries: “Look here! Glance over here! We are pretty, we are beautiful!” But don’t you take a look! There will be three cries. Then you’ll go some distance before you reach a house. Enter the house, you won’t see anything. In one half of the house there will be suitcases, in the other some gilded chests. Go in there, but cover your face. Choose one from the battered, old suitcases. There will be gilded chests there as well, but don’t even touch any of them. Leave immediately, and come back.

The woman left. Sure enough, just as the old woman had said, there was a well-trodden path starting from the house. The woman walked on this path. She kept on walking, and, sure enough, she heard a cry: “Hey, look at us! We are pretty, we are beautiful!” But she did not even glance there, she pulled her kerchief even lower. The cries were heard three times, but she did not look even once. Indeed, as she walked along, she found a house. She entered silently, with her face covered. She looked around and indeed, she saw some battered and worn suitcases on the right, and beautiful gilded chests on the left. She mused: “Why should I pick the golden chest?” And, as the old woman had ordered, she lifted a bad, battered suitcase. She turned outside immediately, and started back on the path. On the way back she heard three cries again: “Look here! Glance over here! We are pretty, we are beautiful!” She refused to look. When she got to the old woman’s house, she put her suitcase onto the roof of the porch. She entered. The old granny had just finished preparing the meal and she gave some to the woman, saying:

– You must have got hungry. The whole day... – This granny is so good! They ate and drank. Then she prepared the bed:

– Lie down, tired woman! – she says. And the old woman went to bed too.

When the woman gets up in the morning, she sees that the old woman is already up. She thinks to herself: “I’ve been sleeping for this long!” And she jumped up. The old woman placed some foods before her again. She says:

– Well then, you are going home now. When you get home, place your suitcase next to your pillow when you go to sleep. Lay it next to you. It might become something for you – or it might not.

So, after they had eaten and drank, the woman left. She took her suitcase with her. She hurried back home. She walked and walked, whether for a long time or a short time, and she reached her house. She went inside, ate and drank, and, being very tired, she went to bed. Following the old woman’s instructions, she laid the suitcase next to her. Once she wakes up at night, and thinks to herself: “I have been sleeping for so long. It is already light in here.” She gets up and as she is going out, she stumbles. It is dark out-

side. She goes in, there is a golden man lying beside her bed. A shining man is sleeping there. She lay down by his side. They got up in the morning. Was it their fathers or their mothers who gave them to each other? The man was as beautiful as the sun and the moon (a beautiful man with a moon-like face, a beautiful man with a sun-like face). They lived in happiness and in richness. The old woman gave her her own son.

That's all, it's the end.

The explanation of certain expressions:

1. *river-Nyoksang-river-Mokkang*: a fictitious place-name. The first member has meaning: rich in sables, the second is only a rhyming doublet.

2. *stumps cut the previous year, stumps cut that year*: the traces of recent woodcutting imply that there is an inhabited area nearby

3. *she entered with her face uncovered*: Ostyak women must cover their faces even before some of their own relatives, but certainly before strange men. When they enter an unfamiliar house, they have to do so with their face covered by way of precaution.

4. *half of the cottage is dark, the other half is light*: neither the informant nor the women helping with the translation of the tale were able to say with whom the old woman pushing the cradles in the dark or the light half of the cottage is identical. By the information Ágnes Kerecsi the daughter of the Fire-goddess lives in such a house, and she decides about the fate of the newborn in the moment of birth.

5. *In the back of the house, at the holy place*: the household idols are kept at the rear wall of the cottage, facing the entrance. Women may not enter this place.

6. *one-eyed forest spirit*: one of the few malevolent spirits. This was what the content of the gilded, which was chosen by the foolish woman instead of the dirty suitcase.

TEXT 5: THE FROG PRINCESS (AaTH 402 + 465C)

Told by Lena Petrovna Kurlomkina in June 1992 in Kurlomkino. The thirteen-year-old girl had heard the tale from her father, Petr Vasilievich. Written down and translated into Russian by Agrafena Semenovna Sopochina in April 1994 in Budapest.

Once upon a time lived *Torem* khan. He had three sons. As they are living thus, once the khan says to his sons:

– You are grown now, it is time for you to get married. Take your bows and arrows and shoot with them. You should take your wife from where the arrow falls.

The eldest son was the first to bend his bow, and his arrow fell on the roof of a rich merchant's porch. The arrow was found by the merchant's daughter. Then came the middle son's shot. His arrow fell on the porch of a less rich merchant. The youngest son's arrow flew very high, but who knows where it fell.

The sons set off to find their arrows. They walked and walked. The eldest son arrived at the rich merchant's court. The middle one went to the house of the less rich trader. The youngest reached a marsh of some kind. It was damp and covered with a scattered forest. His arrow had fallen there. It seems somebody dragged the arrow away.

Where could it have been taken? He went on, following the footprints, when he noticed a small grass-hut. He entered. He sees that there is a frog jumping around inside. As soon as he entered, the frog laid the table nicely and covered it with food and drink. This cannot be turned down. They sat down to eat. The frog says:

– Soon you will celebrate the wedding. You go home, and I'll be coming after you later. During the banquet you will hear a great crash. The earth will tremble and the sky will thunder. Do not be afraid. The people will run out for fear, but you should stay where you are. They'll run out, but after a while they will return, since they won't see anything outside. They'll take their seats again, but as soon as they start eating and drinking there will be some noise again. You should not go anywhere this time either. Let the people run outside, they won't find anything anyway. They will protest: "We won't go out any more if a noise is heard for the third time. We must be imagining things." They will sit down. And indeed, there will be an enormous crash again, with everything quaking. This time you should run out, when that great cataclysm is on its way. Ten strong men will want to withhold you, but you should go out even so; that is when I will be coming."

The boy spent the night there. In the morning when he woke up, he found the food there, prepared. He got up, had tea, sat around for a while and then he left for home. As he got home, his parents meet him laughing:

– Has your arrow fallen among frogs, sonny? – but he did not answer a word.

When they gathered together for the wedding, his brothers also arrived with their wives. *Torem* khan says to his sons:

– Let the wives of each of you bake some bread for tomorrow morning. Let us see which of them will bake the most delicious bread.

The women went home and the next day each of them brought the bread. The father opens the eldest son's bread-chest and says:

– This must be eaten only on weekdays.

He looks at the middle son's bread:

– This bread is for minor holidays.

As he takes the youngest son's bread in his hands, he just opens the bread-chest:

– Where is your wife? Well, this bread is so delicious that it would attract admirers from many a town. Look here!

As soon as he opened the chest, he closed it again. People with quick eyes could see into it, but those who turned their eyes there slowly could not see anything.

– This is indeed very good bread. It must only be eaten on major holidays. Now that your wives have shown what kind of bread they can bake, let them sew shirts. Let each sew a shirt for me by tomorrow.

The women started sewing the shirts. The next morning the sons arrived with the shirts. The tsar takes the eldest son's shirt in his hands and says:

– This is to be worn on weekdays. It is fit to be worn for work.

He takes the middle son's shirt:

– This can be worn for going to the bath.

Then he looks at the youngest son's shirt:

– Well done! This is a beautiful shirt! This must be worn on great feasts.

After this the wedding was held. The people started eating and drinking, the cooks had prepared all kinds of delicious dishes. When they were pretty much weakened, a thunder was heard from outside. It made a terrible noise. The people ran out, but the youngest son stayed in his place. When they go out, they realise there is nothing outside. They come back and start eating and drinking again. When they were about to dance as well, all of a sudden the same terrible thunder was heard. The folks run out again. Going out, no matter how hard they were looking, they could not see anything. They go inside, saying:

– To be sure, if we hear this thunder again, we won't go outside. It's just our imagination playing tricks on us.

They go on partying, drinking and dancing. A thunder is heard for the third time. Now it is the youngest son's turn to run out. Men stronger than ten men try to catch him, but he runs out all the same. After a while he returns with his wife. They start dancing. After the wedding the sons with their wives lived in their father's house. The youngest son lived there too, the frog jumped around him, cooked, washed, did the housework.

One night *Torem* khan's wife wakes up. What on earth? The house is full of shining light. What could have happened, she thinks. Can it be that the sun rose, how is it that we have been sleeping for so long? She went out. As soon as she went she saw it was dark outside. She went inside. "Is there a fire, or what" – she thinks. She looked around inside and she saw that the light was coming out of her youngest son's and daughter-in-law's room. There lay her daughter-in-law, a ravishing beauty, with the frogskin on her. *Torem* khan's wife says to herself: "What a splendidly beautiful woman! I wish she always lived with us, being as beautiful as she is now!" She kindled the fire. When it started glowing, the mother-in-law threw the frogskin into it. Her daughter-in-law disappeared in that very moment.

The youngest son woke up still at night. He burst out in tears: "What happened? Who did this?" He left. He did not want to stay at home, there was no reason. He walked and walked. He looks: he is wandering at night. It is good to walk at night. The stars are looking down on him from the clear blue sky. He walked and walked, and at one place he thought: "I should spend the night here. If I am up as late as this, then the next generation, the puppets of cembra-cones, pine-cones will walk around at night." He made up his mind to find a place to stay, he wanted to light a fire, he started looking for logs. As he looks around, he sees that wood was cut here a long time ago. He goes further and sees that wood has been carried there also. He goes on, and here wood cut this year has been carried. Soon he found an iron road, a stone road. He continued his journey on that road.

He walked and walked. Once he reached a house. There was an old woman there. He entered.

– Sonny, why have you come? If you are here, spend the night at my place – the old woman says. She gave him food and drink, then she asked:

– Well, have you got a good wife, Sonny?

– I used to have – he answers.

– What's happened to her?

– My mummy has chased her away. Right now I am looking for her.

– Well, indeed. I cannot really give you advice. Travel on. My middle sister lives not far from here. If she can help you, all is well.

Next day the boy left. He walked and walked. The stars were watching him from above. Once he thought he should spend the night. I am still up and going, though if I am up at night, the people to be born later will be the size of cembra-cones, pine-cones and they will walk around at night. When he was looking for some wood for the night, he saw that wood had been carried there a long time ago. He walked on. At that place wood had been cut the previous year. he walked on again. He came across logs that had been cut that year. Soon he found an iron road, a stone road. He walked on on that. He walked and walked. When he reached a house, he went in.

– What are you doing here, Sonny? Welcome! I am your aunt.

They had tea and food. His aunt asks:

– Well, Sonny, have you got a very good wife?

– Oh, well, I used to have – he says.

– And where is that woman?

– My mummy has driven her away.

– Well, I cannot tell you anything helpful. Go away from here, to the place where my sister lives. She will surely tell you something, some good advice.

The next day he left. He walked and walked. The stars are looking from above. He thinks he should spend the night. If I am up at night, people in the next generation will be the size of cembra-cones, pine cones and they will walk around at night. Looking around, he saw some trunks. Wood had been cut here a long-long time ago. The path changed into an iron road, stone road. Following that road he reached a house. His youngest aunt also asked, while feeding him:

– Have you got a very good wife?

– Oh, I used to have one a long-long time ago.

– And what's become of her?

– My mummy has chased her away. Can you help me in any way?

– I will. Hide yourself tomorrow. That woman will come here at noon. If you catch her, she'll be yours, if not, she won't.

The following day arrived. Towards noon a swan started circling above them. She says to his aunt:

– Is there somebody with you? I can smell a man.

– How could anybody ever be with me, when I live all alone.

– No, please, tell the truth, who are you hiding?

– Who would ever come to my place, I am all alone.

When the swan was drawing the third circle, she said that she was still smelling a man. His aunt pleaded:

– Believe me, there is nobody here. I am all alone.

After this the swan believed her, she alighted and jumped onto the roof of the house. She went inside and turned into a woman. She was there for a while. When she was about to leave, the man caught her. That youngest son seems to have hidden. They started wrestling. She threw him to the ground, he jumped up at once. Then he threw her to the

ground. He could feel his strength vanishing. He thinks to himself: "This woman is so strong, she is almost too much for me." He grabbed the woman, shook her with all his might and threw her to the floor. He thinks to himself: "If women are stronger than men, what will happen if the cembra-cone, pine-cone puppets appear? Let the women in the coming generation be weaker by the strength of half a squirrel." And his wife remained in his hands. He took her home.

As soon as they got home...They did not live at home, but somewhere else. They built a stone house, iron house. There they began to live. Once on a winter evening the eldest brother goes out and looks around. Going in, he says to his father:

– Father, you are a divine ruler. But why is it like this? The chimney of our brother's house reaches to the sky, its fire sparkles in the sky. And the smoke on top of our chimney is blown in the wind like a dog wagging its tail. We cannot light a good fire. As soon as the fire is kindled, the wind pushes it back at once.

– I will take care of this matter.

Father *Torem* khan said to his servant:

– Call my youngest son here.

The servant called the youngest son. His father says to him:

– My father used to have two instruments, a music-wood (zither) and a woman-wood (violin). When he died, I buried them with him. Go and find those instruments.

What shall the youngest son do now, having received such an order from *Torem* khan? On the way home he started crying. As he was nearing their home, he wiped his tears away from his eyes and entered. His wife says:

– Well, what did your father say that you are coming home laughing?

– Come on, he did not tell any tales or songs.

– When you entered, you wiped your eyes. Here, your tears! – the woman showed her palm.

– He is sending me to the lower world. He says that when his father died, his woman-wood and his music-wood were buried beside him. These are the things I must find.

– If this is what *Torem* khan has ordered – what can we do? Go then! Only build me first a house standing on a pillar, an iron pillar, very high.

The boy built a really tall house resting on a pillar and he locked his wife up in it. He himself went on his way. His wife had given him a reel of yarn and a small piece of plank. He jumped on the plank and the reel and at once he flew away.

He took a long time flying. Suddenly he sees a hole in the ground. He climbed down into it. He flew downwards and once he fell onto a bright place. It was broad daylight where he fell. He went on from there.

At one place it looked as if some small, dried-out pine trees were standing. He takes a better look – lo, they are human bones sticking out. He turned his gaze away and he left. He sees another place: it looks like lawn, beautifully raked grass. He takes a better look – lo, it was human hair. He did not stop to watch it any longer, he went on his way. Suddenly he heard a cry: "Look here, for just a minute!" He glanced there and saw some half-faced, half-nosed, one-eyed cheeks. He did not watch them for long, he went on his way.

Again he walked and walked. At one spot an old woman and an old man are pulling a large sheepskin. They want to lie down, but they cannot both cover themselves with it. They keep quarrelling, bickering. Here the boy heard a voice from somewhere: "When these two lived in the shiny middle world, they were continually making rows. They go on with that kind of life even now."

He travelled on. Further away he saw an old woman and an old man lying covered with an inch-wide piece of sheepskin. No part of them sticks out from under it. Now the boy hears this voice: "These two lived well in the shiny middle world. They never did any harm to one another, they never said an angry word. They continue that kind of life even now."

He went further along. He saw a horse, or rather half a horse, the other half was missing. It walked like that. From somewhere someone says: "This horse had been sacrificed, but its owners kept half of it for themselves and only gave the other half to the people. That is why this horse is like this now."

He walked along again. He saw another horse, but this was a huge, fat one. It did not stay in one place, it kept dancing and jumping. A voice is heard again: "This horse had also been sacrificed, but all its meat was given to the people, folks were given a treat, and its owner did not keep so much as a piece of it to himself. This luck has followed it here too."

He went on. Once he arrived at a big house. His plank and reel stopped there. He went inside and saw a giant lying down and snoring. A giant woman was also sitting inside. The lady says:

– Why have you come? – and she gave him food.

– I was sent by gods-spirits greater than me.

They had some tea. Then the woman started waking her husband. He went on snoring. Finally he woke up and the boy, in his alarm, was jammed to the door-nail. The giant asks:

– What's brought you here?

– I did not come on my own accord. I was sent by a god-spirit greater than me.

– Why were you sent here?

– To find the musical-wood, woman-wood. My father says that they were buried at his father's death with him.

– Go home right now! Don't stop until you reach the house of *Torem* khan, your father. Open the gate and hurry to your own house where your wife is locked in the house on the pillar.

He turned back immediately. He did not even see the house, the half horse, the half-nosed one-eyed cheeks on his way home, he was in such a hurry.

At last he emerged to the earth. He found himself in the middle of a town inhabited by man. He hurried to *Torem* khan's house, he flung the gate open and lo, the music-wood and the woman-wood flew inside. Arriving home he smelt the stench of rotten bile. People were trying to cut down the iron pillared house, some with axes, others with saws and hammers. They wanted to get hold of the woman. He dispersed the people and rescued his wife.

They lived on, for a long or a short time, for a long or a short time, when once his eldest brother went out again. He saw his younger brother's chimney. The flames reached from the top of the chimney up to the skies, to the upper world, as if someone was pulling them, while the smoke of their own chimney was wriggling like a dog's tail, the flames swaying. The wind keeps blowing the smoke back onto the roof of the house. He went in to his father, saying:

– You, father, are supposed to be *Torem* khan. But look: the flames coming from the chimney of our younger brother's house are reaching up to the skies. Our fire, like the end of a dog's tail is pressed down by the wind as soon as it appears in the chimney hole.

– Just you wait, I'm going to find him something to do. – Again he called his servant to call, says he, the youngest son. He had his son appear before him. He says to him:

– When my father died, he had a stick singing songs and another stick telling tales. When we turned the one, it sang a hundred songs, when we turned the other, it told a hundred tales. There is no one to find these sticks. You would certainly manage to do it.

The boy went home. Again, he wept as he walked. When he entered, he wiped his tears away. His wife asks:

– Did *Torem* khan say something good? I can see you have come home laughing.

– He didn't say anything special.

– But you came weeping – the woman showed him her palm. – Here, your tears. I don't want you to shed any tears. This one was shed. What was it that your father said to you?

– He wants to send me to the lower world again.

– What can we do? We cannot resist *Torem* khan's word. Before you leave, build me a house standing on two iron pillars and lock me in.

Again she gave him a reel of thread and a piece of plank. The boy set out. He walked and walked until he flew inside the earth. Whether he was flying for a long or for a short time inside the earth, once he got to a bright spot. It was as if the sun was shining or such like.

At one place it looked as if there were dry pine-trees growing. He takes a better look: they are human bones. He went further along, where he saw a lawn, neatly combed grass. Looking again, he saw it was human hair. He walks on, and at one place he hears whistling and shouting: as he looks there, he sees half-cheeked, half-mouthed, half-nosed, one-eyed monsters. He quickened his steps.

As he walked, he saw a couple lying on the ground. They have a sheepskin coat on them, so huge that half a town or village could be covered with it. Yet they cannot cover themselves. Either the woman or the man pulls it on. They keep quarrelling, bickering. Someone says from somewhere: "These had a bad life in the living (middle) world. They go on like that even here."

As he went forward, he saw another couple. They were lying under a sheepskin the size of a palm. Nothing was sticking out from under it.

He walked on. There was half a horse standing there. He thinks: "How is it that I can see only half of this horse?" He hears a voice from the distance: "In the living (middle) world this horse had been offered as a sacrifice, but its owners kept half of it for themselves and distributed only the other half among the people. This goes on here too."

He walked further. There was another horse standing there, but this one was a huge, fatted, brawny animal. It could not stay in one place, it kept turning, jumping, neighing. A voice was heard from outside: "This horse had also been sacrificed, but its owners invited the people to eat all the meat. Who knows whether they kept a piece to themselves or not. This is how it lives here, too."

He strolled along. He reached a big house. A giant woman was sitting inside and a huge man was lying down. The woman gave him tea and this and that. Once she starts waking her husband:

– Old man, get up, but take care. Your young brother has come to you, he who has seen no bad worlds. Slowly, old man, carefully.

As the old woman was waking him, the old man woke up and the boy suddenly found himself at the door, holding on to the door-handle – he was so frightened. They sat down and started talking.

– Who's sent you here?

– Who's sent me? I've been sent by a god-spirit greater than me. My father-old man, *Torem* khan said that at the death of his father the song-singing stick and the tale-telling stick had been buried with him. He has sent me to find them.

– Go home quickly, then. When you get home, open *Torem* khan's gate. The song-singing stick and the tale-telling stick will fly inside by themselves. Hurry to your wife. By the time you get there, your wife's house will nearly have tumbled down. Don't come here again. If you come for the third time, you will be eaten by the people."

The boy turned back quickly. He may have seen the one eye, half mouth, half horse, he may not. He kept on walking.

As soon as he got to *Torem* khan's gate, he flung it wide open. The song-singing stick and the tale-telling stick flew inside right away. He hurried to his wife. When he got there, the house on the pillars was swaying, about to tumble down. He dispersed the people. There was an awful stench at the place, the smell of bile and blood could be smelt. He picked up his wife.

When he was still in the lower world, that man also said to him: "When you go home, shut all the windows and doors of your stone house, iron house tight with stones. Don't step outside the house for seven nights and seven days." Thus, having gone inside, they locked themselves up properly, closing the doors and windows with stones. Once they hear something outside. What can it be? A great windstorm. They sat inside the house for seven nights and seven days. Once then they went outside. As soon as they went out, they saw there was nothing there. No house, no town, only barrenness everywhere. It's the end.

The following can only be found in the Russian translation: Later other people came to the town, who settled there. They obeyed *Torem* khan's youngest son, he became the ruler. The storm had been created by the giant from the lower world to destroy the cruel people. So new people moved into the town and they had a good life from then on.

Explanations:

1. *Torem* khan: heavenly/divine ruler. In the Russian translation he is simply the tsar.

2. *cone puppets of cembra pine, cone puppets of pine*: a metaphor for earthly, mortal people. According to one explanation the gods, who look on the earth from above, see people as pine-cone puppets.

3. *traces of that year's woodcutting*: there is an inhabited area nearby.

4. *the woman should be weaker by the strength of half a squirrel*: the heroes of tales appear as the representatives of the spirit world, whose actions influence the lives of people yet to be born – a motif that often occurs in Ostyak tales

5. *music-wood, woman-wood*: real Ostyak musical instruments. The music-wood is a zither-like plucking instrument, the woman-wood a stringed instrument.

6. *tears in the hand*: the collecting of tears can appear as a duty. The dead must not be wept for, because they have to count the tears shed for them, which is extremely tiresome.

7. *wood singing a song, wood telling a tale*: also instruments, but fictitious, not real.

TEXT 6: THE THREE BROTHERS (AaTH 1920H)

Told by Semen Timofeevich Kechimov in Russkinskie in June 1992. Written down and translated into Russian by Agrafena Semionovna Sopochina in April 1994 in Budapest.

Once upon a time a father had three sons. Who knows whether they lived for a long time or a short time. Once they went into the forest. They arrived in the forest, in the depth of the forest. But they had forgotten the fire. They did not have any fire. Not far from there there is a fire burning. There is a house there.

– Well, brother, go and ask for some fire. Who can be living here?

The eldest brother went there.

– Come on, give me some fire.

– Tell me some old songs and old tales and then I'll give you fire.

– How could I have old songs and old tales?

He was hit, he was beaten, he was pushed out.

– If you don't have any old songs and old tales, clear out from here.

As soon as the boy snatched a piece of living coal, he was caught right away.

– Well, could you get some fire, having been there?

– How could I have? You must tell old tales, old songs and then you'll be given fire.

As soon as I lifted a piece of living coal, I was caught. I was hit, I was beaten, I was thrown out.

– Well then, middle brother, now it's your turn to go.

So the middle brother set out. He entered the house. He says to Fiery-Ashes-Man-Ashes old man:

– Come on, give us some fire. We are people come into the forest, but we have come without fire. We have forgotten about the fire.

– Tell me some old songs and old tales, and then I'll give you fire.

– How could I have old songs and old tales?

As soon as he lifted the living coal, as soon as he ran out, he was grabbed. He was hit, he was beaten, he was thrown out.

– Well, have you got any fire?

– Come now, how could I have any fire? He says you should tell him old songs and old tales and then you'll get the fire. As soon as I snatched a piece of living coal I was caught right away. I was hit, I was beaten, I was pushed out.

– How come, brothers, that you do not have any old songs and old tales? Then it is my turn to go.

So now the youngest son went. He entered the house.

– Give us some fire. We have set out into the forest, but we have no fire.

– Tell me some old songs and old tales, and then I'll give you fire.

– No way, it goes rather like this: First you give me food and fish, and then I'll tell you the old song and the old tale.

So, the old man gave him some food and fish to eat.

– Well, listen to the old song and old tale!

“Once upon a time I lived. All of a sudden I woke up. And lo, my mother was born. How should I prepare my mother's birth-feast? I walked upwards along the river. I carried a bow and arrows. Seven wild reindeer bulls stand there. I shot right away, they all fell. I took the meat of these seven forest bulls home. But who should I invite to the feast to eat and drink? I invited the god Torem's seven sons. They ate and drank at the feast and then they went home.

At another time I notice that now it is my father who was born. Well, now, how am I supposed to prepare the birth-feast of my father? I walked upwards by the river. I took my bow and arrows, I was looking for game. There are seven wild reindeer bulls running there. I shoot them, they fall. I take their meat home. Who shall I invite to the feast of food and drink? Once again I invited the seven sons of the god Torem. We celebrated the banquet with eating and drinking. In the manner of those great idol spirits, great forest spirits, lo, I was lifted upwards. I did not see my entering the lower heaven, I did not see my entering the upper heaven. Once when I came to, I was standing with my head down. My two feet were upwards.

Well, and then these many animals, all these many animals keep coming. The many animals all came on foot. And then I can hear them running and lowing, it can be heard. And when I start listening properly, the ends of my bones start grating. Once, though, a little bird made its nest in between my legs. I start listening again, I can hear the steps of something. Someone came here and snatched me up. It is my father. My father pulled me up.”

The boy struck the blind old man dead. He took some from the fire and left at once.

– You, brothers, do not know old songs or words telling old tales. But I have struck the old man dead.

The boys took home the riches-money of the old man. They have been living well, prosperously ever since.

REFERENCES

HONTI, László

1978a: Tromagani osztják szövegek (Tromagan Ostyak Texts). *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények* 80: 127–139

LÁZÁR, Katalin

1996: *A keleti hantik vokális népzeneje* (Vocal Folk Music of Eastern Ostyaks). Budapest

STEINITZ, Wolfgang

1976: *Ostjakologische Arbeiten II*. Budapest

1989: *Ostjakologische Arbeiten III*. Budapest

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE LIFE, CULTURE AND BELIEFS OF THE OSTYAKS OF THE SURGUT REGION

Ágnes KEREZSI

Hungarian Ethnographical Museum
H-1055 Budapest, Kossuth tér 12. Hungary

RESEARCH HISTORY

Since Márta CSEPREGI, one of the authors of this volume, has already written a short history of research on the Ostyak language and culture, this section on research history will cover the – mainly Russian – authors not mentioned in her chapter but whose work is so important that no detailed, expert ethnographic research on the Ob-Ugrians is possible without a knowledge of their findings.

One of the earliest works, also important in content, was “Краткое описание о народе остяцком” by Grigori NOVITSKY published in 1884 containing data mainly on the Southern Ostyaks. The significance of this work is increased by the fact that this Ostyak group is now practically russified and has preserved very little of its language and culture. For almost a century and a half after NOVITSKY no serious work on the Ostyaks appeared, although shorter articles were written during this period. Then at almost the same time two major researchers, the Finn Matias Aleksanteri CASTRÉN and the Hungarian Antal REGULY dealt with the language and folk poetry of the Ob-Ugrians. They both spent a long period in Siberia and their fate was also similar. They died early, before they could work up the material they had collected.

There was a new wave of interest in the Ostyak people in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Besides the highly important Finnish researcher, August AHLQUIST, it is worth mentioning A. A. DUNIN-GORKAVICH who published a three-volume work in 1911 under the title of “Тобольский Север” in which he described the life of the native inhabitants of Siberia in thorough detail. S. PATKANOV, an economist by training, did very high standard and valuable work collecting folk poetry among the Ostyaks of the Irtysh region which he published in Russian and German: “Тип остяцкого богатыря по остяцким билинам и героическим сказаниям” 1891 and “Die Irtysh-ostjaken und ihre Volkspoesie” – Vol. I Saint Petersburg 1897, Vol. II. Saint Petersburg 1900.

The Hungarians József PÁPAY, Károly PÁPAI and János JANKÓ worked among the Ostyaks around the turn of the century, as well as the Finns U. T. SIRELIUS and K. F. KARJALAINEN. While SIRELIUS studied mainly the material culture – house types, handicrafts, means of transport, branches of economy – KARJALAINEN, besides studying some of the Ostyak dialects, devoted considerable attention to the beliefs of the Ob-Ugrians. The material he collected on folk beliefs was published in three volumes in Finnish and German: “Die Religion der Jugra-Völker” – Helsinki, Porvoo, 1921–1927.

V. N. CHERNETSOV, an outstanding figure in Russian Ugrian studies, began work in

the Northern Urals as a young man in the 1920s. He spent 25 years collecting ethnographic material in North-West Siberia. He did not spend much time among the Ostyaks, being among the Voguls and the Nenets for much longer periods. Despite this, he wrote exceptionally important articles on many areas of Ostyak culture, including houses, folk art, social structure, folk poetry and ceremonies. His works appeared regularly from the 1920s up to the 1980s. Most recently his ethnographic diary was published in 1987, edited by N. V. LUKINA O. M. RINJINA under the title of "Источники по этнографии Западной Сибири".

In the mid 1920s G. STARTSEV and M. B. SHATILOV journeyed to the territory of the Ostyaks to conduct economic surveys but they also carried out research in other areas. The following works were produced as a result: G. STARTSEV "Остяки" – Leningrad 1928 and M. B. SHATILOV "Ваховские остяки. – Труды Томского Краеведческого-го Музея" – 1931, Vol. 4.

N. F. PRITKOVA worked among the Ostyaks in the 1930s and 1940s, also taking part in the creation of Ostyak literacy and later producing an important study on Ostyak folk costume: "Одежда хантов. – Сборник Музея Антропологии и Этнографии" 1953, Vol. 15.

Special mention must be made of the Ostyak-born N. I. TERIOSHKIN who did research in the 1940s and 1950s on several dialects of the Ostyak language and did linguistic analysis of them. Although the work was intended to run to several volumes, only the first was published as "Ваховский диалект" in 1961, followed twenty years later by "Словарь восточно – хантинский диалектов" in 1981. Unfortunately, the author's folk poetry collections of inestimable value remain in manuscript form in the family legacy.

From the 1950s such important Russian research worked in Siberia among the Ostyaks as the art historian S. V. IVANOV who attempted to seek an answer to ethnogenetic questions through the stock of forms of folk art motifs and their meanings. "Материалы по изобразительному искусству народов Сибири XIX. – нач. XX. в.", 1954. "Орнамент народов Сибири как исторический источник", 1963. "Скульптура народов севера Сибири XIX. – первой половины XX. в.", 1970.

Z. P. SOKOLOVA, one of the most productive of the Ob-Ugrian researchers, also made regular visits to the Ob-Ugrians from the 1950s. She wrote several dozen articles on the building types, beliefs, burial ceremonies, social structure and ethnic history of these peoples. Her books intended for general readers have been published in many languages.

Two major researchers of recent times living in Siberia, V. M. KULEMZIN and N. V. LUKINA, began regular collecting activities in the 1970s, mainly among the Ostyaks and in particular among the Eastern Ostyaks. Their work covers practically the entire spectrum of Ostyak culture. While V. M. KULEMZIN deals mainly with beliefs and shamanism ("Человек и природа в верованиях хантов", 1984, "Шаманство Васюгано – Ваховских хантов", 1976), N. V. LUKINA turns her attention to the material culture of the Ostyaks and the history of their reindeer herding. ("Альбом хантыйских орнаментов", 1979, "Формирование материальной культуры хантов", 1985).

By the 1980s and 1990s a new generation of Ob-Ugrian researchers emerged. It is not possible to list them all here, but mention can be made of C. PIKA, E. P. MARTINOVA, E. G. FIDOROVA, N. I. NOVIKOVA and A. V. GOLOVNOV. The latter scholar published a lengthy monograph in 1995 on the traditions of the Samoyeds and the Ob-Ugrians. (Говорящие культуры, 1995)

Thanks to the favourable changes of the recent past, in contrast to the Hungarian scholars of the 1960s and 1970s, among whom only Éva SCHMIDT succeeded in reaching the field, many of today's researchers and students, among them the authors of this volume, have been able to visit Siberia. Their research findings have been published in a number of articles, but this study is the first joint summing up of their work.

SOURCES, INFORMANTS

In writing this study I used two widely differing sources. On the one hand I made use of the international literature of the 19th–20th centuries and on the other, I drew on my own collecting work. I spent time among the Ostyaks on five occasions:

I. In December 1990 I visited the Vello family living beside the Lyamin II river in the Surgut district, and then the Horov family who live 17 km away.

II. In March 1991 I visited the Sopochin extended family living beside the Voki-rap-yagun, a tributary of the Tromyegan river in the Surgut district.

III. In August 1991 I visited the same place again.

IV. In June and July 1992 I visited the same place, and the Kurlomkin family living beside the upper reaches of the Great Yegan river.

V. In June 1993 I stayed with the Sopochin extended family living beside the Voki-rap-yagun river and with the Russkin extended family living 50 km away beside the Inguyagun river.

INFORMANTS

Anna Vello, born in the 1930s, came from the Upper Kazim river to her husband beside the Lyamin II river.

Sergei Mikhailovich Horov – Lyamin II river, born in the 1920s.

Anastasia Gerasimovna Horova, born 1930.

Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin – Voki-rap-yagun, born 1910s.

Agrafena Andreyevna Sopochina, born 1922.

Yosif Ivanovich Sopochin – Voki-rap-yagun, born 1958.

Fekla Ivanovna Pokocheva (née Sopochina) – Voki-rap-yagun, born 1945.

Irina Ivanovna Kechimova (née Sopochina) – Voki-rap-yagun, born 1961.

Feoktista Ivanovna Sopochina, born 1949.

Rimma Nikitichna Sopochina (née Russkina) – came from beside the Tromyegan river to her husband at Voki-rap-yagun, born 1964.

Kirill Ignatievich Pokochev – Voki-rap-yagun, born 1944.

Dmitri Antonovich Kechimov – Voki-rap-yagun, born 1960.

Igor Aivosed – Voki-rap-yagun, born 1961.

Tatyana Aivoseda – Voki-rap-yagun, born 1954.

Zoya Nikolayevna Aypina (née Sopochina) – lives beside the Agan river. Born 1954.

Marina Sartakova (née Sopochina), lives in the Nizhnevartovsk district beside the Yavoryah river, born 1968.

Ivan Mikhailovich Sartakov – Nizhnevartovsk district, beside the Yavoryah river, born 1966.

Gennadi Semyenovich Russkin – Inguyagun, born 1968.

Rimma Petrovna Russkina (née Tevlina) – Tromyegan river, born 1971.

Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin – Inguyagun, born 1954.

Petr Vasilyevich Kurlomkin – Great Yegan, born 1936.

Taisa Mikhailovna Kurlomkina (née Yarsomova) – Ostyak of the Urgut region, born 1941.

Elena Petrovna Kurlomkina – Great Yegan, born 1979.

Nikolai Danilovich Kayukov – Great Yegan, born 1965.

Tamara Sidorovna Tevlina – Russkinskiye village.

Ivan Dmitrievich Kechemov – Surgut.

FAMILY AND SOCIETY

It is a generally accepted view that when the Russians appeared in Siberia in the 16th–17th centuries the Ob-Ugrians were at the level of a disintegrating primitive community. This process strengthened by the 19th century, facilitated by the transition made by the native inhabitants from a subsistence economy to barter trade, that is, their entry into the Russian state market system. At the same time, it must be stressed that the disintegration of the primitive community had reached different stages among the various groups of the Ob-Ugrian. The Ostyaks of the Irtysh region, for example, were already on the threshold of a class society in the 16th century (БОЯРШИНОВА 1960: 56), while, as Z. P. SOKOLOVA pointed out, the social relations of the Ostyaks beside the Vakh and in the Surgut region differed greatly from those of the other Ostyak groups in being much more developed. (СОКОЛОВА 1970: 107) V. M. KULEMZIN considered the cause of this, in the case of the Vasyugan Ostyaks to be that they engaged exclusively in fishing and hunting which contributed to the conservation of the old social and economic relations. Moreover, because they lived in such an inaccessible place, external influences were weaker and so archaic elements of their society were better able to survive. (КУЛЕМЗИН 1976: 24–25) Almost the same can be said for the Ostyaks of the Surgut region. The Kurlomkin family living beside the Great Yegan still engages exclusively in fishing and hunting, while the families living beside the tributaries of the Tromyegan supplement this by keeping a few reindeer. Right up to the second half of the 20th century this territory was difficult to reach: travel was impeded by the swamps to the north and the vast expanse of forest to the south. This circumstance probably also largely contributed to the fact that many archaic elements no longer found in other groups have survived right up to the present among the Ostyaks of the Surgut region.

In the late 19th century and early 20th century among the Eastern Ostyaks the basic unit of society was the family and the yurt village. Their settlements were generally small, consisting of only one to three households linked by close kinship relations. (КУЛЕМЗИН 1976: 25) This is confirmed by our own observations. As in the 19th century, the basic unit of society is still the family and the settlement area among the Ostyaks of the Surgut region who have remained in the taiga and still follow the traditional way of life. Their settlement areas are small, consisting of one to four closely related households. In the settlement area beside the Voki-rap-yagun, for example, at first five and later four families lived together. The eldest generation was represented by Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin and his wife who, because of their advanced age, lived in a single household together with their son Yosif and his family. (Fig. 1) The second family consisted of Irina, the younger daughter of the elderly head of the family, her husband, Dmitri Antonovich Kechimov, and their three children, Mikhail, Dmitri and Stanislav. (Fig. 2) The third household was that of the eldest Sopochin daughter, Fekla and her husband, Kirill Ignatievich Pokochev. (Fig. 3) Tatiana, the widow of their son who had died early, also lived with them, together with her second husband, Igor Aivosed and their children. (Fig. 4) The situation was similar in the settlement area beside the nearby Inguyagun stream where three families lived together: Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin (Fig. 5) with his wife and two children, his half-brother Gennadi Russkin and his family, (Fig. 6) and their first cousin Vladimir Ivanovich Sopochin and his family. The Kurlomkin family lives in an even smaller settlement area beside the Great Yegan where, beside the head of the family, Petr Vasilievich Kurlomkin, his wife and two daughters, the only permanent residents are two unmarried sons from the wife's previous marriage (Fig. 7) They actually form a single household. Raisa Petrovna Multanova (née Kurlomkina), a daughter from Petr Vasilievich's first marriage, and her family move here only for the winter. I saw settlement areas consisting of a single household beside the Lyamin II river too, in the cases of both the Vello (Fig. 8) and the Horov families where the husband and wife or wives, children and elderly female relatives now without spouses live together. Each such unit or settlement area has its own hunting territory, the limits of which are known precisely.

In the 19th century the hunting territories of the various yurts and yurt villages were out of bounds for the others; no one dared to hunt of fish in the territory of others. If an animal they were chasing entered the neighbouring hunting territory they generally abandoned the chase or, if they did shoot it, they kept only the meat for themselves and gave the fur to the owner of the territory. (КУЛЕМЗИН-ЛУКИНА 1992: 27) At the same time, there were rational limits to this unwritten law. If a hungry person found himself in the territory of others, he had the right to fish and hunt there to satisfy his hunger. Possession of the hunting territory did not mean that the owner could sell the land; he could only rent it, if the other members of the family gave their approval. In exchange, he received half of the hunting bag and a specified amount of money. (КУЛЕМЗИН-ЛУКИНА 1992: p. 27)

As regards the unwritten laws, there has been hardly any change in the situation. Each yurt village or settlement area still has its own territory which is respected in keeping with the mutual agreement reached (in the case of new territories), or following old tra-



Fig. 1. Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin and his family in front of his "chum" (tent). All photos are made by Ágnes Kerezi



Fig. 2. Dmitri Antonovich Kechimov and family in summer housing



Fig. 3. Kirill Ignatievich Pokochev and his wife Fjokla, the eldest Sopochin girl



Fig. 4. Tatyana Aivoseda, Igor Aivosed and their children in summer housing

ditions. They do not enter each other's territory to hunt or fish, and drive back straying reindeer, just as their fathers did. However, the external world around the Ostyaks has changed radically. The growing expansion of oil production and industrialisation is causing a rapid reduction in the size of untouched areas still suitable for hunting and fishing. In recent decades many families have been forced to abandon their traditional way of life and move into artificially created villages with many houses. The approximately one thousand Ostyaks of the Surgut region who live in the forest and still continue the hunting and fishing way of life of the taiga increasingly feel the need for the legal regulation of land ownership, the permanent designation of concrete land borders, the granting of land ownership and specification of their rights. Without this, they are unable to defend themselves from the rapidly expanding oil production. Unfortunately, it will be some time before this urgent problem is settled.

It is not advisable to go into great details in attempting to determine whether those who live in closely located settlement areas lived in the distant past in a tribal or clan organisation and what has survived of this, since one of the characteristics of the social structure of the Ob-Ugrians was precisely that it lacked the classical articulation into tribes. Instead, as Z. P. SOKOLOVA concluded, they had permanent local associations.

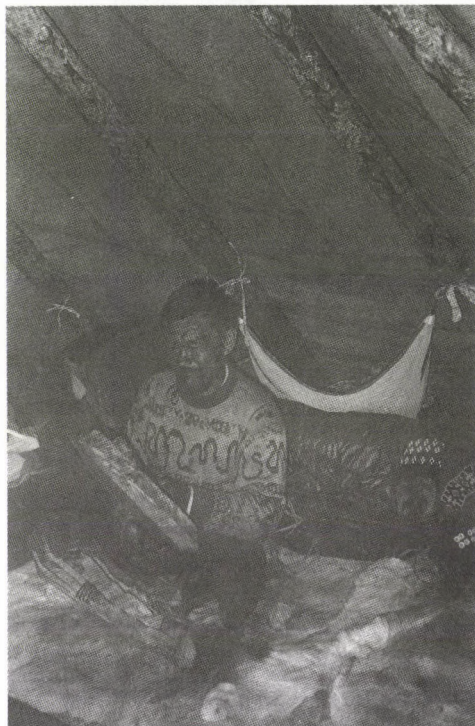


Fig. 5. Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin during shaman ceremony

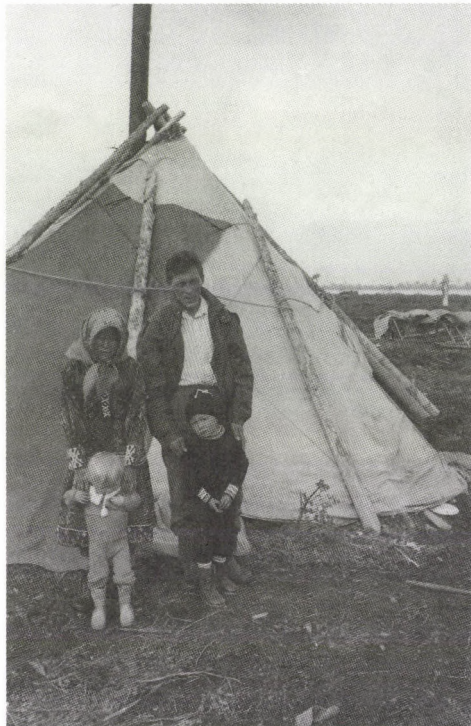


Fig. 6. Gennadi Russkin and family in summer housing at the Inka-jagun river

(СОКОЛОВА 1970: 126) However, it is known for certain that the Eastern Ostyaks, in contrast to the three large northern groups, were divided in both social and religious respects into three large groups, the Elk, the Bear and the Beaver. The Sopochin family living near the Tromyegan belonged to the Elk group (Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin, August 1991), while the Kurlomkin family living beside the Great Yegan belonged to the Bear group (Petr Vasilyevich Kurlomkin, June 1993) Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin recounted that in addition to this, each local group and family was divided into even smaller units; his own extended family, for example, belongs under the protection of the helping spirit in the form of a frog and his eldest son, Yeremei still preserves its idol figure made of wood. The first husband of Tamara Sidorova Tevlina who lived in the village of Russkinskiye, whose family name was also Sopochin, also had a helping spirit in the form of a frog. (Tevlina – Russkinskiye, March 1991)

We also have ethnographic data on formations known as “yah” and “sir” which may have been larger local associations, but even the eldest informants no longer remember them. It is known from the literature that the two unmarried sons living in the Kurlomkino settlement area, born from the wife’s first marriage, once belonged to the “Pupisir”. The members of this formation live beside the Yegan, Agan, Tromyegan and Pim



Fig. 7. Kurlomkin family in its residency, at the Grea-Yegan river



Fig. 8. Anna Vello in winter fur-coat made from reindeer-fur

rivers and had the family names of Kayukov, Kazimkin, Riskin, Multanov, Yeparkin, Kuplaneyev, Pesikov, Tailakov and Tirlin. (КУЛЕМЗИН–ЛУКИНА 1992: 22)

It can be seen that families living together in the settlement areas shared the same hunting territory. They hunted and fished in small groups, by families, but in the majority of cases individually. When they hunted or fished in groups, the catch was shared justly. When hunting bear, the bearskin was given to the hunter who first saw the bear or discovered its cave. Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin explained this by saying that since the bear is a sacred animal, it wanted to go to the hunter and bring luck to the person who first succeeded in discovering it. (March 1991, Voki-rap-yagun) If they hunted or fished alone, they kept the larger part of the catch for themselves, but always gave a small amount to the other families in the settlement area. While we lived among them, we also received our share after each fishing and hunting expedition. The farm buildings erected collectively were owned jointly by the residents of the settlement area. Where reindeer were kept, these were partly closed pens where the animals sought refuge from the mosquitoes. Where several families lived together, e.g. beside the Voki-rap-yagun or the Inguyagun, two families generally built a shed or barn together to store their sleds, fish traps and larger implements. The fish traps, sweep nets and traps, which they made themselves, were the personal property of the individual families. Kirill Pokochev said that each hunter has his own section of forest where by tradition only he can set up traps; the other members of the family do not touch these. (August 1991, Voki-rap-yagun) In the same way, each family has its own stretch of river and even its own fishing season within the settlement area. For example, residents of the settlement area beside the Inguyagun divided the river into three sections for the three households. The informant Gennadi Russkin had the right to fish the river in summer, Leonid Sopochin had the autumn and Vladimir Sopochin the spring fishing. (June 1993, Inguyagun) In the same way each family has the personal ownership of its tent or house, its boat, sled and herd of reindeer. However, tools were owned individually: the hunter owned his tools and skis, while the women owned the ovens they made themselves, and their dishes. Each individual also had his or her own reindeer too. Generally shortly after birth children are given one or two reindeer by their grandparents or relatives. These animals are marked with their own sign and any young animals born also remain the property of the child. (Rimma Nikitichna Sopochina, August 1991, Voki-rap-yagun) In this way, by the time it becomes an adult it has its own herd of reindeer. When the son or daughter marries, he or she receives another pair. However, the reindeer which the young couple receive after the marriage become the family's common property. In the past, before the creation of their literacy, the Ostyaks of the Surgut region, as well as the other groups of Ob-Ugrians in general, used ownership signs. Each individual had a different ownership sign or tamga used to mark objects and animals; the tamga was also used as a signature, as a seal on contracts, or to "write" messages left on trees in the forest. The tamga could be schematic portrayals of humans, trees, birds or animals, or lines arranged in a special way. Only the two oldest of my informants, Ivan Sopochin and his wife, still have tamgas. Agraфena Andreyevna Sopochina's sign was a reindeer and her husband's was his initials, S I S.

The families living in a given settlement area decided collectively on matters affecting them all: the time of moving from one settlement area to another, the gathering of dead

trees in the forest, the beginning and end of the hunting season, assistance for those in need. We ourselves witnessed a similar meeting where everyone was able to express an opinion, but the final decision was generally made by the head of the family.

Individuals who violated the norms of the community were punished on the basis of common law. The extent of the punishment was also decided by the collective council generally composed of the adult male members of the settlement area. For example, the men of the Voki-rap-yagun settlement area ostracised Igor Aivosed and sent him away from the community because he repeatedly violated the family's unwritten law that Russian oil workers and migrant workers must not be brought to the settlement area. The young hunter was forced to return to his parents' hunting territory together with his wife and children. (Yosif Ivanovich Sopochin, June 1992, Voki-rap-yagun)

THE TRADITIONAL LIFE OF THE TAIGA HUNTERS AND FISHERS

Just as it is not possible to speak of uniform social relations in the 1,435,000-square-kilometre Tyumen region where the Ob-Ugrians live, in the same way it is not possible to assume identical economic relations. This vast area extends in the south to the limit of the forest taiga and in the north to the tundrazone; it is bordered to the west by the Urals where the mountainous climate influences the way of life, while in the east the vast water volume of the Ob basin and the Yenisey determine the life of the native inhabitants.

The Ob-Ugrian groups living in relative isolation grouped around different rivers, everywhere formed their own distinctive type of economy. In some places they migrated continuously because of the large-scale reindeer herding (e.g. along the lower reaches and tributaries of the Ob), elsewhere, despite the predominance of reindeer herding, they alternated between permanent winter quarters and temporary summer territories (e.g. beside the Ob, Irtysh, Konda, Demyanka), or their economy was based on hunting as in the case of those living around the upper reaches of the Ob. Fishing and hunting were of almost equal importance for the families living along the middle reaches of the Ob and Irtysh. (СОКОЛОВА 1991: 48) The Ostyaks of the Surgut region we studied basically belonged to this latter type, although there are essential differences in the way of life of the Kurlomkin family living beside the Great Yegan and the Sopochin family beside the Tromyegan.

A. V. GOLOVNOV distinguished two basic types of economy among the Ob-Ugrians in the period before the conquest of Siberia: the inner taiga hunter-fishers and the river-taiga fisher-hunters. While hunting played the leading role among the former, fishing predominated among the latter. (ГОЛОВНЕВ 1995: 47) In his opinion, these two types of economy underwent substantial changes by the early 20th century, as in the case of other traditional economic structures in Siberia. They developed specialisation in fur hunting and in market-oriented fishing, while reindeer herding also spread in the interior of the taiga and horse herding along the flood plains of the rivers. (ГОЛОВНЕВ 1995: 50) All this was a consequence of Russia's entry into the system of market relations with the growth of capitalism. The market-oriented economy of the Ob-Ugrians did not change

during the time of the former Soviet system either. The fur crisis that arose by the end of the 19th century further deepened, bringing with it a change in the entire lifestyle. In many places, with the disappearance of sable and ermine, they began to hunt squirrels, creating the need to conquer ever newer conifer forests. This in turn encouraged the spread of the use of reindeer as draught animals, even among groups which had not previously kept reindeer. Some data indicate an eight- to ten-fold increase in the number of squirrels caught in Western Siberia between the 17th and 19th centuries. (ПИКА 1988: 139) There are no figures available for the present period, but an idea can perhaps be formed of the situation from the fact that in summer 1993 Gennadi Russkin recounted that he shot 1500 squirrels in a single hunting season and delivered the furs to the fur depot. It is estimated that there are several thousand Ostyak, Vogul and other hunters in the whole Tyumen region. The number of squirrels killed in a season may be in the tens of thousands.

It can be seen that pure, untouched economy types did not survive anywhere; nevertheless, on the basis of their main characteristics the Ostyaks of the Surgut region can be classified in the fourth of the five main types described by Z. P. SOKOLOVA. (СОКОЛОВА 1991: 51–52) The characteristics of this type are the following:

- fishing and hunting play an almost equal role in the economy,
- reindeer are kept in small numbers, mainly as draught animals,
- gathering plays a supplementary role,
- permanent winter quarters and seasonal territories (Tromyegan) or permanent settlement areas for the whole year (Great Yegan).

In the following, the families studied are examined in the light of the above types.

Hunting and fishing were of a seasonal character for both the Sopochin and Russkin families beside the tributaries of the Tromyegan and for the Kurlomkin family living beside the Great Yegan. They actually fished throughout the year to satisfy their own needs, but large-scale, market-oriented fishing was done in autumn, that is, late July and August. We observed two forms of fishing. One was weir fishing which is widely practised among the Ob-Ugrians; we watched this on a number of occasions in the Voki-rap-yagun, in both winter and summer. The full width of the river or stream is blocked with stakes driven into the bed, leaving a single gap where the trap is placed. (Fig. 9) The traps are checked every two or three days, but only once a week in winter. The traps are made of thin pine branches, although it is not unusual nowadays to find more lasting traps woven from aluminium. Another form of weir fishing is practised on the Great Yegan. The settlement area of the Kurlomkin family is located at the junction of the Great Yegan and a small stream. They block the small stream, not with stakes but with a net, at the point where it meets the Great Yegan. They check the net every one or two days. (Fig. 10) The net is placed in this spot because the small stream arises from a spring not far away; the oxygen-rich water attracts fish from the Great Yegan to the place where the two waters mingle. (Nikolay Danilovich Kayukov, July 1992, Great Yegan) The other typical method of fishing practised by the Ostyaks, net fishing, was also observed here. This is generally used on larger rivers. Two men set out in a boat and while one slowly rowed round in a circle, the other lowered the large net carefully placed in the bottom of the boat. One or two days later they removed the fish caught in the net. This



Fig. 9. Fishing in the Voki-rap-yagun river

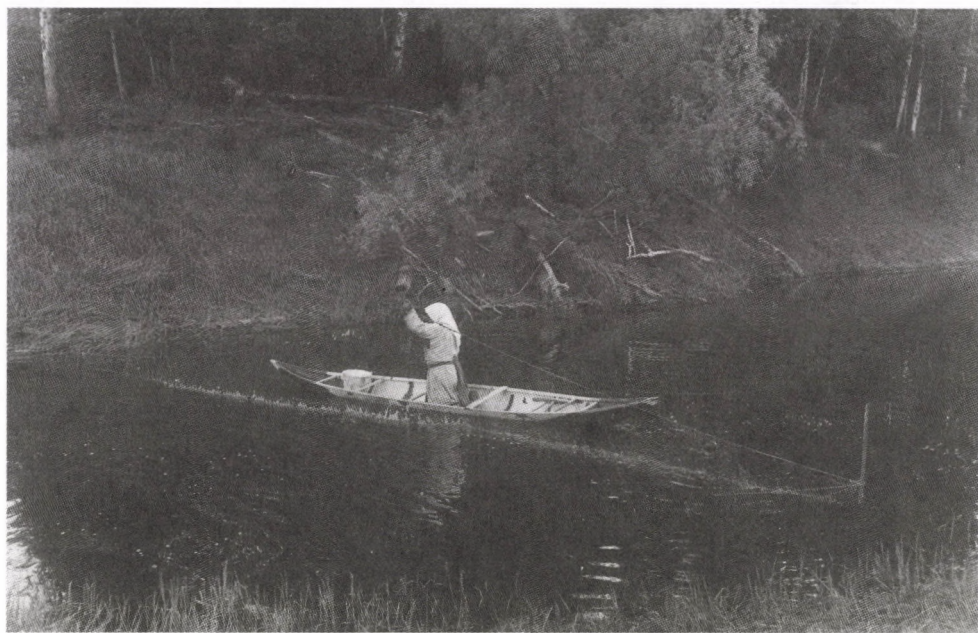


Fig. 10. Fishing in the Great Yegan river

method is also used for market-oriented fishing, but on such occasions they use several boats and the work may involve the entire adult population of the settlement area. Naturally, they also knew the methods of fishing with torches, and with hooks – with or without bait fish; the latter method is generally used in stagnant waters. Their waters are very rich in pike: it is sufficient to cast the shining metal line in the water two or three times for a very large fish to bite. I myself saw Stanislav Kechimov, a young boy barely ten years old, catch a pike weighing at least 10 kg with this method. The Tromyegan and its tributaries are poor in good fish. The most common fish here are bream, crucian carp and pike.

In the past they used practically all parts of the fish caught for their own consumption. The scales were used to make glue; fish fat and a mosquito repellent were extracted from the gut; the dried fish, together with the bones, was pounded to make fish flour from which they baked bread. A widely known method of preserving fish was drying in the sun and smoking. They no longer make fish flour, but Irina Kechimova remembered that in her childhood, in the 1960s, in times of need her mother still baked such bread. (Irina Kechimova, August 1991) However, as in the past, our Surgut Ostyak informants preferred to eat fish raw or frozen. Naturally, they also eat cooked fish, prepared in almost saltless water. It was only in the Kurlomkin family that we saw fish roasted on a skewer.

Like fishing, hunting is also of individual and seasonal character. Despite a considerable decline in the stock of game, there are still substantial quantities of fur animals in the territory inhabited by the Ostyaks of the Surgut region. In the area of the Tromyegan, the main fur animals are squirrel, fox, Siberian chipmunk, wolverine, otter and beaver and the main big game are elk and bear; at the Great Yegan there are also wolves and rabbits and even the sable, now extinct elsewhere, is still hunted here.

Hunting is generally done individually or by a single family; it is only when hunting for big game that two or three male members of the settlement area join forces.

In earlier times the autumn elk hunt played a major role in hunting, but today fur hunting tends to predominate. Hunting for fur begins in winter, in early October when the animals' winter coats are of suitable quality and the ground is covered with a thick, solid layer of snow on which the hunter can travel by ski. The hunter is often away from home for two or three days and only returns when he has shot a sufficient quantity of animals. Dmitri Kechimov, for example, has a hut in the forest where he moves for several days or even weeks with his whole family. Among the fur animals, they eat the flesh of the squirrel, the wolverine and the fox. The flesh of predatory animals is not good. (Dmitri Antonovich Kechimov, March 1991, Voki-rap-yagun)

In the past they hunted mainly with a bow and traps. Different types of arrows were used for each kind of animal. A lance-like arrow was used for large game, a double-headed arrow for birds and a blunt-headed arrow for fur animals to avoid damaging the valuable fur. The bow has now given way to the gun. The Kurlomkin family beside the Great Yegan still use many traps to hunt for sable as these do not damage the fur.

As Kirill Pokachev explained, in winter they hunt without dogs because dogs sink in the snow. They track squirrels, foxes and other animals in the snow. They hunt on skies, with reindeer teams or on motorised sleds. (Kirill Pokachev, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

Among the water animals, they hunt the beaver and the otter. They usually hunt for otter in the autumn, with dogs. The dog finds the otter's burrow and begins to dig there. The hunter blocks the section of the bank where the burrow is found and when the otter tries to climb over the barrier it is shot. (Kirill Pokachev, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) Among the forest birds, they generally hunt the capercaillie, the black grouse and hazel grouse with traps. (Fig. 11) When hunting these birds with guns, the hunter has to remain at a distance of 50–100 metres from the capercaillie, for example, otherwise the bird takes flight. The hunter sends his dog ahead and it stands under the tree and bark at the bird. The hunter can then easily shoot the motionless bird as it stares at the dog. (Kirill Pokachev, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) They hunt for waterfowl in the summer. In earlier times they trapped them with nets when the birds were migrating or shot them with an arrow or gun during the moulting season. Today guns are used to hunt for wild ducks and swans at Voki-rap-yagun. In the autumn they hide in a boat at the edge of a lake and shoot as many as they need of the wild ducks gathering for migration. In summer, that is, in June they take only the drakes. In this season the females are still hatching the eggs and the drakes do not leave the vicinity as they do in early July. (Dmitri Kechimov, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) They eat the flesh and eggs of the waterfowl and use the downy skins to line winter clothing. The downy skins of four or five swans are needed to line a winter fur coat, for example. (Fekla Pokocheva, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

Today, all the Surgut Ostyak families we studied live from what is known as professional hunting. The men, and in the case of the Kurlomkin family and the families beside the Inguyagun also the women, have a contract with the fur buying co-operative in the nearby village which supplies them with guns and ammunition. Generally, they are required to deliver 300 squirrels, 2–3 foxes and the same number of otter as their quota. Anyone delivering more receives a bonus. The hunter receive two pieces of ammunition for each animal and at the end of the hunting season they must settle their ammunition account. Skilful hunters are able to catch animals in traps or with a single shot and the ammunition saved is for their own use. The families receive cash for the furs delivered, or can spend the amount due to them in the Co-operative's shop. This is how the hunters obtain manufactured textiles, dishes and even motorised sleds.

The Ostyaks of the Surgut region typically keep small herds or reindeer and use the animals for transport. They do not milk the animals, do not increase the stock by artificial means; they do not separate the best animals for breeding – the males and females graze together in a single herd; if a mother dies its calf is slaughtered because they are unable to raise it. They do not keep sufficient animals for regular consumption.

The Kurlomkin family living beside the Great Yegan represent a different type of economy in this respect since they do not keep reindeer at all. Reindeer herding is not characteristic of other families beside and around the Great Yegan either. They live solely from fishing, hunting and gathering.

The size of the reindeer herds varies considerably. The biggest I saw was owned by the Vello family beside the Lyamin II river where the four-member family reported that they had 300 reindeer. The smallest herd, approx. 1000 animals, belonged to the Russ-kin-Sopochin family beside the Inguyagun. This represented 6–7 reindeer per person for



Fig. 11. Trap made from beams



Fig. 12. Reindeers coming home

the 15-member family. Rimma Russkina, for example, owns 7 reindeer marked with her own sign. She keeps trace of them, known who gave her each one or which animal produced the young ones. If a married woman is divorced or remains alone for some reason, she takes her reindeer with her. (Rimma Russkina, June 1993 – Inguyagun)

The reindeer herding families migrate together with their animals within a specified area of around 30 km. From October to mid-March the animals stay close to the winter quarters. In March they drive the herd into the fold surrounding the winter quarters, then two or three men on motorised sleds or reindeer sleds drive the whole herd to the summer settlement area. This was 2–10 km away from the previous area, depending on the family. The main consideration for selection of the spring area is that it must be an open, wind-blown area where deep snow is unable to accumulate since the calves born here would not be able to find lichen for themselves under a deep layer of snow. The animals remain here until June when they are driven to the summer settlement area. From here, they move in late July or August to the autumn area, depending non when the supply of lichen which serves as fodder for the animals is exhausted. They return to the permanent winter quarters in October. (Dmitri Kechimov, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

In this form of reindeer herding the animals are kept outdoors all year round, seeking fodder form themselves in the vicinity of the settlement areas: in spring and summer the shoots and buds of trees and in winter lichen scraped out from under the snow. The herd comes in to the settlement area only for calving and during the summer mosquito invasion. (Fig. 12) Pens open in the front and back are built in the summer quarters; smokers are placed inside and in front of the pen to protect the animals from the mosquitoes. The smoker is a fenced square where a fire is made of dry wood; once there are sufficient coals, they are covered with moss and give off a steady stream of smoke for a long while. It is the task of the women to find and gather dry wood for the smokers, but the men carry it home from the forest on reindeer or motorised sleds. During hot summer periods they smoke day and night for the animals and each family in the settlement area takes daily turns tending the fire. (Yosif Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

In autumn and spring, when there is still only a thin layer of snow, they prevent the herd from wandering away by hobbling individual reindeer which have a tendency to stray. The frame of the hobble is made of pine but the pin is made of birch which is stronger than pine. (Kirill Pokochev, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) There is a mark on the side of the hobble to indicate ownership. There is also a distinguishing mark on the animals' ears. Kirill Pokachev, for example, makes a small wedge-shaped cut in the ears of his own reindeer, while Dmitri Kechimov cuts off the tip of the right ear. (Dmitri Kechimov, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun)

The Ostyaks of the Surgut region do not eat reindeer meat regularly. They generally slaughter animals only on special occasions, for example for sacrificial ceremonies. (Fig. 13) The extended family living beside the Voki-rap-yagun slaughtered a reindeer for meat only in winter because the meat keeps in the cold, also because the animals are fat by winter and have developed their thick winter coat. (Yosif Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) They kill no more than 2–3 reindeer during the winter season, always choosing a different person's animal. The meat is shared equally among the households but the skin goes to the owner of the animal. They make sure that the choice



Fig. 13. Sacrificing of a reindeer. Photo Márta Csepregi



Fig. 14. Gathering is task of women and children

of animals is spread equally among the owners. (Yosif Sopochin, March 1991 – Vokirap-yagun)

Practically every part of the reindeer is used even today. They sleep on the skinned but untreated hide or place it on the sled when travelling. Clothes and various implements are made from the soft, treated leather. The skin is removed from the head intact and used to make a hood for the children's fur coats. The fur from the forehead is used for the sole of boots or the bottom of bags. The fur on the body of the reindeer is the best for women's and men's coats. The fur on the legs is used to cover skis or to make boots and gloves. Summer footwear or the shaman's drum are made from leather cleaned of the fur. The other parts of the reindeer are also used. The women dry the tendons, split them into strips and twist them into thread used to sew all fur clothing and objects. The only time I saw them use factory-made thread was when they sewed clothing made of manufactured textiles. The men carve tool handles from the antlers and thicker bones. Recently they have begun to gather shed reindeer antlers and take them to the state buyers since valuable medicine is made from the material on the antlers.

Gathering no longer plays an important economic role in their lives. It is mainly the task of women and children to gather the various cranberries and medicinal herbs, such as bog rosemary and "chaga" (Birch Polypore). (Fig. 14)

Corresponding to their way of life, the reindeer-herding families and those living exclusively from fishing and hunting have different types of settlements.

The Kurlomkin family have a traditionally settled way of life and have lived in a single settlement area for centuries. For this reason, this type of settlement is typically named after the family living there, e. g. Kurlomkini, Tailokvi, etc. Settlements of this type generally lack a regular layout; the houses are oriented in a random fashion. Like similar settlements in general, the house of the Kurlomkin family once stood a few hundred metres from the Great Yegan, at the edge of the forest "so that the game and the birds would not be afraid of the houses and not pay attention to them". (НОСИЛОВ 1897: 4) It is only in recent years that they moved to the bank of the river. (Fig. 15) (Nikolai Danilovich Kayukov, July 1992 – Great Yegan) They only move away from here for a few weeks in April and May when the river is in flood, to a higher position in the forest where they have a house on stilts and a wooden cabin serving as a temporary dwelling-house. (Nikolai Kayukov, July 1992–Great Yegan) But since their present settlement area is right beside the river, the Kurlomkin family placed their houses beside the river with the facade and entrance facing the river, like other settlement areas of this type. The out-buildings stand on stilts between the houses. (Fig. 16) One is used to store food, another fuel, a third boat motors and other machines. In a building on stilts near the dwelling-house they keep fur and clothing as well as a figure of the family's guardian spirit. The two unmarried sons, and the Multanov family who spend the winter with them have their own houses and storehouses. The two clay bread ovens stand on the river bank and not far from them are the summer kitchen, the fish-drying poles, heaps of wood, etc. The settlement is not fenced: it is protected in the front and on the right side by the river and in the rear by dense forest.

The situation is different for the settlements at the Vokirap-yagun and Inguyagun. Here the families migrate within a defined area and change their settlement areas because

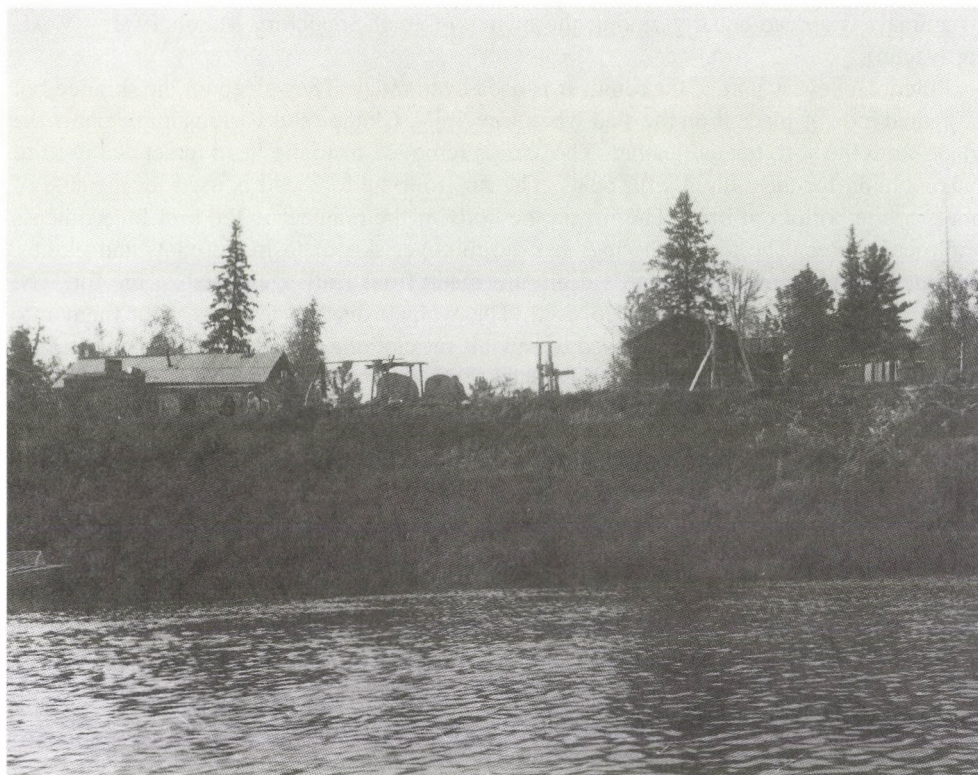


Fig. 15. Permanent settlement of the Kurlomkin family at the river Great Yegan



Fig. 16. Store-house standing on pillars on the residency

of the reindeer herding. They have quarters for each of the four seasons. In the past the winter quarters were the permanent settlement, where the dwelling-house was a wooden house made of thick logs with a single room, intended for lasting use. (Fig. 17) The area of the other settlements could shift a few hundred metres, depending on the weather conditions, the quantity of lichen or other factors. Until the recent past they lived in these seasonal settlements in conical tents known as "chums". Towards the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s they gradually began to replace the tents with wooden houses in the seasonal settlement areas too. Beside the Voki-rap-yagun, for example, only one family now lives in a tent in the summer, while at the Inguyagun they all still live in tents. Our informants listed the following main considerations taken into account in selecting a settlement site: the winter settlement must be at the edge of the forest so the hunter does not have to walk more than necessary; the spring settlement must be a wind-blown site for the sake of the young animals; the summer settlement must be close to water because of the fishing and mosquitoes since there are far more mosquitoes in the forest and the wind does not blow as much as beside the water. Finally, the autumn settlement is built in a place where there are abundant lichen and cranberries because the autumn is the period of gathering when the women collect as much as 10–15 kg of cranberries for the winter. (Dmitri Kechimov, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

The tents and wooden houses of the individual families are placed more or less haphazardly 50–100 metres apart in the settlements. The bread ovens and in the summer and autumn settlements the fish drying and smoking structures are placed a little further from the houses. (Fig. 18) Next to the houses are open sheds with only a roof (one for two families) where they store fish traps, sleds and other tools not in use. The houses on stilts serving as storerooms are located in the forest, further away from the settlement. Each family has a separate house on stilts and an outbuilding of this type in the vicinity of all the settlement areas. It was only at Voki-rap-yagun that I saw a fenced settlement area and even there, only in the case of the winter quarters.

The refuse dump was located in a secluded area of scrubby forest at the edge of the settlement area. They deposited old, worn out shoes, clothes, cradles or other implements and rubbish here. It was forbidden to burn the latter at home in the stove because the god of fire strictly punished any families who violated this rule. (Irina Kechimova, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

Their dwelling-house types showed greater variety in the past than they do now. SIRELIUS, for example, who was the first to make a serious study of the building types of the Ob-Ugrians, recorded more than 30 types of dwelling-houses and over 20 kinds of outbuildings in the late 19th century. (U. T. SIRELIUS: *Über die primitiven Wohnungen der finnisch-ugrischen Völker und ob-ugrischen Völker*. in: *Finnisch-ugrische Forschung – 1906–1911*, Bd. 6–9, 11) Huts with a square layout, partly dug into the ground with a past reaching back thousands of years, wooden houses with lean-to and saddle roofs, and conical tents built on frames were known. Among the families we studied, only the conical tents and the saddle-roof wooden houses are now found from among these types. Only a few decades ago the tents were still covered with birch bark in summer and with several layers of fur in winter. Bark for the tent was stripped from the birch trees in June and then boiled until it became soft. After it was taken out of the water, a weight was



Fig. 17. Wooden house in winter residency



Fig. 18. Fish smoke-house

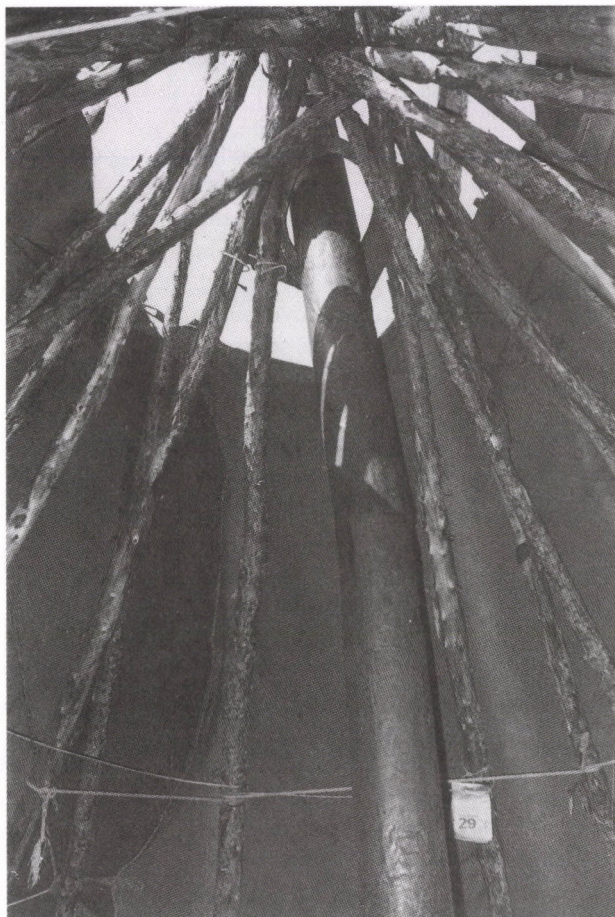


Fig. 19. Smoke leaves through the gap of the tent

placed on it to keep the bark flat. The sheets were not sewn together until they were completely dry. Around 30 reindeer furs were spread over the winter tent with the fur turned both inside and outside in at least two layers. In very cold weather they sometimes added a third layer. (Kirill Pokochev, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) The furs or birch bark were fixed to the frame with ropes twisted from leather several metres long. Nowadays, because of the few reindeer and the dwindling stock of birch trees, the tents are covered with manufactured canvas, even in very cold weather. (Leonid Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) The women sew small flaps onto the top of the tent canvas at the corner and when the tent is built the long poles are slipped into these flaps. These are used to lift the tent canvas onto the wooden frame which is several metres high. Manufactured twine is used to fix the canvas to the frame and then the lower edge of the tent is insulated with moss. It is the task of the men to erect the tent poles, place the canvas on them and insulate the interior of the

tent. The interior space, which has a diameter of approx. five metres, is covered with a thick layer of pine branches leaving only a strip in the centre a metre wide. The women place thick home-made rush mats or nowadays plastic sheeting on this layer to the left and right of the entrance to the tent and the reindeer furs are spread on this in summer too. As in the wooden houses, the reindeer furs are folded up during the day and placed beside the wall of the tent then spread out again in the evening, lengthways along the wall of the tent. In the area in front of the beds the men lay hand-planed pine planks over the pine branches creating a space for circulation in the tent. Finally, the iron stove is placed in the centre of the tent. The stove-pipe is passed out through the poles at the top. (Fig. 19) An area is left free in front of and behind the stove, separated from the plank floor only by logs. This part is the neutral zone of the tent, separating the living areas to the right and left of the entrance. The fireplace and the area behind it are a sacred place which the women must not step over. If several families live together in the tent as we saw in the case of the extended Sopochin family's summer settlement area, one family lives to the right of the entrance and the other to the left. Just as the individual families live separated from each other and strictly respect each other's territory in the tent, their implements and utensils are also in a strictly determined order.

The housewife's place and belongings, her fur coat, clothes, sewing kit and skins to be prepared are found closest to the entrance. The second from the entrance is the husband's place. This is where he keeps his hunting weapons, objects for personal use and clothing. Then come the children and, if there are any, last of all the guests. The space behind the iron stove is the sacred place in the tent where the family keeps its relics, sacred chest or bearskin.

The saddle-roofed wooden houses are made of thick logs and the gaps between the logs are filled with moss. The roof is also made of wood. In the past this was insulated with moss then a layer of birch bark, but the Sopochin family now uses manufactured insulating materials instead. However, like their great-grandfathers, they still use ice in place of glass for their tiny windows. In the settlements of both the Vello and the Horov families beside the Lyamin II river, a small, unheated storeroom is added to the space in front of the entrance. It is used to keep birds waiting to be cleaned, untreated skins, cranberries in enormous birch bark bowls and other frequently needed perishable food supplies and implements. At the Voki-rap-yagun and the Inguyagun, the door of the house opened directly from the outside.

However, the interior arrangement of the houses is almost identical everywhere, with the exception of the recently built, modern house of the Kurlomkin family. The kitchen area of the house is located to the left of the entrance. The cooking utensils and food are placed on broad, planed shelves. To the right of the entrance is the small, low iron stove they make themselves and next to it in the corner is the firewood. (Fig. 20) It is the task of the women to chop the wood and bring it into the house, together with the other jobs around the house. Facing the entrance, about 2 metres from it is a raised area which runs right up to the opposite wall. This is the actual living area where the inhabitants eat, sleep and live. (Fig. 21) Unlike the kitchen at the entrance and the stove area, there is a thick insulation of sand and pine branches beneath this part. There is a floor of boards in the kitchen area too, but these are simply laid on the ground. They plane the planks them-

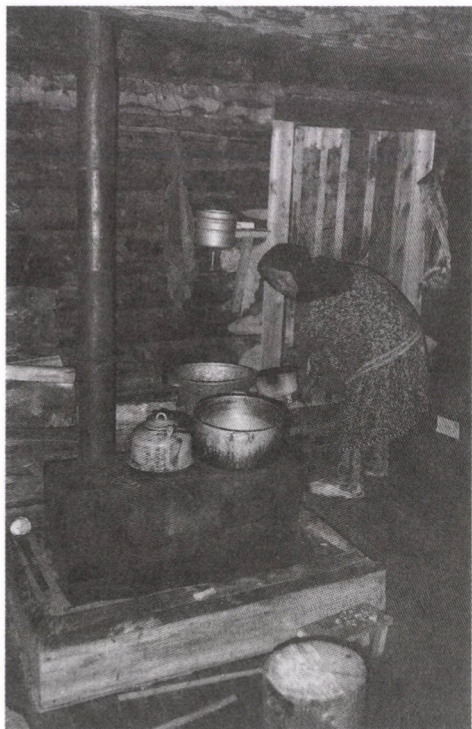


Fig. 20. Interior of the Vello family's house on winter residency



Fig. 21. Éva Schmidt, Katalin Lázár and Ágnes Kerezsi scholars (from the left to the right) in sleeping bag

selves from the abundant pine timber in the area. There is a planed board shelf on the wall opposite the entrance which plays a special role in the Ostyak houses. This is where they keep the family relics, the figures of the guardian spirits and the bearskin. Everyone and everything has a strictly determined place in the small house consisting of a single room. The space to the right of the entrance is for the elder members and that to the left for the younger ones. The wife sleeps in the part opposite the entrance, her husband sleeps to her left, then the children.

THE MATERIAL WORLD OF THE OSTYAKS OF THE SURGUT REGION

Eloquent proof of the inventiveness of the Ob-Ugrian and the way they have adapted to nature is found not only in their social structure, way of life and settlement types, but also in their implements and objects which are produced in a highly artistic way. Like most peoples living close to nature, the Ob-Ugrians, in this case the Ostyaks of the Surgut region, make the great majority of their objects from materials found most easily and

quickly in their environment: wood, bark, roots and fur. Manufactured goods have only been able to replace these in part.

The Ob-Ugrians who live widely scattered in the vast taiga dissected by swamps and rivers were only able to come into contact with the outside world and each other if they had excellent means of transport. The situation has changed very little, since the helicopters which occasionally appear are unable to solve their everyday transport problems. Just as they did centuries ago, the Ostyaks of the Surgut region travel in summer in boats carved out of logs and sleds, and in winter they use sleds and skis.

Making the seemingly simple boat or "airit", carved out of a single piece of wood around three metres long and one metre wide, requires much time and great skill. The first step is selection of a suitable tree. This may be either larch or Arolla Pine. (Ivan Mikhailovich Sartakov, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) The most important, consideration is selecting a tree is that it must have a straight trunk and be healthy inside. After the tree is felled, it is transported home, then the outer bark is removed and it is given a boat shape on the exterior. Then begins the work of carving out the trunk of the tree; the most important thing is to ensure that the side of the boat is of the same thickness everywhere, otherwise it will not preserve its balance in the water. They then carve a small flange around the boat to prevent water from entering: the groove under the flange diverts the water away. When this is ready, they pour hot water into the boat and burn it on the outside above a weak fire to make it waterproof. (Ivan Mikhailovich Sartakov, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) Struts are then placed in the boat to make it stronger and more solid. Finally, the oar is made. In contrast with the boat, this can also be made of birch, although the Ostyaks of the Surgut region also frequently use Arolla Pine for this too. (Ivan Mikhailovich Sartakov, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) Like the boat, the oar is smoked over fire, but only the blade, to make it waterproof. They sit in the bottom of these boats which can carry three people at the most, and row with one oar. (Fig. 22) These light, easily capsized boats, can cover hundreds of kilometres. If the river turns in a different direction from where they want to go, or their path leads across lakes and swamps, they get out of the boat and wade through the swamps linking the lakes with the boat on their shoulders or drag it. They cover many kilometres this way, with their food, ammunition and catch in the boat. (Dmitri Antonovich Kechimov, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

The other important means of transport used in both summer and winter is the sled. We saw two types of sled among the Ostyaks of the Surgut region: the simple hand-drawn sled and the reindeer sled. They do not use dogs to pull sleds.

The reindeer halter is made of leather straps and flat pieces of bone. The reins with which the passenger directs the lead reindeer branch from these. A strap of leather is placed on the animal's chest and a leather girth around the body. A leather halter rope leads from the strap to the sled. Three or four animals are generally harnessed to the reindeer sled. The lead animal goes in front, on the left, and directs the others which are harnessed to the lead animal by a simple structure. The driver sits on the left of the sled and directs the lead reindeer from the left using a pole several metres long. (Fig. 23)

The sled, made by the men, consists of three basic components: the runners, the seat and the poles connecting them. Only Arolla Pine is used for the runners; they always



Fig. 22. The easy and quick dug-out



Fig. 23. Team of reindeers

select wood full of resin so that it will not split over the fire but bend. The seat is also made of Arolla Pine and the connecting poles of birch. (Dmitri Antonovich Kechimov, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) A simpler sled is made with 4–5 pairs of connecting poles, while a fancier sled, for example one the husband intends as a gift for his wife, may have as many as 10 pairs. (Fig. 24) (Dmitri Antonovich Kechimov, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) They made various kinds of sleds. Sleds with a high back rest are for women and those with a low back rest for men. Sleds without a back rest are used to carry loads and those which are completely closed like a box are used to store food or sacral objects. We saw sacred sleds only at the settlement areas beside the Voki-rap-yagun and the Inguyagun. They took these with them each time they moved and always kept them behind the tent or wooden house in the new settlement area. (Fig. 25) The “Buran”-type motorised sled has now appeared. Fuel for these is obtained from the oil workers in the vicinity.

The Ostyaks living beside the Great Yegan who do not keep reindeer use mainly hand-drawn sleds to bring their catch home from the forest. These barely differ in construction from the other sleds but are somewhat smaller. The larger sleds designed to carry loads or for travel would not be practical here because of the much denser forest. Moreover, because of their settled way of life they do not need the quantity of sleds we saw with the Tromyegan families who regularly migrate. Instead, they travel in winter on skis which are light, quick and can be used in even the densest forest.

Skis are used by men, women and children alike and not only at the Great Yegan but by all families. We found the same type of skis everywhere; their interesting feature is that the bottom of the ski is covered with fur. The explanation for this is that the fur always slides well in the snow and there is no need to wax or treat the skis for use. If they have to climb up steeper slopes, the fur with the hairs bent backwards prevents the ski from sliding back. The most suitable fur for this purpose is otter or the fur from the leg of the reindeer or elk because it is stronger and more durable. The skis are around 1.5 metres long, an even 25–30 cm wide and rounded at the front and the foot. They are fixed to the feet with leather straps, often covered with a “bag” to protect against the snow. It is the task of the men to make and repair the skis. (Fig. 26)

What objects are made by the Ostyak women? Most of the clothing for the entire family, whether of fur, leather, cloth or thin factory-made fabric; various household utensils and dishes or fur or bark which they decorate with beautiful motifs.

In the early 20th century G. DMITRIEV-SADOVNIKOV (1916) devoted a separate article to the processing of birch bark by the Eastern Ostyaks. This was followed by a number of detailed studies and recently Eszter RUTTKAY-MIKLIÁN wrote her diploma thesis on this theme, so mention will be made here only of the aspects of birch bark processing we observed, which have survived up to the present and are still used in practice.

The Ostyaks of the Surgut region hold that there are two periods suitable for gathering birch bark: the first is in spring when the trees begin to bud in late May and early June and the second is in autumn, in late September and early October when the leaves fall. (Irina Ivanovna Kechimova, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) Only the bark of birch trees with long trunks and no knots growing deep in the forest is suitable for making dishes and bowls. These are selected with great care by the women. They make a long vertical



Fig. 24. Ostyak sled and its model



Fig. 25. Sacred sled on the summer housing of the Sopochin family. Photo Márta Csepregi

cut on the tree, then a horizontal cut at the top and bottom. Using a knife, they carefully loosen the top of the bark then slowly peel off the rest by hand. They sew it either at once or after the bark is dried. If they begin the work after drying, the bark is first soaked in hot water to soften it so that it can be sewn. The bark is boiled only for objects intended for prolonged use, such as a cradle or in the past to cover the tent. (Irina Ivanovna Kechimova, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) When making bowls they first remove the white outer layer from the bark, then if they wish to draw a pattern on it, they moisten the surface with water and scratch the pattern with a knife and scrape out the surface of the pattern until it is white. In this way, the ground is dark and the pattern light. The bowls are sewn thread or reindeer tendon and rowan twigs are used to stiffen them. (Fekla Pokocheva, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) They still make birch bark bowls, although not in the same quantity and variety as in the past. Flat-bottomed, shallow bowls are still used to serve fish and meat and women use similar bowls for washing during menstruation. (Rimma Sopochina, August 1991) Deeper, bag-shaped small bowls with a narrow bottom and round mouth are also regularly made and used. The women tie these to their waist when they go to gather berries every autumn. (Cf. Fig. 14) When the bowl is full they empty it into a much larger basket carried on the back. I saw baskets of this type in the Vello family beside the Lyamin II river. The women beside the Great Yegan keep their sewing things in high, flat-bottomed, round boxes. They lavish the greatest affection and care on making cradles for children. Two types are known. One is the flat, oval night cradle, generally made of larch and the other is the day cradle with a high back made of birch bark. (Fig. 27) This always has a capercaillie motif scratched on the exterior of the back rest which they believe protects the child's soul while it sleeps. They also take precautions against other evil spells. The straps on the edge of the cradle used to tie children down, for example, can only be made of reindeer leather; it is forbidden to use a simple cord instead because this type of cord is placed on the neck of the dead when they are buried. (Yosif Ivanovich Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) For the same reason, a cord must not be used to tie toddlers to the wall of the tent or house; reindeer leather is used for this purpose too. (Yosif Ivanovich Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

Although in earlier times the Ostyak women also made clothing and bags of fish skin, they have forgotten this skill. However, they continue to make excellent quality folk art masterpieces of fur. The women beside the Tromyegan and the Lyamin use mainly reindeer fur, while those at the Great Yegan use sable, squirrel, rabbit and other furs.

All work related to fur after the skinning is the task of the women. Furs skinned in winter dry and freeze outdoors for weeks because for processing and sewing is done mainly in the autumn months. The dried fur is dampened and hammered, then placed on a long, narrow board where the hard upper layer is scraped off the inside with a scraping tool that has a blunt end and short blade. (Fig. 28) Then a curved iron blade, somewhat like a scythe in form, it fixed to a tree, the wall of the house or, for want of something better, to their outstretched feet, and the fur is pulled back and forth across it. They occasionally sprinkle flour on it to make the skin softer. From time to time they interrupt the process to crumple the leather in their hands, further softening it, rolling it up and pulling it, then they continue working it on the blade. It takes days to process a skin and they keep working on it until the inside of the fur is soft and snow-white. (Tatyana



Fig. 26. Home-made ski



Fig. 27. Rimma Sopochina suckles her son lying in the day-cradle

Fig. 28. Leather processing is the task of women



Fig. 29. Traditional fur-coats are worn mainly by women living in the taiga





Fig. 30. Ostyak hunter in winter dress
with his true helper, the dog



Fig. 31. Ostyak hunters in winter dress
at the sledge

Aivoseda, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) All their winter clothing is made from fur treated in this way. The women still use thread made of elk or reindeer tendon for the sewing. It has already been mentioned that fur from different parts of the animal is used to make boots, coats, gloves or hats. In winter the women wear a “sah”, a fur coat open in the front and always having two layers. The inside is always fur and the outside is either reindeer fur with the fur turned out, or some kind of thick material. The most popular is brightly coloured yellow, red or green cloth. The edges and cuffs of these coats are trimmed with a beautiful patterned strip using a mosaic technique, or with bead embroidery. (Fig. 29) Although in past times the Ostyaks wore clothing opening in the front (КУЛЕМЗИН–ЛУКИНА 1922: 78), both the autumn coat and the winter fur of the Surgut Ostyak men is now entirely closed, cut like a parka with a hood. (Fig. 30) They wear a belt around the waist and always attach their hunting kit consisting of seven knives, and are never without a whetstone. (Dmitri Kechimov, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) If they set out for a longer journey on a reindeer sled they wear a “gust”, a coat of the same cut but of thinner material, over this. (Fig. 31) Otherwise this is their between-season coat. Petr Kurlomkin at the Great Yegan was the only man I saw wearing a between-season coat made of cloth and opening in the front. The edge was decorated with a beautiful fur trim of sable legs sewn with thousands of tiny stitches.

The winter boots worn by women and men are made from the fur on the legs of the reindeer or elk, but there is a basic difference in their length. While the women's boots end below the knee, the men's reach to mid-thigh and are fixed to the leg with a strap of reindeer leather. The sole of the boot is made of two layers and owes its excellent heat insulating property to the dried grass between the two layers. (Irina Kechimova, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

Much-worn winter clothing that has lost its fur is used as between-season clothing in warmer weather and is not discarded until it is completely worn out.

The women's clothing is now made exclusively from factory-made material, with the traditional cut. The tunic-type, long-sleeved dress reaches to the knee or just below the knee and is open to the middle of the chest. It is decorated around the bottom, at mid-thigh, the neck opening and cuff with an appliqué pattern or bead embroidery. (Fig. 32) At the Great Yegan, a caftan-type piece of clothing opening in the front and with a fur edge is worn over this tunic. (Fig. 33) The women at the Voki-rap-yagun wear at least two such caftans because, as they explained, it is forbidden for them to be transparent or for the outlines of their body to show through them. At night they remove the upper caftan and sleep in the one of the same type beneath it. (Irina Kechimova, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) They now wear jogging trousers and underwear beneath the tunic.

The women practically always wear a headscarf, generally a brightly coloured Russian cashmere shawl. They fold this diagonally into a triangle, tying it under the chin and pulling it forward around the face. They hold that it is forbidden for outsiders and especially the male members of their husband's family to catch sight of their faces. They braid their hair in two plaits, tied together with coloured ribbons. (Fig. 34) An exception is when there is a death in the family. On such occasions they braid their hair but do not tie the plaits together so that everyone can see even from a distance that a misfortune has occurred. (Tamara Sidorovna Tevlina, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)



Fig. 32. Traditionally shaped dresses are made from industrial textiles



Fig. 33. *Kaftan* embellished with mink weared by Lena Kurlomkina living at the Great Yegan



Fig. 34. Traditional hair mode

THE GODS KNOWN AND REVERED BY THE OSTYAKS OF THE SURGUT REGION

Already in the last century K. F. KARJALAINEN observed that the spiritual life of the Ostyaks was so rich and the number of their spirits so high that no one had yet succeeded in determining the exact number and names of their gods. (KARJALAINEN 1922: 40) I cannot undertake the impossible either; I shall simply attempt to systematise the little I know of this inexhaustible field from the informants. According to the Surgut Ostyaks the world is divided into three great spheres: the sky, the earth and the underworld and all three are full of a multitude of gods and spirits. KARJALAINEN classified these as follows: the inhabitants of the upper, middle and lower world have animal or human figures, are good or evil. He differentiated them further according to area of activity, whether they

help in fishing or hunting, or help a given small community, a larger group or the whole people. (KARJALAINEN 1922: 291, 370)

Following this classification, but with slight modifications, I shall begin by surveying the pantheon of the gods, the higher powers revered everywhere by the Ob-Ugrians, although in cases under different names. Then come the spirits associated with particular places, living in the environment of the people concerned and respected only in the area we studied, and finally the individual helping spirits. In conclusion, I shall make a few observations on the ceremonies of sacrifice to them.

In all the groups we studied the supreme god is the creator Torum, Numi-Torum, Some Torum iki. He is the most powerful of the gods. They know the creation myth associated with him and if they bring him a sacrificial gift, an animal sacrifice, it must be white in colour. Torum lives in the highest sky and only the most powerful shamans can reach his presence. (Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) He determines how many years each individual will live and, despite all the efforts of the shaman, if the sick person has reached the end of his given time, he will die. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) According to KARJALAINEN and later other researchers in his wake, such as V. M. KULEMZIN, the figure of Torum was once a spirit living in the upper sky, definitely not a supreme god, and it was only relatively recently, perhaps under the influence of Christianity, that he underwent transformation into the creating supreme deity. (KARJALAINEN 1922: 280; КУЛЕМЗИН 1976: 32–34) His wife is Torum anki, or Mih anki, Meh anki, the earth mother. She lives not in the sky but under the earth. If they bring a sacrificial gift to her, they do not hang the reindeer antler on a trees as they do for gods living in the sky, but place it on the ground. Sacrificial animals intended for her must be dark in colour. (Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) Some people still know that her original parents were Mih pugos anki, Mother of the Navel of the Earth, and her husband Torum san (kan?) iki (Yeremei Ivanovich Sopochin, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun); others regard the figure of the Mother of the Navel of the Earth as simply an underworld goddess. (Petr Kurlomkin, June 1992 – Great Yegan) The marriage of the divine couple Torum and Torum anki produced seven sons and seven daughters; we are able to list their names and powers only with difficulty and incompletely. According to Ivan Sopochin their daughters are the following:

1. Tores nai, or Chores nai imi, the eldest daughter, goddess of the Sea of Fire who will be mentioned again later.

2. Kaltesh, Kaltesh anki, Kaltash imi, or Anki-Pugos, all names and figures of the same goddess who helps in childbirth; she will be mentioned again too.

3. The goddess who – gives life to the animals.

4. The Sun, Katl imi.

5. Vonk nay – goddess of the forest fire which burns by itself in the forest.

6. The goddess who extinguishes fires.

7. Tubet nay – the fire.

(Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

The seven sons are as follows:

1. Sorni kan iki, the youngest, identical with the figure of the Watchman of the World; he will be discussed further.
 2. As iki, the Old Man of the Head of the Ob, lord of the fishes.
 3. Kin iki, lord of the underworld, the Ruler of disease, he is the eldest.
 4. Yagun iki, lord of the Yegan river.
 5. Egut iki, lord of the Tromyegan river.
 6. Torem san iki – he causes sickness in humans.
 7. Voyeh ort iki, Voyeh ort torum – he gives the wild animals to hunters.
- (Based on independent communications by Yeremei Sopochin and Petr Kurlomkin, July 1992)

The information given by Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin differs from this list only in that instead of Evt iki, he named Vyu Al Yent jung, lord of the forest spirits. (L. M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) Naturally, this list does not mean that it is complete and without error, just as the order given in the list does not correspond to the chronological order of birth of the children of the divine couple. I simply wished to record what my informants remembered in the early nineties.

Among the divine family members listed, I most frequently encountered only two daughters, Tores nai and Anki Pugos, and four sons, Sorni han iki, As iki, Kin iki and Yagun iki, in the tales, mythical songs, ceremonies and narratives of the Surgut Ostyaks.

The most disputed by scholars and nevertheless the one appearing most frequently in their everyday lives is the goddess Tores nai or Chores nai imi, whose existence was reported by A. A. DUNIN-GORKAVICH in the early 20th century (ДУНИН-ГОРКАВИЧ 1911: 36, 49–50), a communication qualified a few years later by K. F. KARJALAINEN as an erroneous record (KARJALAINEN 1922: 268), a conclusion repeated almost 70 years later by Edit VÉRTES (1990: 29). Nevertheless, the figure of the goddess does in fact exist and can still be found in the beliefs of the Ostyaks of the Tromyegan and the Great Yegan regions and is still one of their most important gods. “Tores nai, goddess of the fiery sea, lives near the sea. We sing her song at the bear feast, it can be on any day. Wherever she lives, the fire always burns. She protects all the seas of the world. She helps the Ostyaks to have fish in abundance, to have a good catch. She helps people to live an easier life. In return for the help, she must be given gifts of red material. A small steel boat must be made, the material placed in it and floated down the river. There is no specified time for when this gift should be given, but if it is in winter a hole must be cut in the ice on the river to launch the boat. A person will not be sick if she helps. Both women and men can give her gifts. It is best if the whole family brings the sacrifice collectively. You can also give the goddess a sacrifice by placing food and drink beside the stove and calling her with the song to evoke a god. You can also give her a reindeer or elk as a gift.” (Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) According to Leonid Mikhailovich, the goddess lives in the middle of the sea, in the place where ships sink and planes disappear; she is the mother of fires. The fires burning in the houses are her children. (L. M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) Tores nai imi has a personified

daughter who lives in a small house near the Vakh river. When she sent her daughter to live there, the girl entered the house and noticed that "one half is dark and the other half light. It is her task to place the cradle of people who are to be born in one or the other half of the house. She places the cradle of those who will live a long while in the light half, and of those who will live a short while – up to around 30 years – in the dark half. The goddess lives in the light half. A reindeer or a horse is sacrificed to her when a child is born. Women give her sacrificial gifts so that their children will live a long while and so that they will have an easy childbirth. The sacrifice is made not in the sacred glade but at home, and they invite her to the ceremony. She still lives in her little house beside the Vakh river." (Ivan S. Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) In this narrative, the figure of the daughter of Tores nai is blurred with that of Anki Pugos, also known as Kaltesh who, it can be seen from the above pantheon, is one of the children of Torum. It is not likely that this mingling is merely an error on the part of the informant or due to his advanced age because a year later he repeated the story in the same way in the song evoking the goddess Kaltesh anki. The song recounts how the child of Tores nai, mother of fire, is in the cradle and her mother is rocking her. Suddenly, the child unties the cradle and climbs out of it. While the mother turns around to put the cradle on the ground, the child grows. It is clear from this that the child is not an ordinary child but has a task from Torum. She must seat those who will live a long while in the light half of the house, and those who can live only half of their life in the dark half. "It is not she who gives them their life, she simply separates the cradles of those who will have a long life and others who will have a short life." (Ivan S. Sopochin, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) But the fires burning in the home are also the children of the goddess of the fiery sea. The name of the goddess of household fire is Nai anki, or Nai anki imi. S. K. PATKANOV defined the meaning of the word nai as "fire and virgin". (ПАТКАНОВ 1891. 9) Red clothing material is sacrificed to her too; it is thrown into the fire so that she will help and protect the inhabitants of the house. In the house of the Sopochin family, for example, Nai imi lives in the sacred chest of the elderly head of the family, Ivan S. Sopochin, wrapped in a red dress, "so that she will help the family, so that there won't be fire in the house, the children won't burn themselves, the people living there won't have bad dreams." (Yosif I. Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) The first thing a person does if he goes somewhere as a guest, or people come to visit, is to give a sacrifice to Nai imi; he splashes drink into the fire, or places material in it, or gives her money, asking her not to forget those present, to bring them good fortune and happiness on their journey. I saw such ceremonies in the Vello and Horov families living beside the Lyamin II river, as well as at the Great Yegan, the Inguyagun and the Voki-rap-yagun. In the latter place, during my stay there, when the Kechimov family moved into a new house, I was able to observe the following in connection with the goddess. The first thing they did was to bring over from their old house the fire which must not be allowed to go out; a small handful of it had to be put in the new stove. When the immediate family had gathered, they gave her a sacrificial gift. Dmitri Kechimov took a piece of red material, wrapped it in a red scarf and made a doll shape out of it. He placed this on a small table on which there was sugar, biscuit, tea, vodka, butter and bread. He said a short prayer in which he asked the fire to help them in the new house too, then took the red doll and threw it into

the fire while praying. He also splashed a little vodka on it. Everyone bowed, turned around three times, then sat down to the same table and everyone was given a few sips of the vodka and some of the food. Generally, they take great care not to hurt *Nai imi* in any way. It is, for example, strictly forbidden to place rubbish or food scraps in the fire because the person who does so burns his own good fortune. (Dmitri A. Kechimov, June 1992 – *Voki-rap-yagun*) But if they treat her well, she helps people. I also have data according to which fire foretells events if one can understand its speech. Leonid M. Sopochin, for example, understands what the fire says to him with its cracking and hissing. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1992) Fire is one of the most frequently occurring helping spirits or gods in the spiritual world of the Surgut Ostyaks who, in addition to what has been listed, also protects the house from evil forces and has a purifying power. The conclusion that fire was once one of the most archaic of the Ostyak gods seems to be entirely acceptable. (КУЛЕМЗИН–ЛУКИНА 1992: 93)

As we have already seen, the figure of fire is to a certain extent intertwined with the figure of Anki Pugos, or Kaltas, Kaltesh. She is the goddess of motherhood, she give the children their soul, conception depends on her, women who wish children pray to her, she says whether the child to be born will be a boy or a girl. Her figure is associated with the day and light (she lives on the light side of the house). Shamans turn to the fire and her at birth and if someone needs help. (Ivan S. Sopochin, March 1991 – *Voki-rap-yagun*) After a birth they give her a gift. Tatiana Aivoseda recounted that a reindeer sacrifice is made in her honour after a birth. When her second son was born, for example, red material was tied around the neck of the sacrificial reindeer, then it was killed. The skull of the reindeer was taken out to the birch forest near the settlement area, and was hung on a birch tree there together with the material. (March 1991 – *Voki-rap-yagun*) The placenta is also placed on a birch tree, in a small bark bowl. (Irina I. Kechimova, March 1991 – *Voki-rap-yagun*) This goddess lowers the souls of children down to the earth; until the children are able to see, the souls remain with the goddess Anki Pugos. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993)

One of the seven sons of Torum who occurred in all the families studied and was a frequently mentioned figure, was *Sorni kan iki*, Golden prince, that is, the World Watchman responsible for world order. He is the youngest child of Torum and the most powerful of the young gods. Since it is his task to guard over and preserve world order, the Ostyaks of the Surgut region take bigger requests to him rather than to Torum. People regard him as a good mediator between humans and the god of the sky, as well as other spirits. He helps men a lot, can give a good hunting catch and health, can heal sickness, but once the time given to a person by Torum has run out, he is unable to avert death. They imagine him approaching on a white horse; where he appears there is great light. Here is a description of him: "In all important earthly things one must turn to *Sorni kan iki*. For example, if a woman is having a difficult birth, the shaman asks him to help. If it is not ordained that the life of the child and the mother must be broken off, it will be immediately easier for the mother giving birth when they turn to him. *Sorni kan iki* has a horse the size of a small white rabbit and a sword decorated with portrayals of the sun. If he fights bogatirs (harmful beings of enormous power), his sword grows until it covers half the sky. No one can win against it. He can change his figure and size at will. He can

be tiny enough to pass through a bead-hole, but can also be the size of a man... I too saw him once, when death stood only 20–30 metres away from me... Suddenly, the sky opened and there seemed to be sparks of gold. The sky split in two and bathed everything in a golden colour. The snow sparkled the way it does in winter sunshine, although it was completely dark.” (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) As for Torum, they generally sacrifice a light coloured reindeer to him; the best is one with a light patch somewhere on its fur since they consider that this is where the animal’s soul is found, and this is where they stab the animal in a ceremony. (Yosif I. Sopochin, March 1991 – Vokirap-yagun) Leonid Sopochin also explains his miraculous escape from death, Kin iki, to the fact that not long before this event he had given a suitable sacrificial gift to Sorni kan iki. “It happened just before the journey, when I was still a young married man; all my reindeer had died or been torn to pieces by a bear. I had only one reindeer calf left. I sacrificed it to Sorni kan iki and asked him to help me to have many reindeer and live happily. I even put a sable fur on the antlers of the sacrificial calf. I took the skull with the antlers and the sable fur and hung it on a big tree in our sacred place. I prayed there too for Sorni kan iki to help me. Then we set out and that is when the sky opened up to a golden colour. Sorni kan iki flew away above us. Well, I thought, if I were just a simple man and had not prayed so much, that would certainly have been the end of me.” (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun)

According to Leonid M. Sopochin, the powerful beings who pursued him and tried to take his life were none other than Kin iki, lord of the underworld, causer of sicknesses, and his helpers. The Surgut Ostyaks believe that he lives in the underworld which is identical with the realm of the dead. Everything there is black, everyone wears black and the lord of the underworld sits enthroned on a black chair in a vast black room where the only light is from the fire. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1992 – Inguyagun) Like Torum, he too has a family, children and helping spirits. His subjects are all wicked, harmful spirits. He uses them to send sickness to people or to steal their souls. He is a tall thin man in appearance, in black clothing, with a conical cap on his head. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) As a sacrificial gift they generally give him a dark-coloured reindeer, but the gift for him is not placed on a birch tree as for the previous gods; it is put beneath a pine tree and dug into the ground there. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun)

Their next god, the Old Man of the Ob, As iki, is related to fishing, the source of their everyday livelihood. Since they believe that the quantity of fish in the Ob and its tributaries, and in the entire Ob-Irtysh basin and the lakes of the region depend on him, he too is still surrounded with great respect, even today. All the water spirits who live in the tributaries of the Ob belong under his dominion and only a few have independent powers. (КУЛЕМЗИН 1984: 48) When they commemorate him, they give him a gift and in return he rewards them with an abundant catch of fish. During our summer expedition in 1992, one day Dmitri Kechimov and Leonid Sopochin told us two tales about the Old Man of the Ob. On the same evening Dmitri went fishing with his young son Slavik and they returned soon after with two enormous pike and a number of smaller fish. They claimed with conviction that As iki had sent them the fish in return for telling so many tales about him that day. They regarded the abundant catch that day as an especially good

sign because this was the first time Slavik had been to fish and the large catch meant that the boy would be a successful fisherman when he grew up. (June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) Besides, it is the custom of As iki, when someone has guests from afar, to send the fisherman fish in honour of his guests. (Dmitri A. Kechimov, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) They give him a sacrificial gift, which can be a reindeer, clothing material or money, mainly in spring, before the fishing season begins, and in winter. In spring they kill the animal beside the river and throw a little of its blood and its skin into the water, but a little vodka can also be poured into the river for him. If they take him a gift in winter, they place it on the ice and when the ice melts and it falls into the water, the river carries it to the waters of the god. They put clothing material and pieces of coins on the ice. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Voki-rap-yagun)

In the beliefs of the Ob-Ugrians, including those of the Ostyaks, there is an accumulation of many religious phenomena originating from different periods and living side by side. The oldest of these is perhaps the belief in protecting and helping spirits linked to animism. A multitude of helping and harmful spirits accompany the individual through life, from birth to death. The Ostyak always seeks the opinion of the spirits before all important events, whether they be related to fishing, hunting or a longer journey. The forest, the river and the district has its own spirit or lord and the fate of the people living, fishing and hunting there depends to a great extent on its will. This is why these spirits play just as important a part in their beliefs right up to the present as do the powerful gods already mentioned.

One of the biggest helping spirits of those living along the Tromyegan and its tributaries and along the Agan, Ugut and Pim is the Old Man of the Tromyegan. The people living here regularly make animal sacrifices to him. His house is in the forest beside the Tromyegan on a height, and his wooden idol stands in the house. The task of the spirit is to help and protect the lives of the Ostyaks who pay tribute to him and ensure happiness for them. However, while both men and women could be present at the family ceremonies of sacrifice, only men took part in these. The ceremonies are generally held in spring, before the beginning of the fishing season, and in autumn, before the hunting season starts. While at home they now sacrifice mainly reindeer and only one animal, far more animals are sacrificed in the big communal sacrificial ceremony. Each of the important gods receives a sacrificial animal. (Ivan S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) In 1991, for example, they sacrificed 35 reindeer at one ceremony. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) The Old Man of the Tromyegan himself decides on the kind of animal to be sacrificed and it is the task of the shaman to determine his wish. In 1990, for example, they sacrificed a horse to the Old Man of the Tromyegan. A piece of materials was spread on the back and head of the horse. It is only the shaman or the guardian of the sacred house who knows what colour material must be sacrificed to which spirit. He also gives the exact time for the sacrificial ceremony. (Tamara Sidorovna Tevlina, March 1991 – Russkinskiye)

The other major guardian spirit of the families living beside the Voki-rap-yagun and the Inguyagun is Voki rap imi, who lives in a small idol house near the Inguyagun. The goddess is invisible; only her sons and daughters can be seen there in the form of idols. Only the shamans are able to discover her wishes. Until quite recently the guardian of the

small idol house was the elderly shaman, Ivan S. Sopochin and it was not long ago that his youngest son, Yosif, was chosen to replace him. His son will take over this task from him in turn. No one except the guardian has the right to enter the sacred place. Generally they are required to pray to her before the first snow. Sometimes they hold a ceremony in her honour every year, at other times only every second year. The Ostyak men from the district come together for this ceremony. Here, as at the big communal ceremonies, they kill a number of reindeer at once. On 20 January 1991, for example, they sacrificed 13 animals and around 20 men participated. (Yosif I. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) Besides the communal sacrificial ceremony, naturally anyone for whom she is the district or communal spirit can pray to the goddess at home. However, if someone would like to send a sacrificial gift to the place where the goddess lives, this can only be done through the guardian of the idol house. Many Ostyaks of the Surgut region also have their own helping spirit from a tree in the sacred grove of the goddess; Yosif Sopochin and the husbands of his sisters have such spirits, for example. "But not anyone can receive a helping spirit from there, only people from our own tribe." (Yosif I. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

The communal guardian spirit of the Ostyaks living beside the Great Yegan is known as Yegan imi and lives in a sacred place beside the Yegan in the form of a wooden doll. However, in 1993 she did not have a guardian. "The reason for this is that the person they chose as guardian of Yegan imi was shot when drunk by his fellow Ostyaks. This happened because the Woman of the Yegan did not want that man as her guardian. Others who were asked to be the guardian did not accept the task; they are afraid of the goddess. Now she has no guardian." (Taisa Mikhailovna Kurlomkina, June 1992 – Great Yegan)

The above section has dealt with the group of guardian spirits venerated by only the population of a given geographical formation or unit and not known by the other Ostyak groups. The following common identifying signs emerged from the accounts:

- according to those who venerate them, the health, hunting and fishing fortune and happiness of the people living there depend on these spirits;
- the spirits have statues and idols in the place where they are venerated. These are generally anthropomorphic figures of wood wrapped in a great deal of clothing and furs;
- these spirits and the place where they live have a separate guardian who is generally a shaman;
- since the sacred place belongs to the spirit living there, many rules regulate what may and may not be done there. Only men from the territory venerating the spirit may enter the sacred grove, and even they may only enter in the company of a shaman. It is forbidden for women to go to the sacred place or take place in the ceremony. It is forbidden to cut down trees, break off branches, fish or hunt in the area. At the same time, it is only from here that wood may be selected for a figure of the personal helping spirit of an individual belonging to the community or for the shaman's drum. The shaman drums of Ivan S. Sopochin and his son, Yosif, for example, are made of wood from here;
- the sacred place a "living fire" must be lit for the sacrificial ceremony, not with a match but with tinder. (Gennadi Russkin, August 1991 – Inguyagun)



Fig. 35. Dmitri Kechimov with his helper ghosts at the sledge

The individual, personally owned spirits occupy a much more modest place in the ranking of spirits but they are nevertheless very important for individuals.

The families who alternate their settlement areas, such as those at the Voki-rap-yagun and the Inguyagun, keep the figures of the individual helping spirits on the sacred sled, while the settled Kurlom, in family keeps its spirits in a stilted house near the dwelling house. Each small family has such a sacred sled which means that there may be as many as four or five in a settlement area. The place of the sacred sled is in the space behind the house or tent of the small family where women are not allowed to step. The only exception is the women whose helping spirit is on the sled. They may go up to their own idol and may seek its help when needed. (Irina I. Kechimova, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) This means that there may be a number of helping spirits on the sled together: that of the

husband, the wife, the children living with them, and relatives. In addition, one person may have a number of helping spirits. (Fig. 35) If one helping spirit is not strong enough and does not give sufficiently effective help despite the gifts received, the person has another helping spirit made. (Dmitri A. Kechimov, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) The children of a family receive their own individual helping spirit when they leave the parental home. Rimma Russkina, for example, received her helping spirit as a gift her father when she married and moved to her husband's family. Her father made it himself from rag in the form of a doll. (Rimma Russkina, June 1993 – Inguyagun) However, in contrast with real dolls, this has eyes, a mouth and a nose, since it has a soul. Only sons receive wooden idols. (Rimma Russkina, June 1993 – Inguyagun)

Helping spirits of wood can only be made from a tree in the sacred grove of the communal guardian spirit and they are made not by the owner but by somebody else, e. g. the father makes one for his son or if an adult man is replacing an idol, the new one is made by the shaman or a person appointed for the task. "One must go with the skin, skull and antlers of a sacrificed reindeer into the holy grove where the communal guardian spirit is found, leave the sacrificial gift there and request a new idol. This is made by a man appointed for the task. We generally know whose great- and great-great-grandfather made such idols. This task must be carried out by his son, and then his son's son. The duty always passes from father to son, or if there is no son in the family, it is taken over by a nephew. The person appointed does not have the right to protest that he will not make the new helping spirit. Someone is sent to tell him that we will go at such and such a time for the new helper. He must be at home then and carry out the ceremony in the forest." (Tamara S. Tevlina, March 1991 – Russkinskiye) It can be seen from this account that this person is actually the guardian of the local guardian spirit.

It is not my intention to list the names of the guardian spirits of all my informants as this would take several pages and is not really necessary. Instead, I shall mention only a few of the countless helping spirits. The helping spirit of Yosif Sopochin, for example, is called Daughter of the Woman of Voki-rap-yagun, that is Voki-rap-yagun imi evi, since it was made from a tree in the sacred grove. (Yosif I. Sopochin, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun)

Leonid M. Sopochin has four personal helping spirits. One was bequeathed to him by his grandmother; it is the daughter of his grandmother's fire. The second, which he brought from a sacred place near Noyabirsk, helps him in hunting and fishing. The third is from a sacred place beside the Inguyagun, of which Yosif Sopochin is the guardian, and the fourth is the idol of a male elk for which he travelled to an island in Lake Num. This idol helps his reindeer and helps him in tending his reindeer. He can travel on it just like on a real reindeer. It also helps him when he has to struggle with harmful spirits. He uses its antlers like a sabre. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun)

The common feature of these helping spirits is that a ceremony of sacrifice must be held in their honour several times or at least twice a year. "In autumn for good hunting and in spring for the fish and birds." (Ivan S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) On these occasions the sacrificial gift is generally a reindeer; the blood of the animal is smeared on the mouth of the helping spirit. After successful fishing or hunting, they thank the spirits for their help, placing a fine fur or a new piece of clothing beside the

idol. In the case of minor requests, they do not make an animal sacrifice but give the animal a sacrifice of food and drink. They open the cover of the sacred sled, or the stilted house, take out the idol, place food and drink in front of it and the head of the family says a prayer. The men stand in front of the idol and the women stand to the side a little further back. The ceremony ends with bows and three turns and after this the leader of the ceremony gives the helping spirit food and a dash of drink, then they too drink and eat from the food. I was able to witness such a ceremony at the Inguyagun in 1993 when, on the occasion of our arrival, Leonid Sopochin prayed for health and good fortune for us all. It can be seen that if a helping spirit brings good fortune to its master, another person may also make a sacrificial gift to it with the approval of the owner, and may ask it to fulfil a request.

I shall not continue to list the countless multitude of spirits. I would like only to mention one last category of spirits: the spirits of nature who live in the world around man. They are the masters of the rivers, lakes and streams where people go to hunt and fish. Naturally, the Ostyaks of the Surgut region never forget these either and hold a ceremony of sacrifice for them before and after each fishing season and before and after hunting. The Ostyaks of the Surgut region imagines these spirits to have human form and, if necessary, they are capable of assuming other forms too. They take it for granted that the fish in the river and the game in the forest belong to the spirits and therefore they hold a ceremony of sacrifice in their honour before hunting and fishing so that they will let men have some of the animals they own. The gift is money or a scarf. They only make an animal sacrifice, always following the shaman's instructions, if they have had no fortune for a long while. "Before each hunting season, every hunter must hold a ceremony of sacrifice to the spirit of the forest where he goes hunting, and to Torum. The ceremony of sacrifice does not have to be held in the sacred place, it can be out in the wild or anywhere." (Kirill Pokochev, August 1991- Voki-rap-yagun)

It can be seen that a multitude of spirits surround the life of the Surgut Ostyaks who must hold various ceremonies and make sacrifices, most commonly animal sacrifices, for their help and goodwill. Despite minor differences from one place to another, as the examples have shown the animal sacrifices display a certain relationship and close similarity.

– For example, right up to the present, traces of a hierarchy of animal sacrifices have survived. In this hierarchy the most valuable sacrificial animal was a white horse (KEREZSI 1987: 157–176), since even in the early nineties they still sacrificed a horse in honour of the communal guardian spirit and there are also earlier data confirming this (KARJALAINEN 1922: 129). This was followed by less valuable animals, such as cattle and reindeer.

– Colour played an important role in selection of the sacrificial animal. An animal with white or light-coloured fur, or one which at least has a light patch on its body is regarded as the most suitable for Torum who lives in the sky and for most of his children. Dark-coloured animals may only be given to Kin iki and Torum's wife, the Earth Mother.

– The number of sacrificial animals depends principally on the rank of the god or

spirit for whom the sacrifice is intended. When communal sacrifices are made, they always sacrifice more than one animal for the local guardian spirit.

– In certain cases they place distinguishing signs on the sacrificial animal so that it will be clear for everyone that the animal is the property of the gods or spirits. For example, they cover the animal with a shawl.

– According to our observations, the Ostyaks of the Surgut region kill the sacrificial animal from the front, by a blow on the head with an axe, or they stab it in the heart. They collect the blood of the sacrificial animal; the men and male children drink some of the blood and they also give some to the guardian spirits. They believe that the animal's soul is in the blood and those who drink from it receive some of the animal's strength. (Dmitri A. Kechimov, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

– Besides the blood, the animal's blood-filled innards are also very important. "The tongue and the heart are the most important part of the animal. If we cook these, we place them in a separate small bowl, we add a little of the other meat too, and we always pray with it. If we pray to the heavenly spirits, we ask them to come down and eat from the sacrificial food. After saying a prayer, we eat the tongue and the heart too. With us the women can eat it too, they can eat everything." Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Ingu-yagun)

– They try to portion out the meat of the sacrificial animal so that all the participants in the ceremony receive an equal share.

– They keep the skin of the sacrificial animal for themselves but leave the skull outside or take it to the sacred grove and place a piece of fabric beside it. Leonid M. Sopochin explains the latter custom by saying that the gods and spirits must also wear something and the fabric left there is intended for shawls, clothing and shirts for them. (June 1993 – Ingu-yagun)

– The tree of the sky gods can only be a birch tree, while that of the lord of the underworld and the gods living beneath the earth is a conifer.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SURGUT OSTYAK SHAMANS

Researchers have been studying the shamanism of the Ostyaks with varying intensity since the 18th century. According to the figures given by V. M. KULEMZIN, a total of 16 authors up to the present mention this subject. (КУЛЕМЗИН 1976: 5–18) A recent work by Z. P. SOKOLOVA on the problems of research on Ob-Ugrian shamanism is devoted to their findings and work. (СОКОЛОВА 1992/b: 225–241) Only two of these authors have dealt with the problem of the shamanism of the Eastern Ostyaks within the Ostyaks as a whole, namely Shatilov (1931 and 1976) and V. M. KULEMZIN (1976) who has already been mentioned a number of times. However, apart from the present author, no researcher has yet dealt with the shamanism of the Ostyaks of the Surgut region, a group within the Eastern Ostyaks. (KEREZSI 1994, 1995, 1996) An attempt will be made here to sum up the most important facts I have been able to gather on the subject over the years from my informants.

Since the word “shaman” is not a Finno-Ugrian word but of Tungush origin, the Surgut Ostyaks naturally do not use it. The families living beside the Tromyegan call their shaman “chirte ho” if he is a man and “chirte ne” in the case of a woman. The name used beside the Great Yegan is “kirta-koh”. In both dialects this word actually means magician.

Among the Eastern Ostyaks a person may become a shaman in various ways. He may receive it from his ancestors, may learn the craft from an experienced shaman, or may be chosen by the gods. (ШАТИЛОВ 1931: 121) However, our own data, like those obtained by V. M. KULEMZIN among the Vakh and Vasyugan Ostyaks confirm that the main way of becoming a shaman is by being chosen. The shamans are people who believe with deep conviction that they have been especially chosen by the gods. Leonid M. Sopochin, for example, was chosen by Sorni kan iki when he was still very young. As he recalls it: “I was 16 years old then, a young kid. I travelled with my reindeer to Russkinskiye. I was completely sober because I didn’t drink a drop before I was twenty. On the way back I had reached the Pesika-imi-yegan stream, the place of the spirit there, when it began. The sun had just started to rise when some kind of creatures began to whistle and cry out to me. I couldn’t see anything, but I shuddered as though someone had poured cold water over me. My reindeer were frightened too, they faltered, kept looking back and pricked up their ears, keeping watch. I began to drive them quickly. We reached a swamp. We crossed a small stream, then a swamp, and finally I passed beside a lake. When I reached the shore of the second lake I knew I had to turn to the right, but I kept going straight ahead, I have no idea where to. It was almost light when I came to my senses. I was completely frozen and my whole body trembled. I unhitched the reindeer and laid down to sleep. Suddenly I was woken by a sound like thunder. I looked in the direction of the rising sun and everything was filled with a shining light; a very handsome young man was travelling that way. He was mounted on a beautiful white horse, and when he passed in front of me, his voice was like the sound of an arrow shot with great force. I heard a sound like a whistle. This splendid young man was none other than Sorne kan iki, the youngest son of the supreme god Numi Torum. From then on I began to think and see the century. Up to the age of 22 I just thought about what would happen to people, I saw the century. Then they said that I have seen everything, I do not have to think any further, I know what will happen in the future. Then I began to heal people and help them.” (Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin, June 1992) (Fig. 36)

One of the signs of being chosen was good fortune in hunting or fishing. Ivan Stephanovich Sopochin explained that the shaman may not use his knowledge in his own interest, but the spirits may help him even without this because “I have never heard of a poor or hungry shaman”. (I. S. Sopochin, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) The first sign that the elderly head of the family had been chosen appeared in his exceptional luck at hunting right from a very early age. He was orphaned very young and went to live with his uncle who was a heartless, wicked man. The uncle grew tired of supporting the child so when he was 12 years old he put him in a boat and took him back to his parents’ hunting territory. He gave the boy an axe and a knife and left him to fend for himself. Left alone the young Ivan Sopochin was terribly afraid since they believe that a house that has stood empty for a long while is full of *menkvek*, or evil spirits who can even kill



Fig. 36. Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin makes sacrifices to his helper ghosts at the sacred sledge

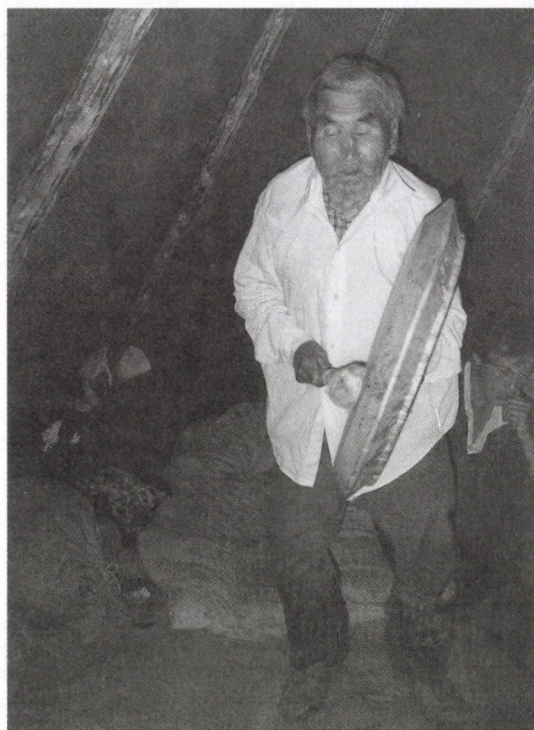


Fig. 37. Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin during the shaman-ceremony

a person. This is why he did not move into his parents' house, but made a kind of hut for himself from dry branches so that he was protected from the frosts that came early. Then he blocked a stretch of the river, the way he had seen his uncle do it, he made a fish trap and caught a great many fish. He set traps for birds and smaller animals and his traps were always full. He lived so well that months later his uncle wanted to call him back so that they could work together, but by then he had become independent. Not long after, his encounters with the spirits began and he became a shaman. (I. S. Sopochin, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun) (Fig. 37)

There are no physical conditions here for becoming a shaman, such as being born with teeth, or with six fingers.

As in the case of the Ostyaks along the Vasyugan (K. F. KARJALAINEN 1927: 251), among those living beside the Tromyegan the person chosen by the spirits learns what he has to do and how he has to approach the different spirits in dreams, through hallucinations. Ivan S. Sopochin, for example, was in ill health for seven years: he was often unconscious, he sat at home for days on end, had no desire to do anything, and heard the inner voices. During this time he learnt everything he would need in his future activity as a shaman. (I. S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) This relatively simple way of receiving the shaman's knowledge is one of the distinguishing features of the Surgut Ostyak shamans. V. M. KULEMZIN found parallels among the Vasyugan Ostyaks.

At the same time, it is probable that besides being chosen, there is also a hereditary path to becoming a shaman among the Surgut Ostyaks because it can be generally found that shamans come from families where there have already been such people. For example, Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin's grandmother was also a shaman and according to his account he learnt a lot from her. Yosif, the youngest son of the elderly shaman, regularly hears voices which keep telling him that he must become a shaman. He does not want to accept this task and so he is often sick and constantly struggling to cope with neurotic complaints. During my stay there, in the summer of 1991, his father asked the spirits what was the matter with his son and they answered that it was nothing serious, only that he was protesting against becoming a shaman.

On the basis of my collecting work, the diverse tasks of the Surgut Ostyak shamans can be divided into three main groups:

1. Clarifying questions related to the course of people's lives, such as shamanising in cases of sickness, birth and death.
2. Shamanising in connection with the effectiveness of work activity.
3. Conducting the communal ceremonies.

Mentioned has already been made in the previous chapter for the widely held belief among the Surgut Ostyaks that if someone falls ill, the reason is that one of the many spirits is angry with him and has entered his body to steal his soul. This could be Kin iki himself, Prince of Sickness, or his assistants, or any of the multitude of spirits. The healing role of the shaman is to discover, with the aid of his helping spirits, which spirit has stolen the soul of the sick person and how it can be recovered. But since the Ostyaks of the Surgut region believe that the question of life and death is in the hands of the su-

preme deity Torum, the shaman first has to discover the will of the supreme god and can only begin shamanising if the answer is positive. "Since it is a difficult task, the shamanising must be done with a drum. You have to go up to our great ones in the sky and ask them. I turn to Sorni kan iki, Torum achi, Torum anki and Mih anki. My soul goes away to them. I learn from them whether the life of the sick person will continue or not. If so, I will shamanise to the utter limits, I will heal the sick person. Then I turn to my own helping spirits... they heal the sick person in an instant... When I begin to shamanise, it is a big problem that the sick person is far away; I and my spirits fly there... The sick person begins to feel better right away, even if he has been on the point of death. But it is not good either if he recovers suddenly, it has to be done gradually, the way a tree grows." (Leonid Mikhailovich Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun)

I found two basic methods of healing sickness among my informants. One was taking the spirit of sickness out of the sick person's body and the other was recovering the stolen soul from the lord of diseases. During our trip in 1993 Leonid M. Sopochin was sick for a long while with a sore throat and a fever for days on end. One morning he came to see me and told me that he was feeling better and would recover because during the night he had wrestled with an assistant in female form of Kin iki; he had won and then he was able to take out of his throat the thick white grubs that had been devouring him.

The other method of ending sickness was much more tiring for the shaman. In such cases he has to go down to the underworld and bring back the soul of the sick person. Leonid M. Sopochin described the story of such a journey in the following way. First of all he had to reach the entrance to the underworld which is a circular hole leading deep under the ground. Entering this, he reached a river that he crossed in a boat. Besides this he had to overcome six other obstacles, making a total of seven; they included wild animals, fire, dense thorny scrub and a forest. Finally, he reached a vast hall lit by the light of the fire, where Kin iki sat on his throne in a black robe. He told him that the sick person still has much to do on the earth, he has not yet accomplished all the tasks set for him, and he asked him to release the soul of the sick person. The lord of the underworld agreed and the shaman returned to earth with the soul of the sick person by the same tiring route. After the shaman Ceremony ended he fell into a deep sleep that lasted several hours because he felt extremely tired and wounded. (L. M. Sopochin, June 1992) He was not prepared to answer the question of what would happen if Kin iki did not want to release the soul of the sick person. However, we know from the literature that in such cases the shaman hides the soul of the sick person in the folds of his clothing or entices it to follow him and leads it out of the realm of the shades. (БАСИЛОВ 1984: 20) It is also the task of the shaman to find out what sacrificial gift the given spirit needs in exchange for the returned soul.

Of course, there are cases when the shaman is unable to heal the patient and he or she dies. The Ostyaks too regard this as part of the natural order of things and it does not occur to anyone to blame the shaman: the death was the will of Torum. But while it is easy to steal and destroy the soul of ordinary mortals, it is much more difficult to do this to the soul of the shaman. "He struggles. He knows when the black spirits are coming for him to take him to the otherworld. He doesn't submit meekly and there is a big fight. This is what happened with grandfather too. (The elderly Ivan Semenovich Sopochin

died in May 1993.) He was not sick at all before his death, there was nothing wrong with him. He died suddenly. He went out of his tent, collapsed and was dead. Kin iki did it. He and his helpers spied on him and shot him. They had already tried twice to kill him and the third time they succeeded. But grandfather knew everything. He told Yosif: I know I will die soon." (L. M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) His eldest daughter, Fekla recounted that he was still shamanising just a few days before his death; he learnt that his sons who were far away would return home in good health and that reassured him. On the evening before his death he bid farewell to his family and told them that he would die next morning outside the tent. And that is exactly what happened. (F. I. Pokocheva, June 1993 – Voki-rap-yagun)

They also turn to the shaman for help if a woman is having a prolonged and difficult birth. As Leonid M. Sopochin explained, the role of the shaman is to shamanise in the neighbouring tent and so ease the suffering of the woman in childbirth. Ivan S. Sopochin added that in such cases he must turn to fire and to Kaltes who is closely associated with fire, or to Anki Pugos.

The other very important group of tasks of the shaman is related to work. As we have seen in the previous chapter, the Ostyaks of the Surgut region still believe that success in fishing and hunting depends mainly on the will and help of the gods and spirits around them. If someone has not had good fortune for a long while, he turns to the shaman to find out which spirit is angry with him and what gift is needed to appease him. Just as in the previous cases, what gives the shaman his strength in this task is that he is able to enter into contact with the supernatural forces and tell them people's requests, that is, he is an intermediary between men and gods.

The third group of tasks is closely linked to the previous activity but is nevertheless somewhat broader: conducting the big communal ceremonies. The shamans' mediating activity between men and spirits in this case lies in the fact that they know which spirit must be approached for a rich hunting bag or an abundant catch of fish. While anyone can perform an individual ceremony of sacrifice at home or in his own family sacred grove, only the shaman can conduct communal sacrificial ceremonies. Leonid S. Sopochin explained that when they pray to several gods or guardian spirits at the same time, and make a mass animal sacrifice, several shamans are present and they work in succession. Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) I saw an example of this in the summer of 1993 in Russkinskiye at an enormous sacrificial ceremony held for all the Ostyaks of the Surgut region where, besides Leonid S. Sopochin, three other shamans participated. Each shaman stood beside a sacrificial animal, the eldest shaman began to play the drum and asked the god to whom he had sacrificed the animal, to come down to men and take part in the ceremony. After the drumming and prayer, he dealt the animal a blow to the back of the head and stabbed the reindeer. He was followed by the other shamans with their own drumming, prayer and animal sacrifice. They sacrificed a total of eight reindeer, one after the other. Originally, they should have sacrificed fourteen: seven to the biggest gods – Torum, Torum anki, Sorne kan iki, Mih anki, Kin iki, Tores nai imi and Voyih orti torum, and the other seven to the biggest local communal helping spirits of the Surgut Ostyaks. However, lacking sufficient money, only the guardian spirit of the Tromyegan river received an animal sacrifice. They gave the other spirits only smaller

gifts, mainly textiles. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993) The shamans directed the whole ceremony, told everyone what to do and said which spirit should receive which fabric. And finally they took the gifts of the spirits to their trees in the sacred grove.

It has been seen in the previous chapter that the shamans were the guardians of the communal idols and sacred groves. It was only with their permission that a person could go there and a ceremony of sacrifice could only be held there under their direction. It was their task to give members of the community individual helping spirits from the sacred place.

According to my informants, the power of the shaman depends on the strength of the god who has chosen him and on his helping spirits, although in general male shamans are stronger than female shamans. Women are able to shamanise only with the help of *Amanita muscaria* (fly agaric), but the men are also able to shamanise without it. (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) An entirely different opinion of this is held among the other Siberian peoples with shamanic beliefs since the Chukchee, Yakuts, Eskimo, Buryats and Altaic peoples, for example, believe that women shamans are much stronger than their male fellows. (БАСИЛОВ 1984: 27)

Yosif I. Sopochin, youngest son of the elderly shaman, Ivan Sopochin, explained that they distinguish three kinds of shaman. The strongest shaman is one who can go into the house of the supreme god, Numi Torum, the next is one who can only reach the threshold, and the third can only go to the fence around the house. The soul of Ivan S. Sopochin is capable of flying right to the threshold of the supreme god during shaman ceremonies. (March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) He cannot go right into the house because, as the old shaman recounted, the moment of his choice was disturbed. He was still only around 16–17 years old when he set out with his brother to hunt otter in the nearby stream. His brother went in front and he fell behind because he wanted to check something. Suddenly, he felt an inner urge to look up at the moon which seemed to him to be very close, almost within hand's reach. He stood rooted to the spot. Then he saw a light approach from the distance and also heard a voice. As the light approached the voice grew louder and vice versa. At times the light was among the branches of the trees, at other times it was close to the ground, flying back and forth among the trees. At the same time, the voice told Ivan Sopochin that he was a chosen person and began to teach him what he had to do. The voice told him exactly how he could enter into contact with the god who had chosen him, how his soul could meet the other gods and spirits. The voice would have continued its teaching, but his brother, who could not understand why he was so long in coming, came back for him. Both the light and the voice disappeared and his instruction was interrupted. (Ivan S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

In contrast with the shamans of the Vasyugan Ostyaks. (КУЛЕМЗИН 1976: 68), those of the Surgut region did not have a separate shaman costume. They shamanised in the clothes they had been wearing beforehand, except for a white shirt they put on over their clothes and, even in summer, they put on reindeer fur boots. They have to put on a white shirt because white is the favourite colour of the gods and the boots are needed because the shaman cannot appear before the gods barefoot. (Ivan S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

The shamans' most important equipment is till the drum. It is circular in shape with a reindeer skin cleaned of the fur stretched over it. Only the skin of a reindeer which has been killed in an animal sacrifice can be used for this purpose. (Ivan S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) The frame of the shaman's drum can be made of different kinds of wood, such as birch, Arolla pine or Scots pine. The latter is the best as it gives the best sound. It is important that the wood of the shaman's drum can come only from a tree in the communal sacred grove. (I. S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) The drum of the elderly shaman is from the sacred place of a helping spirit called Voki-rap-yagun imi who is also the guardian spirit of the drum. (Yosif I. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) Inside the drum is a Y-shaped branch by which the shaman holds the drum in his left hand. Three times seven coins are fixed to the inside of the frame. In earlier times they also attached small bells inside the drum to give it a stronger sound because then the gods could hear it better. (I. S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun) I did not see drawings or painting on any of the shaman drums. This is not a characteristic only of the Tromyegan shaman drums because, as K. F. KARJALAINEN noted, the lack of patterns is in general one of the characteristics of the Ostyak drums. (KARJALAINEN 1927: 263–265) The drumsticks are also made of wood and covered with the fur from the leg of a reindeer. The drum is never made by the shaman for himself; he ask someone else to make it. Yosif's drum, for example, was made by Leonid M. Sopochin. The shaman is required to pay for the work. The payment can be made in fur, money or reindeer. The shaman can have as many drums as he wishes. According to Ivan Sopochin they do not have a custom of consecration or initiation of the drum because the drum is made from the skin of a sacrificial reindeer intended for the gods. Once he has paid the person who made it and the skin is dry, it can be used. However, his son, Yosif, on the occasion of a reindeer sacrifice, brought out the shaman drum from their tent at the end of the ceremony and drew a circle on the skin with eyes, using blood. When I asked him why he did it, he said that this drum had been made not long ago and had not yet received a sacrifice, and now at the first opportunity he wanted to make up for this. It therefore seems probable that although there is no separate drum initiation ceremony, the spirit of the drum must be given a gift, like all the countless other spirits, if its owner wants it to help him. For example, before the ceremony they put money in the piece of fabric on the handle of the drum, "so that the spirit of the drum will allow us to play on it". (Yosif I. Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

It is worth noting that among the Tromyegan Ostyaks, as among the other groups of Eastern Ostyaks, the drum was not the shaman's saddle animal on which the shaman reaches Torum or the other gods. Nor was the drum an object protected by special bans as in the case of other Siberian peoples. Indeed, not only the shaman but anyone could have a drum here and could play on it for his own relief. (Dmitri A. Kechimov, June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun)

For less difficult tasks, the drum does not have to be used for shamanising: an axe, a sacred chest or even a bucket of water can be used. The drum is needed only if someone approaches the shaman with a question that is difficult to answer, or for healing serious illness, "because in these cases we have to turn to the most powerful gods". (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Ingyagun) When shamanising with an axe or sacred chest, they

spread out a clean cloth, place the axe or chest on it and begin to ask the spirits the questions to which they are seeking an answer. Under normal circumstances, the axe or small chest can be lifted with one hand. The shaman asks the questions and after each question lifts the chest. If he can lift it, the answer to the question is negative. If the axe or chest adheres to the ground and however hard he tries the shaman is unable to lift it, the answer of the spirits is yes. (Fig. 38) This is how they find out whether there is an undesirable person at the shaman ceremony, or who has been entered by the soul of a dead person, or which of the gods will be the guardian spirit of a new-born child, etc.

As we have already mentioned, the essence of the shaman ceremony and shamanism is the belief that the soul of the shaman is capable of departing from his body and making long journeys in time and space. Both the shamans I knew well, Ivan and Leonid Sopochnik, unanimously claimed that people have a single soul which is reincarnated after death and enters someone's body. But according to Leonid the shaman has three souls. The first is like that of other people. "With the other you shamanise; if necessary you go under the earth or up to the sky. Your soul flies away, it flies in the sky like the wind. It is up where the clouds are. I can see everything from there; I notice everything, even though my eyes are closed. I can see everything better because I am looking down from the sky. I can send this soul down into the underworld too, to see how people live there... The third soul is the one with which you see everything. You look at someone and know everything about him. You can close your eyes and see a great distance. Your soul goes there. You see how someone lives there far away, whether things around him are in order or not. I see him just as clearly as I see you now. In only have to concentrate inwards and send out my soul."

As we have seen, the power of the Surgut Ostyak shamans depended primarily on the power of the god who chose them; this god set their tasks and directed their deeds. Apart from this god, the number and power of the helping spirits subordinated to the shaman also influenced the power of the shaman. These could be manifested in the most varied forms: an inanimate object or, most frequently, animals and birds, such as the wolf, fox, crow or waterfowl. (КУЛЕМЗИН 1976: 94) As noted in the previous chapter, one of Leonid's helping spirits was the figure of an elk on his sacred sled, while his fighters were tiny men with swords in their hands. (L. M. Sopochnik, June 1993 – Inguyagun) All I was able to learn from the much more reserved Ivan Sopochnik was that one of his helping spirits was Nai imi in the sacred chest, goddess of the household fire, and another helping spirit may perhaps have had the form of a wolf because he told me that he is on very good terms with the wolves, they have never harmed any of his young reindeer and do not even come near his house; if necessary, he can talk with them too. (March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

The shamans are able to measure their power not only by the effectiveness of their activity, but also in their struggles with each other. According to Leonid Sopochnik there are many harmful shamans among the women in particular. "The women shamans can bring an evil spell on people. Many of them shamanise by sending their souls under the earth. Only a good, strong shaman can end the evil spell. It is difficult even for him. Then the souls of the shamans have to struggle with each other. Men can also be black shamans. Their soul too goes under the earth when a spell is imposed. The gods do not intervene in



Fig. 38. Shaman ceremony with the sacred box



Fig. 39. Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin during the shaman-ceremony

the struggle of shamans. The weaker one can even die in the struggle. They shoot arrows at each other. For example, the shaman goes out to hunt and suddenly he feels as though his body has been pierced through. This has been done by the arrow of the other shaman. From outside it appears as though the shaman has fallen ill suddenly while hunting. They don't know the cause. It is a spell cast by the other one." (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) In contrast with the good shamans, harmful shamans die after suffering from illness for a long while. (L. M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun)

The shaman ceremony generally began in the evening "because even the gods don't have time during the day, they work too". (Ivan S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Vokirap-yagun) They close the door of the tent or house, light a fire and the shaman's assistant begins to warm the drum. The shaman puts on a white shirt and boots while another assistant spreads smoke throughout the room to drive out harmful, wicked powers. With the help of his sacred chest the shaman finds out whether there is any obstacle to holding the ceremony and if everything is in order, the ceremony can begin. Before commencing they give money to the spirit of the drum so that it too will help the shaman. The men occupy a position beside the shaman and the women further away to one side or opposite. The shaman begins to play softly and slowly, then steadily faster and louder. At the peak of the ceremony he springs to his feet and begins to dance. The men begin to call the spirits with rhythmic cries of hey, hey. They continue until the shaman sits back in his place. After each song the shaman turns the drum around his waist three times in the direction of the sun's path and if the sound of the drum is not resonant enough, he gives it to his assistant to warm it. (Fig. 39.) The shaman ceremony sometimes lasts several hours and at the end all of the men present play a few beats on the drum to indicate that they have accepted the shaman's activity. Leonid Sopochin uses whistles and the elderly shaman speaks with the spirits in a language incomprehensible to others.

The Tromyegan shamans were not entitled to payment for their activity. Despite this, everyone generally gave them money, fur or a reindeer out of gratitude, but the shamans themselves could not set the extent of this payment, "otherwise the gods became angry and did not help the shaman". (Ivan S. Sopochin, March 1991 – Vokirap-yagun)

At such important ceremonies as the bear feast, the Tromyegan shamans, like those beside the Vakh, did not play a special role at all. They were participants with the same rights and status as the others.

Their way of life did not differ in any respect from that of the other male members of their family; they were fishers and hunters like the others although perhaps a little more fortunate since the success of their economic activity was one of the signs that they were chosen ones.

When they died, the shamans were buried in the same place as the others and the same ceremonies were held for them as at other deaths. This was how they buried Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin too in May 1993.

The characteristics listed above, that is, the relatively limited scope of the shamans' tasks, the simplicity of their drum, the way in which the shaman was remunerated, and

the way of life the same as the hunting and fishing of the others appear to confirm the authors who regard Ostyak shamanism as a phenomenon that developed relatively late in the beliefs of this people and was not able to develop among them into the classical form. (КУЛЕМЗИН 1984: 100)

THE LIFE CAREER OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN THE LIGHT OF FOLK CUSTOMS

The individual's entry into the world is accompanied by ceremonies and a whole series of beliefs aimed at bringing the greatest possible health and happiness in life for the new-born infant. As in the past, the woman giving birth at home is taken to a "little house" or tent built for the occasion. They make a low frame like a gate which the woman grips as she kneels. They spread hay on the floor, dried moss on that, then a layer of bark and a clean sheet on the top. An elder woman assists at the birth; Irina I. Kechimov, for example, was helped by her mother. When the child is born it is awaited by four mothers at once. The first is the blood mother, the second is the so-called navel mother – *pukleng anki*, who cuts the umbilical cord. This is tied with a cotton thread, first on the side of the child, then on the side of the mother and cut in the middle. (Irina I. Kechimova, August 1991 – *Voki-rap-yagun*) It is the task of the navel mother to wash the child and to place it in the first, temporary cradle. This cradle is made by the child's mother and the infant spends only its first week here, then is transferred to the permanent cradle. After the birth, mother and child are washed with a disinfectant water made from birch polypore. The mother and her child spend a few days in the separate house before returning to the big house. On this occasion the mother hands the child to the third mother, the carrier mother – *alt anki* – who carries it to the house. In the past, special ceremonies were performed during this period. If the mother had given birth to a son she stopped five times and for a daughter four times on the way to the house and, placing the smoker she was carrying in her hand on the ground, jumped over it. It was only after she had been purified in this way that she could return home. (РОМБАНДЕЕВА 1993: 92–99) My informants no longer know this ceremony. The fourth mother, from whom the child receives a small cross, is the godmother – *prin anki*. According to Tamara Sidorovna Tevlina, a child may even have several godmothers, but the number of mothers taken in this way may not be more than seven. (March 1991 – *Russkinskiye*)

The placenta is placed in a small bark bowl and taken out to the family's sacred place where it is hung on a birch tree. After the birth of her son Misha, for example, Irina Kechimova sewed a shawl and clothing like what they wear themselves of red fabric for a small wooden idol and placed it beside the placenta in a small birch bark bowl. She also put money beside it and a tiny arrow. She also said that if a woman gives birth to a daughter, she puts a bead in the bowl. She then takes it out to the sacred place. (March 1991 – *Voki-rap-yagun*) With this, and later with an animal sacrifice they thank the gods, and in particular *Anki Pugos*, the goddess who gives children, for the help and ask them to continue helping the child. The next step is to find out which god will be the guardian of the new-born child. This can only be found out with the help of the shaman. Accord-

ing to Leonid M. Sopochin, the guardians of children can be Sorne Kan iki, Torum, Torum anki, Anki Pugos and Mih anki. It is the behaviour of the new-born infant that shows the shaman which of them will protect the child throughout its life. "When the child cannot yet see, its soul is still among the gods. You take the child in your palm and begin to raise it up. After saying the words of the prayer, you begin to list the names of the gods. When you find the right one, the child becomes as heavy in your hand as a piece of iron. That is how you know which god the child must pray to. If you have reindeer, you must catch a young one and say a prayer to the gods beside the sacred sled." (L. M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) The shaman uses the same method to find out which of the ancestors has entered the soul of the child. According to Leonid S. Sopochin, the reincarnating spirit can only be reborn in a relative. "If a woman has died, it is reborn in a woman, if a man, then in a man. The child who is born will be like that person in nature and in all respects. If the person had a bad temper, the child will be just the same." (L. M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun)

Rimma Sopochina recounted that Leonid, the shaman found out that her son's guardian in Torum and hers is the Earth Mother. If she has a problem she turns to the Earth Mother, prays to her for help and sacrifices a reindeer to her so that the goddess will know Rimma needs her help. (Rimma Russkina, June 1993 – Inguyagun)

The Surgut Ostyak women breast-feed their children for two or three years. They know that the longer a woman breast-feeds, the longer she is protected against a subsequent pregnancy. This does not mean, of course, that children are given no other food. The children spend their first years almost exclusively in the cradle. During the day they are placed in the day cradle which is generally suspended in the house or tent. They are tied down tight to prevent them from climbing out while their parents are away or busy. Despite this, children join in the life of the family relatively early, helping the adults in their work, at first in playful form but gradually more seriously. By the time they are 3–4 years old young girls begin to thread beads, and make clothes and furs for their dolls. As I saw myself, young boys aged 5–6 years learn to shoot with small bows and arrows and build tent frames; by the age of 10 they go fishing and receive a gun from their father, while the girls help their mothers chop wood, gather moss and fruit. Ostyaks living in the taiga are regarded as adults and marry at a very early age, when they are 16–17 years old. This process is being broken by the system of boarding schools and hostels. When they reach the age of seven children are taken away to the nearest village of mixed population and are allowed to return home only for the summer holidays. Although they become fluent in Russian which is used exclusively for teaching, during the ten years of schooling they almost entirely forget their mother tongue and the way of life of their parents who remain in the forest. They are neither able nor willing to return to the taiga. This is the reason why the resident of the settlement areas which are becoming rapidly depopulated prefer to send their children to school for only three or four years during which they learn Russian and also to read and write since literacy is now essential. This was what the Kurlomkin family living beside the Great Yegan, for example, did in the case of their daughter Lena Kurlomkina. The girl who remain in the taiga still marry very early, at the age of 15–16 years, even today. As in the past, diligence and skill are valued highly in girls; beauty is not a decisive factor. When I asked Leonid Sopochin and Dmitri Kechi-

mov what they consider to be a beautiful woman, they did not understand the question at first and finally said: a healthy one, a woman who can work and have children. (June 1992 – Voki-rap-yagun)

The first phase in the wedding ceremony was what is known as the preliminary request for the girl in marriage, followed 1–2 months later by the final request, when the young man took the girl away with him. (Zoya Aipina, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

In earlier times, even a few decades ago, my informants still clearly remember that a special wedding stick, a “sovu yuh” was made. This was a stick of birch wood, roughly the height of a man, decorated with patterns created by removing the white bark in places. Coloured shawls and furs were fixed to the top. The young man took this in his hand when he went to the girl the second time. When he was close to the house he began to strike the ground so that he could be heard coming. If the girl’s parents did not like the prospective groom they threw the stick out of the house. But if they accepted the suitor, two of the girl’s relatives shoved the groom in behind a decorative curtain made of reindeer fur and known as a “sai” where the bride was secluded. If the groom tripped it was regarded as a bad sign; if he did not fall it meant that they would live together for a long while. The relatives of both sides were present at the lunch that followed, but the actual celebration lasted for seven days. During this time, although according to other data only for five days, the bride and groom stayed behind the curtain and food was also taken to them there. After the wedding this curtain was taken down. The groom remains in the bride’s house for one or two months, then they move to his parents’ home for a short time. Here they receive 10–30 reindeer from the groom’s parents and go back with them to the girl’s parents. They live there for 3–4 years, then move permanently to the young husband’s settlement area. (Gennadi Russkin, August 1991 – Inguyagun)

The girl’s parents receive money, furs and reindeer from the groom’s parents for the bride. According to Tamara Sidorovna Tevlina this is approximately 10 reindeer and the same number of sable and fox furs. (March 1991, Russkinskiye) This latter custom can be regarded as a trace of matriarchy among the Ostyaks of the Surgut region.

During the five or six days the young couple are secluded behind the curtain, custom decrees that they may not do anything except talk and get to know each other. Should they go further than this, an unfortunate and unhappy life awaits the young couple. For, as Ivan S. Sopochin declared, when an event occurs in the life of an Ostyak, curious and harmful spirits immediately appear. They are present during a wedding too. But if they see that nothing but conversation is taking place behind the curtain, they become bored and go away. If this is not the case, they stay and remain beside the couple who will have a bad marriage. (I. S. Sopochin, August 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

According to Tevlina, the bride’s costume differed from everyday dress in that it was richly decorated with sable fur and her head was covered with a large shawl. (March 1991 – Russkinskiye) This was needed mainly so that the groom’s father would not see the bride.

In general a woman was not allowed to be seen bare-headed; she had to cover her hair and face, especially in the presence of her father-in-law or her husband’s male relatives. It was also shameful to appear before strange men with the face uncovered. She could not address her father-in-law directly. It was not fitting for a woman to speak loudly or laugh

in the presence of her father-in-law and the other male relatives, but the men too were expected to observe certain norms of behaviour. For example, they could not look at the woman directly; if they said something to her, they could not address her but made an impersonal statement. If they entered a house where their sister-in-law or daughter-in-law was, they coughed before entering to signal their arrival so that the woman could cover her face with a shawl.

Many other restrictions surrounded the daily life of an Ostyak woman. She could sit on the man's sled before marriage but not after. She could not step over the reindeer harness or the fishing and hunting equipment because this would take away the owner's good fortune. She could not enter the sacred place of the house, the sacrificial space behind the house, nor could she go up to the roof or into the attic as these were all places occupied temporarily by the higher beings. (Ivan Dmitrievich Kecheimov, March 1991 – Surgut) It is forbidden for women to depart from the path in the family's sacred grove and to go in among the trees where the reindeer skulls and textiles are hung. (Yosif I. Sopochin, March 1991 – Voki-rap-yagun)

Like all stages of life, burial is regulated by numerous customs and ceremonies. As already noted several times, the length of every human life is determined primarily by Torum, the supreme god. When a person dies, the lord of the underworld is only carrying out the order of Torum. It has been shown by the work of other authors that among many peoples of Siberia, the horizontal division of the world in a north-south direction preceded the vertical, sky-earth-underworld division. Since the Siberian rivers flow to the north, up was associated with north and down with south. Accordingly, the Ostyaks believed that the otherworld too was located somewhere in the north, around the mouth of the Ob. (КУЛЕМЗИН–ЛУКИНА 1992: 109) This is corroborated by my informants who still bury with this in sight. For example, at the grave of the elderly Ivan Sopochin, his upturned sled was till beside the grave and in front of it the skeleton of the sacrificed reindeer with their heads turned to the south. When I asked the reason for this, the youngest son of the deceased shaman explained that it is because the otherworld is in the north, but since everything there is the reverse of our world, the southerly direction of the reindeer skeletons will be northerly there. In summer 1993 Irina Sopochina recounted the following concerning her father's burial. The fire must always burn beside the funeral sled, but they held the wake in the house, not beside the sled. In fact, it was forbidden for them to approach the sled at night. The fire burnt continuously for five days and five nights. By day the women prepared a large quantity of dry wood beside the funeral sled and by night they only stoked the fire. They stayed awake in pairs, taking turns. It is forbidden to sing or tell tales during the wake. They must not cry a lot because the deceased has to gather the shed tears in the otherworld. They regularly gave the deceased food during the five days. They put out food for him, from what they themselves ate, on a small table. At the end of the five days they prepared the elderly shaman's coffin. They placed furs at the bottom – like when he slept, they explained, then covered him with his winter fur coat. They put his boots, gun and personal belongings in the grave, but placing everything on the opposite side from usual, because the otherworld is a reverse copy of ours. "You must not put too many things in the grave either, only things that the deceased used for a long while and was fond of. One of each kind of object. My grandmother used

to say that it is difficult to carry lots of belongings in the otherworld too. The soul is like a living person. It feels and suffers in the same way... We asked grandfather when he died, what he needed. Yosif and I lifted his sled. If you need the thing we say, stick to the ground. And it sticks. However hard you try, you can't lift it. Then we said, we understand, you can let go. You lift the sled and it is light again. You can talk with him just like with a living person." (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) They sacrificed three male reindeer to the deceased. One at home, to "block the path of the deceased, so that he could not take any of the living with him". (Leonid M. Sopochin, June 1993 – Inguyagun) The other two, which took the funeral sled to the cemetery were sacrificed at the grave. They took home the meat and skin of the sacrificial animals, leaving only the bones beside the upturned sled, as though they were pulling the sled. (Fig. 40.) They placed two boards at the bottom of the grave, then the coffin, which is always open, on these and built a roof over it. They placed a cross on the roof. Not far from the grave of the elderly head of the family was the grave of his son who died young. This does not have a cross, but the figure of a bird. Irina Kechimova explained that this is because if someone dies young he would still like to seek enjoyment and the cuckoo will sing to him above his grave. They do not carve a bird figure on the grave of those who die old because it would only disturb an elderly person who would prefer to rest at that age. That is why he needs a cross. (June 1993 – Voki-rap-yagun)

In the period following the burial they go out to the cemetery to the deceased, at first very often, on the 3rd, 7th and 9th days, a month later and then less and less often. As Yosif I. Sopochin explained, one must go to the dead not in the morning, but in the afternoon or evening because night is day for him and the day night since everything is the reverse there. (June 1993 – Voki-rap-yagun) They always take food with them on such visits, place it on a small table set up beside the head of the grave and ask the deceased to come and take part in the feast. (Fig. 41.) They too have to eat some of the food together with the deceased, because anyone who does not eat on such occasions will be hungry in the afterworld. (Yosif I. Sopochin, June 1993)

They must not take a single unnecessary step in the cemetery or go to the old graves because they only go out to a person in the cemetery for three years. At the memorial ceremonies they commemorate only those who have died recently and take food to their graves. (Y. I. Sopochin, June 1993 – Voki-rap-yagun) After they have eaten together with the deceased, they light a fire at the edge of the cemetery and everyone must step over this so that the dead will not follow them. Then they erect two very large crossed wooden poles. One is the wolf and the other the bear. They are the guardians of the cemetery and do not allow the souls of the dead to pass. (Yosif I. Sopochin, June 1993 – Voki-rap-yagun)

The relatives must observe certain rules concerning deaths and burial. Women may not go to the cemetery when they are menstruating. They may not wear clothing embroidered with many beads because the dead have to count all these. In the same way, they must not take bottles with many figures and letters because these too have to be counted, or if they take a bottle with a label on it, they have to say: don't count, we've already counted them. For half a year each family member has to wear a thread of the left leg.



Fig. 40. Upset sledge and reindeer-bones in the cemetery



Fig. 41. Burial anniversary feast at the grave of Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin

They must not sing or tell tales for six months to a year. Until autumn, said Fekla, because "then the birds fly away and take mourning with them". (F. I. Pokocheva, June 1993 – Voki-rap-yagun)

IN PLACE OF A CONCLUSION

I have attempted to sum up the most important data I gathered in the course of five expeditions between 1991 and 1993, in five settlement areas on the society, everyday life, economic activity, beliefs and customs of the Ostyaks of the Surgut region. I have not attempted to present everything as this would not have been possible: I have been able to include only a fragment of my hundreds of pages of notes, more than ten hours of tape recordings and videos.

I have not attempted to present everything since life too, goes on, bringing continuous changes into the lives of us all. For example, after the death of Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin, the settlement area beside the Voki-rap-yagun disintegrated. Of its former inhabitants, only Yosif I. Sopochin and his family, and Kirill Pokochev and his wife now live there. Dmitri Kechimov and his family have moved to a new settlement. It is impossible to say how long they will remain in the taiga in the shadow of industry and oil extraction. It is not likely to be very much longer.

I have not attempted to present everything, because I am keenly aware that all I know about these people is very little, no more than the tip of the iceberg and it will take many years of research to explore the rest. But is it possible ever to finish? Can a researcher say that something is finished, ended?

LITERATURE

- БАСИЛОВ, В. Н.
1984: *Избранники духов*. Москва
- БОЯРШИНОВА, З. Я.
1960: *Население Западной Сибири до начала русской колонизации*. Томск
- ДМИТРИЕВ-САДОВНИКОВ, Г. Р.
1916: *Береста и изделия из нее у остяков р. Ваха*. Живая Старина вып. 1. Санкт-Петербург
- ДУНИН-ГОРКАВИЧ, А. А.
1904., 1910., 1911: *Тобольский Север*. 1. 2. 3. Тоболск
- ГОЛОВНЕВ, А. В.
1995: *Говорящие культуры*. Екатеринбург
- ИВАНОВ, С. В.
1954: *Материалы по изобразительному искусству народов Сибири XIX- нач. XX. в.* Москва–Ленинград
- 1963: *Орнамент народов Сибири как исторический источник*. Москва–Ленинград
- 1970: *Скульптура народов севера Сибири XIX- первой половины XX. в.* Ленинград
- KARJALAINEN K. F.
1921., 1922., 1927: *Die Religion der Jugra Völker*. I. II. III. Porvoo
- КЕРЕЖИ, А.
1987: *Образ коня у финно-угорских народов Волго-Камья и Зауралья*. Москва (kézirat)
- 1994: *Взгляд на мир хантыйского шамана (сюрреализм и реальность)*. Традиционная этническая культура и народные знания. 59–60. Москва

КЕРЕЖИ, А.

1995: *Особенности восточно-хантыйского шаманизма в наши дни*. Сибирский этнографический сборник 7. 38–54. Москва

1996: *Similarities and Differences in Eastern Khanty Shamanism*. Shamanism and Northern Ecology. 183–199. Berlin–New York

КУЛЕМЗИН, В. М.

1976: *Шаманство Васюгано-Ваховских хантов*. Томск

1984: *Человек и природа в верованиях хантов*. Томск

КУЛЕМЗИН, В. М.–Лукина, Н. В.

1992: *Знакомьтесь ханты*. Новосибирск

ЛУКИНА, Н. В.

1979: *Альбом хантыйских орнаментов*. Томск

1985: *Формирование материальной культуры хантов*. Томск

ЛУКИНА, Н. В.–Риндина, О. М. (Eds)

1987: *Источники по этнографии Западной Сибири*. Томск

НОВИЦКИЙ, Гр.

1884: *Краткое описание о народе остячком*. Санкт-Петербург

НОСИЛОВ, К. Д.

1897: *Путешествие к вогулам*. Естествознания и география 6. с.4. Санкт-Петербург

ПАТКАНОВ, С. К.

1891: *Тип остяцкого богатыря по остяцким былинам и героическим сказаниям*. Санкт-Петербург

1897. 1900: *Die Irtysch-ostjaken und ihre Volkspoesie*. I. II. Sankt-Peterburg

ПИКА, А. И.

1988: *Биоресурсы западно-сибирского Севера и их использование аборигенным населением в 17–19 вв.* Социально-экологические проблемы древней истории Западной Сибири. То-больск

ПРЫТКОВА, Н. Ф.

1953: *Одежда хантов*. Сборник Музея Антропологии и Этнографии 123–233. Москва–Ленин-град

РОМБАНДЕЕВА, Е. И.

1993: *История народа манси (вогулов) и его духовная культура*. Сургут

ШАТИЛОВ, М. Б.

1931: *Ваховские остяки*. Труды Томского Краеведческого Музея т.4. 120–128. Томск

1976: *Драматическое искусство ваховских остяков*. Из истории шаманства. Томск

SIRELIUS, U. T.

1906–1911: *Über die primitiven Wohnungen der finnisch-ugrischen und ob-ugrischen Völker*. Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen, Bd. VI–IX, XI Helsingfors–Leipzig

СОКОЛОВА, З. П.

1970: *Социальная организация обских угров и селькупов*. Общественный строй у народов Северной Сибири 103–153. Москва

1991: *Хозяйственно-культурные типы и поселения хантов и манси*. Народы и культуры 7. 45–62. Москва

1991: *Проблемы изучения обско-угорского шаманства*. Народы и культуры 225–241. Москва

СТАРИЦЕВ, Г. А.

1928: *Остяки*. Ленинград

ТЕРЕШКИН, Н. И.

1961: *Ваховский диалект*. Москва–Ленинград

1981: *Словарь восточно-хантыйских диалектов*. Ленинград

VÉRTES, E.

1990: *Szibériai nyelvrokonaink hitvilága*. Budapest

VOCAL FOLK MUSIC OF THE EASTERN OSTYAKS

RESEARCH ON THE MUSIC OF THE OB-UGRIANS

Katalin LÁZÁR

Institute for Musicology of the HASc
H-1250 Budapest Táncsics Mihály u. 7. P.O.Box 28, Hungary

INTRODUCTION

Many linguists, archaeologists, anthropologists and ethnographers have carried out research on the peoples speaking Finno-Ugrian languages, including the Ob-Ugrians. Musical material has generally been collected by linguists and ethnographers and they either worked up the material themselves or passed it on to ethnomusicologists. This study does not undertake to cover the whole history of research on the Ob-Ugrians but simply to mention those whose work also touches on research into their music.¹

Chronologically, the first was Antal Reguly who lived in the first half of the 19th century and who collected 8 Vogul melodies (published in BRASSAI 1860). The Finn August Ahlquist and the Russian S. Patkanov worked in the second half of the 19th century. In Ahlquist's book (AHLQUIST 1883) we can read 6 Beryozov (Northern Ostyak) melodies, while Patkanov published the scores of 20 melodies of the Southern Ostyaks (of the Konda region) and 3 Vogul melodies (PATKANOV 1897, 1900). In all three works the melodies were given without texts.²

In the late 19th century and early years of the 20th century two Finnish linguists visited the Ob-Ugrians: A. Kannisto studied the Vogul language and F. K. Karjalainen the Ostyak and in the process they made phonograph recordings of 150 Vogul and 57 Ostyak (and one Samoyed) songs. The melodies were published in notation by A. O. Väisänen (VÄISÄNEN 1937), here too without text.

Following the appearance of the melodies, Väisänen also published an analysis of them in a separate volume (VÄISÄNEN 1939). In the wake of Ilmari Krohn, he identified four categories of form: A) songs with fixed form and fixed rhythm, B) songs with fixed form and free rhythm, C) songs with free form and fixed rhythm, D) songs with free form and free rhythm.³ Within these categories, he formed groups on the basis of the number of lines, types of beat, key and range (for a detailed presentation of Väisänen's research findings, see SZOMJAS-SCHIFFERT 1976. Vol. 1., 21–27).

¹ A brief but precise summary has been written of the history of research on the Ostyaks (HONTI 1984). The majority of the researchers listed there are linguists, but the author also lists those whose work is of importance (also) in the field of music.

² This does not mean that none of them has a text; it is a task for future research to find them and collate them with the melodies.

³ The Vogul melodies he published all belong in category A), the Ostyak melodies in categories A), B) and C).

In the first half of the 20th century the melodies of 15 Ostyak songs were published by the German linguist, Wolfgang Steinitz (STEINITZ 1976). These have text too and can be identified on the basis of the numbering, but the two- and three-line melodies figuring in the appendix are only extracts from the full text: e.g. the two lines of melody from song no. 18 correspond to the 1st–2nd and 9th–10th lines of text, and that from song no. 25 is for the 1st–2nd, the 5th and 20th lines (STEINITZ 1976. 297).

For the greater part of the 20th century Hungarian researchers were unable to visit the Ob-Ugrians in their settlements in Western Siberia. It was only from publications that could be learnt of their music and songs.

In his study published in 1933, Bence Szabolcsi was the first to make a comparison of Ostyak and Hungarian music. The Ostyak melodies were taken from the work by Patkanov already mentioned; Szabolcsi compared three of these with four laments from Upper Hungary. He reached the following conclusion: "We find here a common melodic scheme which can almost certainly be regarded as the identical, archaic root of Ostyak heroic melodies and Hungarian lament melodies" (SZABOLCSI 1933, 72–73).

Later too, he dealt with the question of this relationship and a year later wrote about the Finno-Ugrian origin of the "regös" songs, laments and children's game songs, emphasising the significance of the pentachordic and hexachordic scale, the loose chain or litany-like form and the lack of ornaments in contrast with the pentatonicism of Turkic-Tatar origin, the descending, quint-shifting structure and the ornaments organically linked to the melody (SZABOLCSI 1934).

The appearance of A. O. Väisänen's book containing both Vogul and Ostyak songs naturally aroused the interest of Hungarian researchers too at the time of its publication. Szabolcsi immediately noted the book's shortcomings: he rightly called the lack of texts "irreparably serious",⁴ and complained that the analyses were not sufficiently well-founded, the classification was too complicated and the related melodies (e.g. nos. 4 and 121) were given too widely separated (SZABOLCSI 1937). It is evidence of his extensive knowledge and wide horizon that, even without recorded material, he recognised the erroneous information arising from the manner of notation used: "he gives what are obviously uncertainties of intonation on the part of the singer without correction or observation, and as a result in a number of places suggests chromaticism where there is certainly none (nos. 48, 105, 129)" (SZABOLCSI 1937. 341). He saw the role of pentatonicism in Ostyak music as follows: "Pentatonicism in our sense, that is in the sense of a developed and distinctive way of musical thinking, an autarkic tonal system determining the style, is very rare (Väisänen uses the designation "pentatonisch" for almost every incomplete scale, in a total of 33 cases); in reality we find only a very few examples (56, 80, 81, 85, 109, 199), for the most part fully developed formula which it would be difficult to imagine had eroded from fuller scale forms to their present pentatonic character" (SZABOLCSI 1937. 342). Today, in possession of recorded material, we can only agree with him.

Following Väisänen and Szabolcsi, Béla C. Nagy also dealt with comparison of melodies, examining not only Ostyak and Hungarian, but also Lapp (Saami) and Votyak

⁴ Väisänen was also aware of the disadvantages this caused.

(Udmurt) melodies (C. NAGY 1946; 1947; 1959; 1965). Discussing the Finno-Ugrian elements, he traced the four-line melody constructions back to the free heroic songs with a 2–1 cadence. In the songs he made no distinction between major and minor thirds.⁵

In his research on the relationships of the Hungarian folk song, Béla C. Nagy also made use of the works of Ahlquist, Patkanov and Väisänen, and in his discussion of the lament mentions a two-line archaic form that led to the Slav, Finnish (that is, Finno-Ugrian) and Turkic melodies, as well as the characteristic role of the Dorian tetrachord ending on *ray* among the different Finno-Ugrian (including the “Vogul-Ostyak”) peoples. This tetrachord expands to a major or minor pentachord wherever there are laments (C. NAGY 1961).

The second half of the 20th century brought an upswing in Ob-Ugrian music research, despite the fact that it was not possible to travel to the region and do fieldwork there. Lajos Vargyas drew on published notations of Ob-Ugrian melodies reached the conclusion that the free, reciting melody form with a 2–1 cadence must have existed in other categories too, and the strophic melodies could have developed from this as well. He saw the essence of the Hungarian lament formula in the cadences and he regarded the descent to these as the actual essence of the melody (VARGYAS 1953).

Using the melodies published by Väisänen, Péter Szőke examined the music of Ob-Ugrians (SZŐKE 1959). In his opinion, Väisänen’s conclusion (based solely on statistical data) that diatonicism precedes pentatonicism among the Ob-Ugrians is erroneous. According to the theory of the development of the tonal system, the order of development is the major triad – pentatonicism – diatonicism – chromaticism chain (SZŐKE 1959. 340). It should be mentioned here that research findings concerning not only songs of the Eastern Ostyaks but, for example, also the melodies of children’s games, confirm Väisänen’s view.⁶

According to Péter Szőke, “... the quint-shifting melodic structure is not a “Turkic” borrowing in either Vogul-Ostyak or Cheremis folk music, but in both cases is the creation of these communities”. Research to date does not confirm this view either; pentatonicism is quite rare in Ob-Ugrian folk music and since they too are in contact with Turkic peoples, it is possible that they borrowed it from them. According to field research by László Vikár among the Cheremis too, it developed also under Turkic influence.⁷

Béla Kálmán is a researcher on the Vogul language. In addition to linguistic material, he published 33 vocal and 12 instrumental melodies recorded from Vogul university students in Leningrad (KÁLMÁN 1976).

On the basis of material collected by Béla Kálmán, Robert Austerlitz writes about the relationship between the structure of melody and text in the songs (AUSTERLITZ 1966). He gives five melodies from the material in his own notation; his article is also particularly instructive as an example of how differently two researchers hear and inter-

⁵ On this question, see: SZOMJAS-SCHIFFERT 1976. Vol. 1. 27–29.

⁶ The voice of the young child does not develop through pentatonicism towards diatonic melodies either, but precisely the contrary: the majority of children’s songs have melodies with a small range but a diatonic (at the most pentachordic or hexachordic) set of notes.

⁷ See, for example, VIKÁR 1993. 27–33.

pret the same musical material. We can only fully agree with his criticism and methodological observations concerning the notation.

Among the related peoples, György Szomjas-Schiffert dealt mainly with the music of the Lapps, but his research touches on the music of all the Finno-Ugrian peoples. Ostyak melodies published by Väisänen⁸ also figure among the comparisons in his work (SZOMJAS-SCHIFFERT 1976).

Lajos Vargyas regards the original musical style of the Finno-Ugrian peoples as the melodies consisting of three to six notes with major or possibly minor motifs (VARGYAS 1980. 228). "[...] the Finno-Ugrians have no "repetitive" structure or repetitive styles, but they have repetition of motifs or lines without any higher structure, and no one can deduce the elaboration of a sound melody construction from this" (VARGYAS 1988. 31). "[...] besides the Hungarian laments, the pre-periodic descending form with alternating cadences and no melodic restriction can be discovered only in Vogul-Ostyak melodies as a coherent style" (VARGYAS 1988. 49). He too assumes that Hungarian music has two strata: the Finno-Ugrian stratum with major tetrachord and later pentachord and hexachord built on the *d-r-m* trichord, and the Turkic stratum with *soh* and *doh* pentatonicism developing from tri- and tetratonicism (VARGYAS 1988. 51).

Among the Russian researchers, N. M. Vladkina-Bachinskaya wrote a study on a Vogul song-tale. She mentions a characteristic mode of performance (in which the singer takes a breath in the middle of a word then, repeating the previous syllable, continues singing) which I also found among the Ostyaks; the same applies to the fact that although the number of syllables may vary in a line, the durations and time proportions are preserved precisely (VLADKINA-BACHINSKAYA 1977).

A discussion of research must also take the dances into account. The main researcher of the dances of the Finno-Ugrian peoples was Mariya Zhornickaya who also dealt with the dances of the Ob-Ugrians. Among the Hungarian researchers, László Felföldi studied this material. He formed contacts with the Ostyaks through participation in international Finno-Ugrian conferences and visits to Khanty-Mansiysk and his studies of Finno-Ugrian dances also extended to those of the Ob-Ugrians. It is a unique situation that this does not require collecting musical material since the Ostyaks dance just as naturally without music as they do with music, and in the latter case we had the impression that the music and dance are independent of each other, even if they appear simultaneously.

For Hungarian researchers, the chief obstacle to study of the Ob-Ugrian culture was not the distance of 4000–5000 km, but much rather the fact that up to the end of the 1980s it was practically forbidden to travel there.

The first Hungarian researcher to visit the Northern Ostyaks in this century was Éva Schmidt; she got to know Ostyak colleagues in Leningrad in the early seventies and they took her to their own village in secret. Officially, she succeeded in spending a month there in 1980 and again in 1982 as a post-graduate student. While studying the language and poetry of the Northern Ostyaks she also made tape recordings of around 200 songs. However, after that she too was unable to visit the region for more than a decade. From

⁸ E.g. melodies nos. 184, 199, 198, 182, 183 and 175 (in order, SZOMJAS-SCHIFFERT Gy., 1976. Vol. 1. 24, 28 and 98, 89, 116, and Vol. 2. 30, 36.)

the Hungarian researchers László Vikár was the first to write a study on the Ostyak songs, drawing on material collected by Éva Schmidt (VIKÁR 1981).

The way was opened to collecting in the field from 1990. Since May 1991 Éva Schmidt has been working in the Northern Ostyak town of Beloyarsky: besides establishing the folklore archive and training staff, she is also carrying out highly important collecting work covering not only language and ethnology but also folk poetry and songs. As a result of her work, considerable progress has begun in research on Northern Ostyak vocal folk music and the number of songs collected has increased many times over. However, she has not dealt with the language and folklore of the Eastern Ostyaks and so has not collected songs from them either.

Like a number of other small ethnic groups, the Ob-Ugrians have reached the edge of extinction and many people have also become aware of this danger. Many people are trying to rescue the cultural values: the archives of Novosibirsk and Tartu preserve several thousand recordings, and others are found in the collections in Moscow and Saint Petersburg. Among today's researchers, the Estonian ethnographer Edgar Saar has collected songs among the Northern Ostyaks. The Finn Juha Pentikäinen deals with shamanism and he has recorded shaman songs also from Ivan Stepanovich Sopochin who figures among our informants. Among the Russian researchers, Olga Mazur and Galina Soldatova of the Novosibirsk archive have also compiled a shorter publication containing songs of the Northern Ostyaks and the Voguls (MAZUR-SOLDATOVA 1993).⁹ Ethnographic films have also been made on the Ob-Ugrians, but the songs in them are generally only fragments and the texts have not been written down, so they are only of limited value for scholarly study should the opportunity arise.

The Ostyak intelligentsia have recognised that one of their most important tasks is to preserve and pass on the traditional culture. There are no Ostyak musicologists, but they are taking part in the research by helping in the collecting work and in checking and interpreting the texts that have been written down.

Tatyana Moldanova, a Kazym (Northern) Ostyak ethnographer and her husband, Timofey Moldanov, co-operate with the staff of the Novosibirsk archive. Among the Eastern Ostyaks, Ivan Dmitrievich Kechemov, head of the Department of Eastern Peoples of the Surgut County Council, as organiser and his colleague Yeremey Sopochin, also an Eastern Ostyak, made possible the research expedition by three Hungarians.¹⁰ It was at their invitation that we travelled to Surgut and they created the necessary conditions. This is how we reached the settlement areas by helicopter, and they also helped in

⁹ The booklet, duplicated by computer, contains 17 songs: 8 of them are Kazym (Northern) Ostyak and 9 Sosva (Northern) Vogul. The texts and melodies were notated by different persons. The entire melody is not given in any case. The songs of the Northern Ostyaks have, in order, 6, 7, 4, 10, 6, 8, 3 and 11 melodic lines; the corresponding number of text lines is: 56, 17, prose, 21, prose, 19, 45, prose. The number of melodic lines of the Vogul songs is, in order: 6, 10, 3, 4, 10, 5, 4, 2, 7; that of the texts is 36, 176, 42, 22, 18, 15, 15, 11, 26. While the person who notated the Vogul melodies took into account the articulation of the text and based the melodic line on the length of the line of text, unfortunately, this was not done in the case of the Northern Ostyak melodies. Tatyana Moldanova who wrote down the texts is herself an Ostyak of the Kazym region which means that the articulation of the lines of text must be regarded as correct (certainly as regards the word limits); however, the person notating the melody departs from this in all cases.

¹⁰ Ágnes Kerecsi, ethnographer, Márta Csepregi, linguist and Katalin Lázár, folk music researcher.

selecting singers. Agraфena Pesikova Sopochina, Eastern Ostyak linguist was of inestimable assistance in our research work: her work of writing down the texts was indispensable for preparing the present study too.

Research on the music of the Eastern Ostyaks has been greatly impeded by the fact that we were unable to write down the text of their songs.¹¹ However, in 1992 the situation changed: Márta Csepregi, linguist and principal assistant at the Department of Finno-Ugrian Studies of the Loránd Eötvös University, Budapest, who is studying the Eastern Ostyak dialects, also joined in the work.

I myself have been dealing with Ostyak songs since 1980 but it was not until December 1990 that I was able to visit Khanty-Mansiysk (up to then I had been engaged in processing the musical material collected by Éva Schmidt). On five occasions I spent a total of 19 weeks, almost five months, among the Ostyaks. I joined Éva Schmidt three times to visit the Northern Ostyaks; there I was able to make use of her old contacts and her knowledge of the language. Then on two occasions (in the summer of 1992 and 1993) three of us collected material among the Eastern Ostyaks. Ágnes Kerezsi who organised the expedition had previously visited the Eastern Ostyaks on two occasions: the acquaintances she had made earlier were of great help to us. The ethnomusicologist and the linguist complemented each other in their work.

We first visited *Voki-rap-yagun*,¹² some 150–200 km from Surgut, where Ágnes Kerezsi was warmly welcomed as an acquaintance they had not seen for a long while, and they soon made friends with us too. We spent most of our time in the summer settlement of the Sopochin family. Leonid Mikhaylovich Sopochin, heir to the host's shaman knowledge, joined us for a week from the neighbouring *Inku-yagun* (around 30 km away). The expedition spent the last week in *Kurlomkino* beside the Great Yegan River, with Petr Vasilievich Kurlomkin. While we were there, the family was joined by two women guests. We did not succeed in collecting anything from the women, but we were compensated by the songs we recorded from the head of the family. It is an important circumstance that both the Sopochin and the Kurlomkin families live in the traditional way, still supporting themselves mainly by fishing, hunting and gathering.

It was essential for the success of the collecting work to spend a longer time with them. We took part in their daily work as far as possible, and this was followed by singing, dances, tales and conversations.

¹¹ It is not always possible to determine the structure of the melodies or the notes at the ends of the lines without the text, and so they can only be examined to a limited extent. The problem arose right from the initial stage of the research (see LÁZÁR 1986b); the essence of the problem is that the melody frequently does not show the beginning or end of the lines in an unequivocal way. In the songs of both the Northern and Eastern Ostyaks, for example, there is sometimes a sudden rise at the end of the line and, without a knowledge of the text this could be thought to be the beginning of the next line; in the motivic songs, it is impossible to identify the independent half-lines without knowing the text (see LÁZÁR 1987).

¹² Orthography of the settlement names is a problem in the case of the Eastern Ostyaks since, in contrast to the Northern Ostyaks, most of them do not have Russian names and so do not have a Latin script transcription either. The orthography used here is based on the Ostyak name. The settlements are located beside rivers, as indicated by the word 'yagun' in almost all the names. It means 'river' and is also the name of the Yegan River.

In 1993 we again spent three weeks among the Eastern Ostyaks. On this occasion we stayed for a longer period with the family of Leonid Mihailovich Sopochin in Inku-yagun, and again visited the Sopochin family in Voki-rap-yagun. Unfortunately, they could not sing because of the death of the shaman host a few weeks previously, but they helped us in writing down the texts recorded in Inku-yagun.

On the second collecting trip I was able to see for myself how important is to meet an informant a number of times. Our collecting was not only facilitated by the existing acquaintance and the fact that we had come to like each other, and also that they now knew our aims and working methods; it is indispensable to return repeatedly to the same informant to collect variants, and to learn the laws governing melody construction and to identify the individual style of the singer. We were able to hear Leonid Mikhaylovich Sopochin, one of our best singers, sing under circumstances differing from the usual: during the festival held in *Russkinskie*, he too took part in the reindeer sacrifice held in the presence of more than a thousand spectators of different nationalities. As we had expected, his dress and mode of singing were the same as they had been in his own home, in the family circle.

This study deals principally with the Eastern Ostyak musical material collected in Siberia. I have worked up most of the songs I collected, with the exception of those which, for some reason, I was unable to notate.

The reason preventing the notation may be the lack of text: in some cases this is not an obstacle because the division of the lines is clear, but in others even the melody cannot be interpreted without the text (in this study I merely refer in passing to the latter). Besides the lack of text, another obstacle can be a performance that is closer to shouting than singing, the accompanying shaman drum (making it difficult to hear the melody and the text is not comprehensible), or a faulty recording.¹³ However, I was able to establish the typical form of most of the melodies recorded in 1992–93 in *Voki-rap-yagun*, *Inku-yagun*, *Kurlomkino*, *Russkinskie*¹⁴ and in Surgut from a hunter from *Tailakovo*. I was also able to analyse these.

I have also worked up most of the Eastern Ostyak melodies notated and published by F. K. Karjalainen and A. O. Väisänen, a total of 45 (VÄISÄNEN 1937, melodies nos. 151–208).¹⁵

In October 1994 I was able to add 25 melodies collected by Jarkko Niemi, ethnomusicologist at Tampere University, to the material figuring in my study.¹⁶ Jarkko Niemi deals primarily with the music of the Nenets, a Samoyed people, but since the Nenets and the Ostyaks live in adjoining territories and in places intermingle, he has also collected songs of the Eastern Ostyaks. His recordings were especially interesting for us since they

¹³ A few recordings were made with nearly spent batteries and as a result the speed fluctuates and the melodies cannot be followed.

¹⁴ Márta Csepregi made recordings in *Russkinskie*, adding 10 melodies to the material.

¹⁵ Of the 58 melodies, one is Samoyed, seven Northern Ostyak and five are clearly Russian (or of Russian style): I did not take these into account when forming the order of types.

¹⁶ I take this opportunity to thank Jarkko Niemi and his Finnish colleague, Ilpo Saastamoinen who teaches at the Jyväskylä University, for the help which the consultation with them represented in both theoretical and practical questions.

were made in Russkieskie; both he and Márta Csepregi recorded songs sung by Sergey Vasilievich Kechimov and Semen Timofeyevich Kechimov, creating the possibility in two cases of comparing two different recordings of the same song from the same singer.

My primary aim was to get to know the vocal folk music of the Eastern Ostyaks: not only the surface but also the laws operating beneath it, the "way of thinking" of Ostyak songs, their structure and improvisation. Our material is still not very extensive for this, but even so I believe that the main rules emerge from even this quantity and it is worth summing them up. All the more so since it is always uncertain whether the collecting work can be continued and the possibilities of our Ostyak helpers are also limited. However, it is to be hoped that there will still be opportunities in the future for collecting, enabling us to refine the picture formed so far, making it more precise.

Later research aims include a study of the similarities and differences compared to the music of the Northern Ostyaks and other peoples. However, as we also know from linguistics, mere superficial similarity is not sufficient to determine kinship between different peoples. Béla Kálmán's no. 9 Vogul melody (KÁLMÁN 1976), for example, resembles the Hungarian folk song "Szegény legény vagyok én":



The majority of the pentatonic melodies without semitone steps have a Hungarian sound. However, until we have clarified – at least in broad outline – the inner development and links of the Ob-Ugrian melodies, the influences to which they have been exposed from related peoples and the environment, it would be wrong to compare individual melodies in isolation with Hungarian melodies.¹⁷

A description of the methods used for the work is followed by classification, analysis and comparison: at present the latter means mainly comparison of different Eastern Ostyak songs with each other. Before summing up, the aims of studying Eastern Ostyak music are also mentioned.

METHODS

COLLECTING

The course of collecting work differed somewhat from that usually followed in Hungary, since the conditions were also radically different. The Ostyaks, for example, generally recall their songs not by melody but by theme, so the method of collecting by

¹⁷ The coincidence of pentatonic melodies, for example (as noted earlier) is more likely to be the result of a common Turkic influence than a musical relationship, just as in the case of the Cheremis.

melody cannot be used there. Moreover, the settlements are very small and so there is no opportunity to check the material collected with other informants. Because the travel is so difficult, it is not always possible to return to clarify problems that may have arisen in notation and processing. This is the main reason why I was only able to work only once with all my Eastern Ostyak informants.

Among the Northern Ostyaks the questioning was carried out differently from among the Eastern Ostyaks: Éva Schmidt spoke with the local people not in Russian but in their own native tongue and so, naturally, it was always she who asked the questions. Among the Eastern Ostyaks we recorded whatever came to their mind since we know very little about their songs and melodies. Naturally, they were also influenced by the fact that they were singing for women: just as women may not go to certain places, for example, or may not eat the meat of certain reindeer, so there are songs which they may not hear. This applies to guests and researchers in the same way as to the Ostyak women.

We are able to ask concrete questions if we already have some idea of the songs that can be expected, or if we are making a thematic collection for a specific purpose (for example, it would be worth asking again about the songs collected in the last century to find out whether people still know them and, if they do, which ones). However, for the time being I did not consider it necessary to make a selection: as long as we have such little material, every melody and every variant is important. If the informant sings a Russian song it is so different from the Ostyak songs¹⁸ that even an unpractised ear can immediately detect the difference.

NOTATION

After collecting, the next phase in the work is notation. The researchers publishing Ob-Ugrian melodies used different methods to notate the melodies. Most frequently, they applied the method in use in European ethnomusicology: they notated the melody of a musical unit,¹⁹ and then the full text.²⁰ When earlier collections were published, the text was sometimes not given at all but only a melody unit.²¹ The first attempt at full notation is found in the frequently cited volume of Väisänen (1937): he notated the whole of the melody on the phonograph recording,²² although he too did so without the text.

¹⁸ Feoktista Ivanovna, a member of the Sopochin family living at Voki-rap-yagun, is at present a teacher in a town. In 1992 she came with us to her family as an interpreter and she too sang a few songs. They were all Russian songs, even the ones she also knew in Ostyak: these are taught as Ostyak songs in the schools to Ostyak children.

¹⁹ This generally means 1–2 lines, since the overwhelming majority of Ostyak songs are built up from one or two kinds of line. Cf. LÁZÁR 1988b. 157–168; 1989. 207–220.

²⁰ This method was used by a number of researchers, e.g. STEINITZ 1976; KÁLMÁN 1976, melodies nos. 4, 5, 9, 11–16, 19, 20, 22–28, 32, 35, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45. In Kálmán's material, the other notations were made in part from instrumental pieces and in part contain several full strophes or the entire recorded song. An exception is song no. 17 which was notated using practically the method described below.

²¹ AHLQUIST 1883; PATKANOV 1900. The reverse, the publication of text without melody, is also found.

²² Unfortunately, these too are fragments or extracts. The phonograph was not able to record entire songs since the cylinders lasted only a few minutes and had to be constantly changed. When listening to the recordings it can often be felt that the song has been interrupted.

From the viewpoint of notation too, the early 1980s when the first on-the-spot recordings were made with a tape-recorder, can be regarded as the start of a new period. From 1990 several thousands of lines of individual and bear feast songs have been taped among the Northern Ostyaks.

Notations of Ob-Ugrian music – like those of the songs of other peoples – may be of several kinds, depending on the purpose. So far, two kinds of notation have been made: one is melody sketches showing the typical form and musical characteristics of the melody, and the other is full notations.

When notating the full melody, the important theoretical question arises of which is the most important: to record in minute detail, or to make “meaningful” notations that can be read easily. In the latter (after the main rules of the material have been identified) we set down only what the singers and the listeners regard as important, or what is of interest for the phenomenon to be studied.²³ The latter method was used for the full notations figuring in this study.

When reading the notations we come up against another important problem. Even at first hearing, the vocal culture of the Eastern Ostyaks differs fundamentally from the European.²⁴ We have to notate these songs in some way so that we can study them, and so that others who cannot visit the Ostyaks can learn about them. However, when reading the score we can only draw on our own existing experiences of what the given note picture usually means, and this generally differs from the world of Ostyak songs. This means that the sound imagined on the basis of the notations will be basically different from the reality.²⁵

It is also worth examining how the different researchers wrote down the Ostyak songs. The notations also reveal what the person who did them regarded as important and this, in turn, also reflects the idea he had formed of the material he was writing down. Väisänen, for example, interpreted the rhythm beginning with a short note as an upbeat (VÄISÄNEN 1937, no. 156); I myself feel that, despite its shortness, the short syllable is stressed and I write down such melodies without upbeat. Since it is my experience that pure intonation in the European sense and taut rhythm are not among the essential ele-

²³ This was the case for Hungarian folk music too: for example, a more or less sketchy notation is sufficient for the purpose of classification, but minute and detailed notation is required for research on Hungarian folk song ornamentation.

²⁴ Perhaps the most striking difference is that they do not strive for European-type sound production and pure intonation. There is, for example, a song in which the major third and the fourth alternate in such a way that the lower note attached to the upper note of constant pitch sounds sometimes here and sometimes there. In other songs, some sections are hardly musical at all, being closer to speech or shouting. It is very difficult to notate such songs with the notation we use.

²⁵ The situation is the same for the music of other peoples. It is now a commonplace that each person making a notation of a folk song produces a different score, and even notations done by the same person at different times may differ from each other. We also know that a folk song cannot be learnt from a score since the style, which cannot be notated, is an important element of its performance: a Hungarian folk song from the Mezőség region, for example, can only be sung from a score by a person who is familiar with their style, has already learnt a lot from recordings or from the local people on the spot. The singer must know or at least feel what is important and what is incidental in the performance of that particular song. To feel this, the singer must either be a researcher who seeks the answer to these questions by comparing numerous recordings, or spend a longer period with singers of the given region.

ments of Eastern Ostyak songs, I did not always strive to indicate precise pitches and durations. In the end, the best method for my investigations appeared to be to listen to the whole melody, set down its typical form and begin by analysing and classifying these melody sketches.

The problems of notation are partly of a general nature and partly arise from the characteristics of the Ob-Ugrian songs. In the following I examine from the viewpoint of the Ob-Ugrian melodies the general questions familiar to all persons notating folk songs.

The precision of notation

The first task with a new kind of material is to write down precisely everything heard on the recording: lacking familiarity with the material it is impossible to determine what is essential and what is incidental in what we hear. A pause before the end of the line, for example, could be taken for a random mistake that is not worth indicating, but it may be found later that this is a frequent characteristic of performance occurring in the case of different songs and different performers. Once we are familiar with the material, have recorded several variants of the songs and enough material from individual singers for the specific laws of their performance to become apparent, we are able to determine which of the seemingly random phenomena are characteristic of an informant or a song type (and must therefore be notated), and where it may be sufficient simply to indicate a slight departure from the regular (or the notated) form.

In certain cases, there is no point in making precise notation and it may even be confusing. In some melodies the direction in which the melody moves appears to be the essential thing, not the note actually produced in the singing. However, this phenomenon is characteristic not only of the Eastern Ostyaks or even the Ostyaks in general, but is probably found among other Siberian and Arctic peoples (e.g. the Nenets) as well.

Transposition

Following the practice in notation of Hungarian folk music, it is probably worth transposing Ostyak melody notations too. The principle of transition coincides almost fully with that usually followed in Hungarian folk music. However, the common final note cannot be used in the Ostyak melodies since the last pitch is of far less significance than in Hungarian folk songs. The tonality, the key pitch and the final pitch of the lines may change in the course of the song, the intervals may be expanded or diminished. For this reason, it is not always possible to determine the real final pitch. Finally, the best solution appeared to be to notate the melodies with a common *doh*, namely *b*.²⁶ The notations transposed in this way appear to be suitable for identifying similarities in the melodies.

²⁶ After this, we "only" have to decide which of the possible solmizations to choose for the melodies consisting of 3–4 notes. Since *l-s-m*, *s-f-r*, *m-r-t* and *r-d-l* can all be heard, I always chose the one in which *doh* figures and if there are several of these, the one in which the lowest note figures (in the above case, this is the *r-d-l*).

Pitch and rhythm

It is worth showing in the notation some of the "irregularities" that can be heard in Ob-Ugrian songs (the deviations of intonation and rhythm already mentioned), while others only confuse the picture. In keeping with the notation practice in Hungarian folk music, notes intoned slightly higher or lower are indicated by an arrow pointing up or down, and shorter or longer durations by a semicircle open at the top or bottom.²⁷

During the work of notation it was discovered that a pause before the last note(s) of the line is part of the manner of performance of some of the informants and this naturally figures in the score. However, if the singing is interrupted at random, e.g. due to coughing, it is worth indicating only the fact itself since in such cases the length of the pause has no musical significance. The pauses not required for the music and repetitions of syllables appear in the full scores in round brackets but naturally are not shown on the melody sketches.

Notation of the musical process

Perhaps the greatest problem is the length of the Ob-Ugrian songs. In the case of songs which may consist of several hundred lines it is not possible to follow the practice of notating the melody of one strophe (musical unit) and then giving the other lines of text together (cf. AUSTERLITZ 1966). Even in melodies with a regular structure (e.g. consisting throughout of **abb** lines) it is not expedient to use this kind of notation because of the multitude of variants. If references are used, both writer and reader easily lose their way in the maze of numbers.

Moreover, it is not unusual in the case of songs several hundred lines long for the melody to change to varying extents in the course of the song. An extreme example of this is where the performer of a Northern Ostyak bear feast song, after a longer pause, switched to an entirely different melody even though, besides the circumstances of the singing, the continuation of the text also showed beyond doubt that this was the same song. However, because of the uncertainty of intonation, it is not at all rare for the same melody to be heard in minor and major third variants within a single song, or, for example, for a melody with a *d-l,-s,-m*, set of notes to become one with *d-l,-s,-f*.

It would, of course, be a solution to notate each song from beginning to end and in fact, this is what is done for the archive. However, this would be practically impossible for publication since 3–4 of the melodies with 200–300 lines would fill a whole volume. Consequently, we had to seek a method which indicates precisely which melody belongs to the lines of text, allows variants to be shown, can be easily read and is economical of space.

The task was greatly facilitated by the experiences gained in notation of Hungarian folk music and it would appear that the problem can be solved with their help. I indicated the different lines of melody with letters **a**, **b**, **c**, etc. in the way customary in Hungarian folk music and the variants with an index (**a**₄, **b**₆, **a**₁, **b**₂, etc.). Where a line can be broken

²⁷ This is not necessary in the case of melody sketches, only for full notation.

down into two separate musical motifs and these also appear in several variations, I regarded the motifs as the basis and indicated them with letters and index in the same way as the lines (e.g. a_1b_3 or c_1a_5). I marked these letters beside the corresponding lines of text. I notated all variants of the melody lines in full and marked the rhythmic variants above the line of text using rhythm score. In this way I was able to notate one of the songs also published here,²⁸ with only 15 melody lines. Lines marked with an index are easier to locate and read than footnotes, and the melody can also be reproduced even if not so easily as when the text can be seen above each line of melody.

Six lines of musical score were required to notate the following 19-line individual song.²⁹



a_1 $b(\gamma)aj$ $târ\bar{a}\gamma$ - ko aj $k\check{a}l\bar{r}l\bar{e}m$
 a_2 $ka\bar{t}u\check{s}a\gamma\bar{e}m$ $j\bar{e}m$ $k\check{a}ta$,
 a_2 $ko\bar{a}m$ $târ\bar{a}\gamma(a)$ $ko\bar{a}m$ aj $k\check{a}l\bar{r}l\bar{e}m$
 a_1 $ka\bar{t}u\check{s}a\gamma\bar{e}m$ $j\bar{e}m$ $k\check{a}ta$,

My small crane-man³⁰ small reindeer
 into the house of my Katyusa,
 my three crane three small reindeers
 into the house of my Katyusa,

²⁸ No. 6: 75 lines of text.

²⁹ *Voki-rap-yagun*. Sung by: Sopochina, Rimma Nikitichna, 28 years old. Collected by: Lázár, Katalin, June 1992.

³⁰ Crane: a name for reindeers.

a_1 *aj tårəkko kowilələn*
 a_2 *kaʃušaγəm jəm kâta,*
 a_3 *(γ)aj peter iki lapət āwi,*
 a_2 *tem jārγan ne lapət āwi,*
 a_2 *kaʃušaγəm [jəm kâta,]*
 a_1 *jəm(te) piγli jəm kâta,*
 a_1 *kaʃəγəm(a) luhtəm newi kâta*
 a_2 *ma ti jōwtiləmtam(ijo).*
 a_1 *jārγan imi(je) lapət āwi,*
 a_1 *(γ)aj peter iki(je) lapət āwi,*
 a_1 *kaʃušaγəm jəm kâta(təm),*
 a_1 *jārγan(ə) imi lapət aj āwi,*
 a_1 *koləm tar[ə]γ(eγi) koləm aj kălrəm*
 a_2 *kaʃaγəlim jəm kâta,*
 a_4 *təγ(ə)nə kowalitəmtə(je)!*

small crane-man runs
 into the house of my Katyusa,
 seven daughters of small old man Peter,
 seven daughters of this Nenetz woman
 into the good house of my Katyusa,
 into the good house with good back,
 into the house of my Kate as white as snow
 I arrived.
 Seven daughters of Nenetz little old woman,
 seven daughters of small old man Peter,
 into the good house of my Katyusa,
 seven small daughters of old little Nenetz woman,
 three crane three small reindeers,
 into the good house of my small Kate,
 run here!³¹

The above example shows, among others, how important the existence of the text is for notation of the melody: without it, we would almost certainly feel that the first note of the melodic line is *soh*.

In this way the notation is at the same time also a form of analysis. The structure of the melody can be easily read from the letters beside the text (in the above case it is one-seeded, building from variants of line a_1 , at other times it is two-seeded, e.g. **abab...** or **abbabb...** or **abbbcbacc...** etc.). It also shows which kind of line is more constant in the multi-seeded melodies, and which has a greater tendency to variation (there are naturally more index numbers beside the latter). It is immediately obvious from the above notation that the most frequent variant is the a_2 line (it occurs 11 times). This and its variant beginning on a higher note, a_1 occurring four times, gives the trunk of the melody. Lines a_3 , a_4 , a_5 , and a_6 are occasional variants, each occurring only once.

Hungarian ethnomusicologists notated certain folk custom melodies in a similar way,³² so the method is not new. However, it has not previously been used in Ob-Ugrian musical notation since as long as we did not have full recordings together with the written text it was neither necessary nor possible to notate such long songs. It is to be hoped that this kind of melody notation will be suitable for the publication of Ob-Ugrian songs in full, together with the melody.

THE CLASSIFICATION OF EASTERN OSTYAK SONGS

The following classification (like that of Väisänen) is based on the melody structure. However, there are essential differences. In contrast with Väisänen's system, the regularity of the rhythm does not play a role; the number of kinds of motifs from which the

³¹ The last line is incomplete; interestingly, the last two notes are left out even though they could figure as a melisma in the way the a_2 lines end in other places.

³² See, e.g. MNT II. melodies nos. 777, 778, 782–786.

melody is constructed (melody lines or half-lines) is more important. This classification takes range into account only in connection with the set of notes and does not consider the kinds of beat at all.

From the point of view of structure, the most important thing is how many musical units (line, motif, seed) go to build up the melody: accordingly, one-seeded, two-seeded and multi-seeded melodies can be distinguished. (At present, there are three-, four-, five-, six- and thirteen-seeded melodies in the latter.) Melodies where we are unable to determine the limits of the lines in the absence of text have been classified in a separate group.³³ Of the 172 Eastern Ostyak melodies examined, I found 48 one-seeded, 78 two-seeded and 38 multi-seeded; the structure of the remaining 8 could not be identified.

As regards their set of notes, the songs of the Eastern Ostyaks can be of many kinds, but most are built up from only a few notes. More than half of the 172 melodies examined, 90 are of narrow range, not exceeding 5 notes and 41 are constructed from only 2–3 notes (the latter include both trichordic and tritonic melodies). We find 9 kinds of pentatonicism (including 5 kinds of semitonal pentatonic scales) but despite this, it cannot be described as frequent: out of 172 melodies, 21 are pentatonic. There is no correlation between structure and range or set of notes: the one-seeded songs include, for example, a pentatonic melody with an octave range, while the three-seeded songs include one that is basically trichordic.

The melodies with various sets of notes range from those consisting of only two notes, to the diatonic. The numbering of these groups is independent of the structure so that within the groups of one-, two- and multi-seeded melodies, for example the group of *m-r-d-l*, tetratonic melodies were always given the number 20, regardless of whether a song belonging in the preceding note set groups occurred in that structural group or not. In this way, melodies of differing structure but having the same set of notes can always be found under the same number.

In the set of notes of the individual groups, the notes follow in descending order. In creating the groups, the range determined the order in the case of those consisting of two, three and four notes: the greater the range, the further back it was classified within its own group, meaning that *r-d* comes after *d-l*, and both come before those consisting of three notes. The tri-, tetra-, and pentachordic melodies are followed by the corresponding -tonics. Among the tritonic, the *m-d-s*, major sixth comes after the *d-s-m*, minor sixth; among the tetratonic, the *d-t-l-fi*, diminished fifth range is the first, and *r-d-l-m*, is the last. In the case of a pentatonic set of notes, the organising principle was the deepest note: the higher the deepest note in the set of notes, the further back it is placed in the group. This means that *r-d-l-s-m*, comes before *m-r-d-l-s*, and the latter precedes *f-r-d-t-l*. The two diminished sixth hexachordic sets are followed by those with a major sixth range, while the first among the diatonic sets is the group of Phrygian melodies, followed

³³ All the Eastern Ostyak melodies (even those not yet notated) figure in the following classification. If the texts of all the melodies are written down and so can be notated, the group of melodies having an unidentified structure will cease to exist.

Type of scale	Set of notes	Range	Number of melodies
Bichordic	1) <i>r-d</i>	major second	2
Bitonic	2) <i>d-l</i> ,	minor third	1
	3) <i>d-s</i> ,	fourth	2
Trichordic	4) <i>d-t,-l</i> ,	minor third	4
	5) <i>m-r-d</i>	major third	6
Tritonic	6) <i>d-l,-s</i> ,	fourth	5
	7) <i>r-d-l</i> ,		4
	8) <i>r-l,-s</i> ,	fifth	3
	9) <i>r-t,-s</i> ,		4
	10) <i>r-d-s</i> ,		1
	11) <i>d-s,-m</i> ,	minor sixth	4
	12) <i>d-l,-m</i> ,		3
	13) <i>m-d-s</i> ,	major sixth	2
Tetrachordic	14) <i>d-t,-l,-s</i> ,	fourth	1
	15) <i>r-d-t,-l</i> ,		2
	16) <i>t,-l,-s,-f</i> ,	expanded fourth	1
Tetratonic	17) <i>d-t,-l,-fi</i> ,	diminished fifth	1
	18) <i>r-t,-l,-s</i> ,	fifth	20
	19) <i>r-d-l,-s</i> ,		5
	20) <i>m-r-d-l</i> ,		9
	21) <i>d-l,-s,-m</i> ,	minor sixth	11
	22) <i>d-l,-s,-r</i> ,	minor seventh	1
	23) <i>r-d-l,-m</i> ,		2
Pentachordic	24) <i>r-d-t,-l,-s</i> ,	fifth	15
Pentatonic	25) <i>d-t,-l,-s,-r</i> ,		1
	26) <i>d-t,-l,-s,-m</i> ,		1
	27) <i>r-t,-l,-s,-m</i> ,		2
	28) <i>r-d-l,-s,-m</i> ,		1
	29) <i>r-d-t,-l,-fi</i> ,		1
	30) <i>m-r-t,-l,-s</i> ,		10
	31) <i>m-r-d-l,-s</i> ,		4
	32) <i>f-r-d-t,-l</i> ,		1
Hexachordic	33) <i>d-t,-l,-s,-f,-m</i> ,	major sixth	1
	34) <i>f-m-r-d-t,-l</i> ,		2
	35) <i>m-r-d-t,-l,-s</i> ,	minor sixth	5
Diatonic	36) Phrygian		4
	37) Mixolydian		4
	38) Dorian/Aeolian		19
	39) changing set of notes		7

The groups of note sets occurring in the present material are shown in the table. As regards genre, the collection can be considered as quite varied: it includes shaman songs, bear feast songs, individual songs, cradle songs and song inserts from tales.

ONE-SEEDED MELODIES

7) *r-d-l*, tritonic

Ten reindeer bulls with antlers,
my ten reindeers having been left from Latteko,³⁶
my ten reindeer bulls with antlers,
small *surman*³⁷ woman tainted meat,
my two daughters having been left from Latteko,
two white-headed³⁸ girls,
small *surman* woman tainted meat,
my two daughters having been left from Latteko,
my ten reindeer bulls with antlers.
That is all!

³⁸ Girls with blond hair.



The first note of the lines is of fluctuating height (it can be *ray*, *me*, *fah* or *soh*): in line *a*₃ the first note of the second beat also slides up to *me*. This is obviously the consequence of the stress.

Rimma Nikitichna learnt the song from her grandmother who had composed it a year earlier. The woman was an Ostyak from the Pim region.

18) *r-t-l-s*, tetratonic

2) Individual song, 29 lines.³⁹ Four variants of the line can be heard.

³⁹ *Voki-rap-yagun*. Sung by: Pokacheva, Fiokla Ivanovna, 48 years old. Collected by: Lázár, Katalin, 1992.



a₁ jor još ne-liŋki,
 a₂ jor još ne-liŋki(γə),
 a₁ kenaš laŋkər âmeštə
 a₂ kat poŋijem(a),
 a₁ mojar laŋkər âmeštə
 a₂ kat poŋijem.
 a₂ jor još ne-liŋki,
 a₁ awijet, awijet(et),
 a₂ jor još ne-liŋki,
 a₃ kenaš laŋkər âmeštə
 a₃ kat poŋijem,
 a₁ mojar laŋkər âmeštə
 a₂ kat poŋijem.
 a₁ awijet, awijet,
 a₁ tuλ(ij)ən pātəlam(a)[Λ]
 a₃ lap[ə]t sor jaŋk(ə-nə)
 a₃ əj at sij[ə]λnə warləm
 a₃ awijət(ət), awijət,
 a₂ jor još ne-liŋki,
 a₃ tuλ(ij)ən pātəlamaλ(a)
 a₃ lap[ə]t sor jaŋk(ə-no)
 a₃ əj at sij[ə]λnə warləm,
 a₃ əj at pātəm sij[ə]λnə war(ə).
 a₃ lə-ə-ə-ə-ə

Strong-handed woman,
 strong-handed woman,
 sitting with the shoulder of a prince⁴⁰
 my two sons (I have),⁴¹
 sitting with the shoulder of a lord
 my two sons (I have).
 Strong-handed woman,
 little girls, little girls, (listen,)
 strong-handed woman,
 sitting with the shoulder of a prince
 my two sons (I have),
 sitting with the shoulder of a lord
 my two sons (I have).
 Little girls, little girls,
 in winter frozen
 seven spans thick ice
 one night I ... make.
 Little girls, little girls,
 strong-handed woman,
 in winter frozen
 seven spans thick ice
 one night I ... make,
 during one night frozen
 I make.⁴²

⁴⁰ 'with the shoulder of a prince/lord' is a formula often occurring in Northern Khanty songs, meaning 'powerful, grand'. (Éva Schmidt's remark.)

⁴¹ I. e. I have two powerful sons.

⁴² Conversation follows, then the singing was actually begun again.

a₁ *ma wont luŋki* (γ) *ašim*,
a₂ *jəm aš* – (i-i).
a₃ *wont luŋki-i-ijə*,
a₃ *ma wont luŋki* (γ) *ašijem*,
a₃ *γə-γə-jə-tə!*

My forest spirit father,
 good fa –⁴³
 Forest spirit,
 my forest spirit father.
 That is the end!

Out of the four line variants, **a**₃ gives the trunk of the melody (18 lines); **a**₁ and **a**₂ (both heard 5 times) differ from it only in the first note. Line **a**₄ is heard once; this is actually a version of **a**₁ expanded by one note.

24) *r-d-t,-l,-s*, pentachordic

3) Individual song, 23 lines.⁴⁴ With 11 variants of its lines it is one of the strongly varying melodies.

a₁ *ŋi-ŋi-ŋi əγəγəγə əγəγəγə əγəγəγə*
a₂ *kũnčəŋ ħeŋə, ħeŋə* (γəγəγə γəγəγə)
a₃ *koləŋ tājłə(γə), tājłəŋ(a),*
a₃ *koləŋ kũnčəŋ aj ħeŋə*, (γiγiγi)
a₃ *γiγiγi γoγoγoγo γoγoγo*
a₃ *koləŋ kũnčəŋ aj ħeŋə*
a₃ *tājłəŋ, tājłəŋ, tājłəŋ,*
a₃ *ħəłə kũnčəŋ aj ħeŋə(jo).*
a₃ *joγoγo γəγəγə γəγəγə*
a₃ *γəγəγə γəγəγə γəγəγə*
a₅ (ŋi-ŋi-ŋi) *ħəłə kũnčəŋ aj ħeŋə* (γəγəγə γoγoγo)
a₃ *tājłəŋ, tājłəŋ, tājłə(γə-*
a₃ *γəγəγə γəγəγə γəγəŋ)m(a),*
a₆ (noγ) *aj małtanŋo kol[ə]m imi*, (γəγəγə γəγə)
a₇ *γəγəγə γəγəγə γəγə*
a₈ *ħəłə kũnčəŋ aj ħeŋə*, (γəγəγə γəγə)
a₉ *warəŋ jăwəŋ ar lăra*(γəγə)
a₇ *tampə sočiləŋəm*(əγəγə)
a₇ *warəŋ aj jăwəŋ jəm pəŋləłəł(m),*
a₇ *əm-ŋi-ŋi-ŋi-ŋi-ŋi-ŋi-ŋi-ŋi*
a₁₀ *kila jăwəŋ jəm pəŋləłəŋə*
a₁₁ *tampə sočiləŋəm*(-ŋi-ŋi-əγiγo).
a₇ *γəγəγə γəγəγə γəγə*

a tousled sister, sister
 I have got, I have got, I have got,
 three small tousled sisters,
 three small tousled sisters
 I have got, I have got, I have got,
 four small tousled sisters
 that is the end.⁴⁵
 Four small tousled sisters
 I have got, I have got, I have got,
 the three sisters of small Multanov,
 four small tousled sisters,
 to the many lakes of river Waren
 I certainly would go.
 The good side of river Waren,
 on the good side of river Kila
 I certainly stepped.

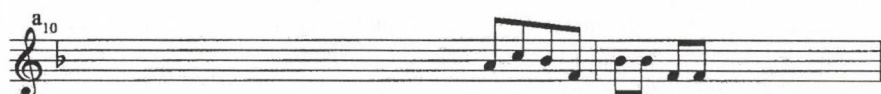
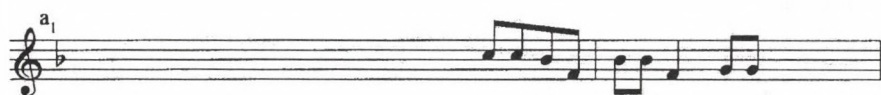
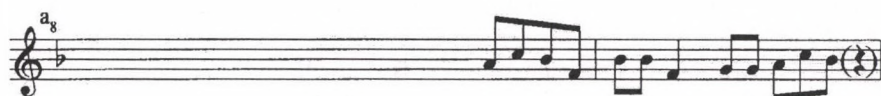
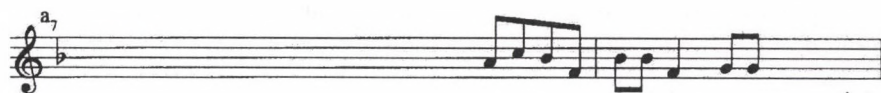
The most frequent line variant is **a**₃ (9 times), followed by **a**₇ (5 times). The other variants can be heard once each. Their length may also differ.

The singer is probably confused since this is the first song she sang for recording: this may be the reason why she used many filling syllables and even filling lines.

⁴³ The line is broken off, "I've forgotten", says the singer.

⁴⁴ *Voki-rap-yagun*. Sung by: Pokacheva, Fiokla Ivanovna, 48 years old. Collected by: Lázár, Katalin, 1992.

⁴⁵ Here the singer ended the song, but then continued after all.



30) *m-r-t, -l, -s*, pentatonic

4) Individual song, 11 lines.⁴⁶ Three variants of the line can be identified.



*a*₁ *aj kečëmko (jaγ) aj wõŋlëm(ə)*
*a*₂ *(ja) wăkəm(a) pewərt(a) wăkəŋ kât(ə)*
*a*₂ *(əw)əntə (γəw)ămti(ja) ʌ ətam(ija).*
*a*₂ *a(γa)j jār(ə)γanko (ja) kūt[ə]p wõŋlëm*
*a*₂ *(a) wăkəm(a) pewert(a) wăkəŋ kât(ə)*
*a*₂ *ăm(aləγəjan)ti(a) ʌə(na)m[aʌ](ija).*
*a*₂ *(wo) kajməŋ(aja) ma (j)ar jăŋməlim,*
*a*₂ *ŋi [a] jōw[ə]tta[m] ka(wala-a) ti jōwmam(a).*
*a*₂ *(əγ) aj jār(ə)γanko (ja) kūt[ə]p wõŋlëm,*
*a*₂ *manə manə (wəram) ajəŋka atələm-*
*a*₂ *nəm(a) (jajaj)ămsi(ja) ʌəʌə(o)m(ija).*

Small Kechimov man, my youngest son-in-law
 a carved house (from) carved wood
 does not build for me.
 Small Nenetz man, my middle son-in-law
 a carved house with carved wood
 has built for me.
 My many pine-forests with pasture,
 me, if I arrive, I come so:
 small Nenetz man, my middle son-in-law,
 I myself entirely a-
 lone sit.

The line variants differ in their first note or first few notes; the first note in line *a*₁ (the first) is *ray*, while line *a*₃ (the 8th line) starts with *r-m-r-t*. Of the 11 lines, 9 are *a*₂.

5) Individual song, 13 lines (the 14th line is incomplete).⁴⁷ The singer sang this immediately after the previous song. Both the melody and the text show that this is a variant of the former.

*a*₁ *aj jārγanko (jaj)aj wõŋlëm(a)*
*a*₂ *(ja) wăkəm(a) pewert(a) wăkəŋ kât(ə)*
*a*₂ *(awəmtəγəw)ămti(ja-a) ʌətam(ija).*
*a*₂ *a(γa)j kečëmko (jaγ)aj wõŋlëmna*
*a*₂ *(a)wăkəm(a) pewert(a) wăkəŋ kât(ə)*
*a*₂ *(awəmtəγəw)ămti(a) ʌəta-am(ija).*
*a*₂ *aj jārγanko (ja) kūt[ə]p wõŋlëmna*

Small Nenetz man, my youngest son-in-law
 a carved house [from] carved wood
 builds for me.
 Small Kechimov man, my small son-in-law
 a carved house [from] carved wood
 builds for me.
 Small Nenetz man, my middle son-in-law

⁴⁶ *Voki-rap-yagun*. Sung by: Kechimova, Irina Ivanovna, 30 years old. Collected by: Lázár, Katalin, 1992.

⁴⁷ *Voki-rap-yagun*. Sung by: Kechimova, Irina Ivanovna, 30 years old. Collected by: Lázár, Katalin, 1992.



a_1 (a)wăkəm(a) pewert(a) wăkəŋi kât(ə)
 a_2 (amaliya)âmti(a) ləm(a-amija),
 a_3 kajmənəar(aŋ) aj(a) jâymeli
 a_1 (ə) wərtə jâynə (ja) nŋk wəjmiΛ(a)
 a_4 (jəŋ) mŋkΛam kijəmətəΛ kât(ə)nə
 a_2 (aŋa) tŋŋənə ma (j)âmsiΛəΛəm.
 $a_{incomplete}$ (awija)

with a carved house (from) carved wood
 I am built:⁴⁸
 many small pine-forests with pastures,
 (in the house) being taken away by the red,
 in the house left by my children,
 I am sitting about so.

Here too there are basically three variants of the line. Lines a_1 and a_2 are the same as in the previous song but a_3 differs; the beginning of the line does not change so much here, only the first note jumps up even higher, to top *soh*. Line a_4 cannot really be regarded as a separate variant (it must be shown only for the sake of the notation) since line a_3 follows after the syllable heard at the beginning (perhaps the singer made an error in recalling the text?). Here too, line a_1 is heard only at the beginning and lines a_3 and a_4 once each; line a_2 gives the trunk of the melody (10 lines out of 13).

TWO-SEEDED MELODIES

9) *r-t-l-s*, tetratonic

6) Bear feast song, 75 lines.⁴⁹ Its seed is tritonic *r-t-s*, at times expanded to become tetratonic. Line *a* has 6 variants. It has a strongly descending character and a fifth range (with the exception of a_4 which ends on the second degree instead of the first). Line *b*, of a stagnating character, is heard in 9 variants. Its range is generally a (major or minor) third: in three variants it jumps up to the fifth at the end of the line.

⁴⁸ I am presented by him with a house built for me.

⁴⁹ *Kurlomkino*. Sung by: Kurlomkin, Piotr Vasilievich, 56 years old. Collected by: Lázár, Katalin, 1992.



a, *ǎwǎlem(a) jɛŋi jəɣ(a)*,
 b, *muǰǎlem(a) jɛŋi jəɣ(a)*,
 b, *tula taɫɫi tul ɫuŋɰnə*,
 b, *ḱǝɫ mǝǝ tultǝɫɫǝɫo(ɣa)?*
 b, *(ɣ)ǎwǎlem(a) jɛŋi jəɣ(a)*,
 b, *muǰǎlem(a) jɛŋi jəɣ(a) t'i*,
 a, *tul-pule taj(i)ɫi*,
 b, *ḱɫɫǝŋ pǝŋɫǝp ruɫ sǎjpɫɫi*
 b, *ḱǝɫ mǝǝ taɫɫɫǝɫe(ɣo)?*
 b, *(ɣ)ǎwǎlem(a) jɛŋi jəɣ(a)*,
 b, *muǰǎlem(a) jɛŋi jəɣ(a)*,
 a, *tǝm jǝmat(a) tojǝn(a)!*
 b, *ɫǎr ɰaleɰa newi (ɣ)ǎɫe*
 b, *tǝm jǝmat(a) tojǝn(a) t'i*,
 a, *tul-pɫa-pɫ taj(i)ɫi(ja)!*
 b, *ḱɫɫǝŋ pǝŋɫǝp(a) ruɫ sǎjpɫɫi*
 b, *taɫɫɫa iwɫɫ(a)*
 a, *ɫǎr ɰaleɰa newi (ɣ)ǎɫe*
 b, *pɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ (ɣ)aj ɰolǝrɰɰɰ*
 b, *ǝɰɰə jəɣɫɫɫɫɫɫɫɫ(a)*.

Good father of my daughter,
 good father of my child,
 the spirit of foolishness has got you,
 how long does it fool you yet?
 Good father of my daughter,
 good father of my child,
 you do foolishness,
 the Russian fishing-net with dirty edge
 how long do you pull?
 Good father of my daughter,
 good father of my child,
 you have been so well off!
 Your body as white as the lake gull,
 you have been so well off,
 you do foolishness!
 The Russian fishing-net with ragged edge
 since you pull,
 your lake-gull-white body
 into small hook-billed raven
 is changed.



a₁ (γ)ǎwǎlem(a) jəŋi jəγ(a),
 b₁ tōm jəmat(a) tojən(a),
 b₁ (γ)ar wǎjəγ kǎnčə ηsǎmγən(a),
 b₁ tōm jəmat(a) tojən(a)!
 a₁ tul-puli-pə(ja) taj(i)li(ja),
 b₅ kǎləηpəηlǎp(a) ruŋ sǎjpəli

Good father of my daughter,
 you have been so well off,
 your eyes shining as those of many games,
 you have been so well off,
 you do foolishness.
 Russian net with a dirty edge,

b₁ *ta li la i wə l(a)*
a₂ (γ) *ar wə jə γ(a) kənč[a] η sām γə la,*
b₁ *ko jə t jə tər η wər t[a] sām γə*
b₁ *čəkə jə γi lək kən(a).*
a₁ (γ) *ə wə lem(a) jə η jə γ(a),*
b₁ *mu kə lem(a) jə η jə γ(a),*
b₁ *pi tər šoni – lam(a),*
a₁ *jə t kə lə γ jə wən(a) kə w tə j nə,*
a₁ *sār ə m jə wən(a) kə w tə j nə,*
b₁ (γ) *aj ur ə η(a) jə m want ə t nə*
b₁ *wə t pən am təm pə ni lem mə tə*
b₁ *nū η taji lə γ lən(a) tū.*
a₁ *wə t pən am təm(a) pə ni lem(ta)*
b₁ *hā l sām pə w(a) pə γ lə η(a)*
b₁ *hā n ura pə γ ə t nə*
a₁ *la lə m li kə w lə η kə tə*
b₁ *kə ō l nə la lə m i-jə γ lə?*
a₃ *pi tər šonilem(a), tū*
b₁ *aj ur ə η(a) jə m win η rə n nə (nu rə)*
a₁ *tə m jə mət(a) to jən(a),*
b₁ (wə lə) *pu[γə] l lə γ pi(ja) aj jə m(a)*
kāt(a)
b₁ *tə m jə mət(a) to jən(a),*
a₁ *ā l[ə] mə γ ku je lant ə η kāt*
b₁ *kə ō l mō č kī-jī-le,*
b₁ *ā l[ə] mə γ ku je(γa) ku lə η kāt(a)*
b₁ *kə ō l mō č kī-jī-le(γo)?*
b₁ *pi tər šoni-lem(a), tī*
a₁ *hə rə γ jə γ ə t jə m jə t k nə,*

b₇ *sur wo jə γa tər ə η mə γ(a),*
b₈ *tə m jə mət(a) to jən(a),*
a₅ *mō lə γ kū nč pi(ja) lek hō w ə s ə,*
b₈ *kū nč[ə] l kənč ə m a jīm ə η(a) mə γ(a)*
b₈ *tə m jə mət(a) to jən(a).*
a₂ (γ) *ā l[ə] mə γ(a) ku je lant ə η kāt(a),*
b₈ *ā l[ə] mə γ(a) ku je ku lə η kāt(a)*
b₈ *kə ō l mō č kī-jī-le(γo)?*
a₁ *pə w pə γ lə η(a) (γ) ar kə n ə (γa)*
b₈ *hə rə γ jə γ ə t a jə m jə t k a*
b₈ *la lə m li(ja) kə w lə η kāt(a),*
b₈ (γ) *ā lə la lə m i lə li(ja).*
a₆ *pi tər šonilem(a), tī*
b₈ *tul-pə l a-pə taj(i) li(ja),*
b₉ *kū lə η pə ō l ə p(a) ru t sāj pə li(ja),*

from [the] pulling [of it]
 your two eyes [as] fine [as those of] many games,
 into red eyes of rutting wood grouse
 have begun to change very much.
 Good father of my daughter,
 good father of my child,
 my little sorb bunch,
 at the environs of the far spring of few-watered river,
 at the far end of shallow river,
 at good headland of small river valley
 [there are] five woven fishing baskets laid down,
 [what] you have.
 [These] five woven fishing baskets laid down [are like]
 by *nyarszeng* cone village
 strange boys
 robbed carved house,⁵⁰
 how could they rob it?
 My little sorb bunch,
 at this good headland of this small river valley
 you have been so well off,

in good house of the village
 you have been so well off,
 the house of simple field man where you can find food
 for how long do you leave,
 the house of simple field man where you can find fish
 for how long do you leave!
 My little sorb bunch,
 on the good water of the rivercrossing being overgrown
 with pine wood,
 on the field trampled under feet of ungulates,
 there you have been well off,
 [on the] trail of the sable with pointless claws,
 on the holy land embroidered by its claws,
 there you have been well off.
 The house of simple field man where you can find food,
 the house of simple field man where you can find fish,
 for how long do you leave?
 Many men of cone village
 on the good water of pine-tree [river]-crossing
 have robbed the carved house,
 simply they have robbed it.
 My little sorb bunch,
 you do foolishness,
 the Russian fishing-net of ragged edge [you pull],

⁵⁰ They are like a carved house robbed by *nyarszeng* cone village strange boys.

a₁ *tur pətə kǔli wiɣnat,*
b₁ *pači nōr juɣa āwətʌi(ɣa),*
a₁ *lek nārsi(ɣo)m(ɣ)ar jeneknam(a)*
b₁ *tur pətə kǔli wiɣnat,*
a₁ *kǒʌ mǒč[ə] taʌiʌʌi(ɣa)?*
b₁ *piʔar(ə) šo-ni-lem.*
e kentə-keṇtəki!

with a sharp cry coming from [my] throat,
 while cutting a spit to dry pike on,
 on the crests of the hills overgrown by willows
 [I call you] with a loud call coming from [my] throat,
 how long does it go yet [like this]?
 My little sorb bunch.
 That is all!⁵¹

These lines do not form regular units: an **a** line may be followed by several (1, 2, 3, 4 or 5) **b** lines. (There is only one place where two **a** lines come one after the other: since the text here is two parallel lines of substantives, it is conceivable that the singer made an error because of this.) The song consists of 23 musical units of differing length (see the table).

Melody units	Number of occurrences
ab	5 (10 lines)
abb	12 (36 lines)
abbb	2 (8 lines)
abbbb	2 (10 lines)
abbbbbb	1 (6 lines)
aabbb	1 (5 lines)

The three-line unit (**abb**) is the most frequent but occurs no more than three times in succession. The **ab** two-line melody unit may also be repeated (also no more than three times), while the larger units do not occur after each other but following a series of smaller units; the longest, the six-line unit, occurs at the beginning of the song.

When studying the musical structure of an Ostyak song, the relationship between melody and text must also be taken into account. In this song the first unit of text consists of 4 lines, while the first melody unit has 6 lines: this means that the text unit ends on the **b** melody line and the next also begins on **b**. This is repeated throughout the song. A comparison of the number of lines of text units and melody units and the way they follow each other clearly shows this tendency.

For the 23 musical units there are 15 text units and in 7 cases the end of the two coincides (lines 20, 30, 38, 43, 59, 62 and 66). In a further 7 cases the first line of the text unit corresponds to a **b** melody line and in 4 cases the performer sings the last line to a musical **a** line. It can be seen that this is not a strophic form of construction, but rather reflects the intention to make the melody "endless"; this is why the end of the musical and text units falls in different places.

This method of construction is much freer than a melody built of lines and strophes repeated in the same way throughout. This is why we regard them as more archaic than strophic melodies.

⁵¹ The last line was spoken, not sung.

Text	Melody
4	6
5	5
3	3
3	3
5	3
5	4
5	3+3
8	3+5
5	3+2
9	2+3+5
7	3+3
3	3
4	4
8	3+2+2
1	2

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE EASTERN OSTYAK SONGS

MELODY CONSTRUCTION

The songs of the Eastern Ostyaks are not strophic. In most of them the form also changes in the course of the song since it is shaped and improvised by the singer at the moment of performance. This is the case for both melody and text, simultaneously, but different rules apply.

The main purpose of the melody in their songs is to stress the content of the text, and on the occasion of shaman ceremonies and bear feasts to make it audible and understandable for the gods and idol spirits.

A study of the melody structures reveals the laws applied in their construction. Naturally, these differ from the laws of text construction and so it can be said that the performance of songs hundreds of lines long, lasting up to one and a half to two hours is a remarkable intellectual achievement on the part of the outstanding Ostyak singers.⁵²

In a number of the Eastern Ostyak songs the length of the smallest basic unit of music is half the length of a line of text: in these cases we speak of motifs and construction from motifs. In songs with a line structure, the length of the basic unit of music coincides with the length of a line of text (see melodies nos. 1–6).

In many cases the text is needed to determine whether a melody is of motif or line structure. Since we unfortunately do not know the text for some of our material, in a number of cases it is not possible to determine the relationship between the melodic unit and the line of text.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that the number of musical units used to construct the melody is more important than the length as regards structure and variation. This is con-

⁵² This is true even if it is not conscious: they do not sing nominal lines, parallelisms, filling syllables or musical motifs, but feel the rules.

firmed by the melodies which are constructed from two kinds of motifs or two kinds of lines: the motifs can vary in the same way as the lines. For this reason, when making the classification I did not take into account whether the singer constructed the song from motifs or lines.

It would appear that the majority of melodies consist of 1–4 kinds of musical seeds. However, a few of them are built from several kinds of motifs. So far we have two melodies constructed from 13 kinds of motifs. One has 329 lines, and from the motifs the singer constructs 29 kinds of lines; the other has only 18 lines and so is not long enough to reveal the laws of its construction.

PITCH, SET OF NOTES, RHYTHM

As regards the set of notes used for Ob-Ugrian melodies, our experience confirms the opinions holding that they are characterised by chord-type scales, similarly to the vocal music of most Finno-Ugrian peoples.

The manner of performance of the Ob-Ugrian songs differs markedly from that found in the case of European folk songs. Singing is frequently "off key", especially in the case of the bear feast songs. Since the performers of these songs include persons regarded as among their best singers, obviously this is not a case of individual inadequacy. It seems more likely that precise pitch is of no significance, either for the singer or the audience; what is important is the direction in which the melody moves. Of course, there is still a need to examine whether this applies to individual singers, or rather to a particular genre or perhaps to Ostyak vocal folk music as a whole.

The set of notes used in their songs cannot be determined mechanically. The instability of certain pitches is even more general in Eastern Ostyak songs than in Northern ones. The instability is seen in the repetitions at different places in the melody where different notes may be found. An example is the unstable third which may be a minor or major third within the same melody. These can be regarded as different appearances of the same note, meaning that they cannot be taken into account as separate notes when determining the set of notes.⁵³

Not only the third, but other notes can also be unstable: the 8th and 6th degrees, the 4th and 5th or the 6th and 5th may substitute for each other (see VÄISÄNEN 1937: instable 6th degree in the melodies nos. 185, 193, 184 and 186, and instable 2nd degree in no. 190).

The instability of pitch may also appear in a different way in the melodies: this is also probably due to their archaic nature. A characteristic of some melodies is the jump up or down from the key note: here too it is the direction that is important and not the precise note realised in the melody.

Songs with a great variety of sets of notes can be found among the Eastern Ostyaks. Their melodies typically have a small range, but they also include a few diatonic melodies with a range of more than an octave. Their melodies built of two, three and four

⁵³ The same thing happens in the case of Hungarian folk songs from Transdanubia. The third or seventh heard in them is sometimes minor and sometimes major within the same melody but despite this they do not both figure as separate notes within the set of notes.

notes include both chordal and tonic types, but the chordal-type scale is more frequent. Pentatonicism is found in relatively few melodies.

The rhythm of the songs also shows irregularities: apart from the fact that the individual notes may be slightly longer or shorter than a quarter- or eighth-note, the repetition of syllables once or even several times is also frequent. There are frequent shorter or longer pauses within the lines for breath, coughing or throat clearing which is understandable in the case of long epic songs lasting several hours. As a result of all these factors, the rhythm may become entirely irregular.⁵⁴ However, if we leave these ad hoc, disturbing factors out of consideration we find that the rhythm of the different songs is varied but is generally constant within a song and despite the changes in the number of syllables the lines are of the same duration. The same thing is found in the Northern Ostyak and Vogul songs too (see LÁZÁR 1984, VLADKINA-BACHINSKAYA 1977).

COMPARISON OF MELODIES

After analysis and classification, we will now consider comparison. Following the pattern of comparative linguistics, it is not merely superficial similarities that we must seek but melodies with a similar construction and set of notes. Kodály recognised this when he pointed out: "Certain basic elements of music can develop to become similar among widely separated, different peoples without contact. [...] But essential similarity of melodic structure, phraseology, rhythm [...] cannot be by chance" (KODÁLY 1971. 37).

This can be supplemented with observations made by the Estonian ethnomusicologist Ingrid Rüütel: "... outwardly very similar melodies may derive in different locations independently; on the other hand, the melodies of common genesis may acquire different shapes above recognition while spreading in time and space. Therefore the establishment of typologically related tune-families requires a thorough typological research" (RÜÜTEL 1995. 118).

Comparison serves the same function in folk music as in linguistics: it can help to throw light on the history of the melodies, kinship, the role of areal contacts and the laws of internal development. The justification of areal research is beyond question since it is obvious that peoples living side by side, in more or less close contact for centuries influence each other. The same is true in the field of music and there are already examples of such research: parallel with his research on the music of the Finno-Ugrian peoples of the Volga region, László Vikár also collected and studied the music of the Turkic peoples in this region (see VIKÁR – BERECKZI 1991; 1979; 1989).⁵⁵

However, in the interest of studying the presence or absence of musical kinship, it is

⁵⁴ The above observations do not apply to all songs or to all singers. The performers of both individual songs and bear songs (the former include women, the latter are always men) include singers who sing in key in the European sense and with a regular, steady rhythm.

⁵⁵ The Cheremis and Votyak are among the Finno-Ugrian peoples of the Volga region; the Chuvash and Tatars among the Turkic peoples. See also: VIKÁR 1984; 1993.

also worth examining whether the music of our linguistic kindred shows any affinity to ours. György Szomjas-Schiffert draws on the lessons of linguistics when (like the strata of vocabulary) he distinguishes a basic stock of melodies in the general stock of melodies (in the case of the Hungarians and related peoples this is the Finno-Ugrian stratum), a stock of melodies created or derived from internal development, and a stock of borrowed melodies (SZOMJAS-SCHIFFERT 1976. Vol. 2. 60).

"At all events the basic condition for the operation of comparison is the accumulation of scholarly material. For this purpose everything must be registered which can be compared in the melodies of the peoples concerned in the areas of style, form, melodic line, structure, rhythm and other characteristics (scale, set of notes, intonation, manner of performance, etc.). This also includes the critical examination of folk song publications serving as source material, because the collections are of differing quality." (SZOMJAS-SCHIFFERT 1976. Vol. 2. 57).

Besides coincidences and similarities of structure, key and set of notes, a study of the manner of performance can also be important and this, of course, requires recorded material. The task is so complex that the work will require the international co-operation of colleagues dealing with the music of other Finno-Ugrian and of arctic peoples.

It is also worth examining the melodies of Ostyak songs having the same text or subject. This can throw light on the extent to which text and melody are linked and how far the melody is influenced by the genre of the song. Such an investigation (requiring careful and lengthy linguistic preparation) is one of the important themes of our future research plans. A comparison of the Eastern Ostyak songs with the melodies of other peoples is also a task for the future, but there are also parallels and similarities in the melodies published here which are worth mentioning.

It is an important methodological question whether the music of a people can be studied if we know it only from the score and notation and have no recorded material. I believe that as long as we have no other choice we are obliged to accept this situation but when the opportunity arises we must re-examine the findings based on the score in the light of collecting experiences and the recorded material.

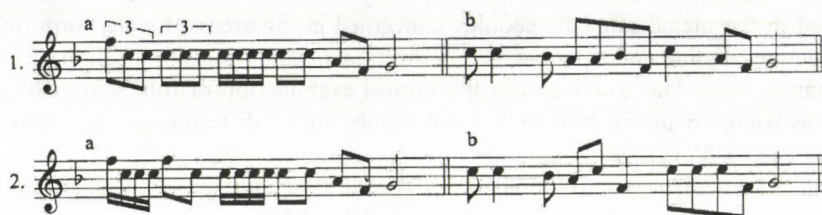
COMPARISON OF EASTERN OSTYAK MELODIES

In this chapter I have not shown the variants of the motifs since they are of no significance for the purpose of comparison: I give only the typical melodic lines and motifs. The texts are not given beneath the scores, but the melodies were notated on the basis of and with the help of the text.



The two songs were sung by father and son in summer 1992: one was recorded by Jarkko Niemi and one by Márta Csepregi. They were classified as two-seeded melodies.

They are essentially *r-d-t-l-s*, pentachordic, with a range of 5–1. In the father's song motif **a** is heard in 4 variants and motif **b** in 5 variants; his son sings 5 variants of motif **a** and only 1 variant of motif **b**. The former begins both motifs with *ray*, the latter favours the form of line **b** beginning with *doh*. The two variants also differ in length (33 and 25 motifs).



The two variants were sung by husband and wife in summer 1992. They have the same set of notes and range but differ in the number of syllables in the motifs and the length of the song. The two variants were performed several days apart and it was difficult to persuade the wife to sing this song as she insisted that her husband knew it better: her variant can be considered rather only as a fragment.



All three melodies were collected by Karjalainen and published by Väisänen. The phonograph cylinder numbers also show that Karjalainen recorded them in succession and he gave them the same genre designation. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the singer was the same in all three cases or different persons sang the same melody. The first variant has an *m-r-d-l-s*, pentatonic set of notes, the second and third *m-r-t-l-s*, pentatonic. The latter two can be regarded as a single melody and in fact the two different sets of notes of the three melodies can also be considered identical (the 3rd and 4th degrees substitute each other).



Semen Timofeyevich Kechimov sang two songs with this melody in summer 1992; one was recorded by Márta Csepregi and the other by Jarkko Niemi. In one variant the note *te* also appears, despite the fact that these are two variants of the same melody.



The first is an individual song; there is no information on the genre of the second. They differ in length: 23 and 33 lines. Sergey Vasilievich Kechimov sang them in summer 1992, one for Márta Csepregi and the other for Jarkko Niemi.



The first melody was sung by Sergey Vasilievich Kechimov while drumming, so it must be a shaman ceremony song. The trunk is formed of motif *a*; motif *b* is heard only once. The second is a 24-line individual song; it was sung by Rimma Nikitichna Sopochnina. The third was played on an instrument by Semen Timofeyevich Kechimov; there is no information on the genre.

EASTERN AND NORTHERN OSTYAK MELODIES

Parallels for the Eastern Ostyak melodies can be found in the Northern Ostyak material collected by Éva Schmidt. An examination of the Northern Ostyak songs shows that – like the Eastern – the majority are melodies constructed from one, two or three

kinds of lines or motifs and their set of notes may range from two or three notes to the diatonic scales.

The majority of sets of notes characteristic of the Eastern Ostyak melodies can be found among the Northern Ostyaks too: however, this does not necessarily mean that the melodies are related. The identical principles of construction found in the melodies are more important than the similarities of the actual melodies. These include the unstable notes: there is instability of the third among the Northern Ostyaks too, and other notes (the 2nd, 5th and 6th degrees) may also be uncertain or of changing pitch (see LÁZÁR 1986b). There too they have the consequence of a change in the set of notes; because of the fluctuating third, for example, *r-d-t-l*, is modified to *d-t-l-s*, (see melody no. 1),⁵⁶ or alternate (see melody no. 2).⁵⁷



The jump at the end of the line is a characteristic found both among the Eastern and the Northern Ostyaks.⁵⁸



One way of transposing a line of melody or motif is quart shifting. This is found among the Eastern Ostyaks⁵⁹ (no. 1) and is also known to the Northern Ostyaks⁶⁰ (no. 2).



⁵⁶ 82. PO. 15. in the archive of the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

⁵⁷ These motifs are used to construct, for example, melodies 82. PO. 16; 82. PO. 17 and 82. PO. 22/A.

⁵⁸ *Tugiyani*, Berezov district. Sung by: Kostina, Vera Grigorievna, 44 years old. Collected by: Schmidt, Éva, August 1980. AP 12194/a, 14th line.

⁵⁹ *Voki-rap-yagun*. Sung by: Sopotchina, Rimma Nikitichna, 28 years old. Collected by: Lázár, Katalin, June 1992. The first half of line *b* is a variant of the first half of line *a* four notes lower; the second half of the lines is almost identical.

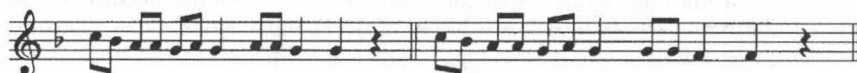
⁶⁰ *Polnovat*, Berezov district. Sung by: Smolin, Grigori Prokopyevich, 75 years old. Collected by: Schmidt, Éva, August 1982. 82. PO. 25. lines 22–23.

Since collecting work is still being carried out among the Northern Ostyaks and a substantial quantity of music recordings await notation of text and melody, the above few examples can only be regarded as preliminary questions. Comparison of the two stocks of Ostyak songs requires further research. One thing that can already be seen is that, like their language, their melodies also differ, although the manner of construction is identical in both ethnic groups.

EASTERN AND SOUTHERN OSTYAK MELODIES

I used Konda (Southern) Ostyak melodies published by Patkanov for the following comparisons. Unfortunately these are known only from publication and so we did not have access to recorded material. The Southern Ostyak ethnic group has now practically disappeared and consequently, although there is no way to check the 20 melodies given (of the 23, 3 are Vogul), they are a treasure of inestimable value, providing information on the music of the Southern Ostyaks.

There is no direct coincidence of melodies here, but together with the differences, there are also similarities. The melodies consist of short lines or motifs and, unlike those usually found among the Eastern Ostyaks, are generally of regular structure. There are many line pairs with a 2-1 cadence and the melody units often consist of four lines. Unfortunately, we cannot know whether this regularity really existed in the songs of the Southern Ostyaks or whether it was imposed by the person accustomed to strophic music who did the notation.



As regards the set of notes, they are very close to the melodies of the Eastern Ostyaks: the greatest number (8) have a *r-d-t-l-s*, pentachordic set of notes, but there are 2 *d-t-l-s*, and 3 *r-d-t-l*, tetrachordic, 2 *m-r-d-t-l*, pentachordic, and one each of *m-r-t-l-s*, pentatonic and *m-r-d-t-l-s*, and *r-d-t-l-s-fa*, hexachordic and also a Mixolydian melody.

It can be seen that, even if it is not possible to draw far-reaching conclusions from the 20 melodies, they do not refute our two main hypotheses. One is that the different Ostyak ethnic groups had their own distinctive stock of melodies. The other is that these melodies were generally of small range, had a loose (not strophic) structure and repeated motifs, with scales that were chordic rather than tonic, although at the same time they also had diatonic melodies with a larger range.

AIMS OF THE COLLECTING AND RESEARCH WORK

As we have seen, the music of the Ostyaks is rich and colourful, however little it may appear to be so at first hearing. It is different from what we are accustomed to in Europe: the manner of performance and intonation are different, the set of notes is different, the manner of construction is different. It is precisely this difference that makes re-

search on this music important. It is worth studying this music to broaden our picture of the world, as has been done with the study of the folk music of different European peoples. The songs of the Ostyaks – like their language, way of life, beliefs, etc. – are part of the cultural heritage of our world and as such it is worth becoming acquainted with them and making them known to others.

The Ostyaks are little known internationally; this is probably one of the main reasons why those who would have the possibility of doing so make little effort to solve, or at least ease, their problems. Perhaps the best way to change this situation is to show the world that they have culture and values. We can help them in this especially because the work has to be done quickly. Time is short: fewer and fewer of them are living in the traditional way and as a result the culture associated with this life is rapidly disappearing.

The aims and tasks mentioned so far are mainly of scholarly significance: to enrich the cultural knowledge of mankind. This can be of benefit to the Ostyak people too in different ways, but the most important aim is their survival. It is not only that there is not enough space for them to continue their traditional life of hunting, fishing and reindeer herding, or that the natural environment is being increasingly polluted with oil and so the stocks of game and fish and even of reindeer lichen are declining. The problem is more complex: two different cultures and two ways of life are clashing as the semi-nomadic hunting and fishing life of the Ostyaks comes up against the settled, agricultural and industrialised economy of the Russians. The question arises of what makes the Ostyaks what they are, what gives them their identity and how they can remain themselves even under the present conditions.

It is probable that the fate of the Ostyaks will soon be a changed way of life and migration to the towns. How will they be able to preserve their national consciousness and self-identity then? It will help if their language and songs survive.

However, these are different from European songs, they cannot simply be learned from recordings. The Ostyak children must be immersed in the linguistic, poetic and musical culture in which the older people compose and improvise these songs, and they have to learn this manner of construction for both the texts and melodies. If we become acquainted with this, the possibility arises of relearning them and handing them on. This is one of the most important aims of the present research.

SUMMING UP

The Finno-Ugrian kinship is not a general, cultural, genetic, anthropological kinship, but a linguistic kinship. It is obvious from the questions frequently put to the researcher and teacher that people are not made aware of this fact in Hungary and this is the reason why some people believe that this relationship can be refuted on the basis of the anthropological characteristics of the Ob-Ugrians or more recent genetic tests.

As a result of the research work done so far, it can be said that although there are similarities (similar style stratum, manner of construction, etc.) between the Hungarian and the Ob-Ugrian songs, their musical worlds are rather remote.

The role of singing is different among the Eastern Ostyaks from what it is for Hungarians. Its cultic character is much stronger: its function is principally to transmit human

speech to the gods. Perhaps this is the reason why (apart from Russian children's songs sung to texts translated into the Ostyak language) we do not find any children's games with songs among the Ob-Ugrians: it is possible that singing for them still has a far too serious ritual importance for it to be performed by children.⁶¹

The occasions for singing are different: the Ostyaks do not have calendar feasts and they do not celebrate the major events in human life (birth, name days, marriage, death) with singing either. The shaman ceremony and bear feast are unknown among the Hungarians.

Improvisation has now almost entirely disappeared from Hungarian vocal folk music: its traces are preserved only in a few melodies imitating instruments (e.g. the bagpipe) and a few genres (e.g. laments, lullabies, children's songs). In contrast, the Eastern Ostyaks have not yet reached songs with a solidified, strophic structure; they recreate their songs on each occasion. Apart from its scholarly interest, this also means that their vocal culture (too) is threatened with extinction since even the numbers speaking the language are declining and singing requires much more than a knowledge of the spoken language: the singer must learn practically another Ostyak language and a musical language and must be able to use them in a creative way.

Their songs reveal a rich and colourful musical world, even if it is different from the one we are accustomed to in Europe. Their melodies have a smaller range and the repetition of motifs or lines plays a greater part. However, improvisation brings the possibility of variety and this could be the reason why, even with the relatively small number of melodies studied, practically each melody represents a separate type. Their manner of performance is amazingly suggestive so that even the listener who does not understand their language is impressed by the bear feast which lasts several days and the songs lasting two or three hours without interruption.

I think that this music is worth to preserve and to introduce it to the peoples of the world, as it has happened in the case of shamanism. Besides this it may help the Ostyaks and Voguls to preserve their national identity, which we try to help as much as we can.

ABBREVIATIONS

- AP = Pyral record in the archive of the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
 MSFOu = Mémoires de la Société Finno-Ougrienne (Helsinki)
 MNT = Magyar Népzene Tára (Collection of Hungarian Folk Music)
 PO = Polnovat, Northern Ostyak settlement

LITERATURE

- AHLQUIST, August
 1883: *Unter Wogulen und Ostjaken*. Helsinki
 AUSTERLITZ, Robert
 1966: *Text and Melody in Mansi Songs*. Current Musicology. Spring. 37–57
 BRASSAI, Sámuel
 1860: *Magyar vagy cigány zene? [Hungarian or Gypsy music?]* Kolozsvár

⁶¹ There may also be a practical reason for the lack of games with songs: there are not sufficient (10–12) children of approximately the same age in a settlement area for such games. However, these two possible reasons are not mutually exclusive.

C. NAGY, Béla

- 1946: *Egy osztják népdal változata. [Variant of an Ostyak folk song]* Énekszó 73. 6–8. Budapest
 1947: *A magyar népdal eredete. [Origin of the Hungarian folk song]* Zenei Szemle. 211–213. Budapest
 1959: *Adatok a magyar népdal kialakulásához. [Concerning the development of the Hungarian folk song]* Zenetudományi Tanulmányok VII. 605–689. Budapest
 1961: *A siratódallam. [The lament melody]* Ethnographia LXXII. 385–404. Budapest
 1965: *Finnisch-ugrische Elemente in der ungarischen Volksmusik.* CIFU II. Pars II. 258–273. Helsinki

CSEPREGI, Márta

- 1995: *Surgutin hantien karhulaulujen kielenpiirteitä.* FU 8. Pars IV. 271–275. Jyväskylä

HAJDÚ, Péter

- 1960: *Szöveg és dallam viszonya a szamojéd énekekben. [Relationship between text and melody in Samoyed songs]* Néprajz és nyelvtudomány 3–4. 19–29. Budapest
 1976: *Északi szamojéd epikus énekek. [Epic songs of the Northern Samoyed]* Ethnographia LXXXVII. 488–495. Budapest

HONTI, László

- 1978: *Tromagani osztják szövegek. [Ostyak texts from Tromyegan]* Nyelvtudományi Közlemények 80. 127–154. Budapest
 1984: *Chrestomathia ostiacica.* Budapest

HOPPÁL, Mihály

- 1975: *Az uráli népek hiedelemvilága és a sámánizmus. [The beliefs of the peoples of the Urals and shamanism]* Uráli népek. Ed. Hajdú, Péter. 211–234. Budapest

HOPPÁL, Mihály (ed.)

- 1988: *Mitológiai Enciklopédia I. [Encyclopaedia of Mythology I]* Budapest

KÁLMÁN, Béla

- 1976: *Wogulische Texte mit einem Glossar.* Budapest

KANNISTO, Artturi

- 1951–1963: *Wogulische Volksdichtung I–VI.* Bearbeitet und herausgegeben von M. Liimola. MSFOu. 101, 109, 111, 114, 116, 134. Helsinki

KODÁLY, Zoltán

- 1971: *A magyar népzene. [Hungarian folk music]* Budapest

LÁZÁR, Katalin

- 1982: *Egy osztják dallam két változata. [Two variants of an Ostyak melody]* Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1982. 301–322. Budapest
 1984: *Variálás az osztják énekekben. [Variation in Ostyak songs]* Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1984. 199–208. Budapest
 1986a: *On a New Ostyak Folksong Collection.* International Kodály Conference Budapest 1982. 245–258. Budapest
 1986b: *Tercingadozás és hangkészlet az obi-ugor népzeneben. [Instability of the third and the set of notes in Ob-Ugrian folk music]* Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1986. 139–148. Budapest
 1987: *Egy motívikus szerkesztésű osztják dallamtypusról. [A type of Ostyak melody constructed from motifs]* Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1987. 213–227. Budapest
 1988a: *Structure and Variation in Ob-Ugrian Folk Music.* Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae 30. 288–296. Budapest
 1988b: *Kísérlet az obi-ugor dallamok rendszerezésére I. Fél sorokból és egyféle sorból építkező dallamok. [Attempt to classify Ob-Ugrian melodies I. Melodies constructed from half lines and one kind of line.]* Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1988. 157–168. Budapest
 1989: *Kísérlet az obi-ugor dallamok rendszerezésére II. Két- és háromféle sorból építkező dallamok. [Attempt to classify Ob-Ugrian melodies II. Melodies constructed from two and three kinds of lines]* Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1989. 207–220.
 1994a: *Some Problems of Notating and Analyzing Ostyak Folk Melodies.* Explorations in Finnish and Hungarian Folk Music and Dance Research. Vol. I. 112–122. Kaustinen
 1994b: *Aims, Tasks and Cooperation in the Research of Ob-Ugrian Vocal Folk Music.* Perspektiven der Musikethnologie. 74–78. Munich
 1995a: *The Songs of the Eastern Khanty.* FU 8. Pars VI. 215–220. Jyväskylä
 1995b: *Antal Reguly and his Collection of Mansi Songs.* FU 8. Pars VIII. 74–78. Jyväskylä

LÁZÁR, Katalin – SCHMIDT, Éva

- 1992: *Medvének A. Kannisto gyűjtéséből. [Bear song collected by A. Kannisto]* Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1990–1991. 201–212. Budapest

- MAZUR, O. V. – SOLDATOVA, G. Je.
1993: *Hantiyskiye i mansiyskiye pesni*. Novosibirsk
- NYÍRKOS, István
1994: *Nyelvrokonaink. [Peoples related to us by language]* Élet és Tudomány 1994/41. 1283–1285. Budapest
- PATKANOV, S. K.
1897, 1900: *Die Irtisch-ostjaken und ihre Volkspoesie I–II*. St. Petersburg
- RÜÜTEL, Ingrid
1995: *Estonian Folk Music Layers in the Context of Ethnic Relations*. FU 8. Pars I. 117–141. Jyväskylä
- SCHMIDT, Éva
1983: *Egy kis-szoszvai osztják medveének. [An Ostyak bear feast song from the area of the Little Sosva]* Nyelvtudományi Közlemények 85/1. 9–33. Budapest
- SONKOLY, István
1940: *A vogul és osztják zene. [Vogul and Ostyak music]* Néprokonsági Dolgozatok 7. 3–12. Budapest
- STEINITZ, Wolfgang
1976: *Ostjakologische Arbeiten*. Bd. II. Budapest
- SZABOLCSI, Bence
1933: *Osztják hősdalok – magyar siratók melódiái. [Melodies of Ostyak epic songs – Hungarian laments]* Ethnographia XLIV. 71–75. Budapest
1934: *Népvándorláskori elemek a magyar népzeneben. [Elements from the time of the Great Migrations in Hungarian folk music]* Ethnographia XLV. 138–156. Budapest
1937: *Osztják és vogul dallamok. [Ostyak and Vogul melodies]* Ethnographia XLVIII. 340–345. Budapest
1954: *Magyar őstörténet – magyar népzene. [Hungarian prehistory – Hungarian folk music]* Népzene és történelem. 132–144. Budapest
- SZOMJAS-SCHIFFERT, György
1965: *A finnugorság ősi zenéje nyomában. [Tracing the ancient music of the Finno-Ugrians]* Budapest
1976: *A finnugor zene vitája 1–2. [The debate on Finno-Ugrian music 1–2]* Budapest
- SZŐKE, Péter
1959: *A manyisi-hanti népzenei dallamosság belső fejlődése. [Internal development of melody in Vogul-Ostyak folk music]* Budapest
- VARGYAS, Lajos
1953: *Ugor réteg a magyar népzeneben. [Ugrian stratum in Hungarian folk music]* Zenetudományi Tanulmányok I. 611–657. Budapest
1980: *A magyar zene őstörténete II. [Prehistory of Hungarian music II]* Ethnographia LXXXI. 192–234. Budapest
1988: *A magyar zene őstörténete. [Prehistory of Hungarian music]* Magyarország zenetörténete I. Középkor. 18–57. Budapest
- VÄISÄNEN, Armas Otto
1937: *Wogulische und ostjakische Melodien*. Helsinki
1939: *Untersuchungen über die Obugrischen Melodien*. Helsinki, 1939
- VIKÁR, László
1975: *A finnugor népek zenéje. [Music of the Finno-Ugrian peoples]* Uráli népek. 305–320. Budapest
1977: *A magyar népzene volgai török és finnugor kapcsolatai. [Volga Turkic and Finno-Ugrian links of Hungarian folk music]* Magyar őstörténeti tanulmányok. Budapest
1981: *Két osztják ének. [Two Ostyak songs]* Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1981. 287–307. Budapest
1984: *Finnugor és török népek zenéje [Music of Finno-Ugrian and Turkic peoples]* (record album). Hungaroton LPX 18087–89. Budapest
1993: *A volga-kámai finnugorok és törökök dallamai. [Melodies of Finno-Ugrians and Turkic peoples of the Volga-Kama region]* Budapest
- VIKÁR, László – BEREZCKI, Gábor
1971: *Cheremis Folksongs*. Budapest
1979: *Chuvash Folksongs*. Budapest
1989: *Votyak Folksongs*. Budapest
- VLADKINA-BACHINSKAYA, N. M.
1977: *Bogatir Kedrovoje jadrisko*. In: Soome-ugri rahvaste muusikapärandist. 484–497. Tallinn
- ZSIRAI, Miklós
1937: *Finnugor rokonságunk. [Our Finno-Ugrian kin]* Budapest

REVIEWS

Edit VÉRTES: Szibériai nyelvrokonaink hitvilága (Belief-world of our Siberian linguistic kindred). Tankönyvkiadó, Budapest 1990, 404 pp.

This is the first monograph in Hungarian summing up the belief-world of a part of the Uralian peoples, the Ob-Ugrians and Samoyeds, to appear since Aladár Bán's book in 1908 (*A finnugor népek pogány istentisztelete* [The heathen worship of the Finno-Ugrian peoples]). There have been studies and volumes of studies by Hungarian and foreign authors, but Edit Vértés is the first to undertake such a major summing up.

There is a vast body of literature on Ob-Ugrian and Samoyed mythology. Research can be divided into three periods. The first lasted from the beginnings to the end of the 19th century. The information came from travellers, and later from the officials and priests taking part in the conquest and conversion of Siberia. These data are not reliable because they are second- or third-hand and contain many misunderstandings arising from a lack of knowledge.

Organised, scholarly collecting work began in the late 19th and early 20th century with the participation of Finnish and Hungarian scholars. The collectors were linguists but they realised that the linguistic material is inseparable from the ethnographic context and that the finest manifestation of language is in folklore. As a result, they noted down material of inestimable value from their informants for folklore studies. Leading figures of this period were the Finns K. F. Karjalainen, H. Paasonen, A. Kannisto, T. Lehtisalo and Kai Donner and prominent Hungarian scholars were Bernát Munkácsi and József Pápay.

The 1917 October revolution brought a turning point in Siberian research too. Siberia became a closed territory and foreign researchers were not allowed to take part in fieldwork. Research was also differentiated as linguistics and folkloristics became separate disciplines. The Soviet researchers collected their ethnographic data in Russian, without an interest in the language. There were, of course, exceptions, such as V. Chernetsov. It was difficult to obtain publications issued in the Soviet Union, and maintaining contacts also came up against obstacles. Among others Vilmos Diószegi and later Mihály Hoppál, in part continuing Diószegi's work, did a lot to make the results of Soviet mythology research known internationally.

Another new period began in the nineties. The possibility to do fieldwork once again opened up, together with the perspective that the ethnographic collecting work could become part of the process of growing awareness and self-organisation of the Siberian peoples.

There are no sharp dividing lines between these periods. In each period there are individuals who would fit in better to the previous or the next generation. Examples are the Hungarian Antal Reguly and the Finn M. A. Castrén, the pioneers, who collected in the middle of the 19th century. Another is S. Patkanov who, although an official, showed surprising expertise in discussing linguistic and ethnographic questions, or W. Steinitz who was able to collect in Siberia in the 1930s in the same way his predecessors had done in the early years of the century. However, most of the material collected at the turn of the century remained in the collectors' legacy and has still not all been published and in this way is only slowly able to influence scholarship. In contrast, the ideal researcher of the latest period, Éva Schmidt was twenty years ahead of her time. Armed with a high level of language, linguistic and ethnographic knowledge, she would have been ready in the seventies to carry out successful collecting work in co-operation with the local people, but it is only now, when she has been living and working in Siberia for six years, that the possibility for this has really opened up.

Such a vast and varied literature inevitably calls for selection. Edit Vértés had to keep her material within manageable proportions. An obvious option was to select the period to which her linguistic work is linked. As the curator of the legacy of Karjalainen and Paasonen, and more recently of Pápay, she feels most at home in the scholarly literature of the late 19th and early 20th century. Her book is thus based on the mythological overviews written by the major collectors of the turn of the century and the early 20th century, and on the actual folklore texts. Her main sources for the discussion of Ob-Ugrian mythology are the works of Karjalainen, Kannisto and Munkácsi (Karjalainen, K.F.: *Jugralaisten uskonto. Suomen suvun uskonnot*. Porvoo 1918. 601; in German: *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker I–III*. FFC 41,44,63, Helsinki 1921, 1922, 1927; Kannisto, A.–Virtanen, E.A.–Liimola, M.: *Materialien zur Mythologie der Wogulen*. MSFOu 113. Helsinki 1958; Munkácsi, Bernát: *Vogul népköltési gyűjtemény* [Vogul folk poetry collection] I–IV. Budapest 1892–1921). In presenting Samoyed mythology, she relies mainly on the work of T. Lehtisalo (*Mythologie der Jurak-Samojeden*. MSFOu 53. Helsinki 1924). As the very lengthy list of literature and the footnote references show, the author is able to draw on a knowledge of thousands of pages of literature and folk poetry material.

The book falls into two main parts. The first (pp. 5–222) shows the belief-world on the basis of sources, while the second (pp. 223–334) gives extracts with a mythic content from Vogul, Ostyak and Nenets folk poetry. This is followed by 32 pages with 98 figures, then abbreviations, literature, name and subject index (pp. 335–398); the latter, with 4500 entries, makes the work a lexicon of the Siberian belief-world. The detailed list of contents (pp. 399–404) also helps the reader to find his way around the book.

The discussion of mythology is broken down into the following main chapters: Gods, spirits, idols (pp. 19–92), Creation, origin (pp. 93–113), Man and his relation to the phenomena of the world (pp. 115–169), Other living beings (pp. 171–186), The sha-

man (pp. 187–220), Summing up (pp. 221–222). The author – very wisely – does not analyse the phenomena, nor does she attempt to reconstruct some kind of proto-Ob-Ugrian or Finno-Ugrian belief-world. If the borrowing is obvious, e.g. from the Pravoslav religion, she mentions the fact. It can be seen that the reader is given a well classified, excellently documented handbook. The author only rarely undertakes to correct her sources. For example, she regards Munkácsi's claim that the Watchman of the World is identical with the Sun God, as improbable (p. 61).

In the second part of the book the author presents previously unpublished legends, sacred legends, shaman songs, prayers of sacrifice and bear feast plays in literary translations, adding to the already abundant folk poetry material. The Vogul texts are from publications by Munkácsi, Béla Kálmán and Kannisto. There are five texts from the collection of Vogul folk poetry, two of them collected by Reguly. She has taken a tale from *Wogulische Texte mit einem Glossar* by Béla Kálmán (Budapest 1976) and the other twenty-four texts are from various volumes of Kannisto–Liimola: *Wogulische Volksdichtung* (MSFOu. 101, 109, 114, 116). Ostyak folk poetry is represented by prayers of sacrifice in the Southern dialect collected by Karjalainen, two Southern epics, one collected by Paasonen, the other by Patkanov, a brief Northern tale from Steinitz and one from Ahlqvist. The source of Nenets folk poetry is Lehtisalo's thick volume (*Juraksamojedische Volksdichtung* MSFOu. 90. Helsinki 1947). Thirty-two texts are given here, as well as four songs of magic collected by Castrén (Castrén, M. A.–Lehtisalo, T.: *Samojedische Sprachmaterialien*, MSFOu. 122. Helsinki 1960).

The literary translation of the Ostyak verses is the work of Rózsa T. Lovas, while the prose texts were translated by the author. The translations are faithful to the original texts and preserve the characteristics of the original style (repetitions, *figura etimologica*), but their language is readable and fluent. The folk poetry texts have been chosen as illustrations to the first part of the book. In all cases, footnotes refer to the relevant passages.

Edit Vértés is well known for the unfailing respect of data and the philological precision of her writings. She is true to herself here too. It follows from the nature of the book that the place of origin of practically all data can be identified. Edit Vértés gives this identification herself with the very precise method of notation used. The footnotes to the chapter headings refer to all the sources on the subject concerned, giving page numbers, while the various statements made within the chapters are also provided with notes. This cannot, of course, be taken to extremes. It seems to me that Edit Vértés has found the delicate balance between philological precision and readability. This book not only serves the dissemination of authentic knowledge but is also a basic work facilitating further research, sparing researchers the time-consuming work of making notes. And since the phenomena in mythology too are closely interrelated – it is not possible, for example, to speak about gods without cults, or of world-image without cosmogonic notions – the author also makes numerous cross-references within the book.

It can be seen, among others, from the sources listed that the Ob-Ugrian material far exceeds the quantity of Samoyed material. The author deals with the different themes on the basis of the Ob-Ugrian data; the Samoyed data merely serve to supplement these. Here, Samoyed means principally Nenets, or in the wake of Kai Donner, Selkup. The author rarely refers to Enets phenomena and there is scarcely any mention of the Ngana-

san. However, if Edit Vértés used Dolgih's volumes on Enets mythology and folklore she could also have taken into account the Nganasan tales found there (*Mifologicheskiye skazki i istoricheskiye predaniya nganasan*. Moscow 1976), or at least those which also appeared in volume II of the anthology *Finnugor-szamojéd (uráli) regék és mondák* [Finno-Ugrian and Samoyed (Uralian) legends and sacred legends] (Budapest, 1984. 227–272). Mention could have been made of their beliefs, differing from those of the others, concerning the origin of the earth, the origin of idols, or the role of the god Nikolka – Saint Nicholas – who is “the father of all living beings”.

The use made of more recent sources is only incidental. She refers to the Soviet researchers only on the basis of the works of Dolgih already mentioned, and to two other authors (A. A. Popov and G. O. Verbov, but without mentioning their names) who published in *Glaubenswelt und Folklore der sibirischen Völker* (Budapest 1963) edited by Vilmos Diószegi. In two cases she gives information that probably derives from *Das Land Jugorien* (Moscow–Leipzig 1982) by Zoya Sokolova. The work would have been more uniform if the author had left out these references and given what she promises: a description of the belief-world at the turn of the century.

Since the author gives only information based on written sources, the reader may form the mistaken impression that only the priests persecuted practice of the archaic faith and that once the church had been forced into the background, the way opened for the veneration of idols. In reality, we have only oral information on how many shamans were imprisoned or executed during the seventy years of Soviet rule and how many places of sacrifice were destroyed, either for ideological reasons or simply for plunder. Since it is not possible or still very difficult to document all this destruction, the book reflects only part of the truth.

In conclusion, I can only repeat what has already been stressed above: this work is a very important handbook of Finno-Ugrian and folklore studies, for both university education and the educated general reader.

Márta CSEPREGI

V. M. Kulemzin–N. V. Lukina: Знакомтесь: Ханты (Znakomtes': Khanty) Nauka Novosibirsk 1992. 136 pp. and A. M. Takhtueva: Материальная культура юганских ханты (Material'naja kul'tura yuganskikh khanty) Severnyj dom, Surgut 1993. 80 pp.)

This report concerns two ethnographic, scholarly publications for general readers, dealing with the Ostyaks and produced in a Russian workshop. We know that the Institute of Ethnography at the Tomsk University has for decades been systematically mapping the material and spiritual culture of the Ostyaks. For over twenty years Vladislav Mihailovich Kulemzin and Nadezhda Vasilevna Lukina have been visiting the Khanty settlements. Because of the geographical proximity they have carried out research mainly in the Eastern, Vah and Vasyugan territory, but they are familiar with the whole of the Ostyak-speaking territory. Numerous books and articles they have published both inde-

pendently and together bear witness to this, and the institute's rich film archive is also well known.

The author of the other book, Alexandra Matveevna Takhtueva works in Khanty-Mansiyskiy, in the institute known officially as: Institute of Scientific Research on the Social-economic and National-cultural Rebirth of the Ob-Ugrian Peoples. Here, it is mainly representatives of the local Ostyak and Vogul intelligentsia who deal with collecting, studying of the material and practical application of the information.

These two books provide the opportunity for interesting comparisons from a number of angles. While Lukina and Kulemzin present the material and spiritual culture of the entire Ostyak people with the inevitable simplification, but with a general sociological-ethnographic background and also pointing out other Siberian relationships, Takhtueva explores in thorough detail the material culture of an Eastern Khanty group numbering 847 persons, living along the middle reaches of the Ob, in the Surgut district, in the valley of the Great and Little Yugan, precisely recording the work processes.

Kulemzin and Lukina state that they wrote their book, at the request of the Ostyaks, for Russians, as the title of the book indicates, by way of introduction. They sum up the most important facts about Ostyak society, forest and water life, handicrafts and reindeer herding, present the Ostyak belief-world and customs and also cover folk poetry and music. They frequently refer to the earlier and contemporary foreign and Russian literature. They also introduce the reader to real individuals – famous hunters, loyal informants – the reader can enter their tent in imagination, accompany them when they go hunting, and be present at a healing ceremony. Besides providing general information, the book attempts to dispel prejudices arising from ignorance, such as that the Ostyaks are lazy, untidy or simple-minded.

The authors also attempt to show the history of phenomena: how today's dwelling houses evolved, how the wild reindeer were domesticated (throwing light on the link between Ostyak reindeer herding and horse herding in the Ugrian period), the probable precedents of the present pantheon. They also refer to similar customs found among the neighbouring peoples.

It is not always clear which group of the highly varied Ostyak people is being discussed, a fact that helps to make the book more readable but detracts from its precision. Although in the first chapter the authors outline the linguistic and ethnographic differences between the Northern and Eastern Ostyaks, limitations of space and consideration for the general reader did not allow them to specify the precise places of all the phenomena discussed. The linguistic data cannot always be identified either.

The sparsest chapter is the one devoted to folk poetry. The authors note that the Finnish and Hungarian publication of texts running to many volumes have remained outside the horizon of scholarly work in Russia.

Takhtueva's work deals with the material culture of the Yugan Ostyaks. This ethnic group traditionally engaged in fishing and hunting. Unlike the Tromagan group further north, they do not keep reindeer and this determines both their way of life and dressing. They live a settled life and apart from reindeer skins, other furs and cloth play an important part in their clothing. While Khanty women in other areas sew dresses for them-

selves cut from a single piece, the typical female costume among the Yugan is a caftan-like cloak clasped with a wide belt. They also differ from the more northern groups in that the day cradle is made of wood not birch-bark.

The author gives a detailed description of the materials used for clothing and footwear, the way they are made and decorated and how they are cared for. She writes about the implements, the processing of birch-bark and leather which is traditionally female work, the production of wooden implements which is the men's task and in particular the carving of traps, skis, boats and oars which required great expertise. The reader also learns about the different building types. Among the customs, the author gives a description of traditions associated with consecration of the house and the birth of children. The detailed descriptions are illustrated with her own drawings: the book contains thirty plates, some in colour. It also shows the cut of clothing and footwear, and the decorative motifs used.

The author occasionally gives the names of typically Ostyak objects and phenomena also in her native language, but unfortunately does so only at random (33 Ostyak words occur in the text) and with inconsistent spelling.

One of the interesting features of the booklet is the map on the inside cover showing the inhabited places. The yurts bear the family name of the people living in them. A comparison of this with Munkácsi's map (Vogul folk poetry collection IV/2. p. 64.) gives the surprising result that there has been no decline in the number of villages: Munkácsi (with the help of Károly Pápai) showed twenty settlements beside the Great Yugan, which Takhtueva shows twenty-two, and both show thirteen beside the Little Yugan. Are they, in reality, still all inhabited, despite the fact that the population was moved into four larger villages in the fifties?

Of the two books presented here, one shows the Ostyaks from the outside and the other from the inside. However much time Lukina and Kulemzin may have spent among the Ostyaks, they will always be outsiders who, in cases, are only able to communicate with them through an interpreter. In contrast, Takhtueva herself is a Yugan Ostyak who grew up in this culture, sees it and is able to show it from the inside. Kulemzin and Lukina have great respect for these people who, with the experiences accumulated over thousands of years and thanks to their ingenuity and skill, have created a valuable culture, and they try to pass this respect on to the reader, also an outsider. Takhtueva describes the procedures for making things and draws the patterns as aids for her own people, in the hope that this now disappearing culture can still be revived. At the same time, there is also a tone of defensiveness in her explanations. For example, when describing the day cradle she appears to be slightly offended when citing the studies of Fjodorova and Lukina who write that there are pieces of rotten wood in the bottom of the cradle. In reality, explains Takhtueva, these are the interior of the swamp birch, made soft and spongy by the excessive moisture. Mothers cut them into small pieces, carefully select, dry and smoke them and then place them in the bottom of the cradle where they form an insulating, absorbent, heating layer for the infant. This is how the pieces of rotten wood are seen from the outside and the inside!

The authors of both books agree that this once perfect, peaceful world, in which man

and nature, past, present and future, real and unreal formed a single whole, now exists only in fragments, in a few exceptional places and persons. When describing the phenomena of this traditional culture, verbs must generally be used in the past tense. The influence of so-called civilization is being felt at more and more levels, and for the most part this influence is not to the benefit of the Ostyaks. This is why these books documenting facts and dispelling ignorance are so important.

Márta CSEPREGI

Bibliotheca Pápayensis I–VI. József Pápay's ostjakischer Nachlaß

Eine am Lehrstuhl für Finnougrische Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Debrecen tätige kleine Forschungsgruppe hat die Notizbücher des gleichfalls Debrecener Finnougriken József Pápay (1873–1931) veröffentlicht. Herausgegeben hat sie Frau Professor Edit Vértés. Urprünglich wurden für die Heftserie drei oder vier Bände und später fünf Bände geplant. Die ersten drei Hefte erschienen anlässlich des (7.) internationalen Finnougriken-Kongresses in Debrecen 1990. Im Interesse der internationalen Verwendbarkeit erhielt die Serie ihren lateinischen Titel sowie die Information in deutscher, englischer und russischer Sprache auf dem Innentitel. Alle Bände erschienen in Debrecen als Ausgabe der Lajos-Kossuth-Universität. Im folgenden werden die einzelnen Hefte vorgestellt.

Pápay József ostják hagyatéka (Seristitel)

I. (Probeheft) 1988. 85 S.

Die Einführung von Edit Vértés (in ungarischer, deutscher, englischer und russischer Sprache) erwähnt die Feldarbeiten ungarischer, finnischer und deutscher Forscher bei den Ostjaken. Leider erschienen die meisten der Aufzeichnungen nicht zu Lebzeiten der Sammler, sondern erst Jahrzehnte später, im allgemeinen durch die Mitteilung anderer Forscher was zur Quelle vieler Fehler wurde. Auch Pápay weilte unter den Ostjaken (1898–1899), um die zwischen 1843 und 1845 gesammelten Aufzeichnungen von Antal Reguly zu prüfen und interpretieren, zu übersetzen und herauszugeben. Leider hinderte auch ihn sein Tod daran, so daß er nur beginnen konnte, diese Bände zum Druck vorzubereiten (Regulys ostjakisches Material erschien schließlich 1963). Die Sammlung von Pápay begann man 1934 herauszugeben (bereits als posthumes Buch), mit dem Plan, eine vollständige, mehrsprachige, phonetisch transkribierte, wissenschaftlich kommentierte Ausgabe zu erstellen. Der damalige Band enthält nur die Originaltexte Pápay's und die von ihm selbst stammenden ungarischen Übersetzungen. Von der damaligen Unternehmung unterscheidet sich die heutige erheblich. Es handelt sich um die Faksimiles der mit Bleistift geschriebenen Notizenhefte Pápay's. Wahrscheinlich war dies die letzte Möglichkeit für eine solche Herausgabe, weil die alte Handschrift zunehmend verblaßt und kaum zu lesen ist, wie sich in den Faksimile-Bänden erkennen läßt. All diese Probleme werden in der Einführung behandelt.

Das als Band I bezeichnete *Probeheft* enthält ein einziges Heldenlied (*Lied des Volkes am Nadym-Fluß*) mit 637 Zeilen.

(Heft) II. Heldenlieder I. 1990. 363 S.

Im Heft befindet sich der vollständige Text zweier Lieder, praktisch ohne Kommentar. Die Lieder bestehen aus 1349 bzw. 2081 Zeilen.

(Heft) III. Heldenlieder II. 1990. 329 S.

Auch in diesem Heft befinden sich zwei Lieder mit 1112 bzw. 2219 Zeilen.

(Heft) IV. Heldenlieder Fragmente. 1993. 263 S.

Sieben Aufzeichnungen aus der Obdorsker Umgebung, eine von ihnen ist eigentlich die Ergänzung eines Textes von Regulj. Sechs weitere Texte stammen aus dem Dorf Könyök, und dazu kommt noch ein Liedanfang aus dem Kazym-Gebiet.

(Heft) V. Sagen und Sagenfragmente. 1992. 267 S.

In ihm befinden sich zwanzig (längere oder kürzere) Prosatexte.

(Heft) VI. Volksleben und sonstiges. 1995. 377 S.

Dieser Band unterscheidet sich von den vorigen darin, daß er das von den früheren Auswahlen übriggebliebene Material enthält. Angaben zum Volksglauben und mythologische Aufzeichnungen und das Material von Onomastik, spontanen Gesprächen, Sprichwörter und thematischen Gesprächen folgen aufeinander. Im Anhang finden sich statistische Angaben über die Ostjaken, Signaturen und amtliche Schriftstücke. Das kurze Nachwort von Edit Vértés informiert über die Schwierigkeiten bei der Herausgabe. Sie zählt auf, was alles aus dem ostjakologischen Nachlaß Pápays noch unveröffentlicht geblieben ist, und bringt ihre Hoffnung zum Ausdruck, daß nun auch mit der wissenschaftlichen, text-kritischen Ausgabe dieser Texte begonnen werden kann. Den Abschluß bildet das sich auf alle sechs Bände erstreckende Register der schwer lesbaren (ostjakischen und ungarischen) Wörter und Ausdrücke, womit ein am Beginn der Serie gegebenes Versprechen der Herausgeberin eingelöst wurde.

Selbst wenn diese sechs Hefte auch oft fragmentarische Texte enthalten, zudem ohne Anmerkungen, finden sich auf der Hälfte der anderthalbtausend Seiten bisher unveröffentlichte ostjakische Folklore, und zwar gerade aus der Zeit vor hundert Jahren. Pápay war sehr sorgfältig, er konnte wirklich Ostjakisch, seine ungarischen Übersetzungen sind einfach und genau. All das läßt die Serie zu einer der wichtigsten ostjakischen Textsammlungen werden. Edit Vértés ist der Meinung, die jetzt nicht herausgegebenen Aufzeichnungen und bisher unpublizierten Übersetzungen werden nicht mehr als einige weitere ähnliche Hefte füllen. Da sie auch ethnographisch wichtige Themenkreise berühren, ist ihr baldiges Erscheinen nur zu wünschen. Das Wortmaterial des ostjakischen Wörterbuchs von Pápay würde schon größere Vorbereitungsarbeiten beanspruchen. Den Fachleuten ist bekannt, daß die hier vorgelegten Manuskripte die Reinschriften für eine Veröffentlichung waren und daß neben dem jetzt mitgeteilten (Budapester) Nachlaß auch die Sammlungs-Notizhefte Pápays erhalten blieben (im Handschriftenarchiv des Reformierten Kollegiums von Debrecen). Es bleibt also auch für die folgende Generation der ungarischen Ostjakologen noch genug zu tun.

Vilmos VOIGT

Bibliotheca Pápayensis VII. József Pápays tschuwaschischer Nachlaß

Pápay hat nicht nur bei den Ostjaken gesammelt. Deshalb wurde das Redaktionskomitee der Serie (das anfangs Edit Vértés allein bildete, der sich nach Band IV ihr Nachfolger als Lehrstuhlinhaber für Finnougristik László Jakab anschloß) jüngst durch die Turkologin Klára Agyagási vervollständigt. Sie hat die Dokumente der tschuwaschischen Sammlung Pápays aus den Jahren 1897–1898 in diesem Band herausgegeben. Das kurze Vorwort von Edit Vértés informiert über die Erweiterung der Serie. Klára Agyagási Einleitung stellt die Forschungstätigkeit Pápays bei den Tschuwaschen schon detaillierter dar. Das Titelblatt auch dieses Bandes ist dreisprachig (außer dem Ungarischen), die beiden einführenden Teile sind zweisprachig (ungarisch und deutsch). Hier aber wurde auch das übrige Material ins Deutsche übersetzt, so daß der ganze Band, im Interesse der besseren internationalen Nutzung bilingual ist. Dies ist auch begründet, weil es sich bei diesem Dokument um eine einzigartige, lebensnahe Schrift Pápays handelt. Eigentlich ist es sein Tagebuch des Aufenthaltes bei den Tschuwaschen zwischen dem 11. und 27. Mai 1898, in dem er von seiner Wortsammlungsarbeit in den Dörfern berichtet. Ethnographisch interessant ist, daß er von einzelnen Gegenständen auch einfache Zeichnungen anfertigte. Der Band enthält auch eine tschuwaschische Wörterliste von etwa 300 Wörtern. Pápay liefert eine lebendige Beschreibung des Lebens der Tschuwaschen und macht sehr genaue sprachwissenschaftliche Beobachtungen; seine phonetische Schreibweise ist individuell, aber gut verständlich. Jene Dörfer, in denen er sich einige Tage aufhielt, haben Übergangscharakter zwischen den beiden großen tschuwaschischen Dialekten. Über die Volkskultur kennen wir noch weniger damaliges vergleichendes Material. Es ist bedauerlich, daß die Mitglieder der Zichy-Expedition, deren Teilnehmer er war, keine (?) Photographien gemacht haben.

Der Abdruck von Pápays Tagebuch bricht dort ab, wo er nach Perm weiterreist. Auch daran läßt sich erkennen, daß noch mehr der Veröffentlichung würdiger Nachlaß vorhanden ist. Hoffentlich gelingt es, dafür Geld zu bekommen. Die nun vorliegenden Hefte haben endlich diese vor langer Zeit gesammelten Materialien verfügbar gemacht. Da hier nicht mehr unglaubliche und archaische Epen, sondern Fakten des Alltagslebens zum Vorschein kommen, sind Pápays Angaben auch kulturgeschichtlich wichtig. Die Herausgabe ist sorgfältig, nur könnte die Quellenbehandlung noch eine Nuance leichter identifizierbar sein: wo und mit welcher Signatur Pápays Texte zu finden sind, wer die vermutlichen Vortragenden der einzelnen Folkloretexte waren usw. Dies hätte auch jetzt mitgeteilt werden können, schon vor der „kritischen“ Ausgabe.

Übrigens wird aus kaum von den erwähnten Ausgaben gesonderten Gründen die Ungarische Akademie der Wissenschaften am 29.–30. Mai 1998 in Debrecen eine Pápay-Gedenksitzung veranstalten, deren zwei einführende Vorträge (von Edit Vértés und Klára Agyagási) gerade seinen ostjakischen und tschuwaschischen Nachlaß behandeln werden.

Vilmos VOIGT

Beke Ödön: Mari nyelvjárási szótár (Tscheremissisches Dialektwörterbuch). I–II. Szombathely (Savariae) 1997. 612 S. (Bibliotheca Ceremissica IV/1–2)

Ein auf eine sehr lange Vergangenheit zurückblickendes, grundlegend wichtiges Fachbuch ist erschienen. Der sich eigentlich mit der tscheremissischen (Mari-) Sprache beschäftigende Gelehrte Ödön Beke schrieb schon vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg seine tscheremissische Sprachlehre und sammelte dann während des Krieges unter nach Ungarn aus dem Zarenreich Rußland gelangten Kriegsgefangenen tscheremissischer Muttersprache. Seine Volksdichtungs-Textaufzeichnungen sind, wenn auch nicht vollständig, bis heute wesentlich herausgegeben worden. Sein Hauptwerk aber, das sich auf viele Dialekte erstreckende tscheremissische Wörterbuch, wurde zwar jahrzehntelang bearbeitet, konnte aber bisher nicht erscheinen.

Schon das Titelblatt seiner jetzigen Ausgabe enthält den Hinweis auf die Arbeit von Generationen. Selbstverständlich trägt das Wörterbuch den Namen Bekes, hat er doch die Textbeispiele gesammelt, und auch die Veröffentlichungsweise folgt seinen Prinzipien. Später arbeiteten seine Mitarbeiter und Schüler an den Wortartikeln (die jetztige Ausgabe weist darauf mit der Formulierung hin: „unter Mitarbeit von Zsófia M. Velenyák und †József Erdődi“). Dann aber unterblieb diese Tätigkeit für lange Zeit, bis schließlich jetzt Gábor Bereczki die viele Überraschungen bietenden und von Ungleichmäßigkeiten zeugenden Manuskripte zum Druck vorbereitete. Als letzte hat sie die (Mari) Finnougristin Margarita Kuznecova in Szombathely überarbeitet, präzisiert und aktualisiert. Nach den alten Plänen sollten die tscheremissischen Wörter mit ungarischen Bedeutungen versehen werden, jetzt dagegen erhielten sie auch die deutschen Bedeutungen, eigentlich um die internationale Verwendbarkeit des Wörterbuches zu sichern. Dies und allgemein die gesamte Szombathelyer Finnougristik ist János Pusztay zu danken (auf das alles wird in folgender Form hingewiesen: „Neu redigiert von Gábor Bereczki, bearbeitet von Margarita Kuznecova, herausgegeben von János Pusztay“). Die kurzen Einleitungen des Bandes weisen auf diese Umstände hin (deutsch) und geben weitere praktische Informationen (z. B. die Liste der Dörfer/Dialekte, die aufgearbeitet wurden, das tscheremissische Alphabet in Bekes Transkription usw.) – heute, natürlich, bereits auf Deutsch. All das ist tatsächlich notwendig, um das Wörterbuch benutzen zu können.

Die ersten beiden Bände (mit fortlaufender Seitenzählung) reichen vom Buchstaben *A* bis zum Buchstaben *J*. In Kenntnis des von Beke verwendeten tscheremissischen Alphabets bedeutet dies mit Sicherheit noch weitere vier bis fünf ähnliche Bände. Die Tatsache, daß Bekes tscheremissisches Wörterbuch manchmal eher einem ethnographischen Lexikon als einem Touristenwörterbuch ähnelt, war auch bisher schon jedem Interessierten bekannt. Aber bis in welche Tiefe es ein Monument dieser traditionellen (und seither selbst an Ort und Stelle bereits vergangenen) Lebensweise ist, läßt sich leicht beweisen. Auf der ersten Seite des ersten Heftes findet sich beispielsweise der Wortartikel *qβa-kumdâr*: ‚der Brautmutter auf der Hochzeit für die Ernährung der Braut (als Säugling) gezahltes Lösegeld‘, auf der ersten Seite des zweiten Heftes der Wortartikel *eyerťše*: ‚Hafermehlkuchen ‚aus Hafermehl bereitetes Gebäck‘. ... Beide enthalten eine ganze Reihe von volkskundischen Angaben. Und da die Bedeutung des Stichwortes ungarisch

angegeben (*szoptatódíj* bzw. *zablisztsütemény*) ist, welcher der weitere Text auf Deutsch folgt, kann eben auch der ungarische Volkskundler oder Folklorist all dies verwenden. Tut er es, wird ihm ein einzigartiges Erlebnis zuteil: wie mit einer Zeitmaschine reist er in die Welt eines verwandten Volkes mit den entwickeltsten Ackerbauern in Rußland.

Ich könnte Geld darauf verwetten, daß es einmal einen jungen Ungarn geben wird, der den Band „*Ethnoceremissica Bekeanea*“ schreibt. Bisher hatte ich geglaubt, daß es keine bessere Einführung in das Leben eines verwandten Volkes gebe als das wogulische bzw. ostjakische Wörterbuch von Munkácsi (und Fokos). Möglicherweise werden wir nach der vollständigen Publizierung des Wörterbuches für Bekes monumentale Angabenfülle votieren. Endlich – denn Generationen haben endlich das Zettelmateriale des Meisters zugänglich gemacht, das (auch) deshalb so ein großes Durcheinander darstellte, weil es so viel Durcheinanderzubringen gab! (Es ist auch kein Zufall, daß zwischen diesen Zetteln fast ein ganzer Band verloren geglaubter tscheremissischer Folkloretexte versteckt war.) Dies fiel gar nicht auf, weil das gesamte Wörterbuch eine folkloristisch-ethnographische Schatzgrube ist.

Vilmos VOIGT

Folia Uralica Debreceniensia 1–4 (1989–1997)

Die ungarische Finnougristik ist seit ihren Anfängen auch für die Volkskunde im weiten Sinne wirklich wichtig. Da ich dies hier nicht ausführlich erörtern will, sei mir erlaubt, mich als Beispiel nur darauf zu berufen, daß heute die Folkloristen (und Palozen-Forscher) selbst Antal Regulys Werk – seine wissenschaftsgeschichtlichen Verdienste ganz außer acht lassend – benutzen und daß János Hunfalvy anlässlich seiner Jubiläen von der Ungarischen Ethnographischen Gesellschaft mit viel mehr einhelliger Begeisterung erwähnt zu werden pflegt als in den zunehmend „fischfettverwandschaftsfeindlichen“ ungarischen Sprach- und Urgeschichtsforen.

Zu den größten Verdiensten der ungarischen Finnougristik gehört, daß es nebeneinander verschiedene Schulen und Werkstätten gab (auch wenn das die Teilnehmer gerade umgekehrt bewerteten), die miteinander stritten, auch miteinander konkurrierten und manchmal sogar die Ausweitung der anderen einfach verhinderten – aber aus der Sicht einer fernerer Nachwelt ist das häufig bereits das Konzert desselben Orchesters.

Auch aus persönlicher Erfahrung weiß ich, welch seltsame Überlegungen in den sechziger Jahren in Debrecen umgingen, wie sehr sie unablässig von den Pester Kollegen kritisiert wurden – in Wirklichkeit war davon keine Rede, man erwähnte sie kaum und kannte in der Hauptstadt gar nicht immer ihre Ergebnisse ...

Schon deshalb ist es mir eine ganz besondere Freude zu sehen, daß sich anscheinend die Ausgabenreihe des Finnougrischen Lehrstuhls der Lajos-Kossuth-Universität Debrecen stabilisiert hat (um so mehr, als unsere früheren finnougischen Foren gerade jetzt fast verschwanden: s. z. B. *Nyelvtudományi Közlemények*, und andere noch seltener wurden, s. z. B. die vielen Serien von Szombathely). Manchmal hat man das Empfinden, daß es bei uns in einem Wissenschaftszweig gleichzeitig nur ein Periodikum/Jahrbuch geben

kann: für mehr ist keine Redakteurs-, Autoren- (und neuerdings Finanz-) kapazität vorhanden.

Um etwas konkreter zu werden, als es diese allgemeinen Weisheiten sind, möchte ich auf eine wichtige Ausgabenreihe aufmerksam machen. Da die Bände alle in Debrecen erschienen, gebe ich im weiteren nur ihre Unterschiede an.

1 (1989) Herausgegeben von László Keresztes und Antal Kiss, 142 S. Festschrift für die damals 70jährige Finnougristin (Ostjakologin) und Lehrstuhlinhaberin Edit Vértés. Nach einer Vorstellung der Gefeierten und ihrer Bibliographie folgen Studien (ungarisch, aber mit kurzen Auszügen in „Weltsprachen“) und sogar einige wichtige Buchrezensionen. Die Studien beschäftigen sich nicht nur mit finnougri-schen, sondern auch ungarischen sprachwissenschaftlichen und sogar mit tschuwaschischen Themen. Edit Vértés' Forschungsbereich erstreckt sich auch auf die obugrische Mythologie, die Feldforschung von Bernát Munkácsi wird behandelt, wie auch Arbeiten der Orts- und Personennamenforschung mitgeteilt werden. Antal Kiss geht zwar in seiner unglaublich gründlichen Studie über die ungarische Forschungsgeschichte der obugrischen Sprachen in der Periode 1945–1988 (wie er selbst am Beginn ankündigt) nicht auf ethnographische Publikationen ein – aber auch so ist dies die erste Arbeit, die aufzuarbeiten ist, wenn man über zeitgemäße Kenntnisse verfügen will.

2 (1991) Herausgegeben von László Keresztes, Antal Kiss, Sándor Maticsák, 221 S. Festschrift für die achzigjährige (!) frühere Lehrstuhlinhaberin, Frau Professor Magda Andrassy-Kövesi. In diesem Band gibt es nicht nur ungarischsprachige und sogar Studien von Budapester Autoren, sie erstrecken sich auf vieles vom Verwandtschaftssystem bis zur Theatergeschichte und von der Onomastik bis zur Wissenschaftsgeschichte.

3 (1994) Herausgegeben von László Keresztes, Antal Kiss, Sándor Maticsák, 160 S. In diesem Band erscheint die internationale Tätigkeit des Lehrstuhls in ihrer reinsten Form: dies zeigt sich an vielen fremdsprachlichen Studien, einem die Lehrstuhl-tätigkeit vorstellenden deutschsprachigen Überblick und – leider – Nekrologen, sowie Artikeln zu Geburtstagen. Personennamen, Ortsnamen und Ethnobotanik sind die der Volkskunde am nächsten stehenden Themen. Fortgesetzt wird das Auftreten namhafter ausländischer Gäste an dem über vorzügliche internationale Beziehungen verfügenden Debrecener Universitätslehrstuhl und die Veröffentlichung ihrer Vorlesungen in diesem Band. All das hat auch vor allem für die künftige Kulturgeschichte Bedeutung.

4 (1997) Herausgegeben von István Nyirkos, Antal Kiss, Sándor Maticsák, 260 S. Wenn möglich, so gibt dieser Band ein noch präziseres und auf alles eingehendes Bild von der Arbeit am (und um den) Lehrstuhl. Selbstverständlich kommen Kulturgeschichte, Ethnobotanik, Ortsnamenforschung und anderes auch hier zu Worte. Und (schreibe ich dies für Sprachwissenschaftler, so mit Besorgnis) die besten Arbeiten sind gerade die folkloristischen. Professor Bartens' Überblick des lappischen Märchenschatzes ist das Beste, was zu diesem Thema bisher irgendwo veröffentlicht wurde (da das Stichwort „Lappen“ in der *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* leider nicht davon spricht). (Leider muß ich sogleich hinzufügen, daß er natürlich das ungarische Material nicht gut kennt: die Bände von Ignác Halász, László Szabó, László Keresztes und mir – unter denen ich von meinem am meisten halte, da er folkloristischen Charakter hat.) Doch sind die Überblicke von Márta Csepregi des ostjakischen Bärenfestes und von Raija Bartens

der tscheremissischen (Mari-) Folklore ähnlich geistnregend. Die Studien (und Rezensionen) deuten an, daß diese Ausgabe Rundschau und Forum der gesamten ungarischen Uralistik sein möchte. Und das wäre sehr nötig, heute noch mehr als früher.

Der 3. Band kündigt auch die vorzügliche zehnbändige (!) Ausgabe vom 7. Internationalen Finnougristenkongreß (Debrecen 1990) an, in der mehrere Bände Arbeiten von folkloristisch-ethnographischem Wert enthalten sind.

Und schließlich ist noch eine Dissertation mit den Jahrbüchern ähnelndem Äußeren erschienen, Sándor Maticsák: *A Mordvin Köztársaság településneveinek rendszere* (Das Siedlungsnamensystem der Republik Mordwinien). Debrecen 1995, 204 (+ 3) S. Diese minutiöse Arbeit ist nicht von irgendeinem Fata Morgana-artigen finnougristischen Gesichtspunkt her wichtig, sondern von daher, daß wir das bei einem verwandten Volk in Anwendung gebrachte und später vom Volk (mit gewissen Veränderungen) gebrauchte Siedlungsnamensystem bewerten. Dies hält auch Lehren für Ungarn bereit.

Diese Rezension wurde aus zwei Gründen geschrieben. Einerseits finden sich in den Bänden interessante Themen, der Interessierte wird sie nicht gelangweilt aus der Hand legen. Andererseits möchte ich mich darauf berufen, daß unsere ethnographischen Bibliographien solche Ausgaben nicht enthalten. Das bedeutet, daß wichtige, für unser Nationalbewußtsein am ehesten zuverlässige Angaben und Perspektiven von unserem Fach nicht zur Kenntnis genommen werden. Ohne genaue Kenntnis der Perspektive und der heutigen Forschungen der Finnougristik blieben gerade für uns wichtige Züge der Kultur der finnougrischen Völker unzugänglich. Es ziemt sich, informiert zu sein!

Was nun die stabilisierte Debrecener Ausgabenserie betrifft, kündigte man das Erscheinen der Bände anfangs im Dreijahresrhythmus an. Es ist zu hoffen, daß sie auch öfter erscheinen. Der letzte Band enthält bereits den Nekrolog für Béla Kálmán, den langjährigen Lehrstuhlleiter, in sehr genauer, angabenreicher Form. Man erkennt sehr gut, welch vielseitige, farbige Persönlichkeit einer früheren Generation er war, auf (oder trotz) seiner Lebensbahn mit vielen Umwegen. Die neue Generation der jetzigen Redakteure ist auch kein Kind mehr. Sie sind noch mehr Fachwissenschaftler, offensichtlich ist die genauere Erörterung kleinerer Themen ihre Aufgabe. Wir würden uns allerdings täuschen, wenn wir glaubten, daß ein Volkskunder nur die komprimierten Deklarationen von Lexikonartikeln aus der Finnougristik zu kennen braucht. Heute ist es auch hier schon nötig, daß wir wissen, wo man was in diesem vielschichtigen Forschungsbereich zu suchen hat. Dazu brauchen wir ähnliche Ausgaben (und endlich eine ungarische Uralistikbibliographie).

Vilmos VOIGT

MAGYAR
TUDOMÁNYOS AKADÉMIA
KÖNYVTÁRA