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Cover photo: Synya Khanty woman fetches snow to melt to water,
Western-Siberia, Ov-olang-kurt, 2000. (Photo by ESZTER RUTTKAY-MIKLIÁN)

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Body – Identity – Society

Guest Editor's Remarks on the Thematic Block

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Recently, at the XII International Congress of Finno-Ugric Studies (Oulu, Finland, 2015), within the framework of the 17th Symposium: *Body – Identity – Society: Concepts of the Socially Accepted Body*, there was an interdisciplinary dialogue initiated by Hungarian scholars. The main organizer of the panel was Katalin Juhász, senior research fellow at the Institute of Ethnology in the RCH of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.[1] Scholars from Finland, Hungary, Austria and Russia responded to the call for papers. Following the successful symposium, the participants wished to publish the proceedings. Katalin Juhász selected a handful of representative papers for *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica*. In the present 2016/2 issue of the journal, the revised papers are presented with the guest editorial work of her.

The papers in this thematic block, *Body – Identity – Society: Concepts of the Socially Accepted Body*, introduce various aspects of the topic of cleanliness and purity from the perspectives of ethnography, anthropology, and linguistic and literary studies. The papers offer an overview of concepts, theoretical interpretations, methodological approaches, and field research summaries.

In anthropology, the attention paid to the issues of cleanliness and purity has increased since the theoretical trend established by the publication of Mary Douglas' seminal book *Purity and Danger* on purity and pollution (Douglas 1966). It has been a generally accepted understanding in anthropology that purity and pollution are culturally defined categories. Several authors have searched for the meaning of 'dirt' and 'clean,' and have studied concepts, cultural responses and practices concerning cleanliness and hygiene through time and space in various societies. They compared and contrasted indigenous

[1] The following topics were announced in the symposium's call for papers: The concept of cleanliness as a social and historical construct. (How the concept of well-groomed appearance standards – perceptions of neatness in women and men – are socially shaped.) Methods, techniques, tools and institutions of body care among people of different backgrounds (genders, generations, social and ethnical groups). Daily washing habits and rituals; Magical forms of washing/bathing; Body and beauty care. Attitudes towards the body within different social groups by looking at the representations of the (changing) ideal of the body. Interaction between appearance and identity, social networks and social status work.

notions with western interpretations, from abstract, ritual and moral dimensions to objectified and materialistic aspects, from public to private dimensions.

We hope that the present medley of papers will positively contribute to the scholarly discussion of this complex issue.

In the first paper of the thematic block, **Katalin Juhász** offers a brief clarification of the terms "cleanliness" and "hygiene," as well as a useful review of international and Hungarian research on the topic. Using international comparisons, she briefly models the major socio-historical periods of the changing cleanliness habits among rural populations in Hungary in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Comparative Finno-Ugric studies are of special importance for the Hungarian scholarship. Most of the Finno-Ugric peoples in Europe (Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin; Finns, Estonians, Karelians, Vepsians, Livonians, Izhorians, and Votes in the Nordic-Baltic area) on the contrary of their regional and ethnic specialties, have followed the logic of modernization path in their culture of hygiene. The hygiene research of them is based on the works and theories (mentioned in Katalin Juhász' next article), and it is also methodologically similar. They are in effect parts of European culture, with the exceptional speciality, that some populations at the peripheral areas (e.g. Sami) have maintained several aspects of their archaic pre-Christian culture for a longer time until relatively recently.

Compared to these, the socio-political historical situation is a bit different with the Finno-Ugric peoples of the Volga-Ural region (Mordvins, Maris, Komis, Udmurts) and Western Siberia (Voguls/Mansi, Ostyaks/Khanty, Samoyeds, and other nationalities with small populations). Although these peoples have been living under Russian rule for centuries, their unique cultures and religions had really started to be endangered during the Stalinist regime, when the assimilation or "Sovietization" of nationalities and the systematic destruction of national cultures took place. (On the other hand it also applies to peoples, such as the Vepsians, Livonians, Izhorians, and Votes with small population numbers in Northern Russian territories under Soviet Rule.) The demographic situation of the Finno-Ugric peoples in Siberia greatly deteriorated when in the 1930s–40s massive numbers of Russian, Ukrainian, German and Baltic families were relocated to the areas where these indigenous nationalities lived. From the 1960s onwards, the expansion of fossil fuel and other mineral extraction brought the dramatic consequences of labor migration upon the indigenous peoples of small populations, because it radically transformed their way of life and culture. The situation only worsened after the regime change (*perestroika*), when the restructuring of the mining industry and resource management was followed by a decline in the population's standard of living.[2]

For a long time, ethnographic research of the Finno-Ugrians sought to document the culture prior to Russian influence, thus "saving" it from oblivion. We know that, especially among Siberian Finno-Ugric peoples such as the Khanty, the notions of purity essentially determine and are intertwined in all areas of social structure and encounter.

A look into the everyday lifestyles, daily habits and underlying cognitive mechanisms of the cultures that share Finno-Ugric origins but are greatly disparate could provide a

[2] C.f. e.g. Funk 2016 on the role and actual problems of 'ethnographic expertise' in new industry projects and resource management in Siberia and one of the latest works of Zoltán Nagy describing this process through the case of the Khanty people (Nagy 2016).

lesson for researchers of other cultures. Through cleanliness research, by seeing "behind the scenes," the hidden dimensions of the culture of individual peoples are revealed, on the one hand holding a mirror to the representatives of other cultures, and on the other hand creating opportunities for comparison.

Although others have turned their attention to the particular purity laws of Siberian Finno-Ugric peoples (e.g. Adajev 2000; Lapina 1998; Koptseva – Libakova 2015; Taligina 1999;), **Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián** is one of the few who explores the concept of purity in exceptional depth through the means of fieldwork in a small community—in her case, living for years as a family member among the Khanty, a partly fishing-hunting people dwelling along the Synya river (Ruttkay 2014). She documents how "the set of rules stemming from the cleanliness concept of the Synya Khanty works in everyday life." Specifically, what concepts can be used to describe their ideas of cleanliness; what categories, organizing principles they use to divide the world into clean and unclean sections; how they ensure their separation and maintain cleanliness; what is the extent and the motivation that makes it so important to them; how it is controlled, and what to do upon breach.[3]

Ildikó Lehtinen examines cleanliness as a part of Mari mentality. According to Mari ethnologist Nikandr Popov, the Mari ideal means "pure-hearted man," which includes purity of thought, speech and action, as well as physical purity, health and strength (Popov 2013:232–233). Lehtinen examines the cleanliness discourses and practices from two aspects: on the one hand, as a traditional moral concept, and on the other hand, as a hygiene concept adjusted to Soviet mass culture (cf. Lehtinen 2009). We know that personal hygiene was markedly highlighted in the Soviet propaganda of civilized behavior (*kulturnost*) (Gurova 2008:38–76; Filtzer 2010; Starks 2008). Surveying how the health and hygiene propaganda affected everyday practice or if there is a connection between the traditional and the propagated concepts of cleanliness is definitely an enlightening enterprise.

Similarly to her colleagues, studying Finno-Ugrians in Russia, **Tatiana Minniyakhmetova**'s survey of the concept of purity among the Udmurts was rooted in the terminology. The dual concept of "clean/unclean" can be perceived as an elementary conceptual structure upon which a number of closely related semantic fields are based on the one hand, while on the other hand, "through symbolization and metaphorical terminology," seemingly distant social phenomena can interconnect, thus the linguistic approach seems self-evident. The word "clean," *chylkyt,* has a complex meaning in the Udmurt language as well. Besides "clean," it can also mean the following: "healthy," "beautiful" (attractive), "comforting/normal," and "self-evident." The concept of cleanliness is traditionally not only used in the everyday sense of devoid of physical dirt, but in the religious-ritual sense, too. The bath house (which, by the way, was traditionally used on Thursdays, diverging from the Orthodox Russians), is the residence of the spirits, connecting the living with the dead, and therefore played a key role at the turning points of human life.[4] Cleansing rites before major events are explicitly ritual in nature in the

[3] The true object of scientific investigation in this very complex subject matter is therefore the concept and value of purity (cf. Verebélyi 2009).

[4] Minnijahmetova 2015:78–87; cf. Kandrina 2004; Kovács-Tóka 2009; Nikonova – Kandrina 2003; Paréj 2009.

Udmurt tradition, demonstrated by the fact that practical activities are complemented by magical-ritual elements.

Galina Nikitina searches for late 19th-century Udmurt ideals of beauty in a variety of written sources and folklore texts. It is not a peculiarly Udmurt feature but quite common among people engaged in agricultural activities that exuberant health and industriousness are considered major virtues. However, it is a sure sign of foreign influence that it was not the physical features typical of their own anthropological traits that the Udmurts considered beautiful but rather those of the Russians or Tatars living around them, especially for women. At the same time, this points to the erosion of Udmurt identity as well.

The junctions of identity and body are nicely delineated in **Laura Bába**'s and **Krisztina Karizs**'s analysis of the young Estonian writer Sofi Oksanen's novels based on real historical events. These novels focus on the identity crisis that occurred among Estonians in the 1940s as a result of the traumas experienced after the Soviet invasion and forceful annexation to the Soviet Union (cf. Gyürky 2012; Turi 2011). To be Estonian in the Soviet regime was a subjugated, humiliated situation, yet Estonians in cahoots with the Communists were traitors even in the eyes of their own people, while the Russians also had their own reservations. In Finland there are further prejudicial presumptions: an Estonian is a "Russky," and if it's a woman, she is "easy prey" as well. The novels' heroines strive to compensate for the inter-generational shame and feelings of inferiority stemming from the violence they've suffered with meticulous cleansing rituals (be it bathing, or bulimia as compulsive "internal" cleansing), makeup, or clothing.

REFERENCES CITED

See the cited references to the editorial at the end of the author's next paper in this issue: *Body – Identity – Society: Concepts of the Socially Accepted Body in the 20th Century in Hungarian Rural Areas* (303–312)

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Body – Identity – Society:

Concepts of the Socially Accepted Body in the 20th Century in Hungarian Rural Areas

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"Behind your thoughts and feelings, my brother, stands a mighty commander, an unknown sage – he is called Self. He lives in your body, he is your body" (Nietzsche 1961 [1883]:62).

Abstract: Wide-ranging research has shown that cleanliness is both a social and a historical construct, that is, a relative rather than an absolute concept. The rather complex social and psychological context and causes of cleansing change with time and space. The social change characterized by modernization and urbanization in the first half of the 20th century had a profound effect on the mentality, way of life and social behavior of Hungarian peasantry as well, including the meaning of cleanliness and related customs. The aim of the paper is to analyze the practices and customs related to washing and bathing and their modification triggered by socio-economic and political change. The first part of the article gives a brief clarification of the terms "cleanliness" and "hygiene," surveys Hungarian and international research on the topic, and presents a brief history of cleansing as a universal custom. In the second part, the author outlines a socio-historical model of the major stages of change in Hungarian village habits of cleanliness based on extensive field experience.
Keywords: Body, hygiene, cleanliness, hungarian traditional culture, urbanization, social structure

THE SOCIAL BODY AND CONNECTION WITH IDENTITY – INTRODUCTION

Our body is the vehicle[1] in order to communicate with others and to carry out our everyday lives. It is impossible to separate our bodies from who we are and what we do in the social world. At all levels – individual, relational and cultural – we can see that the

[1] "The body is the vehicle of being in the world," says the phenomenological philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1962:82).

body is both subject and object at the same time; it is "natural", individual and personal, as unique as a fingerprint or odor-plume, yet it is also common to all humanity. The body is both an individual creation, physically and phenomenologically, and a cultural product; it is personal, and also a "stateproperty" (Synnott 1993:3–4).

The body can be analyzed only in the context of relationships, and the body (of an individual) becomes socially visible and perceptible only as a result of comparison. In this comparison the physical body is never perceived in its own immediacy; it becomes accessible always through cultural concepts and categories: the physical human body always appears as a social body (Douglas 1973:93; Shilling 2003:62–110).

What we can perceive of the body is a body image fashioned by the individual through hygiene/grooming (washing/bathing, cosmetics, exercise, and relaxation), body modification (hairdo, manicure, skin decoration), clothing, and body techniques (posture, gestures, moving in and using a space).[2]

This body image – according to the intentions and means of the individual, and in the eyes of those around it – is a vehicle of a certain message about its identity, about its affiliation with a social group.

The body acts as nature's language that speaks even if we do not want to, telling things about us that we would not say about ourselves; a language that we do not speak but which says something about us. According to Bourdieu, one's look is determined by two basic factors: the physical appearance of the body and the ways it is held. Every human body is objectified by the social gaze, that is, through other people's gaze and speech (Bourdieu 1978:154–156).

As Giddens says, the body becomes part of an ongoing "identity project". It becomes the means of expressing our individuality and aspirations as well as our group affiliations (Giddens 1991:57–69).

In this context, the question arises whether changes in bodily signs and body schema are associated with changes of identity, and vice versa, whether inner (spiritual) transformations have any physical signs?

As Shilling summarizes Bourdieu's perspective, "bodies are unfinished entities which are formed through their participation in social life and become imprinted with the marks of social class. Bodies develop through the interrelation between an individual's social position, habitus and taste" (Shilling 2003:137).

Moreover, "the body is a restricted means of expression" (Douglas 1996:72). This restriction takes place in society (Bourdieu 1971:420–425), in public (Habermas 1993:230–239), in social interaction (Goffman 1951), all of which contain rules, norms and regulations about the use of the body and how it can be presented.

These rules do not necessarily originate in general society; as Goffman's research shows, each community and subculture (including settings like workplace, school, nightclub or hiking spot) for all possible social situations has its own specific rules of communication and body usage associated with it (Goffman 1963:3–12).

Because the ideals, meanings and identities available in a culture are (relatively) "constant", the "free" choices are not quite as free as they may seem (Shilling 2003:72).

[2] Bourdieu 1978:152–153. See also Mauss 2000:433–442.

This is especially true for pre-modern societies, in which cultural rootedness is quite stable and thus the individual has even less leeway when it comes to body transformations.

The body from a historical perspective

In the course of history, sooner or later all societies have had to face the "civilizing process" (as defined by Elias), which entailed a change in the individuals' attitude towards their and others' bodies due to regulations of body use and a rising power over the body, often masked as prescribed proprieties.[3]

I am of the opinion that applying Elias' theory of evolution in the case of European nations is acceptable – even despite its criticisms I share –, even though particular peoples, such as the Finno-Ugric fishing-hunting peoples of Siberia, had had an industrial, social and cultural development different from Europe, so we need an other approach to study the transformation of their cleanliness concepts. What is certain, however, is that everywhere – though in different ways and at different times – the body, which in pre-modern/folk cultures "possesses magical forces and is fertile, and which had symbolized the small, self-sufficient village communities' viability and force," (Verebélyi 2005a:73–83) was gradually drawn under the influence of the church and/or state with the help of the bureaucracy and administration, as it can be deducted from the interpretations of Foucault, Turner and others.[4]

In summary, we can establish that the body is both a social and a historical construct, that is, a relative rather than an absolute concept, and the same can be said of "cleanliness," another main topic of my study.

The meanings of body cleanliness as central categories of social recognition

"The outward appearance of the body combines the three facts that people *have*, *are*, and *create* a body. Having a body refers to a person's mastery of the body. Being a body means that our identity is indissolubly associated with our embodiment, and creating a body is our attempt to represent our embodied identity" (Maartmann 2000:76).

The notion of "cleansing" can thus be understood as a kind of rite of passage, or a body project that is not simply about the absence of physical, ritual, or symbolic pollution, but which produces a perfectly fashioned body suitable for appearance in public (Bourdieu 1978:154).

This outward appearance indicates to the outside world (community, society) that the given individual is a full member of the community in terms of his or her tastes, morals, character and thinking.

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[3] Elias traces the process of bourgeoning regulations regarding natural needs and interpersonal communication – in short, behavior in the broad sense – as well as the differentiation and gradual internalization of rules of conduct from the late Middle Ages to the late 19th century, in the context of modern state formation and the increasing interconnectedness of individuals (Elias 1987).

[4] Elias 1987:46–47; Foucault 1990; Turner 1992;

In terms of the body, as well as in general, "cleanliness" (as opposed to disorder) represents order and orderliness. Pollution, on the other hand, is a "social fact" that disrupts the order we imagined or "dreamed" (Kapitány – Kapitány: 2009:46.).

Since the publication of Mary Douglas' book *Purity and Danger* (Douglas 1966), it has become almost commonplace in cultural anthropology that purity and pollution are not absolute but culturally defined categories. Hence, purity in itself cannot be defined, and even within a given culture one has to take into account various criteria before determining whether something is clean or not.

Thanks to its indirect meanings, the manifestations of bodily hygiene can symbolize spiritual (or moral, even political) cleanliness and "purity," and in this sense further pairings might be associated with it, such as tidy/untidy, beautiful/ugly, healthy/sick, harmless/harmful, etc. Even the term "clean" and its synonyms are used in most languages with a wide variety of meanings.

The symbolism of cleanliness is intertwined in both the concrete and the abstract sense with the notions of health and the symbolism attached to it. Every act of washing, bathing or rinsing signals the intention of getting rid of something undesired, or warding off (preventing) physical dirt, moral impurity, or a magic curse. Our everyday cleansing habits combined with ritualistic, magical methods of cleansing form a well-defined, comprehensive, "holistic" system (Juhász 2002; Juhász 2006a:12–15), thus providing spiritual/physical wellbeing, harmony, and order.

Virginia Smith explains this complex interpretation of purity as a stratification of different purity dimensions representing different historical eras and marked by distinctive terms. The oldest layer designated by the terms "clean/cleanliness" marks the Neolithic attraction of our "animal" self to grooming, orderliness, and beauty. As a next level Smith uses the term "purity" to mark the concept that is also located in the deep layers of our consciousness but which is already linked to our human psyche, and which with its mystical/religious ideologies contrasts divine perfection with our animalistic, material nature that causes contamination. The third layer comes from the Greek word "hygiene," associated with the science of achieving a healthy and long life and signaling the beginning of preventive medicine (Smith 2007:2–3). Throughout history, these three layers were constantly present in different variations in the changing cleansing habits of different eras and social strata.

Bodily hygiene and social differentiation

The symbols of cleanliness are present in all aspects of our lives. On the one hand, through these, a society, culture, group, or even an individual can separate itself from everything that is undesirable (deeming the undesirable dirty, contaminating, and, as a result, inferior). On the other hand, the symbolism of cleanliness can be used to express one's position in the social hierarchy, as well as to express one's rise and fall (in society).[5]

[5] Kapitány–Kapitány 2009:39–42. Douglas describes the operation of a value system based on the clean/unclean distinction (Douglas 1966). In the more complex European societies, the social value of cleanliness emerged slowly and went through multiple transitions in a particular socio-economic-cultural system (Verebélyi 2009:11).

The Book of Leviticus[6] is the cornerstone of European Christian cultural purity laws, but there is a huge difference even between Christian and Jewish notions, both sharing the same root but having evolved in different directions. The complexity and severity of Jewish purity laws goes well beyond religion to permeate everyday actions, thus drawing limits between Jewish and non-Jewish (Vincze 2013:72). The Roma have a similarly chiseled system, where purity standards are based on a systematic separation of the upper and lower parts of the body, and compliance with these purity laws is what fundamentally distinguishes the Roma from the non-Roma *gádzsó* (Stewart 1994:210).

Although in today's globalized European culture one can no longer speak of such a sophisticated set of rules, it can still be very clearly delineated how the concepts of "dirty" and "clean" define the fine line between particular social strata/groups/subcultures, based on how, using what method, and with what end-goal one cleanses and arranges the body. These dividing lines are immediately apparent to anyone upon first encountering someone more unkempt or better groomed than themselves.

Hungarian and international purity research

In Hungarian ethnography, personal hygiene research was initially part of costume research (Fél 1942; Fülemile–Stefány 1989; Gergely 1978; Horváth 1972). Following a few descriptive ethnographic works (Herczeg 1988; Kapczár 1975; Szenti 1985; 1991), the theoretical foundation provided by Kincső Verebélyi (Verebélyi 2005a; b) at the ELTE Folklore Department gave rise to the study of everyday habits within the framework of folk customs research, including such hygiene activities as body cleansing (Juhász 1995), washing (Czingel 1995), dishwashing (Báti 2009), tidying (Vincze 2009; Dyekiss 2009), and waste management (Murányi 2009).

The dual concept of "clean/unclean" can be perceived as an elementary conceptual structure upon which a number of closely related semantic fields are based on the one hand, while on the other hand, "through symbolization and metaphorical terminology," seemingly distant social phenomena can interconnect, thus the linguistic approach seems self-evident. Kincső Verebélyi already raised the importance of linguistic analysis (Verebélyi 2009:15). Anett Takács's investigation of metropolitan bourgeois hygiene culture used the semantic analysis of Hungarian terms related to cleanliness as a starting point, but her actual data could not establish an organic correlation with it, like our authors did (Takács 2014:21–42).

The first stand-alone volume dealing entirely with Hungarian folk hygiene habits was published in 2006 (Juhász 2006a), and in the same year, following a major thematic object-collection program, the Skanzen Hungarian Open Air Museum in Szentendre also mounted an exhibition about hygiene habits (Juhász 2006b). The growing interest has led to the publication of *Clean Lines*, a volume of interdisciplinary studies which, in addition to a historical overview of the concept, provides case studies within the rather broadly interpreted topic of cleanliness: from the conceptual clarification of cleanliness, through the personal hygiene habits of the upper middle class, to Udmurt bath houses (Juhász ed. 2009).

[6] The third book of the Greek Old Testament and and the third of the five books of the Torah, with instructions for the priests from early rabbinic times.

Within the larger theme of bodily hygiene, a number of sub-topics have been researched since, some of which have been carried out in international cooperation. For example, the material culture of bodily hygiene (Juhász 2003), the hygiene culture of the socialist era (Juhász 2008; 2009), body odor (Juhász 2011a, 2012–13), changing into clean clothes (Juhász 2016), or the various aspects of bath culture (Juhász 2011b; 2014), and numerous other topics. A most recent step in the international and interdisciplinary dialogue initiated by the author of the present lines, has been the 17th Symposium: *Body – Identity – Society: Concepts of the Socially Accepted Body* within the framework of the XII International Congress of Finno-Ugric Studies (Oulu, Finland, 2015). (Selected papers are presented here as a thematic block in this issue of the *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica*.)

The theme of bodily cleanliness is of course growing in popularity in international history, sociology, ethnography, and anthropology studies too. Following a number of basic general theoretical works,[7] a series of studies have been published around the world, analyzing and representing the concepts of cleanliness and hygiene habits in their respective regions. There is almost no country where this type of research was not conducted, exhibiting great heterogeneity in regard to discipline as well as theoretical-methodological framework. In addition to the great canonical works, Hungarian cleanliness research was inspired primarily by Scandinavian scientific results (*Fataburen* 1970; Frykman 1981; Frykman 1987; Maartmann 2000), while inspiration was also provided by several monographs on cleanliness, body-art and cosmetics, healing, or the history of bath culture (e.g. Brown 2009; Corson 1972; Loux 1979; Smith 2007; Wright 1960).

CLEANLINESS AS THE CHIEF ATTRIBUTE OF THE SOCIALLY ACCEPTED BODY IN THE 20TH CENTURY IN HUNGARIAN RURAL AREAS

As a result of my ethnographic research on bodily hygiene that commenced in the late 1980s, I compiled a rich empirical database, which serves as a basis for the complex analysis of cleansing habits, a cognitive system encompassing lifestyle, habits and cosmology.[8]

Although the sociological and anthropological literature on the history of body culture and bathing, as well as works focusing on the body and cleanliness provided an appropriate background for my research on the cleanliness habits of the Hungarian peasantry, it still fell on me to work out a detailed methodology for the actual fieldwork. From the outset, I tried to obtain data using a cognitive method, striving to arrange the collected data in a hypothetical system (to be mapped out), often asking about the "whys."

[7] In addition to the already mentioned works e.g. Corbin 1986; Vigarello 1982.

[8] The idea comes from Bausinger, who suggests this solution instead of the traditional methods of customs research. In other words, if in the course of the study of a phenomenon "the complexity of the culture, the interdependence of parts and sectors poses serious problems," then "systematic thinking and a structuring principle that enables the ordering of interrelated phenomena into a system is indispensable to progression" (Bausinger 2004:11–12).

Per Bausinger,[9] I chose the *ethnography of cleansing* as the framework for my research, which includes everyday cleansing habits, magical, ritual cleansing performed on special occasions, the concepts of cleanliness and uncleanliness, and the associative content that can be attached to it (Juhász 2006a:11–13).

In this study, I summarize the major stages of change in rural cleansing habits, which shows the transformation of Hungarian rural society in the 20th century from a special point of view: "from below."

Models of cleansing habits

In my "hygiene research," I outlined models of habit systems that characterized certain layers of rural society at particular times in the 20th century. Through these, I tried to define the concept of the "socially accepted body" with the help of several interrelated categories and qualities (health/hygiene, aesthetic, moral). One of the central concepts was "cleanliness," which includes all these aspects. These models correlate with the periodization/models of lifestyle discussed in the works of Hungarian ethnographers and social and cultural historians in regard to the transformation of rural society in the 20th century.[10]

The period from the turn of the twentieth century to the present day can be divided into five parts in terms of the changes in personal hygiene habits, recognizing the simultaneous presence of several transitional forms.[11]

The chronological divisions are blurred, however, and even particular hallmark cleansing patterns cannot be regarded as exclusive to any of the five periods. The five models serve only to highlight the main tendencies, illustrating the cleansing habits of the rural population (the most populous strata of the society, but also within itself stratified) in the given period.

Even within one model we can find several variations of cleansing and body arrangement, since they are formed and manifested not only as a function of social status or external expectations (power) but also in interaction with them, and even independent of these, they can be heavily influenced by the individual's religion, nationality, age, sex, as well as personality and psychological factors.[12]

Archaic peasant hygiene (until the mid-20th century)

The word *archaic* designates a basically late feudal, pre-industrial peasant society and culture, with an essentially self-sufficient economy, the lack of acquisitioning habits, the closed nature of the community, characterized by the dominance of transcendentalism,

[9] Bausinger suggested the *ethnography of dress* instead of study of folk costume, on the model of the already established concept of the *ethnography of nutrition* (Bausinger 2004:11–12).

[10] Hofer 1975; Hanák 1988; Kósa 1990;

[11] The concept of parallel asynchrony was introduced by Hermann Bausinger (Bausinger 1989). In the context of cleanliness, Veronika Lajos (Lajos 2009) already talks about complex asynchrony.

[12] Csabai – Erdős 1994; cf. Shilling 2003:113–114.

magical thinking, oral tradition and life-routes regulated by consented customs and beliefs — in other words, existence.

This least "civilized"[13] manner of keeping the body clean harks back to the hygiene culture before the Enlightenment. The layer of society using archaic methods has not been touched by the 19th-century breakthroughs in medicine and urban hygiene. The fear of supernatural dangers and diseases was still stronger than the fear of dirt and bacteria.

Figure 1. Women healing a sick child with bathing. The bath and the accompanying acts serving ritual-magical purposes. Tótkomlós, Békés County, Southern Hungary, 1962. (Photo by Vilmos Diószegi; Photographic Collection, Museum of Ethnography F161860.)

In archaic peasant culture, the concept of cleanliness only partially implies the absence of pollution in its physical sense. Washing one's body in this system is a transitional rite which provides protection from death or the symbolic uncleanliness of the menacing afterlife, be it the morning or evening washing, or the first washing of the new-born, or the washing of the dead, or the cathartic rites connected with the birth and death of Jesus around Christmas, new year's and Easter, or even the healing bath commonly used in case of illness.

I will cite a few examples. I have met peasant men whose parents prayed during their morning cleansing; they even said, *until you wash up, you wear the devil's face*. We know from Gyula Illyés[14] that when the wash tub was brought into the house in Sárrét, in Fejér county, and when they started hauling the water in, the whole neighborhood knew that they were preparing for an *incantation* or ritual healing bath (Juhász 2006a:167).

The thorough cleansing performed on weekends – on Saturdays – also had a ritual nature, and was done in order to observe Sunday within the community framework, in

[13] A relational and evaluative label from the viewpoint of the elite.

[14] Gyula Illyés (1902–1983) was a prominent Hungarian writer of peasant origins. He established himself as an influential writer with his first novel, *Puszták népe* [People of the Puszta], in 1936. The book was a sharp, honest sociographic nonfiction masterpiece, a largely autobiographical description of the life of poor peasants working as farmhands on a great agrarian estate.

a sacred space. Thus, in this model, the everyday-holiday boundary coincides with the private-public boundary, as stated by the Swedish author Frykman in relation to Swedish peasants (Frykman 1987:189–197).

The most archaic, almost nomadic shepherds did not wash themselves but smeared their hair with suet and wore a special pair of pants, the so-called oak-britches, which were impregnated with sheep's milk and wood ash.

> "They sported long hair kept in several braids, dripping with grease. They soaked their new underwear in ash mixed with sheep's milk, then polished it with bacon to make it shiny, black, water-resistant and vermin-free. Thus washing them was not necessary – but who would have washed them anyway? Washing and bathing was not their habit, but it was not even necessary. The fatty underwear made their skin shiny. By the way, some twenty times a day did they wade in water while driving their animals, so why should they take a bath too? In those days only the noblemen used to have such luxuries! Or not even them!"[15]

Figure 2. The morning wash from the wooden bowl in the kitchen. Szalánta, Baranya county, Southern Transdanubia 1952. (Photo: Mrs. Szoboszlai; Photographic Collection, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, F 103990.)

From today's perspective, even the hygienic requirements of villagers were minimal: free from parasites (lice, scabies), no apparent filth on visible body parts. Smells were not given special attention, as all malodors – such as stable, perspiration and any other body odor – were considered facts of life.

Their relationship to their body was characterized by considering it primarily a work equipment. A healthy body was seen as a means of ensuring survival, for which everyone was personally responsible, but this was not dependent on comfort (bed) or hygiene in the modern sense. The mode and frequency of cleansing was determined by the season.

Living conditions and archaic linen clothes – and the difficulties of washing them – did not make regular and thorough cleansing possible or even necessary, and its method and frequency was determined by the change of seasons, too. People who spent most of their winters crowded indoors in smoky, airless houses almost never had a wash. With the arrival of spring, they washed the dirt collected over the previous months from their body in the nearby river on the first warm day.

Wash-basins had no permanent place in the house and their use was quite complicated, so

[15] The ethnographer István Györffy's description of 19th-century cattle herders in the Nagykunság region of the Great Hungarian Plains (Györffy 1928:21–23).

Figure 3. Shepherd shaving at camp. Hajdúböszörmény, Hajdú-Bihar County, Southern Great Plain, 1995. (Photo by Tamás Hofer; Photographic Collection, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest F200530.)

for daily cleansing, people just used a small wash-bowl, and for bathing the children, they used the trough. Larger tubs were only fetched for the big cleansing on the weekends. The towel used by the whole family was hung on a nail behind the door.

The bowls used for washing were typically made of wood. One type of such wooden tubs is the so-called *gipsy bowl,*[16] which was carved from a single piece of wood, and it came in several sizes, from small bowls to troughs. The other type includes cylindrical barrels and tubs made of wooden staves bound by metal hoops.

For cleansing, they used home-made soap, and for the few occasions of washing their hair, they used lye made from wood ash, and then greased it to keep away lice.

They did not brush their teeth, but in some places they chewed resin or rubbed them with charcoal, and some - mostly men - gargled with brandy in the morning. Fingernails and toenails, if they didn't break off by themselves, were trimmed with pocket knives, less commonly with scissors. (Collecting and and saving one's personal body hair and nails served preventing others using it for harmful magic.) Men shaved once a week – on Saturdays – and groomed their moustache at the same time. They did not use lotions or other toiletries. Chapped skin was smeared with salt-free lard; on the face, they sometimes used milk or butter. For infant care, they used plaster scraped off the wall as dusting powder, loess, flour, or salt-free lard.

Within the archaic peasant cleansing habits, we can find special body techniques as well. Probably the most notable ones are those of washing: washing from a bowl in a way so as to let the water pour down outside the bowl, or using water from the mouth for cleansing oneself.

[16] Carving wooden washtubs, troughs and bowls was a specific expertise of Roma craftsmen in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The so-called Beas Gypsy "trough carvers" also sold their products as peddlers in the villages or at the weekly farmers' markets.

> "People used to fill their mouths with water, as full as possible, from a jar or a mug. They dripped the water from their mouths into the hollow of their hands, and this was the way they washed their hands, and their face and neck as well. After this, they dried themselves with the bottom of the wide-leg trousers. Women used the bottom of their petticoat for the same purpose."[17]

Value judgements and boundary-settings based on cleanliness categories are noticeable in this model as well. According to them, neither the too untidy, dirty, nor the too well-groomed body is acceptable. Obligations regarding cleanliness were mostly formulated for women, and taking care of the cleanliness[18] of men, children and elderly family members was clearly the responsibility of the woman (wife, lover, mother).[19]

Paradoxically, often even peasant girls serving as maids in the city upon her return from a few years' service were considered immoral because of their changed cleansing habits. While the maid charged with the day-to-day tasks of maintaining the cleanliness of her place of service might been the object of disdain as the "dirty servant" in the "clean" bourgeois family, back in her own community she suffered negative criticism because she washed herself regularly or used a scented soap. Yet it was exactly these city maids returning home who would become the "authentic sources" of civilized cultural patterns for the members of their own generation and their children.[20]

Hygiene of the peasant-bourgeoisie
(From the early 20th century until the 1960s–70s, occasionally even later)

It is characteristic of the peasant-bourgeois layer that oral tradition is increasingly replaced by literacy, the community opens up, decision-making is more and more rational, the economy becomes more market-oriented, and more value is placed on the accumulation of goods.[21] Not only the well-to-do farmers, but also the craftsmen, tradesmen, civil servants and teachers coming from a peasant background could belong to this local middle-class layer of village society that in its lifestyle approximated that

[17] Excerpt from a late 19th-century manuscript by Lajos Gyenizse of Kiskunhalas. Quoted by Tálasi 1977:250–253.

[18] On the other hand, it can be stated, that there was more emphasis on the neatness of the outward appereance, the costume, than that of the body. "Compliance with expected gender roles and propriety, as well as the careful attention of an individual to his or her clothes, was part of the basis for judging a person's qualities and morality. Peasant communities respected those persons, even coming from poorer families, who spent extra effort to meet the consented community ideal, were creative in textile work and always maintained a neat appearance. Propriety connected with the idea of cleanliness meant that whenever a woman stepped out onto the street from the house she changed her apron to a clean one and fixed the kerchief on her head. (Aprons and head-kerchiefs are particularly important expressions of female propriety." (Fülemile 2010:174)

[19] This is clearly demonstrated by the selection of almost 100 folksong lyrics about cleanliness, the content of which I analyzed in my study (Juhász 2012).

[20] As Szilvia Czingel points out with great acumen about the beginning of the 20th century situation (Czingel 2009:102).

[21] László Kósa (Kósa 1990:46–47) after Péter Hanák (Hanák 1988:474–508) talks of an "intensive" peasant and after Károly Vörös (Vörös 1980:508–547) of a "peasant experimenting" with modern production techniques.

of the urban bourgeoisie, more precisely the petty bourgeoisie, while at the same time adopting and integrating elements of the bourgeois culture into their own in a special, "peasant" kind of way.

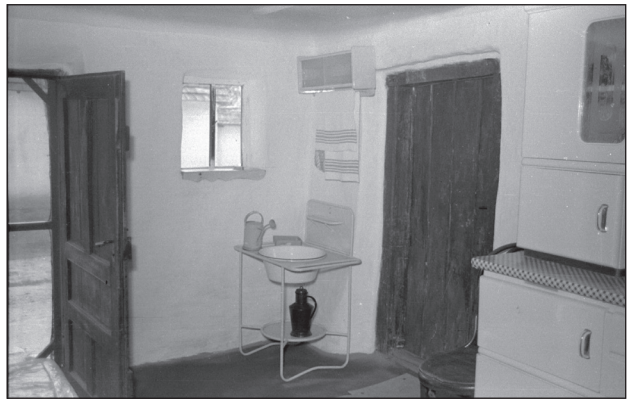

Figure 4. Corner with a washstand in the kitchen between the main entrance and the door to the living room. Váncsod, Hajdú-Bihar County, Northeastern Hungary, 1964. (Photo by Balázs Molnár; Photographic Collection, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, F188942.)

Between the two world wars and up until the mid-1960s, and in many places even into the 1970s, the majority of rural people observed the so-called 'peasant-bourgeois hygiene customs'.

In the first decades of the 20th century, all over the country, the typical dwelling of the members of these social groups was a peasant house with two rooms, a kitchen and a pantry (Zentai 1997:139). In the kitchen instead of the earlier archaic solutions, industry produced cooking stoves appeared and the kitchen became multifunctional: besides cooking and eating, it also served as a living room, a washing room, and a sleeping room (Fél – Hofer 1997:350). Here, in the kitchen, was the typical cleansing place, with a wash-stand, basin and an embroidered comb/brush holder.

The well-to-do middle peasant's peculiar yearning for representation is indicated by the installation of a decorated towel holder with embroidered towels on the kitchen wall (while the family continued to use the home-spun towel hung on a nail), as well as a marbled washing cupboard with a ceramic or porcelain washing kit, decorated towel, store-bought soap, and a big wall mirror they put (but never used) in the street-front "clean room."

The separation of public/private spheres can be seen in the appearance of a feeling of shame in regard to the body. Contrary to archaic peasant culture, where the sight of a naked body while taking a bath, washing, breastfeeding or relieving oneself was natural (Fél 1942:116; Szalánczy 1932:23–24), in the middle-class milieu, the carefully covered body was more typical; several "bodily" things, such as periods, the cleansing of private parts, or sexuality were practically taboo. From early adolescence, no one could see members of the other sex scantily dressed; married couples would live their entire lives without ever seeing their spouse naked (and they were proud of it, too).

When science proved the correlation between living conditions, bodily hygiene, nutrition and state of health (= labor capacity), European countries started passing legislation and taking measures to improve public health, thus extending government influence and supervision over the body of the individual from the second part of the 19th century.

The effect of government measures was noticeable on the hygiene habits of the peasant-bourgeoisie, primarily by means of elementary education, universal military service (Turner 1991:157–159; 164–165), and mass media (press, cinema, radio) (Featherstone 1991:172–174). The basic rules of healthy living and hygiene, and that bodily cleanliness and health is a moral obligation, have been etched forever into the generation born in the early 20th century in the form of poems learned in elementary school (Lipták 1997).

Adaptations of the more urban cleansing patterns were also influenced by the fact that more and more of those who came from the peasantry were *spending time in towns* – as maids, like mentioned before, or to learn trades, or working in the industry for a few years (Gyáni 2004:437–438; Voigt 1978:608–615).

A person could be considered clean if there was no discernible dirt on him or her, that is, they bore no visible traces of labor. Daily hygiene consisted of washing the face and hands in the morning, washing hands before meals and after dirty work, and a thorough cleansing in the evening, which included the washing of legs and upper body. People paid more attention to the cleanness of nails, neck and ears, especially in the case of school-age children and marriageable girls. The cleansing of the whole body was possible only on the weekends, on Saturdays or Sundays, as serious preparations were needed – the hauling and heating of water.

Cleaning the teeth was not a daily routine yet: it was done occasionally, and in several families one toothbrush was used by all family members, or they would put salt, baking soda or tooth-powder on their finger and cleaned their teeth in this way.

It was also a common practice to use one towel in a family; moreover, the members of the family bathed in the same water, one after another.

Fragrance was not yet a requirement, but they did make an effort to get rid of unpleasant body odors (Juhász 2011a:26–27). They still used home-made soap, but young women, especially on festive days even in the villages started to prefer fine scented soaps or facial cream bought from the pharmacist in the interwar period, but make-up was still condemned. (Fülemile – Stefány 1989:68) From the early 1960s store-bought fine soaps were favored on weekdays too (although there were only limited varieties). People washed their hair once in two or three weeks in the summertime until the 1950s, but in the wintertime the frequency decreased to one wash every several months. (Collecting and using rainwater for washing hair and vinegar to make the hair shiny was also a general practice.) From the 1950s–60s, young people used shampoo for their hair. Although rainwater was often preffered still in the 1960s and 1970s for shaving and washing hair.

Men shaved once or twice a week. Besides the old-fashioned straight-edge razors – especially after the war – more modern shaving kits with safety razor blades appeared. Before collectivization, the frugal accumulation-for-saving approach was a hindrance to the luxury needs of the peasant-bourgeoisie in terms of toiletries, too. Instead of scented soaps they used home-made ones, and they frowned upon the "revolution" of the young

Figure 5. Slides from an instructional slide film for children on how to wash their body parts in an enameled tin basin. (*Egészséges iskolások* [Healthy Schoolkids]. Budapest: Magyar Diafilmgyártó Vállalat, 1954:34–36.)

girls who coveted beauty products and perfumes or wanted a haircut and permanent waves in the urban fashion. As a woman from Aba put it: "*it's not like we didn't have the means, but that bloody farm cost money*" (Juhász 2006a:70).

The subtle social differentiation based on cleanliness categories (not being prevented from stereotypization) and the pitfalls of upward mobility are exemplified in a 1932 description by sociographer Károly Szalánczy of a peasant family who had the wealth but not the lifestyle of the middle class they desired to reach. "One can feel the rigidity of the first generation that rose above its own class. They could not change their hygiene habits, they are completely inexperienced even in the most elementary things. The people of different sex get undressed without any shame in the presence of one another, they do not wash themselves according to middle-class norms, therefore they have a characteristic odor" *(*Szalánczy 1932:23–24).

The fact that the carefully sophisticated bourgeois cleansing rules cannot be learned in school also plays a role in maintaining social differences. No matter how diligent the student of peasant origin is in school, the curtain of middle-class prudery guards the secret well (Peterdi 2009).

The era between 1945 and 1961 stymied the process of embourgoisement. Amidst the rapid and mostly disadvantageous changes in legislation, agrarian reforms, expropriations, forced industrialization, exploitation of the rural population, compulsory delivery of goods, anti-peasant political climate, kulak laws, the peasantry did not have chance to consolidate lifestyle. After the 1956 suppressed anti-Soviet uprising the communist collectivization of 1959–1960 was a period of far-reaching social change. Villagers had to work in the cooperatives or became commuter workers in industrial estates. Housing conditions, infrastructure and incomes did not improve considerably; consequently, there was no change in lifestyle. Based on my research, it seems that even though the extensive hygiene propaganda *to improve civilization* was well underway in this period, there was no real breakthrough in rural hygiene habits. For decades, the cleanliness of the body (and partly of the clothes), despite the changed circumstances, still reflected pre-war social differentiation. The midwifery system, which was supposed

to spread hygiene culture, reached considerable results in the field of infant care and the care of grade-school children (Juhász 2008:109–111; 2009:204–235).

Modernizing hygiene
(mainly 1960s–70s, but this model already appears between the two World Wars)

"From around 1963–64 a more pragmatic, milder form of economic planning was introduced. Light industry started to be developed, socialist consumerism evolved. The urban model became inviting for the youth of the countryside who worked in the urban-industrial centers and felt the divergent cultural expressions increasingly uncomfortable." It all strengthened their desire to assimilate into the modern socialist urban environment. (Fülemile 2010:176.)

The uncertainty of the definition 'modernizing hygiene' shows that this model is one of the "most transitional" ones, which existed from the period between the World Wars until the regime change, on the boundary of the archaic peasant and the consumerist hygiene- and body-culture found at the two ends of the period in question.

It essentially describes the turning point or short period when clothing as well as housing culture lost their rural characteristics (and peasants ceased to be peasants from a sociological point of view), but they are uncertain in their new role: – one can detect a certain dysfunctional rigidity "unsophistication" in their housing culture, lifestyle, manners, or, for example, in their body hygiene linked to new clothing types, their body arrangement or body technique.[22]

Of all dwelling types, three types can be associated with this model: middle-class houses with a bathroom built between the two World Wars, the old tripartite peasant houses that were modernized with the addition of a bathroom, and the square-shaped "cube" houses of the 1960s that were already built with a bathroom.

The bathroom was a dark, narrow space, often unheated; a *secondary* room reflecting various signs of transitionality and the lack of clearly defined functions and customization. Its use remained restricted and occasional for a while, due to the lack of sufficient infrastructure and internal need. The washing machine and the spin dryer, and the dirty clothes that were accumulating in or around them for a week, strengthened its function of cleaning, but they also made it into a work space. It was also common that the room was used as a storage closet, or to hatch chickens.

In this model, the socially accepted body is a version of the peasant-bourgeois cleanliness ideal, which essentially corresponds to that of the middle class: whole-body cleanness, groomed, clean nails, coiffed hair, and discreet scent and makeup are preferable for women. Reaching this desired level was encouraged by the government through the regular monitoring of personal hygiene (nails, neck, ears, lice) in public institutions, by providing comprehensive and effective hygiene education, and by socialist advertising, too (*beauty maintenance starts in the bathroom*).[23]

[22] About the logic of the process of dissintegration of traditional peasant dress and the urbanization of clothing of the rural population in the context of the socio-economic changes of the 20th century see Fülemile 1991.

[23] *Nők Lapja* [Women's Magazine] 1961(33):22. About institutions, ways and mediums of the socialist hygiene education see Juhász 224–235.

Figure 6. One of the first socialist era informational deodorant advertisements. *(Nők Lapja* [Women's Magazine],1963 (27):22).

The question of cleanliness was a common topic of daily conversations in various media. Hygiene and beauty advice was typically addressed exclusively to women. "It is the duty of every woman to be as beautiful as she can be, (…) the skin's beauty and health can only be maintained through proper cleansing" – as we can read in an issue of *Nők Lapja* (Women's Magazine) in 1963.[24]

The modernisation of hygiene habits is mostly noticeable in the frequency of cleansing and in the richness and increasing range of paraphernalia. Sharing towels becomes an outdated habit, but having to fetch water continues to restrict the use of water.

Instead of home-made products, the tendency is to use toiletries moderately. The monthly package of cleansing products – soap, hand wash and hand cream – provided to manual workers from the 1960s was used by the whole family. These regular provisions largely contributed to raising the level of the hygiene practices of the lowest layers of society to a desirable minimum. Even those who did not receive this package used Hungarian mass-produced toiletries for their daily cleansing and body care. For example, almost everybody used the *Wu-2* shampoo for their weekly or bi-weekly hair washing.

The well-to-do acquired the newest products of the Hungarian cosmetics industry – for women, *Camea* face-cream, powder, lipstick, nail polish or hair spray; for men, *Figaro* and *Barbon* shaving accessories. This same layer of society also frequented – on a weekly basis – the local beauty parlors.

As a result of the strong health propaganda, more and more people (especially children and young adults) brushed their teeth daily, by now everyone with their own toothbrush and the Hungarian toothpaste of the era (*Ovenall, Amodent)*. Men shaved two or three times a week, electric razors became popular in this period, but among villagers, the straight-edge razors were still in use. The use of deodorants started in the 1960s in towns, while in the countryside it gained popularity only in the mid-1970s (the next period and model).

Representation is still evident in this transitional model: having a bathroom (even if unused and not shown off) could be a status symbol. The new, brand-name beauty products purchased in city stores or acquired through other means served a similar purpose. Brand-name soaps, face creams, body care products were displayed visibly on shelves in living room cupboards as decoration and objects of prestige, and the jars and flacons were kept there even after they were emptied (Juhász 2006b:12).

[24] *Nők Lapja* [Women's Magazine] 1963(23):21.

Hygiene in rural areas during "consumer socialism"
(From the mid-1970s to the regime change of the 1990s)

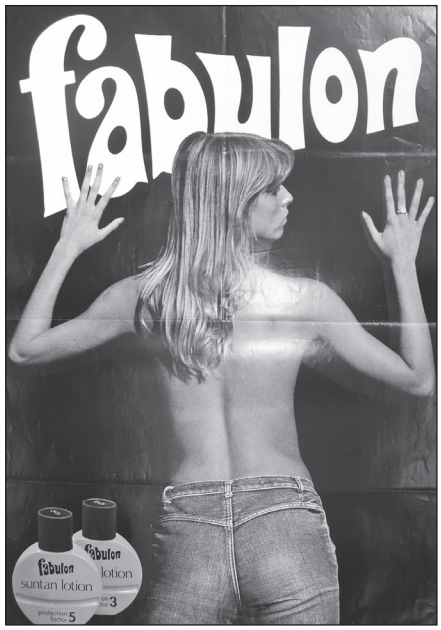

Figure 7. Suntan lotion advertisement with the unprecedentedly provocative photo of János Fenyő in 1977. The Hungarian *Fabulon* brand established the first real, highly successful market campaign in the country. (Poster in a private collection.)

The "new economic mechanism" introduced in Hungary in 1968 initiated a gradual shift toward a market-oriented economy that was more open to the West; meanwhile, the Kádár administration tried to raise the population's standard of living even at the cost of state loans. This was the start of the period, more prominent from the mid-1970s, which is referred to as "consumer socialism" (Valuch 2004. 99).

Besides constructing spectacular buildings for prestige and modernizing housing, certain social groups and individuals attempted to express their status with body care products and modes of "body arrangement."

From the late 1970s, the infrastructure matched the pace of housing development: in the countryside, there was a boom in the number of houses with piped water. This trend can be traced through the increasingly more beautiful bathrooms of the '70s-80s.

To present a more aesthetic image, they covered or decorated the various household equipment, even the toilet, which they kept closed and used rarely anyway. As a result of the concurrent increase in the prestige of hygiene practices in the '80s, they paid more attention and more money for the decoration of this room. By harmonising the patterned tiles, flooring and an ever wider range of colors in sanitary ware, and by placing the automatic washing machine there, the bathroom became more of an actual room. The old stand with the wash-basin found its new place outside the house, and it was used to wash off the signs of outdoor work, making the house an even cleaner place.

A new practice in the use of the bathroom (which was the toilet at the same time) was that family members did not enter when someone else was in there. The increasing need for privacy meant that from the '80s they tried to separate the toilet from the bathroom, even if merely with a partition wall.[25]

The "flacon revolution" (the expression was recorded by Kata Jávor during an interview in Zsombó) was an important phase in the great changes of cleansing habits (Jávor 2009:145). An ever wider range of products of the Hungarian cosmetics industry, which was developing rapidly and reached world class levels, was also used by those

[25] The *Ezermester* [Handyman] magazine from 1957 and the *Lakáskultúra* magazine [Housing Culture] from 1964 regularly published practical ideas for modernizing houses.

living in the countryside. Stores offered more products imported from the West and other socialist countries, and shopping tourism was on the rise.

In the 1970s, owning a great quantity of hygiene products was synonymous with and almost a guarantee of cleanliness. People often gave such products as gifts. The choices further diversified in the 1980s along the lines of sex, age group, body parts and quality.

The use of more products brought on the sophistication of hygiene practices and body care, too. The source of new information was unquestionably the advertisements and the public media, as well as articles and programs of the popular literature on this topic. Cleanliness still goes hand in hand with health, but now it is a means of presenting a beautiful, young, fashionable and desirable body with a strong emphasis on personality. All this is a sign of the spread of consumerist culture.

While formerly the frequent cleansing of private parts was not considered important, the daily bath became available for everyone by the 1980s, which made it unnecessary to differentiate the hygiene levels of certain body parts. Due to the lack of sewers in the countryside, it was a common practice for a long time for all family members to use the same bath water: all the children up to age six together, then the husband, and then the wife. By the '80s, the sharing of towels (husband-wife, same sex children) gradually became obsolete. For the young and the middle-aged, cleansing in the evening became an internal need. Elderly women also deemed it important, but it cannot be said of their male peers. They often fell asleep in their clothes while watching TV, and they only took a bath before going to bed if their wife urged them to do so. It is also typical of this male age group – of peasant origins – that they do not cleanse thoroughly. The wife of a man from Szomód, who was from a farming peasant family in Hövej, was complaining about how the hand towel becomes all dirty after his insufficient hand washing (to which he always retorted: "I'm not a gynaecologist!")

The everyday cleansing of the entire body meant that the holiday-everyday dichotomy of hygiene requisites decreased in importance, although body care and body arrangement before holidays was still not the same as on any other day. Despite stronger rationality and consumer attitudes, the hygiene expectations "are to some extent still characterized by the symbolic meaning that in the village was formerly assigned to cleanliness and order" (Jávor 2009:158).

Bodily hygiene in the free-market period's consumer culture (from the mid-1990s until today)

After the change of political system from 1990, the internal structure of rural society was rearranged, mostly based on private property (not just farmland) and income. Wealth/income dictated housing conditions and lifestyle, and the consumer approach became dominant in the countryside, too.

Today there is no difference between bathrooms in the villages or in the cities. Its symbolic importance lies in the fact that it became a place, or even a sanctuary, for body care bordering on self-indulgence, as well as for the "construction" of the "legitimate body" (Bourdieu 1978:154). The new trend of a separate laundry room put a definite end to the "workshop" nature of the bathroom. At the same time, the physical separation of the other intimate space, that of the toilet, also took place. The separate toilet has now become an indispensable requisite.

A growing individualism can be seen in the strictly personal use of the towel, soap, shower gel, shampoo, and toothpaste. Well-to-do families had more than one bathroom, sink or toilet in their home. As a result, the individual is even more disconnected), avoiding contact with the guests or other family members through the common use of the bath tub and toilet (Kapitány – Kapitány 2009:38).

By the end of the 20th century, the concept of cleanliness, neatness has become extremely complex. A daily shower is common practice, and even washing the hair on a daily basis is not a rare phenomenon. Taking a bath in the tub has become less frequent, more a rite of self-indulgence. Taking several showers a day is also frequent among young people or the older generations who work in the fields or in the garden. Cleansing during the winter shows greater variety. There are those who take a shower daily independently of the season, while some people of the older generations take a bath only two or three times a week in winter. Besides cleansing, the grooming of hair, nails and different body parts with different products, and for women depilation, beauty care and makeup are also daily and regular routines. Hygiene products became means of expressing individuality, "separatedness," instead of objects that provided a collective sense of "we have them too." Contrary to earlier norms, which dictated that beauty equals cleanliness, beauty care got a completely new central role.

The consumer approach had, therefore, a fundamental influence on the method of cleansing and body care as a way to preserve the youth, health, fitness and beauty of the whole body through more and more complicated, time-consuming and expensive techniques in rural areas, too (Featherstone 1997). Everyone chooses according to their means and tastes. The differences are no longer between those from the village or the city, but rather between the wealthy and the poor.

The main vehicle for the body ideal of the consumer culture is the advertisement, which puts the focus on the body as a space of consumption, assigning it a special value. At the same time, the body becomes a means of profit for the consumption-based system, and as an object of prestige, it also becomes a factor of social differentiation.

We can easily observe in the Hungary of the turn of the millennium that with the development of consumer culture, there are several categories of desired body care products and services in terms of the spending power of the general public, ranging from exclusive products available only to the elite, through well-known and advertised products that are available for the middle and upper class as well, to cheap copies that can be purchased in discount shops or at Chinese markets.

Another turning point at the end of the millennium was that while quality meant brand name labels, more recently the fashion of *"naturalness"* in regard to hygiene can be seen among the members of the higher-prestige layer of rural society, and naturally, sooner or later, this will influence the less well-to-do families as well.

Final thoughts

In my essay, I tried to present a comprehensive, if motley, picture of the transformation of the body hygiene culture of the Hungarian village during the 20th century in light of ethnographic research. I differentiated customs models based on the periods of transformation and the different practices of social groups, recognizing the layered nature

of hygiene culture in terms of the social history of its structural elements, which can be best described with the concept of "parallel asynchronicity" or even "complex asynchronicity."

The cleanliness concept objectified in the hygiene habits and rules (and the cleanliness symbolism attached to it) can tell us a lot about the world view and internal relations of the social group in question, and its changes shed light on the transformation that took place in the given society/culture (Baudrillard 1998:129).

In the 20th century one of the main questions of transformation of Hungarian rural countryside is the process of embourgeoisement. This process started before the Enlightenment with its archaic hygiene habits, and it lasted until the middle-class individualistic-consumer values fully developed, and, similarly to the transformation of society, it went through several transitional phases characterized by the interrelation and dichotomy of traditionalism and modernity. After 1948, the forced proletarianization of the lifestyle, consumption patterns, norms of social interaction and behavior hindered this process. Especially at the beginning of the socialist era, between 1948 and 1956, "dress" (per Eicher 2000, this expression came to mean the whole apparatus of appearance, including the body) was not a means of personal differentiation but the expression of being subordinate to the collective interest. The socialist body culture was formulated by the Soviet model of forced puritan norms (simplicity, cleanliness, healthy look and natural effect) amidst a climate of international isolation and shortage economy.

At the same time, this approach was not far from – in fact, in several ways it was the same as – the norms of the middle class between the two World Wars, so the members of this class – as far as personal hygiene is concerned – could consider this concept their own, and they served as a model for those of working class and peasant origins. This is consistent with the findings of mobility analyses, in that (as stated by Rudolf Andorka), despite the sometimes drastic political interference, mostly in the first decades of socialism, the effects of politics were usually short-term and temporary (Andorka 1991). The majority of those who once enjoyed an advantageous social status were successful in passing on their privileged position, despite temporarily losing their status and being stigmatized. They relied mostly on their cultural capital to do so, which included the hygiene culture of the middle class and helped them keep their original (hidden) identity. The members and descendants of families that started from a disadvantageous position found it difficult to break out for the same reasons, except for the cadres who were not sufficiently knowledgeable in the matters of middle-class body care. Thus the social differentiation based on categories of cleanliness continued to work under the surface. The difference between rural and urban lifestyles and the social differentiation based on it was also present – although less and less – until the end of the 20th century. Cleanliness in this system is a status requisite. Small elements of it give away the social position of each individual through visual and olfactory channels.

It is an important question how the middle-class cleanliness ideal is passed on to the peasantry. According to the traditional theory, the diffusion follows a top-to-bottom direction, but of course there are other channels of spreading the information.

As demonstrated above, adopting novelties could be the effect of outside influence – the government used various means (from health education through social cultural propaganda to consumer advertisement) – but it could be an internal cultural need, too, which was a consequence of the desire to improve social status; then, as it became an internalized natural desire, it served as a form of identity reinforcement.

We could also observe that the appearance of the internal need (e.g. a bathroom) was not sufficient in itself unless accompanied by external conditions (e.g. lack of piped water).

The core techniques and sophisticated rituals of body care and body arrangement (just like keeping the house tidy) cannot be learned in school, from educational literature or the mass media, only in family surroundings. Thus social groups of lower status pass on their own family patterns for a long time, even if they rise into a higher economic position.

The part of the mobilization process linked to bodily hygiene was strongly gender dependent: in a given family, the hygiene habits were usually formed, "enforced" and taught to the next generation by the mother. The knowledge and techniques of hygiene connected to the new/higher status can only be learned gradually, with a conscious dedication to change, and by collecting information. According to my data, this change takes several generations' time. That is true even in the world of consumer culture, because bodily hygiene education is no longer part of the school curriculum. In nursery school, the rules of washing the hands and using the toilet are taught to the children thoroughly and in practice, but the techniques of taking a bath, washing the hair and body arrangement are formed according to family patterns. The effect of the subculture or social group most relevant to the individual is a decisive factor in terms of physical appearance.

In pre-modern societies, the ritual of cleansing occurred in a communal setting, and the results were subject to communal norms. During the civilization process, bodily hygiene became more individual, and the choices regarding the results increased. So the individual is free to decide where to belong, and creates his or her appearance according to the demands of the given community and what message the person communicates.

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See biography of the author at the end of the previous article: *Body – Identity – Society. Guest Editor's Remarks on the Thematic Block,* at page 282.)

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"To Do Something when Something is Forbidden" – The Clean, the Sacred and the Forbidden in Synya Khanty Culture

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Abstract: Khanty culture in its present state – in the process of language loss and acculturation – still offers a wide field for the examination of notions related to everyday and sacral purity and their embodiment. Earlier research has explored certain details of these notions (e.g., regulations related to animals of mythological role, nutrition taboos and linguistic restrictions), it seems, however, that the concept of purity is more complex than that: it is a fundamental system which plays a central role, encompassing the whole of the traditional Khanty world, which ultimately defines the order of the world. This fact about the Khanty culture has practically not yet been articulated. The present research aims to explore the intersections of notions of purity and order in Khanty culture and to analyze the individual sub-fields.
Keywords: Khanty, purity, taboo, sacred

INTRODUCTION

It is almost a commonplace in the anthropological literature that cleanliness (as well as pollution) is not an absolute but a culturally defined concept (Douglas 2002:XVII). This topic is closely linked with the concepts of taboo, prohibition and sacredness in the history of scholarship. Since a series of prohibitions can apply to both uncleanness and phenomena belonging to the category of sacred, the profane-sacred discrimination also falls within this theme. In the research of Ob-Ugrian peoples, details of this subject were given serious attention (especially Rombangyejeva 1975; Bakró-Nagy 1979; Schmidt 1990; Lapina 1998; Taligina 2005; Adayev 2000; 2005). We know the consequences of female uncleanliness, the rules relating to it, but there is still a number of issues in regard to this matter.

The culture of the Western Siberian Khanty has been intensively studied in Hungarian linguistics and ethnology since the mid-19th century; after all, we are talking about one of the closest relatives of the Hungarian language and the speakers of that language. Today it is no longer primarily comparative research that is carried out; the goal is to understand certain phenomena in and of themselves. With the changes in fieldwork techniques, research among the geographically and culturally quite divided Khanty groups came to the fore, as opposed to general "Khanty" and "Ob-Ugrian" research.

My writing focuses on the culture of a riverside community, as my fieldwork in the past 20 years has been conducted in the settlements along the Synya River on the eastern side of the Ural Mountains in the Shuryshkarsky District of the Yamalo-Nenets Autonomous Region, among the Khanty groups living there. As an adult woman – and a housewife – I accumulated plenty of personal experiences regarding women's uncleanliness and its associated prohibitions, the many aspects of which are well documented in professional literature.[1] My targeted research on this topic has been summarized in a monograph, from which I provide excerpts here.[2]

CLEAN, DIRTY, FILTHY AND HOLY: WORDS AND CONCEPTS

Based on my field experiences and data from professional literature, concepts relating to cleanliness in Synya Khanty culture can be articulated in the following way:

The *sistam* 'clean' word is used in a very broad meaning; it is actually used for the vast majority of the discussed concepts, while there are separate words available for expressing the contrasting 'unclean'.

There is a cleanliness concept that is casual, practical in nature. Things are either *sistam* 'clean', or those which are not may be *χuleŋ* 'dirty,' *naprəŋ* 'filthy', *ńoχləŋ* 'smeared,' or covered in *wŏsi* 'smoke, *soot* dust.' This type of dirtiness, filthiness, dustiness can be terminated: it is washable, wipable, sweepable, dustable depending on the kind on contamination and the properties of the contaminated object. Since cleanliness is sustainable or can be produced, it is expected that objects and persons must be cleaned – in a specified manner and to a specific extent.

However, the word 'clean' is used in other contexts as well. A *sistam let-ŏt* 'clean food' is not clean in a physical sense but refers to a food that has not yet been served. So clean is the freshly cooked food, the freshly cut bread slice, the unopened bottle of drink, the just unwrapped store-bought food, etc. Here, then, the meaning of *sistam* approaches more the notion of 'new', 'intact'. A similar meaning can be detected in the *sistam tăχa* 'clean place' term, which refers to a place, an area that no one visits, is out of sight, and is thus intact, undisturbed.

Additionally, the weather and the sky can be 'clean', too, when there are no clouds, the sky is blue, and there is no precipitation.

They also use the word 'clean' to express the lack of female uncleanliness, *śŏχma*, which will be address in more detail later on.

The *χuli, χuleŋ* 'dirt, dirty' word usually refers to a type of dirt or dirtiness that sticks to the object, to body parts, can be removed with water, or seeps into the material. So *χuleŋ* are the unlaundered clothes, the unwashed dishes, but also *χuleŋ* is the water used for washing products; *χuleŋ* can be the face, hands, objects from which the dirt can be removed by washing.

[1] For the presentation of the written sources, see Ruttkay-Miklián 2014:24–26.

[2] My research has been conducted within the framework of the OTKA PD 83284 project, which also included the release of my book *"When the Foot Turns Heavy..." – The Cleanliness Concept of the Synya Khanty*. For the data, see under Ruttkay-Miklián 2014.

In contrast to washable dirt, the word *nampər, naprəŋ* 'garbage, trash' refers to a piece of waste. This is eliminated by dusting it out, shaking it out, sweeping it up. While the water used for washing is therefore *χuleŋ* 'dirty', the drinking water brought from the creek is *naprəŋ* 'polluted' if there is a leaf or moss floating in it. Dirty water cannot be cleaned, but polluted water can be made usable by sedimentation, filtration, careful measurement or pouring. There is a clearly noticeable difference, for example, between a dirty and a polluted floor: mopping will clean the first and sweeping the second.

There are grimy, slimy, sticky things which are marked by the word ńoŋχəl, *ńoχləŋ* 'smudge, smudged'. Most typically it is used for mud and the slime on the bodies of fish. It can be cleaned by wiping, washing.

An interesting phenomenon can be observed in the case of *wŏsi* 'smoke, soot, dust'. It is difficult to give an exact translation: it mostly designates something that is created as a result of bonfires and heating, has to do with smoke and other combustion products, and is powdery, almost airborne. It has a characteristic smell (smoky) and color (yellowish-grayish). The opposite of cleanliness, *wŏsi* is deposited on the beams of a log wall, the objects in the house, thus its meaning approximates house dust. Besides being dirty, however, there are cases when the *wŏsi* can play a useful role, especially in preserving leather and fur. Generally, the raw material to be preserved (often an already tailored piece of clothing) is hung over the summer mosquito smoker so that it would "catch the *wŏsi*," which in this case means smoking.

The Khanty also recognize a concept that could be called moral pollution – *śŏχma* – which is related to the female uncleanliness well documented in other cultures as well. Although its origin is quite physical (physiological), the concept does not cover physical contamination. In this sense, when a woman's *kŭrəl lawərta jis* 'legs turn heavy', that is, her monthly cleansing commences, she is considered contaminated from her soles upward all the way to her waist, and even to her neck (Rombandeyeva 1975:301). This contamination, the *śŏχma* 'uncleanness of female origin', is permanently present in a woman's foot, its effects periodically amplified during her monthly cleansing. It only ceases with menopause, when the woman *sŭwəl χot-loŋəla wŏśkəlle* 'throws her cane on the roof'. Although from this moment on her moral uncleanliness loses its reason, a woman usually does not change her behavior in regard to *śŏχma*. The *śŏχma* is a substance that is present in a woman's "heavy" foot, and can even spread from the top down, as if "infectious." Therefore, everything an unclean female foot has stepped on, slipped into, or crossed has become *śŏχma*ja *jis* 'unclean'. What's more, the contaminated object itself can continue infecting: whatever it gets on or hovers over even without contact becomes unclean. And whatever is *śŏχma* carries risks, brings diseases. According to a Khanty woman, "the old Khanty feared nothing more than *śŏχma*." It is important to note that *śŏχma* does not spread upwards: the floorboards (also) used by women can be used without risk by men and children considered clean, but once they are lifted (which is inevitable with the frequent relocations of a semi-nomadic fishing-hunting-reindeer herding lifestyle), they become a risk to all objects or persons that got underneath them. Cleaning of *śŏχma* (objects and persons, even body parts) is done with special smoking or steaming (Taligina 1999; 2005), but in many cases it is not even possible: a śŏχma object will forever remain that. It seems, then, that women's uncleanliness has a number of stages. It has been known that the rules for women are stricter during menstruation, pregnancy and confinement than during the rest of the period between first menstruation

and menopause, while during the preceding and subsequent periods the issue of female impurity is theoretically not relevant. Rombangyejeva's classic description (Rombangyejeva: 1975) spelled out the difference in the vertically measurable quantity of the spread of contamination: the feet and soles are always unclean, whereas upwards from there only during certain periods. However, it appears that "leg heaviness" during menstruation is caused by the quantitative or qualitative change in contamination, as precautions which may seem justified at other times too, based on the pollution of the foot or sole, must also be taken at this time. Women may, for example, walk around freely on the floorboards of the tent even when they have entered the unclean category, that is, when their soles and feet are considered contaminated. The floorboards are thus deemed quite contaminated and dangerous, as mentioned earlier. But when women's "feet turn heavy", i.e., they begin menstruating, they slide the floorboards towards the inside of the tent, and they themselves only enter the area by the door, they even sleep there near the door – the synonym for menstruation is the expression "to come to the door, to be by the door." They are obviously refraining from contaminating, or, to be precise, contaminating even more, the objects underneath them – which may already be unclean anyway. From certain stories it seems that the degree of cleanability depends on the extent of contamination, that is, objects that get soiled in their "base state" can be cleaned, but objects that come in contact with a greater degree of filth cannot. As mentioned above, the opposite of *śŏχma* is also the *sistam* 'clean'. The woman considered unclean "begins to live cleanly" upon entering menopause, so theoretically the ritual or sacred uncleanness surrounded by prohibitions is no longer relevant to her.

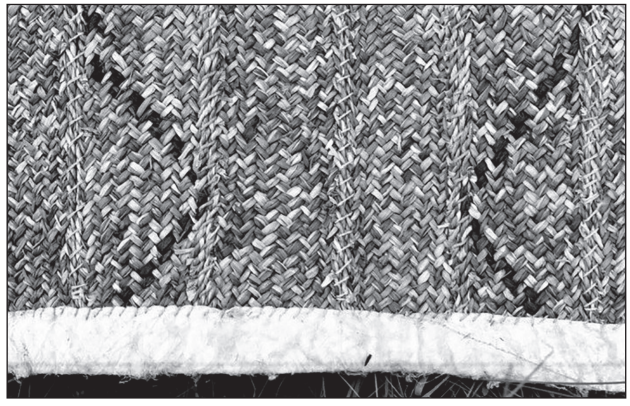

Figure 1. The rush mat used on the berth is one of the most unclean objects. Its edging was made of ling skin, Ov-olang-kurt, 1992. (Photo by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián)

Prohibitions help to separate the clean and unclean, as well as prevent their commingling. The *raχəl, ăt raχəl* 'may, may not' expression is used in a practical sense, but it is also used for explanations of prohibitions and taboos. So the word *jem* 'sacred, forbidden, taboo' in Khanty is primarily explained with ăt *raχəl*. In Russian it is usually translated as *svyatoy* "holy" by the Khanty; in classical Hungarian literature, besides 'holy' it is also translated as "bringing atonement." Similarly to *śŏχma, jem*

Figure 2. Ritual cleaning of headscarf by smoking. The owner of the headscarf stepped on it by accident, this is why she cleans it, Tiltum, 2000. (Photo by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián)

refers to a substance of some kind, because in utterance it is said of something that *jem tăjl* 'it has *jem*'. The use of the adjective *jemәŋ* 'holy, sacred' and the verb *jemәlti* 'following the rules relating to *jem*' formed from the root *jem* highlights the dual aspect of the concept. While the word *jemәŋ*, in accordance with its 'holy' meaning, is used primarily in relation to religion (e.g., sacred place – sacrificial place; holy house–a dwelling that houses a high-ranking idol or which has hosted the bear rites; sacred animal – a mythological animal), the verb *jemәlti* is commonly used to designate behavioral modes that regulate the relationship between son/daughter-in-law and father/mother-in-law and which aim to avoid contact. The most common manifestation of this is that a woman conceals her face from a man with her headscarf (mother-in-law from son-in-law, daughter-in-law from father-in-law), but also the way of speaking in which those in a higher kinship category address each other in Sg.3. instead of Sg.2. (e.g., "Let him move over!" rather than "Move over!"). The concealing of the face may also be required in connection with the 'holy' (e.g., when passing by significant sacred places by boat), yet it cannot be declared that it is always referring to sacred content. The validity of the rules belonging to the concept of *jem* can be wide-ranging in terms of the people affected and the duration of the prohibition. According to the Khanty, violating *jem* – even if unwittingly – brings illness and misfortune (e.g., stepping on a forbidden place–foot disease, consuming forbidden plants–toothaches, forbidden view – eye disease). To detect and remedy the error generally requires a specialist (shaman). Most commonly the solution is the offering of an adequate sacrifice.

A less often used synonym for the word *jem* is the Khanty word *kărek*, which stems from the Russian *grekh* 'sin'. This, on the one hand, has retained the original Russian 'sin' meaning, so it is related to the Khanty *jem* 'forbidden' meaning; on the other hand, as a result of definition-adaptations, it received the rather prosaic meaning of 'stool', which exists as a verb, too, thus creating a direct connection between the moral and physical aspects of waste.

THE TWO SIDES OF PROHIBITION

While presenting the meanings of the word 'clean', I pointed out that among the Synya Khanty, as with many of the world's cultures, the concepts of clean, forbidden, taboo and sacred are closely related. The central category of these concepts is the word *jem*,

the translation of which brings up the major problem of distinguishing between the ‘forbidden, taboo’ and the ‘sacred’ meaning. The first question, then, is: what is the content of the *jem* category?

Figure 3. Dictionary collection from Roza Makarovna Rokhtimova (b. Taligina), Ovgort, 1999. (Photo by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián)

For understanding the Khanty words, Roza Makarovna Rokhtimova’s (b. Taligina) explanations to numerous entries of the DEWOS[3] are helpful as a source. As an example, about the meaning of the word *jem*, she gives the following answer:

> “Well, *jem* is from someone ... how should I say, *jem* ... Well, what do we think is *jem?* Eating a pike raw, as a raw fish, is *jem.* Cutting a ling is also *jem*, eating it raw is *jem* too. You cook it, you eat it. Then what else? Well, saying something bad is *jem*. Or saying an ugly word to a child is also bad. If you don’t let him, it is also wrong, *jem* or what, definitely wrong.” (Rokhtimova (Taligina) Róza Makarovna, 1999, Ovgort)

In this definition, in addition to previous meanings, the category of wrong appears as a new element, mostly via ‘forbidden’: when you do anything that is prohibited, it is wrong. Wrong is of course used in the ordinary sense too:

> *“atəm* [‘bad’]? It is when you get something wrong. Something bad. Well, not adequate, or something. It’s wrong. What is bad? That perhaps, what is not adequate? What is wrong? I did, they say, I sewed my pattern wrong. Bad, the word wrong, aha, sewed it wrong. You say: what did you sew wrong? The dress is bad. Or it is badly sewn, that’s what they say. Or your dress is wrong, you say. And why is your dress wrong? It is poorly sewn.” (Rokhtimova (Taligina) Roza Makarovna, 1999, Ovgort.)

[3] The etymological dictionary of the Khanty languages, covering all dialects, including a vast number of examples and explanations (Steinitz 1966–1993. Hereafter DEWOS).

However, the word *jem* also comes in contact with the definition of *jăm* 'good', because a space protected by prohibitions is clean, good.[4] The meaning of *jăm* 'good' also extends to practical, everyday topics: "The *jăm*, look, you just said it, you sewed it well, and it's good. You washed the dress and it's good. Or what, such places. Well, he's a good one, they say. He does not quarrel or something, they also say." (Rokhtimova (Taligina) Roza Makarovna, 1999, Ovgort.)

Inasmuch as the meaning of *jem* can connect with both "good" and "bad," it is clearly not the content but the frame that may be the same: the fact of the prohibitions is true in both cases, regardless of what and why they regulate. Prohibitions of the *jem* type – no longer speaking of prohibitions of a practical nature, for example, that one should not go out in the cold in light clothes – may cover very different areas: who, when, with whom, with what, what, and where may or may not do.

There are certain rules that always apply to everyone (e.g., a Synya Khanty never eats a raw pike[5]), while other rules apply only to a group (e.g., prohibitions relating to the totem animals of certain clans). There are rules that are valid for certain periods (e.g., during a waxing moon, on a given day, in the mourning period, or even during the monthly cleansing).

The prohibition can manifest in several ways. Prohibitions on the consumption of certain foods depend not only on the nature of the particular food but also on the consumer's personality, condition; that is to say, pike is usually consumed by the Khanty, the Synya Khanty do not eat it raw, and Synya women do not eat it at all during their cleansing periods and while confined. It may be forbidden to visit certain sites, but, again, regulations differ for different groups: restrictions are strict for foreigners in general, for members of other clans and for women, but certain sacrificial sites may have clan regulations that apply to men, too. Women in an unclean condition cannot participate in the bear rites, but mourning men also cannot attend presentations of plays or songs. The Ob-Ugrian "bear-language," a taboo-language used in situations related to bears, is well-known (linguistically processed by Bakró-Nagy 1979), which is extended to everyday foods that are consumed during the bear rites; for example, during the bear rites bread is called *părta pelək* 'left side', knife is *jetləŋ* ŏt 'sharp thing', therefore the men in charge of food preparation converse with sentences like, "give me the sharp thing, let me cut some left side." The taboo-language is used in other situations as well: causes of death are typically referred to with paraphrases or taboo-words. If someone drowned, for example, they announce it with *jiśt* ŏtən *părəs* 'died in a drinkable thing', using *jiśt* ŏt 'drinkable thing' that customarily refers to water during the bear rites. The prohibition of utterance applies to names too. Among the Synya Khanty, it is a verbally articulated norm that a person's real name should not be uttered; for their protection, other names or description, paraphrases must be used. The easiest way, of course, is the customary traditional method

[4] Morphologically the word *jem* 'forbidden, taboo', 'sacred' and and word *jăm* 'good' are close to each other. The difference is evident to the native speaker; however, with insufficient language skills one would come to the summary opinion that the two are the same. An edifying example is the Khanty volume of the Uralic mythological encyclopedia series published by an international editorial team, in which the articles written by V. Kulemzin totally mixed up the concepts and words (Kulemzin 2000:112–113; 134–135).

[5] Unlike other Khanty groups.

of Khanty conversation: using kinship terms as both identification and salutation, group names as proper names (e.g., *ŏw-olәŋ* ‘woman from Ov-Olang’), as well as nicknames and sobriquets. Since the introduction of church registry practices, the Khanty use Russian forenames. With regard to forenames, it is also common to use a different forename than the one recorded in the official birth certificate. According to Sokolova (1972a:52), this system applies to everyone, but my own data only relate to particular cases. Sokolova also states that the Khanty are eager to give their children the latest fashionable Russian forenames because, due to their novelty status, they are well suited for the requirements of the taboo-name category (Sokolova 1975:44). Of the Russian forenames, it is the archaic ones that the Khanty consider to be “true” Khanty names, as their known ancestors bore these names. Russian forenames – especially the ones with a long history of use among the Khanty – have conformed to the Khanty pronunciation mode. So, for example, the Russian Fedos became *petuś* in Khanty pronunciation, Josif became *uśəp*, Andrej became *untər*. The Khanty attribute these changes not to phonology but to taboo rules: if a name is not pronounced exactly as it “officially” should be, then it becomes suitable to describe the person without harm – it’s as if you didn’t even use their name. There are even complete “taboo translations” in the use of names. For example, instead of the Russian forename Anna, I have heard used – with a bit of a humorous and even sarcastic undertone – the Khanty *lipi* ‘internal, vessel’ word. The explanation for this is that the name morphologically coincides with the Khanty *an* ‘cup, bowl’ word, thus it has been replaced with the synonym of the Khanty meaning.

The prohibition of contact – through the concepts of the untouchable and inviolable – forms the basis of the category of *jem*. Primarily it occurs in relation to certain sites and certain species of animals but is also present in the regulation of human relations.

CLEAN PLACES

Prokop Jermolovich Pirisev, a Synya Khanty student in Leningrad, wrote a Synya Khanty-language essay in 1937 for his teacher, Wolfgang Steinitz, choosing a community sacrificial offering as its topic:

> “Who does not know among the Synya Khanty people about the Holy River Cape and the City Gulf among the residents of Synya? Above Masa-kurt, about the distance of three straight sections of the river, reaching into Hart Bull, there are two large, wooded promontories. The lake used to get so big in the spring that the river willows on the other bank can be barely seen from the corner of your eye. The Synya Khanty stop by the Holy River Cape and City Gulf every spring to offer food and animal sacrifices. The more wealthy offer animal sacrifices, the less wealthy stop by to offer food. The ones who move right on bring a small bowl of food as sacrifice, and the ones who can’t offer even a small bowl of food throw out some money” (Steinitz 1975:53).

The *jemәŋ* ńŏl ’Holy River Cape’ used to be the most important sacrificial place to the Synya guardian spirit, *jŏχanәŋ* iki ‘Old Man River’, until it was possible to keep the area clean according to Khanty taboo rules. The sacred character of the Holy River Cape is still well known. Passersby – in the method described by Pirisev – still throw

money into the river to this day, even if they do not stop to offer a food sacrifice. The rule that is common in *jemәŋ* 'sacred, forbidden' sites applies to the Holy River Cape as well: it is forbidden to fish in this stretch of the Synya River, one may not even drink from it, only from the creek nearby, and the plants should not be touched either. Despite all this, in the early 1940s a settlement grew out of the ground at the Holy River Cape. Steinitz's 1937 commentary already mentions that Russian and Komi residents from the nearby district center, Muzi, would go fishing there (Steinitz 1976:109). During World War II deportations Kalmyk people were forcibly relocated here, the area designated for them to build houses and fish. Since then the settlement's name has been Svjatoj Mys – the Russian mirror translation of the Khanty Holy River Cape. However, when the settlement was being developed, the Khanty women following a traditional lifestyle did not even leave the boat in accordance with taboo rules. When in the summers a bakery and store opened for the fishermen in the village, only the men went there, the women waited in the boat. After the end of the war, the Kalmyks moved away. In her 1963 fieldwork report, Sokolova still mentions Svjatoj Mys as a settlement (Sokolova 1972a:15), but in 1971 she reports that the previously inhabited settlement has been deserted by then (Sokolova 1972b:165). Today there is still a house there where people en route somewhere stop to spend the night when it gets dark, but it's considered a scary place, invisible creatures scaring people at night.

Nightly commotions at sacred places are so undesirable that an adult Khanty man confessed to me: at night he dares not go up to the attic of his own house, where the idols are kept.

According to a well-known Khanty *syuzhet*, two men were discussing which is a more dangerous place at night: the cemetery or the sanctuary? They decided that one of them would spend the night in one place, the other in the other place. In the morning, the one who slept in the cemetery recounted that the dead thought he was a tree trunk as he lay on the ground, tripped over him, kicked him, did not understand how he got there, but they did not hurt him. The other man never returned from the sanctuary. When they went looking for him, they saw that he has been mangled, his intestines wound around the trees.

To maintain the purity and inviolability of sacred, forbidden places, a fairly complex system of motivations and mechanisms has developed, which is activated based on date, person, sex, and origin. Depending on the importance and nature of the place, the circle of people allowed to visit a sacred place, for example, narrows: foreign women are usually the first to be banned, then women belonging to the kinship group are banned from participating, next up are foreign men, and in areas considered the most sacred, the behavior and presence of even a small group of males is highly restricted.

In the case of sacrificial sites, it is essential that they be in difficult-to-find places, with hardly any path leading there. Narratives recount a sacred place where men enter in single file, stepping in each other's footprints, thus causing the least possible damage to nature – and leaving the slightest possible trace. Although they go to these places in the cleanest clothes and after a ritual cleansing (at least in old times), sometimes they tie a clean birch bark to their soles, as "you have to pee and poop" and the sole of the footwear may get dirty. The sanctuary located at the source of the Synya River is visited by men for only a short time. They camp at a stone's throw from there, and go to the actual sanctuary only with an empty sled. There they quickly cook some tea and food, but do not spend a lot of time. If nature calls, one silently rises and returns in his sled to the

distant camp, where they eventually eat and drink. They are not allowed leave "traces" near the sanctuary (Vasily Petrovich Pugurchin, Hor-punang-kurt, 2002).

Nonetheless, there are sacrificial sites for families and women, too, where both sexes can be present, although there may be some regulations depending on the subject of reverence, such as occasionally an unclean woman may not go even to a family sacrificial site. At women's sacrificial sites, it is primarily women and children that attend the ceremonies, but the men are not banned. However, events usually take place at both sites concurrently: men and women remain in their separate sacrificial places, and only clean children are allowed to go from one site to the other (geographic distance permitting).

The intact, forbidden surroundings of the sacrificial sites serve almost like a conservation area for the fish and wildlife population. The abundant possibilities of game in forests that have never been hunted, lakes that have never been fished, were the "golden reserves" of the Khanty: in lean years, during famines, they could resort to this source (Adayev 2007:160–164). I noted about the Holy River Cape that for other nationalities, simply its abundance of fish had a great allure. One of the reasons for the outbreak of the Kazym Rebellion of 1933–34, Western Siberia's only anti-communist movement, was the harvesting of Numto Lake, sacred to the Khanty and forest Nenets (Yornykhova 2003:65 onwards).

Sacrificial sites were considered reserves not only for their untouched natural environment, but because the sacrificial objects – textiles, furs, coins – also represented a significant value, which in hard times the community could borrow from for its survival. On a smaller scale but similarly serving as a safety box are the sacred corners in the home,

Figure 4. Garbage heap on the edge of the village, Ov-olang-kurt, 2000. (Photo by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián)

where the cigarettes offered to the spirits are practically constantly in use, exchanged. Similarly, the cigarettes, matches, food, alcohol placed in the boxes of mourning dolls can also be removed, replaced. While trading with the spirits is a functioning and accepted activity, the removal of objects placed in the cemetery is condemned. Graves have small doors that are opened during cemetery visits and gifts are left for the dead – cigarettes, textiles – and of course a steaming bowl of cemetery food sits by the door until the visitors consume it. Here the cigarette is smoked by the gravesite in memory of the dead,

or lit and left there to burn out – the box may not be removed. The traditional process of slightly damaging the objects left by the grave is nowadays explained by saying that they are protecting them from theft.

The cemetery is not considered a sanctuary: firewood, water can be collected on-site, there is no ban on plants or animals, although it is not customary, for example, to collect berries in the vicinity. Interestingly, untouchability still appears, though in a somewhat "reverse" way: neither burial structures nor burial monuments may be touched for repair purposes, "after all we brought it here to rot ultimately" (Jevdokija Mihajlovna Longortova (Taligina), Ov-Olang-kurt, 2007). It is also prohibited to pick up dropped morsels or small trash, because once something was dropped there, it belongs to the dead.

We cannot say, though, that all so-called clean places should be protected: a spot in the forest, for example, where no one ever goes, is considered clean and is thus suited for leaving used clothes or garbage, because it is hidden from view.

SACRED ANIMALS

The *jem* 'prohibited, sacred' is also a central category in relation to fauna, and is usually listed as 'sacred' in professional literature. Among the rules for hunting, utilization and consumption, the most well-known rules are the ones concerning bears because of all the research into the Ob-Ugrian bear cult,[6] but there are restrictions for several other animal, bird and fish species. The Synya Khanty most often indicate the following animal species

Figure 5. Processing ling is a man's job. Women may not cut ling with metal, and in the unclean condition they cannot even consume them, Ov-olang-kurt, 1999. (Photo by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián)

[6] For the linguistic aspect, see Bakró-Nagy 1979; a complex analysis of the bear cult: Schmidt 1990, 2011; ethnographic description of specifically the Synya Khanty bear rites: Taligina 2007.

as having *jem*: frog, lizard; sturgeon, ling, pike; Arctic loon, several types of geese; moose, bear, wolf; dog, cat, mouse, ermine. Prohibitions regarding these animals range from full or partial restrictions on touching, hunting, consumption and utilization. In the following I try to show the content of *jem* and its relationship to cleanliness through some regulations related to typically 'sacred, forbidden' animal species.

In the explanation of the word *jem* quoted above, Roza Makarovna first mentions the taboos regarding the consumption of ling and pike. As a woman, this is what she thought of first of the ban. In regard to female uncleanliness, three fish species are subject to special regulations among the Synya Khanty: the ling, the pike and the sturgeon. These are *jemәŋ* 'sacred, forbidden' fish. It is true of all three that among the Synya Khanty neither men nor women consume them raw, women may not kill them and cut them with metal, and women can absolutely not consume them on days of menstruation and confinement. The prohibition of using metal for cutting also means that women should theoretically not be catching fish, but this is nowadays breached by younger girls and women in the case of pike, because flashing is one of the most popular summer activities. The processing of these fish, however, remains a man's job, the cutting taboo is customarily not breached, though Khanty women found loopholes: they can break smaller pike by hand if there are no men nearby who would prepare them for cooking.

There are significant numbers of pike in the Synya, and unlike the migratory whitefish types, they are available in the Synya year-round – they are *šŏši χŭl* 'native fish'. In the summer, there is hardly any other fish in the river, in July and August the most common catch is the pike caught with the flashing method. Although in other river regions[7] they are consumed freshly salted, for the Synya Khanty – men and women, adults and children – this is not permitted. There are stories about huge pike living in isolated ponds which are said to have antlers on their forehead. On the outskirts of Ov-Olang-kurt village, on the other bank of the river across from the village, there is a largish pond whose name is *oŋtәŋ soʁ tŭw* 'antlered pike lake'. Besides the restrictions about consumption by women in the unclean condition and cutting with metal, there are no other specific rules about pike.

Sturgeon is very rare in the Synya; it might be caught from time to time in the lower section of the river, but otherwise they may get caught in nets while fishing on the Ob River. Sturgeon may be consumed salted and frozen, then it is not considered raw. Of course, it is also consumed cooked. When the sturgeon is processed, the dorsal nerve cord is removed in one piece. This should not be cut, nor is it edible. The liver is not consumed either.

The sturgeon is very valuable, not only among the Khanty but also on the Russian market. Because of overfishing and environmental damage – the Ob is one of the most polluted rivers in the world – their numbers have dwindled, and they are protected. Nevertheless, the Khanty still consume it today, if at all possible. A very special feature of sturgeon is that it can be a sacrificial animal. This function is fundamentally fulfilled by domesticated animals, probably because the wild forest animals belong to the spirits „anyway," they cannot be given as offering. So it is most often reindeer or horses that are used as sacrificial animals; today sheep and poultry may also be suitable for this function. In order for the sturgeon to fulfill its role of sacrificial animal, after being trapped in the

[7] e.g., along the Kazym river.

Ob it had to be transported live to the Synya, which could take several days. During this time it was kept wet. Alternatively, as a last resort, instead of a live animal, it is sufficient to bring its blood to the sacrificial site (Longortov Arkady Petrovich, 2013, Ov-Olang-kurt). Thus the sturgeon, despite the fact that it is neither domesticated nor warm-blooded, can be a sacrificial animal. I do not have further information about the reason for this.

In contrast, burbot, which is also considered native to the Synya, is not allowed in a sanctuary, not just as a sacrificial animal but altogether. As a reason, Ilya Ivanovich Longortov said that the burbot is *śŏχma* that is, ‘infected with female uncleanness’ (Ovgort, 2012). Nevertheless, burbot is still consumed, its liver considered a real delicacy. It is noteworthy that there are essential, contradictory differences in terms of the bans and permissions regarding the three fish designated as *jem* ‘sacred, forbidden’. Furthermore, there are no restrictions on the consumption of the so-called “Khanty” fish, the humpback and peled whitefish, which are considered staples.

fish	*burbot*	*pike*	*sturgeon*	*whitefish*
can it be fished?	women no, only remove from net	women no, only remove from net	women no, only remove from net	yes
can it be skinned, cut?	women no, neither raw nor cooked	women no, neither raw nor cooked	women no, neither raw nor cooked	yes
is its meat edible?	yes	yes	yes	yes
raw	no	no	frozen anyone	yes
some parts under special rules	no	no	dorsal nerve cord removed in one piece, should not be cut, inedible; liver not consumed	no
for women in general	yes	yes	yes	yes
for women in unclean condition	no	no	no	yes
in the cemetery	yes	yes	yes	yes
at the sacrificial site	no	yes	yes	yes
at a burial site	no	yes	yes	yes
parts can be used	yes	no	yes	no

altogether	yes*	-	yes**	-
for women	yes	-	-	-
other	-	-	suitable as animal sacrifice	-

Figure 6. Summary of the rules for some fish species.
* e.g., cover for a man's knife sheath; sack for women's boots; edging for rush mat
** glue from swim bladder

In the case of 'sacred, forbidden' mammals, the mythological background is well-known, so the various prohibitions – also related to purity – are easier to interpret. József Pápay recorded the following among the northern Khanty near the Synya about the 'women's month' or 'small house':

> "If the Ostyak woman gets to her month (small house), she goes to a separate house: she may not be with her husband, she behaves [according to the rule] (cautious). She does not eat elk meat. The elk is a favored animal in heaven, the Word of God ordered it not to be eaten during the "small house" condition; because if it is eaten during the "small house" condition: [that woman's] husband will have a reason to be penalized (tormented by the sacred animal), he will not find a elk. A woman in the "small house" does not take (=eat) bear meat. She replaces the chips in her loincloth in shorter intervals (some throw them away, take another)" (Pápay 1995:63).[8]

The elk-myth says of the origins of the elk that initially it was created with six extremities by the Father in the Highest Heaven, but since it fled so quickly from the hunters that they were not able to catch it, he sent a mythical hunter after it, who caught it and cut off its two hind legs. These legs he hurled into the sky, which became the Elk-star, that is, the Big Dipper. In light of this myth it is understandable why the rump area of the elk – the place of the feet that got into the sky – falls into the category of forbidden foods for women. Namely, women of a fertile age may not consume the elk's head, heart and the meat along the rear section of its backbone, and during unclean periods they cannot eat elk meat at all. Elk fur cannot be made into footwear for women, only for children and men.

The celestial origins of the bear have similar consequences: as the son or daughter of the Father in the Highest Heaven who asked to come to earth, bear meat shall not be eaten by women in their unclean period, and they shall not consume its left side with the heart or its head at all. The system of rules regarding the bear is, of course, much more complex than this: it covers everything from the taboo-language used in issues and situations relating to bears to the details of the bear rites. Keeping the issue of cleanliness in mind, there are two aspects of the regulations regarding the bear: on the one hand, they really ensure that the bear not come into contact with impurity, but on the other hand, as a kind of reverse behavior, profanity and obscenity unimaginable in other situations are mandatory

[8] The text presented here is Pápay's own translation of his Khanty-language collections; both have been published. I have some reservations in regards to Pápay's translation, but the notation only generates questions, it does not give answers; the essence of the information is obviously correct.

components of the behavior towards the bear. One must curse while consuming bear meat, and blame someone for instigating this deed, but all the while scrupulous care must be taken to make sure that the wood chips used for cleaning hands and mouth are placed in the fire – a clean place – or that even the act of eating is addressed in taboo-words, as if "collecting berries." One must also swear upon a chance encounter with a bear in the woods – so not only during the peak of Ob-Ugrian sacrality, the bear rites.

mammal	*bear*	*Wolverine*	*wolf*	*elk*	*reindeer*	*dog*
can it be hunted?	no data about women / no	no data about women/no	women can only wound it	No data for women[9]	yes	depending on clan
can it be skinned, cut?	women no	women no	women no	no data for skinning, can be cut	yes	depending on clan
Is its meat edible?	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	no
raw	no	no	no	no	yes	-
Some parts under special rules	gall dried; women only the right side; women head no; only men cook it, in a separate vessel, without salt	women only from the right side; women head no; only men cook it, in a separate vessel	only men	head, meat near rump men only	head is not eaten raw	-
for women in general	right side, not head	yes	no	yes, but head, meat next to rump no	yes	-
for women in unclean condition	no	no data/no	no	no	yes	-
in the cemetery	no	no	-	yes, but not the head	yes	-

[9] There is no data from the Synya Khanty; elsewhere, for example, among the Mansi, female elk hunters are common.

at the sacrificial site	yes	no data	-	yes	yes	-
at a burial site	no	no data	-	yes	yes	-
Parts can be used	yes	yes	no****	yes	yes	yes
altogether	yes*	yes	-	yes***	yes	yes**
for women	no	no	-	no	yes	no
other	-	-	-	-	-	killed upon commission; otherwise, when a dog is killed, sacrifice must be offered in Tegi

Figure 7. Regulations regarding some of the important mammals.
* Canines, claws
** undercoat-fur, men's hat; garment knitted from hair for women too
*** Leg-fur footwear for men; calf-fur for men and children
**** yes for ritual objects

The summary of the data on fish and mammals shows that species considered staple foods – reindeer, whitefish – have barely any prohibitions, while prey animals consumed less frequently – dependent on hunter's luck – or seasonally are surrounded by plenty of prohibitions. In nutritional taboos, the restrictions are not about the consumption of certain species but about determining the circle of consumers. They exclude women during critical periods or at any time, but depending on the mode of consumption the ban can also extend to everyone. However, while these prohibitions are clearly applicable to certain animals, assuming that they are of 'clean, forbidden, sacred' quality, because its maintenance seems to be the aim of the bans, there is also an example of an animal – the burbot – that is considered inherently unclean, inasmuch as it is *jem*. It seems, therefore, that the category of *jem* can be summarized with the existence of prohibitions, while the purpose and content of prohibitions can range widely.

FORBIDDEN CONTACTS

Khanty men used to make peculiar bets. When they ate grouse meat together, two of them broke the breast bone into two and pledged to never take anything from each other's hand.

The violator of the pledge gave his "opponent" a predetermined gift – usually a bottle of drink. This pledge was kept for years, because we are talking about people who rarely meet.

The prohibition of hand to hand transfer is known from mythological times, as the Synya Khanty recall a people that used to dwell in the forests, in high places, in earth lodges whose pits are still visible. Several people seem to know that when encountering members of this people, one was not supposed to transfer anything from hand to hand but place the item on the paddled ski poles – especially tobacco, because that's what they asked for – and hand it over like that. A similar rule applies to salt to this day, which in several Khanty groups is not passed to someone in the palm but on the back of the hand.

The prohibition of hand to hand transfer is part of a complex set of rules previously mentioned briefly, the *jeməlti*. The verb formed from the word *jem* 'forbidden, sacred' is usually translated as 'following the prohibitions regarding *jem*', but most of the sources also suggest that this is not related to sacrality but primarily regulates people's relationships with each other (Steinitz 1966–1993:373; Dudeck 2013:246 and following). As I showed above with the interpretation of the words, in my observation the word *jeməlti* is not commonly used in cases when they are complying with, for example, rules about *jem* animals, but is used to specifically regulate the behavior of affinal relatives. The Khanty kinship system is classifying in nature, and rules of conduct also apply between individuals and classes and between class and class. In forming the classes, sex, age relative to self and ancestor in direct line, paternal or maternal relatives and affinal relatives play a determining role. For the wife, all of her husband's male relatives who are older than her husband are considered *ŭp* 'father-in-law', while their wives and older paternal female relatives are *untəp* 'mother-in-law'. For the husband, his wife's paternal male relatives will be fathers-in-law, all the way to the generation of common children, and their wives are considered mothers-in-law. For these groups, the wife is *meń* 'daughter-in-law', the husband *weŋ* 'son-in-law'.[10] The best-known example of *jeməlti* rules is the concealing of the face with a headscarf as part of the regulations between daughters-in-law and fathers-in-law, as well as sons-in-law and mothers-in-law. Women pull the edges of their headscarf tightly forward from the two sides of their face so that their face is not visible. Beyond hiding the face, Khanty women's wear is loose, its cinched cut even hides the contours of the body. Young brides always wore a shabby coat, no matter how hot it was, just so their shape may not be accidentally visible through their clothes. A firmly tied headscarf allowed them to use their hands while working, and if necessary, the edge of the headscarf was pulled tight with their mouth or teeth. Separation within the dwelling – such as for quiet sewing, but during the wedding ceremony even for dining – was provided by the χăśap, a canopy-like tent of thin linen, or in log houses parties subject to the ban would settle down on two sides of the hoarding separating their berths located by the wall. In addition to hiding the view, physical contact should also be avoided, and so, for example, the transfer of objects from hand to hand could not occur; instead, the requested object was put down and the other could pick it up from there. They also had to abstain from directly addressing each other, thus using third person instead of second person to speak to each other (corresponding to formal addressing). These rules are introduced on the occasion of the wedding. The future son-in-law, for instance, offered

[10] For the presentation of the kinship system, see Steinitz 1957; Ruttkay-Miklián 2007, 2012: 45–58.

a glass of drink to each of the women in the mother-in-law group, placing a ring in the glass. Those who accepted the invitation to the *jeməlti* took the ring and thus commenced complying with the prohibitions.[11] According to a Khanty woman living in Ovgort, so a larger municipality, when her daughter got married, she had to prepare to follow the rules of *jeməlti* towards her son-in-law. To do this, she contemplated where the young couple would live, what routes she and her son-in-law would take, and she planned new ways to avoid their encounter and prevent the need for "active hiding" (Sijanova (Kontyerova) Jelizaveta, 2003, Ovgort). The same situation in a small village where male relatives live with wives brought from other villages means that women are constantly on "alert." They have to keep track of when and from which direction a man from whom they must hide may emerge. Accordingly, they must wear a headscarf when stepping out of the house, so as to cover their face at any time. One summer an elderly woman worked in front of her house without a scarf. When I asked how she could be bare-headed, she replied that there is no one here from whom she would have to *jeməlti*, as her husband is the senior of all the inhabitants of the surrounding houses, the others all being younger than him. According to a story about another woman, once when she was not wearing a headscarf and suddenly had to hide her face from someone, she pulled the bottom of her dress over her head. Even though she solved the issue of *jeməlti*, she also revealed her bare buttocks. This *syuzhet* by Stephan Dudeck (written communication) is known among the Eastern Khanty, according to whom Khanty women respond in this way, a Nenets woman, however, if caught unprepared and barefoot by the forbidden visitor, will sit with her legs pulled under her as long as the person is present. There are situations in relation to the *jeməlti* where several rules intersect. A woman's daughters married men from different clans. The mother-in-law abides by the rules regarding her sons-in-law, but there is one exception: she does not conceal her face from the son-in-law that is her close relative. But I also listed among my examples a case where a son-in-law comes from the same clan as the mother-in-law but a different branch. There the mother-in-law strictly follows the rules of taboo. Of course, this difference may stem simply from the different relationship of the two women with taboos, but the woman not concealing herself from the close relative still follows the rules of taboo in the presence of her unrelated sons-in-law.

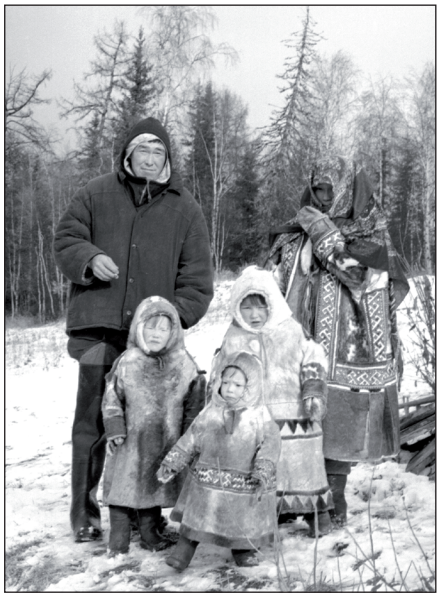

Figure 8. Family photo without the face of the mother: "who knows whose hand it falls into…". Aleksandr Vasil'yevich Longortov and his family, Aj-kurt, 2002. (Photo by Eszter Ruttkay-Miklián)

In addition to the many prohibitions, these same groups also have some permissions. According to literary data, a younger brother could develop a confidential relationship with

[11] Unfortunately I have no data to show what would have happened if someone did not accept the invitation.

the wife of his *jaj* 'older brother, older paternal male relative' during the lifetime of the 'older brother', and upon the 'older brother's' death he could even marry the widowed *ăńχi* 'aunt' – this is the institution of levirate. The wife of the 'younger brother', however, falls in the category of *meń* 'daughter-in-law' and is protected by the above strict taboos (e.g., Steinitz 1957:328).

Compliance with the rules of *jeməlti* falls to both parties: not only does the woman have to conceal her face, address the appropriate male relative formally, not cross behind an old man's back, etc., but those affected should also facilitate its success. For example, the man must signal before he enters the house or tent: he coughs, stomps, and lets some time pass so that if there is a woman in the building who is required to conceal her face, she may do so before he enters. It is proper for a man to turn his head, not to look her in the face; to turn and position himself so as to avoid having the woman pass behind him, etc.

According to data in professional literature, the practice of *jeməlti* may be necessary not only between relatives of different sex but also between same-sex affinal relatives. The father-in-law and son-in-law cannot do their "business" together (Csepregi 1997:450), and there is even data about men's concealment (Dudeck 2013:249).

SUMMARY

Based on the above-described three themes – places, animals, and relationships possessing *jem* – it appears that *jem* can be mostly conceived of as a framework. The commonality between things that have *jem* lies not in the "why" but in the "how," not in the content but in the fact of the regulated nature of the relationship. It is apparent that in contrast with the "sacred" translation of the word *jem* – which is most prevalent in the literature – its 'forbidden' meaning deserves to be brought to the fore.

The examples of the rules regarding pike, sturgeon and burbot clearly show that certain prohibitions – the best known being the ones applicable to women in general, and to women in the unclean condition – are the same, while completely different properties can be detect with certain species. While the sturgeon as a sacrificial animal comes into contact with the upper world, the burbot in its filthiness belongs to the lower world, although both belong to the category *jem.*

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Cleanliness as a Part of Mari Identity

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Abstract: The focus of this study is the concept of cleanliness among the Mari, a people speaking a Finno-Ugrian language living in the Volga region of Russia. I personally had a chance to carry out ethnological expeditions in the Mari Republic and in the Mari villages of the Bashkir, Tatar and Udmurtian Republics, and the Kirov and Perm regions from 1981 until recently. In this article, I discuss the concept of hygiene among Mari women and the changes it went through from the Soviet times until today. I explore cleanliness discourse and practice as a traditional moral concept, and as a concept of hygiene adapted by Soviet mass culture. How has the propaganda of health and hygiene influenced the practices of everyday life? What was the connection between the traditional concept and the propaganda of power?
Keywords: cleanliness concept, sacred water, body care, gender, changing attitude to cleanliness, everyday life, folk dress.

"Our group of researchers and students arrived in the Mari village of Uncho in June 2002. The head of the cooperative and the head of the village accommodated us at the kindergarten. In the beginning, we had a meeting about the fieldwork, but the first question related to cleanliness. Where and how to wash? It was the main problem for the villagers. In the kindergarten, we had fresh water, but it was cold. The head of the cooperative decided immediately that the villagers have to invite the guests to the bathhouse. After this meeting, we had invitations to wash in different bathhouses."[1]

The above experience is a proper example of cleanliness as a concept. Hygiene joined the researchers and students from Finland with the Mari villagers. It was problematic for both, especially the Mari homemakers and hosts. Our fieldwork continued the next year, in 2003. We had a new challenge as the kindergarten was under renovation.

[1] Lehtinen Field notes 2002. We had a joint project between Finland and the Mari Republic in Russia. From Finland, the Universities of Helsinki and Turku participated, as well as the Museum of Cultures, from the Mari, the Research Institute of the Mari Republic. The results of the project were published in Lehtinen 2009.

Figure 1. A Mari family. White dress – pure soul. The village of Azial, the Mari Republic, 1910. National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki. (Photo by Timofei Yevseev)

Immediately, the head of the cooperative decided to build a bathhouse for us, and the work began the next morning in the yard of the kindergarten. The notion of hygiene followed me in my expeditions in the Mari villages for 25 years. The villagers offered the researcher the possibility to wash up in the sauna in every part of the Mari speaking region.

Cleanliness is a part of Mari mentality. Nikandr Popov, the Mari ethnologist pointed out that the Mari ideal is a "man who has a pure soul." What is a "pure soul?" It is the purity of thinking, talking and doing, and at the same time it includes the cleanliness of body, health and power (Popov 2013:311). Cleanliness is also emphasized by Mari folk clothing, which consists of a white dress decorated with embroidery.

Nadya L. Peterson studied the cultural connotations of cleanliness in Soviet Russia. She pointed out that cleanliness was and still is a woman's duty – an invisible part of culture: traces of women's daily behavior often become visible only in recorded acts of negation of these norms (Peterson 1996:182). Sonya, a Mari teacher in the Sosnovka village, stated the same idea in the following form: "In the hands of the woman, it is a ball of thread. She pulls all the threads and takes care of all the activities of everyday life, like the children, the clothing, and the home, the economic situation of the family, the milking and the work."[2]

The dichotomy of clean/unclean (ordered/disordered) is directly related to the social organization of space (Douglas 1966:35). The visible manifestations of cleanliness (dress, home, environment) are clear signs of the division between private and public realms characteristic of middle-class society (Vigarello 1988:160). Cleaning

[2] Lehtinen Field notes 2009, Bashkortostan.

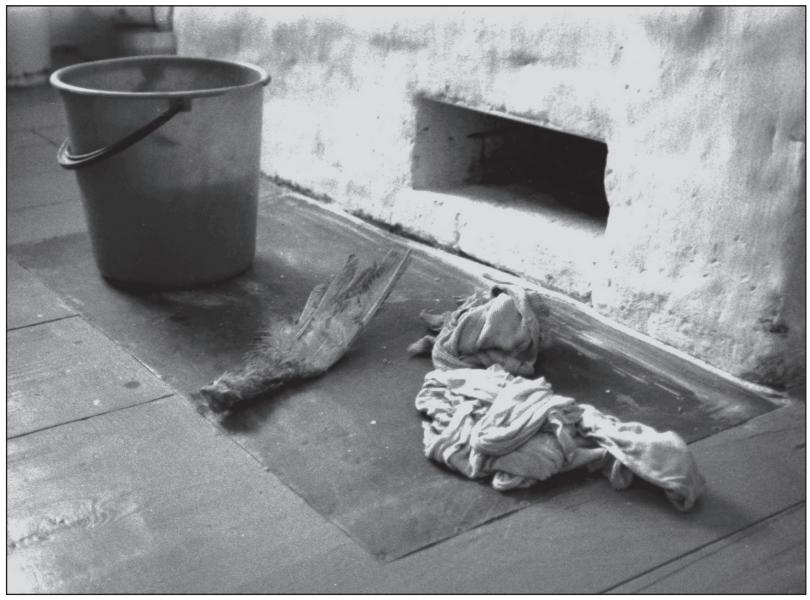

Figure 2. Cleanliness of the home, it was the duty of women. The village of Uncho, the Mari Republic, 2002. National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki. (Photo by Ildikó Lehtinen)

practices also relate to the body and the environment. A clean house is exclusively a woman's practical responsibility. Order in the house equals the absence of dirt, the proper arrangement of objects, and the efficient management of resources. The woman, especially the mother, is in charge of maintaining this order, and its absence leads to an unhappy household (Peterson 1996:191).

The focus of this study is the concept of cleanliness among the Mari, a people speaking a Finno-Ugrian language living in the Volga region of Russia.[3] I personally had a chance to carry out ethnological expeditions in the Mari Republic and in the Mari villages of the Bashkir, Tatar and Udmurtian Republics, and the Kirov and Perm regions from 1981 until recently. I studied Mari women's clothing and everyday practices. I interviewed villagers about their everyday routines. Almost without exception, their responses contained a reference to the past and the continuum of everyday life. All questions, observations and conclusions were made in my role as the "Other," an outsider and a researcher of Mari ethnology. I agree with Judy Attfield that the body is constituted within social relations, and that a person can only establish their individual identity through interrelations with others. Class, gender, age and sexuality are all inscribed on the body (Attfield 2000:238). The body is an individual and subjective thing. Through detailed everyday routines and clothing practices, I obtained answers about the relation of women to the body, even though the subject was very delicate and intimate.

[3] The Russian census 2002 registered 604 800 people of Mari nationality.

In this article, I discuss the concept of hygiene of Mari women and the changes it went through from the Soviet times until today. I explore cleanliness discourse and practice as a traditional moral concept, and as a concept of hygiene adapted by Soviet mass culture. How has the propaganda of health and hygiene influenced the practices of everyday life? What was the connection between the traditional concept and the propaganda of power?

TRADITIONAL MORAL CONCEPT OF CLEANLINESS

In Tsarist times, Russia was an underdeveloped, agrarian country with an overwhelmingly peasant population. Rates of illiteracy, poverty, disease, and infant mortality remained very high (Hoffmann 2003:17). Nadya L. Peterson, who studied the cleanliness of Russian women, noted that peasants accepted dirt as an unavoidable and sometimes useful part of their environment (Peterson 1996:188−189). My Mari informers knew that the concept of cleanliness has changed. Until the 1920s, they had chimneyless smoke cottages, the floor was dirty, and people used the same bast shoes inside and outside. Dirt was an inevitable part of life. The informers from the Uncho village noted that cleanliness was different in the past. "On the floor, we have carpets; in the past there was no carpet, and the floor was without paint. I think that it was very dirty."[4]

The traditional Mari farmhouse has always consisted of a dwelling plus various outbuildings. The farm was made up of two parts: the yard and the garden. The yard was divided into two parts: the men's yard and the cattle yard. The men's yard was clean and green, and it was the place for the farmhouse, the storehouse and the summer kitchen, the *kota*. Traditionally, the place of the sauna was far away from the house, in the vicinity of the river, but nowadays saunas are built in the yard near the house (Molotova − Sepeev 2005:209, 211).

> "The bathhouse is used on Thursday, on Sunday, and also on the eve of Easter, the Semyk feast for ancestors, and all sacrificial rites, but during the wedding and funeral rites, too. If we have a dirty job, we prepare the oven in the evening. First the men wash, after that the women and children. To wash, we use the twig broom. The north side of the young birch is gathered in early June, from the day of Saint Peter until August. In the sauna lives the sauna-spirit. If you throw some rubbish into the oven of the sauna, the spirit becomes very angry."[5]

The bathhouse was and still is a place of cleanliness. Both men and women used the bathhouse. Many periods of life were connected with the bathhouse. It was the place where a child came into the world until the 1960s. On the eve of the wedding, the bride cleaned up with her friends in the sauna. The body of a dead person was washed in the bathhouse. It was the symbol of purity and connected with sacred rituals. By Mari beliefs, there was a guardian spirit (*mocha kuva*/*mocha kugyza*) in the bathhouse. It helped in practical tasks, but it had a function of being a moral guardian. The role of the spirit was connected with the ancestor, the first owner of the bathhouse (Honko 1993:76). Traditionally, people washed in the bathhouse on Thursday because Friday was the holy day in their ethnic

[4] Lehtinen Field notes 2006.
[5] Lehtinen Field notes 1998, Chorai, AA.

Figure 3. A Mari bathhouse in Nizhni-Novorod district, 2013. (Photo by Ildikó Lehtinen)

Figure 4. A *Semyk*-feast, the feast of ancestors in midsummer, on June, 2002. The priest of the ethnic religion sacrifices the food made by women. The village of Uncho, the Mari Republic. National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki. (Photo by Ildikó Lehtinen)

Figure 5. Water, the source of life. Some flowers for the Water-Spirit. The village of Uncho, the Mari Republic, 2009. National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki. (Photo by Ildikó Lehtinen)

religion. In Soviet times, the practice was changed, and families used the sauna mostly on Saturdays. In spring, winter and autumn, families had a wash once a week. In summer, the bathhouse was used daily. After the wash, members of the family changed into a clean dress. Personal hygiene was part of their concept of the body, and it was connected with their worldview about purity.

The nature religion or ethnic religion of the Mari was practised in seasonal rites and depended on oral tradition. The sacrificial rites demanded cleanliness. The sacrificial feast was not successful without women's work: the bathhouse, the meal, and the clean dresses. Personal cleanliness was a moral concept, related directly to the omnipresence of evil spirits (unclean power) in the world, and to the deceased, which represent impurity. The Semyk feast was an ancestor's feast of the whole community, in which both genders and all age groups participated. The role of women was prominent, especially as creators of cleanness and keepers of water at the same time. When praying, they repeatedly mentioned the meaning of purity; all who prayed got clean in the bathhouse and wore a clean dress. Not only those who prayed, but also the participants of the rites had to clean in the sauna and wear a clean dress. The connection with the Gods was successful only through cleanliness.

Mary Douglas writes that contacts regarded as dangerous have symbolic value. She notes, "But as we examine pollution beliefs we find that the kind of contacts which are thought dangerous also carry a symbolic load" (Douglas 1991:3). In the Mari village, cleanliness is a norm that is adhered to. In many places, the activities of everyday life follow a pattern that has been maintained for centuries: water is drawn from the well, and cleaning is done with water and rags.

Contact with the dead is a central idea of Mari worldview. The dead, however, may in this regard represent beliefs associated with pollution. According to this theory, meeting the dead at night requires purification: the living might be at risk if they come into contact with the deceased, and therefore the rite of purification before an encounter with the dead is an important element. The dead, however, may also represent beliefs concerning impurity, and therefore a rite of purification may again be required if they come into contact with a deceased person.

Water is the source of life. Mari villages have always been close to waterways. Alongside cleanness, water is important in everyday life as a part of cooking. It is needed for daily life and the basic need of eating. Another basic need is cleanness, associated with both personal hygiene and keeping one's environment clean. Cleanness is also associated with rites, and it is an indication of one's striving to keep one's own Mari

Figure 6. On the well. The village of Uncho, the Mari Republic, 2002. National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki. (Photo by Ildikó Lehtinen)

identity. Bathing in the sauna, clean clothes, the sacred spring and sacred water belong not only to the rites practiced by women but also to the rites of the whole community. In offering feasts conducted by men, women and water represent the "invisible part," which is nonetheless markedly present. Cleanness is in some way comparable to the concept of the sacred, which is similarly invisible and present.

What is cleanliness, according to the informants? It means a clean body, which refers to the bathhouse and to the clean white dresses. Cleanliness means purity of soul, which is the basis of their worldview. The bathhouse and washing in the bathhouse means the need for water, and it is a women's activity. The clean clothing means laundry, which was and still is a women's practice. According to the informers, laundry day was traditionally on Thursday because of their nature religion.

TO TEACH CHILDREN AND THEIR PARENTS TO WASH THEIR HANDS MORE FREQUENTLY – THAT IS ENORMOUS REVOLUTIONARY PROGRESS[6]

Personal hygiene received special emphasis in Soviet propaganda on cultured behavior. Publications were issued about how to clean various parts of a body, as well as clothes and bedlinens. The Red Army included in its regulations a statement that "each service-man is obligated to follow stringently the rules of personal hygiene, the first and fundamental

[6] Nadezhda Krupskaia 1927 cited by Hoffmann 2003:15.

Figure 7. Fight to the cleanliness! Soviet poster of 1930s.

rule of which is cleanliness of the body and clothing." The regulations also required that soldiers wash their hands before eating and brush their teeth both morning and night. Schools also provided an important vehicle by which Soviet authorities could inculcate habits of bodily cleanliness (Hoffmann 2003:19).

Propagandists argued that people needed cleanliness and order at home. The Soviet cultural project aspired to create new people whose values and ways of thinking would be qualitatively different from those who lived under capitalism. The New Soviet Person was to be free of egoism and selfishness, and was to sacrifice personal interests for the sake of the collective. In their attempt to create the New Person, Soviet authorities relied on control of the living environment, education, and inculcation of the practice of working on oneself (Hoffmann 2003:45). The new Soviet citizens were not supposed to spit on the floor, drink to excess, swear, wear dirty clothes, or live in dirty surroundings (Petrone 2000:13).

Soviet efforts to remake everyday life and create the New Soviet Person, then, met with mixed results. In economic and social terms, Party leaders made considerable progress, albeit at great human cost. In little over a decade, they collectivized agriculture, industrialized the country, and transformed an overwhelmingly rural society into a predominantly urban one. In conjunction with nonparty professionals, Soviet officials also promoted education and hygiene, making enormous strides in the elimination of illiteracy and disease. Soviet authorities sought to reinforce collectivist values though official culture and institutions, such as socialist realist literature, the factory history project, and labor camps. But as with all totalizing projects, the Soviet system failed to refashion all people in all ways. Most citizens, even as they inhabited a world of Soviet norms and values, continued to hold their own beliefs and pursue their own individual interests (Hoffmann 2003:56−57).

BODY – TRADITIONAL AND SOVIET CONCEPT

The bathhouse made possible the cleanness of the body. The visible symbol of the clean body was the white clothing. Looking at photos from the 1950s, it is interesting to find that Mari women and men wore the white dress with rich embroidery. The white colour in the Mari language means "clean" and "sacrificial," and it relates cleanliness to purity. "Shining world – it is like a white cloth" (*Volgydo mlande – osh vyner*), says a Mari proverb (Molotova 2013:213). The white dress was preserved in all parts of the Mari region until the 1920s. After that, it was preserved only in the Mari Republic, and in

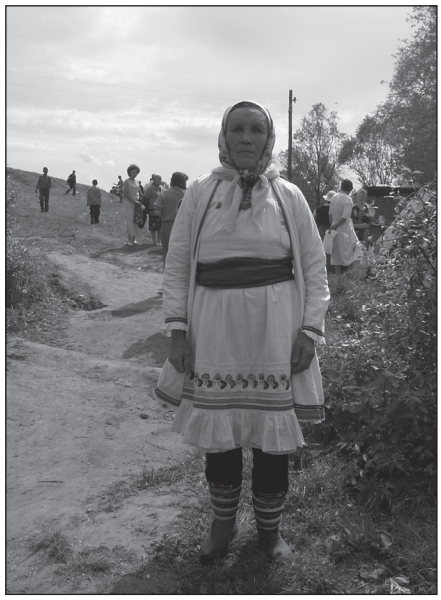

Figure 8. A Mari traditional dress. The village of Uncho, the Mari Republic, 2004. National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki. (Photo by Ildikó Lehtinen)

the Kirov region. Between the Mari diasporas in Bashkortostan, Tatarian and Udmurtian Republics and Perm region, the white colour became the symbol of those who prayed and the participants of the sacrificial rites.

People washed in the bathhouse by sex: first the men, and after that the women. Traditionally, the naked body of women was invisible. The concept of a naked body includes religious prescriptions for women. Women's dress was regulated. After the wedding, a Mari woman has to cover her head and legs from the foot to the knee. Mari women felt "naked" without a headdress and socks. "A girl does not walk barefoot. I was dressed in gaiters of black cloth. I wear socks always. I also always have a necklace on my neck. The necklace and the socks I take off only in the bathhouse. It is a sin to walk barefoot" (Lehtinen 2009:160).

Newly married women covered scrupulously their head and legs in the house of the bridegroom. Both the mother-in-law and the father-in-law kept an eye on the behaviours of the bride. If the father-in-law saw the legs or the hair of the daughter-in-law, the newly married woman had to offer the father-in-law a drink. The head and the foot were considered erotic stimuli. Maybe these norms protected the young bride from the sexual tensions of the members of the family.[7]

Traditionally Mari clothing consisted of a white dress, an apron, and a coat. As underwear, Mari women used yolash pants, covering the legs to around the knee area. After 1960, women's satin panties appeared in the shops. Recently (1998-2016), in the Mari Republic I observed two different folk costumes, both in white colour:

1. The folk dress of Yoshkar-Ola includes a white shirt and apron. Both items of clothing are decorated with flowered embroidery and lace. The pattern of the long shirt is simply straight. Almost every woman knows how to make a folk costume, and the girls often sew it themselves. Sometimes the grandmother will begin the dress and the granddaughter will finish it. The embroidery is the most important feature; the hem and the front are largely decorated with coloured flowers in satin stitch. The Yoshkar-Ola style dress functions as a national symbol of Mari identity.

2. The ethnic dress, which is made to order for folklore ensembles and individuals. The pattern and the colour of the dresses follows the traditional costume. The basic colour of the dress is white. The embroidery is very complicated, including running and satin stitch, and "Holbein stitch." It takes a long time to make a neo-folk costume, and it is very expensive. The dressmakers also wear these dresses, and I noticed some neo-folk

[7] A paper on the subject of Mari footwear will be published in 2017.

Figure 9. A Mari sacrificial feast in 2007. The priests wore white coats. (Photo by Sergei Tanygin, Ioshkar-Ola)

costumes at the national festival. The neo-folk costume is very popular and "in," and from the girls' point of view it is more interesting than their own embroidered folk costume.

The Mari folk costume is self-evident; everyone knows how a folk costume should look. For the majority of women, the costume is very beautiful and responds to their aesthetic taste and to their concept of purity.

Karen Petrone emphasizes that the body of the individual played a central role in Soviet art and propaganda until 1937. The public appearance of young Russian men and women in shorts and tank tops symbolized the modification of traditional rural attitudes about the body (Petrone 2000:34). The hygiene of the body was represented in public discourse, in the clubs, in the dormitories and the canteens. Those active in the Communist Party read papers on "How to clean without a bath?" and "How often to change underclothes?" In 1928, they held "Russian week for hygiene," and in 1928-29, they held meetings about individual cleanliness (Lebina 2014:97–98). The Soviet woman was a worker and a mother, and her clothing reflected these roles. In the 1950s, Soviet propaganda emphasized the functionality and practicality of underwear, in contrast with Western European fashion, which stressed the sexuality of the woman (Gurova 2008:80).

The new Stalinist elite and Soviet citizens adopted the notion of the woman as a primary organizer of domestic life. Soviet women wore identical simple dresses: a blouse, a large kirtle, a jacket like a man's overcoat, and a scarf, which is still the symbol of the worker (Gurova 2008:81). *Proletarka*, a Soviet woman, had two lives: the work life, and the everyday life as mother and homemaker. Soviet textile production did not afford Russians the possibility of choosing fashionable clothing. When Stalin told Stakhanovites in November 1935, that "life has become better, comrades, life became

more joyous, and when you are living joyously, work turns out well," he promised a better life. The life of Soviet women came into focus for the propaganda. In the cities, new shops opened, and the propaganda focused on the hygienic and beautiful hands of women. Women's magazines *Rabotnitsa* and *Krestyanka* emphasized that a woman had the possibility of using herself for her beauty. At the same time, the magazines began to show women's underclothes (Gurova 2008:60).

SOVIET BEHAVIOR IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, OR TRANSFORMING TRADITIONAL RURAL PRACTICES

The Soviet version of modernity certainly had features distinctive to itself. The norms and values promoted by the Soviet government had a particular anti-capitalist, collectivist orientation. The New Soviet Person was to be not only clean, sober and efficient, but also prepared to sacrifice his or her individual interest for the good of the collective, in sharp contrast to the ideal of liberal individualism (Hoffmann 2003:10).

Collectivization, which involved an enormous amount of coercion directed at the peasant population, was an attempt by the Party leaders to accelerate evolutionary times toward communism. Peasants who were collectivized laborers rather than landowners would shed their petty bourgeois mentality and adopt a socialist consciousness. Those peasants who resisted collectivization were labeled kulaks and deported to labor camps, where they would be reeducated through forced labor (Hoffmann 2003:49).

Other evidence indicates that a great many Soviet citizens rejected the ideal of the New Person and the values associated with it. People continued to identify their own personal interests apart from and in conflict with the interests of the state. Much of the population also maintained their religious beliefs and continued religious worship, either passively or actively resisting official efforts to promote atheism (Hoffmann 2003:54).

David L. Hoffmann points that Soviet health propaganda particularly emphasized women's parts in establishing a hygienic and healthy home. Drawing upon traditional gender roles, Soviet officials viewed the domestic sphere as a female realm, and the pamphlets and posters they produced portrayed health in the home as the responsibility of women. Women were expected to clean, prepare healthy meals, care for small children, and provide a restful home environment. Soviet health propaganda, then, not only drew upon but also reinforced traditional gender stereotypes Hoffmann 2003:23).

What about the Mari example? Mari people always represented a minority in the Soviet Union and in Russia, too. The Russian-language propaganda did not affect the villagers. In 1930, the newspaper *Marii Yal* presented school girls during a lesson of gymnastics. All girls wore the folk dress.[8] However, in 1936, the magazine *Marii Kommuna* showed a new look: the pupils dressed in shorts and T-shirt, a pioneer-scarf around their neck.[9] It was a propaganda of hygiene related to folk dress. The newspapers U Vii and *Mari El* turned to Mari women to transform the Mari folk dress into a renewed form. Covering the head and feet was forbidden by the authorities of the health system (Lehtinen 1999:72). The tenacity of this custom was evident well into the 1970s.

[8] *Marii Yal:* republican political newspaper in the Mari language, Yoshkar Ola 1930, 18(7):7.
[9] *Marii Kommuna*: republican newspaper Mari ASSR, Yoshkar Ola 1936, 4(5):4.

Figure 10. Mari ethnic dress, the reinvented national dress. The village of Uncho, the Mari Republic, 2009. National Board of Antiquities, Helsinki. (Photo by Ildikó Lehtinen)

The new body ideal, the representation of men and women in shorts and tank tops, only arrived in schools after the World War. The traditional concept of the body, the regulations for cleanliness lived on in Mari ethnic religion until the 1960s. Hygiene and cleanliness was also reinforced by the ideology of the Soviet times in veterinary practice.

During the 1950s, the assortment of clothes in stores was limited, and prices were too high for most people. Soviet textile production did not give the Russians or the Mari an opportunity to choose fashionable clothing (Vainshtein 1996:65). During that period, the Soviet woman's wardrobe included a *khalat* for housework. Later, the inhabitants of the Mari countryside were able to buy new products, satin underclothes, and other clothes. For Mari women the *khalat* was a dream, and they have only been able to buy a *khalat* made of flowered cotton since the 1960s. Now the *khalat* is fairly popular with everyone. Elderly women wear the *khalat* in the street and at home. Young women and girls use the *khalat* only in the morning and after the sauna. Today, *khalats*, T-shirt, jeans and other clothes are used in the countryside and in the villages. The traditional dress is worn on festive days, during the sacrificial rites of the ethnic religion, and during wedding ceremonies. In the post-socialist period, the reinvention of the national dress began, reinforced by the ethnic religion.

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The Concept of a Clean and Unclean Body – an Example of Udmurts

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Abstract: The article examines the poly-semantic concept of cleanliness in traditional Udmurt practices in respect to religious, ritualized and daily life, focusing on the definite object of a human body. The idea of cleanliness is directly connected with the notion of purity. The "unclean" or "dirty" body is a symbolic phenomenon, and its semantics can be revealed in context. Cleanliness is an important virtue, and maintaining the cleanliness of a body is not an individual but a controlled common social duty. In the tradition of the Udmurts, the sauna was and still is a very important part of daily and ritual life. It is understood that in the sauna one is cleaned physically and spiritually. The act of bathing in the sauna means also purifying morally. Special cleansing and purifying regulations are required before calendrical and commemorative rituals. The sauna also has a role in rituals connected to birth and death. The article gives a brief survey of several rituals around the notion of cleanliness and purity.
Keywords: Bodily hygiene, ritual washing, healing traditions, Udmurts

The concept of cleanliness differs in each culture, and it is deeply rooted in tradition and not changing easily and completely. In this article I attempt to examine some ideas on cleanliness in the traditional Udmurtian conceptions, focusing on the definite object of a human body.[1] Furthermore, I will consider the modifications of the notion of cleanliness and treatment of it today. As for traditions, I mean the traditions and habits of rural inhabitants, the lifestyle in the countryside, considering that cleanliness must be examined within its cultural, social and historical context (Elias 1992).

In the Udmurt tradition, concepts of cleanliness in respect to religious, ritualized and daily life is poly-semantically related to the notion of a clean and unclean body.

In the Udmurt language "clean" is *chylkyt*; at the same time, this word has also meanings of "healthy," "beautiful/pretty/handsome/attractive (about one's appearance),"

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"comfort/order" (in a space), and "clear/fine/evident." Furthermore, the notion *chylkyt* also defines "purity," which includes moral and physical purity and cleanness. "Unclean" is *kyrs'*, *kurmem* (dial.: *kyrmem*), *s'öd/s'ödekmem*, *saptas'kem*, *sachyrmem*, *pychyrak* (dial.).

Keeping the cleanliness is observing it both in everyday life and in ritual practice, including the ritual periods during the calendar year and family ceremonies, as well as the occasional rites. The requirements and standards for controlling cleanliness are also manifested concerning a human body, which should also be kept clean. Sustaining cleanliness may be carried out in various ways.

In general, in the tradition of the Udmurts, the main role in washing, cleaning and cleansing of a body is played by a sauna. The sauna was and still is a very important part of daily and ritual life. Usually at a minimum every Thursday, a family takes a steam bath and dresses up in clean clothes; as a rule, they use a bundle of birch twigs with fresh leaves in summer or dried leaves in winter (in some local traditions, in addition to birch they also use oak and conifers), and wash with soap or other detergents in the sauna.

Taking a bath in the sauna is a ritual action; it is not accidental that in the Udmurt language this activity is called *muncho(e) pyron* (literally: "entering into a sauna"); similar definitions are connected with other sacral rituals like *Kualae pyron, Lude pyron, vöse pyron* (very briefly, the component *pyron* means the action of "entering," which was accompanied by a special ritual behaviour of all participants, and hence the ceremony came to mean "worshipping/praying/performing" the rite in *Kuala*, *Lud, vös,* etc.[2] Not coincidentally, the Udmurt scholar Kuzebay Gerd convincingly argued in his study that bathing in a sauna is the place of performance of a rite, focusing on its symbolism and purification functions (Gerd 1993:43, 61–62). In fact, one's behaviour in the sauna among the Udmurts still proves this thesis today.

Every time before heating the sauna, the water vessels should be washed and filled with fresh water. Before bathing, the sauna should be cleaned; this means, the floor, bench, bathing platform should be cleaned and washed, and the washing utensils should be rinsed with fresh water. All these procedures should be repeated after the bath, too.

Bathing in a sauna has a definite goal. As a rule, today, as in the past, it is very important to take a bath before any traditional ritual ceremony and festive days in the folk and official calendars; one follows these rules before wedding ceremonies, recruiting, birthdays and other parties, or before the send-off of visiting relatives. One of the main procedures in the sauna is the bathing with the birch twigs. First, one sprinkles water on the pile of rocks and at the same time addresses it to the forthcoming ritual or event, expressing one's wishes about how the ritual/event should be held and accomplish its goals; afterwards, one gently slaps the body with the twigs. The weekly bathing on Thursdays is connected with making mention of the deceased ancestors: this means, while sprinkling water on the pile of rocks, one addresses it to the departed, and only after this does one proceed to the washing of the body. I accentuate such moral order to emphasize that even an ordinary washing includes purifying acts and it means some kind of fulfilment and performance of traditional duties dedicated to the cleansing ceremony in general.

Special cleansing and purifying regulations are required before calendrical commemorative rituals and rituals dedicated to dead ancestors. During the calendar

[2] For more about this definition, see: Minniyakhmetova 2008:86.

rituals, bathing activities in the sauna are connected with death in general. Before the commemoration of a dead person on the third, seventh and fortieth days and one year after death, the bathing is addressed first of all to this person, secondly to the last departed one, and afterwards to all dead relatives, and then to the ancestors in general. Usually it is common regulation in the sauna that some water in a vessel and birch twigs should be prepared and left for the departed. This is done because people believe that the dead relatives are here in the sauna and doing the same things and behaving as the living, or that the departed will come to the sauna and wash themselves after the living did it. The living consider the presence of the departed in the sauna, and while sprinkling water on the pile of rocks, they ask the dead to be careful of the hot steam. As we see, in the sauna, one cleans himself thoroughly following and respecting the traditional regulations; at the same time, one communicates with ancestors and "cares" for them, thereby escaping all danger deriving from the departed. In general, it is understood that in the sauna one is cleaned physically and spiritually. Since the danger coming from the dead and the "other world" represents the real dirtiness for these folk, they need to prevent the harm and keep it off.

Here it is clearly observable that the act of bathing in the sauna means also purifying physically and morally. And what is more, the idea of cleanliness is directly connected with the notion of purity; this also signifies that one cannot be clean in an unclean or dirty space, i.e., the concept of cleanliness includes also having a clean space in one's habitation. Furthermore, this means an interconnectedness and interrelation of notions, and hence a coherence of activities and their expected results. This idea provokes and favours cleansing and purifying activities on any working day, but especially before rituals and during the ritualistic period. Traditionally on Thursday a house should be cleaned, the tablecloth and towels replaced with fresh ones, the dishes washed, and afterwards the family takes a bath in the sauna (see above about this custom). These activities mean the preparation for the forthcoming Friday, the sacred day of the week.

It is standard practice that all surrounding spaces should be kept up properly and cleaned from time to time, otherwise the unclean space may be settled by evil spirits and ailments; one says "*zhin-perios intyjas'kozy*" (lit.: "devils/demons will settle down") or "*cher-churyos ilashozy*" (lit.: "sicknesses/diseases will gain this space"). Such a space is called *kyrs'* or *kyrmem*; it is likely that this notion is derived from *kyr* "wild," "wildness;" this space in the homestead is no longer like the actual existing space, which, in turn, means unclean, dirty, dangerous. If this space will be needed for some purpose, it should be cleaned and purified before use.

The notion of cleanliness gets a special sense and significance in religious life and ritual practice, when people attribute high importance to all cleansing and purifying acts and ceremonies. These activities are clearly set forth in the folk calendar. Cleaning of a body for ritual purposes means to be clean in the broad sense; washing, cleansing and purification before the sacred ritual period represents meaningful and poly-semantic activities. For example, before the Great Day, one uses the birch twigs and herbs especially prepared for this purpose in summer, or one bathes the body with "silver water" – *azves'vu*, (i.e., one drops some silver coins in a vessel with water and then uses this water for bathing and rinsing the body); one dresses up in the ritual clothes washed beforehand and uses amulets prepared especially for this purpose; and one cleans and smokes all surrounding space. These ritual cleansing acts include the cutting of nails and hair, shaving the beard, and for women putting up their hair.

Figure 1. Bundles for kids and adults, Kassiyarovo village, Buraevo district, Bashkiria 2016. (Photo by Tatiana Minniyakhmetova)

Figure 2. Storehouse, Kassiyarovo village, Buraevo district, Bashkiria 2016. (Photo by Tatiana Minniyakhmetova)

Figure 3. A small girl in a sauna, Vukogurt village, Tatyshly district, Bashkiria 2016. (Photo by A. Baydullina)

At liminal periods in a year, or at critical turning points in the calendar, when during the nights malicious and harmful spirits rise and reign, people pay serious attention to protecting themselves and the space around them (about these customs see: Minniakhmetova 2000; Glukhova 2002; Lintrop 2005). In the mentioned periods, one may "become dangerous" for others even by just being outdoors, especially if it happens at the sunset and at midnight.

There is a custom to pick up plants in the early morning on the 14th of May; these herbs will be dried and used during the whole year. Along with some other purposes, these plants will be used for cleaning the body in the sauna, when the bathing is done in preparation for the Great Day rituals and festivities; some strong smelling plants will be used to smoke the surrounding ritual space to purify it.

In earlier times, the Udmurts had a *tuno*, a person with shamanic abilities, a diviner who could recognize those who were not properly cleansed before taking part in the ritual in the sacred place; those unclean ones were turned away from the religious ceremony. Evidently such occasions verify the idea of an extreme significance of cleanliness and purity in general. At the same time, in spite of all regulations, it has occurred repeatedly that one was not properly prepared for the religious event. Because of such reasons, one lost all rights to take part in the ceremony and was banned from attending until the next ritual, or even until the next year. This shows a new problem of neglect by some community members, which could be remedied if one would be cleaned properly

according to the customary rules. Most likely this case could be examined as one of moral cleanliness or uncleanliness.

How are a new-born and its mother regarded and understood as clean after birth and birthgiving? There are many customs concerning caring for a new-born. In the past, delivery took place in the sauna or in the female part of the house; after delivery, the new-born's body was washed with salt water using sheep fleece. It is a common belief among all ethnic groups in the Volga-Ural region of Russia that during the 40 days following the birth, a new-born and a woman recently confined are unclean, and this period is also considered as unclean and dangerous. Of course, there are special rituals and other activities aimed at protecting those who are "unclean" and those who are in contact with the "unclean." Thus, there is a custom called "three saunas," *kuin' muncho*: after delivery, the new-born and its mother go to the sauna and take a bath. It is strictly regulated to bathe at least three times in the three days after giving birth. For this purpose, the family prepares special, small birch twigs for the baby – *pichi/nuny/bebej venik*. During the "three saunas" period, the new-born is bathed with those birch twigs. And regular bathing is required during the next 40-day period, too, even if not every day, but every second or third day. There are also prayers and worship rituals devoted to the kinship progenitors, gods and spirits; performing these strengthens the stability of the family and the kinship organization in general, and makes the environment pure once again, eliminating danger in the living space.

Socialization of a new-born is a step-by-step process. The baby is considered a member of a society upon the expiration of the forty days' period since its birth, when it is clear that its body had physically grown and got stronger: then the baby may be clothed in dresses instead of swaddling cloth, given a name, and admitted as a new member into the family. Another belief holds that during the 40-day period the new-born's soul is only on the crown of its head, and the child is regarded as human only when its soul "implants" in its body. But all this is just the first step in the long process of socialization of a new-born. With every step, the danger for the family is weakening and the stability strengthening.

Here we once more come to the idea that uncleanliness can be dangerous, and that uncleanliness is connected with temporal dimensions.

The time-limit and strict rules are also adhered to in the 40-day period after one's death. The corpse is washed and dressed in clean clothes, since the deceased is being "sent off" to the other world and must be clean. But this time period is also considered as harmful, and one needs to follow special regulations. It is believed that for forty days the soul of the departed is in the world of the living and one may come across the dead. The danger coming from the deceased may transfer onto any living person during "contact" with death, and this person will be "dirty" afterwards and dangerous for the living. To be protected, everyone keeps amulets on them and in their clothes or in their pockets; after any kind of contact with death, such as visiting the departed for taking leave of the dead, participating in the funeral ceremony and commemoration rituals, or visiting a cemetery, one may attract danger and therefore should get clean. Usually in such cases people wash their hands with water or rub them with ash, take a bath in a sauna, touch a stove in the house, or use fire and smoke.

There are some regulations concerning women who are considered to be dirty. A woman is "dirty" during the forty days after giving birth and during the periods of

menses ("menses" in Udmurt is *saptas'kon*, that means "getting dirty"), when "their bodily boundaries were open" (Anttonen 2005:194) and may represent danger for others, and it is strictly forbidden to take part in the religious events, use ritual items, prepare ritual food, and bake bread. The above mentioned regulations are socially controlled and observed. But another kind of blood can play a very positive role in the customs and rituals aimed at creation and reestablishment.

As it was mentioned above, *chylkyt* also means "healthy." Today, as in the past, all kinds of diseases and ailments represent danger and dirtiness, and one cannot escape disease with just the usual washing and cleaning of a body. There are a lot of means in folk medicine to get out of illnesses; for instance, for the treatment of some ailments, people use herbs, plants and other folk therapeutic substances in the sauna. In the past, one of the prominent roles in these activities was played the above-mentioned *tuno* (Bogayevskiy 1890:125−126; Vladykina 2002). Contact with any ill person can pollute and harm others, therefore purification is needed.

The notion of *chylkyt* also characterizes one's appearance; analyses of appearance, like well-set, with regular features, good stature and countenance, emphasize the physical appearance in general, which means some kind of perfection of a body. Similar definitions may be used about the order and comfort in a space, in Udmurt also called *chylkyt*. By the same notion, *chylkyt* also characterizes the sacred place/space when it is kept clean and has not been defiled. Perhaps this is an idea through which humans have tried to comprehend and create beauty, order and perfection as a whole.

The concept of a clean and an unclean body is clearly observed in the cosmology, mythology, and ritual practice of the Udmurts.

There is an interesting topic found in the cosmogonic or etiologic myth of the Udmurts: at the beginning of the world, or the origin of the universe, the earth and the sky were very close to each other. Once a woman laid the dirty napkins stained by her child on the sky to dry. The sky was insulted by this, and it moved away from the earth. According to this myth, we see that uncleanliness played a significant role in the creation of the world. Uncleanliness may destroy the world order; this thesis is also confirmed by ritual regulations, as we see in the instance of unclean members of the community not being able to take part in the rituals.

According to folklore, human origins, as well as coming into being, are connected with water. But one's life also comes to an end and transforms into the natural substances staying in water, as we see in the following folk song:

> "Eh, my body, my body, you will turn into fish-scale!
> Eh, my arm-beads, my arm-beads, you will turn into fish-roe!
> Eh, my hands-legs, you will turn into brushwood!
> Eh, my hair, my hair, you will turn into seaweed!
> Eh, my body, my body, you will turn into soil!" (Gerd 1927:59)

These transformations may represent the concept of travelling a path into the "other world," which is obviously a water/river in the traditional Udmurt worldview.

Proceeding from these ideas, it might be concluded that a body itself cannot be dirty, a concept confirmed by the following Udmurt tradition: according to a springtime custom, when a peasant, a male, ploughed a plot of his field for the first time in that year, he

would take off his trousers and sit naked on the ground. Of course his body was washed in the sauna beforehand. But this custom indicates that if a body as a notion in general were considered dirty, it would be not possible to perform this act.

I would like to advance an idea here: in the 40-day period after one's birth and the 40-day period after one's death, the danger does not originate from a new-born and a woman recently confined or from their bodies, as their bodies are cleaned right there,[3] or from the dead, as the corpse is also washed and cleaned; the so-called uncleanliness and dirtiness is the effect and consequence of the open boundaries between the worlds, and it represents the liminal status of the spatial and temporal dimensions which are becoming dangerous and risky for the living.

In everyday life, there is no notion of a "dirty" body. One never says "my body is dirty," but one can say "my body is sweaty," and the sweaty body will not be interpreted as an unclean and dangerous body. A body may be "unclean" in special situations, such as after one's death and at some critical periods of time during the year, or for females after giving birth and at the time of menses, as it was analysed above. So, the body itself is not dirty, only parts of the body, like the face, hands, legs, can be stained, smeared, get dirty, which is called "covered with dirt or soiled" and it does not represent any danger. In such cases, one does not need to be cleaned and purified ritually; it is enough to wash those parts of the body. The clean body means healthy, beautiful, pretty/handsome, tidy, well and strongly formed, fit-looking. The examples and concepts examined above suggest that the "unclean" or "dirty" body is a symbolic phenomenon, and its semantics can be revealed in context.

Thus, cleanliness is an important virtue, and maintaining the cleanliness of a body is not an individual duty but social and common, controlled by those "trying to influence one another's behaviour" (Douglas 1988:3); it is an indication of striving to keep the world's stability and order (Lehtinen 2015:419). Concepts of cleanliness may differ from society to society and across time in the same society. The idea of a clean and unclean body bears great importance in the Udmurtian tradition, and it represents the broader notion of cleanliness as a kind of common aspiration and effort to move toward some ideals. Cleanliness is social power, one of the symbolic representations of the identity of the community and the individuals.

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[3] Actually it is a kind of separation of the wild nature (Mazalova 2001:119).

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Udmurt Auto- and Hetero-Stereotypes about Physical Beauty

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Abstract: For Udmurtians, physical beauty is an attractive and impressive physique. In the late 19th century, Udmurt criteria for evaluating physical beauty were influenced by the aesthetic ideals of neighbouring peoples. A beautiful girl was supposed to have Slavic or Turkic features but not Udmurt ones. Northern Udmurts believed that an attractive young woman was fair-complexioned with fair hair and blue eyes, while southern Udmurts admired women with dark hair and black eyes. One can still hear them saying, "She is so beautiful, she doesn't look like an Udmurt girl at all," which is followed by more precise information, such as, "She looks like a Russian/Tatar woman." This stereotype still exists among the Udmurts and their neighbouring peoples, especially the Russians.
Keywords: Udmurts–Russia, personal beauty, beauty culture, body image, social aspects of human body

Physical beauty is known to refer to attractive appearance and impressive physique. In this respect Udmurt folk songs are of special interest to researchers as they provide useful information on ideals of beauty. On careful analysis of Southern and Northern Udmurt lyrical songs, one can notice that auto-stereotypes about physical beauty in those songs have subtle nuances. According to Northern Udmurts, a beauty is a woman with a golden plait, blue eyes and a faint blush. Her appearance corresponds with her light-coloured clothes. In the opinion of Southern Udmurts, a beauty is a woman with dark hair and eyebrows, her eyes as dark as black currants. Her clothing is compared to a full-blown flower of *italmas* (European globe flower) and her voice to a nightingale singing.

I believe the difference in beauty perception by the Northern and Sourthern Udmurts is influenced to some extent by aesthetic ideals of their neighboring peoples. A beauty was considered to have Slavic (in the northern areas, close to Kirov Oblast with Russian population) or Turkic features (in the southern areas with Turkic population), but she was not supposed to look like an Udmurt woman. Even nowadays the Udmurts, especially elderly women, can say: "*Uchky-ay, kyče cheber, udmurt tusyz no övöl*" (Look! What a beauty, she does not have the appearance of an Udmurt), and can add: "She looks like a

Russian woman" or "She looks like a Tatar woman." So far this stereotype has been popular both among the Udmurts and their neighbouring peoples, especially among Russians.

In the 19th century the Northern Udmurts compared attractive women to dolls made of clay (*syuymuno*) and wax (*syus'muno*), or to Russian dolls (*ӟuchmuno*):

Milyam gine suzermy suzer no-a ma?
Lavkaye no puktylem ӟuchmuno kad'
[Our sister, what a beauty!
She looks like a Russian doll from a shop] (Boykova – Vladykina 1992:86).

I am not inclined to consider the phrase "a Russian doll" to be influenced by Russian beauty stereotypes. The Udmurts must have meant children's painted toys, which differed significantly from Udmurt handmade rag dolls. In some cases a Dymkovo toy (a painted clay doll) was implied, especially if it was compared to a clay doll "*syuymuno"*.

The folk ideals of beauty are found not only in folklore texts but also in ethnographic data. Thus, for instance, Nikolay Pervukhin, the inspector of national schools in Glazov county of Vyatka province, described an Udmurt beauty as follows:

> "To be considered a beauty, a woman must be primarily of medium height, plump, and she must have big plump arms and legs as an evidence of her ability to work well… Dark, rather oblong than round eyes, a straight nose of medium size, dark narrow long eyebrows. The Votyaks believe these are the features a Votyak beauty has" (Pervukhin 1890:46–47).

Such beauties were seldom found, so the author adds: "The above mentioned features are of some importance to young boys, but their parents pay less attention to these characteristics, they are more concerned with a bride's health and housewifeliness." As for a bridegroom, his attractiveness was not important even to the bride's parents. A woman never refused to marry a man just because he was not good looking enough (Pervukhin 1890:47).

Psychiatrist and neurologist Vladimir Bekhterev gave the following description of Udmurt females: "They mostly have red hair, a broad face, blue eyes, a large mouth and nose with a low nasal bridge, plump chest and belly" (Bekhterev 1880:638).

According to Irina Nazmutdinova's research, the ancestors of the Udmurts living now in Kuyedinsky district of Perm Krai characterized a beauty as being "clean" (*chylkyt*). It suggests that the Udmurts emphasized not only her neatness and cleanliness, but also her attractiveness (Nazmutdinova 2013b:224). Moreover, according to my colleague Lyudmila Karpova's mother, who is from the Uva district of the Udmurt Republic, the above-mentioned word was also used to underline a woman's physical beauty.

The State Archive of the Kirov Oblast contains a manuscript with a very remarkable description of the Udmurt beauty ideal:

> "To be considered beautiful, a woman should be of medium height and plump enough, she should have big plump arms and thick (as a sign of labor force) legs. Her face should be round, white and rosy, without pockmarks. A thick plait is supposed to be attractive, light chestnut hair is preferable. The bright red hair is considered to be the ugliest women's hair. A small mouth

and lips of medium size, dark eyes which are rather more oblong than round, a straight nose of medium size, dark narrow and long eyebrows... "[1]

However, folklore texts do not contain a detailed description of physical attractiveness of young men. Apparently, it was primarily associated with their physical performance, endurance, strength, agility, and proportional physique. A man is considered handsome if he is as lean as a wax candle, pine or maple (*yus' nyl kad', puzhym/badyar kad' voskres*), and as strong as a lynx (*balyan kad'*). He is supposed to have a smooth face without any pockmarks, fair or dark curly hair, but by no means bright red hair. A young man "should be lean, agile and well-built. His arms and legs should be large. He has blue eyes, a medium-sized nose, mouth, and lips. Less attention is paid to his facial cleanliness."[2]

"The red hair index" is certainly high among the Udmurts: the number of redheads varies from 7 to 21% in different groups (Dubov 1989:96). The readheads' psychology is distinctive: they are more sensitive, vulnerable, and they have a specific worldview (Krylova–Vladkin 1999:131). Researchers also noted the endurance of the Udmurts, "although they are slim" (Dubov 1989:96). As a rule they are of medium build, but not overweight, and they have a slender, muscular body (Krylova–Vladkin 1999:131).

Although the Udmurts' attitude towards Russians was cautious, often mistrustful and suspicious, the Udmurts tended to overestimate their neighbours. One of the pre-revolutionary researchers made a remark about it: "They do not appreciate their nationality at all, the highest praise for the Votyaks is to say that they resemble Russians."[3] Unfortunately, this stereotype is still alive and well among some Udmurts, including the urban population: the Udmurts keep making derogatory remarks about themselves. Noting this phenomenon, one should remember that the historical interaction between the Udmurts and Russians was asymmetrical: Russians were more active than the Udmurts. Besides, one should not forget about the purposeful and aggressive missionary activity of the Orthodox Church.

However, it cannot be suggested that Udmurt society has always accepted any form of Russian borrowings positively. Thus, for instance, one of the Udmurt songs provides a figuratively negative attitude towards them:

Chil'pam chalma, žutkam chalma
Yyrad sekyt yötïz-a?
Yyrad sekyt öy yötysal,
Žuch kyshno luemed potïz-a?
Woven, embroidered *chalma* [an Udmurt female headdress],
Did you find it heavy?
It would not be heavy,
Maybe you want to become a Russian's wife? (Petrov 1936:132)

Physical beauty was rarely considered to be a self-value. Firstly, it was always associated with a person's spirituality, morality, diligence, physical health, and as for women – with

[1] The State Archive of the Kirov Oblast. Fund 170. Inventory 1. File 126. Sheet 31–31 verso.
[2] The State Archive of the Kirov Oblast. Fund 170. Inventory 1. File 126. Sheet 31–31 verso.
[3] The State Archive of the Kirov Oblast. Fund 1122. Inventory 1. File 3. Sheet 75-75 verso.

their reproductive functions as well. The following sayings prove it, *"En uchky cheberez shory, uchky solen uzhamez shory"* (Do not pay attention to the person's beauty, pay attention to their work), *"Pushkaz övöl ke, vylaz ud lyaky"* (If there is nothing inside, you cannot add to it). In addition, an attractive physique has always been related to intelligence, "*Cheberen köt ug tyr*" (You can not be full with beauty), "*Cherez čok, viz'my medlo*" (A person's beauty is not as important as their intelligence) (Perevozchikova 1991).

In his letters, Uno Holmberg also highlighted that the Udmurts assigned paramount importance to a person's health, but not to their beauty:

> "Now pagan Votyaks are buying their brides. The price for a bride does not depend on her beauty, her eyes and hair, but on her health. 'It is worth paying for her, because she is strong and hardworking,' say the Votyaks. But a thin girl does not cost much. Men choose their wives according to their ability to work. *Kalym*, the price for a bride, of course, varies depending on the economic well-being of the area. I guess a bride in Ufa province is twice more expensive than in Kazan province" (Lallukki et al. 2014:100).

The researcher also considered the age when people can get married:

> "Sometimes the Votyaks can make a deal rather early when their children are too young. Once I stayed at one Votyak's in the Birsk district, he was 21 years old, but his son was already 6 years old. When I started to ask him how old he was when he got married, I was surprised to learn that he had married at the age of 12. His brother, who also lived in the same house, married at the age of 14. But their wives were both significantly older than their husbands" (Lallukki et al. 2014:101).

In fact, Udmurt wives were older than their husbands. The situation was especially typical of families with a small number of females.

In relations with the outside world, the Udmurts are often helpless, defenseless, and closed to something new and extraneous. According to Socrates, the body does not get ill apart from the soul. Psychological mood plays a vital role in the prevention and treatment of diseases, and in this situation the role of the environment, especially the family, cannot be overestimated. According to current data, married Udmurts feel more comfortable and happier as they are supported by their families. Not coincidentally, single people who have never been married commit suicide more often than the married ones: the index is 48.6% among the Udmurts, and 28.9% among Russians (Vasilyev 2001:8).

In the past, Udmurts had large families consisting of several generations. Family communications influenced the feelings of dependence and psychological attachment to relatives. Therefore, any conflict could inevitably destroy the current relationships and influence deep personal feelings which resulted in the high sensitivity of the Udmurts. According to recent research, social exclusion plays a potentially negative role in maintaining health and can eventually cause illness (Matsumoto 2002). This data also emphasizes the vital importance of the following behavioural dominant: a human being should live in harmony with other people: "Peace with oneself due to the peace with others" (Krylova – Vladykin 1999:127). The opinion of others is of crucial importance for the Udmurts – it can literally destroy their fragile emotional health.

The community was aware of the danger of alcohol intake and tried to restrict its consumption by young people. The rules of morality, decencies and visitor etiquette

related to the use of intoxicating drinks are found in folkloric texts: "*Kudžem murt viz'temles' no urod*" (A drunken person is worse than a fool), "*Kurytse yuysa, žeche ud poty*" (Drinking alcohol you will not become good), and so on. A drunken person was called disapprovingly *tordos* (wino) (Nikitina 1997:97).

According to field material by Irina Nazmutdinova, Udmurts do not like men who are vulgar and garrulous, but their ability to carry out different kinds of work is highly appreciated. Udmurts expressed their disapproval if there was a discrepancy between male behavior and ideas of masculinity. Those men were contemptuously called *zyzykyshno* (literally: a thin woman). To make derogatory remarks about such kind of men, Zakamsk Udmurts could use a harsh word *apakay* (comes from the word *apay* – sister), an unpleasant phrase *alama nylkyshno* (worthless woman), or an insulting Russian word *baba* (woman) (Nazmutdinova 2013a:224).

As for hetero-stereotypes about the physical beauty of the Udmurts, it seems that the majority of pre-revolutionary researchers and observers did not consider the Udmurts to be a beautiful ethnic group. While describing their physical appearance, the researchers chose such words as "weak," "puny," "frail" and "feeble," and also emphasized their small, deep-set eyes, prominent cheeks, average height, and red hair (Koshurnikov 1880:5–6). For example, Alexander Radischev, while traveling through the territory of Udmurtia in the autumn of 1790 to a 10-year exile, briefly summarized about the Udmurts:

> "The Votyaks are almost like Russians, most of them are married to Russian women. Their houses are already heated by wood-burning stoves. There are many mountains beginning from the town of Zura, although they are small, but steep. The Votyak women are not beautiful. The Votyaks sing while riding a horse like Russian coachmen. They tend to be cheerful rather than sad…" (Radiscev 1909:357).

According to current observations on the youth, including young rural Udmurts studying at Udmurt State University, they do not tend to belittle their attractiveness and physical appearance, giving preference to the Turkic or Slavic type of beauty. However, it is not as inherent in rural young people as it is in young urban Udmurts. The traditional stereotype of "the Udmurt beauty" is being reassessed by the urban young people. Empirical experience shows that the preferences of young Udmurts are influenced by the current fashion, Western standards and criteria for beauty, which dominate in the modeling business.

Besides, we should remember that folk culture has formed its own knowledge about the means of hygiene and cosmetology, which help to maintain physical beauty and health and to hide some physical appearance defects.

Nowadays Udmurts are actively involved in assimilation processes. It is believed that more beautiful children are born in ethnically mixed families as a result of "blood mixture," and it seems to be true when it comes to the Udmurts. We must also remember that parents cherish their children, care about their diet, do not force them to work too hard, care about their health, education, and so on. All this excludes the harm to children's physical and mental health, which contributes to their good-looking appearance.

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Bodily Representations of the Shame of Inferiority in Sofi Oksanen's Novels

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Abstract: The range of violence comprises severe physical abuse and different methods of mental torture as well as social discrimination. Beside the traumas themselves, these acts also burden the victims with shame. Finnish writer Sofi Oksanen (born 1977) discusses these issues in her works. As a writer, Oksanen is very sensitive to social issues, discrimination and the unfairness of history. Most of her characters suffer from the shame of inferiority caused by physical or mental violence. Oksanen analyzes the influence of shame in our lives, and her characters demonstrate several different responses to the feeling.

Eyesight and our looks play an important role in recognizing or hiding the humiliating episodes of our past. Appearance often reflects all our inner struggles and represents our mental state, wherefore a given individual's manner of personal care and habits of shaping the body reveal a great deal about the person. Personal and beauty care come up in different ways in Oksanen's novels and have varying symbolic meanings, but they have at least one thing in common: they are related to creating a false identity, one which is more acceptable for those in the surrounding environment.

This paper analyzes the mechanism of shame connected to the feeling of inferiority, concentrating on four of Oksanen's novels (*Stalin's Cows*, *Baby Jane*, *Purge* and *When the Doves Disappeared*). Although violence can lead to mental disorders and the shame of inferiority also belongs to the domain of emotions, the paper focuses on the physical consequences of the victims' mental state, which can vary from severe physical disorders to everyday personal grooming or beauty care.

Keywords: violence, shame, identity, body, cleanliness, hygiene

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INTRODUCTION

It is impossible to discuss contemporary Nordic literature without mentioning the young Finnish-Estonian writer Sofi Oksanen, presumably the best-known contemporary Finnish author worldwide. Oksanen was born in 1977 in Jyväskylä, Finland. Her father married an Estonian woman while he was working in Tallinn, thus she is well aware of the culture and history of both countries. Oksanen graduated from the University of Jyväskylä and also attended drama classes at the Finnish Theatre Academy in Helsinki. She has become a prominent figure in Finnish publishing, and she established her own publishing company in 2011. Oksanen has received several honorable prizes both in Finland and abroad, and she delivered one of the opening speeches at the Frankfurt Book Fair in 2014, where Finland was the guest of honour country.

As a writer, Oksanen is very sensitive to social issues, discrimination and the unfairness of history. She has published five novels in the last ten years based on these issues. She is known internationally for her successful *Quartet* series. The first novel of the series*, Stalin's Cows,* was published in 2003 (Oksanen 2003). The narrator of the book inherits the feeling of inferiority and shame from her mother, and develops an eating disorder as a method of purification. She also uses her perfect body to hide her true identity behind the image of the modern western woman.

Oksanen's breakthrough came with the second part of the series *Purge*, which was first published as a play, but was extended into a novel in 2008 (Oksanen 2008). Since then, it has been translated into more than 40 languages[2] and the original drama version of the novel has also been staged in various countries, including Hungary. *Purge* describes the fate of two women in two different eras, and raises important questions about violence against women and unprocessed historical traumas. Unlike the first two novels, in the next part of the series, *When the Doves Disappeared* (Oksanen 2012, 2015a), Oksanen chooses an opportunist man as the main character and analyzes how officially accepted historical lies are created under oppression. In her latest novel, *Norma* (Oksanen 2015b) Oksanen returns to the tradition of *Stalin's Cows* and *Purge* in that she again chooses a woman as her protagonist, but the book does not belong to the *Quartet* series. Before the huge success of *Purge* in 2005, Oksanen published another novel called *Baby Jane* (Oksanen 2005), which deals with homosexual subculture in Helsinki and the fate of people with mental illnesses. The novel also criticizes the attitude of medical service and its absolute inability to help.

Oksanen's point of view in the *Quartet* series is very unique, becaue she doesn't write about Finland but turns her attention to Soviet Estonia. She focuses mostly on people behind the frontlines, and analyzes what kind of influence war and its violence have on their everyday lives. Moreover, she is interested in the children of this war generation, and demonstrates the consequences of historical trauma, not only from the vantage point of the lives of the people who suffered from it, but also by considering the struggles of their descendants.

[2] First English edition by Lola Rogers (Oksanen 2010).

This paper analyzes the mechanism of shame connected to the feeling of inferiority, a very common consequence of violence. It concentrates on the first three novels of the *Quartet* series and on *Baby Jane*, and points out how the characters react to the shame of inferiority. Although violence usually leads to certain mental disorders and the shame of inferiority is also in the domain of feelings, this article focuses on the physical consequences of the victims' mental state, which can vary from severe physical disorders to the average behaviours of hygiene or beauty care.

THE DEFINITION OF SHAME

This article uses Silvan S. Tomkins' definition of shame. Tomkins describes shame as an affect auxiliary, and defines affects as "sets of muscular, glandular, and skin receptor responses located in the face (and also widely distributed throughout the body) that generate sensory feedback to a system that finds them either inherently 'acceptable' or 'unacceptable'" (Tomkins 1987:137). According to his research on the affect mechanism, these physical responses in humans are caused by various triggers, which can vary widely depending on someone's family or cultural background and personality. The way we are raised and the norms that we espouse from society have a strong influence on our representations of the world, and they make us sensitive to various effects coming from the outside. It follows that the events triggering the affects can be very diverse. However, the physical responses given to them are biologically coded, and therefore these are the same in the case of every human being (Tomkins 1987:134–145).

In his studies, Tomkins distinguishes positive affects, such as interest, joy and surprise, and negative ones, which are distress, fear, disgust, anger and shame. His list contains primary and secondary responses from which shame is characterized as an affect auxiliary that "operates only after interest or enjoyment is activated" (Tomkins 1987:144). In other words, shame is awakened by the incomplete reduction of interest, and it is always followed by the fear of being exposed. Besides its biological nature, shame also has a social aspect, which helps to understand the reasons for this fear. As human beings, we want to be part of a group and be accepted by its members. We long for attention and the interest of others, thus the reduction of this interest gives us a very strong and clearly negative judgement about ourselves. As a result of being revealed, we can be discriminated against by the group we wish to belong to. Since the responses of shame are very easily recognizable, this mechanism can become a perfect tool of control. The person who humiliates someone can also control the victim's life and actions because he or she will do anything to avoid being exposed and, as a result, being discriminated against. Shame has been used for controlling others for a long time, and in many fields of life, such as in the extreme conditions of war or in the dynamics of relationships.

Australian scholar Elspeth Probyn, who currently works at the University of Sidney as a professor of Gender and Cultural Studies, follows Tomkins' ideas in her works, but also goes one step further. She differentiates a positive and a negative version of shame. According to Probyn, when shame only gives us feedback on our behaviour, it can help us improve ourselves. However, in most cases we experience a negative shame, which is always connected to the feeling of inferiority. Although shame itself never changes its nature or evolves into something other than the physical response to

the affect, victims usually embody the feeling of inferiority, which becomes a part of their identities (Probyn 2005:IX–XVII). As a result, the automatic responses given to shame and the fear of being exposed slowly turn into bodily habits, such as unintended movements, various disorders or special body care practices.

BODILY REPRESENTATIONS OF THE SHAME OF INFERIORITY IN THE NOVELS

The mechanism and the consequences of shame and fear are very important phenomena in Sofi Oksanen's work (Lappalainen 2011:259–263). The main characters of her *Quartet* series almost always suffer from the shame of inferiority, which Probyn mentions in her research. Oksanen analyzes very minutely the most common responses to this shame through the behaviours of her protagonists. Humiliation has clear physical aspects in all of her novels, and the act which awakens shame and inferiority is always connected to the body. Therefore, not just the physical domain of affect mechanism but also Oksanen's point of view result in the representation of bodily responses to the feelings mentioned.

These reactions, as shown in the *Quartet* series and in *Baby Jane,* can be divided into three types, of which the first one immediately follows the act of humiliation and aims to purify the victim and erase the shame. The second and the third types are tightly connected and are the result of the fear of being exposed, which is attached to shame. All victims of humiliation try to hide from society and veil their habits connected to inferiority. At a higher level of hiding, the symptoms do not only concern bodily responses but also indicate an identity crisis and lead to drastic changes in someone's personality.

ERASING SHAME – METHODS OF CLEANSING AND PURIFICATION

The first part of the analysis tackles a list of reactions connected to the need of cleansing the body. The longing for purification appears most clearly in *Purge*, in which both women protagonists are the victims of sexual violence. The plot develops on two levels: between the 1930s and 1950s – the last years of the independent Estonia, the German invasion and the beginning of the Soviet era, and in 1991–92 – at the beginning of the new independence. The two storylines intertwine, and they are connected through Aliide's character. The other main character is Zara, Aliide's grandniece, who was born and raised in Vladivostok, where her mother and grandmother have been deported, and who turns up unknown to old Aliide's house.

The young Aliide Tamm had been humiliated and raped in the basement of the City Hall by Soviet soldiers during an interrogation, while Zara is the victim of the sex-trade business – which got a boost in the Eastern European countries after the collapse of the Soviet Union (Klingman – Limoncelli 2005:118–143) – and was used as a prostitute by the mafia. In their cases, the process of cleansing is very tangible. During her interrogation, Aliide is lying on the floor and is dirtied by soldiers' urine and sperm. Zara escapes from the mafia through the Estonian countryside and gets literally filthy by the time she reaches Aliide's house. Both women try to erase the memory of their

victimization and their shame by cleansing their bodies. They are both offered a bath by the person who realizes that they have been abused:

> "The girl snatched the pants from Aliide, peeled off her stockings, pulled on the Marats, tore off her dress, slipped on Aliide's housdress in its place, and before Aliide could stop her, threw her dress and stockings into the stove. "[...]
>
> "Zara, there is nothing to worry about."
>
> The girl stood in front of the stove as if to shelter the burning clothes. The housedress was buttoned crooked.
>
> "How about a bath? I'll put some water on to warm," Aliide said. "There's nothing to worry about." (Oksanen 2011:27–28.)

Beside being a symbolic cleaning, this is also a literal washing: the oppressors violate the women's body not only by the rape but also by contaminating them with body fluids – sperm on Zara's face, urine over Aliide's body.[3] As the Kapitánys claim (Kapitány – Kapitány 2009:42), degrading someone by contaminating their body is an ancient symbolic technique, going back to the hierarchy-creating role of cleanliness. In both Zara's and Aliide's case, the purifying effect of water is combined with that of fire: both women want to burn their clothes associated with the rape.

The episodes of having a bath and burning the clothes they wore at the time of the assault are beautiful representations of the old Finno-Ugric tradition, where fire and water are both elements of cleansing and purification.

Beside these scenes, Oksanen pictures the purifying power of fire in another context. Aliide, who is secretly in love with her brother-in-law, is deeply ashamed by the fact that Hans had chosen her sister, Ingel, instead of her. After Ingel and her daughter – the proof of the couple's happiness – are deported to Siberia, Aliide burns her sister's wedding blanket. By this act she wants to destroy the marriage itself, and also the scars that it caused her.

Another way of cleansing the body appears in the first novel of the series, *Stalin's Cows*. The main character is a young woman, Anna, who – as Oksanen herself – was born to an Estonian mother and a Finnish father. She inherits the feeling of inferiority from her mother, who is ashamed of her Estonian roots in the more developed and more independent Finnish society. Anna unconsciously struggles with her mother's shame, and she is constantly afraid of not being accepted in Finland in case the secret of her Estonian background is revealed. Because the origins of her feelings are hidden in her mother's past and have no connections to her life, at first she cannot identify the feeling of inferiority. However, she is very aware of the part of her identity which she has to hide or wipe out. In her case bulimia is the method of cleansing, and she uses vomiting to purify her body and remove the undesired parts of her identity.

[3] Oksanen has admitted in an interview that the novel's Finnish title *Puhdistus* ('cleaning') refers to Aliide's and Zara's attempt to wash away the violence they suffered (Luig 2010). For an analysis of the different meanings of the novel's original title and those of its translations, see Päivi Lappalainen's article (Lappalainen 2013:342).

REPRESENTATIONS OF HIDING – CONSEQUENCES OF THE FEAR OF BEING EXPOSED

The analysis of the background of Anna's eating disorders leads us to the next part of this treatise and another response to shame. As mentioned above, an act of humiliation and the embodiment of the feeling of inferiority are always followed by the fear of being exposed. Therefore, hiding is a very logical reaction of the victims. In *Stalin's Cows,* Anna not only suffers from bulimia but she also has very severe anorexia. The desire to create a thinner and smaller body stems from the very strong need to be hidden from the eyes that want to see too much. Her symptoms get worse when her boyfriend tries to get to know her better and learn her secrets. Finally, his attempt leads to an even stricter diet and forms a strong need in Anna to get small enough so that no one will be able to see her anymore.

Although the act of hiding does appear in *Stalin's Cows*, the most representative symbols of this reaction can be found in *Purge*. As Tomkins mentions in his paper, the signs of shame appearing on the face are blushing and lack of eye contact (Tomkins 1987:139). Oksanen plays with the dynamics of making eye contact to describe the nature of the characters' shame. Neither of the victims of the soldiers' violence can look each other in the eye. The next passage from the novel shows very clearly that although Ingel and her daughter Linda had survived their years in the forced labour camps of Siberia, they keep hiding their glances from each other.

> "Mother [Linda] touched Grandmother's [Ingel's] hands and brow and gave her some water and Validol, and she took them without looking at her, which wasn't unusual; Grandmother never looked at anyone, she always looked past them." (Oksanen 2011:49.)

Linda always acts the same way towards her daughter, Zara, who figures out the reasons behind her mother's behaviour only after her victimization. When she escapes the mafia and looks for shelter in her great-aunt Aliide's house, whom she knows from her grandmother's stories, she is not able to look the old woman in the eyes. Zara is well aware of the fact that her clothing and conditions present an obvious picture about her past, and she does not want to see the recognition in Aliide's eyes, thus she avoids looking at her directly.

> "Then her [Zara's] gaze moved back to her own lap, to her hands, stopped there, then slid up to the butt end of Aliide's scythe, but didn't go any higher, […] She finally managed to get up, but still didn't look Aliide in the face." (Oksanen 2011:11.)

In the case of Aliide, the dynamics of eye contact are even more complicated. Living under an oppressive military force, being exposed results not only in humiliation or discrimination, but also in becoming unreliable and suspicious in front of the leaders of the Communist Party. Also, because of the political atmosphere, Aliide – as many others – is being monitored all the time. Thus, besides controlling the target of her gaze, she also tries to hide from the gazes of the people around her, most particularly the ones who share her fate. She recognizes and avoids the women who are most likely the victims of violence, because she is afraid that outsiders would find their behaviours identical.

> "When she found herself in proximity with one of those women, she tried to stay as far away from her as she could. So no one would notice the similarities in their behaviour. So they wouldn't repeat each other's gestures and double the power of their nervous presence." (Oksanen 2011:168.)

As a result of her fear, she tries to go to public places as little as possible and organizes her life around her house, far from other people's inquisitive eyes.

FAKE IDENTITIES AS THE METHOD OF SELF-DEFENSE

In severe cases, when victims embody shame and the feeling of inferiority becomes a part of their identities, the urge of purifying or cleansing the body and hiding the source of shame merges into a third technique, which is basically a form of dissociation. This term can refer to the way our brain filters the memories, closes up the disturbing ones in the subconscious and makes them inaccessible for the victim. Dissociation can also mean a state of mind in which a victim leaves her body and sees events from an outsider's point of view to decrease the pain and fear (Herman 2011:60–66). In cases when the feeling of inferiority is too strong, people tend to use an interesting form of dissociation: they close up their real identities stained by a shameful past and create for themselves a new personality which they can proudly show society. In Oksanen's historical novels, dissociation has a very important role and it follows that almost all her protagonists possess a dual personality and use a fake identity as a method of self-defense.

For characters living in the communist era, besides the personal characteristics, fake identities always have a political dimension, too. The core element of their transformation is a change in the ideology; however, this inevitably reflects in their appearance as well.

In *Purge,* Aliide is intimidated, interrogated and finally raped because she is suspected of protecting and supporting her brother-in-law, who is clearly against the new political system. In order to prevent another humiliating night in the City Hall with the soldiers, Aliide decides to assimilate the new ideology and become a good communist herself. She changes her clothing and forms new habits to look like any other member of the working class. It can be mentioned as an example how she picks up the Soviet soldiers' style of drinking vodka. To guarantee her safety, she also marries a faithful Party member, Martin, even though the man disgusts her. Martin Truu smells, his smell sticks to Aliide, and she wears it as a shield, but also as a sign of changing alliances.

> "In the mornings, the smell of Martin's armpits stuck to Aliide's hair and skin, his smell was in her nose all day long. He liked to sleep in a tight embrace, with his little mushroom Aliide tucked tightly under his arms. It was good; it gave her a feeling of security. […] Nobody could have pulled her out from under that arm. […] Ingel had said that Aliide was starting to smell like a Russian." (Oksanen 2011:171–172.)

In the third part of the *Quartet* series, *When the Doves Disappeared*, Oksanen follows the life of a married couple and pictures their transformations, which are triggered by the changes of politics and, in the woman's case, love.

Edgar Parts is a master of creating identities. As different forces occupy Estonia, dragging their ideologies with them, he changes names and identities as his interests

dictate among changing political orders. He is always aiming at creating a personality that is the most acceptable to those in power. Although he cannot realize it, the feeling of inferiority has a strong influence on his opportunistic behaviour. Edgar is the opposite of the male ideal of wartime. He cannot stand violence or blood, and his feminine features make him soft. Moreover, he is drawn to other men. Edgar's society clearly considers homosexuality shameful, and in the atmosphere of the war and different kinds of resistance movements in Estonia, Edgar's personality and qualities would be disdained. To avoid humiliation, he is ready to do anything or betray anyone.

He is a master of words and faking, but he also shapes his appearance to fit his new character. Edgar is conscious about his looks and knows how to use them. Different clothes, hairstyles and strictly elaborated gestures are all parts of his play and his success. The following passage shows how he practices using his left hand instead of the right to create a more credible picture of the man he copies.

> "He [Edgar] stood in his dark suit in front of the wardrobe mirror. Fervent, but controlled, he raised his arm, counted to three, let it fall, then repeated the gesture again [...] checking the angle of his arm [...] He'd secretly practiced a little in the woods, too, when he had the chance, taking care to remember from the outset that Eggert Fürst was left-handed." (Oksanen 2015a: 52.)

On the other hand, Edgar's wife, Juudit suffers from the feeling of inferiority because of her husband's behaviour. Although they are married, Edgar rejects Juudit as a woman and never touches her. Unable to understand the situation, she searches for the reasons of her unsuccessful marriage in her personality, and most particularly in her appearance. She starts to use a wide range of beauty practices to make herself more beautiful, but every failed attempt of intimacy strengthens her shame. Trapped in a non-functioning marriage with Edgar, and craving for happiness, when Edgar disappears during the war, Juudit falls in love with a German officer.

For Juudit, beauty practices are means of fulfilling others' expectations. Having a perfect body is essential for her, as she thinks, to become acceptable for Hellmuth, and thus to ensure not only love, but also a safer, better life for herself:

> "Juudit couldn't afford to have varicose veins, couldn't afford to lose Hellmuth's interest, his fingers that crept up her legs in the darkness of the Estonia Theater. Hellmuth's worries had grown with his transfer. He had a longer trip to the offices in the economic division and missed working in his own area of expertise. There was a hollowness in his touch now, and this worried Juudit more and more each day, frightened her into taking greater care of her beauty. Her life depended on Hellmuth's feelings for her. Without them she had nothing." (Oksanen 2015a:148–149.)

However, she cannot be unconditionally accepted in this relationship either. As a partner of Hellmuth Hertz, her feeling of inferiority has racial reasons, because as an Estonian she can never be as valuable as a German woman would be.

Preserving her beauty and changing her brown and curly hair and into blond and wavy are tools for Juudit to become acceptable by a German officer's side even if she is not of Aryan descent. She also starts dressing like the lovers of other soldiers and acting like the members of the groups belonging to the German order. On the other hand, her looks reflect her inner feelings, too:

> "Nerves show immediately in a woman's skin, that's what Gerda would have said, and Juudit couldn't afford to let them show. She started by lathering up her shaving soap. She'd learned from Gerda that you can only get really smooth legs with a razor, not with hydrogen sulfide, which stank in any case. The tan on Juudit's legs was weak, pale. She ought to do something about that. After her bath she sprinkled salicylic powder under her arms and put the can back on the shelf next to the black pen she'd used to use to draw seams along the backs of her legs in her stockingless days. Her darkened elbows showed in the mirror like storm clouds. She picked up the hand mirror and tried to see how bad they were. She should have the maid bring more lemons. Other than that, her transformation from dove soft to scaly snake didn't show. Or was she just fooling herself?" (Oksanen 2015a:149.)

When she unwillingly agrees to the demand of Roland, a fighter of free Estonia, to help those Jews and Estonians who want to flee the German rule, she is anxious that her disloyalty to Hellmuth will show in her looks. Interestingly, Roland associates Juudit's made-up face with lies and betrayal against the interests of her own people – i.e. both Estonians and friends, such as him:

> "I relished the idea of sending my men after Juudit, frightening her. [...] I imagined the look of shock on her face, how her head would sink into her fox collar, how her mouth, painted with lipstick and deceit, would disappear into the fur." (Oksanen 2015a:109.)

This recalls the Kapitánys' claim (Kapitány – Kapitány 2009:22–23) that, based on the Christian duality of mind and body, in Medieval Europe caring too much for personal hygiene was interpreted as undervaluing the importance of the purity of the mind, and thus resulting in depravity.

All the descriptions of Juudit's beauty tricks strengthen later the effect of her caring no more for even personal hygiene, as a sign of her inner breakdown:

> "She had changed radically—she'd started missing days at work early; the smell of liquor had seeped into the wallpaper; her appearance, which she had always taken care of before, had fallen away curl by curl, her skin graying as quickly as the women's hair covered in ash after the bombings." (Oksanen 2015a:82.)

Personal and beauty care come up in different ways in Sofi Oksanen's novels, and have varying symbolic meanings, but there is at least one thing in common: they are related to creating a false identity, one which is more acceptible for those around. This is in parallel with what the Kapitánys say (Kapitány – Kapitány 2009:28–29) on the connection between how individuals think about cleanliness and what is the relationship between society and the individuals. They claim that the more hierarchical structure a society has, the greater importance appearances may have in it, i.e. the members of the society try to fulfill the expectations of the Whole, or of the Supremacy representing it. When social hierarchy subordinates a self-organized, traditional community, behaving as a member of the community changes into behaving as a subject. Individuals still try to fulfill expectations, but no longer those of a general power that they themselves belong to, but those of an outer or upper power. This results in the separation of appearances and reality. Meeting the expectations becomes important only when and where it is visible to

others. A good example of this is the make-up scene from *Baby Jane*, where the narrator is constructing a beautiful face visible to others, while she is smoking one cigarette after the other, polluting her body from inside.

The narrator-protagonist of *Baby Jane* is a young woman suffering from severe depression. It is vital to her that things happen as she is used to them, otherwise she is unable to perform even everyday acts – e.g. she cannot leave home when she has run out of cotton swabs and she cannot do her make-up as her routine dictates. As a lesbian, she belongs to the type *femme*, meaning that her style is emphatically feminine. When her relationship with Piki ends in a painful way, she chooses to live with a man so that she could be the furthest possible away from the world associated with her former lover. This is a life of pretense: she is faking heterosexuality to be in love with Joonatan, to belong to the group of healthy, busy, successful people. She spends her days in exactly the same way: wakes up when her partner does, pretends that she is also preparing for the day, and when the man leaves, goes back to sleep or to take a bath.

> "After the day cream, I applied primer and let it sink in. I smoked a cigarette. I brightened my eyes with more eyedrops and took the foundation, which I spread carefully with the sponge, and blended it towards my neck. I added cream blush to the dimple that appears when I pull my cheeks in, and dusted my faces with loose powder and a velvet brush. I smoked another cigarette. I applied eyeshadow primer, spread dark eyeshadow into the outer and light one into the inner corners, then rimmed my eyes with wet eye liner and blended the rim with the foam rubber end of the liner pencil. I added some more eye liner to the inner eyelids, and finished the make-up of my eyes with waterproof mascara. After applying primer to my lips, I rimmed them with a lip pencil, applied extra longwear lipstick with a brush, powdered my lips, added some more lipstick, and mopped them up with a sheet of blotting paper. And then some lustre to the brow bones and to the cheekbones. Now that I am still young enough to use it, I have to take the most out of it. Before moving on to choose my clothing, I went and made some more coffee."[4] (Oksanen 2009:53.)

The fact that every small detail of this morning preparation is mentioned underlines their importance: it is vital to the character that she could do her make-up in the usual way. It also emphasizes the overall importance of her make-up: what we can see here is the construction of a false appearance, one that is associated with normal, successful people. The perfect beauty of this constructed face and the meticulous description of the process are in a sharp contrast with the narrator's inner self: she is broken down and has no meaning in her life.

Creating an ideal appearance is vital for the main protagonist of *Stalin's Cows*, too. Although Anna does not live in the communist era any more, she inherits the shame of her mother, which is clearly the product of the former political system. As was stated before, Anna is ashamed of her Estonian roots, and is afraid that she would not be accepted in the Finnish society as a daughter of an Estonian mother. On the other hand, as an only child, she is very spoiled and used to attention, so she has never considered hiding, as Aliide did. The eating disorders have an objective of creating a perfect body, which gives

[4] Translation by Laura Bába.

Anna the admiration of others and, at the same time, functions as a disguise and hides her true identity. However, Anna's behaviour is very paradoxical, because she hides the secret of her roots very carefully on the one hand, but on the other she constantly risks being exposed by following the dressing and make-up style of the Russian and Estonian women she saw and admired in Tallinn as a child. It is also interesting how she alternates her outfits and accessories: she uses both the sportier look of the Finnish and the clearly more feminine style of the Estonian women, depending on where she is. This transformation is also influenced by the political changes and has roots in Anna's childhood, while it loses most of its meaning in society during the 1990s, and only remains important to Anna herself.

While Anna tries to become invisible and merge with the crowd, she is also striving for visibility and acceptance. Anna decides to create a perfect body, to give a new reason why others look at her, instead of her Estonian origin. This recalls Bourdieu's thoughts (Bourdieu [2008]:110–111) on how people relate to the socially constructed image of their body. If there is no balance between the original qualities and abilities of someone and the social concept of legitimate appearances and conduct, they will feel strained about their body or their manner of speaking. They think that these betray their origin, and, consequently, they do not identify with them but look at them as from the outside, through the eyes of the others. This results in overcompensation: in a constant effort to regain rule over their body, they are controlling and correcting it, and thus they are exposing it to expropriation. This can be detected in the fact that the body Anna is striving to attain matches the one that is associated with the identity she wants to escape: in Finland, Estonian women are taken as prostitutes, and the latter are associated with extremely feminine style, yet while Anna is hiding her Estonian origin, she is aspiring for a very womanly body and manner.

However, an important part of Anna's struggle is that by taking control over her body, it is she who decides over herself and not others. Control is vital to Anna: she has grown up to know no moderation, because, as she thought, in Finland she had nothing while in Estonia she got everything (e.g. her mother could not afford to buy her sweets in Finland, so she bought her all the sweets in Estonia). This is why Anna does not know anything about what she would like to do or have. Instead, she acts on decision – both in connection with eating and vomiting as well as with her relationships. She wants to maintain this control to the utmost end. When she catches herself dissolving into a relationship, feeling safe and getting more and more negligent about her looks – she takes the habit of leaning on her elbows, even if they get wrinkled and black, or the habit of sitting on her thighs, even if this causes cellulite – she then decides to alienate herself from the man in order to avoid a complete loss of control, which would mean telling him about her Estonian origin. It would also mean losing her Lord, as she calls her eating disorder, which would result in her size getting enormous. At this point, she cannot permit herself any of these.

RELEASING SHAME – ATTEMPTS AT HEALING

Anna is a special character in the *Quartet* novels, not only because she lives after that historical era which forces the other characters of the series to change their lifestyles, but also because – partly due to the increased range of freedom in the new system – she finds

the roots of her shame and realizes the emptiness behind her fake identity. In order to free herself from the distress, Anna starts talking about Estonia and her relationship to it, and realizes that society does not consider it shameful at all. However, it is not enough to put an end to the eating disorders, because the feeling of inferiority is too deeply embedded and it is an inseparable part of her identity. As she learns to identify her feelings, she also manages to control the physical symptoms, but cannot leave them behind.

There is one more character in Oksanen's novels who tries to get rid of shame: Aliide Truu in *Purge*. Her being the only one besides Anna to attempt to reach freedom is very interesting and surprising at the same time, as she is the one who is under the strongest control and dependence because of the place and times she lives in, and also because of the nature of her traumatic experiences. In her fight to neutralize shame and live a normal life, the meaning of eye contact becomes important again. Aliide plans to escape to Tallinn with Hans, whom she hides in their house for years. As she had experienced all kinds of suffering for the sake of her brother-in-law, she feels that if she could gain his love and acceptance, it would give meaning to the horrors of her life. Aliide uses Ingel's beauty practices to make herself similar to her, or even better, and hopes she can awaken Hans' interest and make him look at her and see her true self. Ingel has always been a mistress of household and beauty practices, Aliide has always lagged behind – nor even wanted to do things as Ingel did. Now she starts to adapt her sister's tricks to fulfill what she thinks Hans' expectations are:

> "She fixed her hair, pinched her cheeks, brushed her teeth with charcoal, and rinsed them for a long time. It was a trick of Ingel's – that's why her teeth were always so white. Aliide hadn't wanted to imitate Ingel too much before, so she had always done without the charcoal. But things were different now." (Oksanen 2011:200.)

However, Aliide's tragedy is that Hans never realizes what kind of sacrifices she has made for him. During the peaceful times he always looks at Ingel, even when he dances with the younger sister, and finally, before his death, driven crazy by years of hiding, he talks to an imagined figure of his wife and never ever looks Aliide in the eye. It follows that Aliide can never be released from the feeling of inferiority which her sister's greatness caused her; however, she finds meaning in her traumas by saving Zara at the end.

CONCLUSION

The examples found in the *Quartet* series and *Baby Jane* show how the shame of inferiority influences our minds, and through it also our bodies. Oksanen pictures the most common bodily responses for embodied shame very objectively. The uncontrollable nature of these physical responses points out that because of biological laws we cannot free ourselves from the consequences of the affect mechanism. The change should happen in society, which should not link the feeling of inferiority to the automatic reactions of shame in order to use it for gaining control over certain groups of people. It is also important to state that everyone has an important role in easing the victims' suffering from symptoms caused by the feeling of inferiority by creating a more empathic social space, where their shame can turn into the pride of survivors.

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Current Issues in Museology and Intangible Cultural Heritage System

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Plans and Concepts

Opportunities and Challenges Associated with the New Building of the Museum of Ethnography

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Abstract: Founded in 1872, the Budapest Museum of Ethnography is an institution that is simultaneously national and international in scope, focusing on phenomena both historical, and contemporary. The museum boasts a collection of national ethnographic material of outstanding value, as well as collections of ceramics, textiles, and clothing that are among the largest of their type on the continent. Though the significance of the museum's various social and scientific pursuits is beyond dispute, the institution has never operated within a facility constructed with its essential functionality and particular needs and requirements in mind. Currently underway, however, is a project that will put into place the conditions required for effecting the very necessary relocation of the museum to the Budapest City Park. Planning and preparatory work on the project were begun more than three years ago, in parallel with the development of the concept for the new facility. The present study summarizes the most important elements of that concept and discusses the specifics of the winning design.
Keywords: Museum of Ethnography, relocation, new concept, social science museum, institutional mission statement

Recent times have seen considerable dialogue regarding the changing role of museums, a conversation that has not been limited to professional circles. As far as the general public is concerned, it may be said that opinions thus far have been guided more by prejudice, than by logical evaluation. One idea that has gained increasing acceptance is that, from the standpoint of their function as public services, such institutions constitute living sources of societal knowledge, and should therefore react openly to contemporary phenomena. Related to this is the concept of problem sensitivity, which it is said must be made to exert a fundamental influence on museum activities. Indeed, it is held as evident in both domestic and foreign professional forums that a museum's mission must be continually adapted to reflect the prevailing social, economic, and scientific framework, and the signs involved in this carefully read (Rentzhog 2007).

In the more fortunate cases, museum activities function together as an interdependent system. In Hungary, as elsewhere, the word "museum" offers a guarantee of authenticity and intellectual credibility in the way an institution conducts its mission, and because

reliability is part of a museum's image, every role undertaken is given careful attention. Museum exhibitions, for their part, are the fundamental tools by which modern systems of knowledge are re-ordered and embedded into socio-political worldviews (Korff 2003:10). In the age of virtual worlds, the individuality and distinctiveness that help a museum accomplish its various objectives reside in the institution's real-world nature: the museum is a safe, physical environment in which real people meet, spend time together, and have real-world conversations (Kemecsi 2010:171). Still, given the disintegration of classic frameworks of interpretation, narratives that used to provide credible answers no longer do so. In the 21st century, the key pillars upon which museum activities must rest are credibility and authenticity anchored in rigorous professional standards, coupled with the relevance of questions addressed (Kemecsi 2010:102). Consistent, rigorous professional activity that is both problem-sensitive, and capable of reacting to current events must be permitted to flourish, regardless of the principles by which institutional strategy is set (Kemecsi 2013a: 126–127). Scientific studies into the conditions at modern museums show that in general, while public funding for museums has decreased, visitor expectations continue to grow, a situation that has prompted many museums to pursue new activities in order to increase revenues, expand visitor attractions, draw attention to new developments, and underscore institutional individuality. Clearly, it is a process that impedes museums in assuming their role as places of true scientific advancement. Recent times have seen new methods added to conventional ones, and the findings as they relate to documented lifestyle changes must be compared to those found with other social sciences (Nagyné Batári 2014:119–219).

The Budapest Museum of Ethnography is simultaneously a national and universal, historical and contemporary institution, which – founded in 1872 – houses within a single, unified framework ethnographic/ethnological material encompassing not only ethnic Magyars and other groups living in Hungary, but also European and even non-European peoples. The museum's collections number over 250,000 artefacts, one quarter of which are international in nature. The institution also operates one of the discipline's largest archives, home to several million pages of archive material, more than 400,000 images, and a substantial body of audio material and film. The Museum of Ethnography Library, too, boasts material to rival that of any institution in Europe. Of the museum's traditional national ethnographic holdings, its international-standard ceramics, textiles, and clothing collections are the largest of their type on the continent. And while this information makes clear the social and scientific significance of the institution's activities, still, the museum has never occupied a building constructed with its particular functions and needs in mind. Though it is not the place of this study to provide a detailed summary of the history of the institution, such histories have already been written and are readily available elsewhere (Fejős 2000, Granasztói et al. 2012).

Guiding the relocation of the institution, which currently operates from a building opposite the Hungarian Parliament on Kossuth square in Budapest, are the current concept devised for the development of the Budapest City Park and a number of government decrees that have been passed toward its funding and implementation.[1] In fact, one of the key elements of the project, deemed to be of considerable importance not only culturally,

[1] http://www.szepmuveszeti.hu/dokumentumtar (accessed October 14, 2014).

but also from the standpoint of tourism, is that conditions be put into place that permit the creation of a new location for the Museum of Ethnography within the City Park development. Preparations for the move have been underway for over three years now, in parallel with ongoing work on the concept itself. Steps completed successfully to date include a relocation design competition, by which the location for the museum's new building was established, and – coming to a close at the time this study was written – adjudication of submissions to an international invitation-only call for proposals pertaining to the design of the new museum building (Jelinek 2015; Kovács 2015), the winner of which was *Napur Architect Kft*. At the same time, significant advancement has also been made on the design of the complex to be constructed in Szabolcs street, whose purpose is to provide a modern facility for the institution's storage and restoration needs.[2] In the sections below, I will strive to give a succinct summary of both the individual elements of the concept for the new Museum of Ethnography, and of what has been expressed so far regarding the building's actual construction.

One of the first and fundamental tasks in developing a concept for the new museum was to compose an institutional mission statement. Having reviewed both the scant number of existing domestic examples, and the international situation, the museum's scientific staff worked together to conceive, draft, and accept a formal declaration of the museum's mission:

> *As one of the earliest ethnographic museums in Europe, the Museum of Ethnography has been collecting, archiving, preserving, researching, and transmitting the traditional and modern cultural artefacts of Hungarian, European, and world communities since 1872. The museum is a collection of objects, images, textual material, audio recordings, and thoughts that serves as a rich and multi-faceted resource for learning about the world. As a social history museum, the Museum of Ethnography is a place to reflect on, study, and exhibit the manifestations of material culture past and present, as well as of various social phenomena. It is also the determining Hungarian institution in – and primary museological laboratory for – the fields of ethnography, European ethnology, and cultural anthropology. Given its excellent collections and the amassed knowledge it represents, the museum may be viewed as a point of departure for both other sciences, and the arts, in comprehending, accepting, and respecting cultural memory, cultural diversity, and changing identities. The concordance of knowledge and experience creates an opportunity to give expression to community and individual interpretations and relationships*.[3]

As a social science museum, the Museum of Ethnography is concerned primarily with everyday life and the movements of society, areas of inquiry that apply equally to past and present, seeking to incorporate its knowledge and experiences into the museum's presentational apparatus with a view to its commitment to society. Museums are storehouses of temporality, places where historical traditions are both amassed, and projected into the future. They are the archives both of the human past, and of what is to come. If the two are not connected, that is, if a museum remains nothing more than an assemblage of archives and projections, then it loses its ties to life and becomes a cultural

[2] Sasvári – Vasáros 2014. Project implementation has begun with the commencement of underground construction work.

[3] http://www.neprajz.hu/tartalom.php?menu2=17 (accessed October 14, 2014).

mausoleum, rather than a tool for communication. It is the task of museums to connect living culture and present practice to cultural heritage – and to do so in numerous areas of human experience (Castells 2012: 37–38). The modern museum is not a museum of unique truth, but one of complex, multifaceted collections, a forum for alternatives and for the posing of questions. Indeed, one of the principal messages conveyed by modern museum architecture is that of the museum as a modern cultural context, or place of gathering (György 2003:20, 122). It is a message the winning architectural design for the Museum of Ethnography's new building successfully conveys in accordance with the expectations the institution itself has expressed.

The new Museum of Ethnography hopes to put its rich and various collections to good use, while taking an approach that is in line with modern international trends, while also employing the latest in museographic techniques. The new institution builds emphatically on cooperation with the public, as well as on the principles of openness, social responsibility, and sustainability. The same principles are represented by the layout requirements imposed on the design process – requirements based largely on experiences with the current state of affairs. Indeed, the move represents not merely a relocation, but rather an all-encompassing overhaul – a complete re-thinking, as it were – of the existing institution. The new Museum of Ethnography must transcend its current limits and disengage itself from the inauspicious compromises associated with its current operating conditions.

The concept reflected in the design of the new, modern museum building has been substantially shaped by international trends and experience. Until now, work regarding the relationship between museum and building, or museum and architecture, was limited for the most part to international preliminary studies. In the past two decades, too, several international architectural journals have issued special edition publications dealing specifically with museum architecture.[4] In recent years, prompted by a growing interest on the part of the Hungarian public, even some domestic studies have touched upon the subject, though not by any measure exhaustively. In indication of this tendency, the textbooks used in architectural classes at Hungarian universities, unlike those of former times, now include a separate chapter on this area of the discipline (Cságoly 2004). It is crucial, therefore, that the questions and answers we now express with regard to the Museum of Ethnography be composed in the knowledge of both the international professional literature and of concrete institutions, actors, agents, and concepts, and that this knowledge be applied rigorously.

Historically speaking, by the 20th century, museums had become overt means of indoctrination by states that, as backing organizations, found institutions with public collections to be excellent channels for the promotion of contemporary state programs (Ébli 2005:49). Part of the reason for this was that museums function as communications protocols, intermediating between various identities, and connecting science and knowledge to various temporalities. Museums can additionally serve as links between the global and local dimensions of identity, space, and society (Castells 2012:41–42). Architecture, for its part, is perhaps the most conspicuous – if somewhat inconsistent – element in this success story. Museum collections and buildings regularly redefine

[4] e. g. Museum Architecture 1997, *Museum International* 49(4):4–41; Museum Boom 1997, *Architecture* 86(12).

each other. The museum world clearly benefits both from competition, and from the lack of an overarching architectural trend in the sector. It is also clear, however, that the "secularized temples" of former times have today become destinations for cultural tourism – not in small part for the recent renaissance in museum architecture.

What often goes unstressed in various analyses are the problems surrounding museum funding and building operation, even if it is always harder to cover the costs of operations than it is to fund large construction projects; and intensive museum expansion – booms in the industry – frequently spawn architectural wonders built with funds from state or private coffers whose day-to-day operating costs are a considerably less attractive financial target for potential donors. The prestige associated with helping to operate an institution is not equal to that of a contribution toward construction. And ultimately, what draws in the visitor – whether compelled or inspired to consumption – is the exhibition or attraction. Also neglected by treatises on various star specimens of museum architecture is an evaluation of institutional functionality, despite a focus within the professional literature on the *two* sides of museum operation – the visitor side and the institutional side – and on a healthy relationship between them as one of the secrets to a museum building's long-term success. The visitor side comprises the reception, visitor service, and exhibition zones, the institutional side areas dedicated to administration, research, artefact restoration, storage, and maintenance. Also, the operating trends currently seen as successful place museum shops and hospitality industry (e.g. food service) areas in a position of fundamental importance (Kemecsi 2010:171).

The principles and trends described succinctly above are precisely those by which the conceptual design process for the Museum of Ethnography's new building was begun and now proceeds. Based on previous plans and preliminary surveys, the institution's total floor space requirement amounts to nearly 29,000 square meters. Currently accepted international museum architectural standards generally allot 40% of this space for the storage of artefacts, another 40% for exhibitions and visitor service spaces, and 20% for work rooms, building services, and building engineering functions. This basic distribution has, in the Museum of Ethnography's particular case, been somewhat modified to suit the architectural concept of splitting the institution between a storage complex (to be located in Szabolcs street) and separate museum building (to be constructed in the City Park), as some (if not all) points of infrastructure must clearly be installed in both the buildings in question (Kemecsi 2013b:2). Of course, placement of the collections that serve as the institution's fundamental credentials is a matter of extremely high priority. A reordering of museum storerooms will take place in parallel with the moving process, and the current system of grouping by place of collection/geographic association will be replaced by a system based partially on artefact size and material. The design of new, state-of-the-art storage systems will be conducted with a view to the optimal use of space, adherence to safety regulations, and artefact conservation requirements. Of decisive importance from the standpoint of the institution's future is that the design of the new storage facility takes foreseeable collection expansion into account (Sasvári – Vasáros 2014:34–45). Certainly, a modern institution constructed with 21st century needs in mind can operate using a storage system that separates articles according to material, as with digital inventory management systems, it is no longer necessary to keep artefacts of a single museal/geographic/thematic type, but different materials, physically together. In this way, research may be safely conducted using digital information on

artefacts, while the artefacts themselves are stored under circumstances that are ideal from the standpoint of conservation.

Every museum has its own individual profile and offers its own unique, incomparable encounter with objects of the past, an "object competency" that if used to advantage, can help an institution to do its part in broadening the historical and cultural knowledge of modern humanity. In its work in coming years, the Museum of Ethnography, too, wishes to focus on the transmission of scientific knowledge in all its stratified complexity. Though every discipline needs, of course, to redefine its objectives from time to time, and to rejuvenate the methods and approaches it employs, European ethnography must continue to view the diachronic approach (that which regards the present as a temporal plane that slides quickly into the past) as a strength worth preserving. Thus, just as we urge that methodical study of the present be strengthened, we cannot forget that contemporary events are part of a historical process. In analyzing and interpreting material, the diachronic approach will continue to be of decisive importance, and archives everywhere, including those of the Museum of Ethnography, will offer ethnographers an inexhaustible source of material for decades to come (Paládi-Kovács 2005:5).

Another development of recent years has been a quickening of the pace of analyses of the processes that shape museum collections, while the methodology applied to collection interpretation, too, has received new weight. This has occurred despite a perceptible international "trend" toward radical debate of the system of relationships between museums and their collections, and even the postulation of a place for museums with no collections at all. Some have even suggested (for the time being only outside Hungary) that museums today renounce the "conventional" formula of permanent and temporary exhibitions, to be replaced by a building designed by a star architect – a distinctive, even exhibition-free structure housing a fashionable restaurant in lieu of artefacts and displays (Kemecsi 2010:169). What is envisioned is a process leading from buildings constructed to preserve artefacts to buildings that may be regarded as artefacts themselves.

Clearly, the past few years have constituted a turning point in the realization of the prevailing museum paradigm. According to the principles espoused by "*New Collecting*," museums should amass not artefacts, but interactions, taking part in the community of cultural heritage as equal partners and serving as platforms where individuals and groups collect their own heritage (Meijer – Van Mensch 2012:123–126). In this model, museums cooperate with audiences as co-curators through what the discourse on new heritage refers to as co-creation and shared curatorial practice. As such processes reach fruition, the focus of contemporary museology moves from actual collecting to collection development. The history of museums is a history of institutionalization. The change in attitude toward the system of collection – the recognition of the utilitarian value of collections and in relation to it, of the mission of the institution – has been a century-long process. Now, in the 21st century, a new model for museum operation has begun to spread, a model involving processes and procedures whose key words are participation and co-creation (Meijer – Van Mensch 2012:97). Yet collections are of fundamental importance to museums. Sir David Wilson, former director of the British Museum, summarizes his own decisive opinion in the following terms: *"A museum which does not collect is a dead museum"* (Keene 1999:25).

Begun as a result of cultural political decisions, the process that precedes the relocation of the Museum of Ethnography clearly comes with – among other things

– the opportunity of instituting a number of structural changes. Given the institution's commitment to a collection-centric design, an integral part of this must consist in the refinement and concrete expression of an institutional collection strategy.

The highly complex collections of the Museum of Ethnography require similarly complex and specialized conservation efforts. The varied properties of the different materials involved require that the planned new site feature a separate, specialized restoration facility (Kemecsi 2013a:32). The two most important, extraordinarily complex professional tasks the new center must accomplish are the state-of-the-art, secure storage of the museum's collections, including such collection management and inventory record-keeping as this entails, and the conservation – or to use the more commonplace, generalized term, the restoration – of a set of artefacts with a uniquely complex set of attributes. Ethnographic collections by nature require special storage and restoration techniques. Of critical importance for a 21st century project of this type is that the complex be operated appropriately and sustainably, that ecological and energy management considerations be addressed, and that a maximum level of security be ensured. Artefact environmental conditions, too, may be brought into line with building engineering solutions that regulate humidity and temperature and indeed, this should be seen as a particular design challenge (Kemecsi 2013a:32).

In terms of content and methodology, development of the outward appearance and grounds of the new City Park building rests on the twin pillars of the museum's holdings and its scientific and social mission. As a social science museum, the Museum of Ethnography is concerned primarily with everyday life and the movements of society, incorporating its experience and knowledge of these – with regard to both past, and present – into its presentational apparatus, with emphasis on its social commitment. Thus, the new building cannot reflect early museum metaphors that presented culture as an enclosed, hierarchalised, segregated world. The new Museum of Ethnography is a gathering place in which public and private, the globally known and the locally valued, the general and the special/individual all find a place. An institution constructed with such a concept in mind attracts and captivates visitors using the architectural means of openness and transparency. The ideal building opts for a mode of speech and language of form that gives priority to the changing, moving world, while also offering a solid frame of reference for thinking that leads to understanding – for a space that is specially crafted and architecturally structured for these purposes.

With a total of 31,000 square meters in floor space, the new building in the City Park offers the Museum of Ethnography the opportunity of introducing previously unworkable presentational solutions and visitor-friendly functions. Playing a key role in the new museum are high-visibility, study-access storerooms that are physically linked to visitor areas, whose creation is justified not only by conservation considerations, but also, given the exceptional, international-standard quality of the museum's collections, by the conspicuously improved access they will provide. The Viewable Storage Area that functions as part of the permanent exhibition serves to highlight both how broadly the collection can be interpreted, and how it connects to the various aspects of culture (lifestyle, utility, ornamentation, style, everyday vs. festival, etc.) with which the museum is concerned.

Essential to the layout of the future museum building is that it not be constructed to house a single permanent exhibition; rather, the designers should think in terms of changeable, mobile spaces as determined by the museum's mission. One particularly

important criterion in the design of the new building is improved viewability of the institution's exceptionally valuable holdings, a goal achieved through expanded exhibition space. In addition to its conventional exhibitions, the Museum of Ethnography will be able to expand the offerings of the museum quarter of the park through the organization of living culture events. Given its international orientation, the museum may even serve as a node for performances by foreign acts visiting Hungary, who may in turn function as mediators of global cultural diversity for Hungarian audiences. For this reason, space must be made within the museum for a high-tech performance and concert hall, a feature that may well prove one of the major attractive forces the institution has to offer.

Ensuring that the museum fulfils its role as a center for scientific study are both a new library, and a number of auxiliary areas to be employed in the service of conferences and research. Also integral to the institution's state-of-the-art operations are various means of comprehensive, open, indirect access, such as are represented by the range of publications, reproduction artefacts, and products available in the museum shop. Important visitor activities will include museum education workshops, courses of instruction, and other learning opportunities, with visitor activities of all types supported at a fundamental level through consumer services and other comforts. Given the Museum of Ethnography's status as a hub of ethnographic study, researchers – who form a special subgroup of the museum's visitors – regularly seek out the museum both for its collections (artefacts and documents), and its library. The museum's Ethnology Archive is the largest archive on folk culture in the country, whose collections and various catalogues may be accessed by anyone possessing the proper research permit. Access to collection holdings within research areas is fast and direct in a manner comparable to library use.

The Museum of Ethnography is committed to providing its youngest visitors with lasting experiences in the form of programs that expressly address their interests, held in an appropriately inspiring environment, in this case, a special "Children's Museum".[5] In terms of content, this museum will focus on taking an ethnographic approach to culture (and in particular children's culture) past and present through presentations of topics of both Hungarian and international scope. Children's exhibitions will permit the exploration of various systems of relationships and will inspire comparison, resulting in the identification of parallels and differences.

The building's modern, visitor-friendly spaces and varied functionality will aid the museum in fulfilling its true mission as a social institution. In addition to the hope and expectation of an expanded visitorship, the project will promote the development of a denser network of societal connections and, at the same time, of an institution that is more deeply socially embedded. By nature, the Museum of Ethnography – alone among Hungarian ethnography museums – boasts not local, but societal character and context. Accordingly, the planned development project will be of decisive import in terms of its repositioning.

[5] Serving as inspiration for the interior design and program offerings of this novel institution – unprecedented in Hungary – are the Please Touch Museum (Philadelphia, USA), winner of the 2013 Children's Museum Award, the Kindermuseum (Vienna, Austria), the Tropenmuseum Junior (Amsterdam, the Netherlands), and the Joods Historisch Kindermuseum (Amsterdam, the Netherlands).

The strongest element of the Museum of Ethnogaphy's identity is its historical heritage – its collections. The museum's mission is to carry on that heritage, an activity that will, in and of itself, create an opportunity of discussing its particular subject matter – that of culture and society, together with all the day-to-day and popular phenomena they entail – comprehensively and with a nod to those on the international stage. It is capable of offering its audiences in a manner that is simultaneously modern, open to the present, generally comprehensible, and interactive, producing a discursive relationship not only with those audiences, but also with other institutions operating in the same space. Thus, the new Museum of Ethnography is the interpretation of a complex thought in building form, capable of showing cultures engaged in dynamic dialogue. Currently in the design phase, the new building will enable the museum to move past conventional categories and to present – via a comprehensive permanent/semi-permanent/temporary exhibition – the diversity of human culture; to juxtapose the material cultures of traditional societies with the universe of modern customs and material contexts of today. The museum's collection of artefacts is not only a Hungarian national treasure, but an asset of international import. Thus, the new building design will be expected to give maximum consideration to artefact safety and security and to provide optimal conditions for artefact display, storage, and handling. The Museum of Ethnography is an institution founded on 19th century principles, one that views its traditions with pride, but that at the same time seeks both to meet the challenges presented here and now, in the 21st century, and to study, and promote public engagement with, the society of today. As it is planned, the new building will not archaize, but keep perfectly in step with its own age, reflecting the institution's progressive mode of thought. At the same time, the building's outward appearance and interior design will allude to the museum's traditional subject matter and guiding principles, expressing the conclusions this brings to bear in the language of – and using the tools afforded by – contemporary society in a carefully thought out, yet easily comprehensible fashion, communicated through contemporary architecture.

For the Museum of Ethnography, as it opens its doors on this new space, one of the most important roles it has to play is that of carrying heritage on into the future, complemented by the expression of new research and exhibition themes and perspectives. The act of thinking within the historical context in modern times is rendered complete through the understanding and exhibition of contemporary global processes. In this way, the new Museum of Ethnography, building upon what it has achieved to date and then taking those successes a step further, will add to the Hungarian network of museal institutions a new type of museum in which ethnographic museology becomes both a sensitive contact zone, and a hub of intercultural activity.

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Fragments of Rural Hungarian Jewish Culture

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Abstract: Ethnographic research that focused mainly on agrarian groups living at the lower level of society did not really seek or find a handle to approach Jewish culture in the late 19th and early 20th century. At the same time, for its part, the Hungarian Jewry made no effort to deal with its own culture from the viewpoint of ethnography. Although ethnographic and anthropological research has been conducted since then, and important results have been achieved, it cannot be claimed that the subject has been exhausted. That is why the Ethnography Museum's exhibition *Picking up the Pieces: Fragments of Rural Hungarian Jewish Culture* was an important, unique and timely opportunity for both experts and audience. The exhibition aimed to conjure up an image of rural Hungarian Jewish life before the Holocaust based the materials in the museum. For the first time, the exhibition presented the Museum's small but important collection of Judaica, Jewish implements, objects that entered the collection through art dealers and private collectors, not to mention the rich photographic material. In addition, local "case studies" were utilized to grasp the distinctive culture of the everyday life of the Jewish population, their position within the majority society, and the possible paths (mazes) of modernity. Various issues were discussed, not in general but through concrete examples (family histories, specific communities, local characteristics, etc.), and in this spirit, several specific themes were presented, such as weekdays and festive days, various situations, occupations and social strata. In the second part of the study, special mention is made of a few highlighted objects from the exhibition through the eyes of visiting American students.
Keywords: Jewish ethnography, Jewish objects, rural Jewish culture, Jewish headgear, Jewish traders, Jewish iconography

INTRODUCTORY THOUGHTS

In 2003 a thematic selection of articles in No. 48 of *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* dealt with ethnographical and anthropological research on the Jews of Hungary. Studies by Leonard Mars, Richárd Papp, Miklós Rékai, Piroska Szabó and the present author examined various aspects of Hungarian Jewish culture (Mars 2003; Papp 2003; Rékai 2003; Szabó 2003; Szarvas 2003). Although ethnographical and anthropological research

has been conducted since then on the Jews and important results have been achieved, it cannot be claimed that the subject has come into the focus of interest of our discipline.

The present article makes no attempt at an overview or synthesis, it simply outlines a few thoughts in connection with an exhibition on rural Jewish culture held in the Museum of Ethnography in 2014.

The relationship of Hungarian ethnographical research to the Jews and of the Jews to Hungarian ethnography can only be interpreted in the context of their interaction. Ethnographical research in the late 19th and early 20th century, that directed its attention principally to the question of the national culture, and carried out research mainly among groups living at the lower level of society, did not really seek or find a handle to approach Jewish culture from an ethnographical angle. At the same time, for its part Hungarian Jewry made no effort to deal with its own culture from the viewpoint of ethnography. It strove to identify itself as either a religious or an ethnic community, or it sought to strike a balance between the two. The question of carrying out research on themselves did not even arise for the Jewish groups who remained faithful to their traditions, and at the same time the section of Hungarian Jews who were in the process of assimilation – most Jews in the academic world belonged in this group – did not wish to study themselves because this would have emphasised their difference even more. There were attempts in Jewish circles in the early 20th century to study the Jews from an ethnographical – mainly folkloristic – viewpoint and to collect their objects, but they were not really successful (Rékai 1999; Szarvas 2003; 2015; Toronyi 2006).

Nor did the Museum of Ethnography, one of the leading institutions of Hungarian ethnographical research, show any particular interest in research on the Jews. As for exhibitions, one of the first was an exhibition of photography by Tamás Féner opened in 1983, where most of the photographs shown evoked the everyday lives and festive days of Budapest Jews in the 1980s (Féner–Scheiber 1984). In 1995 a photo exhibition titled *Bitter Root* opened; it was based on research by Miklós Rékai on the traditional culture of the Hungarian Jews of Mukacheve, Western Ukraine (formerly Munkács, Hungary) (Rékai 1995). The museum's permanent exhibition on *Traditional Culture of the Hungarians* opened in 1991 includes a few Jewish ritual objects (without any commentary) in its presentation of the different religious denominations. The real breakthrough came in 2014 with the museum's exhibition *Picking up the Pieces. Fragments of Rural Hungarian Jewish Culture*.[1]

The exhibition aimed to conjure up the image of rural Hungarian Jewish life in the period before the Holocaust that can be formed from material in the museum. It used mainly local "case studies" to show the everyday life of Jews, the position they occupied within the majority society, certain characteristics of their distinctive culture, and the possible paths (mazes) of modernity. In doing this it also included references to elements of the surviving, reviving Hungarian Jewish culture. It did not aim to give a full picture, much rather it stressed the characteristic that it is now difficult to reconstruct that culture, it is no longer possible to present it as a whole, only certain of its elements can be evoked. It spoke of various questions not in general but through concrete examples (family histories, specific communities, local characteristics, particular details, etc.). In

[1] The exhibition was curated by Zsuzsa Szarvas, Tímea Bata, Hanga Gebauer and Krisztina Sedlmayr.

this spirit it presented the Jewish weekdays and festive days, the different occupations and social strata, examining particular themes in this connection. One layer among the different frames of interpretation was placing the exhibition objects, photos and their stories in context. At certain points it used either iconographic references or historical and ethnographical parallels to throw light on contacts between Jews and non-Jews, and in various ways and a number of places it reflected on the relationship between research done by ethnography and by the Jewish individuals. The exhibition presented for the first time the Museum of Ethnography's small but important collection of Judaica, Jewish implements, objects that entered the museum through Jewish art dealers and private collectors, not to mention the rich photographic collection (Szarvas et al. 2014:4–5).

COLLECTION HISTORY AND THEMES OF THE EXHIBITION

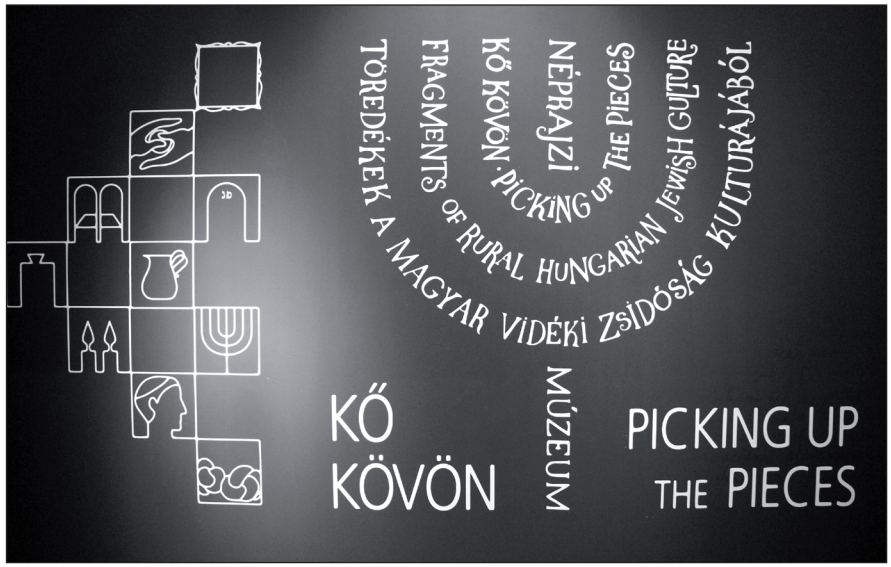


Figure 1. Welcoming poster of the exhibition, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 2014. (Photo by Gábor Tamás)

For the collecting Jewish objects, just as for the entire collection of the Museum of Ethnography, the early 20th century was a decisive period: it was then that the majority of objects from the Hungarian-speaking territories entered the museum. One of the characteristics of this period was that the collection was expanded not only through ethnographers working in the field but also through the directed activity of art dealers, local intellectuals and teachers.

One of the most important collectors in this period was Gyula Grünbaum who enriched the museum's collection between 1909 and 1929 with a total of 1044 objects. The items he brought in represented mainly the material world of folk crafts, textiles and pastoral art, for the most part high quality works of folk art, often unique pieces filling a gap and evidence of the collector's sharp eye and excellent taste.

Figure 2. Scene from the exhibition, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 2014. (Photo by Eszter Kerék)

Grünbaum collected systematically mainly in Transdanubia. Although only 52 of the objects that entered the museum through him were of Jewish relevance (representing roughly 5% of his total contribution), they are very special pieces because they represent a slice of rural Jewish culture about which we have little information. He purchased the majority (42 pieces) between 1911 and 1913 in Sopronkeresztúr (today Deutschkreutz, Austria) (Csiszér 2004). Naturally, other objects also entered the collection of the Museum of Ethnography, but that of Grünbaum are the most important ones.

Taking the objects as the starting point and the focus of attention, the exhibition explored ten themes. With the help of a very special object, the 1829 offertory book of the *Bikur Holim Society* of Pápa (Society for Visiting the Sick), it gave an insight into the questions of *Mitzva and donations*, and the history of the Jews in Pápa (a town in Transdanubia). The section titled *Shtreimel and bonnet* was devoted to the headgear of Jewish men and women, and the world of ritual objects. The *Handlé and wholesaler* unit, built up around a *Matyó* embroidered table cover dealt with elements of rural Jewish merchants and their connection with local society, as well as how the Jewish objects found their way into the Museum of Ethnography. *Schulklopfer and synagogue* took the example of Bonyhád (a town in Southern Transdanubia) to examine the question of Jewish and non-Jewish spaces within the settlement; customs linked to the *Sabbath* were examined in *Barkhes and Besamin*, while *Seder Plate and Matso* presented the calendar of feast days. *Mizrah Plaque and Home Blessing* showed a few examples of the "images" placed on the walls of Jewish homes, and the *Kosher and Treyf* fragment discussed the characteristics of Jewish cuisine and questions of ritual cleanliness. *Hannukah and Eternal Flame* illuminated the question of light in Jewish culture, while the *Mourning and Kaddish section* explored customs related to death.

In the following I shall focus on a few of these and attempt to analyse them in greater detail.

SHTREIMEL AND BONNET

The dress of Jews in the Diaspora was generally adapted to the clothing customs of the peoples living together with them. When dress was regarded as an indication of social status or ethnic identity, the Jews also had their own costume or certain elements of their costume were characteristic only of them (a high fur cap in the Middle Ages, a yellow or green patch on the outerwear in the Early Modern age, etc.). In periods of intolerance towards the Jews these could become signs for stigmatization and persecution. There were also cases where distinguishing signs imposed on them from the outside became incorporated into their traditions in a positive way and continued to be worn.

The custom of covering the head has two, almost inseparable, components: one is respect shown to God and the other is expression of the Jewish identity of the person wearing the headdress. According to tradition men and married women had to wear a head-covering at all times. In practice this became differentiated individually: a stratum arose whose members cover their heads. Thus the wearing of a head-covering also signals the degree of religiosity, as well as expressing identity, setting the wearer apart from others.

God's chosen people have to be different from all others. The forms of manifestation this takes are the externally visible signs: headdress, payess, beard, and the various religious requirements, such as the custom of circumcision or the dietary rules (F. Dózsa 2008; Szarvas 1993).

In the modern world, in the age of emancipation and assimilation Jews had to face the contradiction between their own religious requirements, in this case the obligation to cover their heads that could be interpreted as a sign, and the expectations of the outside world and its intolerance of otherness. They had to embrace their Jewishness and at the same time show the least possible difference and attract the least attention of the outside world.

In the second half of the 19th century the process of Jewish emancipation and assimilation also influenced the ways Jews dressed; the majority gradually abandoned the traditional items of costume in an effort to assimilate into the host society. From the 1870s, after the different religious directions diverged within Jewry (Orthodox, Neolog, Status quo ante) the wearing of traditional costume and the types also marked out the religious allegiance. The Orthodox dress for both men and women was more conservative, and it insisted on certain items of clothing: for men the *kipah* and a hat, for women a wig, headscarf and bonnet. The typical item worn by *Hasid* men was the kaftan *(kapote* and *bekese)* and fur hat *(shtreimel),* for prayers the belt *(gartli)*.

The forms of the ritual objects, the phylacteries *(tefillin)* and the prayer shawl *(tallis)* and the occasions on which they are to be worn are strictly required in the religious rules (Raj 2002).

One of the best known, most typical pieces of male headdress is the kipah, a small cap. The word *kippah* means dome or heavens; besides being a sign of respect for God, it offers its wearer protection and spiritual security.

In fact, wearing a cap is an ancient Jewish (and in general Middle Eastern) folk custom. In ancient Rome slaves were forbidden to wear headdress, the slave had to appear before his master with head uncovered and bow down to the ground. This is the origin of the custom that people must enter Christian churches with heads uncovered. At that time for the Jews the wearing of a cap at home and in the temple was a symbol of

freedom. In the course of the Middle Ages it became compulsory to cover the head when reading the Torah and praying.

Wearing a head cover also became one of the central elements distinguishing Orthodox from Neolog (reform) Jews. Orthodoxy requires that the head be covered both inside and outside the synagogue, as proof of faithfulness to the Jewish tradition. In modern communities it is often optional in everyday life and compulsory only in the synagogue and on ritual occasions. Orthodox Jews generally also wear the *kippah* under the hat or *shtreimel* so that their head is still covered when they raise the hat.

The material and colour of the *kippah* are also important, and can depend on both the trend and the occasion: the more religious wear a black velvet kippah, the more modern a coloured, crocheted one; at feasts it is customary to wear a white one, often decorated with gold or silver thread (Raj 2002; Szarvas 1993). A head cover *(haybl)* is also part of men's burial clothing.

The black hat was mainly the typical headgear of Orthodox Jews.

Use of the fur hat – *shtreimel* – can be traced back to the regulations of the Catholic Church in the Middle Ages when it was prescribed that European Jews had to wear the tail of a fur animal on their hats as a distinguishing sign. The Jews modified this by sewing thirteen tufts of hair on their hats to remind them of the thirteen properties of God and the thirteen basic principles of the Jewish religion. Later, it spread from Poland to become the typical item of dress mainly of *Hasidic* Jews and this became a consciously accepted symbol of their separateness. It is still worn on feast days (together with the kaftan) by followers of the *Hasidism* trend.

A further characteristic of Orthodox Jewish men is the *payess* and beard. In traditional practice the biblical ban on cutting the corners of the hair and beard meant a ban on cutting with a blade (F. Dózsa 2008).

The obligation to cover the head applies not only to men but also to married woman. There are a number of ideas on the origin of this and the reason for it. The Talmudic regulation can be understood to mean that beautiful, long hair is a kind of nakedness that arouses men's interest and so a married woman should hide her hair from everyone except her husband. The rule does not apply to single girls. Jewish women taking the path to assimilation liked to go about with their heads uncovered and limited the covering to the synagogue and to festive and ritual occasions.

The way the head was covered changed over the centuries and depending on allegiance to the various Jewish religious trends. In Hungary Orthodox women following traditional principles generally cut their hair short and in certain circles even shaved the head, covering it with a shawl and from the 19th century with a wig (*sheitel*) or headscarf. A headscarf, bonnet or hat could also be worn over the wig. The baldness was covered with a black cap that could be pulled tight over the head. We know from recollections that in some families the hair was cut in front of the children, in other places no one but the husband, not even the woman's own mother or grandmother could see her with her head uncovered. In some cases a little hair or artificial hair was left in front that could be seen under the headscarf, eliminating the need for a wig.

It was usual to wear a headscarf at home; great care was taken of the wig that was worn mainly on Saturdays and feast days. The headscarf was tied in front or at the back, at the nape of the neck. A dark-coloured headscarf was worn at home and a white one in the synagogue, on Saturdays and feast days (Raj 1999; F. Dózsa 2008).

The bonnet or headdress, like the headscarf was generally worn in Hungary, and not only by Jewish women. Women wore a bonnet on the street, on festive occasions. By the end of the 19th century the bonnet was no longer generally worn (because of the Neolog trend and the change in fashion), but it was still often worn by Orthodox women in the early 20th century. Unlike the *kippah*, the head covers worn by Jewish women were not specifically Jewish items of clothing, but like the whole of Jewish women's clothing they preserved the fashion of earlier periods.

HANDLÉ AND WHOLESALER

In the second half of the 19th century the Jews filled a vacuum in the area of commerce in Hungary: they sold agricultural commodities produced by the local population, acted as intermediaries in barter trade between Hungary and other states of the Monarchy, and supplied the rural population with foodstuffs and manufactured goods. They sold on credit, lent money and through their external connections even handled international financial deals. The upswing in commerce also contributed to the beginning of the large-scale immigration of Jews from Eastern Europe into Hungary. This process was accompanied by strong assimilation and acculturation of a considerable part of the Jews. Many moved from the villages to towns and their internal social stratification also became more differentiated. Their numbers included peddlers, itinerant vendors, innkeepers, small merchants as well as pioneers of capitalist wholesale trade.

In the 19th century Hungarian language the word *zsidó* (Jew) – replacing the word Greek – became a synonym for merchant, people went not to the shop but to the "Jew". The *handlé* (junkman) and the local Jewish shopkeepers and merchants were important figures in village life. The junkman (*handlé*) went from door to door buying up anything that was no longer of use: old clothes, waste materials (leather, feathers, rags, bones, etc.). The Jewish wholesale merchants operated in the cities, mainly in Budapest (Szarvas 2003; Körner 2013).

By the early 20th century practically all villages in Hungary had at least one Jewish family; they ran the village shop and in most cases also the inn. They played the most important role in settlements located for example at the junction of major routes, or that had some kind of economic monoculture, or that perhaps had other distinctive cultural features.

In the smaller settlements the shop and the inn usually operated in the same building, and often the kosher slaughterhouse was also attached. At the same time the building also served as a dwelling. The smaller grocery shops were generally operated as a family business, without hired assistants. The inns – depending on demand – also operated on Saturdays. Because, according to tradition, religious Jews were not allowed to work on the *Sabbath*, a Saturday (non-Jewish) assistant was employed for that day (Deáky et al. 1994).

The credit activity closely related to commerce also ensured constant contact between the Jewish merchants and their customers. Purchases could be made without cash in the smaller shops too: the purchases made by regular customers were recorded in a book and payments had to be made at regular intervals. These were not always made in cash, in the smaller villages debts could be settled with produce or eggs. Among the customers who paid with cash, priests and teachers settled their account with the shopkeeper every month (Szarvas 1990).

However, while there were many good examples of this credit relationship, often it placed the "client" and the shopkeeper in a position of mutual defencelessness. Perhaps this is one of the causes of the somewhat conflicted relationship that arose between Jewish merchants and the villagers.

"KOSHER HUNGARICA"

Herend porcelain, Kotányi paprika, Pick salami, Zwack Unikum are all well-known "hungarica" (specifically Hungarian products) where Jewish entrepreneurs or merchants played a key role in creation, production and distribution. But famous products cannot always be linked to a single person. Jewish middlemen also played an important part in making certain products known nationally or even at the European level.

In Mezőkövesd (a town in Northern Hungary with a peasant population called Matyós, famous for its folk art since the end of the 19th century) for example, during the interwar years it was mainly Jews who handled the trade in embroidery. They settled in the town in growing numbers from the early 19th century, and formed a mobile group undergoing rapid embourgeoisement. During that period around 20% of the economically active Jewish population were involved in the trade of folk embroidery. They sold the materials used, bought up and sold in other parts of the country and abroad the various *matyó* embroidery products that became a national symbol and important elements in middle-class home decoration. At the same time they also influenced the colours and decorative elements used in *matyó* embroidery (Szarvas 1990).

In Tokaj (Northern Hungary), where vine-growing and consequently also wine played an important role, the wine trade was almost exclusively concentrated in the hands of the Jews. Jewish wine merchants arrived in Tokaj-Hegyalja in the early 17th century to buy grapes and make kosher wine, but we have evidence of their more permanent presence and settlement only from 18th century census records. The second half of the 18th century marked the beginning of a mass influx of Jews from Poland and Galicia; the majority settled in counties along the border, such as Zemplén County.

There were two main groups within the Jewish population of Tokaj-Hegyalja. The basic stratum had arrived from Silesia, Bohemia and Moravia and were later joined by the Jewish immigrants from Poland and Galicia. In the 17th and 18th century Hegyalja (Submontanum) was one of the wealthiest and most densely populated areas in the country. Based on the wine production and trade around two-thirds of the area of Hegyalja developed into a market town agglomeration. Thanks to their great ability to adapt, the Jews became an integral part of this grape and wine economy and from the end of the 18th century they monopolised the wine trade (Frisnyák 1995:77).

By the 19th century, in spite of the restrictions introduced the Jews who were rapidly accumulating capital injected new life into the economy of Hegyalja where the grape and wine economy had fallen into a state of crisis, while at the same time forming an alliance of interests with the nobility who were pushing for reform, a uniquely Hungarian phenomenon (Frisnyák 1995:78; Hőgye 1986; Karády 2000).

The destruction caused by Phylloxera in the 1880s led to a substantial migration away from the area, and with the loss of their economic basis the once flourishing market towns were no longer attractive, their population fell and they were reduced to village

status. Some of the population moved to towns in the region (Frisnyák 1995:78–81). However, the Jews retained their key role in local societies throughout this process.

Hasidism that emerged as a Jewish religious trend in Poland in the 18th century also reached Hungary, mainly the north-eastern part of the country, where it became influential in large areas. A number of researchers have dealt with the history and characteristics of the trend and its spread in Hungary, but a monographic study of the subject has still to be written (Buber 1995; Dubnov 1930; Schön 1935; Rékai 1997, etc.).

Hasidism is not solely a religious trend, it is also a way of life, a distinctive spirituality that acts as a powerful force in shaping communities. It is organised in small local centres directed by the *tzaddik, rebbe* or miracle-working rabbi. Together with the unquestionable leading role of the *tzaddik*, the *Hasidic* communities also had a certain democratic character. Some of the *rebbes* kept a large "court" and behaved with a lofty air, while others were modest and bore poverty together with their flock. The superiority of the *tzaddikim* did not end with their deaths; structures were built over their tombs and on the anniversary of their deaths their followers and generations of their descendants gathered there (Szász 1986:41). These individuals with charismatic power were not only religious leaders, they also served social and educational functions as organisers, spiritual advisors and judges (Karády 2000:11).

One of the centres of *Hasidism* in Hungary in the 20th century was Bodrogkeresztúr (Northern Hungary). According to Viktor Karády "the economic activity of *Hasidic* groups was confined to traditional tasks, even if they were able to achieve a monopoly position in certain branches of commerce or small-scale industry" (Karády 2000:11). In my opinion, the fact that a community was *Hasidic* did not prevent its members from participating in occupations brought by modernisation. (Naturally it can be questioned how far the wine trade can be regarded as an occupation of modernisation or whether it was merely one branch of "traditional" commercial activity.) It is obvious from my own local research that the local Jews played an outstanding role in the wine trade. Despite the gaps in available data, this is evident from an examination of the distribution of occupations.

It can be said that – a certain mystical inward turning notwithstanding – the *Hasidic* community lived a very rational outward life, and tried to engage in economic activity that would ensure a reliable livelihood. Because *Hasidism* was spreading to many areas at that time, it was easier for them to establish and maintain their commercial networks through their extensive connections, ensuring their success in the wine trade.

Although the *Hasidic* groups strictly insisted on their own traditions and so were quite closed in both external appearances and way of life living apart from the peasant community, they nevertheless participated in the same way as other Jewish groups in the activity of capitalist modernisation, and the preservation of traditions and seclusion at community level did not preclude far-reaching commercial activity. It was perhaps also the activity of the miracle-working *rebbe* that may have played a part in building up relations with the Christian population: his charitable assistance that was extended to anyone in need may have brought the members of the community closer to the outside world.

In Makó (Southern Hungary) Jews directed the special local monoculture, the onion trade. As a consequence of the favourable economic conditions and the expansion of the railway network, onion-growing and the onion trade played an increasingly important role in the settlement in the second half of the 19th century. The Jews who had settled here since 1740 were engaged mainly in trade and industry. Their business connections and readiness

to take risks made it possible for them to conduct trade in onions both within the country and abroad. Around the turn of the century this trade was carried out mainly within the Monarchy but later in the interwar years they also traded Makó onions on the international market. In those days 80–90% of the Makó onion traders were Jews, and some of them not only bought up onions but also directed their production (Halmágyi 1985; Szabó 2003).

MIZRAH PLAQUE AND HOME BLESSINGS

The ban on images in Jewish culture is based on the second of the ten commandments. However in Jewish tradition this is a rather complex question: the actual practice changed over time, it depended on the geographical place and is still changing in different communities. Depictions of both animals and human figures are found in the synagogues of Antiquity and in mediaeval Hebrew books.

In Jewish communities one of the ornamentations most frequently including illustrations is the *mizrah plaque*. The Hebrew word *mizrah* means 'east'. In European Jewish tradition the eastern direction has special significance as it traditionally symbolises Jerusalem. Synagogues are oriented towards the east (to Jerusalem), the Ark of the Covenant is placed on the eastern wall, and worshippers pray towards the east. This is why it became customary to place decorated *mizrah* plaques on the eastern wall of Jewish homes and in synagogues in front of the prayer leader's desk. The word *mizrah* appears in a central place on the plaques. Often it is surrounded by beautiful illustrations as micrographic depictions with the Jewish symbols: the *menorah*, stone tablets or a crown held by lions, it is also a characteristic feature that the writing forms floral motifs. *Micrography*, when sacred texts written with very tiny letters form various motifs was well adapted to the ban on figural portrayal, and this method was used for various depictions that appeared as decorations in the synagogue or home from the 18th century (Roskó–Turán 2004; Toronyi 2012).

The idea that the omnipresent God protects and provides for the needs of those living in the house is well known in the monotheistic religions. The resulting home blessings are common in Protestant, Catholic and Jewish families alike. The most widespread text beginning "Where there is faith, there is love …" is a literal translation of a traditional German *Haus-segen*. In non-Jewish environments at first this was painted directly on the wall or carved into a beam, then in the 18th–19th centuries painted glass pictures with a home blessing as well as figures became very popular. With the spread of printing versions printed on a board using a cliché came into fashion and entered the households of practically all social strata as popular wedding gifts. From the end of the 19th century the home blessing that spread under German influence was widely found in homes in Hungary; publishers often used a cliché to produce versions identical in appearance but in different languages. The fact that the familiar home blessing text could also be found in Jewish homes in Yiddish or Hebrew in part reflects the common Judeo-Christian traditions and in part the fact of coexistence.

Decorative childbed tablets with texts warding off evil were placed temporarily on the wall with a similar aim, especially in *Hasidic* communities. These were placed in the room of the woman in childbirth to protect the mother and child from harmful demons.

From the end of the 19th century images of great rabbis, especially *Hasidic rebbes* in

the form of photos or prints appeared in religious Jewish homes in Hungary. In the same period prints of paintings by Moritz Oppenheimer and Izidor Kauffmann depicting a traditional Jewish world that was disappearing were placed on the walls in the homes of assimilated Jewish families (Cohen 2002; Szarvas et al. 2014).

OBJECTS

I would like to make special mention of a few objects from the exhibition. I have chosen those – adding short explanations and interpretation – that international students who were set the task in a seminar by their professor found interesting for some reason.[2] Objects selected:

Ritual objects: tallit, tefillin, baytl

Figure 3. Prayer shawl, *tallit*, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 92015. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

"I've realized that when you're surrounded by people who don't believe the same things you do, you become the spokesperson for your beliefs." (K. B.)

The *tallit* used by men at morning prayer is one of the best known religious objects. In reality it is not the shawl but – in keeping with the Torah laws – the fringes and knots at the four corners that are of religious significance: they are a reminder that the covenant with God and the religious laws must be respected. The *tallit* is generally made of wool, cotton or silk. It can be all one colour or patterned, most commonly with black and white stripes. From the 19th century the more modern Jews had a narrower, scarf-like *tallit* made for themselves. In Ashkenazi orthodox culture after marriage men wear the *tallit* for morning prayer, and at *Yom Kippur* also in the evening. However, Orthodox religious men wear the ritual fringes *(tzitzit)* every day under their shirts and over the underwear.

Another important everyday ritual object beside the prayer shawl used by men for the morning prayer are the *tefillin* or phylacteries consisting of two black leather boxes and straps.

[2] During the exhibition Ágnes Fülemile held an anthropological course (Ethnicity, Rural Society and Folk Culture in Historic Hungary) for mostly American university students at the Education Abroad Program at the Corvinus University, during which students evaluated and analysed the exhibition, and were required to write a more detailed report on an object they thought important or interesting.

The boxes contain texts from the Torah handwritten on parchment sheets according to strict rules. One is worn on the left arm, the other bound around the forehead. According to tradition this symbolises that the wearer serves the Lord with his physical strength (his arm) and with his intellectual strength (his head). Boys first wear the *tefillin* at their *Bar Mitzvah*, the initiation ceremony held when they reach maturity at the age of thirteen. The prayer shawl and the straps are kept in the *baytl* that often bears the owner's monogram, the year in which it was made and Jewish symbols (Star of David, *menorah*, the Torah crown) or flowers.

Seder plate

Figure 4. *Seder* plate, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 88887. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

"It is a cultural object that displays the family's values. It shows that when important events occur it is the family that they are to be celebrated with." (K. G.)

A typical object of traditional Jewish culture, the *Seder* plate was made of pewter, porcelain, ceramic or wood, decorated, often with an inscription. The *Seder* plate is used on the first or second evening of *Pesach* (Passover), the *Seder* evening. The plates often have depressions and inscriptions marking the place of the symbolic foods to be eaten on the evening. The foods that always appear on *Seder* plates are: *zeroa* (shank bone), *beca* (egg), *maror* (bitter herbs, generally horseradish), *charoset* (mixture of grated apple, wine and nuts), *karpas* (vegetable, generally radish, parsley or potato), in some traditions *chazeret* (vegetable, different from the *karpas*), and on the *Seder* plate or beside it also *mé melah* (salt water). An additional compulsory ritual element is *matzo*, that is either on a separate plate, or sometimes the *Seder* plate itself is on a stand, and the *matzo* is placed on the other levels of the stand.

Hallah baking mould

Figure 5. *Hallah* baking mould, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 93.21.1. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

"Hallah is the basis of traditional festive meals in the Jewish culture. Since Shabbat takes place weekly, Jewish people used to cook Hallot every week so that it is very present and this kind of pan is very useful and should be found in every kitchen of Jewish families." (V. C.)

The iron tin was used to bake the plaited *Sabbath challah (barkhes)*. The plaited dough was placed in the tin to ensure that it kept its shape. Traditionally three long plaited loaves had to be made for the *Sabbath* meals (one for Friday evening and two for the Saturday lunch). The *challah* dough traditionally contains no butter or milk so that it can be eaten with both meat and milk dishes. In Munkács (now Mukacheve, Ukraine) a rhomboid baking tin was generally used.

Eternal light

"*The lamp in the exhibit looks very similar to the lamps I have in my church. In the Jewish religion the symbol of light represents the holiness of the place and correlates with the creation of the world. The symbol of light is universal and continues to bring happiness to all."* (S. A.)

"*The Sabbath Lamp presented in the exhibition embodies the relationship between the Christian and Jewish religious tradition*." (K. T.)

The "*Sabbath* lamp" from Kapuvár that its owner inherited in 1925 from his father, was used in the peasant way in the home; it hung in front of the "Mary house", and burned

from Saturday evening till Sunday morning. Thus, at the time when it was collected it was not a synagogue object but an object used in the Catholic cult of Mary. Nevertheless the three eagle heads indicate that it could have been a synagogue eternal light *(ner tamid)*. It is not easy to distinguish between the Jewish and Christian eternal lights because they are often made without inscriptions or symbols. This type of object could be part of the sacral object culture of a synagogue, a Catholic church or a Christian home.

Figure 6. Hanging lamp, eternal light, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 64.94.42. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

Shtreimel

Figure 7. Fox fur hat, *streimel*, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 87412. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

"*The shtreimel is a fox fur hat which was commonly worn by most married men and some boys after their bar mitzvah. It was very common in the pre-holocaust time period because it's part of many Jewish cultures to cover their head in order to separate themselves and god. After the holocaust, many of these traditional hats and fashion accessories which separated them in the crowd have been abandoned."* (M. K.)

The *shtreimel* was a headgear typically worn by *Hasidic* men on festive occasions; it spread from Poland to the territories of Eastern Europe in the first half of the 20th century.

Burial clothing

Figure 8. Female burial cloth, *takhrikhim*, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 2002.70.1-8. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

"To understand that Jewish tradition respect and handle their dead so delicately makes it hard to grasp all the lives that were not able to be respected and handled according to Jewish tradition during the Holocaust." (H. L.)

The burial clothing is personal and buried with the deceased. The two sets of clothing from Munkács (now Mukacheve, Ukraine) were made for the collector and his wife, they could not have entered the museum collection otherwise. The items were made by the wife of Ávrum Snájder who also worked for the local *Hevra Kadisha* that operated on occasion; she herself was a member of the Christian community. Both sets consist of clothing with a simple cut involving only the most essential sewing, with some of the details left unworked (the strips of cloth used as ties have not been bound and the edges of the items have not been hemmed either).

Burial clothing is always white, like the pure soul, it is simple and undecorated so that there is no distinction between poor and rich, it has no pockets because man takes nothing with him. The dead person is dressed in trousers, socks, without a *tzitzit*, shirt, head cover, soil from the Holy Land is placed in a bag beneath the head, the eyes are covered and a branch placed in the hands.

Torah pointer

Figure 9. Torah pointer, *Yad*, Museum of Ethnography, 105820. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

"Torah pointers are a perfect example how the Jewish people go out of their way to keep up with their religion." (A. V.)

When reading the Torah a pointer stick is used to follow the lines so that the hand does not touch the scroll and it is protected from wear. Torah pointers were traditionally made of metal or wood in the shape of a right hand with the index finger extended.

Dreidel

Figure 10. Spinning top, *dreidel*, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 70304. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

"If the people forget their traditional children's games (including the dances and the songs) they are also forgetting an important part of their own culture." (R. V.)

On the evenings of *Hannukah* children play with the *trenderli* or *dreidel*. The gambling toy is made of tin, lead, silver or wood and the stakes can be beans, nuts, corn or small coins. In shape it can be winged (spinning around an axis) or square. Each of the four sides bears a Hebrew letter: H, for Yiddish *halb* (half), G, *ganc* (everything), N, *nist* (nothing), S, *stelt* (put in), as a reminder of a miracle that happened at the liberation of the Sanctuary in Jerusalem: "*Nes gadol haya sam* [A great miracle occurred here]".

Mizrah plaque

Figure 11. *Mizrah* plaque, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 106969. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

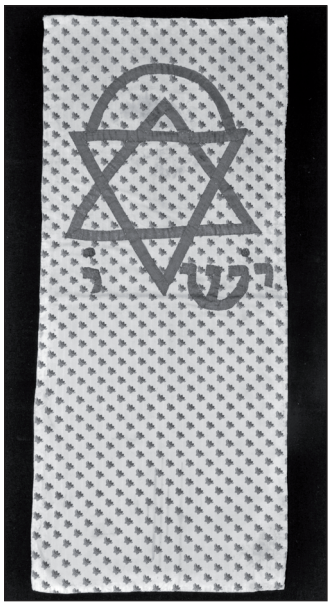
"Microcalligraphy is a Jewish form of calligrams and was discovered in the 9th century. It is an art form whereby holy texts are written in tiny letters arranged to form various motifs. It is used mostly by Jewish artists because it is prohibited for them to draw figural images. This had to do with the second of the ten commandments." (T. P.)

A distinctive product of Eastern European folk art is the paper cut-out where the paper left white forms a lace pattern. The four-letter name of God and the word *mizrah* (it means east) can generally be seen on these images and there are often also quotations from the psalms. The paper cut-out spread from Polish and Galician territories and became popular in Jewish communities in the 18th–19th centuries. They were generally made by men. The object entered the collection as part of the furnishing of a *Sukkah.*

Torah mantle

"When the scroll is stored a mantle cover is put around the Torah for safekeeping. These mantles are usually hand made of velvet with gold and silver thread." (A. M.)

When it is stored the Torah scroll is bound with a textile ribbon and protected with a Torah mantle. The mantle is generally made of velvet, richly embroidered in gold and silver thread. It is pulled over the two wooden rollers of the Torah scroll. Ignácz Hajnal purchased several smaller Torah mantles from Csaca (today Čadca, Slovakia) for the Museum of Ethnography at the beginning of the 20th century. At the time of the purchase these simple, old-style covers embroidered with silk were probably no longer



used by the local Jewish community. In view of their material, size and quantity the question arises whether these were genuine Torah mantles or only appeared to be such objects and had been made to meet market demand.

The exhibition also had two digital installations that were closely related to the subject of the exhibition. These too attracted the attention of the American students.

Figure 12. *Torah* mantle, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 103616. (Photo by Krisztina Sarnyai)

Offertory book of Bikur Holim society

"The book exemplifies how the Jews materialized their faith by customizing their objects in accordance with their values." (S. H.)

"This object represents and embodies a virtual cemetery, which might seem grim and melancholy, but for me I felt very connected to the people I learned about through my exploration… It presents age old stories using antique sources that are presented in a very modern, technologically advanced fashion." (Z. E.)

One emblematic object (the first thing visitors to the exhibition saw) was the offertory book of the *Bikur Holim* society of Pápa dating from the early 19th society that gives an insight into the work of one of the important charity organisations of the Jewish community in Pápa. Little pockets were placed on the pages and bear the names in Hebrew letters and Hebrew alphabetical order of the members of the community making donations. The pockets originally contained promissory notes for the sums donated. Donations were offered on the Sabbath or feast days, and since it is forbidden to deal with or touch money at such times, the paper stating the sum offered was placed in the pocket and then removed when it was paid (Szarvas et al. 2014). After the Hebrew names were transcribed and compared with the census of Jews in Pápa made in 1848, using the material of the exhibition on *Our Forgotten Neighbours*[3] presenting family histories within the Jewish community of Pápa it was possible to link a number of present-day families with persons named in the book. The digital installation provided access to all this diverse content. On what appeared at first sight to be a traditional

[3] The exhibition curated by András Gyekiczki was held in Pápa in 2012 and in the Rumbach Sebestyén Street synagogue in Budapest in 2014.

Figure 13. Offertory book of the *Bikur Holim Society* of Pápa, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 88887. (Photo by László Nemes Takách)

showcase, a display screen appeared at a touch so that the visitors had the sensation of almost physically touching the object behind the glass; they could leaf through the pages, select a pocket and then a person listed to learn their biography and even see their photo. And expanding use of the screen by a single person to provide an attractive sight for visitors entering the exhibition, the names and images accessed were floated up to the wall above the showcase. Thanks to the installation visitors could leaf through the pages of the book that was presented open at a particular page in the showcase, and browse through the other content on the everyday life of Jews in Pápa, linking physical and virtual contents that presented family histories over generations. With this method we were able to show a real museological curiosity in depth and in a way that the visitor could experience personally. Museum, social history and Hebraistics research, expert restoration of the object, its exhibition in its physical reality and the digital installation that "brought it to life" all came together in a single object.[4]

Sabbath table

"The Sabbath is about coming together with family, and thus, by waiting for more than just one or two people to sit, this piece allowed for viewers to wholly become a part of the community experience." (Z. T.)

[4] The interactive application was created in the Creative Technology Laboratory of the Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design. Project leader: Zsófia Ruttkay; Conception, visual image, programming: Zoltán Csík-Kovács, Gáspár Hajdu, Gábor Papp; Texts: Tímea Bata, Zsuzsa Szarvas; Translation: Viktória Bányai, Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy; Exploration and comparison of Pápa sources: Tímea Bata; András Gyekiczki, Réka Jakab; Restoration of the offertory book: László Nemes Takách.

Figure 14. *Shabbath* table in function, Museum of Ethnography, Budapest, 2014. (Photo by Eszter Kerék)

"This object represented the exhibit's ability to apply 21st century teaching techniques to explain a historic concept. The Sabbath dining room emphasized the importance of the family's connection to God." (S. L.)

The *Sabbath table* was a projected short animation recounting the rites in the home at the arrival of the *Sabbath*. Visitors could see the evening celebration of a five-member family and their guests. The stylised drawings presented the traditional objects, implements and actions, from lighting the candles, through the blessing, to the supper. Extracts in Hungarian and English from the texts heard during the evening also appeared on the table. However the projection only started if at least three visitors sat around the table. Our aim with this gesture was to bring individual guests together at the same table: we invited them to cooperate and share the experience, while the modern language of digital museology transmitted this important element of traditional Jewish culture in a way that was also attractive for the young age group.[5] In this case the focus was not on the museum object and research, rather the high standard digital installation helped visitors to understand and *learn about* a given ceremony.

In place of a summing up, here are the final thoughts of one of the students analysing the exhibition:

"The ability to relate to the information and material presented in the exhibition made the impact for me much stronger. The history of the hats' relation to Christianity

[5] The interactive application was created in the Creative Technology Laboratory of the Moholy-Nagy University of Art and Design. Project leader: Zsófia Ruttkay. Conception, programming: Ágoston Nagy and Bence Samu. Graphic art, animation: Dániel Huszár. Texts: Krisztina Sedlmayr. Dramaturgy: Tímea Bata, Krisztina Sedlmayr. Translation: Viktória Bányai, Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy. Music: Krisztina Pálóczy.

and their style's reflection of world fashion were the most relevant and relatable subjects for me as a Christian American woman. Also impactful for me was the telling of stories of the Hungarian Jews pre-Holocaust. It gave humanity to the facts and reminded of the lives these people lost and left behind when their world turned upside down. Learning about such a worldwide event in the region of its worst damage did more for me than any textbook in history class could. Possibly the most important aspect of the exhibition was its arrangement. The fragmentation of subjects and freedom of order allowed interpretation that gave guests a most personal experience. Some things felt out of order or less powerful than others, but the exhibition as a whole allowed a sort of chilling realization of missing pieces and history lost. It succeeded in leaving guests curious and thirsting for more to each story." (Laura Talbot)

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Social Traumas, Community Building, Ecological Thinking, Solidarity

The Social Functions of the Hungarian Open Air Museum

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Abstract: New museology, emerging in the 1970s, reached critical museology in the early 2000s. A few peculiar examples of participatory museology can be found when looking back to decades of tradition at the Skanzen Hungarian Open Air Museum. It was a long transformation from an essentially architectural museum into a social museum. In my paper I reflect on some examples of this history.

Open air museums represent one of the most popular and sought-after museum types in the world, with significant ethnographic and historical collections, visitor-friendly exhibitions, and a wide range of programs related to these exhibitions. It is a common phenomenon in the museum world that social problems and sensitive issues first appear in education programs, then in research and collection strategy, and finally in exhibition politics. And so it was at the Skanzen. The tendency began in the early 21st century, when, connected to the Trianon syndrome, it materialized in the research related to the preparation of the Transylvanian building complex, then to the social traumas of 20th-century peasant society. The minority existence, being a Hungarian outside the country's borders, is a cornerstone of the interpretation of the Transylvanian building complex. The analysis of 20th-century changes and research and collections related to the yet-to-be-built 20th-century rural building complex touched upon the history of the disappearance of peasant society as well.

Keywords: new museology, Hungarian Open Air Museum, social museum, community, social traumas

ANTECEDENTS

New museology, emerging from the 1970s reached critical museology at the beginning of the 2000s. A wide range of literature has been published in the topic. The volume *Participatory Museum* by Nina Simon, published in 2010 is about participatory museology. A few peculiar examples of participatory museology have been looking back to decades of tradition in the Hungarian Open Air Museum too. It was a long way to transform from a basically architectural museum into the position of a social museum. In my paper I reflect on some examples of this history. Open air museums represent

one of the most popular and sought-after museum types of the world with significant ethnographical and historical collections, with determining, visitor-friendly exhibitions attracting the public and a wide range of programs related to these exhibitions.

The history of open air museums began with the foundation of Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, and by the establishment of Skansen (1891) this museum type was actually born. Arthur Hazelius (1833–1901) dreamed about this museum type,[1] which presents a region's rural or urban architecture, interior furnishings and way of life with the help of original, relocated houses. These were not simply architectural and/or interior museums, but real social museums representing way of life, in which exceeding the trend of the age not only the triple tasks of collection, protection and representation appeared but the possibilities of education and entertainment too.

For the inhabitants of Stockholm, the Skansen was a folk-park, a multifaceted entertainment locale, a green place and a meeting point at the same time. There are several descriptions to be found about how people spent their summer free time in Skansen, what their excursions in the evenings looked like. Hazelius quickly documented this in thought and later used it as an argument concerning the social role and importance of Skansen as a new public center – especially for the young. In his letter to Bernard Olsen he emphasized that Skansen had not only a cultural historical importance but a national and social significance too (Rentzhog 2007:11–12).

The German publicist, Heinrich Pudor (1865–1943) preceding his age by far recognized one basic foundation of Hazelius' innovation and wanted to harmonize museums and schools so that he can exploit the education potential of museums. According to his paper museums have to reflect upon contemporary and relevant problems, they have to be animated, similarly to cinemas, since, in his opinion 'life in motion' is much more attractive than still images. He wrote that people cannot come closer to this ideal anywhere else than in Hazelius's work, in Skansen (Rentzhog 2007:33–34).

The basis of the success of Skansen – and all the other open air museums – is the ingenious method of uniting knowledge and entertainment.

The central Hungarian Open Air Museum belongs to the third generations of open air museums, since it was established in 1967 as a department of the Museum of Ethnography. Later, in 1972 it became an independent institution and opened its first exhibition in 1974. According to the original objective of the Skanzen in Szentendre it planned to represent the folk architecture, interior furnishings and way of life of Hungary with the help of original relocated buildings, edifices reconstructed as copies and authentic interiors from the late 18th till the pre-20th centuries. The Museum basically followed the model of German open air museums, architectural elements were the most important, to which the presentation of interior furnishings and way of life was added with the help of thoroughly detailed interiors.

[1] Hazelius possibly used his experiences from the World Exhibition in Paris in 1889, since the prefigurations of open air museums already appeared in this exhibition, moreover, in the exhibition of 1867 too. The French Frédéric Le Play (1806–1882) designed the ethnographic park of the Expo in Paris and the famous opera architect Charles Garnier planned the exhibition with the title *Histoire de l'habitation humaine* [The history of human habitation]. The basic principle of the exhibition was to present the development of human culture through the concept of the home, being 'the most important and most edifying locale'. This could have been an example for Hazelius (Rentzhog 2007:25–29).

In the 1990s the Museum launched a renewal process in several directions, reflecting on not just professional but social challenges and changes too. Its mission statement was transformed according to this intention. Concerning research, the analysis of different aspects of way of life has become more and more important; besides the ethnographical research of classic peasantry the society of market towns, the layer of craftsmen and the marginalized social groups have also got into the focus of study. Due to changed circumstances not only the present-day territory of Hungary has belonged to the research area; Hungarians living outside the country's border, the Hungarian language territory and Hungarians living in diasporas have also been taken into the research concept of the Museum. However, the appearance of the ethnographical documentation of the recent past has been one of the most significant changes of focus in the institution's life. In the last decade researching the recent past and the present has got into the limelight, their examination provided the basis for many research projects. The necessity of thematic expansion has appeared in open air museology, meaning the demand for representing social groups outside peasantry (craftsmen, servants – agricultural laborers – amphibious workmen, rural intelligentsia) too.

These topics have appeared in the exhibitions organized lately: *In the Course of History*, *Population Exchange in Southern Transdanubia; Farewell to the Peasantry*; *Just a Small Work – Villagers in Malenkij robot at the End of World War II*.

NEW EXHIBITIONS AND EDUCATION PROGRAMS REFLECTING SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND TRAUMAS

The situational education programs in the exhibitions of Skanzen, belonging to the 'Personal history' series help to understand and experience historical events and relations.

We try to reconstruct the life of a family or an individual with the help of original documents, locales and situations building upon the students' creativity and empathy. After getting to know the way of life and habits of different social layers and minority groups coexisting at the beginning of the 20th century we focus on assimilation or traditionalism, the conflict of acceptance or prejudice, drawing students' attention to the importance of accepting each other, of being tolerant.

The museum education program can be complemented in the school with the help of the teacher, where students can reconstruct the fate of figures created in the Skanzen, in the period of Holocaust. They create the missing documents, letters, diary entries or memories of the imagined person. They imagine this individual's fate and course of life. Then by weighing the possible choices of their figure they interpret the lives and consequences of actions of victims, rescuers, passive observers and active contributors at the time of the Holocaust. We do not only aim to mediate historical facts and knowledge, but through the reconstruction of personal destiny we try to develop empathy and responsible thinking in students. We realize this intention in our education program 'Ráhel, János, Jákob and the actress' exploiting the exhibitions of the Upland Market Town regional unit.

It is a general phenomenon in the museum world that social problems and sensitive issues of society first appear in education programs, then in research and collection strategy, then finally in the exhibition politics too. This was the same in the case of the

Skanzen too. This tendency began at the beginning of the years of the 21st century, when connected to the Trianon syndrome it materialized in the research work related to the preparation of the Transylvanian building complex, then to the social traumas of the 20th century peasant society. The minority existence, being a Hungarian outside the country's border will be one important cornerstone of the Transylvanian building complex. This has already appeared in the research and will be part of the interpretation too.

The analysis of 20th century changes and research and collection connected to the future 20th century building complex touched upon the era and history of the peasant society's elimination too.

In 2005 the museum representation of these historical events took place in the dwelling house from Hidas in the Southern Transdanubian regional unit. In this building the exhibition time is 1959. In 1945 the family living in the Swabian house built in the 19th century was evacuated, the furnishings and the animals of the family came into the possession of a Szekler family from Bukovina, who had been previously driven away from their home in Bácska overnight. The background of this story appears in our special exhibition, complementing the interior, presenting the history of relocations and population exchange between the years 1945–1947, with the title: *In the Course of History, Population Exchange in Southern Transdanubia in the 1940s* (curator: Erika Vass). In our exhibition we present the politically forced evacuations of 1945–1948. Because of their collective responsibility, Germans formerly living in Hungary were settled in Germany, while others from minority Hungarian communities such as Szeklers from Bukovina and Upland Hungarians were also relocated due to their collective responsibility from Romanian and Czechoslovakia and settled in Tolna and Baranya Counties in the place of the evacuated Germans. These constraints turned many families' lives upside down, damaging them and breaking them, influencing not just the minorities but the majority population of villages too. The tragic events resulted in irresolvable conflicts for a long time between inhabitants of different ethnic groups, forced to live with each other in the same village. Although seemingly these conflicts have ceased to exist, the individuals participating in the events still carry the wounds they had received. The exhibition does not only help the processing of this trauma, but wishes to loosen ethnic and gentilic conflicts between present-day young people with the education program related to the exhibition.

The disintegration of the peasant society is a long process, whose last and most tragic chapter occurred after World War II. The communist dictatorship of the 1950s hammered in the last nail into the symbolic coffin of peasantry after the introduction of compulsory produce delivery quotas, the "sweeping of attics", the listing of "kulaks" and forcing people into agricultural cooperatives. The exhibition with the title *Farewell to the Peasantry*, organized by Zsolt Sári focused on this topic. The main subject matter of the exhibition is based on the several-decades-long research of ethnographer Friderika Bíró and historian Lajos Für. The result of their scientific research can be acquainted with from a book of three volumes. (Bíró–Für 2013–2014) The *Historical essay* drafts the history of the Hungarian peasantry, the *Interview volume* consists of original peasant narratives and confessions, while the third one with the title *Collection of Sources* gives an insight into the tragic era after 1945, lasting for fifteen years through contemporary archival documents. The seemingly bare historical data, the several thousands of minutes of recorded narratives, the many pages of archival materials document personal lives and individual stories. Paths of life, broken lives influenced by the events of the 20th century still having an effect. In our exhibition we

present the farewell of one-time farmers and peasants to all those things which determined their lives: the land, the family, the small-works, the tools, the holidays, the village and their memories. This is not a farewell of their free will: it was born out of constraint, it was enforced. The exhibition was organized in the dwelling house from Drávacsehi, situated in the Southern Transdanubian regional unit. We applied a special method as we used a relocated, authentically furnished dwelling as the locale for the exhibition. It was the first time we cleared the furnishings away from a house due to a temporary exhibition. In the empty house nails left in the wall and object silhouettes created by grey dust on one of the surfaces recall the one-time furnished house and interior, a life once going on inside. In the exhibition organized around the ten topics of the research project all issues are connected to one or two objects, a photograph, an interview part and a curatorial text. The aim of the exhibition was best expressed by historian Gábor Várkonyi in his critique:

> "It is not by chance that the exhibition ends with the farewell to the land, in the barn. It is a moving and cathartic end at the same time. A lonely plough stands in the centre of the space. Almost sterile, as bare as the whole exhibition, conveying this un-lifelike sterility. Cleaned, conserved tools and different articles for personal use – nobody will ever use them according to their function. In the depth of the barn there is a rope with a knot at each end. The visitor suddenly does not know what s/he sees, the thought is slowly forming; a thought we would never say aloud by choice: the two parents hung themselves for the two ends of the same rope, when all of their belongings were taken.
>
> The exhibition *Farewell to the Peasantry* launches the processing of a severe historic catastrophe. Unfortunately, the lack of continuity and the social traumas caused by violent interventions are organic parts of Hungarian history. The processing of these shocks causing severe suffering is necessary for the emergence of a nation possessing a realistic self-understanding and healthy national consciousness" (Várkonyi 2014:67).

The latest exhibition, opened in 2016 in the yard of the dwelling house from Muraszemenye in the Southern Transdanubian regional unit serves this special aim. In our exhibition labelled *Just a Small Work – Villagers in Malenkij robot at the End of World War II* (curator: Borbála Balázs-Legeza) we represent the recruitment of the Red Army moving in at the end of the war, then we recall the circumstances of the evacuation into the Soviet Union and the forced labour camps – through personal memories and recollections, enriching the presentation with a tragic installation. The methodological specialty of the open air exhibition is that it does not contain any real museum objects, it affects the audience emotionally with the help of recollections and naïve poems.

LOCAL COMMUNITIES AND THE MUSEUM

As mentioned above open air museums undertook the representation of not only built and material heritage at the time of their emergence; the intangible cultural heritage was also in the focus of research in these museums. (Batári–Káldy 2015:79–83.) We returned to this ideal, when the Skanzen undertook the documentation of intangible cultural heritage not just in connection with the research of way of life, but by becoming the Hungarian institution bringing into effect the UNESCO convention regulating the

protection of intangible cultural heritage by providing the institutional framework for the operation of the Department of the Intangible Cultural Heritage.

This institution having several pillars has accomplished many changes concerning the representation of heritage in the past decade; it is an act whose basis had been provided already in the 1970s. The concept of the living museum has been one of the most influential elements of open air museums for decades. It is closely connected to education activity, based on the concepts of lifelong learning and a wide public access. Open air museums are excellent areas of education, whether it is formal or informal or means the activities of the living museum. In open air museums the importance of knowledge acquired through experience has to be emphasized among other educational options. It emphasizes three main results of learning: the acquisition of knowledge, the learning of skills, and the changing of attitudes (Zipsane 2010:100).

The Hungarian Open Air Museum has continuously worked on the construction of its peculiar social network in the previous years, with which it connects different types of communities to the institution, and helps local communities in preserving and strengthening their heritage and identity.

Contact with the communities providing the relocated buildings is one of the most important examples. There are several types of this, as the Museum does not only remain in contact with the given settlements and the inhabitants living there till it conducts research work or the regional unit/exhibition opens. These communities frequently participate in the realization of the museum programs. In certain museum programs women from Milota led the demonstration of bread baking, an activity which was an important element of the 1970s-concept of the living museum. It was in 2013 when a dozen people from Milota participated in a museum festival recently; providing different programs in their own yard from 'Milota'. (Since then we have carried out research in the village several times.) The members of the community from Harka appear similarly with their own program, populating the yard from Harka, year by year.

The story of the votive chapel from Jánossomorja is exciting too. The building would have been demolished at the beginning of the 1980s, as it stood in the track of a busy road. After surveying the building, the Museum asked for the relocation of the chapel. Thus it was rebuilt in Szentendre. Since then the population of Jánossomorja has held Saint Anne's Day in the Museum almost every year.

During the opening ceremony of the Bakony-Balaton Upland regional unit we presented the local specifics of the procession on Corpus Christi Day; this tradition has returned into the practice of the original community too.

Architectural studios participating in the rebuilding after the flood in the Bereg region or the red mud catastrophe in Kolontár examined and used the folk architectural research, survey documentations and photos of the museum archives for the creation of the model plans.

The Museum returned the support of the communities by letting the inhabitants of these settlements visit the Museum free of charge.

The Skanzen celebrates the 50th anniversary of its foundation in 2017. A travelling display is one specialty of the jubilee programs. The "mini exhibition" travels the country in a converted and refreshed Robur autobus visiting those places from where buildings had been relocated into the Museum. The Museum collection is illustrated by one or two objects and photos connected to the visited settlement. There will be an

interactive game in the bus with the topic of birthday. Apart from the exhibition we offer free museum education programs for the local students and with the help of a virtual material we give back the community those buildings and objects which were taken into the Skanzen in the previous decades, namely those photos, building surveys, object photos and ethnographic interviews which were collected in the given settlement by the researchers of the Museum in the last 50 years.

The intangible cultural heritage is a cultural practice basically existing orally, in knowledge and customs, and is connected to a living community. This intangible cultural heritage left from generation to generation, constantly recreated by the communities provides the feeling of common identity and continuity for them. The convention about the preservation of intangible cultural heritage was accepted by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2003 for the protection of this function.

The aim of the convention is to preserve these community practices, to strengthen the identity of communities with independent cultural traits and thus the mutual recognition of cultural diversity; moreover it also strives to raise awareness concerning the significance of expression forms threatened by extinction and the protection of such heritage elements.

In 2006 by the creation of the XXXVIII. statute Hungary made the ratification of the document possible, as a result of which our nation joined the convention as the 39th country. The execution of the convention was led by the Educational and Cultural Ministry of the time (today it is the Ministry of Human Resources), on their commission the Hungarian Open Air Museum in Szentendre has been coordinating the professional tasks connected to the national execution of the convention since 2009. As a result, the Intangible Cultural Heritage Directory (www.szellemikulturalisorokseg.hu) emerged as a unit of the Museum's organization. This directory operating inside the Museum attends to a close connection with those communities which preserve the heritage elements selected to the national list or those who plan to get onto the list. One highlight of this co-operation is the Intangible Cultural Heritage Festival, organized annually at every Pentecost, where besides a foreign community, listed on the UNESCO's world heritage list all national heritage elements and communities included in the national list participate.

VOLUNTEERS AND THE MUSEUM

The Hungarian Open Air Museum was the first in the museum field to launch its volunteer program, which has almost 200 participants today, volunteers working in the program help the institution with several thousands of working hours. At the launch of the program we aimed to have tasks which fit the museum mission as much as possible, namely we strived to provide the access for cultural values for the possibly widest social groups. Thus the museum program can be considered to be a help to the same extent as value and recreational possibility for both the museum and the volunteer.

For us the volunteer program is a mutual, useful co-operation for both parties, which means a strong social basis for the Museum, and a meaningful commitment to an important and good case for the volunteers.

The innovation value of the program is provided by the fact that we maintain a well – structured and – organized program in the museum environment, fitting the institution's mission. This program becomes a more and more organic part of the museum's texture and the volunteers' circles. At the beginning of the program we recruited participants of the program in an organized way; while today the program is mostly spread by word and expands this way.

We can count on the work of volunteers in several areas from visitor service (information, tour guides, operation and support of locales) to collection tasks (data processing, restoration works). For this well-organized system it was inevitable to create the post of a volunteer coordinator, which is shared by two colleagues at present, a volunteer and a member of the museum staff.

Immediately reacting to the appearance of the school community service project in Hungary we initially integrated the students into our volunteer program in the institution, then from the 2014/2015 school year we have organized an independent project work for them. In 2014 we participated in a Grundtvig program, where together with an English, Belgian, Danish, Norwegian and a Swedish museum we drafted a handbook for volunteer programs that can be launched in open air museums. In the confines of the program organized by the Volunteer Centre Foundation and the Fundação Eugénio de Almedia we received six Portuguese volunteers, while one of our own volunteers spent three weeks in Portugal with a Hungarian team. We organize annually three meetings for our volunteers, a family day or exhibition visits.

ECOLOGICAL THINKING – COMMUNITY GARDEN IN THE SKANZEN

One of the main characteristics of community gardens is that they are established inside towns while undertaking the roles of community building and self-sufficiency. However, we think that the system operated by the Skanzen fits the notion of community gardens and their social message. The community garden in the Museum can be found in the yard of the dwelling from Zádor (Southern Transdanubian regional unit), the plots are cultivated by eight families.

The group of garden lovers was organized for the initiation of the Museum in 2013 with the aim of providing place a size of a smaller kitchen-garden on the territory of the institution for families from Szentendre, who in their urban home – characteristically in Szentendre – do not possess a garden. However, the community is irregular in its own way, because they rent a smaller plot of land on the territory of the Museum, and as the community of the Museum they not only receive land but all the information the museum staff knows about the maintenance of traditional kitchen gardens and the ecological care of plants, with the least amount of chemicals. On the other hand the establishment and operation of the group originates from the Skanzen. Through the years garden lovers have forged into a cohesive group, who help each other to maintain the gardens and organise their work through a Facebook group. Families cannot afford to go to the Museum daily due to their crowded weekdays, thus they divide the works e. g. of watering and they discuss other gardening tasks and questions through the group too.

Among the tenants of the gardens there are five families from Szentendre and three families from the museum staff, cultivating lands of different sizes. There is a contract

between the Skanzen and the garden tenants with the most significant part about the fact that tenants undertake to take care and to maintain the gardens. Garden tasks can be carried out in the opening hours of the Museum and in the preceding and following two hours around closing time. They store their garden tools and equipment used in the garden in the museum yard in a designated place. The most important connection of the group is the garden, however we organize several community occasions for the gardeners.

SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY

Integrated camps are organized in the Skanzen for disabled young people and students of secondary schools conducting school community service.

In the Skanzen we have paid attention to provide programs for children with a disability for decades. We are in close connection with several institutions attending to these children, on the basis of co-operation agreements, thus their groups are regular visitors of our programs. However, due to the emergence of a closer emotional attachment for children growing up in institutions it is necessary to provide a longer time together, on the other hand more and more students apply in the museum to spend compulsory school community service in a meaningful and useful way. We tried to connect these two demands with the idea of a common program, as we think that the common activity of the two groups mutually influence the participants.

We did not consider participants as helpers or people needing help, but as participants complementing each other completely. During the activities it became clear for everyone that some skills and abilities of young disabled people (tactile sense, musicality, emotional intelligence, stamina, openness, curiosity etc.) are better than the average, thus secondary school students got to know their partners exchanging day by day during the daily activities as people to be appreciated. Thanks to this, a strong group cohesion formed, helping the members to get to know each other. Secondary school students met another personality, disability, difficulty, problem and success with each new partner. Besides other difficulties the disabled children having hospitalization problems got in touch with all students, and the common activities pleased every member of the group.

Feedback from the accompanying carers, the students and our own experiences strengthened us concerning the complex efficiency of integrated activities. We saw that the primary goals of the program – gaining experiences, educational option for the disabled children, meaningful pastime for students conducting school service during the discovery of folk culture and the Museum – were reached; it is clear from the feedback that we strengthened students' sense of responsibility, also making them more open towards the children with disabilities. An extra bonus on the positive side is that students have a more open, different view towards parents and teachers of disabled children too.

INSTEAD OF A SUMMARY

Naturally, the question arises in each and every case: How can we integrate the community and make the previously passive observer a participant? What is needed to achieve this? In my opinion a joint communication matrix is needed (linguistic, written, physical) with

the help of which participants continue to have a dialogue, share their opinions and can form into a community (in the given exhibition, work or research) (Kester 2012:138).

Interdisciplinarity has been our decades-long experience, as in the shaping of the Skanzen architects also took part besides ethnographers; in the previous years we worked together with historians, sociologists, artists, IT professionals, designers in several projects. We tried to introduce participatory museology by involving a wider audience.

Today it has become evident that a museum cannot be an authoritarian institution revealing its message from this position. We have to find the possibilities in which we provide options for interaction and observing. According to Nick Prior:

> "In another word the Museum is not based on the (curatorial) authority of its collection, but finds a way suiting different reference frames of the audience – thus encouraging sudden interpretations of its collection. … As a result, the Museum is a radically syncretic institution, in which differing tendencies work together – aesthetic contemplation and entertainment, connoisseurship and consumption, individual delectation and community service." (Prior 2012:102)

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Intangible Cultural Heritage Communities in the Network of the Skanzen Hungarian Open Air Museum

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Abstract: In Hungary, the professional coordinator of the execution of the 2003 UNESCO convention about the safeguarding of intangible cultural heritage is the Skanzen Hungarian Open Air Museum, celebrating its 50th birthday this year. During its existence, the institution has formed an extensive community and professional network and has become a knowledge center concerning the protection of cultural heritage. The establishment of the Directorate of Intangible Cultural Heritage at the Museum is closely connected to the topic, as it constructed its own national networks based on this background. With respect to the philosophy of the Skanzen, together with the sponsoring cultural ministry, the Directorate created a heritage protection mechanism that focuses on communities retaining and maintaining their identity as a cultural practice, actively engaging them in the unfolding and registration of their intangible cultural heritage. At the same time, it pays attention to continuous communication and options for exchanging experiences. The Hungarian model, which is internationally acknowledged, is exactly ten years old, since Hungary joined the convention in 2006.
Keywords: intangible cultural heritage, community, safeguarding, cultural diversity, Hungarian Open Air Museum

The UNESCO convention with the aim of safeguarding the knowledge, skills and expression forms, mediated from generation to generation, created and practiced by communities, groups or individuals and constituting the identity of the abovementioned parties was called into being in 2003. The convention also strives to work out and execute measures of protection in connection with these at local, national and international level.[1] The expression *intangible cultural heritage (ICH)*[2] was shaped[3] parallel to the

[1] UNESCO 2003, http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/convention (accessed December 28, 2016).
[2] In French *patrimoine culturel immatériel (PCI)*.
[3] In the denomination and wording of different documents, born during the preparation of the UNESCO convention the process of burnishing and transformation can be followed: *Recommendations to the Preservation of Traditional Culture and Folklore* (1989), *Principles for the Foundation of the System of 'Living Human Treasures'* (1996), *Action Plan for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (1999).

establishment of the convention; its Hungarian counterpart is not a metaphrase of the original meaning,[4] as a result it needs continuous periphrasis and interpretation. The words untouchable, immaterial and intangible in Hungarian do not reflect the main meanings. The essence of phenomena and practices or traditions in the Hungarian language use considered to be intangible cultural heritage is their community existence, whose basis is provided by the knowledge acquired as the member of the community and the practice performed in the community. However, the community's role does not end with the 'establishing', invigorating and mediating of the heritage, but the 'supervision' of its maintenance too. Every now and then community control selects those practices, individual experiments or innovations that are unacceptable for the members. The community manages the range of participants (if regulated), the way of mediation, the rules of practice and the method of interpretation.

Thus intangible cultural heritage is a process, the practice of living, recognizing and seizing one's own culture from time to time. There is the most direct connection existing between the individual/the community and the heritage-phenomenon: the community and its members are themselves the bearers of heritage. That is why the 2003 convention of the UNESCO was the most intricately determinable topic (on the whole it took 30 years from the first idea till the final version of the international document); this recommendation has raised the most questions and several disputes concerning realization. At the same time it is considered to be the most popular, if the number of states joining the convention and the number of heritage elements introduced or accepted to the representative list *pro rata temporis* are considered.[5] As opposed to the practice of preserving primarily material (built, natural and archaeological) heritage, according to the definition of this convention the intangible cultural heritage is the most flexible and changeable, quasi living structure.[6]

Thus it is not by chance that the wording, philosophy, possibilities and tasks provided by operation principles, criteria and the UNESCO practice of execution (more concretely: more intensively in the operation of the Evaluation Body and the Intergovernmental Committee) build upon the communities (groups and individuals), highlight their role and continuously pay attention to involving them into the practice of execution and realization. All this happens without a defined notion of community in the documents of either the convention or the documents of executive commissions.

Concerning the interpretation of intangible cultural heritage and in the institutionalized practice of executing safeguarding measures, there are different directions and solutions among the State Parties[7]. Similarly to this, involving communities in the

[4] The Hungarian phrase *szellemi kulturális örökség* means intellectual cultural heritage.

[5] 171 participant countries have joined the *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) and there are 430 elements on the intangible cultural heritage list and good practice register. As a comparison the other most popular so-called *World Heritage Convention* (1972) has been joined by 165 states and there are 1052 world heritage sites on the list. There is an age difference of 30 years between the two conventions.

[6] This flexibility is included in the definition of the convention too: "This intangible cultural heritage… is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history…" UNESCO 2003, Article 2.1.

[7] States Parties are countries which have ratified the Convention. See http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/states-parties-00024 (accessed December 28, 2016).

handling of heritage shows a variegation too and is characterized by a diversity also typical of intangible cultural heritage (one goal of the convention is to acknowledge cultural diversity[8]). In this field, the wording of the document designates principles, recommendations and 'tasks' and the way it is realized, namely the method of execution is assigned to the State Party (even if there is a more concrete and detailed regulation prescribed by the *Operational Directives* (UNESCO 2016.) besides the generally worded text of the convention, as its practical realization).

The role of communities concerning the execution of the convention raises the question of what aim the joining to the UNESCO's intangible cultural heritage program fulfils in the practice of a certain state's cultural policy. To what extent can it be considered to be a means of national self-representation or cultural heritage industry, or a base and source serving the aims of cultural tourism? The study and interpretation of the international lists, related to the convention can help the understanding of the question.[9] This paper does not aim to conduct a similar, detailed – and undoubtedly edifying – analysis; however, a few tendencies can be traced by examining the 'Representative list of the intangible cultural heritage of humanity.' "Regarding the heritage context it is clear that it extends from communities small in numbers, through minorities possessing national, ethnic conscience or a regional variation of these to the common property of the nation" (Keszei 2005:15). Although this statement was about the 90 elements of the 'Masterpieces'[10] list, constituting the antecedent of the convention, it still applies to the present-day representative list including 366 heritage elements. The fact that the consensual agreement of the involved communities is a compulsory part of the nomination related to the representative list and one of the five criteria of applying is the appropriate, preliminary informing, participation and voluntary approval of involved communities are peculiarities of the system. The document has to prove this with declarations and the description of the informing process.

Thus, the active relation of heritage elements and communities is theoretically a precondition of being accepted to the international lists. Moreover, turning the system upside down, the basis of handling the heritage is the community, and not the heritage itself. Namely, as the first step, the communities bearing the intangible cultural heritage has to be discovered and not 'heritage points' should be designated and with groups assigned to operate them. This reasoning may look unjustified, however, according to the experienced practice so far it poses real questions and problems.

[8] "promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity" UNESCO 2003, Article 2.1.

[9] During the execution of the Convention, concerning the work of the Intergovernmental Committee, the most number of disputes result from the handling of the representative list and the practice of accepting new heritage elements. It has been a tendency for years to withhold, select and slow down the dominance of the representative list's role against the trend. In the practice of some of the countries being nominated to this is almost an exclusive step concerning the execution of the Convention.

[10] *Proclamation of the Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (2001-2005)* http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/en/proclamation-of-masterpieces-00103 (accessed December 28, 2016).

To the two international lists[11] related to the intangible cultural heritage convention and including heritage elements the nomination documents are handed in by the State Party. Thus, according to the procedure system and the practice evolved, not the communities apply for the UNESCO lists directly. The State Party hands in not just the nomination, selection is also performed by national intangible cultural committees and bodies created and operated by the state. These institutionalized decision makers have to possess some knowledge or a list from where heritage elements can be chosen for further international application; or as a reverse, they can function as a filter, as they select from the suggestions they receive. Thus one important momentum in the execution of the Convention is the way the State Parties choose heritage elements, later nominated for the UNESCO lists. This question is located on a higher level than the primary function. The method of selecting elements to be incorporated in the list is the consequence of the operation of the system at the national level, the way the relationship with communities bearing heritage elements is organized, moreover of the heritage protection strategy too. We can only protect things about which we know that they exist, what they really are, and have information about their nature.

The abovementioned double-directionality can be considered characteristic on the basis of international examples. There are states where – from the commission of the liable ministry – the representatives of professional institutions (generally it is identical with the membership of the intangible cultural heritage committee) prepare studies in which they draft texts (reminding ethnographical encyclopedia articles) about the heritage elements, designating the involved communities too. These studies are often transformed into thematic monographies. It is a general practice that the ethnographical and folk art institutions of the given countries provide background material and sources of data for the preparation of national inventories. In the cases of some European countries we can witness a direct method of involving communities. Civil organizations themselves can also be the responsible bodies of executing the convention, however there is an example of the possibility to express suggestions for the widest range of people, where anybody can make a suggestion through the Internet, or directly from the community with the proposal of their own heritage. However, these are only rare examples.

The institutionalized, official, moreover 'public administration' character of implementing and handling intangible heritage issues is the general tendency. Furthermore, there is often no direct and continuous relation of parties in the operational system with the participating communities concerned, or local experts or civil organizations. In the abovementioned, with the help of the upside-down system I characterized the situation, when the process begins with a heritage phenomenon interpreted as a constituent symbolic element of national identity and an active community is rendered to this only as the next step.

That is how the discrepancy can occur that resulting from the executing mechanism of the national level, heritage elements of ethnic groups living in national minority cannot be included in the national inventories (and, as a consequence they cannot get into the UNESCO lists, either), as the majority state dedicates the intangible cultural heritage program exclusively to the service of national self-representation. Albeit the convention (similarly to all the other UNESCO documents related to the safeguarding of cultural

[11] Representative List of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding.

heritage) is about the registration and as a result, the handling of all heritage elements which can be found in the territory of the State Parties.[12]

Hungary conducts an exemplary practice in this field too: at present among the 30 elements found in the national inventory from among the national minorities living in Hungary Croatian, Slovakian, German and Slovenian heritage elements, a good practice related to the gypsy culture and community practices of different religious denominations can be found. It is due to the nomination mechanism starting from the direction of the community.[13]

Concerning the Hungarian practice, we can say that in the ten years since our accession to the convention (2006) a system of executing the convention has emerged. A body was established handling the heritage issues and the Ministry commissioned the Skanzen Hungarian Open Air Museum as a background institution entrusting it with the coordination of professional tasks, furthermore a system of identification, review and the registration of the intangible cultural heritage was launched. The national committee has been existing since 2008, which has been the Intangible Cultural Heritage Expert Committee of the Hungarian National Commission for four years, in 2009 the Intangible Cultural Heritage Directorate was created, handling the National Inventory (the registration of heritage elements found in the territory of the country). Besides the institutionalized and official structure, determined by the convention, the Directorate has also prepared and operated the expert mechanism of realization.

The Hungarian practice has strived to follow the philosophy of the convention concerning the participating communities from the start. According to the abovementioned, the convention discusses the role of communities and the significance of involving them in the handling of the heritage in general.[14] The construction of the system of registration at a national level was part of the first steps in Hungary. The question has arisen who creates the list of heritage elements and how, what filters the petition has to go through, who should be the initiator. While the significance of actively involving the communities in the system from the beginning has been evident, the method of realization was a challenge. The thought of preparing a phasing-out system has arisen, in which the community bearing the heritage would have made a proposal to a local/ county level as the first step. However, it seemed to be practical from several aspects,

[12] "Article 11 – Role of States Parties: Each State Party shall: (a) take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage *present in its territory*; (b) among the safeguarding measures referred to in Article 2, paragraph 3, identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage *present in its territory*, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations. Article 12 – Inventories: 1. To ensure identification with a view to safeguarding, each State Party shall draw up, in a manner geared to its own situation, one or more inventories of the intangible cultural heritage *present in its territory*. These inventories shall be regularly updated." (UNESCO 2003)

[13] The inventory and documentation of the Hungarian intangible cultural heritage elements can be found on the website operated by the Directorate: http://szellemikulturalisorokseg.hu/index0_en.php?name=en_f22_elements

[14] "For the purposes of this Convention […] (b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned" (UNESCO 2003, Article 1. b.) "Each State Party shall: […] (b) among the safeguarding measures referred to in Article 2, paragraph 3, identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations." (UNESCO 2003, Article 11. b.)

if the nominations prepared by the communities from their own initiative are handed in directly at a national level, where independent experts examine them. Concerning the edification of the practice so far it proves to be the best procedure. On the one hand it is an essential factor that petitions arriving at a central institution (thereby the present-day community practice) can be compared and provide wide insight, which also helps the observation of tendencies related to present-day socio-cultural processes. On the other hand, the phase-up system contains the possibility for non-professional aspects coming to the front against local interests. The finally emerging system is operated on the basis of united principles, the handling of heritage is significantly more transparent.

Thus the final decision has created a mechanism during which the communities, creating, maintaining and mediating their heritage and acknowledging it as their own, prepare the nomination documentation, which they hand into a central institution. This latter is the Directorate of Intangible Cultural Heritage operating in the Skanzen, which handles nominations: controls them from formal aspect, sending it out for an expert for a review, makes a summary then puts them in front of the Intangible Cultural Heritage Expert Committee, where it is discussed what heritage elements can be incorporated into the National Inventory. However, the role of the Directorate is much more complex apart from these technical, expert processes. Looking for concerned communities, making contact, communication also belong to the field of activities besides executing administration tasks. Reaching target communities is not always simple.

At this point it is necessary to touch upon the issue concerning the professional execution of the intangible cultural heritage conventions, namely how it fits into the activities of the Hungarian Open Air Museum. The Skanzen as an integrated institution of heritage protection is able to realize the collection, documentation, archiving and functional interpretation of tangible-built-intangible heritage raising questions at the same time. The Skanzen possesses a diversified civil and professional network (see Káldy – Nagyné Batári 2015 for details), moreover, it functions as a well-working knowledge center from giving folk architectural advice to training teachers and museum managers.

The community and professional network related to the intangible cultural heritage topic has emerged in this light. The Directorate leans on the mediating work of county rapporteurs. The Skanzen created this professional network based on the institutions of the county museum system of the time. By selecting a – mostly ethnographer – expert from each county a group of professionals has been formed, which helps in the mediation of information, the informing and looking up of communities and in the preparation of the nomination document. They provide professional advice for interested communities, organize orientation forums with the participation of the Directorate, making contact between the involved parties. Heritage elements included in the national inventory in the latest years praise the hard work of county rapporteurs.

The number of intangible cultural heritage communities related to the Skanzen are constantly growing. At the moment 30 heritage elements are recorded in the national inventory, which means the participation of thousands of people. Communities get in touch with the Directorate at first when they enquire about the system. Besides rapporteurs the staff of the Directorate also take part in the process of nominating. Professional advice, making suggestions, personal visits, getting acquainted with the community/heritage directly characterize the process. The administrative decision preparation of the nomination is followed by the organization of the festive announcement of new heritage

elements included in the inventory. This is the most important, highlighted moment of the community's celebration, during which the representatives of the community bearing the heritage element included in the National Inventory receive the ministerial document of nomination. This has a great role in raising awareness of the significance of the heritage element both inside the community and for the outside world too. It is a frequent phenomenon that being included in the inventory results in the upvaluing of the heritage inside the community. There were cases when the municipal government of towns or younger generations noticed the significance of the living heritage thanks to the nomination. Being included in the national inventory resulted in a positive decision or step in most cases in the local community. The effect of the inventory on the community and the practice of the heritage element can also be observed in almost all cases. The scientific study of this phenomenon in its continuity is an important and edifying task, which is supported by the Directorate by encouraging and leading students to write university essays and thesis.

Regular contact with the communities does not end at this level. One of the most significant and unique element of the Hungarian practice is the fact that it takes care of communities after being included in the inventory too. The Directorate established the company of conscious heritage protectors which consists of communities of the national inventory. It aims to provide support for the members of this huge community concerning the topic of handling heritage, by giving professional and methodological guidance for preparing and executing preservation strategies. The Directorate regularly organizes professional panel discussions for them, where a concrete topic is in the focus (e.g. legal questions of practicing their heritage). The programs, organized by the Directorate, which strive to provide the possibility for communities to present their heritage element together, in one venue, in a representative way are also very important for the communities.

There are two huge festivals annually. In the spring time the Whitsun Heritage Festival takes place, being the international meeting of intangible cultural heritage elements at the same time. This provides the possibility for the communities to introduce themselves in the environment of the Skanzen's original folk architectural monuments. All communities are invited to the program, during which they can present their own heritage for the audience in the yards of individual houses. Craft demonstrations, stage performances are parts of the program, and active involvement of the audience into the participatory activities is a significant feature too. Visitors can try their hands on painting ornamental motifs of Kalocsa, shaping clay on the potters 'wheel of Mezőtúr potters', baking 'miller's wafers' characteristic in Borsodnádasd, can turn into a Mohács 'Busó' or a Mezőkövesd 'Matyó' by trying on original pieces of masques and costumes, furthermore they can taste local dishes or can learn folk dances. The direct, interactive encounter with the communities and the experience of cultural diversity at the same time are significant aspects. Visitors can get a taste of the heritage practice of the communities, can experience community identity and the demonstrations of knowledge, skills and expression forms. They can encounter real value and living tradition in an authentic environment.

The other program of great importance is the Cultural Heritage Days, which is part of a European heritage celebration. At these times monuments, locales of built heritage are opened throughout the country. The related national opening ceremony is a festive forum, where the communities included in the national inventory are acknowledged, where this

fact is declared. The following two-day long program is also a good opportunity for an introduction, thus the Directorate organizes it at differing locales, together, providing opportunity for the communities to introduce themselves.

Both programs are important as they are excellent occasions for communities to meet, to get to know each other's practice of safeguarding their heritage and acquiring mutual experience. It is important for them that they get to know the context, in which they are included by being registered in the national inventory. The 'slogans' and often seemingly 'idealistic targets' of the UNESCO convention become practice this way: the significance of intangible cultural heritage on local, national and international level is really upvalued; the acknowledgment of each other's culture and cultural diversity becomes a reality; creativity and community knowledge become palpable, community identity can be experienced and cultural heritage can be celebrated with the active participation of communities. The communities also formulate these thoughts, feel and understand the significance of the phenomena, and besides, they adhere to introductory participation all the while enjoying it, they are looking forward to meeting the others and are in touch with each other too.

The Hungarian practice seems to be a model on an international level too. The maintenance of the expert network, the consideration of the museum's role as a locale, knowledge base and background institution, and the active involvement of communities from the nomination process till the intangible cultural heritage representation are all examples to be followed. One of the most significant results and examples is monitoring, during which communities actively join the network of the Skanzen, and the Directorate provides new meetings, contact making options and representational possibilities from time to time. I close my paper with citing from a letter dated after one of our programs, written by a member of a community, included recently in the inventory:

"On behalf of the Rajkó Band we thank you for this uncommon welcome, love, kindness, attention, which made clear for us, how wonderful it is to belong to this big family, we can be the members of."

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Case Studies and Research Summaries

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Characteristic Features of the *Zadruga* (Extended Family) of the Croatian Subethnic Group of Bunjevci

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Abstract: The aim of the article is to introduce certain characteristic features of life in extended families of Bunjevci in the different regions that they have inhabited since the 17th century, with a focus on interrelations of the family members in everyday organization of life and work; the role of the master and the mistress – her duties in relation to other female family members; and (in)formal partition as well as some specific transitional forms of family life from the *zadruga* to nuclear families. The authors observe the *zadruga* phenomenon as a dynamic process, depending on the internal as well as the external socio-economic factors, and provide a comparative insight into the *zadruga* phenomenon in two branches of the same subethnic group, which largely reflects the historical and social circumstances in which such a family lifestyle existed and was transformed. The authors pay attention to the influence of common law, which had a great importance in preserving specific features of family life, despite the strong influence of historical, socio-political, ecological and economic factors on the Bunjevci family life structure in the final stage of the existence of the *zadruga*.
Keywords: Primorje/Lika and Danube-area Bunjevci, family life, zadruga, common law

INTRODUCTION

Basic interest and starting point

This paper comparatively deals with particular aspects of life within the *zadrugas* (extended families) in different areas of Southeast Europe inhabited by Bunjevci, a group of ethnic Croats, originating from Dalmatia, south-eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, separated in two recognizable branches.[1]

[1] Our research was carried out within two scientific projects approved and financed by the Croatian Ministry of Science, Education and Sports that specifically revolved around ethnocultural issues of this (sub)ethnic group in a wider spatial and temporal context. The first project was titled *Identity and Ethnogenesis of the Littoral Bunjevci* and was carried out between 2002 and 2006, while the other project, carried out between 2008 and 2013, was titled *Identity and Ethnocultural Shaping of Bunjevci*.

The aim of the article is to introduce certain characteristic features of life in extended families of Bunjevci in the different regions that they have inhabited since the 17th century, focusing on: interrelations of family members in the everyday organization of life and work; the role of the master and the mistress – her duties in relation to other female family members; and (in)formal partition as well as some specific transitional forms of family life from the *zadruga* to nuclear families. Our approach aims to observe the *zadruga* phenomenon as a dynamic process rather than a static one, depending on internal as well as external socio-economic factors. We also aim to provide a comparative insight into the *zadruga* phenomenon in two branches of the same subethnic group, which largely reflects the historical and social circumstances in which this type of family life existed and was transformed. Such an approach to the *zadruga* phenomenon was first taken in the 1970s by Eugine Hammel on a larger scale within the Southeast-European territories.

Historical background: Who are the Bunjevci?

Before discussing the theoretical background and approaches to the *zadruga* (extended family) phenomenon in Croatia and South-Eastern Europe, we shall provide a short historic survey of Bunjevci, the (sub)ethnic group, the identities of whom had first influenced migrations of uneven intensity, only to finally disunite the group.

In the 17th century they migrated to the regions of Primorje (the Croatian Littoral), Lika and Gorski kotar, situated in western Croatia, and to the Danube area in the north (formerly part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, today comprising the territories of Hungary and Serbia), thus forming three basic remote branches of the Bunjevci ethnic group, known as Dalmatia, Primorje/Lika and Danube-area Bunjevci (Černelić 2006:13) (*Figure 1*). Migration, wars, rebellions and religious conversions are all dynamic factors that have formed the ethnic identity of Bunjevci. Apart from the three branches mentioned above, historians also mention the west-Bosnian (Ottoman) branch of Bunjevci, comprised of groups which settled in Dalmatia before the 17th century (Šarić 2008:20). Waves of migration differed in terms of their time span and cause.

Primorje/Lika Bunjevci have inhabited the regions of Primorje (the Croatian Littoral), Lika and Krbava. Coming from North Dalmatia, they settled in the Primorje area in several stages. Following the defeat of Turks in Lika (1683–1687), a greater number of Primorje Bunjevci moved to Lika, where they encountered the other migration currents of Bunjevci (Rogić 1966:320).

Changing from the generic term (Vlach), the name Bunjevac itself must have been developed as an ethnonym on the Ottoman Frontier in the vicinity of Klis/Lika (around the Dinara and Velebit mountains) in the mid-16th century, and it can be grasped only within the context of the ethno-confessionalization of Vlach countries and religious division into confessionally opposed groups: Vlach-Orthodox (Rascian) and Vlach-Catholic (Bunjevac) (cf. Šarić 2008:25–26). Written record of the name Bunjevci first appeared in the second half of the 18th century (Šarić 2008:28). Some historians have adopted the name Old-Croatian Vlachs for Catholic Morlachs in Dalmatia, who differ from the Balkan Vlachs in the interior with regards to their language and origin (Mirdita 1995:78). These are actually groups of Bunjevci who have continually resided in the tri-border region – so called *Triplex Confinium* – since 1520 (the latter being the meeting-

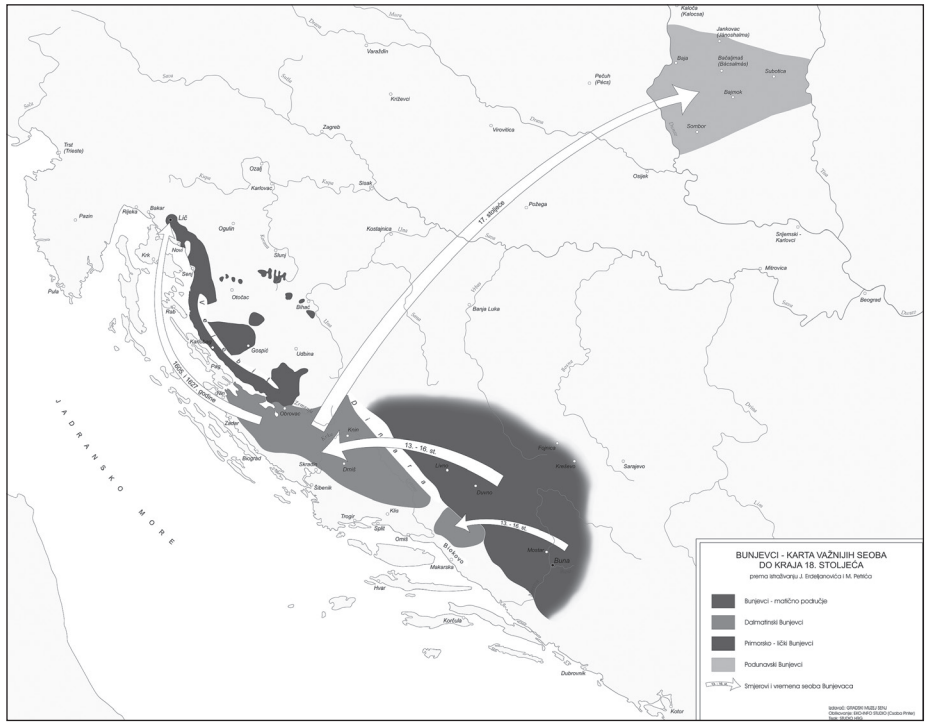

Figure 1. Map of the primary and secondary expansion and migration routes of Bunjevci from their original home area from the 13th to the 16th and in the 17th century.[2] Original in City Muzeum of Senj. (Designed by Csaba Pinter – Eko-Info Studio, Sisak, Croatia)

point of three empires: Ottoman, Venetian and Habsburg), but the respective government apparatuses did not differentiate between them and the rest of the groups originating from the socio-historical stratum. For Ottoman rulers they were simply part of the Vlach social stratum, whereas the Venetian government knew them Catholic Morlachs (Morlachi del rito Latino) throughout the entire period of the early Modern Age, while the Habsburg Military-Border government also pointed out the Catholic traits of some of the Vlach settlers, but rarely used the name Bunjevci.[3] Bunjevac settlers in Primorje, Lika and Krbava were also referred to as Catholic Vlachs (*catholische Walachen*), sometimes even as Catholic Rascians (*Rasciani catholici*). The ethnonym Bunjevac was not even used by the Hungarian county government in the Danube area during the 18th century. Instead, the Bunjevac groups in the region were recognized as Dalmatians and

[2] The map is constructed for the purpose of the Ethnographic collection of the Littoral Bunjevci, the City Museum of Senj in 2006, based on research conducted by Jovan Erdeljanović in the 1930s (Erdeljanović 1930, Petrić 1966).

[3] Military Border constituted the borderland of the Habsburg Empire and later the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, which acted to stop incursions from the Ottoman Empire. For more about Military Border see two monographs by Gunther E. Rothenberg (Rothenberg 1960; 1966) and also Roksandić 1988; Pavličević 1989a; Kaser 1997; 2003.

Catholic Rascians, and sometimes, but more rarely – as Illyrians (Roman Catholics) (cf. Šarić 2008:27). According to scarce historical sources, the first migrations of Bunjevci to the Danube area already began in the 16th century. However, several major waves of migration occurred during the 17th century.[4] This short historic preview of the (sub)ethnic group serves to highlight the territory of importance and the historical circumstances of migration among those recognized as ethnic Bunjevci.

Despite their great dispersion in space, Bunjevci communities share some common features: the ethnonym Bunjevac, the language (New Shtokavian dialect), collective memory (legends about the old homeland and the origin of the name), religion (Roman Catholicism), as well as certain common cultural features (Černelić – Rajković Iveta 2010:291).

In our presentation, the focus is placed on the two Bunjevci branches, because integral research on the extended family life patterns has been undertaken within the territories inhabited precisely by these two branches of Bunjevci subethnic group. Initial research was conducted among Bunjevci in the area of Bukovica in northern Dalmatia (cf. Birt – Černelić 2014).[5]

Theoretical background

Numerous studies and discussions have been written on the *zadruga* by both Western and indigenous scholars. In this passage, the emphasis is placed on particular authors from both groups who studied extended families/co-operatives, some of whom are lesser-known to the wider scholarly audience but nevertheless important for our interpretation.

During the previous century, there was an emerging interest in family, kinship and social relations in the societies of South-Eastern Europe. Scholars from various disciplinary fields extensively discussed numerous aspects of family and kinship, scholarly interests being in large part directed towards kinship and family structures. "Classical" social research on family and kinship in the territory of South-Eastern Europe (in the Balkans) in the first half of the 20th century contributed profoundly, for example, to knowledge about family and kinship structures in the past, historical family forms and demographic changes. The major segments of the research on family and kinship in South-Eastern Europe can be best summarized in several contributions that have earned international acclaim. Here we will mention only a few that are relevant to our focus of interest. Some of the contributors have been (co)authors of key works on family and social life as well as on South-Slavic social organizations in the Balkans (e.g. Hammel 1975; Filipović – Hammel 1982), which set out a wider comparative analysis (model) of households and families in the world.

[4] For more on the immigration of Bunjevci to the Danube region see: Bušić 2005.

[5] The third Dalmatia region Bunjevci branch is, in fact, no longer a subethnic group because they do not use the ethnonym Bunjevci in the same meaning as the other two branches. They are familiar with the term, but use it in a broader sense and only as a synonym for Catholics/Croats, not denoting any specific ethnic group. Thus, in this region the name Bunjevci directly relates to one's religious affiliation, i.e. Orthodox Serbs call their Catholic neighbours Bunjevci, often involving a derogatory connotation (cf. Černelić 2007:583).

Interest has continued throughout the last few decades, but has also garnered both the critique and revision of the earlier studies of/by international and indigenous scholars[6]. Moreover, the focus of interest has been slightly changed and transferred more towards comparative (temporal and regional) analysis researching past and/or present roles of a family and kin in changing societies (e.g. pre-industrial, industrial, post-socialist).

In the late 19th century, extended families in South-Eastern Europe were interpreted by lawyers, followers of the so called *Historical School of Law*, whose founder was Friedrich Carl von Savigny (1779-1861). Their approach during field research was '*ethnographic'* (through gathering data by means of questionnaires) and aimed towards understanding and appreciating *common law*, which they regarded crucial in the process of the legal standardization of rural families. (Rihtman-Auguštin 1984:18; Kaser 1997:131; Černelić 2009:304). This approach and methodology created the basis for works by Baltazar Bogišić on legal problems in *extended* and *independent (nuclear)* families, which, until the present, have remained an important starting point for ethnological studies of social life. This author claims that at the time of the disintegration of extended families *"*a whole range of different forms of families appear" – different in structure but the same in terms of relationship -, which indicates that socio-economic relations enable the renewal of rural extended family relations, although, by the end of the 19th century, due to extended family division, stronger financial relations are forged among family members and personal property gains importance. A lack of understanding with regards to the system of living and relations within rural family forms and kinship relations is considered the main reason for the mistreatment of property and inheritance relations, which resulted in great problems, especially in cases involving the division of family property. Therein Bogišić became aware that it was due to misunderstanding of the rural culture and the subordination of individuals and their personal interests to the community, primarily to their families, but also to wider local community. (Čulinović-Konstantinović 1993:31) In addition, Bogišić underlined the element of collective property as a key feature of an extended family as opposed to a nuclear family. Therefore, common economy and collective property are considered its distinctive features in comparison with a nuclear family. Bogišić pays no attention to the number of family members, focusing only on the following: the structure of family relations, the principles of labour division, the right of inheritance among the members and the collective property.

Collective property was seen as the fundamental feature distinguishing an extended family from a nuclear one, and the extended family was considered a legal and economic community of members by one other ethnologist as well – Milovan Gavazzi – who subscribed to Bogišić's earlier reasoning and also stressed the importance of the principle of indivisible collective property, common economy and the distribution of property among members (Gavazzi 1978:82), placing it before the criterion of the number of members.

Gavazzi particularly considered economic and organisational aspects within the *zadruga*, elements of the traditional skills that were developing and taking place inside extended families, and he established a causal relationship between them and the existence of this type of family community. He claims, for example, how weaving

[6] For example, the current approaches and paradigms related to this topic have been extensively discussed in the special issue of *Sociologija sela* [Rural Sociology], one of the high-ranking Croatian scholarly journals in social sciences (the issue No. 43, 1974).

skills were excellently "developed and preserved" precisely owing to the existence of the "socio-economic institution of South-Slavic extended family" (Gavazzi 1978:62–63) Likewise, he attempted to interpret the origin of South-Slavic extended families and addressed the issue of the extended family in a wider European socio-economic context (Gavazzi 1963; 1978:63).[7] Apart from this, which is of special importance for our paper, Gavazzi pointed to the diversity of extended families, each one being a separate case, explaining that one could not find "two extended families with completely identical structures, the same property relations, the same living and working system, not even taking into account the difference in the number of members and their kinship relations, the quality and quantity of fixed and movable property and other characteristics which are, normally, distinct and unique, differing in each extended family" (Gavazzi 1978:82; cf. Černelić 1999:298; 2009:303; 2010:138–139).

Already in the 1970s, Eugene Hammel argued that extended family is a process (Hammel 1974; 1975; cf. Todorova 1986:7; Kazer [Kaser] 2002:40), stressing that, in practice, social phenomena do not function as an invariable continuum (cf. Goody 1972:105). On this basis, critical thinking against earlier studies of the *zadruga* was formed within the Croatian ethnological circle as well, especially during the 1980s. Dunja Rihtman-Auguštin (1984) has given a most explicit critique of descriptions of the *zadrugas* in several Croatian ethnographic monographs from the first half of the 20th century, in which the view of the *zadruga* as a static category was nurtured and perpetuated (Rihtman-Auguštin 1984). Zadruga was seen as an ideal type of an extended family wherein there were, allegedly, no greater structural changes. Some have critically noted similar stereotypes perpetuated by Croatian historians during the 20th century (Leček 2003:312). This idealization of extended family life has been supported by an idea of harmonious functioning within large family units and households in the past, and the lack of unity as the predominant value system was seen as the cause of the breakdown of the *zadrugas*.

However, there are two levels permanently present in the life of the researched families: one of them is value-oriented, imaginary (as it *should* be), and the other one is *real* (the way it *is* in a concrete case) (cf. Rihtman-Auguštin 1984:13–15) – which is similar to Peter Laslett's differentiation between "familial ideology" and "familial experience". (cf. Laslett 1972:63–85). Within Croatian ethnology, Jasna Čapo Žmegač was also an advocate of the process continuity, relying on the theoretical propositions and research by Hammel. She underlined that "(n)uclear (...) families and households in the common property-law system also belong to the *zadruga* type, and potentially, through families' branching, a household consisting of a husband, wife and children, in which the adult son and his spouse

[7] Precisely on the initiative of Milovan Gavazzi, in the 1960s an idea of describing life in individual extended families gained sway, which resulted in research within his project *Rural extended families in the 19th and the 20th century*, and the body of materials on extended families can be found in the archives of the Department of Ethnology and Cultural Anthropology at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Zagreb. The project came out with two volumes of collected papers entitled *Seljačke obiteljske zadruge I* [Rural Extended Families] (Gavazzi 1960) and *Seljačke obiteljske zadruge II* (Obad 1992). In respect of their structure and the focus of interest, descriptions of individual extended families are rather uniform due to the tendency towards further comparative analyses of the time. They contain data on family members (family tree), on the *zadruga* household, on property, on economy and work, management, the organisation of everyday life, the regulation of family members' duties and rights, and on the partition of the *zadruga*.

continue living with their parents instead of establishing their own independent household, also develops into an extended family, that is to say a household comprised of several nuclear families, but with no changes to the basic ownership and inheritance structure. In this view, nuclear and expanded families are not two types of families but rather one of the same type in different points of its existence" (Čapo Žmegač 1998:256; cf. Kaser 1997:132). Many studies by the aforementioned Croatian ethnologists (Černelić 1999; 2009; Čapo Žmegač 1998) and historians (Leček 2003) were done exactly in accordance with this critical thinking, having taken an approach that underlines the constant variability of the extended family structure (the make-up and number of members), as well as social and economic circumstances affecting the structure of families and households.

Thus, extended types of families and households, termed the *zadrugas,* should be seen as variable communities rather than homogenous ones, to a large degree dependent on wider social, local as well as familial circumstances, which ultimately make *zadruga* more a social phenomenon than an institution (Todorova 1986:7). In the mid-seventies of the 20th century, the interest of French zadruga expert Emile Sicard was directed towards the economic importance of Croatian extended families through history. He pointed out the multileveled relations among different authorities within an extended family, and identified the extended family as a primarily household and economic community (shared work and life) and only then a familial community (due to existence of some non-kin relations as well). Sicard's text is of an exceptional importance in terms of creating and explicating the multileveled model of various relations among different authorities within an extended family (Sicard 1974; cf. First-Dilić 1974; Rihtman-Auguštin 2004:24), and in terms of highlighting the economic practices and relations within *zadrugas*.

Communities based on familial or kinship work and common economy had a shared interest in the survival of both individual economy and inheritance in the best interest of the particular household and familial community. Each of these communities were organized in accordance with the current circumstances and interests (in terms of the maximum benefit for the family and household), rather than according to a certain (general, uniform) pattern which would make life and family circumstances within *all* the extended families (more or less) the same. Even today, within a single local community one cannot speak of identical families and households. Thus, when studying families and households we should take into account the constant dynamics of the process and variability of structure within a single family (Čapo Žmegač 1996:185) and many informal practices within families, which do not always strictly adhere to the laws.

Furthermore, when using the concept "cyclical micro-variations" of household, Eugine Hammel has taken into consideration different levels of dynamics (not statics) in the structure of households, even those that are seasonal: "households may have a developmental cycle and that there may also be seasonal variations in their structure"(Hammel 1972:337; cf. Todorova 1986:7–8). The (non-)survival of extended families is influenced by individual and family reasons, practical interests and *subjective* (cf. Stein Erlich 1964:338–340) reasons, apart from social circumstances, that, depending on the period, may have positive or negative effects on the preservation or partition of a particular extended family – such was an example of the world agrarian crisis in the second half of the 19th century (cf. Bićanić 1937; cf. Stein Erlich 1964:334–335).

In one theoretical text on the study of family and kinship, French anthropologist Martine Segalen commented on the trap of simplifying general assumptions about

families in the past, specifying the very importance of the context and circumstances which had different effects on family and household communities, by stating the following: "depending on whether in the focus of research is the family institution in the context of powerful industrialization (…) or protoindustrialization, one obtains a significantly different picture of family relations" (Segalen 1997:35). Similarly, M. Todorova had earlier indicated the importance of a holistic approach to zadruga as "a complex structure and process alike, possessing a number of diverse valencies, such as kinship, property relations, residence, working arrangements, and so forth. Taken in isolation and elaborated as the sole basis of approach, each of these valencies would produce a one-sided definition and description, which would be valid for as many cases as there would be exceptions" (Todorova 1986:8). We find the holistic approach to *zadruga* as a complex structure and process rather important and try to apply it throughout our comparative analysis of particular characteristic features of the zadrugas of the Bunjevci.

Let us now refer to the typology of households from 1972 – one of the most cited and referred to within a large corpus of works in the field of familial and demographic history. It was the one by Peter Laslett from the extensive volume he edited with Richard Wall. In the introductory contribution to this volume, Laslett did not explicitly mention extended families and/or *zadrugas* (unlike Hammel). One can assume that he considered them in the classification and typology, at least because Laslett did conduct research in the territory which is familiar with this institution (Serbia, Belgrade and the neighbouring region) (see: Laslett – Clarke 1972:375–400). Within Laslett's typology, the type of "multiple family household" (1974:36–37), in its extended variant, could correspond to the one of an extended family. Nevertheless, Laslett's typology is oriented towards kinship structure within a household, according to which there are both simple and extended forms of family households (simple family household, extended family household and multiple family household) (ibid., 28–29). However, it does not include the structure of ownership, economic and property relations – and this we find the key differential feature of an extended family (*zadruga)* as opposed to other forms of families and households. Notwithstanding its indisputable importance for the history of family in the European context, Laslett's typology is not sufficiently precise for the purpose of this paper.[8]

[8] Let us briefly mention two earlier critics of Peter Laslett's typology (relevant to our scope of interest). The first one is a critique by Bulgarian ethnologist Maria Todorova, who notices that it is mostly "impossible to identify with one or more proposed family types in Laslett's classification"(Todorova 1986:16) and that Laslett's typology is not "perfectly applicable to the Balkan region"(ibid., 18). She also indicated that the size of household is not sufficient data when it comes to *zadrugas*. Therefore, she proposed shifting the focus on other aspects important for the research, such as "age at marriage, age of birth of first and last child, frequency of remarriage, and many others (Todorova 1986:19). The second one is the critique of a particular simplified classification of European family models into the West and the East (John Hajnal's division between the European and non-European civilizations of Eastern Europe, see Hajnal 1965). Croatian etnologist Jasna Čapo Žmegač critically addressed "the geographic distribution of the different family forms" (Todorova 1986:16) in Laslett's family typology, stating that although Laslett stresses that geographic implications are complex and confusing, and that the whole issue was not researched thoroughly enough, he implies a certain geographic distribution of European family (Laslett 1977:91, 96, 98; according to Čapo Žmegač 1996:181–183).

The zadruga: common law, legal framework and socio-economic context

In a short review of Bogišić's approach to the study of family we have touched on the importance of common law for the organization of the extended family. Certain lawyers and ethnologists view common law as "all written and unwritten norms of social behavior, economic, social and family relations (including moral values), which existed and were developed in traditional rural environments, regulating the internal life of these social communities, notwithstanding the existing legal norms of the country". (Čulinović-Konstantinović 1984:52) One should bear in mind that "tradition ensures continuity of cultural heritage in the course of history. Cultural heritage, yet, exists independently of the system of government, but relatively dependently on social system (feudalism, capitalism, socialism), wherein, with certain delay, it shapes more or less new models of relations and behavior" (Čulinović-Konstantinović 1984:53–54). Alongside the common-law regulation of traditional heritage there are state laws, which were also based, in their origin, on common law and had validated certain common-law norms during a longer period of time in the course of history. In this way, by introducing state laws, legal dualism is fostered. Up to the 19th century, common-law norms affected the process of legislation adjusting the law to national tradition (Čulinović-Konstantinović 1984:55–56). Until and after 1881, Croatian historian Dragutin Pavličević greatly contributed to the research of extended family legislation within the Military Border with his two books on Croatian extended families, in which he offers detailed insight into legislation of extended families in the 19th and the 20th century. The first law on extended families ever was passed within the Basic Law of the Border in 1807. This law was based on the common law which was in force in Croatian territory within the Military Border at the time, and it was the first attempt at standardizing extended family life in general (Pavličević 1989:274). However, after demilitarization of the Military Border, in attempts to legally regulate the extended family issue in civil Croatia, there was a discrepancy between the Civil Law and the extended family (common) law – in all laws passed from 1870 to 1880, especially in respect of property, inheritance and so called women's rights. This resulted in the passage of numerous acts on extended families, which in turn brought about many lawsuits, legal actions and secret partitions, etc. (Pavličević 1989:334–335). Attempts at the legal regulation of extended family relations continued up to 1918. Towards the end of the 19th century, extended families were increasingly contrasted to the general situation in the society. The general tendency towards individual production was becoming more and more evident, which is best illustrated by the statistics on the internal partitions of extended families. Basically, all laws on extended families strove towards the preservation of this type of family system. (cf. Čulinović 1953:166–168.) Ethnologist Gavazzi also pointed to the legal aspect of the continual existence of extended families, stating that "the tradition of living within the extended family, together with shared property in South-Slavic rural parts, persistently survived this long owing to the system of taxation in according to which taxes were collected by the 'chimney smoke', that is, depending on the number of hearths. Thus, normally, in rural families that had parents with already-grown sons who had already married, their grandchildren, and even great-grandchildren, stayed together as a single community, an extended family – all of them around a single ancestral hearth, and these kinds of systems had existed from the early Middle Ages up to the end of Turkish rule in the Balkans" (Gavazzi 1959:11).

However, even though this kind of artificial support facilitated the preservation of extended families, the beginning of the end of the latter should be traced to specific circumstances of the Military Border regime. Militarization of the Military Border in the late 18th century and the early 19th century disrupted the traditional division of labor in patriarchal society; women increasingly started taking up men's jobs, which led to overburdening of the female labor force. A series of years of famine also aggravated the disruption of agricultural production, and in these circumstances mutual assistance within an extended family lessened, all of which paved the way for the final breakdown of extended families. According to these indicators, militarization of the Military Border is one of the causes behind the process of extended family disintegration (cf. Roksandić 1988:100–102; Kaser 1997:164–167). After the mid-19th century, the tendency towards disintegration of the extended family system grew further. The causes of this were seen in external factors (socio-economic circumstances, unsuitable legal regulations) as well as in internal ones. In addition, Karl Kaser, for example, highlighted the difference between socio-ethnic groups in relation to zadrugas in one period of Military Border, its constitutions and dissolution: Vlachs and Bunjevci preferred to live in zadrugas, as opposed to Croats in other regions of the Military Border area (Kaser 1997:196).

Economist and rural sociologist Rudolf Bićanić stated the following: "The disintegration of the extended family is, in a way, 'a long-lasting process' which cannot be analyzed on the basis of a single extended family or a single law, but rather within a general socio-economic context. For this very reason, the causes of the partition of the extended family are demographic, technical, economic, political and cultural, although, in the order of importance, economic and demographic factors come first" (Bićanić 1936:25–28). Furthermore, he reasoned that agrarian and general crisis had led to the intensifying of the process of partition. He provided concrete economic evidence for the crisis and its impact on the disintegration of extended families: higher taxes, retailers entering the rural market with cheap merchandise, the introduction of railways, which accelerated the transportation of goods and utilization of land, industries which provided earning opportunities outside the extended family, the opening of the capitalist market and the lowering of wheat prices. All of this brought about "a demand for change in the methods and intensity of land cultivation, which the old self-sufficient extended family, with its internal structure and organization, could not meet. Disputes and discord, an ambition for separation and reliance on one's own individual property (*osebunjak*) that was supposed to provide additional means of livelihood, appeared within the extended family. Individuals were trying to improve their position by quitting the extended family and adopting the new economic method. Thus, one can conclude that specifically economic reasons in production and consumption were the main triggers of partition and the disintegration of the extended family at the time of crisis in the 70s and 80s of the 19th century." Bićanić also identified the causative connection between the disintegration of extended families and the frequent search for additional earnings – both inside the country and by emigrating abroad, primarily overseas (Bićanić 1936: 25–28).[9] Croatian ethnologist Jadranka Grbić links the causes of emigration with the context of extended families' disintegration following the cancelling of the Military Border:

[9] The most intense emigration from Europe to America occured between 1880s and 1920s. (Cf. Čizmić 1982.)

> "after shared households had disappeared, many small families struggled to make a living on the land that was left to them after the partition. Keeping in mind the lack of investment in development and therefore the slow pace of industrialization throughout the entire territory of Croatia and, in turn, an extremely low employment rate, high taxes and peasant debt – it was natural that many saw their salvation in migration". (Grbić 2006:14)

THE *ZADRUGA* FAMILY LIFE OF THE BUNJEVCI

In the context of the described socio-economic circumstances, wherein the extended family type was disintegrating – or continued existing, which, with the lack of thorough insight into practices of *zadruga* family life i.e. the prominent use of descriptive methods is rather unusual (Kaser 1997:133; Todorova 1986:17), we will now attempt to qualitatively depict particular segments of extended family life within branches of Bunjevci. The economic lives of Bunjevci peoples in both the Primorje/Lika and the Danube area were quite different due to their socio-economic framework. (Cf. Černelić 2005:35–40) Despite the differences, certain forms of the extended family system could be found within both branches of Bunjevci.

Therefore, the comparative approach plays a prominent role in our analysis of the family life of the two Bunjevci branches. The approach is not simple to implement, as ethnographic differences within each of the branches are evident. We will thus illustrate some individual cases to indicate and discuss the peculiarities deriving from the internal and, up to a certain degree, the informal organization of life within a particular family in each of these two Bunjevci branches. On the basis of ethnographic insight into this phenomenon, we will point to tendencies in retaining certain features of co-resistance after the (in)formal partition of the *zadruga*. As revealed by the results of research focusing on their cultural heritage, these tendencies and features can be recognized in both branches. Our aim is to present the Bunjevci *zadrugas* as a process, based on the mentioned theoretical approach inaugurated by Hammel. Our approach is based on ethnographic data concerning individual families. Milovan Gavazzi's idea was also to focus on the research of individual zadruga families, which is applicable in our research as well. Our aim is to reach conclusions by comparing particular features of individual zadruga families in their final phase of existence. Such an approach should result in cognition about the possible existence of many individual variations, which in some aspects have certain common characteristics. Based on these perceptions, our starting point is that the common law was a highly relevant factor in the regulation of zadruga family life, more or less adjusting to legislative rules in a certain period of time and space.

The Primorje/Lika Bunjevci branch

Socio-economic factors, primarily economy-driven emigration, played an important part in the disintegration of extended families in Lika and Primorje as well as in creating specific modes of managing and establishing thus conditioned property relations in particular un-partitioned extended families who managed to survive the general economic crisis.

Therefore, it is necessary to consider that "a family is a social group with an extremely important economic function in rural life" (Rihtman-Auguštin 1984:17). Ethnological research of extended families in this region shows that in such circumstances members of particular extended families tended to address the issue of organization or partition of their familial communities on their own. As a consequence, familial communities either ceased to function internally, or continued to function as an extended family according to an agreement among the members.

The role of the master and the mistress

The master and the mistress have important roles in organization of everyday family life and labor. This is more or less based on age and gender structure, which means that the oldest male member of the family is regularly the master of the family. If he is not alive, the second oldest member takes over the duty. The role of the mistress was important, especially with respect to the female members of the family, but in certain situations her role was even more significant. She conducted and coordinated the women's work and their duties, she herself undertaking some of the basic duties in the household. Such a familial order and the established rights and duties of all the members of the extended family were mostly in line with the acts of the Basic Law of the Border after 1807 – with integral common-law norms according to which the organization of the *zadruga* life is basically structured (Pavličević 1989:274–277). These are the general standards, which may be considered a model of the family administration, but sometimes, in practice, these rules are somewhat different. Older literature makes no mention of any external influences that might disrupt the well-established order of the extended family, while the only mentioned potential internal disturbance of relationships is in terms of determined sanctions against its members, including the *master*, if he does not perform his duties according to the rules and if he disrupts the extended family's order. However, no concrete examples of their actual application are provided (Černelić 2009:313). Research done in the 1980s and in the last few years offers more detailed records of some individual families in the temporal and social context, indicating that the standard order was readjusted to the particular situation that caused some specific modes of conducting the family and common economy. The general principles of the *zadruga* regulations were respected, which was in fact the postulate of its existence and survival, but it was necessary to regulate interrelationships and the organization of life and homestead, adjusting these to particular family circumstances.

Specific circumstances of management, labor distribution and (in)formal partition in the final stage of zadruga existence

Data from earlier literary sources quite often offer a simplified picture of a stable arrangement and order, ideal administration and relationships among members of the *zadruga* families, without providing any information about its functioning when, for example, all male members of the family are absent and work outside the family. In these cases, the regular distribution of labor between male and female members is disturbed. This was the case in the Military Border, when male labor was primarily taken on by women. The evidence of disturbance in the clear distribution between male and female work can, nevertheless, be found in some descriptions of the Military Border circumstances at the end of the 18th century: According to Hacquet's claims, at the

end of the 18th century "poor" Lika women did "all" agricultural work. He especially emphasizes, obviously due to the degree of its difficulty, ploughing with the use of a "plough with no wheels"... "The hardest and the simplest" duties in the extended family homestead are done by the youngest woman (Roksandić 1988:25).

The results of the research on the *zadruga,* carried out in some regions inhabited by the Primorje/Lika Bunjevci in the 1980s and in the first decade if the 21st century will best illustrate the attributes of extended families in the final stage of their existence in the first half of the 20th century. Under normal conditions, the division of labor was based on the standard *zadruga* rules of distribution into male and female work, adapted to specific circumstances within the family, depending on the number of its male and female members. The mistress was responsible for cooking and doing most housework, while other women helped her upon agreement. If there were fewer women in the household, the mistress would take on the rest of the housework which was usually outside her domain. Methods of labor distribution differed among various extended families. The lack of a male labor force largely determined the organization of an extended family and the distribution of work in the final stage of *zadruga* existence. Male members of the family were often absent from the household in order to earn money for the family, especially when the father, as the master of the family, was still alive; in the period of transatlantic emigrations, most intensively from the 1880s to the 1920s, in different regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, Kingdom of Serbia or the Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian Kingdom (named Yugoslavia from 1929) during the period of the state's existence (first half of the 20th century), as well as in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia in the 60s during the wave of labor emigration to West Germany from those rare *zadrugas* that still survived by the second half of the 20th century (Cf. Černelić 2006:41–43; 2009:307, 309–312, 315). In most *zadrugas,* one of the brothers usually stayed in the household after the father died, taking over the management of the family. In many cases, the mistress took over the management, especially during the period when men were absent. Men most often worked as bricklayers (which was a common occupation at that time), but they also did other jobs, such as woodcutting work, road construction, building tunnels, and so on. In these circumstances, the mistress organized the work of both the absent male and female members of the family. She herself did most of the household work: cooking, making bread, collecting eggs (*planinka – mountain woman*), and taking care of children. If she could not handle all the jobs on her own, her daughter or/and the youngest daughter-in-law helped her. Other women worked in the field because men were also absent during the field work season. In the Primorje/Lika Bunjevci branch, the mistress most often took over the managing role after the death of the master, but that duty was often formally assigned to the oldest son, who, if not absent, performed all the work outside the household. In addition to the above, male members of the family in the region of Primorje and Lika frequently migrated to countries overseas from the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th century. This was the most intensive period of migration and the most common reason for the partition of extended families, but this cannot be taken as a general fact. Quite often families did not separate, but simply reorganized managing strategies and homestead activities, adapting them to the specific situation in each family. Recent research in the region of Lika in May 2010 (the local community of Lovinac) indicates that the *zadruga* members who migrated to the United States, Canada or to some South American states were obliged

to support the family financially. They were still considered members of the *zadruga,* keeping the right to legal inheritance in the event of its partition. In contrast to the usual idea that economic migration caused the disintegration of the *zadruga*, the informants claimed that emigration did not contribute to it – on the contrary, the emigrants in fact helped the *zadruga* to become more economically stable. For example, in one *zadruga* from Brušane, a village near Gospić in Lika, after the death of the last master in 1938, his wife conducted the family, even though the oldest son had formally taken over family management. He performed all the work outside the *zadruga* household instead of his mother. At that time, he was the only male member of the household since his younger brother was a transatlantic emigrant. The *zadruga* did not disintegrate at the moment of the master's death, the result of a conscious decision by its members, even though they had earlier considered the possibility of partition. Since the son who worked and lived in the *zadruga* died earlier than his mother (the mistress), the other son came back from abroad in order to help and take care of his mother. In this *zadruga*, as well as in some others in the region of Lika, the disintegration occurred as a natural process caused by specific family circumstances and without formal partition being implemented (like in other settlements in Lika, such as Lovinac and Trnovac) (cf. Černelić 2009:314). Economic migration in different periods of time was certainly an important factor in the partition of the extended family; at the same time, it produced some specific modes of family life within the *zadrugas* that survived the economic crises. After they had been (in)formally divided, certain attributes of the extended family structure were retained as well, having been adjusted to the specific circumstances of a particular family.

These changes contributed to the mistress becoming the central authority of the *zadruga*, and the extended family structure, in appropriate forms, survived up to approximately the mid-20th century, and in certain cases even longer. For example, in two generations of the one family in the village of Smiljansko polje near Gospić, women took over the administration of the *zadruga* because men were absent (cf. Černelić 1999:300, 308; 2009:311, 315). After their father's death, both brothers emigrated to Canada and Argentina, leaving the women alone with children. The husband of the mistress left for Argentina soon after they married. In the meantime, she gave birth to their son and on her husband's first visit home she got pregnant again. Afterwards, he never returned from emigration. The two women did not get on well and disagreed, so the old *zadruga* was divided in 1931 and one woman became the mistress of the newly established *zadruga* with her sons. When her sons married, her older son took over the management of activities outside the *zadrug*a, but the woman remained the mistress, arranging all important matters with regards to family life and economy. This *zadruga* survived all the way up to the 1990s. Her sons left in the late 1960s for temporary employment in West Germany, which was common in former Yugoslavia at that time, thus contributing to the better economic prosperity of the family. Before they left, and after they came back, they had worked in the field together with the women as well as attending to other additional work outside the *zadruga*. The mistress's duty was cooking and taking the food to the field during seasonal fieldwork in addition to doing other housework, except laundry. At the time of the research (1981), the mistress's only duty was to deliver and sell milk, but she was not obliged to do anything else unless she wanted to. Her daughters-in-law took over the cooking and other activities in the household, deciding how to share duties together. The distribution of work was no longer as strict as before (cf. Černelić 2009:311, 315.).

The narration of an informant from the nearby village of Trnovac near Gospić, provides an interesting perspective on the *zadruga* in its final stage of existence: one male member of the *zadruga* usually worked in the field, others would work in the woods, factories or in the United States, providing the family with a certain portion of their earnings, which was regulated according to their income levels. Each member of the *zadruga* could only have claimed his part of the inheritance if he had contributed to the *zadruga* for thirty years. If he had ceased to provide financial support, he lost the right to his part of the family heritage (Černelić 2009:309).

Examples of transitional forms, from extended to nuclear family (gradual partition)
In some extended families of the Primorje Bunjevci in the region of Krivi Put, members of the divided *zadrugas* lived for two or three years in the same place, even after the formal partition (achieved via agreement without legal procedure), making common use of the former *zadruga* tools where appropriate, even working interchangeably on plots in the field that were not yet divided. Some of them remained living in the same place afterwards as they could not afford to establish new households on their own, forced to share the former common house due to economic reasons, but cooking and working separately, even though they would also rather live separately. This transitional form of living might be defined as a temporary co-residence of two or more nuclear families (Černelić 2006:52). Even in the examples of extended families in Lika mentioned above, there was no formal partition in their final stage. Instead, they survived due to their tendency of preserving certain aspects of *zadruga* life for the purpose of easier management in harsh economic conditions, which triggered overseas emigrations and led to the later disintegration of the family as part of a natural process and in accordance with specific family circumstances. There is a similar type of familial co-existence in the same location, the difference being that there are neither *zadrugas* nor any transitional forms between an extended and a nuclear family. In this case, two brothers live in their parents' house due to financial constraints, each with his own family, but according to the principle of two individual households, without shared work and economy, both seeking to set up (autonomous) homesteads of their own as soon as an opportunity arises for either of them (cf. Rubić – Birt 2009:50–52). This type of household may correspond to Laslett's term "houseful", which "may contain several households" (Goody 1972:105). According to Laslett's definition, common location is the most important criterion when discussing "domestic group" (Laslett 1972:36). In those terms, the co-residence of two or more nuclear kin families may represent a "domestic group." The aforementioned examples of family structures occurring during the transition from extended family to a nuclear one make for the same or a similar type of a familial community, but formed under different circumstances.

The Danube area Bunjevci branch

Although external factors which influenced the existence of particular *zadrugas* within the Primorje/Lika Bunjevci differ as compared to the Danube area Bunjevci, the latter branch of Bunjevci also tended to preserve *zadrugas* in conditions when this family system was disintegrating, both in their own environment and in a wider social context.

Proving specific examples, we will attempt to indicate different modes of preserving the *zadruga* system in its final stage of existence in the Danube area as well.

The role of the master and the mistress

The rules concerning the duties of the master and the mistress are more or less the same as those of the Primorje/Lika Bunjevci branch. According to a general rule, the oldest son became his father's successor. Nevertheless, in some cases, his wife, the mistress, took over the managing role in the *zadruga.* Most often, however, it was the oldest son - or the most capable one – who took over duties which the master had performed and in this way became the mistress' deputy (Černelić 2006:143). In some cases, when the master was not alive any more, the brothers mastered together by agreement (Černelić 2011:199).

Specific forms of management and division of labour in the final stage of zadruga existence

The mode of conducting the *zadruga* among the Danube area Bunjevci ethnic group is specific in some aspects. Sometimes the master and the mistress lived in the city – apart from the other members of the family. The sons were obliged to give parents a certain portion of the common income (*komencija*). The master supervised the work of the family members and he disposed of the property, but his oldest son governed the current work, and, in agreement with his brothers, decided what work was to be done. This way of *zadrug*a administration is special due to the separate living arrangements described above and entails a kind of parallel seniority. As a rule, sons worked in the field and the father monitored their work and disposed of money and property (Černelić 2006:146; 2010:112, 125–126). For instance, in one extended family near the town of Sombor, despite his father's authority and management, the oldest son took care of some of his tasks, such as trade and dealings with authorities, which meant that even after his father's death he kept performing the same duties while, in a formal sense, it was his mother who actually took the control of the *zadruga*. In some extended families (one in Tavankut, near Subotica), members did not live under one roof because of their sheer numbers; they moved to different farms (*salaš*), but retained the practice of common economy and ownership (Černelić 2006:146).

Although the distribution of labor, especially the kind performed by women within the Primorje/Lika Bunjevci *zadruga,* was not given detailed consideration in this paper, on the basis of the insight into the final stage of its existence, one can note certain similarities. As opposed to the Primorje/Lika Bunjevci branch, men of the Danube branch most often worked within the *zadruga,* but similarly, women took over their duties if some of the men were absent for any reason. Areas inhabited by the Danube region Bunjevci are rich in fertile soil, and there was therefore no need to earn a living outside the extended family circle. Nonetheless, in some cases certain male family members did other jobs, earning money outside the *zadruga* and in this way contributing to the community. Regional modalities of female labor distribution among the Danube area Bunjevci in southern Hungary varied; the duty of the mistress is to cook and do most of the work in the household; other women help her upon agreement; the mistress cooks and makes the bread and other women assist her when necessary (one *zadruga* in Kaćmar). In one *zadruga*, in the village of Čavolj, the mistress was cooking and one of her daughters-in-law was processing the milk products while the other one had no

specific duties except working in the field instead of her husband, who was working outside the *zadruga* as a craftsman. A specific modality is confirmed among the regional group of the Danube area Bunjevci near Budapest in Hungary: the mistress cooked, and her daughters-in-law consecutively changed subsidiary tasks. In most *zadrugas* in the region of Bačka in Serbia as well as in some in southern Hungary, women alternated every week in performing household work, primarily in cooking, but their other duties were variously arranged from *zadruga* to *zadruga* (the so called *reduša)* (Černelić 2006:144–145). In some extended families (for example on a farm in Đurđin) one woman was especially chosen to take care of poultry – named *stanarica – the (in) dweller*; in some other *zadrugas,* the name denoted a woman whose duty was to process milk products (Černelić 2006; 2010:126–127). Even within the Danube area Bunjevci branch, these variations in the distribution of labour among women were adjusted to the living circumstances of the *zadruga* in its final stage, when life and work organization took on specific forms adapted to the relations and circumstances of the given family.

Examples of co-existence among family members after internal zadruga partition

Life in the *zadruga* in its final stage among the regional Danube area Bunjevci grouping in southern Hungary had specific aspects. All family members were living together for a certain period of time, but they worked separately; in some families they cooked together awhile, and sometimes they worked separately, but organization was the same as when they functioned as a *zadruga*; if the father was alive, the sons worked for him to earn money for food and clothing. In some cases, the master provided them with food for a year in order to enable them to gradually prepare themselves for independent living, and even when they were completely separated, they still continued to help each other (Černelić 2006:146–147). In some *zadrugas* of the Danube area Bunjevci in Serbia (Subotica), the master tried to prevent the partition by persuading his sons to stay together. Even if the extended family had been divided internally (not legally), the land was still common property, even though members of the family used it separately (according to internal agreement) (Černelić 2006:148–149). In case of partition, sons were obliged to provide common income (*komencija*) in order to financially support their parents, or parents stayed with the family of one of their sons, who took care of them and would, as a rule, consequently inherit a larger portion of the family property. A tendency towards internal land distribution among the members of the extended family was prominent even before the actual partition of Bunjevci *zadrugas* in southern Hungary. These kinds of extended families were gradually partitioned and one can say they died out naturally, as in the example of one *zadruga* in Gara (southern Hungary), wherein, after their father's death, two out of four brothers stayed with their mother, each of them in his own part of the house, and each family cultivated their parts of the land separately. They cooked together, and after the mother's death, they retained their living arrangements, but started cooking separately (Černelić 2006:149, 146). Further examples among Bunjevci in southern Hungary will illustrate additional modes of co-existence in the final stage of *zadruga* life or after the internal partition. In one extended family in Aljmaš, two brothers had their own farm buildings and worked separately, but the organization of labor was very similar to the one from the times of common economy. Each brother provided an even portion of the common income to the parents and their unmarried sister. They cooked together and equally invested in the kitchen. After each brother started taking care of his own family,

they became somewhat like tenant farmers (*arendaši*) on their own parents' property. One extended family in Čavolj had a similar situation. Two brothers worked together for their father for food and clothing. Even before partition, the father had decided that they were going to be dependent on him (*live by his bread*) for a year in order to prepare themselves for standalone living. During this period each of the sons, with his family, had a separate room and his own farm buildings. They worked according to the father's demands, one in the field and the other as a bricklayer outside the household. The latter's wife worked in the field instead of him, and the earnings from his craft went to their nuclear family. In 1927, when the brothers launched their own independent households (*ošli obaška na kruv*, meaning that they were not using the same bread any more), the son who worked in the field continued doing the same for his father for a half (*na polak*), and thus the yield was divided into equal portions. The other brother, apart from doing the bricklayer's job, took some land on lease, which was cultivated by his brother, for which he compensated by hilling up or offering his bricklaying services to his brother as needed. The land was still cultivated through the use of the old common *zadruga* tools. This kind of relationship between brothers was kept after the father's death. There are other similar examples of specific family relations adjusted to a particular situation, which indicate certain modes of *zadruga* management and the relations among the members of the family who were living together for a period of time after the internal partition, taking care of parents, helping each other and working together, although property relations changed after particular nuclear families within the former extended families had become independent (Černelić 2006:146–147). There are also examples in the extended families within Bunjevci branch in Bačka, in Serbia, near Subotica (one *zadruga* from Žednik), wherein land was already divided some time before the formal breakdown of the *zadruga* following the departure of one son from the extended family. The remaining members of the extended family lived and worked together for the next ten years (Černelić 2006:148).

These cases reflect specific modes of co-residence in two nuclear families, representing a specific type of family with its subtypes as transitional forms in the process of transforming from an extended family to a nuclear one, in circumstances of gradual *zadruga* disintegration.

FINAL REMARKS

Our research has shown that the general principles of family life and structure were regulated by the provisions of the Military Border law in 1807. However, the interrelationships and organization of life and economy in a particular household were adjusted to the living circumstances of the given. Therefore, we have illustrated specific variations of the role of the mistress after taking over for the master of the *zadruga*, which was especially characteristic of the final stage of its existence, because most likely some family members persisted in maintaining the principles of *zadruga* rule, even after it had broken apart. The roles of the master and the mistress were more or less the same in both Bunjevci branches. The mistress often took over the management of the *zadruga* in the event that the master died or became seriously ill. In some of these *zadrugas,* she also shared this role with her eldest son, or with another one who was more capable of performing the duty. In a certain sense, that son acted as her assistant or deputy in matters of administration.

The varied forms of female work distribution among the Danube area Bunjevci indicate that some types of labor distribution were similar to those of the Primorje/Lika area Bunjevci (which can be characterized as Dinaric type of female work distribution in extended families), while the periodic alternation of certain duties, a specific form known among some regional groups of the Danube area Bunjevci, is characteristic of the Pannonian area. Nevertheless, specific subtypes in the distribution of female labor (when the mistress has fixed duties while her daughters-in law help her with some tasks, which are often not entirely specified) could also be found in certain regions of western Hercegovina, southern Dalmatia and Montenegro (cf. Andrić 1972; Černelić 2006:149–150). These features can be characterized as typical of the Bunjevci population in different regions, wherein they exist or existed in the past, despite various historical and socio-economic factors that influenced the formation of *zadrugas* over the course of history.

Differences concerning the way extended families were partitioned as well as the efforts to preserve them, or at least to retain certain features of *zadruga* life in the transitional period of its transformation to the nuclear family, characterize both branches of the Bunjevci subethnic group, regardless of how many variations there may be on a formal level. Initial research in 2011 among the third Bunjevci branch in Dalmatia indicated that the same tendencies survived in the region of Bukovica even longer, up to the last decade of the 20th century. An interesting aspect is the preservation of the *zadruga* lifestyle in spite of the fact that members of the younger lived separately and earned a living outside the family, mostly by leaving for Germany for temporary work. Forms of cooperative existence adapted to a specific situation have remained in some families for longer or shorter periods of time as late as the 1990s (cf. Birt – Černelić 2014).

The specific transitional forms observed in the transformation of the *zadruga* to nuclear families may also partly be a result of the absence of proper legal procedure concerning extended families after the disintegration of the Military Border. The law after 1889 and the *zadruga* amendment after 1902 were not changed in the first four decades of the 20th century (Pavličević 2010:141). An interesting perspective was given by Dragutin Tončić, a lawyer who had been dealing with the issue of the extended family for years as a high government official in Croatia-Slavonia by 1918 and later as an advisor to the civil governor (*ban*) in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenians, when he wrote a book on this subject. Tončić was an advocate of preserving the *zadruga* as an institution for as long as economic and socio-political conditions allowed for it. Thus, he concluded the preface of his book in 1925 by stating that "the importance of the *zadruga* is still up-to-date" and that "no matter how much we speak of their survival, it is indisputable that the number of extended families, at least those consisting of a single family, has significantly increased lately, and the familial and household *zadruga* still continues to indicate our folk individuality and the life force of our peasants" (Tončić 1925:5, acc. to Pavličević 2010:141–142).[10] In accordance with the decision made by

[10] This article does not allow space for a further analysis of the legal aspects of extended families in the 20th century, although it is of crucial importance in understanding this type of family life in general and the influence of various factors that brought about its disintegration. Detailed information on the legal regulation of *zadrugas* by the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century was offered by Croatian historian Dragutin Pavličević in his second book published in 2010, which was dedicated to the issue of the *zadruga*.

the AVNOJ (Anti-Fascist Council for the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia) in Jajce, in 1943, Yugoslav and Croatian communists repealed all pre-war laws, including the former civil laws which were in conflict the new political system of the newly formed country (cf. Pavličević 2010:241). In this way, the issue of the *zadruga*, along with the problem how to legally treat extended families as kinship communities, was not resolved due to the emergence of a legal vacuum. Tackling these problems came under court jurisdiction in 1947, but not without with some difficulties because in legal terms the singularities of the *zadruga* deviated from civil law norms. Lawyers finally adopted the attitude that the *zadruga* is, after all, "a property community sui generis with a pronounced familial element." In court practice, old acts which had been revoked were also used with regard to partition since regulating secretly partitioned extended families posed a particular problem. However, no special regulations or laws on the *zadruga* were passed (Pavličević 2010:242). In the socio-political atmosphere of the socialist period, the extended family was also seen as an undesirable community because the aim of the new society was to abolish common property. It was thus proclaimed that *zadrugas* were inhibitors of socialist development, and so all legal means were made available in order to decimate the *zadruga* community (Pavličević 2010:250–251). Despite pressure from socialist authorities, particular extended families managed to survive in some other parts of Croatia as well, and not only in those inhabited by Bunjevci (cf. Pavličević 2010:252–258). The fact remains that within this "legal chaos", in practice, unwritten common law played an important part in the final legal resolution of the *zadruga* issue since former members of extended families tackled all the complex questions by means of internal agreement. The last surviving extended families in all three Bunjevci branches can serve as a good example of this. Nevertheless, we also need to stress the importance of ethnological research on the *zadruga*, conducted in the territories of Croatia and South-Eastern Europe. Therefore, proper partitioning – either by legal means or by agreement – is often not realized and the extended families in question mostly disappear as a result of a natural process of disintegration in the first half of the 20th century, and in some cases even later, depending on individual circumstances as well as the prevalent socio-economic factors. As far as the subethnic group of Bunjevci is concerned, it is interesting to point out that these tendencies could be traced to certain regions of Hercegovina and the Dalmatian hinterland in the south-eastern Dinaric area, from which the Bunjevci originate. Common features of extended family life, in spite of their numerous variations, seem to be relevant traces which could result in a new understanding of the ethno-cultural formation of the Bunjevci ethnic group as well as a source of important facts about structure and life in the extended families of South-Eastern Europe. Some inherited features that characterized the extended family life of all three branches of Bunjevci survived, most likely as expression of common law and despite the strong influence of historical, socio-political, ecological and economic factors on Bunjevci family structure in the final stage of the existence of the *zadruga*.

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Conflict between Traditional and Modern Muslim Practices

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Abstract: One of the modernization conflicts of Kyrgyz and Kazak society is discussed in this article. It is the conflict between traditional religious activities, post-Soviet Islamic revival and fundamentalism. The Islamization process in Central Asia started during the Mongol Era (13th–16th centuries). The nomadic population was also influenced by Sufi tradition in Central Asia that goes back to the 12th century, but it was labeled as shamanism during Soviet times. After the democratic changes and the declaration of religious freedom, some elements of this 1000-year-old tradition have been revived or revitalized. But the so-called official Islam, sponsored by Arabic states, has turned against the popular version of Islam by using the Soviet label of shamanic tradition. In reality, people practicing these traditions are devoted Muslims, they consider them to be pure Islamic traditions. But nationalist or ethnic religious movements, as well as urban esoteric practices, also incorporate elements of this tradition to legitimize their activities. This creates a very complex situation and a growing hostility between fundamentalist and traditional religious groups.
Keywords: popular Islam, vernacular Islam, Sufism, fundamentalism, shamanism, nationalism, neo-paganism

The spread of Muslim Fundamentalism in Central Asia is a well-known fact. Many aspects of this have been studied in the western media: its political and security consequences, its conflicts with the secular states, and its influence on post-Soviet society. In this study, I would like to examine a less known phenomenon: post-Soviet Islamization and its conflicts with traditional (popular) Muslim practices. Post-Soviet Islamization attacks practices, traditions that are common among the societies of rural areas and village (*aul*) communities. The traditional practices and ideas have not really changed during the seventy-year Soviet rule (1920–1991), but twenty years after the end of anti-religious ideology, fundamentalist movements that define themselves as "official" Islam once again attack these traditions, although "popular" Islam has a legacy of 1000 years in Central Asia.[1]

[1] Islam first spread to Central Asia in the 8th century, after the battle in the Talas Valley (751), when the troops of the Abbasid Arab Caliphate defeated the Chinese Tang Dynasty. This battle led to the Islamization of the flourishing Soghd culture and the dominance of Farsi (Persian) language among

SOVIET TIMES

During Soviet times, religious life changed dramatically in Central Asia. Popular religious traditions were prosecuted along with the official Islam. Soviet ethnology tried to prove that popular Islam originated from the remnants of "shamanic" (pre-Islamic) beliefs (Bayalieva 1972:3–10; Basilov 1992:10).

Some Western anthropologists try to avoid the terms of "shaman" and "shamanism" regarding Central Asian Muslims, but the term "healer" suggested by them (Bellér-Hann 2004; Kehl-Bodrogi 2006) is similarly inappropriate. The *bakšï*-type[2] specialists do not limit themselves to healing. Their major task is to communicate with spirits (Divaev 1899:310) and to find out the will of God. During Soviet times younger generations turned away from religion due to communist ideology. Only small circles of rural societies practiced religious traditions secretly. After the collapse of the Soviet regime, both official Islam and folk traditions started to revive.

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The healthcare system founded during Soviet times was in disarray or became really expensive lately in many parts of the region. There are more and more communities, especially in rural areas, seeking the help of the spirits to heal and to mediate their wishes to Allah. But this is not some kind of neo-pagan or neo-shamanic movement. This is the revival of the Muslim folk traditions based on a 1000-year-old Muslim legacy in Central Asia, and it has very few pre-Islamic elements. After the collapse of the Soviet system, local Muslim organizations received assistance from abroad, mainly from Arabia, and many *mollas* or higher clerics (*imam* and *mufti*) were educated in Arabic *medrese* schools. Of course, Arabic religious ideology rejects popular Muslim traditions, which was strengthened by Soviet scholarship that interpreted Muslim folk traditions as "shamanism in the disguise of Islam" (Bayalieva 1972:10). New religious leaders often came from the ranks of former communists, who after the downfall of their party tried to gain status in society through religion. These people, who were educated according to the exclusive ideology of communism, have no tolerance whatsoever towards reviving Muslim folk traditions.

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the local Iranian people (Tajiks). Later Tajiks themselves founded a Muslim state ruled by the Samanid dynasty (819–999). Due to Samanid influence, Karluk Turks were also converted to Islam in 934. Their leader Satuk Bughra-khan (Golden 1992:214) founded the Karakhanid dynasty that conquered the Samanid state, too. Meanwhile, Oghuz Turkic tribes of the Syr-darya migrated to the territory of Khorazm and one of their leaders, Salchuk beg (Golden 1992:218) also converted to Islam in 985. Salchukid Oghuz (Turkmens) later also occupied Iran, Azerbaijan and Anatolia, and a great number of Turkmen tribes migrated to these regions.

[2] For the Kazak and Kyrgyz terms I used the philological transliteration of Turkology while for names I used the popular English transliteration.

FIELDWORK EXPERIENCE

Figure 1. Chachikei during a healing session in her house (*dem saluu*) using her magic tools (knife, rosary and whip), Talas Valley, Kyrgyzstan, 2008. (Photo by Dávid Somfai Kara)

I have been collecting folklore among the Kazak[3] and Kyrgyz since 1994. I was an MA student of Turkic philology when I started fieldwork, but my research focus soon became the folklore of Central Asian Turks in the post-Soviet era. I have spent more than two years in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan mastering the languages so that I could become fluent to collect folklore without an interpreter. This enabled me to travel freely and live in various rural communities (nomadic and settled) in the former Soviet republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Eastern Turkestan (Xinjiang, China). I mainly collected oral literature (folk songs and epic tradition) and only a few examples of religious folklore (together with József Torma and László Kunkovács) (Somfai 2004; 2005; 2006b, 2008b). But I have soon recognized the strong link between oral literature, religious folklore and spirituality. After 2003, I started working at the Institute of Ethnography, where I concentrated on religious and spiritual folklore (including the so-called cultural phenomenon of *shamanism*). Having defended my PhD thesis in Altaic linguistics entitled *Vocabulary of Religious Folklore* in 2006 (Somfai 2006a), I decided to commence a long-term fieldwork among the Kazak and Kyrgyz, where I had the chance to live with local spiritual leaders and religious specialists. This enabled me to witness many aspects of their lives, their social network in the course of their religious and social activities. I participated in rituals, healing, and sometimes heard conversations within their circles and family that would have been impossible through short visits and interviews. My fieldwork in Kyrgyzstan was sponsored by the Hungarian State's Eötvös Scholarship (Budapest), while my fieldwork in Kazakhstan was sponsored by the International Turkic Academy (Astana).

Between 2008 and 2009, I spent several weeks in a small Kyrgyz village in the Talas Valley, and I had the opportunity to gain insight into the lives of several religious specialists. Talas Valley is a famous pilgrimage destination. An ancient Karakhanid tomb is situated there that local people believe to be the tomb of Manas, their legendary epic hero. They often come here to pray to God and venerate the spirit of Manas. In Kyrgyzstan, where there are few holy places and tombs, the nomads also venerate features of nature (springs, lonely trees, rocks) as *mazar*s (holy tombs). They believe that spirits of saints can possess them (Kyrgyz *eesi bar*, Kazak *kiyesi bar,* "it has a possessor/master", see also Somfai 2008a).

[3] I use the proper form Kazak (Qazaq) instead of the Russian form Kazakh, which was introduced during the Soviet times to differentiate it from the Cossack whose Russian name is identical.

Figure 2. Chachikei and the keeper (*shaikh*) of Nyldy-ata *mazar* perform a Muslim prayer (*dua*) inside a cave of the sacred sight (*mazar*), Talas Valley, Kyrgyzstan, 2008. (Photo by Dávid Somfai Kara)

One of my most important informants was 70-year-old Chachikei who was considered a clairvoyant (Kyrgyz *közü-ačïk* or *körögöč*, Kazak *köripker*) in her village. She received her *ayan* (vision) in her youth, just like other religious specialists. A spirit appeared to her by a tall plane tree (*čïnar-terek*) in the flood-basin of the Talas River. Chachikei started visiting sacred places of the region in Soviet times, where they secretly held rituals too (Kyrgyz *zikir* or *jar* invocations with *šam-jagū,* "lighting candles"). In those times, local police harassed them if they wanted to spend the night at sacred places to keep vigil and pray. Nowadays, Chachikei can freely conduct healing rituals (*dem salū*) using knives, whips and axes to chase away the evil forces (*jin-peri*). She is a very religious person: she performs the Muslim prayer (*namaz*) five times a day, and her dream is to do the holy pilgrimage (Arabic *hajj*) to Mecca. But the local Muslim teacher (*molla*), who was a member of the communist party during Soviet times, openly criticized her in the community for her rituals and healing activities. I also witnessed that during the Qurban Muslim holiday[4] he spoke out in public against Chachikei's religious activity. But the prestige of Chachikei was stronger because her rituals and healings were well accepted by the local community, while the *molla* was known as a former communist. I also visited sacred places (*mazar*) with Chachikei, where besides spirit-invoking rituals she performed Muslim prayers. She always emphasized that these rituals are part of "being Muslim" (*musulmančïlïk*). The spirits and sacred places are only the manifestation of God's almighty power (Arabic *qudrat*), and they are mediators towards Allah. In her activity, religious identity plays the most important part.

Other religious specialists in the region do not emphasize the Muslim character of their rituals and often put the spirit of Manas, the epic hero in the center. This brings an ethnic element to religious rituals since Manas is an important part of their ethnic identity. Near the so-called tomb of Manas, they built a sacrificial place (*tülöö-kana*) where people perform sacrifices and rituals to venerate the spirit of Manas and other ancestors. These religious movements in the post-Soviet era, which emphasize the ethnic elements in their religious traditions, introduced the notion of *kïrgïzčïlïk,* "being Kyrgyz" (Aytpaeva 2007:507), replacing the former term *musulmančïlïk*. Religious identity is being replaced by ethnic identity. The problem is that religious traditions are more or less common to all the Turkic ethnic groups (Kazak, Karakalpak, Uzbek, Uyghur, etc.), and ethnic peculiarities are scarce.

[4] In the Qurban "sacrifice" holiday, the Muslims commemorate that the prophet Ibrahim (Abraham) performed his first sacrifice to Allah.

Figure 3. Chachikei and the keeper (*shaikh*) of Nyldy-ata *mazar* perform a spirit invoking chant (*zikr*) near the Köz-bulak (Eye Spring) sacred sight accompanied by local pilgrims, Nyldy-ata, Talas Valley, Kyrgyzstan, 2008. (Photo by Dávid Somfai Kara)

The representatives of official Islam consider these rituals pagan (*kaapïr*) because sacrifice (*qurban*) can only be performed to God and prayers should be addressed directly to Allah. Many religious specialists defend themselves that they only worship God, and spirits are chosen by Allah to be his mediators towards human beings. Spirit-invoking rituals (*zikir* and *jar*)[5] originate from Sufi tradition and have a 1000-year-old legacy in Central Asia.[6] These traditions were practiced mostly by Sufi *derwishes* or wandering *dewanas* (Kyrgyz *dubana/dumana*, Kazak *diywana*). In the Talas Valley I met such a *dewana* who used to travel from village to village with his magic staff (*asa-tayak* or *asa-musa*) to chase away evil powers (*jin-peri*). He distanced himself from spirit-invoking rituals and emphasized that he was the descendent of an old *derwish* family. Traditions are getting mixed nowadays, so more and more *bakšï* and *bübü* (female religious specialists, from Persian *bibi*) start using magic staffs during their rituals. Chachikei was also taking part actively in the local religious events at the beginning of the revival,

[5] The word *jar* comes from the Arabic expression *dhikr bi-l-jahr,* meaning "loud *dhikr*."

[6] Along the Syr-darya: Otrar, Taraz, Aspijab (Sairam) and Yasi became important cultural and religious centers between the 10th–12th centuries. Near Otrar lived the legendary Arslan baba Sufi *sheikh* who initiated Khoja Ahmad (1093–1166) to the mystic knowledge of Sufism. Later Khoja Ahmad (Hazrat-i Turkistan) moved to the town of Yasi (Mélikoff 1987:83) and founded his Sufi order (*tariqa-i yasawiya*). Due to the Mongol invasion (13th century), these towns of the Silk Road were ruined. In the 14th century nomadic Turkic and Turkicized Mongolic tribes became Muslims after the legendary Baba Tülkes *awliya* had converted Özbek khan (1313–1341) to Islam (DeWeese 1994:323). Khoja Ahmad's tomb in Yasi became a famous place of pilgrimage (*ziyarat*), and at the end of 14th century Temür Amir (1370–1405) ordered the construction of the Hazrat-i-Turkistan mosque.

but soon conflicts developed between the different religious specialists. We could call it a fight for prestige. For this reason specialists often accuse each other of possessing black magic and witchcraft that they use to curse people (*ters duba*), and of having connections with evil forces (*jin-šaytan*). The "black" and "white" *bakšï-bübü* categories have been invented to exclude each other from certain communities. Chachikei also accuses the people who conduct rituals at the *tülöö-kana* of using black magic, and during my visit she did not want to take part in their rituals. One of the reasons behind this, of course, is the ongoing battle between representatives of the official Islam and the folk religious specialists. Many people, especially members of older generations, do not want to have conflict with Muslim clerics, since they are also faithful believers. They choose to exclude themselves from some communities so that they are not accused of paganism. Instead, they accuse those circles of using black magic, although specialists with religious or ethnic identity practice very similar rituals. The traditional *bakšï-bübü* term is also becoming pejorative for some people, as they believe it is equal to a shaman or pagan priest. A religious specialist form Manjili-Ata by the Ysyk-Köl would rather call herself "soul-healer" (*ruh-tabïp*), a term that was invented recently. I have experienced the same behavior among other specialists; condemnation of the representatives of "official" Islam causes them to reject traditional categories.

Between 2012 and 2013, I also spent several weeks in Southern Kazakhstan along the Syr-darya. It is a sacred river often mentioned in the songs of Kazak and Kyrgyz *bakšï* (Somfai 2007:58) because all the major pilgrimage sites are situated in this area (Türkistan,[7] Sayram, Otral, Taraz, etc.).

I lived with the epic storyteller Bolatbek in the town of Ken-taw (37 km north of the famous town of Türkistan). He turned out to be a spiritual leader not only in the Türkistan region but also in his native Kazaly district (Kyzyl-Orda) between the Syr-darya and Aral Lake (Aral Kara-kum Desert). I recorded his life history and how he became an epic storyteller in an interview. Although he came from a nomadic family of the desert, he started working at the school in the mining and industrial town of Ken-taw. During Soviet times, Kazaks were also introduced to vodka drinking by the communist officials. When Bolatbek got sick from drinking vodka, he attended the ritual of an ethnic Uzbek spiritual leader from the city of Türkistan (Kazakhstan) who diagnosed a spiritual disease (caused by the so-called *arwah* spirits). When his eyes were opened up to the spiritual world, his spirits first ordered him to become an epic storyteller (*arkalï jïraw*).[8] Since epic storytelling became almost extinct in Kazakhstan during the Soviet times, Bolatbek started traveling to remote nomadic villages and nomadic camps (*awïl*) around the Aral Lake (Karakalpak Republic of Uzbekistan)[9] to people who still appreciated his repertoire of epic singing. Sometimes he performed these songs for several days accompanied by the two-stringed *dombra* instrument. Interestingly, the Kazaks do not have an epic story that is considered the national or ethnic saga of the Kazaks, like the

[7] Türkistan is the official name of the former town Yasi along the Syr-darya River in Kazakhstan, named after Ahmad Yasawi who is also known as Hazrat-i Turkistān.

[8] The word *arqalï* means "with backing [of the spirits]," which indicates that he is initiated and assisted by spirits to be able to perform long epic stories.

[9] The Karakalpak Republic is an autonomous region of Uzbekistan inhabited by ethnic Kazaks and Karakalpaks closely related to them.

Figure 4-5. Bolatbek epic story-teller (*jïraw*) is performing an epic song from the Nogai epic cycle of Forty Heroes of Crimea accompanied by his *dombra* instrument in the felt-house by the table, Aral Karakum, Kazakhstan, 2013. (Photo by Dávid Somfai Kara)

Figure 6. Bolatbek gives his blessing (*bata*) to his disciple who is praying with her magic shovel that she uses during the ritual after they heat it up by the fire, Aral Karakum, Kazakhstan, 2013. (Photo by Dávid Somfai Kara)

Kyrgyz have the Manas. For this reason epic tradition was never used by the state or by post-Soviet cultural movements to strengthen their national or ethnic identity. The epic cycle performed by Bolatbek actually has its roots in the Nogai Horde (1440–1634) whose eastern tribes later joined the Kazak Lesser Horde (Kishi Jüz).

Later his spirits also initiated him as a fortune-teller (*köripker*) and a spirit mediator (*baksï*). Today, Bolatbek no longer performs spirit-invoking rituals (*zikir*), and his epic storytelling is only requested by some repatriated Kazaks from Afghanistan.[10] But during

[10] A sizable population of Kazaks (around 10,000) escaped to Iran and Afghanistan from the Soviet rule and the Great Famine (1932–33), when close to two million people died in the region. Half of the Kazaks in Iran and Afghanistan have returned to their homeland after 1992.

Figure 7. One of the disciples of Bolatbek performs the swan-dance during a spirit invoking ritual in a felt-house or *yurta*, Aral Karakum, Kazakhstan, 2013. (Photo by Dávid Somfai Kara)

Figure 8. The same disciple is licking a hot shovel to frighten the evil spirits (*jïn*) who cause illness and misfortune to the people, Aral Karakum, Kazakhstan, 2013. (Photo by Dávid Somfai Kara)

his active years he initiated four women, who were suffering from mental illnesses, to become spirit mediators. He also taught them how to perform rituals and the ritual dances. One of them was healing with a knife and another was even able to lick a hot shovel "to frighten the demons away," accompanied by a peculiar dance of the "swan spirit" (Somfai 2010).[11] These women started doing their activities on their own, but lately some of them are being prosecuted for illegal healing and witchcraft, due to the influence of the fundamentalist movement in the region by bribing the local officials to persecute traditional spirituality. When I attended their rituals, they were holding it secretly in a remote nomadic camp and asked me if I could get them international certificates to legalize their activities. Bolatbek sometimes still performs fortune-telling, even by communicating through his mobile phone. However, the tension was sensible around him due to the fundamentalist movement which he condemns. He accused one of his own sons who visited him during my stay that he had become a Wahhabi follower, which his son strongly denied.

[11] The Swan Spirit is a *peri* spirit that, according to some legends, turned into a woman and gave birth to the legendary forefather of the powerful Mangghit tribe who ruled the Nogai Horde (1440–1634) and Bukhara (1753–1920).

URBANIZED SPIRITUALITY

Urbanized spirituality in post-Soviet times (Russian *ektrosens*) became really popular in the towns of the former Soviet republics, including Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. Besides Russian and Oriental methods, this urbanized healing practice incorporated many local healing methods from folk medicine (Grzywacz 2010). But we have to be very careful when describing these healing methods; we cannot mix them up with the traditional religious beliefs and healing rituals. We should also avoid defining these healing methods as urbanized or neo-shamanistic. These urban healers often want to legitimize their healing activity by religious traditions and folk belief while they incorporate many foreign elements in their methods. Of course their activity also irritates the representatives of "official" Islam, who do not even try to differentiate urban esoteric healing from traditional folk medicine. Urban intelligentsia also has mixed feelings about these urbanized traditions. Most of them consider these folk healing methods merely as superstition (*ïrïm*).

At the same time, the Kyrgyz accept religious beliefs connected to Manas as part of their ethnic identity. Some of them accept that epic storytellers can be initiated by spirits but reject such initiation in the case of religious specialists or healers. The same opinion cannot be observed among the Kazaks, who lack the so-called "ethnic" epic tradition, and beliefs related to epic storytelling have also been forgotten. The urban intelligentsia with fundamental Muslim views rejects any kind of initiation by spirits.

FUNDAMENTALIST ISLAM

Muslim clerics educated in Arabic countries, often by fundamentalists such as the Wahhabi[12] movement, do not tolerate Muslim folk traditions. Intolerance is stronger among the Muslims in big cities, who went through an acculturation and lost their contact with the values of rural societies, so they are completely indifferent towards them. Nowadays more and more conflicts occur because of the attack by Muslim circles against local religious traditions. Consequently, the rituals that have been practiced openly during the 1990s are now being held secretly to avoid the confrontation with the representatives of the "official" Islam, who are preaching against Muslim folk traditions in the mosques and trying to intimidate people from attending those rituals. Mosques are visited mostly by men, so Muslim folk rituals are attended predominantly by women. This gender issue increases religious tension within the families, too.

There are also examples of acceptance, however. In the sacred valley of Manjili-Ata by the Ysyk-köl, a mosque was built at the entrance of the valley by the local *molla*, who also respects the veneration of these sacred places (*mazar*). Of course, he urges people to say a prayer in the mosque before starting the pilgrimage in the valley, instead of taking part in rituals conducted by folk religious specialists. He tries to incorporate these

[12] The Wahhabi movement started in Saudi Arabia, founded by Muslim scholar Mohamed ibn Abdul-Wahhab (1703–1792). Wahhabi groups in Saudi Arabia give financial aid to many Muslim organizations in former Soviet countries, so they have a great influence in the region and among the religious leaders of Central Asia.

traditions into "official" Islam, modernizing them instead of attacking openly. But this is a rare case, and the fundamentalist approach is becoming dominant not only in towns but in villages, too. The state avoids interfering with this conflict and sometimes supports the representatives of "official" Islam, although the political elite is mostly Russian-orientated, received an atheist education, and they are also afraid of the increasing fundamentalism.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In Central Asia the role of Islam was not as significant in nomadic societies as among settled people. Mosques and *medrese*-schools were built in the cities, not in the steppe or the mountains. Nomads rarely attended mosques, and their *molla*-teachers had less knowledge about the Qur'an and Sharia-law, so even *molla*-teachers believed in Muslim folk traditions and took part in them. Local Muslim traditions were simply called *musulmančïlïk* (Basilov 1992:20) and they were an integral part of the Muslims' religious experience. The *bakšï* specialists[13] were initiated by the spirits (of Muslim saints, legendary heroes and chieftains) according to the will of Allah who granted them special abilities (*hasiyat*) to heal and divine. The chosen ones usually got ill in childhood and had visions (*'ayan*) in which spirits appeared to them and gave them food or drink. After consuming the food, their eyes "opened up to the spirit world" (Kyrgyz *közü ačïk*). Similar initiation can be observed in the case of bards and epic storytellers based on the beliefs of popular Islam (Somfai 2003:189). Religious specialists played an important role in traditional societies. They did not only heal but also performed sacrifices, spirit invocations, divination and rain-magic. Their role was to communicate with the spirits (*arwah*) who protected the clan or the tribe and mediated towards Allah. They believed that God granted them those spirits and sacred places (*mazar*) to express his almighty power (Arabic *qudrat*). Interestingly, these folk religious traditions that sometimes incorporated pre-Islamic elements did not bother the Islamic clerics and they did not oppose them. Spirit-invoking rituals (*dhikr* and *jahr*, see Somfai 2004:162; Somfai 2005:181–183) originate from Sufi rituals, and most helping spirits are also Sufi saints whose tombs are pilgrimage sites where some of the rituals take place.

Traditional and popular religious practices were based on Sufi traditions that partly originate from Central Asia. They also incorporated some pre-Islamic Turkic and Iranian elements. Rural communities consider these traditions an integral part of their Muslim identity (*musulmančïlïk*). During the Soviet times these traditions were prosecuted along other religious activities. Soviet ethnography wanted to prove that these ethnic traditions were the remnants of pre-Islamic "shamanism" in Muslim disguise, ignoring its 1000-year history in Central Asia.

[13] The most widespread term for religious specialists in the eastern part of Central Asia (Kazak, Kyrgyz and Uyghur) is *baksï/bakšï*. The name comes from the Chinese *bokshi,* which originally meant some kind of teacher or doctor during the Buddhist Uyghur Era (856–1209). After the Islamization, religious specialists were named *baksï/bakšï* in Eastern Turkestan. The *bakšï* specialists practiced Sufi-type *zikr* rituals by invoking the spirits (*arwāh*) of Muslim saints (*awliyā*) and martyrs (*šahīd*). Nomadic people far away from Muslim religious centers practiced their faith through these *bakšï* specialists. In the western part of Turkestan (Turkmen, Uzbek, Karakalpak), the name *parihon/porhan* (ghost-caller) was more common for these specialists.

The former ethnic approach of ethnology to the problem of popular Islam is also wrong because their traditions were more or less common to all the ethnic groups of Central Asia regardless of being nomadic or settled, linguistically Iranian or Turkic. In the post-Soviet era fundamentalist Islam earned influence among the Muslim leaders of Central Asia. They rejected local (folk) Muslim traditions, Sufism, and turned against these folk religious movements. So these traditions are now under greater threat than during the Soviet times when they were practiced secretly due to an external pressure. There is tension within the circles of these traditions, too; some specialists replace religious identity with ethnic identity. At the same time, urban esoteric healers and ethnically motivated "neo-pagan" movements are also incorporating elements of popular Islam into their practices, making the situation even more complicated.

SUMMARY

The study discusses Muslim traditions in Central Asia especially from the popular Islam among the Kazak and Kyrgyz and its conflict with modern (post-Soviet) religious movements such as Muslim fundamentalism, nationalism and neo-paganism. Muslim fundamentalism in Central Asia influences religious clerics who consider themselves representatives of "official" Islam while popular Muslim practices are labelled as shamanic remnants. These fundamentalists use the writings of Soviet scholars who tried to prove that Turks in Central Asia were not real Muslims and practiced the remnants of their pre-Islam shamanic tradition. However, these traditions have a long history and originate from Sufism or Muslim mysticism. Nationalist movements also incorporated some elements of popular Islam and tried to create some kind of ethnic religion, although these practices were regional and had nothing to do with ethnicity. At the same time neo-pagan and esoteric movements also use popular Islam to legitimize their activity which makes the situation even more complicated.

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Chapters from the History of the Discipline

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Investigating Oral History

Interview with Professor Jan Vansina

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"Szilárd Biernarczky corresponded with Jan Vansina in 1984–85, when, in his role as Director of the African Research Program and the organizer of anthropological and folkloristic conferences, he kept in touch with several Africanists around the world. The result of this correspondence is the present invaluable material, which contains Jan Vansina's views and positions on the role and importance of collecting folklore, the interpretations of ethnohistory in Africa and elsewhere around the world, including the political use of folklore. This material deserves to be published, even if it has already been printed in Hungarian. Though Vansina was a prolific author, in these letters he formulates some of his insights in a more direct and more deliberate way than elsewhere, thus this text is worthy of the attention of future generations anywhere in the world." (Quotation from a peer-review. The Editor)

Abstract: This interview with Professor Jan Vansina, conducted in the mid-1980s by Szilárd Biernaczky, is the result of extensive correspondence between the two. After a brief introduction to the achievements of the distinguished and pioneering scholar of African history, the interview addresses the following issues: 1. the current status of oral history research; 2. new theories in the field of oral history research; 3. ethno-history versus oral history; 4. ethnography, ethnology, European peasantry, and oral history; 5. the mythical dimension of the "beginning" and its inherent historical models ("outbound" segments, migration, new conquest, first ancestors, etc.); 6. oral history as a source of nationalist movements in Africa; 7. the appreciation of oral history (and its research) and African cultural movements.
Keywords: Jan Vansina, oral history research, European history, African history, folklore.

PRELIMINARY NOTE

Under the direction of the author of this interview, the *African Research Program* functioned between 1981 and 1992 at the Eötvös Loránd University (Budapest,

Hungary), hosted first by the Folklore Department, Faculty of the Humanities, later by the Department of Regional Geography, Faculty of the Natural Sciences. During its active period the Program organized three successful conferences.[1] About 50 specialists came from different disciplines (cultural anthropology, folklore studies, geography, history, economics, political science, literary scholarship, tropical medicine, agricultural sciences, history of religion, theology, etc.) grouped about the program.

Though officially not recognized, the small, free organization had enough clout to put out publications as well: the material of the first conference was published in two volumes (Biernaczky 1982); the first two volumes of the periodical *Africana Budapest*;[2] as well as the first volume of a large-scale planned book series.[3] As a result of this optimistic period of growth we gathered the material for two additional volumes of *Africana Budapest*. In addition the participants of the other two conferences also bequeathed us nearly 400 papers for publication. Finally, the first international conference established an international scientific society (*International Association of Oral Literature in Africa*), and the first two numbers of its planned journal (*The IAOLA Newsletter*) were prepared.

The year 1989 brought great social and political changes in Hungary. At the same time, it also led to a longer period of "introversion": the previously state-mandated third-world relations had gradually been disappearing after 1990. The African Research Program thus become orphaned, in the vacuum of the times, soon faded. Later – at the proposal of the African Research Program's manager, the present author – the Hungarian Africa Society was established, but for objective reasons, unfortunately, it could not become a significant international organization at the national or international level.

Notwithstanding the above history and many years after its creation, we would like to make some of the works that remained in manuscripts, available in a printed form for the benefit of the international and Hungarian Africanist researchers. Of these, it is the interview conducted via correspondence in 1984–1985 with Professor Jan Vansina, a world-renowned scholar of history and the seminal creator of a new school of research, we considered foremost valuable. The interview was prepared with the intention of publishing it in previously mentioned issue of the *The IAOLA Newsletter* that unfortunately never materialized. (By "correspondence interview" we mean that since we could not personally meet with the scholar in person, professor Vansina responded in writing to questions that were also sent to him in writing by the interviewer; the introduction and concluding remarks were, of course, prepared by the person seeking the answers.)

Undoubtedly, Professor Vansina explained his theoretical ideas – both before and after this interview – in many places and forms, enriching the items and conclusions formulated in his fundamentally significant, groundbreaking book *(La tradition orale,* 1961, *Oral Tradition*, 1965) with further and further details. Still, we believe, it is not pointless – even after such a delay – to publish, in its original language (English), this interview, which has been sitting as a manuscript for 17 years (though in 2003 the interview was

[1] *Folklore in Africa Today* in 1982 and 1984 and *Tradition and Modernization in Africa Today* in 1989.

[2] *Africana Budapest : African studies in Hungary : études africaines en Hongrie*. Nos. 1–2 (1984–1986), editor Szilárd Biernaczky, published by the African Research Program, Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest.

[3] Biebuyck – Biebuyck 1987, an analysis of thirty-six Nyanga tales edited by Szilárd Biernaczky

published in Hungarian, Biernaczky 2003). We believe it contains some details which enrich Vansina's oeuvre, and more broadly, our vision about oral history research.

EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON ORAL HISTORY RESEARCH

It is a rare occasion for a scholar to have the birth of a great school or a "new area of science" attached to his name. Oral history research has become perhaps the most popular branch of African studies since about the 1960s, and we may add that in the "shadow" of this popularity there are real scientific results which are very valuable and quantitatively important. Let it be stressed that the outstanding role of Jan Vansina, as a creator of theory and at the same time as an exemplary scholar in the field of empirical research is beyond question. But we have to take into account that together with the exemplary research results – let us mention only the book by Alain Delivré: *L'histoire des rois d'Imerina* (Delivré 1974), or one by Roy Willis: *A State in the Making, Myth, History, and Social Transformation in Pre-Colonial Ufipa*, (Willis 1981), – we must positively evaluate also those works which presented historic traditions, oral traditions important for the creation of a sense of national identity of African countries and ethnic groups, leaving for further research the complicated and difficult task of evaluative analysis.[4]

Jan Vansina, who was born in Antwerp in 1929 and since 1960 has been professor of history and anthropology at University of Wisconsin-Madison, undertook no small responsibility when in 1961 he launched the new scientific method for research into the history of the non-literate peoples. I believe we can state this with full justification even if many precedents are known in this research field. Summarizing the teachings of the past and present of this branch of science, one of the latest standard works assesses Vansina's efforts, his high quality work spread over several decades and its influence as follows:

> "Somewhat in the nature of a manifesto – although the author thought of it as 'no more than an introduction' – Oral Tradition has been phenomenally influential; references to it can be found not only in the footnotes of the writings of Africanists but in those of most other kinds of oral historians as well as anthropologists and folklorists. Trained both as a medievalist and an anthropologist, Vansina brought to his work a salutary respect for evidence and a first-hand appreciation of the peculiar challenges of fieldwork. Despite its pioneering character and despite the great amount of work done since its appearance – including second thoughts of the author – Oral Tradition remains the single most useful tool for historians who use oral sources, serving both to guide and justify their work." (Henige 1982:21–22)

[4] From the very rich material we can mention the Fulbe collections of the Cameroonian Eldridge Mohamaddou of Adamawa Fulbe origin (Mohammadou 1976; 1978; 1983; 1986). These volumes contain explanations, but we consider, in the published texts "history is hiding a lot more" than what is revealed on the base of these explanations.

A special feature of Jan Vansina's scholarly development is that after important field work (1953–1956: Kubaland – West Kasai, Zaire; 1957–1960: Ruanda, Burundi)[5] as well as several early studies and books,[6] it was relatively early in his career that he wrote the fundamental theoretical work *De la tradition orale* (Vansina 1961; 1965) also mentioned by Henige, which was to become determinative in the activity Vansina carried out in the following decades.

His later theoretical-evaluative research conducted on an empirical basis (*La légende du passé: traditions orales du Burundi*, 1972; *The Tio Kingdom of the Middle Congo 1880–1892*, 1973, in part *Children of Woot. Essays in Kuba History*, 1978, or countless studies) can be regarded as practical applications of his *Oral Tradition* published in 1961 and issued a few years later in English (1965). *Oral Tradition* was supplemented with a lengthy chapter for the Italian edition (Vansin 1976), and around that time and also later it was translated into in Spanish, Swedish, Polish, Russian, and Arabic (1981). A new, highly revised form was issued in 1985.[7] In the meantime, the scholar elaborated his thesis in further theoretical papers (Vansina 1972; 1973; 1978).

A perhaps less noticed but similarly important feature of his scientific view is found in another work, *Kingdoms of Savanna* (Vansina 1966). Here he chose the sole practicable ideal road in "ethno-history" by which it is possible to reconstruct the African peoples' "own history", independently of the (written or oral) nature of the sources; to write the history which is not the consequence of white or Arab incursions and any written records they may have left; to overcome at least in part, the one-sidedness of these sources: how one can, by peering behind the picture painted by these most often very one-sided sources, bring to the surface the original and true African past, or at least to create the contours of the continent's peoples.

At the same time an especially worthy and exemplary feature of the professor emeritus of University of Wisconsin-Madison, Jan Vansina's scientific activity is the way he constantly polishes his earlier results. We can see this in the case of the different theoretical writings mentioned and listed alongside *Oral Tradition* (*The Use of Oral Tradition in African Culture History*, 1967; *The Use of Ethnographic Data as Sources for History*, 1968; *Once Upon a Time…* 1971; *Tradizione orale e storia orale*, 1977; *La tradition orale et sa méthodologie*, 1980, etc.). In this connection, it is also worth noting similar continual polishing and elaboration over several decades in the case of valuable collection-data relating to the Kuba which leads from his first book *Les tribus Ba-Kuba et les peuplades apparentées* (1954)[8] to his outstandingly important large monograph *Children of Woot* (Vansina 1978).

The folkloristic teachings of Vansina's researches have so far been little heeded, perhaps alone Richard M. Dorson looked at these questions in a longer study (Dorson

[5] See in the curriculum vitae sent to me: "...Other experience: 1953–1956: (with break) fieldwork Kuba (West Kasai, Zaire), 1957–1960: fieldwork Rwanda and Burundi, 1963–1964: fieldwork Tio (Brazzaville prefecture – Rep. Congo)."

[6] The selected bibliography of the scholar is to be found in the Festschrift issued in honor of the seventy-year-old Vansina (Harms et al. 1994:473–480), accordingly up to 1965, he published five books and 45 studies.

[7] The release of the revised work: Vansina 1985.

[8] Vansina 1954; 1963; 1964 etc.

1976).[9] Vansina himself tries essentially to keep his branch of study apart from the methods of the methodological, demonstrative, theoretical approach of oral literature researchers. In one place, for example, he stresses that such important genre-theoretical attempts as that which can be found in Ruth Finnegan's notable volume *Oral Literature in Africa* (Finnegan 1970) are not fruitful for the researcher of oral history. And in one of his recent theoretical studies, he writes:

> "It can be seen that it is impossible to achieve a universal taxonomy of the genres since the social institutions and the collective representations differ from one society to another (Chapter III, sections 1 and 3). However, this has not prevented some scholars, including Finnegan, from attempting to define a typology valid for the whole of Africa in which the main divisions are poetry, prose and other special forms (drumming language, theatre). The first category is divided into seven subgroups and the second into four, namely the tale, proverbs, riddles and orations. For the reasons mentioned in Chapter III (in section 3), classifications of this type, that are based on intercultural comparisons, are only of limited use for the historian. In reality, the sources are characteristic of the culture that created them and they must be judged by the criteria used by their creators. Consequently, the sources cannot be studied on the basis of a priori judgments, even if these judgments are derived from the comparison of genres that can be found in neighboring regions. On the other hand, it is obvious that classifications such as that of Finnegan are of value because they enable us to assess the problems that arise in the study of traditions and can be used as an aide-mémoire when collecting data." (Vansina 1976:279–280)

CORRESPONDENCE INTERVIEW

SzB: What is your opinion in general, after two to three decades of activity, about the oral history research in the world?

JV: Oral history dealing with the reminiscences of peoples still living about their youth was non-existent in 1950 (except for some Polish studies about farmers in the 1930s). It began in the US as a branch of elite history at the Columbia University around 1945. The advent of the tape recorder was a decisive element. The second element in this procedure (returning the interpretation of history to those who made it) and it then became a "movement" from Columbia to Great Britain, from China to France.

Meanwhile folklorists who always had used oral information just continued and merged with the oral movements only around 1970.

Yet another group were historians who used no oral information at all. Although amateurs in Africa (administrators, missionaries) had gathered traditions, historians dismissed them. That was the situation I found in 1953. From around 1960 onwards, however, the nationalism accompanying the movements to independence helped to put more value on such traditions and in the 1960s they were gathered enthusiastically, especially in Africa, but also a bit later in New Guinea, Australia, Malaysia, Mexico, India, etc. By about 1970–1975 specific difficulties were taken seriously: matters of record

[9] The former professor at the Folklore Department of Indiana University at Bloomington addresses the issue of oral history in more places, also in connection with Scottish traditions.

(deposit of tapes), matters of interpretation (the rise of the structuralist-intellectualist schools à la Levi-Strauss), matters of reliability. With this development real maturity came to this subsection of the field. Today we are not far from an integrated approach towards oral data, making use of the lessons of folklore, history and anthropology. But one thing is certain. The oral histories and traditions prove to be even more important for the understanding of populations (by themselves or others) than had been thought three decades ago.

SzB: What kind of theoretical problems do you see in the recent research in our territory?

JV: Problems of the impact of performance on content, of creativity and its sources, of structuring by human memory in general on the contents are one level, and a very important one. Problems in the evaluation of tradition (whether literary or historical or other) are at a more profound level. Is the meaning of an oral text "emic" or "etic"? In fact, we must recognize that there exists an academic subculture that is transnational and "etic". By itself its interpretations are no better than those of the producers of oral data themselves. But as our knowledge of the effects of human memory increases and in so far as we further apply universal logic ("rules of evidence in history") to such data, interpretations can be built up that are better informed than those of the people who transmit such data. Still the problems of what (a) all memory does to the product of the human brain and (b) how interpretations should relate to each other, remain crucial questions for further study.

Lesser but old problems are questions of gathering and sample or universal collection and problems of translation.

SzB: Don't you think that oral history research can develop in the manner of complex "ethno-history"?

JV: Universal "ethno-history" is an ambiguous expression:

(i) If ethno-history means history of third world people, it should be rejected.

(ii) If ethno-history means history of all illiterate people everywhere, it remains a question of source distinction (written vs. other).

(iii) If ethno-history means historical consciousness bound up with the very construction of identity as an "ethnos" there clearly is a field here. But there is a tendency not to use the term in this sense. Most often the term is used in the second sense and the question becomes one of whether data from archaeology, oral tradition, linguistics and other traces of the past can tally and if they don't, how the results should be interpreted. The "ethno-history" schools in Austria or the USA differ in their views, although both are inspired most by anthropologists who began by wondering what the history of ethnic groups was and how it could be reconstructed in a historical fashion. In the USA more groups of people have been involved (such as historians) and there are signs that the need for some theoretical goal (such as "the laws of social change") has come. But so far there is no other theory or goal in these efforts than producing "history".

In Africa generally (and in Asia to a certain extent) "ethno-history" is rejected as a term because it is understood in the sense that it is a second-class status in the world, something that cannot be accepted.

SzB: In Hungary there is the term "sub-historic view of peasants" to outline some special distortions of vision of historic events in the mentality of peasants. I am thinking here of a simple moment when the memory of a certain type of African migration is not a historic event for the traditional European historian, while the ethnographer-ethnologist or (cultural, social) anthropologist knowns its meaning and role in the history or prehistory of the world's peoples. In your opinion, can we utilize certain methods and categories of ethnography, ethnology, social and cultural anthropology for oral history research or not?

JV: Historical consciousness exists in all human societies and is expressed by all societies, in all classes at all times either in writing or by word of mouth. That is part of "identity". Whether the historical tenets expounded are "true" or not does not matter from this point of view. The fact is that people believe now that their past was so and so. To call this "sub-historic" is only a term academic historians could have invented. So these views are pre-professional. Certainly, they are often incorrect with regard to what happened in the past. They always simplify beyond reason. True. But it is the task of historians to analyze these data, to check them not only against logic, analogy and written documents, but also against archaeological remains, biological knowns (e.g. domestic plant yields, etc.), linguistics, etc. Of course this is what ethnologists often do, but not with the same goals. Anthropologists, folklore specialists of the older persuasion and ethnologists studied rural populations in very small groups (often a village only) and privileged this data as "traditional" (i.e. not affected by change), as valid for a whole ethnic territory (and ethnic was also seen as an "eternal" social category that always, had been there) and from that element then built up comparative hypotheses regarding human cultural and social characteristics in general. Historians are at once more specific: they look at data in time frames, always gauge change vs. continuity (cf. Annales school) and do not forget that however remote a village or a pygmy camp may be it is influenced by the wider world. Already by 1600 pygmies were hunting elephants, especially because there was a demand for the tusks in Europe!

Yes, we can use categories from anthropology and its sub-disciplines but only if we check them out in precise cases for their applicability. Fieldwork in the anthropological manner is one important tool and it should be done properly. Ethnography can be useful even in its comparative aspects, despite the now defunct culture-historical schools. But historians must work with their own epistemology and their own macro-theories.

SzB: When I raised the "possibilities" of ethnography (or folklore) in connection with oral history research, I also had in mind those questions which you touched upon in your study entitled *Comment: Traditions of Genesis*: "Twenty years ago oral traditions were neglected by nearly all historians. Now many collect them eagerly, if not always properly, to use them step by step in reconstructing the past. There has been a lack of boldness in their interpretation, and hence too many historians have been merely restating what a society says, thinks and feels about itself. Nowhere is this more true than with regard to traditions of Genesis, as one may well call traditions of creation, origin and migration in which the last term flows from the preceding one. ... In 1957 we examined Kuba concepts of history (time, truth, causality, aims, etc.) carefully and followed the traditions back as far as we could then in the written sources in which they were first

noted. The Kuba have a real passion for history and the reason for this was researched. At every social level – family, clan, village, chiefdom, kingdom – all the available traditions were analyzed in detail to allow for transformations caused by functional imperatives. But because of their very mass we seriously underestimated the global impact of the whole corpus of Genesis traditions" (Vansina 1974:317). Thinking over your work, I raise the question whether – according to you – with the ever-increasing quantity of data and analyses there is the possibility of approaching the "mythical" – to use your own word – dimension, category and time from a certain ethnological viewpoint. In other words, is it possible to elaborate more subtle clichés (e.g. "original home", migrations, wars, relations with other peoples, etc.) based on the great quantity of collections, instead of the rough categories already existing in the oral tradition, which extend from the myth of creation, or more precisely, from the first ancestor, to the settlement of peoples? Is it possible to organize groups of clichés and cliché chronologies into a system which would serve as a model of the consciousness of "prehistoric" human societies before the founding of states?

JV: The greater the collections, the more research done, especially in basic cognitive categories and in comparative study of clichés (*Wandersagen* especially) throughout all branches of oral art, the more the unique or stereotype quality of various representations will become apparent. What this will lead to first is an understanding of (a) the dynamics of the human memory, in general what its tendencies are (e.g. fusion, selection, simplification along socially and communally significant lines), and (b) the grasp of how all humans think alike (I do not believe in separate modes of thought for either prehistoric peoples or in oral societies), and yet the subject of thought is different. That is, all cultures have collective representations which are the essence of culture. These are substantive inputs in the mind which then processes these in the same way all over the world. But the representations are culture-bound. We will find (c) that concepts of "original home", "migration", etc., are tied to particular cultures and not identical from one to the other. "Migration" involves specific notions of time, space and a model of how people can move and why. The conditions imposed by the basic notions explain why various clichés are constructed the way they are, culture by culture.

So in short I believe that in-depth study of clichés will yield data that bring us further on the road of study as to how the human mind functions. This is an approach different from and complementary to those of psychologists ("memory", "perception", "thinking") and students of the brain itself. Meanwhile we can refine some categories of cliché, as more data are available and we find sub-clichés within a given family, but I do not believe that a whole taxonomy of clichés will yield much. A model of consciousness of "prehistoric" human societies is something too general and too construed for any historian to accept. We can develop concrete models for given societies by using in-depth *Wörter und Sachen* studies, i.e. limited comparative studies that refer to a given time period. Even here difficulties are well known; Dumézil's attempt to establish functions for Indo-European thought is an example of them. We must be more modest to begin with and work with lesser time depth and greater wealth of concepts used, among which must be the basic categories of perception and appreciation (time, space, number, reality, truth and cause, for example).

SzB: It is well known that the legends of the past and the popular culture played a very important role in the culture history of some European peoples. What positive and negative factors can you discover in using folklore or oral tradition in general and the results of oral history research as the source of nationalism in Africa?

JV: Nationalism in Africa often began in cities. The urbanized people gradually discovered the richness of the thought and art of their rural cultures. But in the early nationalisms (1880s and after) this was of no importance because "modernization to be equal with Europeans" was more important. However, after 1945, some major movements began to incorporate products (such as the "national" *kente* cloth of Ghana) or traditions (usually proverbs). The ABAKO party of Zaire was not the only one that was formed to preserve the heritage of proverbial wisdom and went on to become a nationalist party or indeed a justification. (ABAKO found rural support when it could claim to be the spiritual heir of the former kingdom of Kongo which although broken apart by 1678 was still the ideal for Kongo-speaking people.)

Obviously studying oral tradition and other tradition in general yield results (we hope!). These can be used by nationalist (or other!) groups who can then select what they want and thus distort our view of the past or even, in radical cases, orient research so that only materials useful to them will be gathered. Moreover, through school primers, films, radio, etc., this "new oral tradition" or "new folklore" can be disseminated to millions of people who will often accept it and abandon their former knowledge of tradition or custom for the new "urban" variety, thus in the process contaminating (by "backfeeding") the as yet uncollected primary data, that have not been recorded so far. This latter effect is very visible in music, for example. Gramsci's dominant cultures still exist and still have their effects.

Folklore and oral tradition should be the servants only of the rule that one records what is there, and if possible all of it, in order to understand what the culture (the things communities have in common in their minds: the collective representations of Durkheim, and others that are more individual like dialect and idiolect) of these groups (local, ethnic, social strata, etc.) is. Anything that makes this goal impossible militates against those disciplines. On the other hand, the masses themselves (i.e. the groups studied) are certainly entitled to know the results of the research as soon as possible and will draw their own conclusions, i.e. redraw their own self-image. This clearly is something no social system in the world – and we are all part of one or another system – will just allow passively to happen. Hence in practice one must at the same time understand the goal of perfect recording of what culture truly is here and there and understand the inevitable necessity of popular transformation by our social systems. Somewhere in between folklorists and historians work. Their part of the overall job is to collect the data and make them available to those who tell them the data, though not to use it for educational purposes, etc. That is the job of other specialists.

If they do this everyone will have a clearer idea of social realities and romantic notions about "the folk" (*narod*) or peasants (*Volk, Bauer, mujik*), too common in the 19th century in Europe and now in Africa, but also so harmful, will be reduced to truer proportions.

SzB: I believe that the "popular" or "folklore" movement based on Vico's and Herder's thoughts and launched by the Grimm Brothers in the early 19th century was

closely connected with the European peoples' primary nationalism and search for their national identities. On the other hand, the increasing appraisal of folk culture plays a particularly important role in the lives of small, marginal European peoples whose official cultures did not have centuries-old traditions.

The second wave of interest in folklore in our century is rather promoted by aesthetic concerns and by the search for the sources of new artistic genres. However, the effort to express national identity is not negligible here either. I think that in today's African countries folklore also has to fulfil the role of providing historical traditions. Since numerous African peoples lack written traditions, they can only learn about their own historical past through their oral tradition.

Probably this special claim to utilize oral tradition by the society accounts for the publication during the last ten to fifteen years of many books dealing with the historical traditions of various peoples, mostly without commentaries, analyses or evaluations (see, among others, the collection of data concerning the Kenyan precolonial past listed in Patrick Pender-Cudlip's study, *Oral Traditions and Anthropological Analysis: Some Contemporary Myths*, the publications of the Niamey Centre d'Études Linguistiques et Historiques par Tradition Orale, the publication series of the University of Abidjan, several Senegalese and Nigerian authors' works, etc.).[10]

How does the theoretical founder of oral history research evaluate these phenomena from the viewpoint of research on the one hand, and from that of the "social utilization of the reconstructed historical past" on the other?

JV: A/ Cultural nationalism plays a major role in oral art research. But it is not often narrow nationalism, rather a trend of further decolonization, fitting in the ideologies of négritude (Sénégal) Africanness (Ghana) or authenticity (Zaire and others), the latter being the official ideologies of various countries. This tendency is quite visible in the work of African researchers. By itself it does not affect the collection, publication, etc., of such texts in a negative way and it does promote such research. However, enthusiasm leads sometimes to hasty collection (neglect of variant versions, of in-depth study, etc.), although this danger is not great where there exist well trained university establishments that study these phenomena. It is now claimed by some African philosophers such as V. Mudimbe that studies based on such texts from the 1920s and later are "truer" than anthropological studies of the colonial period (Mudimbe 1983:134).

A much greater danger for the sound development of research is a tendency for patriate researchers to interpret what they call myth in terms which refer to each other's interpretations and not to thought common in the cultures from which the texts derive. In other words, they write too much for each other, for the academic subculture of which they form part.

B/ Concerning the social utilization of the reconstructed past, this problem involves use of oral tradition, but also of the results of historical linguistics, archaeology, etc. Two levels should be distinguished. At the national level leaders such as Nkrumah, Mobutu, etc., have used and are using such reconstructions to further the consciousness of an

[10] Pender-Cudlip 1972, see also: Ag Arias 1970; Ayot 1977; Cissoko – Sambou 1974; Conde 1974; Dankoussou n. d., Mohammadou 1976; 1978; 1983; 1986; Mwaniki 1974, Were 1967; but as we mentioned above, the number of examples could be propagated almost beyond measure.

independent past, a past to be proud of and sometimes as in the 1973–1974 Zairisation in Zaire for very practical purposes as when the President used the argument that businesses should be Zairian because in the 19th century Zairian businessmen were doing very well by themselves in the great Congo River trade. Sometimes such reconstructions are rejected or amended as in the case of the Hutu/Tutsi splits which led to revolutions in Rwanda and Burundi. In one country it is denied that such splits existed in precolonial times. In the other the split is emphasized but the independence of many Hutu from Tutsi in precolonial times is emphasized. Such uses of reconstructed past as national consciousness are quite normal and examples can be given for any country and every country.

Locally or regionally traditions are the key element in cultural reproduction. A culture is a culture because it is reproduced and oral "tradition" (memories, crafts, etc.) do this. Such traditions are still used in defining *wir Bewusstsein* ('we consciousness'), in reinterpreting contemporary events in significant categories from local cultures, etc. Precedents are still used in practical matters such as problems of land, inheritance, social status, etc. These always have had and still exert an impact on the content of various traditions. Hence we must always remember that traditions are *of the present* as much as they are *of the past,* that they are not just sources but the product of an "historiology" i.e. an oral historiography. To take this into account is perhaps one of the most delicate critical operations a historian must perform if he is to use such data for reconstruction.

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Reviews

TURAI, Tünde (ed): *Hármas határok néprajzi értelmezésben* [*An ethnographic interpretation of tri-border areas*]. 2015, Budapest: MTA BTK Néprajztudományi Intézet, 294.
TURAI, Tünde – MÉSZÁROS, Csaba (eds): *Hármas határok néprajzi nézetben* [*An ethnographic interpretation of tri-border areas*]. 2015, Budapest: MTA BTK Néprajztudományi Intézet, 218.

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A much discussed topic of border research today is, on the one hand, the relationship between cultural, social, economic and political boundaries, and on the other hand, the relationship of all of these to specific locations, that is, the correlation between space – be it geographical, cultural or social – and place. Whether we consider borders to be geographic areas that are defined or linked with dynamically changing cultural phenomena, ethnographic and cultural anthropological research studies the local societies that use, form, transform and interact with borders, as well as border phenomena and border processes.

The volume of studies edited by Tünde Turai, "*An Ethnographic Interpretation of Tri-Border Areas*", was published by the Institute of Ethnology at the Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, as a culmination of a four-year project (2011–2015) funded by the HSRF.[1] The study examined the impact of changes in the two decades after the regime change upon the populations of settlements located in the tri-border region, and embarked upon exploring the cultural, economic and social dimension of their relationship. To this end, researchers of the Institute of Ethnology, as well as associates of other Hungarian and foreign scholarly networks, employed questionnaire-based studies in addition to ethnographic fieldwork, and visually documented, especially in the form of photographs and a documentary film, the everyday life of border zones. The latter provided a basis for another volume edited by Tünde Turai and Csaba Mészáros, "*An Ethnographic Perspective on Tri-Border Areas*", which aims to interpret the tri-border situation from the perspective of visual anthropology.

The studies of wide-ranging topics included in the volume edited by Turai actually accomplish analyzing many aspects of the Hungarian tri-borders (Hungarian-Austrian-Slovenian, Hungarian-Romanian-Serbian and Hungarian-Romanian-Ukrainian) – with the exception of the tri-border regions encompassing Hungary's northern neighbor (Hungarian-Slovakian-Ukrainian and Hungarian-Austrian-Slovakian). Presumably the researchers intend to investigate the tri-border areas concerning Slovakia as a continuation of the research – although at this point the reader may sense some deficiency without knowing their justification.

[1] The Hungarian Scientific Research Fund project's title: *Examination* of *tri-borders in Hungary's southwestern, southeastern and northeastern regions.*

The studies of the volume can be divided into two major thematic groups. The first theme – also the first chapter – provides insights into commonly used social science theories and practices in the contemporary international field of border research, one the one hand through discussions of ethnographic approaches to border research (Mészáros) and Hungarian migration processes (Balogh), and on the other hand by providing an international and a domestic example. The former examines the practice of everyday border-crossing and taking advantage of a borderland residence in the Tornio Valley located on the Finnish and Swedish border (Ruotsala). The latter discusses the historical development and spatial and geographical variations of the tri-border as a special type of border situation, as well as its associated political, social, economic, cultural and touristic aspects, drawing upon field experiences in Western Hungary (Gráfik).

The organizing principle of the rest of the papers, namely thirteen, is geographical location; that is, studies carried out in the same tri-border area were compiled into one chapter (Chapter 2: Hungarian-Austrian-Slovenian tri-border, Chapter 3: Hungarian-Romanian-Serbian tri-border, Chapter 4: Hungarian-Romanian-Ukrainian tri-border). This layout illustrates well the differences and similarities in the ways that people living on either side of the naturally different types of tri-borders use and exploit the borders, as well as how they live, narrate, and simultaneously interpret their border situation. For example, along the Hungarian-Austrian-Slovenian border located at the junction of three conservation areas, the branding of the tri-border can be observed, which is reflected not only in the naming of streets, clubs and restaurants, like for example in the case of Szentgotthárd, but the tri-border becomes a peculiar feature of the local population's local identity (Mészáros). Furthermore, this border region has in the past 25 years evolved from border regions simply existing side by side into border regions mutually cooperating (Bednárik). At the same time, the experience along the Hungarian-Romanian-Serbian tri-border is different: people on each side of the border give different responses about the border phenomenon: on the Romanian side the ideal of multiculturalism, on the Serbian side the issue of minority-majority, and on the Hungarian side an ethnocentric seclusion is dominant (Turai). Among the Serbian and Hungarian populations of the Serbian side researchers found that borderland does not equal culturally three-poled relations (Klamár), that is, individual and community cultural identity is not characterized by triple bonds, but rather by connection with the motherland (the Serbs establish links with the internal parts of Serbia, the Hungarians with the borderland settlements of Hungary).

The socio-cultural diversity of the tri-border regions (and each of their sides) is evident in the writings of the volume. It is exactly the specific local factors generated as functions of the social, cultural, economic, historical and political processes of a particular geographic location that determine how in various tri-border areas people relate to the presence of state borders, what socio-cultural practices they maintain and what narratives they produce in connection with them, and which ones they dissociate with. Let us entertain the following idea: would the systematic representation of the diversity of tri-border areas have provided added value if each tri-border study within a chapter had tackled the same issues, or would it have inevitably increased the number of repetitions without adding meaningful information to the ethnographic context itself?

Popular topics in ethnographic and anthropological border research include the socio-cultural phenomena and practices experienced in local societies that use and exploit state borders in different ways and forms – in fact, the observable movement of people, things,

ideas and objects at and near the border or in the borderland, whose central element is the crossing of political borders. One of the classic types of this is when people practice border-crossing as a way of life, such as transnational business professionals, nomads, traffickers or migrant workers. In this volume, examples of the latter are the employment practices of Hungarians from the Vojvodina region of Serbia in Hungary and their representational strategies (Papp), or the Roma families taking on seasonal work on the other side of the Austrian-Hungarian border and dealing in (often second-hand) trading and peddling (Kardos). Another form of transnational lifestyle is also common: those who sustain it live in the borderland zone of one country and commute on a daily or weekly basis to the neighboring country for work, taking advantage of the differences in the two countries' economic situation and of the nature of the borderland zone divided by state borders (Lovas Kiss). Cross-border informal economic strategies also exploit the economic disparities between neighboring countries, the details of which we can learn about in a study analyzing the fuel-, cigarette- and liquor-smuggling operations in Mátészalka in the Hungarian-Ukrainian border zone (Borbély). Another exciting related area is health tourism, within which it is primarily the issue of medical tourism that is examined in the Hungarian-Romanian-Ukrainian tri-border region (Szilágyi). In this context, women from Ukrainia's Transcarpathia region and Romanian patients go to hospitals in Hungary for gynecological examination, prenatal care (to Vásárosnamény and Csenger), and to give birth to their child (in Fehérgyarmat, Mátészalka, Nyíregyháza, Debrecen and Budapest).

If the interpretation of the concept of the border constitutes state borders, then the key issue that emerges is the turning of state border-marking memorials and other border-marking objects and their associated remembrance practices, symbolic content, as well as border surveillance objects into heritage. Along the Hungarian-Slovenian state border, the ethnic Hungarian local societies, for example, after decades of separation, again and again tear down in a symbolic form the Iron Curtain, which to this day bears significance in remembrance (Mód).

The border can play a decisive role in many aspects of people's lives: in addition to the above, the border formulated as a social fact can be a structuring element of individual identity narratives as well. Among people living in the Serbian-Hungarian border zone – in contrast to the Hungarian-Austrian-Serbian borderland – no specific border identity evolved: the border separates rather than connects. Therefore, the interpretations of the border are very diverse; both on the Serbian and Hungarian side, the border's position in the social space is not as fixed as its specified coordinates in the objective physical space (Laszák). At the same time, in the Swabian settlements located around Nagykároly in Romania, one can observe socio-cultural phenomena that reinforce the uniting function of the border, such as the regular meeting of Swabian emigrants or the publication of a journal which even in its name (*Brücke/Bridges*) is aimed at bridging the boundaries (Marinka).

The responses to the phenomenon of the border (strategies, practices, narratives, semantic fields) can also differ from each other depending on how the locals interpret the geographical location of the settlement in the border zone. In the Makó experience, it is not the objective proximity of the city to the Romanian and Serbian border that determines border identity – "Why, is Makó considered a border town?" (Apjok) – but what kind of mutual – primarily bilateral – socio-cultural relations there are ("speaking each other's language, participating in each other's lives" – Apjok), or whether there are any at all

between the inhabitants of both sides of the border region. Since the people of Makó do not experience this sort of thing in everyday life, that is, the uniting role of the border is marginal; therefore they do not consider their own world and habitat to be a borderland zone. Here, then, is an exciting example of a place-making practice, more precisely "borderwork" (Rumford 2009:1–11),[2] through which the people of Makó strive to continually dismantle and overwrite the particularly borderland geographical embeddedness of their habitat.

With the decision to mount a traveling exhibition in the studied regions (in Satu Mare, Kanjiža, Nagykanizsa and Szeged), and organizing a workshop involving local professionals (in Satu Mare, Kanjiža, Szentgotthárd and Dobrovnik), the Institute of Ethnology proved once again that it follows practices common in international scholarship.[3]

On the one hand, the Institute of Ethnology built the cooperation with local professionals (e.g., from Szeged, Nagykanizsa, Subotica) into its research plan; on the other hand, it provided space for discussions during the traveling exhibition and workshops. Nonetheless, it could have been particularly interesting, and presumably informative, had a member of the research team devoted a separate study to the issue of cooperation, or perhaps if several people had volunteered to reflect in their studies upon the feedback received from local professionals during discussions in the workshops, or upon the exchange of ideas inspired by the photo exhibitions and workshops. At the same time, cooperation outside the academy is exciting and far from simple, and perhaps the already planned continuation of the research could accommodate discussions of the research results with the non-scholar members of the local communities; for example, to what extent do the locals consider the picture that cultural representations paint of them to be correct, relevant and acceptable?

Another important result of this tri-border research is the above-mentioned volume containing visual materials "*An Ethnographic Perspective on Tri-Border Areas*", which aims to complement and further interpret the research findings in four thematic units: the question of trine, the concept of border, economic relations, and cultural remembrance. Each chapter presents in images the everyday border-crossing practices of people living along the border, as well as the identity-forming and expressing factors of the region. The essays, combined with the multilingual visual anthropological material (explanatory texts under the pictures in English and Hungarian, image titles also in Romanian, Serbian, Ukrainian and Slovenian) provide a very exciting image of the colorful life strategies and socio-cultural worldviews, and the characteristics of border formation in the southwestern, southeastern and northeastern Hungarian tri-border regions.

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[2] Rumford, Chris: Introduction: Citizens and Borderwork in Europe. In Rumford, Chris (ed) *Citizens and Borderwork in Contemporary Europe*, 1–11. 2009, London – New York: Routledge.

[3] In the international social science field, the concept of collaboration has been used very often - many times almost like a cliche – since the 1990s. Participation and collaboration can mean different types of cooperation. On the one hand, within the academy – various disciplines (interdisciplinarity), students and professionals, or two or more teaching researchers; on the other hand, outside the academy – scholars and non-scholar experts, for example, NGOs, local interest groups and policy makers (transdisciplinarity) (Lamphere 2004:432), as well as researchers and other members of the local society (those affected by the research). Lamphere, Louise: The Convergence of Applied, Practicing, and Public Anthropology in the 21st Century. 2004, *Human Organization* 63(4):431–443.

We have to agree with Balázs Balogh (the head of the tri-border research project) in that designating the socio-cultural context of the tri-border as the research topic demonstrates sensitivity toward the issue. Both volumes are highly recommended for professionals, university students and the readership of related disciplines as well.

Gyimesi, Emese – Lénárt, András – Takács, Erzsébet (eds): *A test a társadalomban* [The body in society] 2015, Budapest: Hajnal István Kör – Társadalomtörténeti Egyesület. [Rendi társadalom – polgári társadalom 27], 435.

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The volume edited by Emese Gyimesi, András Lénárt and Erzsébet Takács is important to draw attention to because it discusses many aspects of the human body as a medium for expressing historical, cultural, biological, medical and political changes. In the last decades, the human body turned into one of the most important topics of Hungarian scientific studies; as a result of this, many publications came to light which were based on the theories of Norbert Elias, Pierre Bourdieu, Michel Foucault or Jacques Le Goff.

The volume published by The Hajnal István Circle – Hungarian Social History Association contains papers presented at the conference held in Sümeg on 22–24 August 2013 (organised by The Hajnal István Circle). The conference was an important meeting of researchers, students, museologists and librarians.

According to the subheadings, this bulky volume deals with six major themes: Body-texts – Body-pictures; Healthy body – Ill body; Sexuality in marriage and outside of it; Body politics: bureaucratic body control; Body politics: the body of the soldier and the prisoner; Habits, norms, beliefs regarding the living and the dead body. Due to the various themes of the 29 papers, the editors arranged them in chronological order within the chapters. Unfortunately the foreword is missing from the beginning of the volume, but I think it would have been a good choice to summarise the results of the conference.

The first major theme of the volume, *Body-texts – Body pictures*, includes six papers that provide information about how the human body was represented from the late Middle Ages until the middle of the 20th century. Gábor Klaniczay discusses in a broader context how the human body was used as a medium for expressing religious messages and metaphors in the late Middle Ages. Monika Imregh, who translated Marsilio Ficino's *De vita libritres,* examines the philosophical background of Ficino's astrological and magical approaches, and focuses on the meaning and function of spirits in the human body and in the universe. Franciska Dede tries to find answers about how Sigismund Justh (1863–1894), the young Hungarian aristocratic writer who suffered from tuberculosis, considered himself as his texts and how he appeared in photographs and paintings. She points out that Justh's illness deeply influenced his literary and social work. Béla Mester sheds light on the issue of the use of bodily metaphors in politics from a gender aspect in the 19th century Hungarian public sphere. The paper by Judit Takács and Gábor Csiszár

examines media representations of gender role transgressions published in *Az Est* [The Evening] before the Second World War, or rather between 1910 and 1930. They try to contribute to a better understanding of the social perceptions of gender variance and gender transgression in the above-mentioned period. In the last paper in this theme, Tibor Takács examines how different texts create the body of Miklós Biksza, murdered in December 1956 in the village of Gyón. Takács shows how that body can be supplied with different meanings depending on their different narrative perspectives.

In the chapter titled *Healthy body – Ill body,* the papers give a comprehensive picture of the connection among beauty, health and sports throughout the centuries. Miklós Zeidler and Katalin Detre focus on the relationship between physical education and a healthy lifestyle. Zeidler sums up the reasons for the emergence of different sports in Hungary. He points out that in the late 19th century sports and physical education were very much a privilege of men living in major urban centers. In contrast, Detre shows how the art of movement became highly popular and began to be institutionalized. The art of movement had a critical attitude towards modernisation, and they looked for new paths, new values, new life-style patterns for women, too. The topic of the next four studies is health. József Hudi uses contemporary medical literature and archival sources from the 18th–19th centuries to seek a point of connection between the variola vera vaccination's spread in Hungary and making faces prettier. On an imaginary trip to the Transylvanian mountain villages called Szentegyházasfalva and Kápolnásfalva in 1850-1939, Levente Pakot focuses on the relationship between maternal health and the survival chances of infants. The study written by Szilvia Czingel analyses the changes in hygiene culture and conditions in Budapest between 1900 and 1945. She provides the reasons for the rapidly spreading practice of building bathrooms, and the expanding choices in toiletries (soaps, washing powders). Furthermore, the study focuses on the development of social values, norms, and mentality. In the last paper of this chapter, Péter Nagy sheds light on aspects of illnesses and accidents among the workers of the Rimamurány Salgótarján Ironworks in Ózd. His study is based on archival materials, newspaper articles, and oral interviews, sources that indicate that several factory workers suffered damage to their health because of bad working conditions.

Two authors in the next chapter of the volume –*Sexuality in marriage and outside of it* – show how sexuality and the human body may be brought before the court. Julianna Örsi gives examples of the significance of physical features in choosing and leaving a mate. She also shows the legal backgrounds of divorces in the 19th century; parallel with this, the author warns that divorce procedures took long. On the other hand, Orsolya Völgyesi introduces an adultery and murder case in the 1820s in Zemplén – as it was seen by Ferenc Kazinczy. Kazinczy was able to explore every detail of the murder case since, as a magistrate, he was authorised to participate in the work of the justice court in the county of Zemplén. Divorce and sexuality as a problem also appear in Emese Gyimesi's study, who examines the marriage of Júlia Szendrey, the widow of the famous poet Sándor Petőfi, and Árpád Horváth. The author of the paper sums up that the problem was not just Júlia Szendrey's refusal of sexuality itself, but her husband's way of thinking and expressions of sexuality. The issue of marriage and sexuality are also the main parts of the next study, written by Gábor Szegedi. More precisely, his paper deals with marriage counselling and premarital medical examinations in Hungary from its early 20th-century origins until the early 1950s. The concept of marriage counselling and premarital medical

examination was an important bio-political regulatory endeavour in modern Hungary. In the last study of this chapter, Boldizsár Vörös examines the opinions on the use of nudity in Hungarian commercials in the 1970s and 1980s. His main question is: can nudity be used in commercials, and if so, how can it be done?

The fourth chapter comprises four papers. Two of them focus on abortion from a Hungarian perspective. Gábor Koloh analyses the fertility system in the Southern Transdanubian region of Hungary. His study is significant because it provides a micro-historical analysis of a case of a peasant woman from Piskó (Baranya County). The aim of Henrietta Trádler's study is to show the population policy in the communist era during the Hungarian Soviet Republic. She also considers the attitudes to abortion in the new political era, as well as the new working woman's idea, the image of the ideal communist mother. Similarly to Gábor Koloh, she uses the methods of micro-history when analysing Tádics Józsefné Magyarics Anna's case. Similarly to Béla Mester's study, Dávid Turbucz considers the human body as a political metaphor, which was used differently to express cultic interpretation. The last study of this chapter is by Rolf Müller. In the paper, he deals with issues of the historical research on torturing the body and death, and he is looking to answer the question of how the physical violence might be reconstructed from the written documents of the state security. He examines the Hungarian political police between 1945 and 1956.

Violence committed on another body is the main topic of the next chapter, *Body politics: the body of the soldier and the prisoner*. The papers give a comprehensive and comparative picture of body politics from the 15th century. Veronika Novák focuses mainly on 15th–16th-century France and – using local chronicles and diaries from the metropolis of the period, Paris – she shows that medieval and early modern execution rituals and torturing of bodies was generally considered as a symbolic language of the absolutistic power in development. The everyday practice of violence on human bodies was a form of conflict in the Hungarian Kingdom in the 17th century, too, as we find out from Péter Illik's study. He points out that after the fall of Buda (1541), the Ottoman presence became constant in the central region of the Hungarian Kingdom. Hungarians could be attacked anywhere and at any time in their own homeland. Péter Illik collects and analyses some of these acts of violence. The body as a captive also appears in the paper of Tamás Dobszay. His works tend to interpret the features of prison-sociology and prison-psychology using the notes of Ferenc Kazinczy. Kazinczy was in a special situation in prison because he was a political prisoner and, as a gentleman, he was provided with much better conditions throughout his incarceration compared to common folks. Those interested in the political effects upon the body could consider the military service's documents, too. Julianna Erika Héjja examines how the men were trying to become unsuitable for military service. Her narrow research area is Békés county between 1813 and 1831. She examines the criminal court's papers and shows that in many cases the judge had to punish the prisoners because of self-mutilation.

In the last chapter, titled *Habits, norms, beliefs regarding the living and the dead body,* we find three papers. Two of them address the written form of the dead body. Noémi Tünde Farkas focuses on the Hungarian-language funeral orations in Central Transylvania in the 18th–19th centuries. She analyses funeral orations, as well as handwritten and printed sermons, and she demonstrates that these were only the privilege of a narrow social class. In parallel with the social and cultural changes, the speeches from the 19th century are

more personal and contain more pieces of information about the dead body. The next paper brings to our attention the testamentary additions to the history of 17th–18th-century burial practices. Similarly to Gábor Koloh's paper, we are presented withTransdanubian cases. József Horváth analyses how the body appeared in the testaments and what factors we should consider in these burial practices. The last author of the volume is Tamás Bezsenyi, who uses Vahan Cardashian's works to discuss how the Turkish were modernized in the late Ottoman period. Cardashian was an American lawyer and his main goal was to convince the international public, especially Americans, that the Turkish nation was not a backward one. He thought that modernizing the country lied in women and their clothing. It was a surprising idea in the beginning of the 20th century.

We should also consider that the authors of these studies worked with very diverse sources, thus exemplifying how the pictures, diaries, written letters, newspaper articles and archival sources could be used is historical research. This volume sheds light on the complex approaches to the human body, and thanks to the complexity of the theme of the conference, the papers are varied so the body is examined in its social contexts, providing space for the most diverse approaches.

Pócs, Éva (ed): *Test, lélek, szellemek és természetfeletti kommunikáció. Vallásetnológiai fogalmak tudományközi megközelítésben* [Body, soul, spirits and supernatural communication. An interdisciplinary approach to religious ethnology concepts]. 2015, Budapest: Balassi Kiadó [Tanulmányok a transzcendensről VIII], 640.

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Twenty-three years have passed since the conference providing the basis of this book series, "Ecstasy, Dream, Vision," was organized by Éva Pócs in the spring of 1993 at the Institute of Ethnology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The four-day meeting was attended by 39 researchers: ethnographers, folklorists and anthropologists, along with literary historians, theologians, historians and psychologists. The papers arranged into this volume were published in 1998, but already in 1995 there was another conference titled "Spirit, Death, Afterlife."

Bringing the issues of spirit concepts and supernatural communication to the fore again is not in the least a nostalgic circling back to the topics of twenty years ago; it reveals a need for the refreshed synthesis of recent scientific findings. The 2012 event falls in line with conferences that have become international in the meantime: more than half of the 47 total participants were foreign researchers, and this two-thirds majority holds for the authors of this volume, too. Apparently the issues formulated in the Call for Papers sparked considerable interest in the international field as well. The Belief Narrative Network of the most important international organization of folk narrative research, the ISFNR (International Society for Folk Narrative Research), also joined the "East-West" Research Center on the Ethnology of Religion as co-organizer.

This edited volume of conference papers was published under the same title as the conference and follows its fourfold structure. Instead of reformulating Éva Pócs' introduction, I want to highlight two perspectives instead. 1. How does this collection fit into the latest domestic and international research findings? 2. What are the theoretical and methodological problems, which – like a Leitmotiv – pop up repeatedly in several papers?

1. The mythical creatures of European cultures or the almost intrusive presence of the demonic walking dead in today's popular media and vernacular-esoteric registers poses a challenge for representatives of objective scientific scholarship. Folklorists examine the narrative sets evolving around their configurations, literary historians analyze the interactions of elite and popular cultural narratives, religious historians and ethnologists explore the beliefs and potential cults associated with them, whereas historians and historical anthropologists strive to provide them with credibility through a detailed historical perspective. Three of the volume's authors examine the concept of werewolves. The Croatian Maja Pasarić and the Estonian Merili Metsvahi are also featured in *Werewolf Histories*, published in October 2015. The volume, edited by Willem de Blécourt, provides a critical review of the figure and associated beliefs of the European werewolf from ancient times to the present day. Maria Tausiet and Laszlo Kürti analyze the vampire characters of popular literature and movies. Francesca Matteoni provides a comprehensive picture of the blood-sucking familiar spirits of witches based on witch-hunt documents from early modern England. The historian Lizanne Henderson's paper presents the taxonomy of fairies and angels in the Neoplatonically inspired work of a 17th century Scottish minister. The Scottish witch-hunt expert Julian Goodare – among others – led the research group dealing with this topic for years. His current article details the cult of a nature spirit based on 16th–17th century Scottish witch trials and other contemporary sources. Daniel Bárth's study discusses communication with "unclean spirits."

Beyond its connection to current research trends, the novelty of the tome lies in the ethnographies describing and analyzing the contemporary forms of religiousness. Building on their research in Moldova, Laura Iancu and Vilmos Tánczos unveil the details of a particular village community's or a single individual's religious worldviews. Elizabeth Warner did fieldwork in the Vologda and Archangelsk Regions of northern Russia between 1999 and 2010, where, similarly to Moldova, the community is dynamically transforming yet includes safeguarded archaisms. In her article she processes this material, and summarizes the ideas of death, afterlife and soul. Ilaria Micheli also uses her own experiences in the field to analyze the notions of possession in two West African tribes from the perspective of anthropological linguistics. Regarding its subject, it is undoubtedly the writing of Judit Farkas that offers the freshest information: she examines the concepts of soul and body among the inhabitants of the Krishna-village in Somogyvámos.

2. Moving on to the volume's methodological and theoretical intersections, one of the key issues is the compilation of the terminology and a taxonomy based on it, and with it the criticism and reconfiguration of previous classifications. Many apply the methodological tools of comparative linguistics and religious studies, mostly authors of descriptive studies. Of these, the most successful is arguably Anna Tóth's piece, which systematizes the vengeful spirits of ancient Greek religion. Vilmos Voigt's study addresses Ivar Paulson's classification system of Eurasian soul-perceptions, more precisely his doubts about its applicability if used for the reconstruction of the early

forms of Hungarian soul beliefs. Analyzing contemporary data about the visionary cult built around the seely whites, Julian Goodare concludes that the previous taxonomy describing early modern Scottish cosmology is inaccurate.

In connection with the belief systems and mythological reconstructions described with the help of archival and historical sources, the question of authenticity arises: what is the historical reality to which they can be related? Have such systems ever existed, or were they created by the classifying approaches of researchers? Willem de Blécourt attempts to answer these questions by presenting notions regarding the so-called double through two 20th century Dutch myth collections. Gordana Galić-Kakkonen expresses similar doubts regarding a late medieval literary travel diary when she questions whether medieval readers perceived the distinction between reality and fiction similarly to readers today. Nonetheless, several of the authors in the volume do indeed interpret their own data within the reconstructed mythological systems, be they historical or the results of contemporary research. In this regard, the most conclusive is Mirjam Mencej's study on circular movement as a universal trance technique. The dilemma of the knowability of reality mediated through narrative also comes up. C. W. von Sydow imagined the structural-morphological development of the legend as an evolutionary process from dite to fabulat. How faithfully are the original experiences conveyed in texts collected in folklore archives? Kaarina Koski's study based on 19th–20th century Finnish legends illustrates well that texts deemed unmanageable and chaotic by earlier research, when placed in the proper historical perspective, can provide valuable data about the interplay between folk ideas and Lutheran teachings that coexist in the same community. Annikki Kaivola-Bregenhøj utilizes Finnish archival texts in a recently collected interpretation of dream narratives.

A fundamental objective of the conference series serving as the basis for this volume was to connect Hungarian research with international scholarship. In terms of her oeuvre to date, the organizer Éva Pócs is exemplary. Her research project funded by the European Research Council proves that even by international standards she produces extremely valuable and important work. The English translation of the book is also made possible under this project.

Shaman 24 (1-2) (2016)

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The International Society for Academic Research on Shamanism dedicated the entire 24th volume (with two issues) of the journal "Shaman" to honour professor Vilmos Voigt, a leading Hungarian scholar on Eurasian shamanism. Vilmos Voigt, in addition to being an outstanding researcher of comparative religious studies, is the author of more than one hundred articles on shamanism and closely related topics. He is also currently a member of the editorial board of the journal.

Until his retirement, Voigt Vilmos lectured at the Department of Folklore Studies on the

Faculty of Humanities at Eötvös Loránd University in Budapest. For nearly three decades (since 1979), he was the chair of the department and the head of the Institute of Ethnography at the university. In 2010, he became Professor Emeritus. Despite his retirement, he continues to be active in publishing articles, attending conferences and lecturing.

The articles in the current volume of Shaman, in honour of the 75-year-old Vilmos Voigt, reflect on his diversified research interest. Among many other topics, he is a renowned expert on Siberian shamanic practices, the philology of folklore texts, the phenomenology of religion, the literature of Finno-Ugric peoples and semiotics. The fifteenarticles cover a wide range of research topics encompassing a large spatial and temporal framework. The reader is invited on an exciting journey starting from 10th century Norse mythology to contemporary voodoo practices in Togo. Despite this extensive scope in terms of temporal and geographical frame, the majority of the articles focus on 20th century shamanic practices and indigenous worldviews in Northern-Eurasia, illustrating why Siberia has always occupied an eminent position in academic discourses on shamanism.

Research work on shamanism usually faces two interrelated epistemological problems. Firstly, is the methodology of religious studies and anthropological fieldwork appropriate for providing outsiders with insight on such a subtle phenomenon as religious experience? Can ethnographic descriptions based on a rationalist academic discourse be thick enough to allow outsiders/non-believers to give a precise account on ecstasy, trance or on the meaning of rituals? Secondly, are academic discourse and its objectivist view on religious practices suited to transmit the essence of shamanic experience?

Vilmos Voigt's oeuvre and the articles published in this recent volume of Shaman address and answer these two interrelated questions in a classic manner. Although the epistemological problems raised above cannot be easily resolved and settled reassuringly (if they can be at all), anthropologists, folklorists and philologists can endow us with the rich social, economic, cultural and linguistic contexts of shamanic practices and worldview. These contexts may not directly explain what religious experience is, but they do illuminate the embeddedness of religious/shamanic practices.

An excellent example of this approach is György Kara's contribution to this present volume. While interpreting an Ekhirit Buryat shamanist song, an invocation recorded in 1932, the author adds to the article 110 endnotes on fifteen pages in order to help readers "recall the spirit of an early twentieth century Buryat shamanist invocation" (p. 27.). In a very similar manner, Clive Tolley offers a meticulous study on the possibly related notions of *Vétt* (lid, shield) and *Vitt* (charm) in old Norse and its relation to the Scottish *Wecht* (winnowing drum) and Saami shaman drums, shedding light on the possible links between various Nordic cultures. While giving several possible answers to the question raised, the author creatively combines a "panoply of uncertainties" and provides the reader with lots of tiny details on Norse philology. In a similar manner, Virág Dyekiss also relies on a philological approach when analysing Nganasan prose narratives on historical shamans.

The articles in the journal do not merely raise philological questions relying on the analysis of texts. Art Leete and Juha Pentikäinen (working with written sources) follow a diachronic approach by scrutinizing the reliability of dissimilar (academic, fictional, archival, oral) sources on shamanism. Based on fieldwork in addition to historical context, a number of authors describe the highly varying social background of today's shamanic and neoshamanic practices (Montgomery, Subramaniam and Edo, Valk, Wettstein,

Yamada). Maurizio Ali's article, using a delicate personal tone, cites and reflects on excerpts from his fieldwork diary, drawing the reader's attention to the complexity of transferring personal experiences on shamanic rituals to academic discourses.

Nagyné Batári, Zsuzsanna: *Tájegység születik: Szabadtéri kiállítások rendezésének kérdései az Észak-magyarországi falu tájegység esettanulmánya alapján* [An exhibition is born. Questions of preparing open air exhibitions based on the case study of the Northern Hungarian village regional unit]. 2014, Szentendre: Skanzen, 459.

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This volume is an introduction to open air museology at the beginning of the 21st century, based on a case study on the preparation of the Northern Hungarian Village regional unit, opened in 2010, and to date the newest unit of the Hungarian Open Air Museum. Zsuzsanna Batári, curator of this regional unit, discusses various theoretical and methodological questions specific to contemporary open air museology based on this case study, guiding us through all stages of planning and the actual realization of the exhibition in question.

In the opening chapters, Batári outlines the changing environment and expectations that open air museums face. At the core of these lie the notion of the anthropologized museum. It is no longer sufficient to present rural architecture and interiors; museologists must now apply various methods to 'make them come alive'. Interactivity, sustainability and edutainment are a few of the keywords that new museology has to address. After the introduction, the preparation of the exhibition is discussed in six chapters, starting from the drawing of the concept, and finishing with interpretive methods complementing the finished exhibition.

The first chapter discusses the drawing (and redrawing) of the concept of a regional unit. It includes a detailed description of all the buildings and other elements of settlement that comprise the North Hungarian regional unit (the manor, cave dwellings, a common yard with three dwellings, a gentry yard, a small chapel etc.), also touching upon elements from the original concept which had been omitted in the meantime. The next chapter focuses on the detailed preparation of the concept of a regional unit. It reflects on the possibilities and difficulties of selecting houses and outbuildings in the 21st century. This chapter also touches upon the criteria of authenticity and the possibility of creating an authentic copy or reconstruction if the original building cannot be moved for some reason.

The third chapter deals with various methods and sources of ethnographic research needed for planning an exhibition. The author emphasizes the considerable change this process has undergone during the past decades and the vast amount of new sources available for research, including digital databases of ethnographic articles and archive photographs. The subsequent chapter focuses on different aspects of collecting objects for the museum. Methods of collection have also changed, but the most interesting segments reflect on specific practical and theoretical issues. One example could be the

special efforts needed to acquire vulnerable materials such as textiles or paper from a certain period. The other is more closely connected to the concept of the anthropologized museum: how can objects be used to visualize everyday life or folk customs?

The fifth chapter deals with questions related to creating interiors. Here, Batári describes the relatively new method of modelling the interiors beforehand in the Ethnographical Study Collection. This allows more time for the professionals working on the exhibition to discuss and prepare the interior before moving it to the house it belongs to. The last and longest chapter discusses methods of interpretation and the cultural translation of the exhibition for visitors, which is crucial to the operation of the museum as well as in terms of the experience and information gained those who visit. The most significant innovation of the North Hungarian Village regional unit has been incorporating interpretive tools in the exhibition from the very beginning of the preparation phase. Multimedia content and other innovative technical solutions play a considerable part, but equally important is the role of 'interpretators', who help visitors get involved instead of remaining passive viewers.

The goal of the author was to demonstrate the toolkit and the work process of open air museology today, focusing on innovative, up-to-date methods. Thanks to the practical approach, numerous illustrations and minute descriptions, this volume published by the Hungarian Open Air Museum is not only a case study, but can also be used as a handbook of open air museology in the beginning of the 21st century.

DANGLOVÁ, Oľga: *Modrotlač na Slovensku – Blueprint in Slovakia.* 2014, Bratislava: ÚĽUV, 375.

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Sixty years have passed since, following several preliminary studies, the first major survey of the topic of the currently reviewed book was published, written by Jozef Vydra (*Ľudová modrotlač na Slovensku - Indigo blue print in Slovak folk art*. 1954, Bratislava: Tvar). The first major Hungarian monograph on this subject also came out in the period between the release of these two Slovak publications (Domonkos, Ottó: *A magyarországi kékfestés* [Blue-dyeing in Hungary]. 1981, Budapest: Corvina). Among other works, Domonkos referenced the German-language edition of Vydra's book. After all, in relation to historical Hungary, most of the early blue-dyeing guilds were located in the territory of what is today Slovakia.

Danglová's work on blue-dyeing is best presented compared against the above-mentioned earlier publications, so as to examine what it provides in excess of the other works.

The main chapters of the volume discussed are: The history of printed textiles, Dyers' guilds, Dye workshops, Blueprint trade after extinction of the dye-workshops, Blueprint technology, The printing forms, Blueprint in folk dresses and Interior, and Motives.

The first six chapters outline the history of the handicraft. The seventh chapter will pique the interest of ethnography in the strict sense of the term. The eighth and last

chapter, which constitutes nearly one-third of the book, will be especially interesting to textile designers. Its main subsections are: Geometric motives, Plant motives, Animal motives, Motives referring to objects, and Anthropomorfic motives.

The parts on the history of the handicraft, which are based on Vydra's work, supplement the series of preserved relics from as early as the 17th century, then follows the evolution of the topic at hand by revealing the changes it went through in the six decades between 1954 and 2014. The author then presents the techniques, colors, tools and chemical recipes. Vydra's book only included the traditional hand tools; Danglová discusses machine prints, too. In Slovak areas, multi-colored blue-dyed fabrics are popular: multiple shades of blue side by side, blue combined with yellow, blue with green and yellow, blue with red. They also used orange-and-white and yellow-and-white. – Domonkos found that Vydra's book fell short in utilizing the blue-dyeing resources of Slovakia, and in failing to address the broader issues of the industry. He made up for this lack in his own book: in his characteristic manner, he thoroughly discussed the relics, regulations and operations of the various guilds, as well as the capitalist factories. He also mentions that there are overlaps in the motifs in weaving, embroidery and blue-dye. The Slovak authors did not address this. Domonkos was able to do observation and ethnographic collecting in many functioning blue-dye workshops. In Danglova's time this was less possible, so she mainly enriches our knowledge base of the subject through a meticulous exploration of museum collections.

Rich illustrations of excellent quality provide information about the role of blue-dyed fabrics in clothing and home decorations. Among women's folk costumes, the most widespread blue-dyed products were aprons with large patterns and skirts with small patterns, but also vests and a variety of kerchiefs – for the head, for the shoulders, for the hands (handkerchief), and occasionally overcoats. These played a significant role during major celebrations as well. In contrast with the typical Slovak folk costume, these overcoats are common in the more bourgeois Transdanubian and Hungarian peasant attire. It is worth noting that the old-fashioned form and structure of Slovak women's dresses, which combined blue-dye with canvas, broadcloth and leather, shows kinship with the attire of some of the archaic Hungarian regions in Transylvania. In Vydra's time, the workshops still in operation mostly followed traditions, as the notion of "new folk art, living folk art" has not yet emerged. In Otto Domonkos' time, this already played a major role in Hungary: he gives a series of examples from the 1960s, but mainly from the 1970s, of the redesigns accommodating the urban needs of the era. Oľga Danglová similarly includes such newer works of folk art and homecraft. In the narrower scope of blue-dyed home textiles, both Slovak authors mention only bedding – sheets, duvet covers, pillowcases – while Domonkos provides a rich material of Transdanubian and Plains tablecloths as well. Seemingly, this category was lacking in Slovak areas.

In the section titled *Motives referring to objects*, we can even find the Hungarian national coat of arms. 18th century compositions are included in the section called *Anthropomorfic motives*, largely adapted from Vydra's publication.

From the point of view of the text-to-image ratio, the three comprehensive works create a series that can be considered degrees of progression towards the ideal. Vydra provides many figures within the text, but the picture plates that are individually lined up after the end of the text constitute more than two-thirds of the book. In Domonkos' book

the picture plates lined up at the end occupy only half of the volume, making it easier to search them. The most useful solution is what we find in Danglová's new book: from start to finish, all minor and major figures have been placed where they logically belong.