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Ruth B. Bottigheimer

Hannā Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand", an Eleventh-Century Old Georgian St. George Legend, and the Construction of an Early Modern Fairy Tale

Abstract

Of the sixteen stories Hannā Diyāb told Antoine Galland to help the elderly scholar complete his 12-volume *Mille et Une Nuits* (1704–1717) six were omitted. This article examines one of the six discarded tales, "A Sultan of Samarcand". Rediscovered by Hermann Zotenberg in the late 1880s, translated soon thereafter into English by Richard Burton, it was contextualized historically as a product of Eastern Christian narrative tradition by Joseph Szövérffy in 1956 and categorized typologically by him within the Aarne–Thompson tale-type index, as it then existed. Kevin Tuite's recent research and translation of an eleventh-century Georgian religious legend supports my hypothesis that the Christian St. George legend supplied the story's core episode. The role of reference works is introduced *inter alia* to illuminate their role within knowledge creation in general and in the discontinuities of "A Sultan of Samarcand" research in particular.

Keywords: *Arabian Nights*, Hannā Diyāb, St. George legend, fairy tale history and theory, "A Sultan of Samarcand", research on research

Introduction[1]

In 1709 Hannā Diyāb (c1679/80–after 1764), a Christian Arab from Aleppo, a Syrian entrepot in the Ottoman empire, told Antoine Galland (1646–1715) the magic-filled tale, "A Sultan of Samarcand" to help the elderly Galland complete his translation of *Mille et Une Nuits*.[2] Galland omitted this story and all mention of the narrator from the *Nights*, effectively

[1] I would like to thank Carol Marburger, Johannes Thomann, Kevin J. Tuite, Hans-Jörg Uther, and Jan M. Ziolkowski for their friendly and generous collegial support.

[2] Bauden 2011: 49.

erasing both Diyāb and "A Sultan of Samarcand" from *Nights* scholarship for more than 150 years. When Hermann Zotenberg (1836–1894) transcribed the story from Galland's diary and published it, untitled, in 1887 and again in 1888, Richard Burton (1821–1890) immediately translated it into English, titled it "The Story of the Three Princes, the Genius Morhagian, and his Daughters", and associated it with the *Arabian Nights* by placing it in the final volume of his *Supplemental Nights to the Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* in 1888.[3] Widely ignored for another 60 years, Diyāb's story drew the attention of Joseph Szövérffy (1928–2001) in the 1950s. He viewed "A Sultan of Samarcand", as belonging to Antti Aarne and Stith Thompson's tale-type 301, and theorized a previously unrecognized Eastern sub-type 301C,[4] a concept that this article further develops and that are supported by Kevin J. Tuite's forthcoming studies of an eleventh-century Old Georgian manuscript (Jer. Geo. 2), the earliest medieval Eastern Christian St. George religious legend, which survives at the core of the early modern secular fairy tales of tale-type 301. The article concludes with a hypothesized historical development of "A Sultan of Samarcand" as it circulated in southwestern Asia and southeastern Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries, from earlier tellings of which Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand" derives. [5]

[3] Burton 1886–1888: N.B. Conventionally, Burton's *Supplemental Nights* are referred to as consisting of 6 volumes. But the first edition that I have used consists of 7 volumes of *Supplemental Nights* more or less equal length and bears the notation "VOLUME VII" on its title page and spine. The first volume of this edition of *Supplemental Nights* is dated "December 1, 1886" at the end of Burton's "Translator's Foreword" (vol. 1. [vii]–viii). The final volume bears no date but is dated 1888 by OCLC.

[4] Szövérffy 1956: 89–124.

[5] The story is discussed in entered in "The Three Princes and the Genius Morhagian and His Daughters, 417 Story of the (Burton from the Chavis manuscript)" in *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia* (Marzolph–Van Leeuwen 2004: 417.). The article attribute "A Sultan of Samarcand" to the Chavis manuscript of "Aladdin" via Richard Burton, whereas Burton took his text from Zotenberg, who reproduced the story from Galland's journal recording of Hannā Diyāb's telling. Zotenberg wrote of the story, "que l'illustre orientaliste avait recueillis de la bouche du Maronite Hannā" (Zotenberg 1888: 53.). Zotenberg did not include the title that heads the story, "Un Sultan de Samar" (Galland [1709] 2011: 347.); Burton titled his translation of Zotenberg's transcription "Story of the Three Princes and the Genius Morhagian and his Daughters" (Burton 1886–1888: 363.), and a reading of the opening paragraph indicates that Burton's English text is a relatively free translation of Zotenberg's French transcription, while Zotenberg's transcription follows Galland's journal entry as closely as it was possible for him to do, before the existence of a critical edition, but adding some diacriticals and substituting "j" for "i".

The history of "A Sultan of Samarcand"[6] is one of witting and unwitting erasures. Antoine Galland replaced the real Hannā Diyāb as narrator by giving to the fictive Shahrazad stories that he told and that Galland took into his iconic collection. He also excluded "A Sultan of Samarcand" from his iconic collection. Hermann Zotenberg restored the story, but omitted its title, probably because the story's opening words repeat it. The absent title provided Richard Burton with a space he filled with a typically Victorian male-centered title that placed auxiliary brothers ahead of the sisters whose three stories occupy far more narrative space than do those of the brothers. The pathbreaking scholarship of Joseph Szövérffy has been displaced by shifting understandings of the Finnish historico-geographic methodology, and by consequent shifts in its influential research tool, the tale-type indexes that began with Antti Aarne and are now represented by the 2004 revision by Hans-Jörg Uther. Finally, the creation of knowledge embodied by encyclopedic reference works has prolonged the erasures begun by Galland: the first documented telling of "A Sultan of Samarcand" by Hannā Diyāb is displaced by a focus on the three princesses portion of the tale in the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens,*[7] while *The Arabian Nights Encyclopedia* credits authorship of "A Sultan of Samarcand" to a known forger, Dom Chavis.[8] Telling "A Sultan of Samarcand" story in detail in the article that follows illuminates three centuries of both intent and accident.

"A Sultan of Samarcand" is one of sixteen stories that Hannā Diyāb, visiting Paris from the Ottoman Empire, told Antoine Galland in late May 1709. He had already contributed "Aladdin" to Galland's collection and would soon add "Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves". Diyāb told Galland sixteen stories in May and June that year, of which Galland used ten to complete his collection; he did *not* include the gripping yet puzzling "A Sultan of Samarcand". Thereafter Diyāb's telling languished unknown on the pages of the diary in which Galland had recorded it. Here is the story in brief:

> The Sultan of Samarcand grants a wish to each of his three sons. The oldest prince chooses to build a fancifully constructed chamber, but during the first night he spends there, a jinni named Morhagian bursts in, announces that the chamber lies atop the palace of one of his daughters. He therefore reduces it to

6 In his journal Galland headed the story "Un Sultan de Samar", omitting "cande", apparently because of a problem with his pen (Galland [1709] 2011: 347).

7 Puchner 2002: 1363–1369.

8 Marzolph–Van Leeuwen 2004: 417.

dust and then flees with the prince in pursuit and disappears down a well. These events are subsequently repeated when the middle and youngest princes have similarly fanciful chambers built. The youngest, Badi al-Zaman, manages to wound the fleeing monster.

The brothers try to go down the well, but only Badi al-Zaman, is able to pass through the intolerable heat of its middle section to reach the bottom. There a passageway leads to an underground palace, where the jinni's eldest daughter detains him for forty delightful days before sending him to the middle sister. After another forty days, the prince arrives at the palace of the youngest sister, Fattane, who proposes marriage[9] and then entertains him for another forty days. Badi al-Zaman, who still wishes to vanquish the jinni, goes on a hunger strike to force Fattane, to reveal the jinni's vulnerability. With that knowledge Badi al-Zaman locates Morhagian and kills him with a single stroke of the jinni's sword.

Badi al-Zaman then sends the three princesses up the well to his waiting brothers, who, seeing the youngest princess's extraordinary beauty, abandon him below in the hope that one of them can marry her himself. Fattane, however, calls down to Badi al-Zaman that he should wait until Friday, when six bulls will appear, three red and three black. He must mount a red one, which will return him to the world above.

On Friday, Badi al-Zaman is forced onto the back of a black bull, which plunges seven times deeper into the earth, where an old woman informs him that a monster has sealed off the kingdom's water supply except during the time each week when he devours a sacrificial victim. This week's victim, the king's daughter, is awaiting her death. Badi al-Zaman goes to her; she warns him away; he stays, kills the monster, restores the water supply, and frees the princess. She secretly marks his shoulder with blood before returning to her father, who wishes to give her in marriage to the hero who has saved her. When Badi al-Zaman declines his offer, the king first threatens him with death, but then drives him away as a fool.

In subsequent wanderings, Badi al-Zaman kills a giant serpent that is about to eat a nest full of baby *rukhs,* after which he asks the grateful parent to return him to the world above. The *rukh* father agrees, instructing Badi al-Zaman to feed him a sheep's quarter each time he gives a signal until they reach the upper world. When the meat runs out, Badi al-Zaman feeds the *rukh* with fat from his own leg, which the *rukh* later restores.

Having returned to his father's kingdom, Badi al-Zaman disguises himself as a tailor's assistant, uses magic to reveal himself to the three sisters, kills his treacherous older brothers in jousts, and marries Princess Fattane with his father's blessing.

[9] A motif repetition from Diyāb's tale No. 8: "Prince Ahmed and Pari Banou", which Diyāb had told Galland a day earlier.

A Perplexing Story and Discontinuous History of Research

There are parallel worlds in *The Arabian Nights* ("Jullanar of the Sea"), in seventeenth-century French fairyland fictions, and in Diyāb's "Aladdin" as well as his "Prince Ahmed and Pari Banou". But an underground realm reached by the hero's plunging seven times deeper into the earth and carried against his will by a wrong-colored animal is alien to every narrative tradition with which Diyāb has to date been associated – French, Italian, Hebrew, Arabic and/or Garshbuni.[10] That kind of journey to an ultra-underworld is alien to fairy tale tradition in Europe, as is a princely dragon slaying without a consequent wedding.

Because Galland left Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand" unpublished in his *Arabian Nights* collection *Mille et Une Nuits. Contes Arabes* (12 volumes, Thousand and One Nights. Arab/Arabian/Arabic Tales, 1704–1717), it lay forgotten in his journal in France's Bibliothèque nationale for nearly two hundred years.[11] Only in the 1880s did Hermann Zotenberg discover the journal and transcribe Hannā Diyāb's 23 May 1709 story.[12] When his transcription was published in an 1887 article and as a book in 1888,[13] it captured the attention of Richard Burton, then in the final stage of completing the *Book of A Thousand Nights and One Night* (1885–1886) by augmenting its ten volumes with the multi-volume *Supplemental Nights*. He was at work on the final volume of the *Suplemental Nights* when he discovered, and immediately translated, Zotenberg's transcription of Diyāb's story and inserted it into the collection's final volume.

The newly discovered "A Sultan of Samarcand" generated less interest than one might expect, since a near mania for *Nights* completeness in the late 19th and early 20th centuries drove searches for, and a corresponding production of *Nights* stories (which Burton's *Supplemental Nights* exemplifies)[14] in addition to the then-current fascination with great men and heroic, and

[10] Bottigheimer n.d.; Bottigheimer 2020; Bottigheimer 2019; Bottigheimer 2014a; Bottigheimer 2014b: 60–61.

[11] Galland's journal together with his personal library was in all likelihood transferred to the Bibliothèque Royale after his death.

[12] Galland's journal for 1708–1709 is now available in the critical edition prepared by Frédéric Bauden and Richard Waller.

[13] Zotenberg 1888: 53–61.

[14] It is worth noting that my copy of Burton's *Nights* still had many uncut pages, including those for the "A Sultan of Samarcand" more than 130 years after its initial publication.

especially dragon-killing figures, a late example of which was Joseph Campbell's 1949 *Hero With a Thousand Faces*.[15]

Reference Works and Scholarship

At the turn of the 20th century the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* (Children's and Household Tales) of Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm was the foremost reference point in the study of folk narrative and fairy tales. Beginning with its First Edition (2 vols., 1812, 1815) the Grimms had listed and described each tale's then-known historical and geographical counterparts in Germany, Europe, and beyond.[16] The Grimms' 1856 Volume 3 provided the template for Johannes Bolte and Jirí Polívka's invaluable 5-volume *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Gebrüder Grimm* (1913; rpt. 1963), which vastly expanded the number of documented fairy tales related to those in the Grimm collection. In the case of this tale, the Grimms had included it as the fifth tale in the second volume of their First Edition, "Dat Erdmänneken", a dialect tale from the Paderborn area. To the Grimms' limited number of variants from German-speaking areas, Bolte and Polívka added scores of additional related tales from all areas of Europe.[17]

A reference work central to folk narrative research and published three years before Bolte and Polívka's *Anmerkungen*, Antti Aarne's *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* (1910), classified tales according to their content and plot. In 1928 Stith Thompson translated Aarne's *Verzeichnis* into English as *Types of the Folk-Tale* and added significantly to its listings. Thompson augmented this research tool with his *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, which appeared in 6

[15] In the same period, which coincided with the "Great Man" thrust of contemporaneous cultural values and historiography, tale-type 300 *The Dragon Slayer* preferentially attracted scholars' attention. As an apparent *Ur*-tale-type, Aarne–Thompson 300 (now ATU[ther] 300 in Uther 2004a 174.), with its monster-slayer hero marrying the intended royal victim at the end, was dominant.

[16] The Grimms' scholarly apparatus was contained in volume 3, which appeared in 1856, while the tales in volumes 1 and 2 of the Final Edition were published in 1857.

[17] Bolte–Polívka 1913: 297–318. Grimms and Grimm 1815: ix. In subsequent editions, "Dat Erdmänneken" was numbered KHM 91. The Grimms understood it and the Cologne variant they described as contemporaneous expressions of ancient Germanic mythology (xi–xii). The Grimms' contemporary Ludwig Bechstein also included several tales of this type, but his collection never gained scholarly prestige as had the Grimms' *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* and thus played no role in the development of reference literature.

volumes from 1932 to 1936. The Bolte–Polívka, Thompson, and Aarne–Thompson reference works continue to support and steer folk narrative and fairy tale research in the 21st century, with the tale-type catalog newly revised by Hans-Jörg Uther in 2004.

In the Aarne–Thompson *Types of the Folk-Tale* the first listing among "Tales of Magic" was AaTh 300 *The Dragon-Slayer*. The next, AaTh 301, also involved dragon-slaying, but the dragon-slaying component was set within a different adjunct plot that involved three princesses. It was this tale-type, AaTh 301 *The Three Stolen Princesses* that was similar to Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand".

In the early 1950s Joseph Szövérffy encountered an 1886 mention[18] of St. George in connection with a Greek fairy tale recorded by Johann Georg von Hahn (1811–1869).[19] Having completed a study of saint figures in folk narrative in 1948, Szövérffy was sensitized to and interested in the concept of a character in a fairy tale being rooted in the figure of a known saint such as St. George. Consequently, he sought out the large number of stories related to the Greek tale published by Hahn that had been catalogued within tale-type 301 *The Three Stolen Princesses*.[20] At that time, the Aarne–Thompson tale-type catalog divided 301 into two differing European geographical areas, A and B, each with slightly different tellings of the tale-type.

In reading the AaTh 301 tales, Szövérffy discerned a third group that he designated 301C, because in his view, they shared a distinctive set of the narrative components identified by Bolte and Polívka as A through F.[21] Szövérffy applied the formula B^2-D-E^1-F to these tales, which he noted contained no "unusual features and elements" but differed from AaTh 301A and AaTh 301B. Moreover, when he mapped the incidence of these tales he saw that "most of the versions of this [B^2-D-E^1-F] type come from Eastern Europe, Asia Minor, and the area surrounding the Mediterranean"[22].

For Szövérffy, the geography of the distribution of the 301C sub-type he proposed implied historical routes of origin and dissemination[23] and he

18 Child 1886: 509.

19 Szövérffy 1956: 89; von Hahn 1864: 49–52.

20 The tale-type was then denominated AaTh 301 in reference to the tale-type catalogue's chief organizers and authors, Annti Aarne (1867–1925) and Stith Thompson (1885–1976). In 2004 Hans-Jörg Uther (1944–) revised the catalogue, and tale-type numbers bear the preceding designation ATU. The contents of this note are well known to folk narrativists, but I have included the information for scholars outside that discipline.

21 Bolte–Polívka 1913: 297–318.

22 Szövérffy 1956: 95.

23 Szövérffy 1956: 90.

lamented the absence of datable texts. Nonetheless, in the case of his newly proposed sub-type 301C his mapped geographical distribution[24] shows the tale-type spreading from Cappadocia *north northeast* into the south Caucasus; *eastward* through Armenia, Iran, and beyond; *south* through Turkey, Syria, Jordan, and beyond; and *westward* through Turkey to Greece. Earlier scholars, he noted, had perceived a geographical divide but hadn't recognized that it might be significant.[25] Szövérffy, who knew Diyāb's 1709 "A Sultan of Samarcand" from Zotenberg's publication, recognized that it fit neatly into the B[2]-D-E[1]-F group,[26] and linked it and other B[2]-D-E[1]-F tales to Eastern versions of the tale and to Eastern Christian legends of St. George. It is worth mentioning that in Szövérffy Eastern B[2]-D-E[1]-F group, St. George overcame the dragon in Cappadocia, the saint's homeland, whereas the thirteenth-century *Legenda aurea* compiled by the Genoese archbishop Jacob da Voragine (c 1230–1297 or 1298) placed St. George's dragon killing in Libya.[27] Szövérffy also identified three of the Eastern story elements – the three underground sisters, the hero's saving a bird's young by killing a serpent, and the hero's being flown by the nestling's parent to the upper world – as tenacious elements within the 301C sub-type that he proposed.[28] These three episodes also form an integral part of Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand", and thus tie his story even more tightly to the same Eastern group.

In his conclusion, Szövérffy explicitly declared that his ability to draw reliable historical conclusions was impeded by the fact that all of the story documentation with which he (and by implication Aarne, Bolte, Polívka, and Thompson) had worked were stories that had been documented only

[24] Szövérffy 1956: 115.

[25] Szövérffy 1956: 95.

[26] Szövérffy 1956: 93. To reach this conclusion, Szövérffy had to sort through masses of narrative material. One stands in awe of the gifts and skills that led him so surely to his conclusion, a mix of "Intuition und wissenschaftlich korrekter Arbeitsweise" Ziolkowski–Buschhausen 2002: 5.

[27] Kevin J. Tuite has investigated an eleventh-century Old Georgian legend of St. George (MS Jer Geo 2) philologically and intertextually, and I consulted him about the extent and timing of scholarly knowledge about this early Eastern Christian St. George religious legend. He replied, "As far I know, the existence of the eleventh-century Old Georgian version of the princess-and-dragon legend would have been known to at most a small circle of scholars. The manuscript Jer Geo 2 had been studied by Georgian philologists in the late 19th century, and the legend is listed in a catalogue from 1923. It was not until Privalova's 1977 book, however, that a summary of the Old Georgian version of the legend was made more widely available" (Tuite e-mail 6 April 2021).

[28] Szövérffy 1956: 96–103.

recently, that is, in the 19th and 20th centuries.[29] In this respect, Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand" was and is a precious and datable narrative relic from the early 18th century.

Overall,[30] Szövérffy concluded that the entire tale-type 301 had arisen in the East in the form of the C variant and had then spread to the West. There were, however, narrative countercurrents, with a local west-to-east movement, especially from Greece into (earlier) Byzantine and/or (later) Ottoman Turkish areas.

Since the article's publication in 1956, Szövérffy's "modest" proposals and "scattered notes", as he termed his discursive presentation, has anticipated contemporary attention to "the importance of local and regional surveys",[31] but little or no attention has been paid to Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand". In fact, in the more than 130 years that have passed since Hermann Zotenberg and Richard Burton returned Diyāb's telling of "A Sultan of Samarcand" to scholarly and public attention, Szövérffy's article, "From Beowolf to the Arabian Nights" is the sole sustained investigation touching on his story. At most, it is listed as one of Diyāb's sixteen tales, as in a recent Brazilian doctoral dissertation[32] or with its constituent words implicitly scrutinized in a recent translation,[33] but the tale has received little or no attention as a *tale*. Szövérffy's article has suffered a similar fate, with his proposal to establish a new sub-type, 301C, disappearing, as views about tale-type classification have changed.[34]

An Eleventh-Century Old Georgian Religious Legend: St. George and the Dragon

In a mark of our times, a category-driven internet process providentially delivered the text of a conference talk by Kevin J. Tuite, a University of Montreal specialist in anthropology and Old Georgian linguistics, to my

29 Szövérffy 1956: 115.
30 Szövérffy 1956: 95.
31 Szövérffy 1956: 117.
32 Codenhoto 2007: 43.
33 Marzolph–Duggan 2018a: 147–153.
34 Uther 2004a: 179. In the appendices of volume 3, Uther lists 301B and C as "Discontinued Types" (Uther 2004b: 8.), whose elimination he explains as a removal of Thompson's sub-types, which were "limited to restricted regions" (Uther 2004a: 12).

computer screen.[35] Its title, "The Old Georgian version of the miracle of St. George, the princess and the dragon", suggested relevance to Szövérffy's postulated Eastern, that is, southwest Asian and southeast European AaTh tale-type 301C. At that moment in the 2020/2021 year of the Covid-19 pandemic, internet connectivity fortuitously mitigated scholarly isolation. It also made it possible to have an electronic conversation about dating the spread of an Eastern Christian St. George-and-the-dragon narrative that predated Jacob da Voragine's St. George in the *Golden Legend* by more than two centuries. Tuite generously shared his expertise, explaining that only "specialists in Old Georgian philology" would have known of the eleventh-century Old Georgian St. George ms Jer Geo 2 in the 1950s, a time when "the oldest version of the legend known to scholars […] would have been the twelfth-century Greek ms studied by Aufhauser"[36].

In this article, I focus solely on the contents of the eleventh-century religious legend treated in Tuite's philologically and historically rich paper, because its narrative illuminates important perspectives on the history of Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand" and provides a date for a critical moment in the historical development of the fairy tale he told in May 1709. The eleventh-century legend, paraphrased and abbreviated below from Tuite's translation, begins by establishing the religious legend's time, place, characters, and situation:

> Before St. George's martyrdom, the pagan King Selinos in the town of Lasia, angered God by persecuting Christians. Therefore, He sent into a nearby lake a dragon that devoured the people.[37] The king and his people agreed to sacrifice their children one by one to appease the dragon.[38] When the king had to sacrifice his only child, a daughter, he uttered a lament for the wedding and motherhood she would never have.[39] Thwarted in his effort to redeem her life for money,[40] and ignorant of God's plan for St. George to produce a miracle in his Cappadocian homeland, the king set her out for the dragon.[41]

[35] The conference, "Sharing Myths, Texts and Sanctuaries in the South Caucasus" took place at the University of Regensburg in February 2020.

[36] Tuite e-mail 6 April 2021; "Aufhauser" refers to a 1911 study of St. George dragon miracles discussed by Tuite n.d.a; Tuite n.d.b.

[37] Tuite n.d.b 1–10.

[38] Tuite n.d.b 11–21.

[39] Tuite n.d.b 22–34.

[40] Tuite n.d.b 35–40.

[41] Tuite n.d.a 45.

When St. George encountered the weeping princess at the lake's edge, she tried to send him away,[42] but after hearing her story,[43] he reassured her. Learning that the people served Herakles, Apollo, Skamander, and Artemis, he asked God to perform a miracle by making the dragon submit to him (George).[44] The dragon appeared, the maiden cried out, St. George made the sign of the cross over the dragon, prayed, and the dragon fell before him.[45]

Binding the dragon with the maiden's belt, he had her lead it toward the city, a great miracle in the eyes of the people. George credited God with the miracle and said that if the people would believe in Christ the true God, he would "make the dragon die"[46]. On their acceptance of Christianity, St. George killed the dragon and returned the girl to her father the king.[47] Bishop Alexander baptized 45,000 people over fifteen days, and a temple was built "for the glory of God and to honor St. George", at whose completion the saint "showed another wonder" and "brought forth a healing spring" and produced "many other glorious wonders."[48]

The legend continues with two further episodes:

On his homeward path, St. George met a short-statured demon with a staff in his hands, who spoke "peacefully", challenging him to prove his holiness.[49] St. George drew a circle around him, made the sign of the cross, learned that the demon had been present at the Creation, but was later expelled from Heaven. The demon pleaded not to be sent to Hell,[50] but St. George, who called on God to destroy him, made the sign of the cross in front of a "very large rock" that then opened up. St. George threw the demon into "the hole of fire", afterwards closing the rock and leaving the demon to "suffer for eternity"[51].

The legend closes with a glorification of St. George, Jesus, and God.[52]

42 Tuite n.d.b 46–53.
43 Tuite n.d.b 54–68.
44 Tuite n.d.b 69–81.
45 Tuite n.d.b 82–90.
46 Tuite n.d.b 91–101.
47 Tuite n.d.b 102–104.
48 Tuite n.d.b 105–115.
49 The staff and staff-bearing of this demon recall the cudgel-bearing dwarfish NEM, who appeared in Hannā Diyāb's tale No. 8: "Prince Ahmed and Peri Banou", the story he told just prior to tale No. 9: "A Sultan of Samarcand".
50 Tuite n.d.b 116–128.
51 Tuite n.d.b 129–133.
52 Tuite n.d.a 134.

One can imagine the eleventh-century legend of St. George having been created in order to associate a healing spring with a newly venerated dragon-killing saint. After all, St. George, had only relatively recently taken on the dragon-killing feat previously attributed to St. Theodore. The myth itself had, moreover, belonged to the same Greek mythology of Perseus and Andromeda that provided the deities worshiped by the princess's father in the eleventh-century legend.[53] There may well have been shrines to St. George in the Cappadocian reaches of the Byzantine Empire in the 11th to the 16th centuries, an area and a period from which St. George images survive. That would be consistent with the existence of medieval shrines specific to St. George where such a legend would have been maintained and propagated through centuries as a religious text.

The Old Georgian Religious Legend, Hannā Diyāb's Fairy Tale, and the Evolution of a Religious Legend to a Secular Fairy Tale

We recognize the St. George legend's plot in secularized form – prince, dragon, princess – at the center of Hannā Diyāb's 1709 "A Sultan of Samarcand", as well as in the several closely related fairy tales identified by Szövérffy as tale-type 301C. Just as in the eleventh-century legend, a hero saves a princess from a dragon, but does not marry her. Because the hero's life-threatening exploit so regularly leads to marriage in classic fairy tale narratives, let us attempt a *Gedankenversuch*, a thought experiment, as a way of understanding why that critical plot element in the religious legend remained unchanged in tale-type 301, and specifically in the case of Szövérffy's proposed sub-type 301C, to which he assigned Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand."

Over centuries the dragon-killing-*not*-followed-by-a-wedding episode in the St. George religious legend became part of a secular fairy tale. That is a fact. That episode remained intact, despite its newly secular function in tales assigned to AaTh (now ATU) 301. That, too, is a fact. More often than not, the stuff of a religious legend changes significantly when it passes from the religious to the secular narrative sphere. That is a general observation. But in *this* case no shift took place. Something, evidently, caused the core episode to remain intact and unchanged.

[53] In Tuite n.d.a. Tuite suggests a second source for the dragon-killing episode in the early eleventh-century Shahnameh.

Thinking through processes of narrative change and evolution, I conclude that the dragon-killing-*not*-followed-by-a-wedding episode remained unchanged at the core of the newly composed secular fairy tale, because the story shifted from the genre of religious legend to the genre of fairy tale within the cultural and religious community (Eastern Christianity in general and Greek Orthodoxy in particular) in which the religious legend remained alive and in circulation. Another way of saying this is that a stable institution, the church, propagated and maintained the St. George legend with St. George, the princess, the dragon, and no wedding. That stabilized the narrative, even when it migrated to a secular narrative environment. That core story must have been so well and so widely known within the community within which the new fairy tale was being composed, that it had to be taken into the new story in the form that people were familiar with. (Readers will recognize the process described here is opposite to that in novella creation in Western Europe in the late medieval and early modern period: novella creation meant telling a known story in an *un*known and new way.) The unknown creator of the secular fairy tale seems to have embedded the known St. George legend within a framing fairy tale whose plot effectively explained *why* the dragon-killer did not marry the princess he had saved. That is, after all, precisely how the surrounding three-sisters-in-an-underground-realm fairy tale functions in the many nineteenth- and twentieth-century tales in Szövérffy's proposed sub-type 301C, and it is also how the same surrounding tale operates in the early eighteenth-century Diyāb's "A Sultan of Samarcand". His heroic prince Badi al-Zaman cannot marry the princess he saves from a dragon because he is already betrothed to Princess Fattane, when he encounters the dragon and the princess who has been set out for it to devour. Diyāb's prince *must* refuse the king's offer of the princess in marriage. (The unknown creator of the secular fairy tale did not complicate the story by adding in a forgotten bride.) Then follows the consequential and concluding sequel where a grateful *rukh* flies Badi al-Zaman to the world above, where he kills his treacherous brothers, and weds Princess Fattane.

My effort to account for the development of a tale that Joseph Szövérffy identified and defined as widespread in southwestern Asia and southeastern Europe in the 19th and 20th centuries and that Kevin Tuite records as still evident in the Caucasus,[54] reveals something very important about Hannā Diyāb as a storyteller: he knew an Eastern Christian legend-based fairy tale in great detail. His deviations from the tale as later recorded were few. Hannā

[54] Tuite 2017: 21–56.

Diyāb may have encountered and learned this tale among Aleppan Christians, perhaps Maronites, but more likely among Aleppo's Greek Orthodox population of Eastern Christians. As pointed out by Bernard Heyberger, who has closely studied early modern Eastern Christianity, adherents of the two confessions often mixed in the late 17th and early 18th centuries in Aleppo. His own mother may, in fact, have come from a Greek Orthodox family.

This essay materially extends the reach of Hannā Diyāb's narrative repertoire. Beyond eighteenth-century Arabic or Garshūni popular literature and Jewish wisdom tales, Italian fairy tales translated into French, and French-language fairyland fictions,[55] Diyāb here participates in stories that had been generated within the Eastern Christianity of the Byzantine Empire and that continued to thrive in the religiously heterogeneous Ottoman Empire.

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[55] Bottigheimer n.d.; Bottigheimer 2020; Bottigheimer 2019; Bottigheimer 2014a; Bottigheimer 2014b: 60–61.

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Marginalized Texts of a Glorified Genre: the Valorization of the (Folk)tale in Hungary

Abstract

Attention towards and interest in the genre of the tale began rather belatedly in Hungarian culture. This paper provides a concise overview of the history of the assigning of value to this narrative genre: how it was transformed from a trivial genre of idle amusement for the uneducated into a precious cultural item that is an essential part of the national heritage, and which is safeguarded and studied from a number of perspectives. Parallel with the rise of the genre, a decline of the earliest known tales has taken place, due to certain authenticity criteria retrospectively applied by newly formed disciplines, as well as the standardization and naturalization of a specific mode of narration.

Keywords: folktale, fairy tale, authenticity, forgery, marginalization

The folktale (and especially its subgenre, the fairy tale)[1] enjoys a distinguished position in Hungarian culture. It has a central place in the canon of folk genres, and is a major subject of folklore studies. In the first part of the paper,[2] I provide an overview of the discourses within which the valorization of a narrative *genre* of oral tradition has taken place since the end of the 18th century. The second part presents the way a segment of *texts* belonging to this genre became marginalized (and, in some cases, stigmatized) as a result of the enforcement of inconsistent and anachronic authenticity criteria.

[1] The term *fairy tale* in this paper refers to *eigentliche Märchen* or *tales of magic* (ATU 300–749). In Hungarian, these types of tale are named literally 'fairy tales' *(tündérmese)*. The tale as such is very often identified with this prioritized subgenre.

[2] Proofreader: George Seel.

That the tale is a valuable genre is not a self-evident statement. In Hungarian culture, this positive evaluation is the outcome of the history of ideas over the past two centuries. Fairy tales in Hungarian were recorded only from the end of the 18th century,[3] but they remained in manuscripts and were used for the private entertainment of families and friends.[4] Tales emerged in cheap prints (almanacs) in the second half of the 18th century,[5] then in magazines and popular journals,[6] but did not enter the elite literature scene until the 1820s.

From the second half of the 18th century, more and more learned men reported on a new vogue of reading and telling fairy tales.[7] The early history and sources of the Hungarian tale tradition have not been explored thoroughly, but these remarks may refer to the emergence of *Feenmärchen*, involving French and Italian fairy tales, with the mediation of popular German translations.[8] According to these accounts, worded in a rather derogatory sense, telling fairy tales was a habitual past-time of the uneducated, a social group which included peasants, maids, and servants.

While typically presented as a cultural item belonging to the "lower" social classes, this type of narrative as a means of social entertainment was well-known in isolated communities of educated people as well: for instance, in higher education boarding schools and in mansions of noble families in the countryside.[9] Despite this existing practice, representatives of the cultural elite, if they mentioned fairy tales at all, usually did so briefly and with contempt.

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3 Cf. the first manuscript collection of tales was recorded in 1789; Gulyás 1917; Gulyás 1931; Benedek K. (ed.) 2003.

4 Bernáth 1902.

5 Perrault's *Les Fées* was published in Hungarian in 1763 in an almanac printed in Kassa (Košice). Turóczi-Trostler 1927; 1939.

6 Gulyás 2008.

7 Dézsi 1896; Gulyás 1925; Turóczi-Trostler 1927; Turóczi-Trostler 1939: 93, 369.

8 János Kónyi, a sergeant, translated and published some tales by Mme d'Aulnoy from German between 1774 and 1794. Vörös 1987: 106–119. Mihály Csokonai Vitéz, the most important poet of the late 18th century, in 1798 reported on the popularity of *Feengeschichte mit einem saubern Tittelkupfer* sold at fairs, in the foreword to his comic epic entitled *Dorottya, vagyis a dámák diadalma a fársángon ('Dorothy, or, the victory of ladies during Carnival')*. Csokonai inserted a fragment of a fairy tale on the grateful dead in one of his plays, evoking oral storytelling in a mansion. Csokonai 1978: 258, 288–289. On German translations of *conte de fées* in the 18th century cf. Grätz 1988.

9 On tale-telling in Protestant boarding schools in *Debrecen*, *Sárospatak* and *Székelykeresztúr* (Cristuru Secuiesc) at the turn of the 18th–19th centuries cf. Gulyás 2010: 128–130.

The tale was regarded as such a low-brow genre, even decades later, that when some texts were published in a distinguished literary journal at the end of the 1820s, the subscribers wrote letters to the editor threatening to end their subscriptions.[10] At the end of the 1840s, the act of publishing a fairy tale as an epic poem (written by the most famous poet of the contemporary literary scene)[11] in a separate volume was evaluated laconically by possible readers: "Anyone who prints such a thing is a fool."[12] Altogether, the tale was of no cultural value and of no interest for the majority of the learned who had access to literacy and *belles lettres*. Fairy tales were associated with people who were excluded from elite culture and literature, i.e., members of the lower social classes, together with middle-class children and women.

Change in this respect began with a definite *German cultural impact* from the 1820s, and it is observable how in the following half century the status of tale slowly but gradually changed due to various strategies that assigned value and meaning to this genre.

In the 1820s two collections of Hungarian tales translated into German were published in Vienna[13] and in Brünn[14] by editors living abroad who were familiar with the work and concept of *Volkspoesie* elaborated by the Brothers Grimm. Georg von Gaal and Johann Grafen von Mailáth presented the tales they (or their collectors) had recorded from male tale-tellers, i.e. soldiers and herdsmen, to a foreign reading audience. Back in Hungary, the reception of these books that intended to represent a national *(Magyarische)* tale repertoire abroad was hardly noticeable, and this attempt at collecting and publishing (folk)tales for an educated reading audience proved to be a failure for several decades.

The first representative collection of folk poetry in Hungarian, edited by János Erdélyi, was published in three volumes between 1846 and 1848, selecting from about 8000–10,000 texts that had been sent by collectors throughout the country.[15] Altogether 33 folktales (primarily fairy tales) were published in this collection, and the editor noted that the first two tales published at the end of the first volume were intended to function only as a sort

[10] Gulyás 2006.

[11] Petőfi Sándor: *János vitéz: Népmese* ('John, the Valliant: A Folktale'); the poem was published in 1845.

[12] Gulyás 2010: 64.

[13] Gaal 1822.

[14] Mailáth 1825. The second, extended edition was published (also in German) in Stuttgart und Tübingen in 1837.

[15] Erdélyi (ed.) 1846–1848.

of illustrative sample for collectors to promote the collection of folktales (which had been the subject of general disinterest).

Another initiative under the impact of *German Romantic literature* attempted to introduce the fairy tale (either in prose or in verse) as a new narrative genre into literature. Some sporadic literary experiments were published between the 1820s and the 1850s, in a period in which the various genres of short prose fiction were becoming accepted as literature. Although reputed authors of the literary canon (such as Mihály Vörösmarty, Sándor Petőfi, Mihály Tompa, or János Arany) experimented with the poetic possibilities of the genre of the fairy tale in a philosophical dramatic or in a versified form, the introduction of the fairy tale into the narrative genres of literature eventually failed, since these works of art were received with indifference, perplexity, or rejection. Some readers continued to maintain that the fairy tale was too low-brow a genre to be represented in literature, while other readers simply could not find a proper mode of reading: even if the plot of the literary fairy tale was about separated and tortured lovers, their flight and death, it was read as a comical story,[16] because a tale, after all, even if written by a distinguished poet, could not be taken seriously; it was just a plaything.

The next attempt to assign meaning and value to fairy tales emerged not within the realm of the production of tales but in the field of reflection on these texts. In 1847 the first Hungarian treatise on folk and literary tales was published in a journal of literary theory and criticism.[17] The author, Imre Henszlmann, a physician, literary critic, art historian, and archaeologist, compared Slovak, Romanian and Hungarian tales,[18] and argued that all fairy tales are symbolically encoded and derived from the same original type of plot that presents the clash of the four classical elements (fire, water, earth, air) with special emphasis on the symbolic conflict of sun and winter. Accordingly, fairy tales are remnants of ancient pagan mythology. This treatise was the first scholarly attempt in Hungarian culture to present and interpret tales as a subject of academic interest by assigning an underlying, hidden, symbolic meaning to them.

Such an approach had remarkable implications: if a hidden meaning of texts exists, it calls for the deciphering of the code, and it justifies the close reading of tales. The value of the folktale, and especially the fairy tale, is thus, in this case, derived from its being bestowed with a new identity: it is no longer perceived as a popular, entertaining form of prose fiction, but rather

16 Gulyás 2010: 83–103.

17 Henszlmann 1847.

18 Henszlmann relied on *Walachische Märchen* by Arthur and Albert Schott (Stuttgart, 1845) and *Slovenskje Povest'i* by Jan Rimauski (i.e., Ján Francisci, Lőcse, 1845); cf. Gulyás 2017a.

as a source document, whose study may give *access to the pre-Christian mythological structures and narratives*, as well as to *historical-ethnographical knowledge*. In this way, this interpretation of tales belonged to the typical program of the period which aimed at the reconstruction of the national past and the construction of national identity. While Henszlmann's long and complicated treatise was received with critical acclaim, its effect was later hardly noticeable, and the symbolic-mythological interpretation of tales became discredited by the end of the 19th century.

In the second half of the 19th century, three major discourses lent significance to tales; each one was connected to the agenda of cultural nationalism. The first argued for the establishment of Hungarian *children's literature*. Specific literary texts for children began to be published only from the 1840s in Hungary, and most of them were translations of German texts. One reason for this was that not only were the majority of urban middle-class families of German origin, but almost the whole publishing industry (including printers, publishing houses and booksellers) was as well, therefore both the reception and publication of children's literature relied profoundly on German cultural and literary trends.[19] When a claim to produce children's literature in Hungarian emerged, it was soon tied to the literary re-creation of traditional texts transmitted from mouth to ear by mothers and nannies: songs, rhymes, and tales.

The emergence of fairy tales (and folktales) in children's literature was also connected to an antifeminist standpoint: as the first endeavors on behalf of women to become professional writers and the possibility of a female literary career appeared at the end of the 1850s, they became the subject of heated debates. Some men of letters considered it a dangerous challenge which threatened the traditional role models within families and would eventually lead to a social crisis. The solution they offered was that women should not be authors, but if they insist, then they should write tales for children. According to this argumentation, if an author happens to be a woman, then writing for children may justify the act of writing and seeking publicity. In this way, motherhood, the mother tongue, and a restricted and controlled female authorship became interconnected.[20] Taken together, the extension and diversification of literary production in terms of authors, readers, and genres observable in the middle of the 19th century presented the tale as a licensed genre suitable for women and children.

[19] Drescher 1934; Domokos 2019.

[20] Gulyás 2019.

On the other hand, in the 1860s the fairy tale began to be interpreted as a *substitution*: as an oral form that may offer narrative techniques, themes, and motifs for the literary re-creation of the eagerly sought-for, still missing, national heroic epic that should narrate the common past via the deeds of an ancestor of the national community, and therefore has a legitimizing power.[21] This quest for the orally transmitted and preserved ancient heroic epic determined Hungarian cultural and literary tendencies in the context of nation-building throughout the 19th century – in vain, as hardly any traces of the supposed pre-Christian national heroic epic could be detected in oral tradition. The lack of a heroic epic – the most prestigious genre in a tradition-oriented literary canon – meant that it had to be replaced by elements of other traditional narrative genres that also enjoyed the required narrative authenticity and legitimacy (tales, historical legends, aetiological legends, belief legends, and classical ballads).

Narrative authenticity, or, epic credit, a central category of the literary theory of the period, suggested that a historically oriented narrative work of art should rely on traditional, orally transmitted narratives that had been organically (i.e., not under a foreign influence) shaped, used, and accepted by the Hungarian-speaking community over generations; otherwise it would remain alien to the Hungarian character. Despite this conceptual framework, the fairy tale eventually could not substitute heroic epic in this cultural context. Its failure, in my view, might have been due to a large extent to the fact that a fairy tale narrates the adventures of an individual, and this hero does not represent a community. Therefore, this contrasted with the basic drive of Hungarian literature of the period which needed the kind of major epic form that presented a hero (either in the undefined mythical or in the historical past) who had acted in the name of and for the sake of his (national) *community*.

The third discourse that assigned value and self-transcending significance to fairy tales defined them as part of a narrowly interpreted oral tradition, i.e., *folklore*. In this case, folklore, in general, could function as *proof*. Hungarian literacy, apart from some scarce texts, could be dated back to the 14th century, but until the last decades of the 19th century, literary production had never been so extensive as in western Europe or the Mediterranean area. Therefore, orally transmitted texts of the presumably illiterate peasants served as historical evidence for the existence of a specific national textual tradition that had organically developed and was supposed to be exempt from foreign influences, meanwhile reflecting the soul and character of the nation under-

[21] Gulyás 2017b.

stood as a living creature. In this way, certain verbal expressive forms of a given social class (peasants) became idealized, and their representations acquired a central position in the culture, while this social class was otherwise legally and economically marginalized within the same society.[22]

A shared feature of all the discourses presented above is that throughout the 19th century, with differing argumentation, they tried to present the fairy tale as a valuable cultural item. Some of these arguments were accepted, while some of them failed, were rejected, or were simply ignored. Nevertheless, the result of these multiple interpretations was that slowly, by the end of the century, the idea that the fairy tale has a value had become widely held, and the fairy tale began its career as the kind of national cultural item that is worth being protected, saved, and also bought and sold.

Three new phenomena accompanied this new status of the tale: success at the cash register, the emergence of forgery, and experts. While in the first half of the 19th century collections of tales simply found no publisher to print them, by this time they had become bestsellers. The dissemination of folktales in literacy (reworked for middle-class schoolchildren in illustrated books or published in penny magazines and cheap print "for the people") made a definite and clearly identifiable impact on oral storytelling as well.[23]

In the meantime, by the 1890s, the study of folk poetry and folktales had qualified as a discipline, with the establishment of a professional society, a journal, a department in the national museum, and some university courses. Experts in the new discipline were engaged in debates about whether certain folktale collections were apocryphal, fake, or authentic (depending on the extent and manner of textualization). The point, in this case, is not whether – or which – scholars were right or not. The mere existence of such controversies indicated a change in the perception of the value of tales, since only what is perceived as valuable can be subject to forgery. For the newly established discipline, the authenticity of the tales under examination was crucial for its own legitimacy. If the corpus is not valid, or cannot be presented as valid, because it has been subject to authorial-type modifications, then no valid statements can be made about it. It could have undermined the disciplinary status of folklore studies, which was rather weak anyway: it was a new discipline whose experts investigated the expressions of people and communities set at the bottom or on the margin of feudalistic-capitalistic society (peasants, shepherds, maids, beggars); moreover, they studied *orally transmitted* expressions, i.e., information which was difficult to retrace and check.

[22] Gulyás 2011a.

[23] Kovács 1969; Kovács 1977.

Debates on the textualization strategies and textual authenticity of folktales helped to legitimize the status of folklore studies and scholars of folklore since they were the ones who, relying on their expertise, could recognize and identify forgery. Forgery acts *as if* it was authentic; therefore, it could be interpreted as an illusion, pretension, or crime, and then a moral-criminal discourse was built around it, creating for the participants the roles of prosecutor, accused, and judge. In this way, the expert became not only a professsional, but also a moral authority, a guardian of the endangered items of folk culture – another feature that makes him/her indispensable (or contributes to his/her becoming some kind of a hero, who, as a protagonist of a salvage paradigm, in the last but one moment recognizes, saves and brings back the precious, disappearing object of the quest).[24]

A glorified genre with discredited texts

By the end of the 19th century, the assessment of the genre of the tale had changed in a positive way, and it had become a valuable cultural item that was a legitimate subject of 'heritagization' and academic study. Meanwhile, an underlying concept of the *proper* folktale was also created, which led to the marginalization of certain texts and collectors. Paradoxically, while folklore was seen as a repository of surviving elements from an *ancient* (definitely not modern) culture, it was precisely the *earliest* recorded tales (approximately 300 texts from the period between 1780 and 1860) that became marginalized.

This existence on the periphery of the folklore canon meant that for over one and a half centuries these collections did not have a second edition (the first one generally proved to be the last one as well), and apart from a few attempts, they were not investigated thoroughly, nor were fundamental philological problems addressed (although the majority of the manuscripts were and are preserved in central, easily available archives). Moreover, the primary cultural context of these collections was unexplored (in most cases even the essential data are unknown: exactly how many texts constitute the corpus, or who the collectors were, etc.). These collections were from time to time registered, mentioned, and referred to in overviews of the history of Hungarian folklore research, but the acknowledgment of their importance proved to be an empty gesture without real research interest.

[24] Bendix 1997; Gulyás 2011b.

This neglect is not a problem in itself and can be explained by the other justified priorities of folktale research. The problem, in this respect, is that while none of these early collections of tales was subject to scholarly attention and a thorough investigation, they were, nonetheless, endowed with negative labels that were transmitted almost automatically, without any further reflection for over a century, being referred to as not proper, not authentic folktales.

In between two disciplines

Literary history

The basic double division of tales as belonging to either folklore or children's literature became fixed by the end of the 19th century in Hungarian culture and academia. In the next century it became a self-evident ("natural") classification, obscuring the fact that until the second half of the 19th century, tales had been recorded, published, and used for different purposes as well, and it was not only these two functions (the entertainment/education of children and the documentation of folk poetry) which determined the emergence of tales in literacy.

Tales recorded in the period between 1780 and 1860 became the subject matter of either literary history or folkloristics. In this disciplinary framework, authorial tales produced in literature (*Kunstmärchen*, literary tales) were allocated to the field of literary history, while orally transmitted tales with no identifiable author (folktales) were assigned to the field of folkloristics. This categorization of tales ignored or obliterated those transitional and intermediary forms that existed between oral and literary tradition.

Apart from some exceptions,[25] those working in the field of literary history did not pay much attention to 19th-century tales, which were usually regarded as some kind of auxiliary texts or raw material for literary works of art. In the second half of the 19th century (by the time the institutionalization of literary history as a discipline had taken place), the tale genre had been relegated to a peripheral position within the literary canon, which might explain this low-key research interest.

[25] Benedek M. 1907; Elek 1914; Elek 1915; Elek 1916; Turóczi-Trostler 1927; 1939; György 1934.

Formerly, in the period between 1820 and 1850, there were attempts and experiments which could have introduced the (fairy) tale as a legitimate narrative genre into the literary canon. There were at least three reasons why fairy tales could have been integrated into literature. First, the system of *narrative* genres at the beginning of the 19th century changed, and previously unknown narrative genres emerged in Hungarian literature (e.g. the short story, *Sage*, legend, romance, and narrative reports of contemporary urban life). Secondly, in these decades, *folk poetry* to a large extent influenced the poetic capacities of literature (cf. the massive success of *Volkslied*, 'folk song' in literature). Finally, fairy tale as the genre of wonder and magic (in terms of characters, topography, and actions) could have been welcomed into a *Romantic* literature.

Nevertheless, with a retrospective glance from the 21st century, not all of the above-mentioned narrative genres were able to become a strong one, and not all of them became canonized. I presume that the fairy tale as a literary genre was a possibility in Hungarian literature in the first half of the 19th century, which, despite some highly ranked poetic experiments,[26] eventually failed. Therefore, by the last decades of the 19th century, the tale was not part of the system of literary genres, but due to the expansion of folktale collections and children's literature, it began to be perceived as either a genre of folklore or children's literature.

Folkloristics

Since literary history did not recognize the tale as a valid literary genre, and the study of children's literature has practically been *terra incognita* in Hungary until the 21st century, the study of tales was primarily assigned to folkloristics throughout the 20th century. Folklore studies, in compliance with its disciplinary target, focused upon *folk*tales, but in doing so the investigation of the historical, archival folktales (from the 18th and 19th centuries) proved to be of secondary importance. The priority of Hungarian folklore studies from its institutionalization[27] until the 21st century was the recording and documentation of *contemporary* folklore, including folktales. As far as the method of investigation is concerned, at the beginning of the 20th century, the historical-geographic method[28] required the recording of a large number of variants for

[26] Gulyás 2010: 59–117, 203–300.
[27] Kósa 1989: 11–32; Kósa 2001: 103–118.
[28] Katona 1903; Honti 1928; Berze Nagy 1957.

its comparative investigations. It also demanded (in theory) the word-for-word authenticity of texts and the indication of some primary data of the context of tale-telling (e.g. the name, age, educational background, and occupation of the tale-teller), which previously had only been very rarely recorded by collectors of folktales. In the period between the two world wars, special efforts were made to identify traces of the Eastern (i.e., Asian nomadic) heritage and pagan Hungarian mythology as preserved in folktales.[29]

In the 1940s, a new trend of tale research became dominant. The so-called Budapest school of folktale study established by Gyula Ortutay focused on the pragmatics, use, and variation of folktales and the process of oral transmission. Highlighting the taleteller, the audience, and the performance of tales in a socio-cultural context, this approach to tales also promoted the comprehensive collection of tales in contemporary rural society.[30] Historical and archival tales were of secondary importance since they usually lacked the data that had provided an insight into the context and use of tales in a given community.

Altogether, the study of early tales had been of secondary importance since the institutionalization of folklore studies because Hungarian folktale research focused on two major projects. The first aimed at the documenttation of tale-telling still functioning in some rural communities until the 1970s, while the second research project was implemented to accomplish the typological classification of previously recorded and contemporary tales.[31]

The proper, authentic folktale

Besides the research priorities of folklore studies in the 20th century,[32] there might have been another reason that led to a low-key interest in early tales. This is a conceptual problem: folklore studies ignored the vast majority of tales recorded before the 1860s because it was not able to unequivocally determine the status of these tales, i.e., whether a text can be classified as a *folk*tale or not. Furthermore, if it is not considered an authentic product of *folklore* and *folk* culture, then it is difficult to decide whether its investigation should fall under the competence of folklore studies or not.

[29] Posthumous editions: Solymossy 1991; Berze Nagy 1958.
[30] Dégh 1995.
[31] Uther 1997: 217.
[32] On the history of and trends in Hungarian folktale research: Ortutay 1972; Voigt 2010.

Of the early folktale collections, it was László Arany's (*Eredeti népmesék*, 'Authentic folktales') and János Kriza's collection (*Vadrózsák*, 'Briar roses: A collection of Székely folk poetry') published in 1862 and 1863, respectively, that have been classified as containing *authentic* texts that mirror the traditional way folk (i.e., peasants) told tales.[33] Previous tale collections by György Gaal (1822, 1857–1860), János Mailáth (1825, 1837, 1864), János Erdélyi (1846–1848, 1855), and László Merényi (1861, 1862, 1863–1864) were labeled as "not folk-like", "not natural", "alien-like", "over-elaborate", "artificial", "re-written", "stylistically modified", or "influenced by literature". This retrospectively applied evaluation which was – in most cases – based upon impressions, defined a set of stylistic expectations, and if the tales did not meet these stylistic requirements, then they were deprived of the status of authentic folktale (i.e., they were not considered as the true imprint of oral tradition), which led to their marginalization.

Georg von Gaal translated and published 17 tales in German from his collection in 1822 in Vienna. The manuscript corpus was considerably larger; it was made up of more than one hundred texts. No Hungarian edition was published until 1857–1860 when Ferenc Toldy (the leading literary historian of the period and a relative of Gaal) and Gábor Kazinczy (a devotee of folktales as a translator and collector) published 53 tales from Gaal's manuscript legacy. Since its publication, this three-volume collection has been repeatedly criticized, with its critics arguing that Toldy and Kazinczy stylized (and ruined) the tales, as a result of which the textual outcome became alien to the nature of real folktales. In contrast to this widely held view, the autopsy and the comparative philological investigation of the manuscript and published variants of the Gaal collection performed only recently has come to the conclusion that the texts Toldy and Kazinczy published are, in most cases, word-for-word transcriptions of the manuscript tales that had been recorded from and by Hungarian soldiers stationed in Vienna in the 1810s. Therefore what has been criticized as not authentic (not "folk-like") narration was not the narrative mode elaborated by Toldy and Kazinczy but that of the Hungarian soldiers of the 1810s.[34]

János Erdélyi, the editor of the first Hungarian collection of folk poetry, added, supplemented, contaminated, and deleted lines and strophes from the lyrical texts he published. Therefore it was also claimed that he had modified the tales as well; as Gyula Ortutay expressed it: "… one can feel the polishing

[33] Kósa 2001: 79.

[34] Domokos 2005.

hand of the editor"[35]. Taking a closer look at the manuscript and published variants of the tales in this collection, it turns out that Erdélyi did not perform textual modification with respect to the tales: he published them verbatim with very few modifications (spelling, punctuation, and in some cases deleting or altering some words or one or two sentences). What has been identified (and criticized) as the editor's narrative (and improper) style again proved to be the style of either the collectors or the informants – the tale-tellers themselves.

László Merényi, in the 1860s, published several volumes of folktales he had collected, but these collections have been completely neglected over one and a half centuries and have only been referred to as a classic example of inauthentic folktales. This stigmatization of Merényi and his tales has relied on a review published in 1861 in which János Arany (the national poet as well as an authority on, and master of, the Hungarian language) criticized Merényi for the textual modifications he had performed, owing to which the folktales Merényi published received an over-decorated, artificial, too complicated and mannerist style (which did not reflect the characteristics of oral storytelling of the folk).[36] Later, this review was generally interpreted as if Arany had totally rejected Merényi's folktale collection.

Yet from a close reading of Arany's review, it is evident (because it was literally stated by the author) that Arany had a generally positive opinion of Merényi's collection and even supported his further work. It is also clear that what Arany criticized was not the fact that Merényi modified the tales. His problem was that Merényi did not modify the tales *properly*. In Arany's view, editors were not simply allowed but also required to correct the mistakes the storyteller had made: the editor may/should amend narration but cannot intervene in the plot and composition of the tales. From this perspective, the shortcoming of Merényi's folktale collection was that he did not have the appropriate linguistic and genre competence to properly modify the text in a way that evokes the *oral* tradition of the tale-telling of the *folk* in the medium of print literacy.

To sum up: on the one hand, there are early collections of tales that have been evaluated (and marginalized) as inauthentic folktales because of the editors' (supposed) textual intervention that resulted in an inadmissible creation instead of documentation, while on the other hand there are collections that have acquired a position in the center of the folklore canon and have served as a standard point of reference representing authentic folktales. Para-

[35] Ortutay 1960: 29.

[36] Arany 1968.

doxically (and probably ironically), close scrutiny (performed in the second half of the 20th century) revealed that these canonized collections proved to contain heavily re-written texts that had undergone extensive stylistic changes and had been subject to large-scale editorial intervention.

In 1908 Antal Horger, a folktale collector and professor of linguistics, on the basis of his fieldwork in Transylvania noted that the tales that had been published in 1863 in Kriza's canonical collection of Székely folk poetry were beautiful, but must have been edited and re-written since tale-tellers did not relate tales in that manner.[37] This remark triggered a heated debate among representatives of the new discipline – folklore studies – who generally rejected such an "insinuation"[38]. In the second half of the 20th century, however, the exploration of the manuscripts of the tales[39] as well as Kriza and his fellow collectors' correspondence,[40] revealed that Kriza and his advisor, Pál Gyulai, had definitive stylistic expectations with regard to the mode of narration and that the texts had undergone considerable modifications by certain collectors in order to achieve the required stylistic outcome and to become suitable for publication.

As far as the tales of László Arany are concerned, which were qualified as being "the most properly narrated Hungarian folktales", after the second world war, the manuscripts of this collection came to light, literally, in the basement of the palace of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. The identification and investigation of the manuscripts led to some surprising discoveries. First, the tales were recorded by László Arany's sister and mother, and László Arany obviously used and corrected these manuscripts while compiling his book. The comparison of the manuscript and published variants of the tales attested that László Arany had carefully reworked the style of the tales (especially that of fairy tales) – in compliance with the guidelines János Arany (his father) had proposed a year before when reviewing Merényi's folktale collection.[41]

Ágnes Kovács, the editor-in-chief of *The Catalogue of Hungarian Folktales*, compared available manuscripts and published versions of tale collections from the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century and came to the conclusion that in almost each inspected case (including

37 Horger (ed.) 1908: 456.
38 Sebestyén 1912.
39 Kovács 1982a.
40 Szakál (ed.) 2012.
41 Kovács 1982b; Domokos–Gulyás 2018.

János Kriza and László Arany's collections) a considerable, authorial-type editorial intervention could be identified.[42]

Both Kriza's and Arany's tales are representative examples of the category of *Buchmärchen* (in between *Kunstmärchen* and *Volksmärchen*), inasmuch as they claim to represent oral tradition (as a base of legitimacy), but in the course of the shift between oral transmission and literacy the textualization included profound editorial interventions which did not necessarily become transparent for the reading audience.[43]

A major problem with the inconsistent, impressionistic, and non-transparent application of the criteria of *authentic/fake folktale* is that it determined whether a given folktale collection was set in the center (Kriza, Arany) or on the margins (Gaal, Erdélyi, Merényi) of the folktale canon. A scrutiny of the mechanisms of this evaluative classification may also reveal that this kind of distinction between tales was not backed by underlying philological investigations, and also that *authenticity,* as a matter of fact, corresponded to the existence of a certain *narrative style* which was (considered) folk-like, i.e., resembling storytelling within a given socio-cultural group (the usually illiterate agrarian population). This has resulted in the narrowing and discrediting of alternative ways of storytelling. Difference and diversity in terms of the mode of narration were perceived as an alienating otherness that should be distanced and set on the margin. The style of those texts that were set at the top of the hierarchy as authentic folktales has been increasingly standardized and gradually perceived as a "true", "real", "natural" mode of oral narration, implying that alterations from this canonized (and constructed) mode of narration are anomalies.

[42] Kovács 1961: 432; Kovács 1982b.

[43] Bausinger 1979.

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Legends of a Transylvanian Shrine to the Virgin Mary

Abstract

My paper presents a legend tradition related to a well-known Hungarian (Transylvanian) place of pilgrimage. Csíksomlyó (Miercurea–Ciuc/Sumuleu) – currently part of Romania – has become a significant place of pilgrimage in the 20th century, similarly to Austria's Mariazell, Spain's Santiago de Compostela, the Orthodox Church's Athos, or the main international shrines to the Virgin Mary (Lourdes, Fatima, Medjugorje). Around this famous pilgrimage place known from the 15th century a thematically rich legend circle has developed over the centuries, typical of Hungarian folklore, which abounds in historical and narrative traditions. At the centre of the group of legends stands the statue of the Virgin Mary, of gothic origin, the miraculous reputation of which is complemented by several historical legend themes (foundational traditions, wars, heroes and saints, crime and punishment and other legend motifs inspired by the sacred place). I highlight the most important historical perspectives, the chronological characteristics, the geographical distribution and, above all, the typological diversity of these legends. The legend circle of the shrine of Csíksomlyó in Romania is the totality of the related narrative traditions, that is to say, both the hundred-year-old miracle stories found in written form in different historical sources, and the recent folklore texts collected from oral tradition. Although the time and the circumstances of the records differ significantly, the aim of the narration and the topic of the legends are the same. The legends about the shrine – separated into the given thematic groups – are an organic part of the *Catalogue of Hungarian Historical Legends*.

Keywords: legend, Virgin Mary, shrine, pilgrimage, Csíksomlyó

In my paper I will present part of the tradition of a Hungarian place of pilgrimage that has an exceptionally extensive, but to date little explored, folkloristic literature.[1] The monographic consideration and interpretation of the large number of narrative texts (about fifty types) related to the shrine at *Csíksomlyó* (Miercurea-Ciuc/Şumuleu)[2] is almost impossible within the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, I will try to demonstrate the thematic and typological diversity of these traditions, and their historical circumstances, chronological characteristics and geographical distribution. I think it is necessary to emphasize in advance that I will deal with the totality of narrative traditions related to the group of legends connected to the shrine of *Csíksomlyó*, that is to say, I take both hundred-year-old written religious stories from different church history sources (Historia Domus, Canonica Visitatio, etc.) and recent folk legends collected from oral tradition. I consider these two together because, while the time and the circumstances of the records may differ markedly, the aim of the narration and the theme of the folklore text are the same. As a cultural history parallel, it is important to refer to the fact that records of miraculous healings at three famous medieval Hungarian pilgrimage places (Saint Margaret's grave, John of Capistrano's grave, and the relics of Saint Paulus the First Hermit) are – in folkloristic sense – the same memorates as a contemporary legend about miraculous healing and other help provided by God. As we will see, there will be plenty of examples which show the similarity between narratives of different ages related to *Csíksomlyó*. [Pic. No. 1.]

For the majority of the sacred places and objects chosen by pilgrims, the basis and the trigger of respect is some kind of miracle, whose fame is often widespread. In the cult history of *Csíksomlyó* no such miracle data are known before the 17th–18th century, although their earlier existence can certainly be assumed. These supposed religious traditions can be connected with the foundation of the devotional place – the Somlyó Franciscan monastery –, with a highly valued relic, certain memorable historical events, and with the work of art that became the object of religious respect upon a pilgrim's arrival at *Csíksomlyó*. One of the scarce historical sources, the Papal Bull "Dum precelsa" of Pope Eugene IV of 27 January 1444, already mentioned

[1] Presented in part at the ISFNR 2015 conference in Ankara (*Folk Narrative and Culture*) and the SIEF 2018 conference in Santiago de Compostela (*Track Changes. Reflecting on a Transforming World*). Proofreader: George Seel.

[2] *Csíksomlyó* is located in the middle of Szeklerland, a region of current day Romania populated by Hungarians, which has belonged to Romania since 1920.

that in *Csíksomlyó* a "huge mass of pilgrims used to gather in order to pray; people don't stop flocking there"[3].

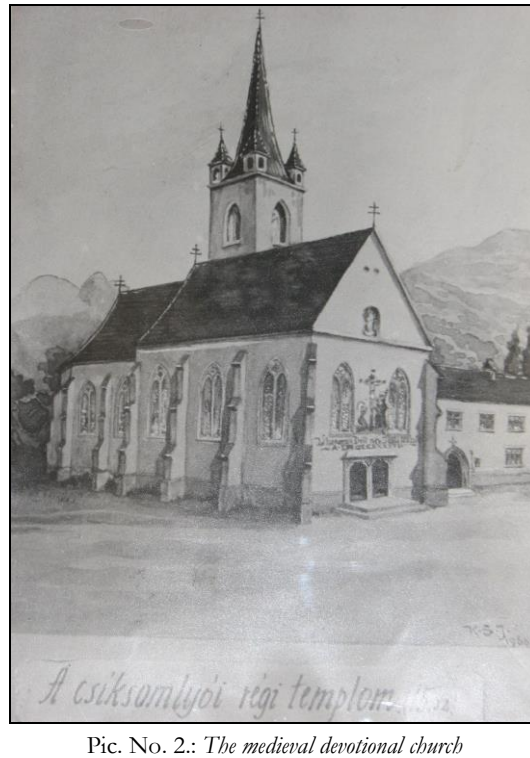
Pic. No. 1.: *The devotional church in Csíksomlyó* (photo by Zoltán Magyar, 2009)

This was the decade of unprecedented fierce struggles against the Turks, during which János Hunyadi, Transylvania's governor of that time, successfully defeated the Turkish army that had invaded Southern Transylvania. Hunyadi offered the victory trophy from the battle fought in 1442 at *Marosszentimre* (Sântimbru) near *Gyulafehérvár* (Alba Iulia), to build (or rebuild) four Transylvanian churches. One of these was the Franciscan monastery in *Csíksomlyó*. While we are not aware of what destruction the Turks caused in Szeklerland in these years, the next papal document mentions the need to reconstruct the *Csíksomlyó* monastery *("de novo contrui cepta et adhuc suis structuris et edificiis perfecta non existit"*[4]*)*, which implies the church was in a dilapidated

[3] Szabó ed. 1872: 153–154; P. György 1930: 148.
[4] P. György 1930: 653.

state or that there were demands for its enlargement. The urging of the construction by the Holy See suggests that the latter was the case, specifically that a larger, sacred building worthy of the numerous pilgrims was needed.

The gothic church was consecrated in honour of the Visitation of Our Lady [Pic. No. 2.][5], so it is likely that the medieval pilgrimages to *Csíksomlyó* also took place in the spirit of the cult of the Virgin Mary, or at least were partly inspired by it. The remarkable statue of the Virgin Mary, and its miraculous renown was not mentioned in the 15th century sources, just as was the case with a battle in 1567 associated with the origin of the Whitsunday pilgrimage at *Csíksomlyó*, which was not mentioned until the 18th century.



Pic. No. 2.: *The medieval devotional church*
(drawing by Keöpeczi Sebestyén József,
Szekler Museum, Miercurea–Ciuc)

[5] The architecture of this church – demolished at the beginning of the 19th century – was very similar to an existing Franciscan church at *Tövis* (Teiuş).

Pic. No. 3.: *The epigraph on the wall of the Chapel of the Salvator, from 1734*
(photo by Imre Harangozó, 1992)

If we investigate the earliest layer of the legend tradition, besides the miraculum note from 1784 and the first sources of the origin tradition of the Whitsunday pilgrimage, we must mostly rely on Franciscan local historical works written at the end of the 18th century and the first half of the19th century. Hungarian writers who lived and were active in the middle of the 19th century also used these works; however, it is remarkable that the Franciscan chronicler Leonárd Losteiner (1741–1813), and later László Kőváry and Balázs Orbán, all mainly drew information from the local oral tradition. The earliest layer of these historical legends does not, in fact, refer to the pilgrimage church, but to its sacred geographical environment, the preferred site of the Whitsunday pilgrimage, the mountain of *Kissomlyó* (see: "holy mountain"). The Chapel of the Salvator (Saviour) on the top of the mountain, sometimes mentioned as the Saint Stephen Chapel by the 19th century sources,[6] was, according to Losteiner, built by the first Hungarian king, to commemorate one of his victories.[7] This is the tradition mentioned by Kő-

[6] Thaly 1861: 146.

[7] See Losteiner's *Chronologia,* completed in 1777: 1742. This information was taken from the history of the monastery, copied from the archives of the convent of *Kolozsmonostor* (P. Boros 1994: 138).

váry and Orbán.[8] This historical tradition is certainly a several centuries old legend in the *Csíksomlyó* region, similarly to the church founding traditions of which there are numerous examples in the Carpathian basin.[9]

Pic. No. 4.: *Statue of Saint Ladislas in the devotional church* (photo by Zoltán Magyar, 2009)

It is likely that the other origin tradition of the chapel, attributing it to angels also belongs to the medieval legend circle. The building of the chapel by angels is mentioned in a local collection of names from 1864.[10] This tradition is supplemented by the motif of the heavenly ladder reaching down to the Chapel of the Salvator from the sky (on which angels go up and down) [Appendix 1.] and by the motif of the angels' song heard on the holy moun-

[8] Kőváry 1852: 229; Kőváry 1857: 107; Orbán 1868, II: 12.

[9] Magyar 2000: 130–138; Magyar 2018, I: 224. Type number: MZ I. G 69.1. Founding churches in memory of victory over enemies.

[10] Frigyes Pesty's place name collection manuscript from 1864, Csíkszék: Csíksomlyó. OSZK [Széchényi National Library] Manuscript Archives, Fol. Hung 1114.

tain.[11] This latter motif is the earliest in the local legend tradition, and had already been recorded by Hungarian writers. This miraculous apparition is witnessed by an epigraph on the outer wall of the chapel from 3 August 1743 [Pic. No. 3.]. Orbán Balázs even saw fragments of a wall painting of this scene there in the middle of the 19th century.[12] Others relate this notable place to the conversion of pagans from the neighbouring areas,[13] partly in the context of the Saint Ladislas legend circle: according to the legend, while escaping from his enemies, King Ladislas jumped on horseback from the Carpathian ridge to the Chapel of the Salvator in one leap[14] [Pic. No. 4.].

The foundation legend of the Saint Anthony chapel, also built on the holy mountain in 1673, represents the early layer of the local narrative traditions, as well. According to one of the manuscripts of the chronical of the holy order, the origin of the building is connected to the destruction caused by the Tartars in 1661, when the monastery and the church were burnt, and the Tartars did not spare the monks, either. The predecessor of the present-day chapel was established by an oath taken by one of the surviving monks[15] and was extended to its current size at the end of the 18th century, in grateful memory of further miracles.[16]

The foundation tradition of the Saint Anthony chapel also indicates that the memory of the 17th century Tartar invasion had a major impact on the formation of local legends. The nation mainly attributed its survival through this period of conflict and the subsequent resumption of normal life to the Virgin Mary, as well as to its adherence to the Catholic faith. The battle known as the foundation legend of the Whitsunday pilgrimage, in which the Szeklers from *Gyergyó* and *Csík* regions defeated the army of the reigning prince, the Unitarian János Zsigmond, by calling on the help of the statue of the Virgin Mary from *Csíksomlyó*, is the best known historical legend related to the shrine [Appendix 2.]. A study published recently by Tamás Mohay convincingly showed that this famous battle from 1567 has no historical authenticity, or at least there is no trace of it at all in the 16th–17th century sources.[17] As a historical legend (as "the invented tradition"[18]), however, it is

[11] Kőváry 1852: 229; Kőváry 1853: 38; Kőváry 1857: 107; Szentiváni 1986: 138; Bosnyák 1992: 22.

[12] Orbán 1869, II: 12.

[13] Magyar 2003: 170, 256.

[14] Kőváry 1857: 107; Magyar 1998: 115.

[15] Orbán 1869, II: 20; Kovács 1898: 43–44.

[16] Kovács 1898: 45–46; P. Boros 1994: 135–136.

[17] Mohay 2000: 230–256; Mohay 2009: 106–128.

[18] See: Hobsbawm–Ranger 1983.

not only relevant, but also has numerous analogues, because a great number of similar legends explaining the origins of festive customs are known outside Szeklerland. If we accept the fact that the battle is a mere fiction, it remains a question whether the mass Whitsunday pilgrimage preceded the development of this legend or on the contrary, the legend had developed first. According to our current knowledge, the only thing that is certain is that the first written mention of the battle is known from the first half of the 18th century.[19] The victory in the battle as the redemption of the Whitsunday Pilgrimage is detailed in Farkas Cserey's work *Geographia Mariana Regni Hungariae* written in 1780, and in the above mentioned three manuscripts with monographic demand of the Franciscan author Leonard Losteiner (*Cronologia*…, 1777; *Propago Vitis*…, 1786–1789; *Istennek kincses tárháza*…, 1810–1815).[20] The origin tradition spread quickly, starting in the 19th century, due to the festive papal sermons and several publications (the first paper print was by Elek Jordánszky who cited Cserey, and later publications that refer to his work from 1836)[21]. [Pic. No. 5.]

Pic. N.o 5.: *The Whitsunday pilgrimage* (photo by Imre Harangozó)

[19] Darvas-Kozma 2011: 146–152. [Two data from 1735]; Tánczos 2016: 166–167.

[20] Mohay 2000: 231–234; Mohay 2009: 113–119; Mohay 2015a: 90–92.

[21] Jordánszky 1836: 136–140.

That the memory of the Transylvanian religious wars from the 16th–17th century had been part of the Szeklerland folklore before 1780 is shown by several pieces of information reported by Balázs Orbán in the 19th century, as well as by recent legend collections. One of the narrative motives of the mentioned battle (the Szeklers knock trees onto the Royal army by cutting them down with a saw)[22] is present as a widespread stratagem in the Transylvanian legends about the Tartar invasion.[23] The main cause of the military action taken against the Catholic Szeklers, according to the legend alive today in the oral tradition, is that the reigning prince, Zsigmond János, first sent Protestant preachers to convert the Szeklerland Catholics. However, the Szekler Catholics dug the prince's "seedlings" into the ground up to their armpits, watered them, then sent an answer back to the prince that the seedlings had frozen because Szeklerland's climate is cold.[24] Although the folklore parallels need further investigation, we can suppose that this latter legend is a characteristic migration story, a narrative which is likely synchronous with the classical foundation legend of the Whitsunday pilgrimage or it even precedes it. While the story about the seedlings only spread in the last two or three centuries among the Szeklerland Catholics, the memory of the victory of 1567 went beyond the borders of Szeklerland. Its popularity is due to the different written publications and sermons and educational activities, and – beginning in the 19th century – it was accepted as authentic historical data and has spread in parallel as an oral tradition.[25] Today if the folklore collector inquires in Transylvanian's Catholic-inhabited communities about the sights of *Csíksomlyó*, the answers will typically include this "canonized" foundation legend.

However, the centre of the local legends of *Csíksomlyó* is first and foremost the statue of the Virgin Mary [Pic. No. 6.]. The gothic devotional statue has towered in the sanctuary of the pilgrimage church for centuries, and the legends surrounding it are probably of the same age as the completion of the statue, or its arrival in *Csíksomlyó*. According to the tradition recorded by the chronicler Losteiner, the statue descended from heaven to protect Szeklerland.[26] A similar ecclesiastical source is suggested by data provided by Mihály Latkóczy, who popularized legends about Hungarian churches, according to which the prior of the monastery saw the devotional statue in a dream and

22 Boldizsár 1930.

23 Magyar 2011, I: 204; Magyar 2018, IV: 195. Type number: MZ IV. C 129.5. Trees knocked over the enemy.

24 Kozma 1983: 46; Simén 1999: 135; Magyar 2011, I: 156. Another variant from Bukovina: Bosnyák 1993: 41–42.

25 Tánczos 1991: 138; Gál–Molnár V. 1999: 107–108; Magyar 2003: 257, 691.

26 Orbán 1869, II: 15; Latkóczy 1898: 146–147; Mohay 2015a: 86.

the next day found it on the main altar of the church.[27] It is only known from the Hungarian folklore of *Gyimes* in Moldavia province that the statue was found after digging out a beautiful lily from the ground [Appendix 3.].[28]

The tradition that also disappeared in the mists of the past, according to which the statue arrived from Moldavia to its present place, is generally known in Moldavia, and sporadically also on the border of Transylvania (in the Gyimes Valley).[29] Regarding the place of origin and the date of this devotional object, there are several hypotheses. The most likely is that similarly to other Szekler triptychs, this is also a work of art from a workshop in *Csíksomlyó* dating from the first half of the 16th century.[30] The Romanian historian Nicolae Iorga suggested, probably not independently from the Hungarian oral tradition in Moldavia, that the origin of the statue can be related to the Franciscans who settled in 1510 in *Bákó* (Bacău) and that it was taken (back) to *Csíksomlyó* before their Moldavian monastery burned down in 1574.[31] I agree with Tánczos in that the Moldavian origin of the devotional statue could explain both the Hungarian speaking Moldavians' (Changos') legends, and the Moldavian Hungarians' attachment to the Virgin Mary of *Csíksomlyó*.[32] To a certain extent this is analogous to the folklore tradition of the transportation of church bells to *Bákó*, recorded by Balázs Orbán in several places in Szeklerland.[33] However, I do not insist on the factual accuracy of this, particularly because this tradition is mainly interesting as folklore heritage.

[27] Latkóczy 1898: 149–150.

[28] Tánczos 1991: 138; Gál–Molnár V. 1999: 107–108; Magyar 2003: 257, 691.

[29] Tánczos 1991: 138–140; Magyar 2003: 691; 2011, II: 512–513.

[30] Radocsay 1967: 129.

[31] This tradition is first mentioned in mid-19th century sources (Erős 1852: 13), but it is not certain whether the records of the Franciscan author are an authentic folklore tradition or a scientific hypothesis.

[32] Tánczos 1991: 140; Tánczos 1997: 154.

[33] Orbán 1968, I: 106. The same author mentions a similar local legend according to which the triptych of *Csíkmenaság* (Armăşeni) arrived in Szeklerland from a Transylvanian Saxon locality during the Reformation (Orbán 1873, VI: 429).

Pic. No. 6.: *The statue of the Virgin Mary in Csíksomlyó*
(photo by Zoltán Magyar, 2009)

In several legend texts this Moldavian origin tradition is linked to one of the internationally acknowledged motives of the foundation legends, the miracle of the devotional statue (in other regions, a picture) which becomes heavy: the transporters/thieves of the statue try in vain to move the devotional object further than a given point (in our case this is the outskirts of the settlement). According to current knowledge, nowadays this is the most widespread and most popular legend concerning the devotional statue,[34] and it is related to the type well known in this legend circle but represented by just a few text variations: when the statue is taken away, it always flies back to its original place [Appendix 4.].[35]

In several legends concerning the statue the international legend motif that the Virgin Mary's statue is inviolable is commonly found: although it is made of wood, it does not catch fire [Appendix 5.] and even if the monastery burns down, the statue remains intact.[36]

[34] Magyar 2003: 691–693. This type is not yet mentioned in Losteiner's records
[35] Bosnyák 2001: 170; Magyar 2003: 693–694.
[36] Mohay 2015a: 98; Jordánszky 1836: 139.

This legend type is related to the crime and punishment type of stories that form part of the legends of other devotional places and objects. These include the idea that those who damage the sacred place, the devotional statue, the devotional picture, the cross, or the Holy Eucharist etc. will be struck by divine punishment. In the Transylvanian legends this negative role is played by the Tartars invading *Csíksomlyó*. Leonárd Losteiner recorded several similar miraculous stories in his manuscripts.[37] The most frequent motif of these legends is that the Tartar soldier who wants to destroy the statue collapses dead, or when he raises his weapon his hand becomes paralyzed [Appendix 6.].[38] According to a widespread subtype of this legend, the injury on the statue's face can be traced back to the chief Tartar's sword, and its failure to 'heal' in any way later can be interpreted as a divine sign.[39]

A further group of legends related to devotional statues concerns signs and actions connected with believers and pilgrims. Particularly characteristic of the folklore traditions dating back to the 18th–19th centuries is that changes in the statue's face (i.e. saddening) were interpreted mainly as signs of imminent tragic events.[40] Although it is already mentioned by the 18th century Franciscan chronicler,[41] it is in the popular folklore element of the 20th century collections that the statue of the Virgin Mary was seen to shed tears [Appendix 7.].[42]

The Virgin Mary's face brightening up is similarly mentioned in several miracle accounts,[43] and occasionally in the form of a shining star above the devotional statue's head.[44] A further group of legends related to the devotional statue emphasizes its immaculate nature: it remains fine and pure in every circumstance, dust never sticks to it, and therefore it never needs dusting.[45] We can read in a contemporary collection that similarly to the Virgin

[37] See the excerpts of the tradition in: Orbán 1869, II: 15; Miklós Endes' manuscript (OSZK Manuscript Archives, Fol. Hung. 2101); Mohay 2015a: 96–97.

[38] Examples of divine punishment related to the devotional statue are known from the 20th century, too: Bosnyák 1982: 101; Magyar 2003: 696.

[39] Mohay 2015a: 103, 129 (Leonárd Losteiner' manuscript, 1810–1815); Magyar 2003: 694–697. There is one remote analogy according to which the local tradition holds that the brick wall of the 13th century church of *Ákos* (Acîş) in Szatmár County could not be plastered in any way.

[40] Orbán 1869, II: 15; P. Boros 1994: 67, 71; Mohay 2015: 102. (Leonárd Losteiner's manuscript.)

[41] Mohay 2015a: 99, 103–104.

[42] Kozma 1983: 39, 42; Bosnyák 2001: 169; Magyar 2005: 122.

[43] Mohay 2015a: 100, 103, 125, 128. (Leonárd Losteiner's manuscript, 1810–1815.)

[44] Mohay 2015a: 102.

[45] Mohay 2015a: 128.

Mary's facial expression the colour of her hair also changes: it becomes dark in spring, and turns grey in autumn. Similar miraculous phenomena are attached to the Virgin Mary's face and eyes according to the evidence of recent folklore texts: her eyes follow people arriving at the devotional church and if the person in question is good, she smiles, while if the person is guilty then her look becomes sad and gloomy [Appendix 8.].[46] A local Franciscan author mentions several testimonies to prove that sinful people could not stand in front of the statue, because they could not withstand the Virgin Mary's keen, inquiring gaze.[47] Further sporadic data illustrate the devotional statue in active situations: according to a tradition recorded by Losteiner, the Virgin Mary once spoke to her believers,[48] and in "The Clowns' Present" type of story (see: ATU 827. *A Pious Innocent Man Knows Nothing of God*) probably traceable to popular prints, the Virgin Mary bent down and embraced the person who brought her a heartfelt gift [Appendix 9.].[49]

Folklore texts belonging to the tradition of the helping Virgin Mary form a separate group within the *Csíksomlyó* devotional place legend circle. Essentially, the legend of the origin of the Whitsunday pilgrimage is already one of these, similarly to all legends attributing the escape from the Tartars to the Virgin Mary (particularly in relation to the 1694 Tartar invasion). In reality, this is the miraculum group, which led in 1798 to the declaration of the wonderworking nature of the devotional statue and its canonisation. In evidence of witnesses from 1784, recently discovered and published by János Bárth, the picture of a devotional statue generally considered to be wonderworking was already taking shape in Transylvania in the second half of the 18th century [50]. However, the list of the 1784 hearings of witnesses are by no means without precedent: miraculous healings and cases of other prayers being heeded had been recorded in the preceding decades, primarily by the Losteiner manuscripts, and the number of these miracles has been increasing ever since,[51] being the most dynamic part of the legend circle, even at the beginning of the 21st century [Appendix 10.]. The number of legends belonging thematically to this circle nowadays exceeds one hundred; from among

46 Mohay 2015a: 98–99, 129.

47 P. Boros 1994: 71.

48 Orbán 1869, II: 15.

49 Dobos 1984: 18; Magyar 2003: 703. Type number in the *Catalogue of Hungarian Historical Legends*: MZ V. C 40.6. The Donation Accepted Wholeheartedly (The Clowns' Present) – Magyar 2018, V: 92.

50 Bárth 2000.

51 Esterházy 1696: 130; P. Kunits 1731: 54; P. Boros 1994: 71–73; Mohay 2015a: 104–122; Mohay 2015b: 635–639.

these I refer to a group of a few texts that were widespread in the medieval miraculums[52] [Pic. No. 7–8.]. These are stories not only of simple healings, but also of the resurrection of the dead (by the Virgin Mary's heavenly intervention – see: Thompson: Mot. D1865.).[53]

Pic. No. 7.: *Objects expressing gratitude for prayers being heeded*
(photo by Zoltán Magyar, 2009)

As I have already mentioned, the sacral aura of the church extends beyond the building itself. Henrik Wlislocki's data recorded at the end of the 19th century about a famous tree (a "holy tree") on which pilgrims wishing to be healed of a sickness hang pieces of cloth[54] [Pic. No. 9.] resembles the world of animism and is part of the Hungarian tree and forest cult.[55] The custom of touching pieces of cloth to the Virgin Mary's statue can even be observed among contemporary pilgrims, similarly to the fact that certain

[52] Magyar 2009a: 159; Magyar 2010: 132.

[53] Vö.: Orbán 1869, II, 15; P. Boros 1994: 73; Bárth 2000: 37; Mohay 2015a: 109–110.

[54] Wlislocki 1895: 17. This belief and rite can be observed nowadays in a Szekler village situated about 50 km away from *Csíksomlyó* (*Oroszhegy*, Dealu) at the spring named "*Urusos kút*" ("Healing well") which was a place of pilgrimage before the 19th century. For the general bibliography on the topic, see Wlislocki 1894.

[55] See Ferenczi 1960.

grasses, roots, and branches found in the surroundings of the devotional church are considered to have healing and sacramental power.[56] In a contemporary collection by Zoltán Kakas we can read about cobbles picked up on the holy mountain whose sacramental strength is due to the touch of angels' feet, according to the folk belief.[57] Other "pagan" stones have also been highly respected for a long time and even found their way into the devotional church and the Chapel of the Salvator, in order to demonstrate the millennial continuity of the place of worship.[58]

Pic. No. 8.: *Objects expressing gratitude for prayers being heeded*
(photo by Zoltán Magyar, 2009)

[56] Tánczos 1991: 154.
[57] Kakas 2000.
[58] Simén 1999: 132.

Pic. No. 9.: *Clothes hung on trees and on the cross near Oroszhegy/Dealu*
(photo by Zoltán Magyar, 2009)

Another stone or group of stones inspired a legend which is still widely known among older pilgrims, and is in reality a crime and punishment type of story localized to *Csíksomlyó*: a woman wove even on a feast-day, and as a result God turned her to stone [Appendix 11.]. This strange shaped rock, the so-called "stone weaving loom" (*Kőosztováta*), could actually be seen on the mountain until the 20th century and pilgrims made a point of visiting it; however, it no longer exists, having been destroyed or simply disappeared.[59] Another tradition that belongs to the crime and punishment thematic group reports that it is impossible to climb the holy mountain with a sinful soul (i.e. without confession).[60]

[59] Some variants of this type of legend: Orbán 1869, II: 22.; Kritsa 1887, 2.; Duka 1993: 41–42; Magyar 2003: 281–283; Magyar 2009b: 270–271.

[60] Tánczos 1991: 149.

Pic. No. 10.: *Looking into Sun*
(photo by Zsigmond Csoma)

Pict. No. 11.: *Looking into Sun*
(photo by Imre Harangozó, 1998)

The Moldavian Hungarians' Whitsunday religious tradition, the so-called "looking into the Sun", is also linked to the *Kissomlyó* mountain. [Pic. No. 10–11.] According to the pilgrims' belief, at this time the Holy Spirit appears in the rising Sun, mainly as a pigeon symbol.[61] The narratives of these apparitions can be collected sporadically at the eastern border of Transylvania, in Gyimes Valley.[62] Although this custom and belief counts as a folkloristic curiosity, similar sacred traditions are also known from several Hungarian settlements in Transdanubia and the Hungarian Highlands, but there they are related to the Day of the Birth of Mary (8 September) and to the Virgin Mary seen in the morning sun.[63]

Sporadic folklore texts about seeing the Virgin Mary and the Virgin Mary's appearance exist in relation to *Csíksomlyó*;[64] however, taking the whole legend circle into consideration these texts are not an organic part of the tradition, and they can be considered invariants in the folkloristic sense. Since these are all folklore texts recorded in the 20th century, they show one of the possible developing directions of the devotional place legend circle.

Besides the numerous and renewing text groups of miraculous healings and prayers being heeded, cases related to Russian invaders in 1944, stories of communists' miraculous conversions in *Csíksomlyó* or those punished by the Virgin Mary, the memory of Bishop Áron Márton's presence at the last Whitsunday pilgrimage in 1949 before the communist prohibition and the hermit settled near the Chapel of the Salvator have become historical legends related to the shrine. The survival of the legend circle and its possible thematic enlargement in the future is not only stimulated by the devotional place becoming a symbol for all Hungarians and the Whitsunday pilgrimage being attended by hundreds of thousands, but also – in a somewhat ambivalent way – by the regular presence of Hungarian neo-pagan groups, who likewise see the devotional place as the part of their own mythology.[65]

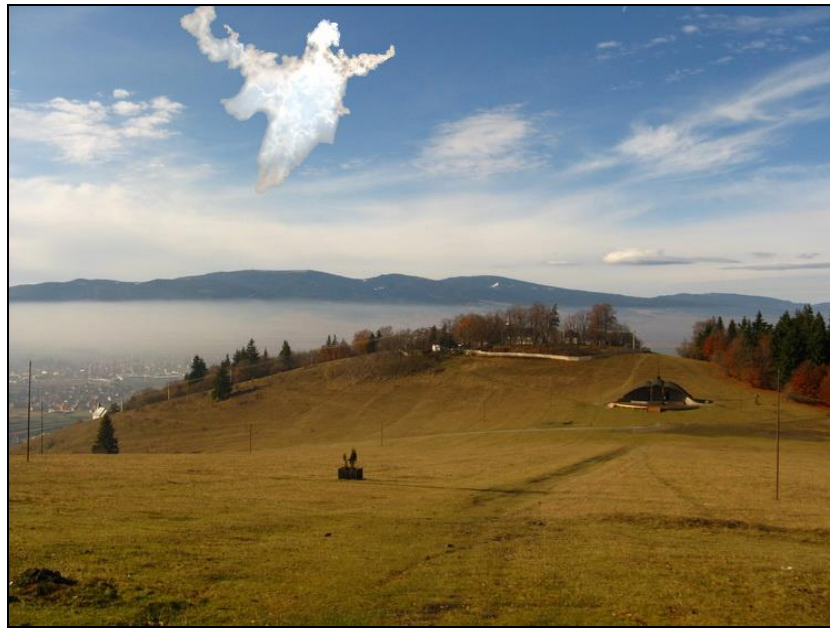
[61] Tánczos 1991: 153; Barna 1993: 58; Daczó 1997: 172; Peti 2008: 151–161; Peti 2012: 145–161; Keszeg–Pócs–Peti eds. 2009: 126–132.

[62] Magyar 2003: 700–701.

[63] Bálint 1977, II: 269.

[64] See Salamon 1987: 175, 178.

[65] For the neo-pagan presence at *Csíksomlyó* see Ilyés 2014: 308–311.



Pict. No. 12.: *"Angel" above the holy mountain*
(photo from the Internet)

Appendix

Heavenly ladder

1. They saw a heavenly ladder descended from Heaven at his place, where miraculous processions and songs could be heard at night. That is why this place was called the Saviour's place. 1734 DI20 Aug MA.

(Romania: Szeklerland: the epigraph of the outer wall of the Chapel of the Salvator in *Csíksomlyó*.)

The origin of the Whitsunday Pilgrimage

2. In *Csíksomlyó* there is the pilgrimage because one of the big landlords was Protestant and wanted to convert the whole region to the Protestant religion. Then the Catholics rallied to the hillside, so children, women, everybody wearing the same men's caps, and the army was halted. When the army came, they wondered what a great force they were facing, but most of them were woman and children. So the way they came, the same way they withdrew. And in memory of this they hold the *Csíksomlyó* pilgrimage.

(Romania: Szeklerland – Zoltán Magyar's collection 2011.)

The statue dug out from the ground

3. A little girl was hoeing in the field. As she was hoeing, all of a sudden, she found a beautiful lily. She was delighted by it, then she ran away to call for help, to dig it out, to take it home. To plant it in their garden. However, the news spread quickly and even the bailiff heard about it. They went to admire it. When they went there, the bailiff spoke: "That beautiful lily has to be taken, not to the backyard, but to the county's yard. "

As they started digging, they noticed that there was something underneath. They looked and they found a coffin: the lily had grown out of a coffin. Then they dug out the coffin and opened it. Well, there was a statue of the Virgin Mary in it. They put it on a cart and hitched the cart to oxen, but the two oxen couldn't drag it. They hitched up four oxen and the four oxen couldn't pull it. Even six oxen couldn't move it. Well, they were astonished. They realised that the Virgin Mary statue has its rightful place right there, and that's why they can't take it away. Then they decided that they would build a church there so the statue of the Virgin Mary would stay there. And then they built that big monastery in *Csíksomlyó* and they placed the Virgin Mary's statue there.

(Romania: Gyimes Valley – Magyar 2003: 691. – Zoltán Magyar's collection, 2001.)

The devotional statue flies back to its original place

4. Listen to this: The Turks wanted to take it away, and they went to the bridge over the Olt, and neither human power nor animal power, nothing, nothing could take it further on from that bridge. They struggled for three nights and three days, because at nights the statue flew back to that willow. So, they had to leave it there, because it always flew back to that willow. And then the old monk said that where Virgin Mary's statue was, there they should build a monastery.

(Romania: Gyimes Valley – Bosnyák 2001:170. – Sándor Bosnyák's collection, 1988.)

The devotional statue intact even in fire

5. The Tartars wanted to take it away, and they even set light to it, but it didn't burn. The Tartars lit the statue, they wanted to burn it, but it didn't burn.

(Szeklerland: Orotva – Magyar 2011, I: 166. – Zoltán Magyar's collection, 2009.)

The devotional statue cannot be destroyed by the enemy (Those who offend the devotional statue are struck by divine punishment)

6. I don't know more about it than that the Turkish chased it that time. The monks tried to save the statue of the Virgin Mary, taking it on a cart towards *Udvarhely*, across Hargita. One of the Turks was rude, and pulled out his sword to cut it into the statue. And as he pulled it out, his sword stiffened, and so did his whole body. He also turned to stone. Then the Virgin Mary's statue was saved for a while during the time the enemy was approaching. Then they returned, because that monastery is the Virgin Mary's home. That statue works so many miracles that anyone who prays to the Virgin Mary, will be listened to. Even nowadays, too.

(Romania: Gyimes Valley – Magyar 2003: 695. – Zoltán Magyar's collection, 2006.)

The weeping devotional statue

7. I heard it in this way, that they said that her eyes were shedding tears. Then they said that if the Virgin Mary was weeping then danger would come to the people. Because they said this when the first World War started, at that time too, and at the time of the second World War too, and now during the Revolution of 1989, too [in Romania], they said this, that the Virgin Mary was shedding tears.

(Romania: Szeklerland – Magyar 2011, I: 178. – Zoltán Magyar's collection, 2007.)

Alternations to the face of the devotional statue

8. An old woman said: "Oh, you Julia, if you went to *Csíksomlyó* just once, then you would always go!" I went as long as I could. And she said: when people enter the church, then she smiles [Virgin Mary's statue]. And when they come out, she sheds tears.

(Romania: Szeklerland – Magyar 2011, I: 178. – Zoltán Magyar's collection, 2007.)

The clown's present

9. The clown also heard about the Virgin Mary. But he could neither pray nor do anything at all; even so, he would have liked to get to *Csíksomlyó*, to the Virgin Mary, so much. And he went to *Csíksomlyó*. And what can he do? He can't pray. But he can show his clown acting. In the meantime, a priest was looking at him in secret from the back. And when he did his clown acting, when it ended, the Virgin Mary bent down to him and hugged him.

But only the priest saw this. That Virgin Mary was pleased with this present too, because he offered it to her.

(Romania: Valley of Gyimes – Magyar 2003: 703. – Zoltán Magyar's collection, 1996.)

The sweating devotional statue

10. The Virgin Mary is sweating. They go to wipe her. And they use the handkerchief even afterwards: when somebody has a headache, or they wipe other painful parts with it, and the pain goes away.

(Romania: Moldova/Gyimes Valley – Magyar 2011, I: 100–101. – Zoltán Magyar's collection, 2002.)

The weaving woman turned to stone

11. It happened somewhere where the *Somlyó* pilgrimage is held, where people go to the mountain in a procession. Well, this must have been a very long time ago. I was little when it was said that it had happened sometime there. There were houses there on that on hilltop, and then a woman wove. She wove the canvas. The other went there, her neighbour:

"Thank God", she said, "God helped me, your weaving is shrinking now".

"Whether He helps or not, this is shrinking!"

And she turned to stone. And they said, those who went to the *Csíksomlyó* pilgrimage saw her, looked at her. People went and looked, but then it was destroyed in the end, fell to dust, so it can't be found now. But they said it had been there for a long time: the woman in the weaving loom, and underneath even the brood-hen with its chicken. They were turned to stone.

(Romania: Gyimes Valley – Magyar 2003: 282. – Zoltán Magyar's collection, 1996.)

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Post-UNESCO Effect: The Journey of Chhau from Cultural Sentiment to Commercialization

Abstract

Chhau, a traditional masked dance form of West Bengal, was listed as an 'Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity' by UNESCO in 2010. In 2015, UNESCO in cooperation with the Micro, Small and Medium Enterprise of the Government of West Bengal developed a 'Rural Craft Hub' in Chorida village of Purulia district centring on Chhau. Consequently, tourism in the area was boosted both internationally and nationally. This phenomenon encouraged the commercialization of the traditional dance and craft form associated with Chhau as a result of heritagization. Unfortunately, the implication of the heritagization occurred in a flawed fashion which eventually led to folklorization and institutionalization while compromising their contextual significance. This paper explores how heritagization ensures the sustainability of an intangible tradition like Chhau while leading to folklorization and institutionalization of performance and craft. The paper also documents the history and ritualistic significance of Chhau to draw a lucid comparison between the traditional form and the form that results from folklorization. The paper establishes that heritagization, folklorization, and institutionalisation are intertwined with each other in the context of Chhau. From the interviews conducted with tourists and locals associated with Chhau, it is evident that any organization concerned with policy making should keep it in mind that an enormous distortion of craft and performance will be an obvious result when the target buyers in the market are alien to the traditional context. In such a scenario, the contextual significance of a craft form can be kept intact if the targeted buyers can be made aware of the contextual and functional relevance of the folkloric element that they are consuming in its modernized version.

Keywords: Chhau, Performing Art, Heritagization, Folklorization, Institutionalization

Introduction

India has a legacy of masked dance, representing an assimilation of tangible and intangible cultural heritage. A varied range of masks with diverse physical aspects exists all over the world from Africa to Oceania, East Asia to Latin America. There is hardly any traditional culture where the existence of a mask cannot be seen. Mask is a form of art and sometimes, being abstract in appearance when placed out of context, its color and decoration also have semiotic significance.[1] It is widely believed, however, that anything that is a part of folklore has to have a functional value and such functions can be categorized into four groups amusement, education, validation of culture, and maintaining conformity.[2] This cross-generic performance is even mentioned in Bharatmuni's *Natyasashtra* which dates back to approximately between 200 BCE and 200 CE in a segment titled 'Use of masks'. The ancient book notes that "Similarly different masks (pratisira) are to be used for gods and men according to their habitation, birth and age"[3]. The word "Pratisira" is synonymous with the Sanskrit word "Pratisirsak' which means a headcover and not the face cover.[4] *Ramman, Chham, Bhaona, Danda Yatra, Prahlad Natakam, Gambhira, Mukhakhel,* and *Chhau* are the names of a few of the traditional masked dance forms that reflect their socio-cultural milieu in different geographical regions. Among all these, Chhau of Purulia district has gained substantial popularity worldwide which has elevated it to the platform of being a cultural identifier of Bengal. The reason behind such fame is its listing as 'UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, 2010'.[5] Since then, the Chhau mask-making village, Chorida has caught the attention of the West Bengal Government and it has been developed as a 'Rural Craft Hub' by the State Government's Department of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises and Textiles, in association with UNESCO.[6]

The initiative taken by UNESCO and the Department of MSME has attracted a large number of tourists to Jhalda Sub-division of the Purulia district as the locality is graced with the natural beauty of the Ajodhya hill and the heritage of the Chhau dance. With tourists flocking towards Jhalda, cultural tourism has proliferated in this area with a special focus on the Chhau performance. At present, Chhau is performed at the resorts 'on request' and

1 Pollock 1995: 581–597. Proofreaders: Donald E. Morse – Balázs Venkovits.
2 Bascom 1954: 333–349.
3 Ghosh 1951: 429.
4 Karmakar 2014: 96; Ghosh 1951: 429.
5 UNESCO 2010.
6 UNESCO 2015.

'in lieu of remuneration'. The heritagization of Chhau is evidently enhancing the livelihood opportunities of the craftsmen and the performers but the frenzy surrounding this folkloric performance is directing it towards 'folklorization'. Therefore, this paper will examine how 'heritagization' ensures the sustainability of an intangible tradition like Chhau while leading to the 'folklorization' and the 'institutionalization' of this performance and craft.

To address this question, the article begins with describing the conceptual framework and how the concepts may be applied to the diachronic transition of Chhau. Second, the paper discusses the methods and methodologies that have been used to collect data and provides an analysis of them. Third, the paper introduces Chhau as a folk performing art form and finally, it discusses the process of heritagization, folklorization, and institutionalization in the context of Chhau.

Conceptual Framework

Chhau traditionally performed at the end of Chaitra month in the pretext of Gajan, is a folk festival associated with Shiva, whose worship is prevalent in West Bengal. However, the process of heritagization of Chhau started in the area at the beginning of the 21st century. According to Walsh, the process of heritagization targets the locals to bolster the sentiment that the relevance of the heritage is more to them than what it is to foreigners.[7] When heritagization involves culture institutionally, as happened in the case of Chhau after being listed as a cultural heritage by UNESCO, tourism becomes an integral part of the endeavour. Authorities rely on the help of their tourism industry to decide how cultural heritage should be exposed and interpreted to underpin a certain political order.[8] The process of heritagization recycles old ideas and rejuvenates them by transforming them according to the relevance of the present political system.[9] But sometimes the aim of imbibing the idea of 'more mine' fails and there the process of heritagization leads to folklorization as the entire phenomenon becomes centred on commercialization.

In the case of Chhau of Purulia, the contextual relevance has diminished due to the commercialization of the performance. Hans Moser in his seminal lecture "Folklorism in our time" defined the term "folklorismus" or folklorism in English as "second-hand mediation and presentation of folk

7 Walsh 1992.
8 Nilsson 2018: 35–54.
9 Nilsson 2018: 35–54.

culture"[10]. Later Herman Bausinger elaborated on the concept of folklorismus as "the use of material or stylistic elements of folklore in a context which is foreign to the original tradition"[11]. Therefore, folklorism along with UNESCO's concept of 'folklorization' can be used to explore the bidirectional journey of Chhau.[12] According to Alan Dundes:

> "the best definitions of the various forms of folklore will be based upon criteria from all three levels of analysis. For this reason, it is probably a mistake for the folklorists to leave the analysis of texture to linguists and the analysis of context to cultural anthropologists. The well rounded folklorist should hopefully attempt to analyse all three levels."[13]

Though the word context primarily signifies social context, the contextualists use it to give importance to another aspect which is the performance context.[14] Thus, the distortion of the performance context has been studied employing Richard Schechner's "Performance Theory"[15]. According to Richard Schechner:

> "As a discipline, performance studies takes actions very seriously in four ways. First, behavior is the 'object of the study' of performance studies. Although performance studies scholars use the 'archive' extensively – what's in books, photographs, the archaeological record, historical remains, etc. – their dedicated focus is on the 'repertory', namely, what people do in the activity of their doing it. Second, artistic practice is a big part of the performance studies project. A number of performance studies scholars are also practicing artists working in the avant-garde, in community-based performance, and doing performance is integral."[16]

Similarly, the masks of the Chhau dance are now primarily made to be sold as souvenirs. The dimensions of the masks which are widely made to be sold in Chorida village do not match the ones which are made as ordered by the performers. This process of delineating an art form from its traditional contextual background is termed 'folklorization'. The term has been incorporated by UNESCO to be applied to Intangible Cultural Heritage but it goes back to Hans Moser's concept of Folklorismus (second-hand mediation of

10 Moser 1962: 180.
11 Bausinger 1984: 1405; Smidchens 1991: 2.
12 Seitel 2001; Newal 1987: 131–151.
13 Dundes 1980: 32.
14 Sen 2008: 90.
15 Schechner 2002.
16 Schechner 2002.

folk culture) published in 1962.[17] Defining 'folklorization', John H. McDowell claims that it is "a processing of local tradition for external consumption"[18]. Albert van der Zeijden expains that "Folklorization forms a part of a dynamic process of giving heritage a new meaning by transforming it into a museum piece"[19]. According to Mateja Habnic, "folklorization is not a specific character of socialist times; it is a part of the more general project of modernization"[20]. In the International Round Table on "'Intangible Cultural Heritage' – Working definitions", Peter Seitel defines folklorization as "the re-stylization of traditional expressions so that they become less complex aesthetically and semantically"[21]. Hafstein in his famous article on folklorization writes that folklorization is an approach to keep the ghost of authenticity alive.[22] Each of these properties of folklorization as discussed by scholars can also be seen as occurring within a tangible cultural heritage. Additionally, it can be aptly stated that 'folklorization' is about restyling an element of folklore to match the demand of modernization while encouraging heritagization of aesthetical and semantical archetype form.[23] Therefore, this research argues that Chhau has been experiencing folklorization as an aftermath of heritagization by UNESCO. Moreover, the research discusses the process of institutionalisation of Chhau which somehow harmed the basic folkloric characteristics of Chhau as a folk-dance form. The term institutionalization seen in a sociological perspective stands for the process by which beliefs, norms, social roles, values, or certain modes of behaviour are embedded in an organisation, a social system, or a society as a whole.[24]

Methodology

This case study focuses on Chhau of the Purulia district in Bengal. Repeated field visits have been conducted in this area following an in-depth case study.[25] To understand the archetypal form of Chhau performance and the process of heritagization, archival research has been conducted in museums

17 Hafstein 2018: 140.
18 McDowell 2010.
19 Zeijden 2015: 195–197.
20 Habnic 2012: 185–196.
21 Seitel 2001.
22 Hafstein 2018: 127–149.
23 Hafstein 2018: 127–149; Zeijden 2015: 195–197; Habnic 2012: 185–196; Seitel 2001.
24 Sabnam n.d.
25 Flybjerg 2006: 219–245.

and using documentaries. As there is limited research available in this respect, further studies are needed to understand the process of folklorization of Chhau. Empirical data for the study have been collected by using semi-structured interviews with the purveyor and consumer.

I made two rounds of field visits to Purulia. First I visited Chorida on 20th September 2020 and spent around seven days interviewing, talking to the mask maker and observing the folk performances. Second, I made another round of field trip in December of the same year to complete the interview process. In total I interviewed 15 performers, six craftsmen and six NGO and other Governmental authorities. The 15 performers whom I interviewed were of various ages ranging from 14 to 62 years. Each interview took somewhere between 45 minutes to one hour which focused mainly on understanding the altering values and approaches of the performers towards the dance form. The questions were open ended in nature to allow flexibility. The questions included, for example, the following: *How have you seen the plot of the dance form changing? How do you feel about the change in the context of the dance form? What changes have you seen after the coaching centres were opened? Do you feel that it is important to make alterations in the dance form to attract urban tourists? Who are the prime viewers of Chhau at present?*

Additionally, six craftsmen of Chorida have been interviewed in an effort to understand the resettlement pattern, market structure, organizational endeavors, socio-cultural background and contextual significance of the mask in the market. Using the same pattern the craftsmen were asked questions, including the following: *Who are the primary buyers? What ratios of the product ares manufactured for the performer and tourists? Which of these masks are real characters of Chhau? Which are improvised and included from other cultures and are not connected to Chhau at all? Have you taken training from an institution or has the skill been acquired from the previous generation?*

Six NGO and Governmental officials were also interviewed in order to understand the process of heritagization that had been planned at different levels. Also, ten tourists were interviewed in Chorida in various resorts of the area to collect data about the market demand for the performance and the craft form associated with it.

Chhau as a Cross-Generic Dance Form

Chhau is currently considered an integral part of the identity of Purulia district because of its heritage. Although Bagmundi is referred to as the romantic land of Chhau because of its legacy in the performative tradition, the dance tradition is now scattered all over the district along with Jharkhand and Odisha. Historically, this part of the plateau used to be called the Manbhum. The name is believed to be derived from the rulers of the Mana family.[26] The Chhau dance originated in Purulia around 250 years ago. Gambhir Singh Mura, a Chhau dancer of Purulia is considered to be the bearer of the prosperity of the Chhau dance. Concerning the Chhau dance diachronically, the period of Jipa Singh Mura, father of Gambhir Singh Mura may be considered as the 'Period of Blooming' and Gambhir Singh Mura's period as the 'Period of Prosperity'[27]. Ever since then the dance form has prospered in various dimensions. Though Gambhir Singh Mura, as well as his son Kartik Singh Mura, said that Gambhir Singh had not learned the dance from a guru or teacher but rather he acquired it by seeing others as happens in the case of folkloric performances. Currently, the dance form is taught in formal coaching centers in Purulia. Nowadays, Chhau is mostly practiced in Baghmudi, Bandoan, Jhalda, Burrabazar and Arsa. This is traditionally a martial art-centric acrobatic dance form but with time and place, alteration and evolution occur. The text of this dance form centers on various fragments of different Hindu mythologies like Mahabharata, Ramayana, Bhagvat Purana, etc. The dance form was traditionally dominated by male dancers but recently female dancers have also been performing.[28] Simplification and modernization can be observed in Jhalda, while the Bandoan area has a conservative pattern of dancing. Arsa has no particular uniqueness in its style. Traditionally, Munda and Bhumij people used to participate mostly in the Chhau dance form but later the Kurmi and the Mahatos also started participating in the performance. Today, apart from these people the Dom, Hari, Santhal, Oraon, Sunri, Khasi, Rajowar also take part in Chhau performances. The Dom, Suri and Hari communities are considered to be the most skilled instrument players. The majority of the Chhau dancers are Hindu but some small participation can also be seen in the district at present.[29] Chorida, the most prominent mask-making village in

[26] Karan 1371.
[27] Roy 2017: 242.
[28] Barik–Mukherjee 2021.
[29] Roy 2017: 230.

India has a history of three hundred years or more. The Chhau dance was first introduced by Gopal Singh, the king of Baghmundi. Later King Madon Mohan Singh, son of Gopal Singh, spread this ceremonial dance form over all of Purulia.[30] Along with that, it is believed that the Sutradhar community engaged in mask making in Chorida was invited from Burddhaman district by the royal family to make clay idols of the gods and goddesses.[31] According to Dipankar Ghosh, the royal family of Baghmundi was converted to Hinduism in the first half of the 18th century, the ancestors of the recent mask makers of Purulia settled in Chorida village near Baghmundi around that time[32]. Although the mask makers of Chorida began with clay idol making, to enrich the aesthetical properties of the Chhau dance form masks werealso introduced. The population of Purulia has typically a dark complexion with a broad nose and blunt features as the majority of the population belong to Proto Australoid tribal communities. Scholars argued that as most of the performers of the Chhau dance have facial features that are not aesthetically pleasing, to make the dance form more beautiful, masks were introduced in Chhau.[33] Thus Chorida, the Sutradhar village became a mask maker's village. After the inclusion of Chorida as a Craft Hub by MSME and UNESCO more Sutradhar families have been migrating towards this village in hopes of a better livelihood.

Extensive research has already been done on the different aspects of Chhau. Historiography, aesthetics, performativity, community and tourism associated with Chhau have been studied by various scholars. Ashutosh Bhattacharya documented Chhau as a dance form in his books.[34] Mani Bardhan's "Bangla-r Lokonrityo O Geetiboichitro" offers a detailed description of dances of Bengal, briefly touching upon Chhau as well.[35] Chhau as a dance form has been documented in "Bangiyo Lokosanskriti Kosh"[36]. U. K. Banerjee's *Chhau Dance Traditional to Contemporary* explores the transition of the Chhau dance in Purulia, Seraikela and Mayurbhanj. This book covers multi-dimensional aspects of contemporary Chhau.[37] Badri Prasad's "Bharartiya Chounritya: Itihas, Sanskriti Aur Kala" documents the historiography of tri-

30 Saha 2017: 1732.
31 Sarkar–Mistry 2015: 83–96.
32 Ghosh 2012.
33 Sarkar–Mistry 2015: 83–96.
34 Bhattacharya 1972; Bhattacharya 2011.
35 Bardhan 2004.
36 Chowdhury 2012: 178–179.
37 Banerjee 2020.

regional versions of Chhau.[38] In this context, it should be noted that Chhau as a dance form can also be found in two other regions of India which are Mayurbhanj or Odisha and Seraikela of Jharkhand. Although these three versions of Chhau differ from each other on the basis of dance posture and mask aesthetics, the origin of these three are the same as broadly discussed in Badri Prasad's book. Mita Baxi Ghosh mainly focuses on the community associated with Chhau.[39] Another book titled *Purulia Jela Lokosanskriti Porichoy Grantha* analysed and documented Chhau from the perspective of performance and craft and also employed a comparative method in three separate essays written by Shantanu Roy, Mita Baxi Ghosh and Achintya Majee.[40] On the other hand, masks used in Chhau have been documented in two books.[41] Ananya Bhattacharya discusses the sustainable tourism prospect of Chhau along with a few other folkloric forms of Bengal.[42] Mrityunjoy Karmakar documents the mask-making craft of Chorida along with many other craft forms but the researcher failed to conduct an extensive study.[43] Although extensive research has been conducted on this particular dance form, its diachronic journey through the process of heritagization, folklorization and institutionalisation have remained unaddressed by scholars.

Cardinale Stephane in "Intangible heritage and livelihoods: a case study on the heritage of Purulia Chhau dance from India" documents the impact of heritagization of Purulia Chhau on the livelihood of the performers and the craftsmen.[44] She talks about the modernization of Chhau in the chapter "A Discussion on Intangible Heritage Revitalisation as Modernisation" but the information provided remains insufficient. She documents a theatrical performance of Chhau adopting Shakespeare's *Macbeth* as the modernized version of Chhau. However, the theatrical form is nothing but an amalgamation of Chhau masks and postures with kathakali masks in a proscenium theatrical setting.

In the context of the existing scholarly literature, my research aims to document the decontextualization of Chhau from its religious pretext and the mask from the dance form. It explores how the archetypal form of Chhau has been musealized while the simplified version has taken over the market to meet the demand of the external consumers. Similar research has been

38 Prasad 2013.
39 Baxi Ghosh 2008: 229–331.
40 Roy 2017: 227–255; Baxi Ghosh 2017: 133–148; Maji 2017: 152–154.
41 Ghosh 2012; Sarkar 1990.
42 Bhattacharya 2011.
43 Karmakar 2014.
44 Stefania 2019.

conducted on different intangible heritages of the world but Chhau has remained untouched in this context.[45] Therefore, my research intends to help in policy making to safeguard the Chhau dance and to ensure its survivals along with its contextual significance.

Bringing the Past into the Present

The concept of heritagization refers to "a mode of cultural production in the present which has recourse to the past"[46]. Park, Tae, Ok and Kwon in *Heritagization and Institutionalization of Taekkyeon* state that heritagization refers to the process whereby various pasts are constructed in the present to address a contemporary need, issue or circumstance.[47] The post-UNESCO inclusion stages of Chhau justify the claim of Park and his co-investigators. Following the enrolment of Chhau as a semi-classical dance form in the list of the 'UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity, 2010' the dance form began receiving increased attention from different parts of the world as a cultural heritage.[48] Consequently, various Non-Governmental Organizations and Governmental Organizations have become interested in Chhau. The state government used the heritage classification as a basis for creating a tourism industry surrounding it. Thus, Charida has been developed as a 'Rural Craft Hub' by the State Government's Department of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises and Textiles in 2015. The village was reconstructed in such a way that the Chhau mask selling shops were constructed along both sides of the main road in a linear pattern. [Pic. No. 1.] In no time the entire district has become a tourist destination because of this international heritagization of a tribal-dominated folk-dance form. Similarly, innumerable hotels, resorts and tourism cottages have emerged in and around the district to provide accommodation for tourists. Around these resorts, a new variant of Chhau performance has also emerged. This variant is performed in an alien space that is contextually disconnected from the traditional form of Chhau but created with the intention to fulfilling the demands of a glocalized market. This variant is locally called "Call Show"[49] [Pic. No. 2.]. Here the tourists contact the hotel management to call Chhau performers on the lawn of the hotel in the evening to perform the Chhau dance. Moreover, the masks of Chhau also went

45 Hafstein 2018: 127–149; Berdslee 2016: 89–101; Moisala 2019; Foster 2011: 63–107.
46 Krisheblett–Gimblett 1955: 369.
47 Park, Tae, Ok, Kwon 2019: 1555–1566.
48 UNESCO 2010.
49 Roy 2017: 234.

through episodic alteration to meet the demands of the urban tourists flocking Purulia. Chorida as a rural craft hub earned immense popularity over the past decade which eventually inspired many more mask makers to settle in and around the village, resulting in a rise in the production of masks. Although the entire phenomenon of heritagization of Chhau brought an increased scope of livelihood for the performers and the artisans, the tourism-centric approach of the government led to the condition where the contextuality of this performing art is at stake. The performance, as well as the craft form have been simplified to meet the demands of the urban consumers in a way that the functional value has been compromised to a great extent.

Pic. No. 1.: *The porches of the houses on two sides of the road in Chorida village have been transformed in to Chhau Mask Selling shops*. (Photo by Ayantika Chakraborty)

Pic. No. 2.: *Lawn of a resort Purulia where Chhau is performed for tourists as a 'Call Show'.* (Photo by Ayantika Chakraborty)

Decontextualization of the Folkloric Element

Innumerable intangible cultural forms which have experienced heritagization have also gone through folklorization even though the period needed for folklorization to manifest itself varies with every folkloric form. It differs depending on the culture, the response of the governmental and non-governmental agencies and the approach of the people who are associated with it, including the performers, craftsmen, buyers and viewers. In the case of Chhau, the process of folklorization gathered momentum in a decade. Since its selection as a UNESCO Cultural Heritage, the documentation, preservation and musealization of the performance have been managed by individuals and organizations to keep its heritage status intact. However, Chhau is presently performed all through the year as call shows in hotels. To be precise, not only for tourism purposes but also in Rite de Passage ceremonies Chhau gets performed as an element of entertainment. Traditionally, Chhau has the religious ritualistic context of Gajan parab but presently it can be divided into two types based on their context: i) religious sphere and ii) entertainment sphere. In the recent scenario, it can be seen that Chhau presently is performed mostly for entertainment purposes all through the year whereas the ritualistic religious performances remain restricted from March to mid-June. The traditional ritualistic performance of Chhau begins on the last day of the Bengali calendar and the performance continues for four days.[50] However, in the present scenario, the dance is performed for an hour or two and does not involve any opening or closing rituals. According to Richard Schechner, "Because rituals take place in special, often sequestered places, the very act of entering the 'sacred space' has an impact on participants. In such spaces, special behaviour is required."[51]

In the present context, this ritual time and space have been compromised to meet the market demand. The ritualistic special behavior automatically occurs in the unconscious of the performer while performing in a ritualistic context. This context creates the essence of a ritualistic performance. However, due to the market orientation and compromising context, the ritualistic contextual essence becomes obsolete, leaving the performance in a condition that is simplified just as a commercial performance.

Performance space that validates the texture of performance has also experienced an alteration in the present entertainment-centric Chhau dance. Chhau is performed traditionally on an open stage which can be subdivided

[50] Roy 2017: 227.
[51] Schechner 2002: 71.

into land-based or stage-based spaces. Every folk dance form has its certain stage arrangements according to which the green rooms are assigned, the entrance and exit of the performers, the sitting arrangement for the instruments players are assigned but presently Chhau is performed anywhere and everywhere ranging from processions to resort gardens. The simplification or the folklorization have taken over this performing art form to such an extent that the contextual and the textural functionality of the performance have been completely distorted.

Pic. No. 3.: *Souvenirs of Chhau Masks being sold in a shop in Chorida village.*
(Photo by Ayantika Chakraborty)

Chhau as a cross generic performance builds on the significance of the mask as performance prop. Traditionally, masks of the Chhau dance used to be of mythological characters which include Gods and Goddesses, ogres, animals, birds and tribal couples. However, presently the Chhau masks are not confined to the mythological characters, which the textual characters of Chhau demands, rather the inclusion of Kathakali face painting and Buddha masks can be seen. Interestingly, the dimension of Chhau mask has altered to such an extent that the functional relevance of the mask has come into jeopardy. The Chhau masks which are made in Chorida on a large scale are made with the intention of selling them to the tourists so that they can buy

the masks as souvenirs to decorate their walls. Consequently, to avoid the heavy weight of the pompously decorated masks, the size of the facial part of the mask has been decreased to such an extent that it does not fit the human face. If a Chhau mask is seen on a wall in any part of the world without knowing the functional relevance of the craft form, it may be assumed it is only a home décor piece. The context of Chhau has been completely detached from the original Chhau masks to create a larger market for the craft piece. This detachment of the craft piece from the traditional performance context validates the concept of folklorization which advocates the restyling of the folkloric element to meet the demand of modernization while encouraging heritagization of aesthetical and semantical archetype forms.

Chorida as a village has seen a lot of change since the beginning of the process of heritagization of Chhau. Previously, Chhau masks used to be produced in different villages of Purulia but after the establishment of Rural Craft Hub in Chorida village, an increase in population of the Sutradhar community and the mask maker community can be seen. This on the one hand, led to the increased production of the masks, while on the other hand, the functionality of mask has changed.

Institutionalization of Folklore

Institutionalization goes hand in hand with heritagization; the entire approach to heritagize a cultural phenomenon is an institutionalised endeavour. An individual can never institutionalize a cultural performance, it needs a group of educated individuals to institutionalize a cultural element to preserve and disseminate it. In the case of Chhau, the cross generic art form has become institutionalized as an Intangible Cultural Heritage by UNESCO with the aim to preserve it. However, apart from this international institutionalization, a series of local institutionalizations took place with Chhau.

On the governmental level, the initiative was taken by the State Government's Department of Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises and Textiles, in association with UNESCO to establish Chorida as a 'Rural Craft Hub'[52]. Clustering has been an age-old phenomenon in India. Clusters have existed in India for centuries and are known for their products at the national and international levels. India has more than 6,400 clusters. These have been

[52] UNESCO 2015.

typified as industrial, handloom, and handicraft clusters. When available literature, among them government documents and reports, are carefully analysed, it becomes obvious that sometimes mask-making activity is considered as a 'craft hub' or 'handicraft hub'. A study completed by Singh classifies clusters as SME clusters, handloom clusters and handicraft clusters and he includes the mask-making cluster in the handicraft cluster category.[53] At the same time, the Government of West Bengal refers to Chorida, a typical artisan village with 300 mask makers, as the 'Rural Craft Hub'. However, Silpigram Yojna in Odisha defines clusters in the following way:

> "A cluster would be a village or groups of contagious villages within a radius of 3-5 kilometres, having at least 100 traditional artisans practicing the same craft for non-KBK districts and 50 traditional artisans in KBK districts. In case of KBK districts, the inter village distance could be relaxed up to 15 Kilometres"[54].

In the present study, the term 'Oligopolistic Artisan Clusters' is more appropriate to describe mask-making activity. It is an 'artisan cluster' because in this kind of cluster the producers belong to the same traditional community of skilful artisans producing the long-established products for generations.[55] This cluster is 'oligopolistic' because it fulfilled the characteristic of an oligopoly market: homogeneity of the product, no price competition, seller interdependence, entry and exit barriers, imperfect competition, chances of collusion, few major sellers and rivals are aware of what others are doing.[56] A mask-making village has a multidimensional significance in an economy. This oligopolistic artisan cluster can also be considered a significant part of cultural economy as it generates and manufactures 'cultural products' in a specialized industrial cluster and distributes them on the global market through the native and international customers. However, the MSME has broken this organic oligopolistic structure of the market by implementing the institutionalized idea of a Rural Craft Hub in the village.

Similarly, a Bengal-based NGO, 'Bangla Natok Dot Com' has helped the craftsmen to establish an artisan's union, which on the one hand has surely supported the artisans in establishing their claims to the Government, but on the other hand, the entire process makes the craft form market-oriented to an extent that the traditional contextual functionality has been compromised

53 Singh 2010.
54 Government of Odisha 2005–06.
55 Sarkar–Banerjee 2007.
56 Machlup 1952.

while leading to folklorization. Presently, Chhau is taught and practiced in private coaching institutions which again deprived the genre of its folkloric essence of automatic transmission from one generation to another.

Conclusion

It can be concluded from the study that heritagization, folklorization, and institutionalisation are integrally related to each other**.** In the context of this study, heritagization is ideally done to create a sentimental integration of the local with a cultural element of the area and to revamp that cultural form in a contemporarily relevant textural and contextual form. However, sometimes there remain faults in the implementation of heritagization by the authorities of organizations and as a consequence certain cultural elements become the substance of commercialization for better livelihood. In such a scenario, the cultural element experiences folklorization and institutionalization. Unfortunately, Chhau has experienced this disadvantage in heritagization which led Chhau as a dance as well as a craft form to experience such a condition whereby the cultural-identity-oriented sentiment has been compromised to focus on commercialisation. Consequently, folklorization or the simplification of the craft form, disintegration from its contextual background has taken place. To make Chau tourism-worthy institutionalization has also taken over this folklore form.

It may also be claimed that in the present scenario when the majority of the traditional cultures all over the world are on the verge of becoming obsolete due to cultural convergence, multiculturalism, and globalisation at different levels, in order to preserve and disseminate folkloric culture it has to go through heritagization, folklorization and institutionalisation. The change in the culture which may come about as a result of these processes must be accepted as part of the dynamics of cultural existence.

However, in the process of policy making the relevant organizations should be alert to the alienation of the target urban buyers towards the traditional context. In the majority of the cases, this alienation leads to the misrepresentation of the craft and performance. In such a scenario, the contextual significance of a craft form is kept intact if the targeted buyers can be made aware of the contextual and functional relevance of the folkloric element that they are consuming in its modernized version. Otherwise, the motive behind the concept of heritagization will become meaningless in no

time as the preservation of the traditional form will be implemented in such way that the archetypal form will be lost.

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Lore and the Process of Tradition: Locating the Place of Belief Narratives in Ka Phur Nongjri and Sohbar

Abstract

Since the earliest times, the villages of Nongjri and Sohbar, located in the Southern Khasi Hills of North-Eastern India, have had their own religious ceremonies, customs, ways of behaving and beliefs that they share in their practice and narration. Their beliefs in certain village deities are linked with the well-being of the entire village, and are said to have existed from the time these villages were established. In the beliefs of the inhabitants of Nongjri and the village of Sohbar, the deities, manifest themselves in various performances and folksongs, and therefore, have become part of the performance itself. Deities, often in the form of human beings, engage in conversation with the villagers. Folklore also tells us that during festivities the approval of the celebrations by village deities becomes the key aspect to foretell the particular nature of the coming year.
The lore gathered from the places considered for this study would provide us with a new perspective on belief narratives existing in the Khasi community, while continually locating the position of lore and various processes of tradition in the sociocultural and religious milieu of both Nongjri and Sohbar. The narratives explored in this paper will also provide – in the Khasi cultural context – the essence of War-Khasi beliefs and rituals that have remained largely undocumented.

Keywords: Khasi Folklore, War-Khasi, Phur Sohbar, Phur Nongjri, Belief Narratives

Introduction

On a field visit in the last week of July 2018 to Sohbar, one of the oldest villages established on the southern slopes of Meghalaya, located at a distance of 65.7 kilometres from the capital city Shillong, and once recognised as the traditional War-Khasi kingdom of Sohbar or Hima Sohbar, it was learnt that Sohbar is a place where *"there are thirteen rites for the twelve months"* (Mr. Wanjop

Khongmawpat, Sordar [Chief] Raid, [raj land] Sohbar).[1] In a land where the number of rites and rituals exceed the number of months in a calendar year by one, the study of even one rite alone will involve numerous aspects of storytelling, cultural experience, history, religion and performance.

This hamlet is home to the dominant indigenous cultural group known as the *War* or *War-Khasi* which is one of the groups that makes up the Khasi collective of *Khynriam*, *Pnar*, *Bhoi*, *War*, *Lyngngam*, *Maram* and the no longer existing *Diko*[2]. This small rustic village has a unique design which allows for only one entry and exit – a design which could structurally identify it as a fort. However, in recent times, the construction of roads has partially opened up the village, allowing it to have more than one entry and exit points. The Khasi word in use for a fort is *Kut*. The village of Sohbar, in the months following the Indian monsoon, welcomes its visitors with a massive and mesmerising non-perennial waterfall at Sohkhylleng located at the primary entrance to the village. The typical War-Khasi village layout of homes constructed in an almost vertical incline and decline cannot be missed, and further down the slope lies the plains of Bangladesh.

This village offered stories that expressed the soul of its very existence. With the permission of the *Sordar Raid* (chief, raj land), Mr. Wanjop Kharmawpat, the journey began with a simple enquiry into the nature of the village: its stories, legends, history, religious beliefs and customs. It was there that an account previously not known to folkloric research in the North-eastern part of India reveals itself through the words of Nancy Japang (female, 95 years old, 2018). Through her, it was learnt that the village follows and adheres to a strict and rigid tradition that has resisted the changes brought about by modernity. I begin by narrating a personal experience she related to me.

> *"This village has seen and forgotten the ways of its ancestors and witnessed the advent of the British, their abolition of our traditions and customs* (referring to a religious rite known as *Toh-tan* that is performed at a location called *Mawsyrti Raja* – A.W.J.) *and has continue to retain the most crucial part of the village in its religion* (*Ka Niam Sohbar*). *Our ancestral father too was a priest from the Shullai clan and participated in various religious activities. One that I recall from my grandmother's stories was that our family would offer a black bull in sacrifice. But we don't do that now. We have converted a long time back. Many in this village did as well. But there remain the old Gods that made this village possible, that are still worshipped and remain tremendously powerful."*

[1] Proofreader of the article: George Seel.

[2] Nongkynrih 2007: vii.

It was also discovered that the villages of Sohbar and Nongjri are similar; the latter was an erstwhile province of *Hima* (traditional kingdom) Sohbar before its division by the East India Company following the Anglo-Khasi War of 1829. Nongjri village, located at a distance of 75.8 kilometres from Shillong is even closer to Bangladesh than Sohbar. This village is surrounded with lush forest and at its centre stands a magnificent Banyan tree, hundreds of years old, considered to have existed even before the village was established. This tree is also considered a place for the worship of the harvest that still takes place today. The connection between Nongjri and Sohbar is that despite their political division, they continue to share the celebration of *Ka Phur*[3]. Mr. Banrilang Ryngnga[4] expands on the nature of '*Ka Phur*' and its importance in '*Ka Niam Sohbar*', which by extension also belonged to Nongjri because it was introduced by a priest from Sohbar who married and eventually settled down at Nongjri. Ryngnga also notes that *Ka Niam Sohbar* is not the same as '*Ka Niam Khasi*' or the Khasi religion in general.

This shared legacy between Nongjri and Sohbar prompted another field trip in October 2018 which led to a meeting with Mr. Khynwin Sing Dkhar (male, 89 years old, 2018) of Nongjri village, who said the following:

> *"Yes, the stories of U Woh (*U Woh Riang*) among others do exist here as in Sohbar, but I cannot tell you them. This village was not built by human hands alone. It started through a pact between U Nongseng (Initiator) or the first settlers and the Grandfather (*U Woh Riang*). It is based on the first conversation between U Nongseng nongdang- u kni bad u kpa*[5] *– conversations between Woh and the first settlers in the presence of other forest deities with whose permission the villagers established their settlements. From that day began the pact, the exchange and the need for our religion to remain rigid."*

He also added that when you look at their religion you must know, that

> *"'an act* (the performance of a religious ritual – A.W.J.) *is just an act until its meaning is truly understood. The whole practice itself is an exchange that symbolises what pans beyond the idea of a religion but acts as a bond, through practice, between man and God.' This is why our religion is rigid and binding. To alter or change it is to destroy it. It is a mandatory requirement and a necessity."*

[3] Ka Phur is a socio-cultural and religious practice of 'Ka Niam Sohbar', or the religion of Sohbar, which is not connected to ka 'Niam Khasi' or the Khasi religion.

[4] Ryngnga 2012: 11.

[5] Often these words are used as synonyms to indicate the important role the first settlers played as fathers and uncles.

The narratives shared during those two visits prompted the need to look further into the notion of tradition as both lore and process. As lore, these narratives are still relatively unheard in popular Khasi discourse on belief and religion. Even as a cultural or religious process, there is still much that has not been studied. We will find, through this paper, that the lore collected from Nongjri and Sohbar have remained and become the backbone of a continuing practice that takes the shape of a rigid religion, alive in narration and performances and customs, and continuing with time. The role of narratives in the cases of both Nongjri and Sohbar are studied, not only to highlight the worldview of the two villages but to justify the required and necessary role of the supernatural and to understand the essential nature of such a tradition.

By applying existing notions of the term 'tradition' suggested by Sims and Stephens as "features that groups rely on to maintain their current sense of group identity"[6], the attempt made by this study is to analyse the process of tradition in the '*Ka Phur*' of both Nongjri and Sohbar, and to better understand folk narratives and their implications for their society. In doing so, we make an enquiry into various aspects of tradition by locating the role of narratives, the function of continuity, a sense of identity and the possibility of a potential threat to tradition in the context of contemporary Nongjri and Sohbar.

The relationship between Nongjri and Sohbar

To comprehend the process of tradition in the context of both Nongjri and Sohbar it is imperative that we first perceive the relationship between the two villages in order to recognize the dynamics behind the exchange of tradition and the religious practise of '*Ka Phur*'. It should be noted once more that the villages of Nongjri and Sohbar were once part of the same traditional setup that is known to the Khasi as '*Hima*' (traditional kingdom), and which operated prior to the British administration on the southern slopes of Meghalaya. Following the Anglo Khasi War of 1829, Nongjri was carved out of the Hima of Sohbar but their cultural ties remained and were strengthened by the shared religious activity of '*Ka Phur*'.

The folktales that emerge from the two villages offer accounts of the nature of the villages – their formation, spirit and identity – creating a distinct space for themselves among the many villages on the southern slopes of

6 Sims–Stephens 2011: 70.

Meghalaya known as Ri-War[7]. A deity, recognised as 'U Woh (lit. grandfather) Riang', is an enduring part of the cultural milieu of both Nongjri and Sohbar. He is one of the two villages' chief patron deities whose place in the community is continuously expanding and elaborately designed in the folkloric domain and in the practice of religious festivities.

One such religious festivity of Nongjri and Sohbar is '*Ka Phur*', our subject for study, which takes place annually and is exchanged between one village and the other. That is, if '*Ka Phur*' takes place in Sohbar one year, then the next annual *Phur* must take place in the village of Nongjri. The roots of this religious practise can be traced to Sohbar while its great importance is also felt at Nongjri, which will be discussed later. Although, '*Ka Phur*' is attributed to the village of Sohbar in terms of its origin, both Nongjri and Sohbar have been chosen to study the immense space and value this religious practise has in the socio-cultural and religious atmosphere of the two villages.

The cultural and religious environments between the two villages are in sharp contrast with one another, apart from '*Ka Phur*', which they share. Nongjri has its own way of articulating its tradition – its cultural and religious affairs are based on its design, just as is the case with Sohbar. While Nongjri also has '*Ka Niam Iew/Hat Nongjri*' (religion of the market) and another religious festivity based on offering and prayers associated to the '*Diengjri*' (banyan tree) which is a monumental tree rooted at what is considered the centre of the village, the village of Sohbar also has ka '*Niam Beh Ksuid Dkhar*' (religion to purge evil spirits) and '*Ka Khang Kut Shnong*' (closing of the entrance) among others, as narrated by one of the informants, Bedos Khongngai (male, 84 years old, 2018). As mentioned earlier, 'there are thirteen rites for the twelve months' in Sohbar. These festivities differentiate the villages from one another, while '*Ka Phur*' connects them.

Oral narratives, as articulated by Nancy Japang and Bedos Khongngai, also suggest that the '*Ka Phur*' was introduced to Nongjri by an elderly '*lyngdoh*' (priest) from the village of Sohbar who eventually settled down in Nongjri after marrying a woman from that village. This is how '*Ka Phur*', as it is today, has become a shared socio-cultural and religious phenomenon between the two villages, adding to their relationship with one another. The exchange that is carried out by Nongjri and Sohbar from one year to the next is also symbolic of the deep bond the two villages have shared right since the time the two villages were essentially within the same traditional setup.

[7] This is a term used to denote the southern slopes of Meghalaya.

Belief narratives on Ka Phur-Lore

E. W. Chyne[8], in the chapter on 'Ka Hima Sohbar', describes in details U Woh Riang as '*U Ryngkew U Basa*' or the village chief patron deity who oversees the well-being and affairs of the village. It was also recounted that he would take the form of an elderly man and engage in conversations with the villagers from time to time. According to field sources, U Woh also has a scar on the left side of his body caused by the negligence of one of the villagers – remembered as U Woh Sihon – who did not take care when performing slash and burn close to Woh's sacred grove.

U Woh also commands a very high place of respect and awe because of his nature, as he is projected as being both a mortal and a divine entity. The human stature that is attributed to him as an elderly man stems from various accounts of meetings and interactions that are continually articulated in lore even today. From Nancy Japang, it was learnt that while a great many things are lost from her memory, what she can recall helps to create an idea of one of the chief patron deities Sohbar believes in. She narrated the sacred nature and the role these divine beings (*The Shan Shnong*) or patron deities embody for the village even today. She noted:

> *"The Shan Shnong included U Woh Riang, U Phan Jyrweit, Syntei and Rajuli who dwell in the four parts of the village. Phan Jyrweit is also considered the son of U Woh Riang and he looked like any other man in human form. Just like U Woh. His abode is close to the entrance of the village beside the waterfall at Sohkhylleng. I also remember how after the ritual we would proceed in a procession that is meant to guide these divine beings back to their abode where they would disappear. This was way back then, and it was before the Seng Khasi[9] ever existed. These were his children (the Children of U Woh Riang). The village exists in communion with the divines."*

On further enquiry, Nancy Japang noted:

> *"It was said that U Woh would sometimes appear like an old man and engage in dialogue with the villagers. People knew it was him and believed that he was there to protect them.[10] There is a sacred grove too, 'U Maw Loh Riang' which is considered his abode. He is said to have a non-human family including five children, who appear in human form. But as a deity, he takes part with the crowd in 'Ka Phur' and would leave signs of approval or otherwise."* (Even

[8] Chyne 1994: 39–40.

[9] This is a religious socio-cultural organization of the indigenous Khasi belonging to the Niam Khasi/Khasi religion with the aim of protecting, preserving and promoting the customs and tradition of the Khasi people, which was established on November 23, 1899.

[10] Chyne 1994: 34–40.

today, U Woh's family are believed to participate in the annual festivities, notably the second day of the event called *Ka Phur Bah*. – A.W.J.)

She also recounted one other story:

> *"It was a long time ago that a group of thieves were heading towards Sohbar to steal but by some providence, never reached this village. They reached Laittyra* (a village situated 1.7 kilometres away – A.W.J) *and they were caught. People then believed that whenever they leave their homes for their fields, U Woh will take care of their homes whenever they called out to him. We don't do that now."*

From another informant named Antonio Tynnaw (male, 76 years, 2018), it was also learnt that the earlier narrative offered by Nancy Japang has become a very important part of the religion of Sohbar. Although numerous scholars, among them Major P. R. T. Gurdon in *The Khasis*[11], and prominent Khasi historian Hamlet Bareh Ngap Kynta in *The History and Culture of the Khasi People*[12], are in accord that the Khasi did not have an idea of an institutionalised religion before the arrival of Christian missionaries, the narratives recounted from Sohbar tell us that some villages did practice and follow their own vernacular religion. However, Mr. Tynnaw was not able to narrate as much lore as related by Nancy Japang for these stories were unknown to him. Much traditional and cultural lore seems to be lost and unknown, to even a number of the elderly.[13] He did, however, narrate that:

> *"Ka Phur definitely has its story, as U Woh Riang and all the Shan shnong have their own. The fact that we have our Shan shnong is reason enough to perform our divinations and ceremonies. But that is not all, for the divine spirits have their own roles to play and of them all, the most prominent is U Woh Riang because he interacts with the people and the stories tell us that. He is important in the stories and in the religion too. He is the patron deity who reveals to us in divination and in the Phur, as the others do. But I am a little younger than her* (Nancy Japang) *and do not know many of these stories and have forgotten some too. But there is a format: there comes the divination first, followed by teachings and preparations of the young, and finally the Phur."*

There has always been a particular format, strictly adhered to and followed, for hundreds of years if not more. It is not only the performance of the *Phur* and its success that is significant for the village; it is in its prepa-

11 Gurdon 2016: 105–116.

12 Bareh Ngap Kynta 2016: 354–376.

13 After consulting at least two more elderly people from the village, it became obvious that there was a great lack in the articulation and preservation of cultural narratives.

ration, right from the days of performing the divinations that the Phur begins to materialise. When the Phur is conducted by either Sohbar or Nongjri, it does not become a cultural and religious affair of the former or the latter alone. Mainly people following the vernacular faith from both villages participate in the Phur and this has been one of the most distinctive features of this religious celebration.

E. W. Chyne (1994), in the chapter '*Ka Hima Sohbar*', also notes that U Woh Riang as 'U Ryngkew U Basa' participates in '*Ka Phur*' which further supports the narrative from the informant and the published material that U Woh could present himself both as a man and a divine entity. The position 'U Woh' holds in the cultural context of both Nongjri and Sohbar is immense. According to belief narratives, shared by both Nancy Japang and Antonio Tynnaw, U Woh Riang, along with his family, would participate in the festivities of '*Ka Phur*', donning the traditional attire of the War-Khasi. His children would participate in the dance known as '*Shad Kynthei*' and the '*Shad Khalek*' along with the youth from the village, while U Woh and his wife would be seated along with the musicians and the drum masters. On the other hand, not many narratives are available about U Woh from Nongjri for two main reasons: the first is that Woh is situated close to and directly linked to Sohbar and hence more narratives exist in Sohbar than in Nongjri and the second is that the religious ethos of Nongjri would not allow for our informants to divulge details on the various narratives that could be available about U Woh.

The main reason for focussing on U Woh within this study on lore and religion through '*Ka Phur'* is that U Woh is directly linked to '*Ka Phur*' itself. He is the main deity that presides over the festivity, and although he is not the only deity invoked in the prayers and offerings of both Nongjri and Sohbar, he holds a position of great importance. According to both Chyne and Ryngnga, U Woh responds to the festivities and it is usually acknowledged that it is he who leaves his mark on the festivities through sounds near the village's Umneng (stream), or an almost white-washed Maw Loh Riang (his abode), as a sign of his approval of the celebration following a procession that generally takes place to escort the divine spirit back to their abode.

Origin and practise of Ka Phur – The process of tradition

According to the folkloric tradition of Sohbar, the origin of '*Ka Phur*' is linked to the establishment of Sohbar itself. According to Khynwin Sing Dkhar of Nongjri village, the origin of a belief to a Khasi is associated with

the foundation of an establishment: in this case the village of Sohbar. He also opined that for a Khasi, a formal conversation with the spirits and the elements of the land is an important factor when founding a village. In the same manner, it can be said that Sohbar and the practise of '*Ka Phur'* extends from the beginning of the village itself, with its various village deities forming the central figures for the practice.

In the case of Sohbar, the central figures making the religious endeavours consist of Woh Riang, Phan Jyrweit, Syntei and Rajuli as the dominant entities that cater for the well-being and protection of the life in the village in general and its people in particular. These divine entities serve as the pillars the village turns to. They have their own roles to play in ensuring the proper balance for life to continue and flourish in the village. Their invocation at religious festivities is symbolic of their value to the village. Their presence is what makes the villageexist.

'*Ka Phur*' was introduced to Nongjri by one of Sohbar's priests, who married a woman from the village of Nongjri and eventually settled there, as stated above. Another feature of the belief narratives associated with '*Ka Phur*' is that, at Nongjri, U Woh Riang is the only deity that is actually named in field surveys done for this study. However, it should be noted here that the absence of any other named deities does not imply that U Woh is the only patron deity of the village. It is in the nature of the village of Nongjri itself that the identities of various divine spirits, even their names, are to be kept secret and contained only within the village of Nongjri. The very nature of this secrecy, mystery and rigidity is what gives the '*Ka Phur*' practised at Nongjri a very distinct flavour from that of Sohbar, while its religious fervour and essence remains essentially the same. However, in religious festivities and prayers, the names of all the divine spirits associated with the two villages respectively are invoked.

The informant Mr. Tynnaw, when talking about the structure, format and rigidity of *Ka Phur* also noted that:

> *"Ka Phur requires divination in order to have a proper start. It is required for setting a date fit for the celebration and worship. This takes place on Saturdays except for the days when the Iewduh market is held.*[14] *Ka Phur also includes the Ka Phur Shad Miet* (lit. the performance of the evening) *where the young are instructed and taught for two whole weeks in preparation for the same. Syndat or Divination requires seven days while the Phur itself requires three days to complete."*

[14] Traditional market day on which divination should not be performed.

Considering '*Ka Phur*' from the perspective of a socio-cultural and religious performance, three main categories of activity can be classified:

- Rutlang: A ritualistic performance where the first bounty of fruits and harvests from the land are given as offerings to the Gods (no documentation permitted).
- Phur Bah: Beh Shalai – Shad Shalai (no documentation permitted).
- Phur Lasu : The last celebratory dance (documentation permitted).

The first two categories, which involve the main aspect of the belief and religious practice in U Woh and the numerous deities of either Nongjri or Sohbar, depending on where the Phur is taking place, are articulated and shaped into formal practice, and do not permit any form of audio-visual documentation, indicating yet another rigidity of practice. On the other hand, documentation is possible when it comes to *Phur Lasu*, which is a more culturally inclusive performance that is not too deeply involved in religious performances. It is an open arena for the village in its entirety to be a part of its own cultural life. This is one of the numerous reasons we may take into account in noting the uniqueness and peculiarity of this religious belief and ritual. Despite its uniqueness, the *Phur* is often unheard of and much less spoken about in popular discourse on the nature of the religion and religious beliefs of the Khasi collective.

Socio-cultural and religious significance

Considering the dimensions of the belief narratives associated with the practice of '*Ka Phur*' the words Khynwin Sing Dkhar used earlier to discuss the nature of religion should be noted: *"An act is just an act until its meaning is truly understood. The whole practice itself is an exchange that symbolizes what pans beyond the idea of a religion, but acts as a bond"*. This explains the deep socio-cultural and religious ties which exist between the '*Nongseng*' (founder/initiator) of the established Nongjri and Sohbar, and also the conversations between 'U Woh' and the first settlers in the presence of other forest deities whom the initiator seeks out before establishing their settlements, which is an important constituent in the existence and continuation of '*Ka Phur Sohbar/Nongjri*' today.

The exchange that is presented through '*Ka Phur*' suggests the significance of a rigid Man-God relationship that is deeply linked to the land and the Khasi collective ethos as a whole, as Khynwin Dkhar himself suggested. This relationship is no longer a new phenomenon in Khasi religious discourse. It

is also not the performing of the rituals and the articulation of numerous narratives that is socially or culturally important, but rather understanding and acting on the bond or the pact established between Man and God on the southern slopes of Meghalaya. This bond needs articulation: Man performs his rituals, and the divines reveal in signs and symbols meanings that have deep implications for the whole society, mainly in the form of their well-being, harvest, protection from famine, prosperity and good will. Hence, '*Ka Phur*', which manifests the idea of the belief in U Woh into a palpable reality, takes shape. While the village performs the '*Phur*', the deity reveals his satisfaction or dissatisfaction through signs and sounds at Umneng or at 'U Maw Loh Riang' (the abode of U Who).

As indicated earlier, stringent measures are taken not only to maintain rigidity in practice but also not to allow audio-visual documentation to take place, apart from *Phur Lasu*. For Nongjri and Sohbar, '*Ka Phur*' is not only a ritualistic performance. In fact, there is a need to preserve the inviolability and purity of the religion of Sohbar and Nongjri through '*Ka Phur*'. The cultural spaces that the divine entities of the two villages occupy are exceptionally large. The fact that the villages are not willing to detach themselves from them and have a policy of taking whatever steps that are necessary to protect the integrity and form of this socio-cultural and religious performance of '*Ka Phur*', confirms its significance.

Memorates and legends regarding U Woh and numerous deities that are associated with the cultural environment of the two villages continue to weave and colour existing belief narratives, especially those concerning U Woh and his interactions with the village. Signs and symbols take on the utmost importance in creating a concrete position for beliefs which are often found to be fulfilled within the cultural spaces of the two villages.

Continuity, identity and tradition

When we consider the continuation of folk narratives in the context of these two villages, it can be seen that there has been a mass erosion of folk memory and lore. It is not only that the elderly have forgotten the stories they grew up with, they have also not shared a considerable amount of these stories with the youth of the village. From the field visits and the number of informants that were interviewed, it was evident that the folk tradition in the form of lore is at great risk of disappearance. Even the accounts provided in this brief paper will never be able to contend with just how much tradition has already been lost. However, when we consider the process of tradition in

the case of '*Ka Phur*' from the perspective of a living performing tradition, it was noticed that the rigid attitude towards documentation and the insistence on repetitive practice as it was performed hundreds of years ago has helped and aided the continued survival of this tradition.

Toelken's *The Dynamics of Folklore* highlights that

> "[t]here will always be, in an informal setting, a number of people who remember parts of various traditions... they are active bearers... of tradition, want very much to express themselves and their lore in a communicative, satisfying way...as time goes on, [so] that traditions will maintain their viability or change so that they can survive or die off."[15]

To Nongjri and Sohbar, *Ka Phur* is this expression of tradition which is maintained exclusively by those who bear it. It is in its performance that the cultural memory is articulated and preserved, even though many associated narratives have already been lost to time.

Similarly, Sims and Stephens' *Living Folklore* suggested the importance of repetition and continuity in the process of tradition:

> "Repetition is important in establishing continuity, since a group repeats something because it matters to the group; if it isn't meaningful, it won't be repeated, and if it isn't repeated, it won't become a tradition. Continuity doesn't mean sameness or exactness... continuity refers to the threads of meaning and significance that connect traditions with groups."[16]

Ka Phur is repeated not because it is a cultural tradition. It is repeated because it is the identity of the human individuals of Nongjri and Sohbar. It is continually performed without change. Even without modern documentation it continues to survive. This is what makes *Ka Phur* Nongjri and Sohbar unique, for it can only be experienced there.

As far as identity is concerned, there is a clear difference between the popularised religious performances of the Khasi from the *Phur*. While the popularised Khasi performances are associated with the Khasi as a group, *Ka Phur* is specific to Nongjri and Sohbar. Identity can also be seen in the adherence to structure and exactness, where belief and practice are preserved in the same form and format as they once were. The sense of identity for '*Ka Phur*' is founded on its unchanging pattern. '*Ka Phur*' does not reshape the cultural content of the past to prove itself a counterpart of the present, as

[15] Toelken 1996: 43.

[16] Sims–Stephens 2011: 70–71.

argued by Ben-Amos when discussing on tradition in *The Seven Strands of Tradition*: "Since the past serves as such a powerful authority in culture, no society could afford letting it just be; it must add to it, subtract from it, mold it in its own image."[17] In '*Ka Phur*', we find the continual process of tradition amidst modernity and the changing times without the need to create for itself a new platform for sustenance.

Conclusion

In contemporary War-Khasi society, especially that of Nongjri and of Sohbar, '*Ka Phur*' continues to be a dominant cultural and religious activity. However, belief narratives associated with any of the deities linked with '*Ka Phur*', especially of U Woh, are now less articulated, shared or revisited by the elderly in oral discourses and the youth of these villages too are left with very little idea of what was once a rich folk tradition. Even so, the role of the two villages and their religious councils enable '*Ka Phur*' to continue in the same repetitive form as has existed for ages – a continuum through time. Their insistence on the rigidity of structure and their rejection of documentation challenges the need for any audio-visual archive since '*Ka Phur*' is a living process of tradition, just as the villages themselves are.

Informants

Mr. Antonio Tynnaw, interviewed between the second and third week of July, 2018.

Mr. Bedos Khongngai, interviewed between the second and third week of July, 2018.

(L) Mrs. Nancy Japang, interviewed between the second and third week of July, 2018. She passed away the following year.

Mr. Khynwin Sing Dkhar, interviewed between the second and third week of October, 2018. He passed away in February, 2020.

Mr. Wanjop Khongmawpat, Sordar (Chief) Raid, (raj land) Sohbar.

Local Guide

Mr. Meaker Japang

[17] Ben-Amos 1984: 114–115.

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Independent Block of Macha Caporal: The Challenges and Restrictions in Female Dancing

Abstract

This paper explores the experience of six *Macha Caporal* dancers belonging to an independent female block in La Paz, a recent and still unexplored mode of association to dance. This article analyzes and makes visible the challenges and restrictions women face in endeavoring to sustain an independent dance practice in the context of urban folk dance in Bolivia. Through the accounts of the women and the ethnographic material gathered from fieldwork in 2018 in Bolivia, the study portrays the women's dancing context revealing the challenges and restrictions linked to the condition of being women in a society that is traversed by chauvinism. In the task of dancing, the women's performance reveals a complex negotiation of gender roles, ideas, and expectations; processes that highlight the women's agency and determination to carry on with a practice that ultimately grants them feelings of self-validation and autonomy.

Keywords: gender, performance, agency, independent blocks, Bolivia

Setting the Scene

> "They start the negotiations. It seems they don't have a spot in the parade. He asks them for 100 bolivianos and the women refuse. He offers another spot at 80 bolivianos. They argue and finally agree on a sum. Each girl pays her fee. The dance starts. The girls are second last in the *entrada*. It is raining a lot and it has started to snow a bit. I am moved to see the girls dancing under the rain and in the cold. They are soaking wet […]. They do what they can, at moments they lose synchronization, there is chaos. But they continue…"[1]

[1] Santana 2018: Fieldnotes, 21st July, La Paz. Proofreaders of the article: Donald E. Morse – Balázs Venkovits.

This description of an *entrada folklorica*[2] (folk dance parade) conveys the multiplicity of stimuli and challenges women are exposed to in the dance event.[3] It summarizes conditions encountered by independent female blocks of *Macha Caporal* dancers in their dance practice and the persistence of women to render a good performance. Above all, it conveys the commitment enacted by women to dance.

Macha Caporal are female dancers who have created a new role in the Bolivian dance *Caporales*. This dance is traditionally performed by two main characters: *Macho Caporal*, the male role, and *Cholita*, the female role. Within this demarcated gender structure, *Machas*[4] appropriate the male's costume, name and steps, and adapts them to create a performance and visual presentation that depicts both male and female features.

This paper explores the experience of six Macha Caporal dancers. The recent expansion[5] of these female dancers and their combination of perceived 'masculine' and 'feminine' signifiers in both their performance and physical appearance have attracted the attention of public opinion and provoked the social questioning of these dancers' identities and performances. Within the Caporales dance community, a faction of men still minimizes Macha Caporal's participation in the dance.[6] As dance authority Israel Solor-

[2] Entradas are outdoor folkloric performances that are similar to parades and involve dancers traveling through the city's streets in an established pathway. Entradas usually happen associated with important religious celebrations.

[3] I have to acknowledge how this and other accounts that form the body of my fieldnotes are influenced by how "I", as a researcher, felt on each occasion and captured the women's performances. These experiences were permeated by my own gendered condition in the field and also by my approach to this particular dance phenomenon. As a Peruvian female artist and scholar, I have explored and studied dance practices as performances where arts and politics intersect. Specifically, it was my ongoing interest in dance and gender intersections which led me to find in Macha Caporal a fascinating field of study.

[4] In the text, I will also refer to the role of Macha Caporal with the abbreviations used by my contributors: *Macha* for singular and *Machas* for plural. The same will be applied to Macho Caporal.

[5] Many authors recognize Lidia Estrada's performance in 1976 as the birth of Macha Caporal. However, the development of the character did not happen until recent years. See Benavente 2017.

[6] This attitude is mainly present in the older generations of dance managers, founders and dancers, who reject Macha Caporal's presence partly based on authenticity issues, claiming this character was not part of the 'original' dance. The origin of this attitude is also related to the chauvinism present in Bolivian society.

zano[7] commented during a personal interview: "Macha Caporal is present today, but her participation is not so relevant for the Caporales dance". These types of attitudes towards Macha Caporal reveal how after decades of existence in a dance that "was imagined as a decidedly masculine space"[8], female dancers still battle for recognition in the dance arena. Despite the massive presence of women in the dance, "the central motif, the significant chore […] the main argument of Caporales is the men, their gestures, their dance, their appearance"[9]. This fact accounts for the predominance of a male perspective in how the dance has been understood and disseminated and highlights the necessity to shed light on the singularities of women's performances, experiences and modes of organization.

Based on ethnographic research performed in 2018 in the city of La Paz, this paper attempts to fill the research gap concerning female dancing and organization by focusing on a current and unknown mode of association of Macha Caporal dancers: independent blocks. Through interviews and observations from the field, I will introduce readers to the motivations and experiences of a Bolivian independent block named Machas Yuriña.[10]

Through my collaborators' testimonies, I was able to locate the first appearance of independent female blocks in the first decades of 2000. Today, in La Paz, there only exists a few female blocks dancing in this form, which attests not only to the novel quality of this type of association but also to its vulnerability as it subsists in the Caporales dance community.

The 2019 report from The United Nations Development Programme avows: "Discrimination against women, male bias and cultural machismo [chauvinism] still prevail in political and social institutions, in public space and in the family"[11]. Female dance practices are not exempt from this sociocultural reality. As seen in the field, gender norms permeate women's public and private spheres, imposing limits on their dancing practice. Furthermore, these limits are accentuated by factors such as the women's socio-economic class, civil status, body image, and type of block. This paper examines Machas

[7] For reasons of confidentiality, the real name of my collaborator has been replaced by a fictitious name. He is the manager of one of the first fraternities of La Paz department and the secretary of a folk dance departmental association.

[8] Roper 2019: 392.

[9] Sanchez 2006: 281.

[10] The ethnographic material conveys observations from the dance event as well as rehearsals, moments of preparation for dancing, negotiations in the entrada and social gatherings. I interviewed all members of the block, male dancers and dance authorities of the Caporales community during fieldwork in 2018. I performed additional (online) interviews with the members of the block and male dancers between 2019 and 2020.

[11] UNDP 2003: 30.

Yuriña's experiences as an independent female block in the Bolivian folk dance context and observes how gender schemes interplay with their practice. The article draws from central ideas summarized on Santana (2021)[12], and, from there, it elaborates on the motivations, challenges, and performances of the women belonging to the block.

In presenting and analyzing the practice of women engaged in this type of association, this paper makes visible the voices of ordinary women dancing in uneven conditions in the context of dance entradas. Nevertheless, the research also highlights the agency and resilience of women in creating and sustaining new modes of practice that may ultimately engender experiences of autonomy and satisfaction.

Theoretical Considerations

The first dancers who danced as Macha Caporal infiltrated the male blocks of the dance in the 1970s and appropriated the male role's costume, name, and steps. From that moment on, Macha Caporal became a growing phenomenon. Dancers started to developed new ways to organize and conquered new spaces to dance.[13] These advancements demonstrated how these women, initially only 'emulating' the male dance, were extending and defying the traditional possibilities of what women could do in the dance arena. One of the recent ways women develop dance involves independent female blocks, a type of self-funded block where women come together to manage their group and take responsibility for their own practice. To understand the implications and obligations of this new mode of dancing, first, we must explore the complexities of this third, in-between role, named Macha Caporal.

Macha Caporal represents a substantial change in the traditional gender representation of the original dance Caporales and has involved the adoption of certain roles and abilities not expected from women in La Paz. Due to their act of appropriation of the men's costume and their performance of movements belonging to the male world, Machas have generated a rupture with the "gender-culture differences"[14] present in La Paz. This rupture has placed Machas in the spotlight and generated new discussions about their role in the dance and the kind of performance the women showcase.

12 Unpublished manuscript.
13 Recent spaces conquered by Macha Caporal dancers are dance competitions.
14 Polhemus 1993: 12.

The first scholarly works that accompanied and influenced my perspective on Macha Caporal were the works of anthropologist Eveline Sigl and scholar Javiera Benavente. Both conducted ethnographic research on Macha Caporal dancers, in Bolivia and Chile respectively. Through their accounts, read before arriving in the field, I gained two different understandings of this dance phenomenon. Sigl maintains that Machas do not challenge the patriarchal structure; their performance may suggest that "the woman, on the other hand, has to resort to masculine symbols to adjudge even if only symbolically the power for which she also fights outside the folk context"[15]. Benavente, however, understands the character's performance as an act of transgression and "an alternative to stage one's gender conceptions"[16] where women can enact a different way of being a woman. Despite the different readings of the phenomenon of Macha Caporal, the idea of empowerment is suggested by both authors.

The differences in their perspectives towards Macha Caporal dancers' performance are a testimony to the various experiences of women dancers in diverse contexts of place, time, and type of block. Benavente focused on Machas who danced in fraternities' mixed-gender blocks during 2016 in the southern region of Santiago de Chile. Sigl has done extensive fieldwork in Bolivia interviewing women dancers in urban and rural contexts, however, the type of block of the Machas interviewed was not specified.

A survey of the scarce bibliography produced on Machas between 2000 and the current day, reveals a lack of research on the subject of independent female blocks. The motivations, ways of organization, experiences, and performances of these dancers remain unexplored. To that end, I decided to concentrate my study on a single independent female block.

Machas Yuriña

Machas Yuriña is a block of six Bolivian women,[17] whose ages range between 22 and 32 years. Two of the women are students and the rest make a living in jobs such as sales, nursing, and dressmaking. Some of them have not completed their school or university studies. They live in complicated household situations and two of them are single mothers. Their homes are located

[15] Sigl 2012: 104.

[16] Benavente 2017: 70.

[17] For reasons of confidentiality, all the names of my collaborators have been replaced by fictitious names. In the article, I will only use the real name of the block.

mainly in the periphery of the city of La Paz and some of them even live in districts that are considered dangerous areas. The women's complex life conditions demand an intersectional approach to their dancing practice. As Grimshaw states, "one is never just a man or a woman"[18]. Although the main focus of this article is on the impact of the gender system in the performances and practices of independent Macha Caporal dancers, this paper will also reveal how categories such as socio-economic class, civil status and family affect women's participation in the dance event.

To look at gender in the dance field demands that we look at women's dancing as a gendered performance. This implies analyzing women's actions and interactions within the frame of a particular cultural understanding of gender and the norms associated with it. As Bordo argues:

> "Our languages, intellectual histories and social forms are 'gendered'; there is no escape from this fact and from its consequences in our lives…our deepest desire may be to 'transcend gender dualities' … But, like it or not, in our present culture activities are coded as 'male' or 'female' and will function as such within the prevailing system of gender-power relations."[19]

In a society where the gender dichotomy prevails, a character such as Macha Caporal – characterized by its combination of both male and female attributes – is immediately put under surveillance. At the same time, we must consider how gender systems permeate different spaces of action engendering particular ways of social relationships among men and women which produce real consequences in women's lives. As we will explore, the women's personal and dance spheres are situated in a socio-cultural context that is permeated by chauvinism, a fact that creates limitations on women's power, as well as gender inequality.

Motivations to Dance

The women's complicated life conditions make the enterprise of dancing a significant endeavor. As seen in the field, most of them face time challenges and economic issues, which complicate their commuting and their ability to participate in rehearsals and entradas. They also revealed complex family relationships, sometimes lacking their relatives' support to dance or experiencing

[18] Grimshaw 1986 as cited in Callaway 1992: 33.
[19] Bordo 1990: 152.

jealous attitudes from their couples. According to the women, the lack of support from their families is related to the expected roles of women in La Paz. Women dancers are often perceived negatively due to the common assumption that dancers enjoy drinking and partying. Also, women are expected to quit the dance once they are engaged or get married. Notwithstanding, women manage to overcome these obstacles and participate in the dance entrada, which involves an annual payment for their costumes and the payment of a band's fee every time they perform.

The commitment of women to dance is related to the perceived benefits of dancing which in turn sheds light on the question of why women dance. One of the main motivations expressed by the women relates to the newness and extraordinary quality of women dancing with 'male' attributes. For the women, the similarity between Macha Caporal and the male dancer was meaningful. As Jessica puts it: "I liked it because the men's dance is more complicated than the women's dance [Cholita's dance] and the girls [Macha Caporal] matched the men." This is partly because, in their socio-cultural context, the male dance is perceived as having a superior value. As Jackeline confirms: "I saw Caporales, I saw the men [Machos Caporal], I saw the women [Cholitas] and I admired the men".

Women acknowledge that dancing as Macha Caporal engenders the feeling of doing something out of the ordinary for women. Indeed, among Machas Yuriña's dancers, a collective sentiment of 'feeling special' and different from other women endures. Claudia summarizes this difference: "From my point of view, you show yourself more. As rude, stronger. You don't act so feminine…You cannot compare yourself to a Cholita. It is something very different from them. In movement and costume." Another dancer, Talia, defines her Macha Caporal as "a woman that wants to show she can be different from other women. That she can step out of the ordinary like the skirts. A woman who can also show that she has strength, that she has the same value as a man".

If we assume "movement lexicons of males and females often demonstrate the ideals of gendered difference in action"[20], we can understand Macha Caporal's dance as a sign of departing away from that gender difference. Indeed, for the women, moving and dressing differently from what is socially expected from a woman responds to a different conceptualization of gender. They prefer Macha Caporal's dance because it is more active and stronger, a decision that denotes women's desire to move beyond the tradi-

[20] Reed 1998: 516.

tional expectations placed on women concerning appropriate behavior and ways of dressing.

Indeed, the counter fight to what is considered traditional or normal for a woman is one of the aspects that lie beneath the decision of becoming a Macha. Aside from a preference for challenging actions and activities, the girls manifested a strong rejection of the traditional female role's costume. According to the majority, Cholita's costume – comprised of high heels, a revealing blouse, and a short *pollerita* (mini-skirt) – implies revealing parts of the body that the women are not willing to show. Nancy, for instance, remembers how much she hated the experience of dancing as Cholita because she felt completely exposed to the male gaze. Jessica also recalls her first experience as Cholita: "men were only looking at me down there and I felt harassed".

Macha Caporal's contested nature lies in the fact that she broke the gender binary present in the dance by crossing the limits between the gendered differences of the female and male characters. She intruded on the male's block and danced side by side with men. She appropriated the male's costume and recreated its design by merging characteristics from both the male and female costume: she wears pants, a hat, and boots with bells, and at the same time, she preserves the female way of adorning the body such as hairstyle, jewelry and a blouse that emphasizes her cleavage. Furthermore, she extended the idea of what women could do in the dance when she appropriated and performed movements associated with men such as running, jumping, and kicking. Machas, in every aspect of their performance, are extending the possibilities of what women can do in the dance arena. Today, they have become independent from the men and go on to form their autonomous associations. Moreover, their decisions to dance as Machas confirm a general attitude of resistance to the regular expectations imposed on female dancers by their wider social context.

Dancing Independently

Whether in a mixed-gender[21] or female block or an independent or fraternity block,[22] the mode of participation in the dance is one of the aspects that

[21] Mixed-gender blocks are Macho Caporal blocks that admit women.

[22] Fraternities are dance associations that usually involve an organizing committee and dancers. Their organization tends to be very hierarchical, leaving the major decisions to the organizers. Each fraternity has a place in the overall entrada where they distribute blocks and rows of dancers and one or two music bands.

has more impact on the experience of women dancing. It is the mode of participation that defines aspects such as how they dance, who they dance with, in what type of events they dance, economic investment, and even the prestige of the block.

Machas Yuriña are an independent female block of *figuras*[23]. As expressed by my collaborators, choosing to dance in an independent block was not their first choice. During our interviews, many of the women share past dreams about dancing in a big and prestigious fraternity such as San Simon or ENAF. However, many of them felt discouraged to join a fraternity's block due to the high costs one must commit to paying at the beginning or due to their demanding requirements for gaining membership. As Claudia remembers:

> "You are not forced to dance in all [entradas] but you must have the costume made and dance in Oruro which is the main entrada. It's 6,000 [bolivianos][24] as they told me that time, in ENAF and those [type of big fraternities] […] and the worst is that to be admitted you have to give an exam, they do… like a job interview."

The women's experiences reveal how factors such as socio-economic level, family situation, and even body image, restrict their participation in a fraternity block. Many fraternities have discriminative criteria to select Macha Caporal dancers such as measuring over 1.70 meters or having a specific body figure. Sanchez illustrates the expected image of Machas by quoting Caporales San Simon's definition: "Machas are a group of tall and beautiful women who lead the fraternity"[25]. Jackeline's experiences also confirm this perception about Machas: "When I saw Machas they were all tall. Tall. And I… but I am short, I do not think they will take me." In consequence, to become a Macha, many of them had to look for less formal or more accessible spaces such as an independent block. Thus, the independent form of association emerged in La Paz as a new alternative to dance due to the demanding requirements requested by fraternities and a desire from dancers to have more autonomy in the overall decisions involved in the demands of dancing in the folk dance scene.

Being independent poses both advantages and disadvantages for the women's practice. On the one hand, it gives them greater freedom and autonomy to make decisions about their costume and visual presentation, on

[23] Grouping of dancers in a single row.

[24] Bolivian currency.

[25] As cited in Sanchez 2006: 333.

the other, it demands a greater economic expense due to their small number of members. At the same time, being an independent block means the group is not 'officially' registered with any local or regional association of folk groups[26], which prevents them from having certain benefits such as a designnated place in the entrada. Therefore, their only way to participate in an entrada is through the invitation (involving a payment) of a fraternity to dance among their blocks.[27]

Being a female block and remaining independent can be seen as an achievement for the women but it also poses a series of difficulties for their dancing practice. This difficulty is directly related to the context in which they dance and the asymmetry of power and inequality experienced by women in terms of economic negotiations and access to positions of power in the dance community. As an independent block, women have to stay active in the dance community, which implies dancing regularly and investing money in a costume and paying a band's fee, transport, food and beverages. They also have to interact and negotiate payments with dance authorities in asymmetrical situations and sometimes inappropriate environments. It is under these sorts of conditions that many independent female blocks have disappeared.

The scarcity of independent female blocks in La Paz made the process of finding and joining a block a difficult task. The search for an independent block involves different strategies such as asking people, searching the web, and going to the street of Los Andes where most of the independent blocks belonging to a low or middle socio-economic class practice before an entrada. The informality of independent blocks and the lack of information about Machas permeated the women's experience of finding a block. As Talia recalls: "In 2017, I started to look where to go, well, where to dance…And I did not know where to look or who I could ask about. I did not know many Machas."

[26] For instance, Asociación de Conjuntos Folklóricos del Gran Poder (ACFGP) which is in charge of organizing the prestigious *Fiesta del Señor del Gran Poder*. Being registered with an association implies rights and responsibilities for fraternities. Being part of an association of this kind is still a privilege of fraternities. Independent blocks are not allowed to register yet.

[27] The payment an independent block makes to a fraternity in order to dance within their blocks during the entrada is emically understood as the band's fee. This means the fraternity hires one or two bands to play for them during the entrada and splits the final cost between every dancer of their blocks (including the guest blocks such as Machas Yuriña).

Despite the difficulties present in dancing and sustaining an independent practice, the women's testimonies confirm the sense of satisfaction obtained from belonging to an independent block. As Jessica states:

> "While let's say at first, I had to go knocking on doors but now the payoff is that they already know me. Therefore, many people know me. Because let's say I've always been there and […] what I like is what this friend told me: 'You are earning our respect.' It's like an ego."

One of the aspects that have helped Machas Yuriña to position the block within the Caporales community is the notoriety they have achieved by dancing as figuras. Being a figura is a fundamental aspect to understanding how women dance. A block of figuras is a mode of grouping that implies a formation in a single row of three to seven dancers. It is commonly executed by Machos and Machas. The women's statements demonstrate the special value dancing as figuras has in their experience. Through this modality of dancing, women affirm they feel seen and valued. It gives women the autonomy to dance and allows them to be noticed or be more visible than if they were, for example, dancers in a mixed block. Moreover, this modality saves them from the anonymity of dancing in a large block. As Nancy comments:

> "The special thing for me is that they know us more and when we pass, they applaud us, they know who we are and, in many cases, they even recognize us by our names and congratulate us. And what I saw in a larger block is they [the dance community] only know the block's leader and the rest [of dancers] are not known in many cases."

Talia also agrees on this point and highlights the importance of being visible:

> "Everyone knows you; they give you more importance than if you were dancing in a big block where they don't see you much. It's just a row. Instead the [big] block is several rows and sometimes they put you in the middle or back where people don't see you much."

Finally, women associate the experience of dancing in an independent block of figuras with values such as autonomy and the power of decision. As Talia says: "Among all, we choose the color and the model of the costume. Instead, in a large block, we have to follow what the organizer says. In most cases, they give you the costume on the day of the presentation."

Additionally, the women agree that dancing in an all-female block, in contrast to a mixed block,[28] involves a feeling of comfort and easygoingness. As Talia explains: "there is more space to dance and they are girls so, you feel more comfortable being with them. Besides, they are your age". Consequently, the women seem to find in Machas Yuriña a space that provides a friendly environment to dance as well as the possibility to stand out from other Macha Caporal dancers through their participation as figuras.

Here Comes Machas Yuriña: Performance and Experience in the Dance Entrada

Using the definition of Richard Schechner, who postulates that "performances exist only as actions, interactions and relationships"[29], I propose to observe the performances of Machas Yuriña as an action that encompasses not only the act of dancing but how women perform, relate and interact with different actors and situations during the entrada. This approach of looking at their practice as performance involves not only focusing on what women do and their experience of dancing but also on how their performances reveal "complex relationships with power systems"[30].

In order to describe and evaluate the women's performances, it is necessary to understand the context of their practice and the dynamics present in their work. I understand the context to include the dance setting, the social environment they inhabit, and the people with whom they interact and co-construct the meanings of their practice. In this context, ideas, meanings, and classifications of gender are made manifest and expectations and feelings about the dance are exchanged and negotiated among its participants.

The 'stage' or dance setting of Machas Yuriña is the folkloric entrada.[31] Entradas, as the dance setting, are a reflection of the wider social context the women live in. In this sense, they are plagued by chauvinism and inequality that materialize in different forms. The women's stories reveal situations of sexual harassment experienced during the entradas and the feelings of danger

[28] Some members of the block belonged to mixed-gender blocks and left this type of block due to competitive and chauvinist attitudes displayed by male dancers.

[29] Schechner–Brady 2013: 30.

[30] Taylor 2012: 6.

[31] Machas Yuriña participate mainly in entradas zonales which are smaller parades in very distant and even dangerous neighborhoods. Due to their remote location and lesser popularity, many prominent fraternities choose not to participate in these smaller events and prefer dancing in the more prestigious entradas.

associated with gender violence in their wider social context. The dynamics of access to participate as an independent block are marked by inequalities and asymmetrical relations. At the same time, their role as Machas is questioned and problematized through chauvinist actions and comments from spectators, peers, and even family members. Women are exposed to male harassment and molestation during the dancing and at the end of it. In my field notes of Chijini, I illustrate the environment at the end of the dance event:

> "We continue and there are more and more people, and the road becomes narrower. The drunk men increase and become more disrespectful. They cross your path, they bump into you, they look at you, they tell you things. Two drunk young men have started dancing behind Ariana [a Cholita] and it seems like they are about to touch her. I stare at them –vigilant– and they retreat a little. In the end, the girls take them out of the block, 'go and dance in another place, you drunk'. We continue and the dance space has been reduced to a fifth […] the personal space has disappeared."

Nancy's statement confirms my observations concerning the risks women face of being molested by men during the entrada:

> "I am going to tell you an experience that I have seen many times. You have seen when men are already drunk in several entradas, they touch the girls […] once it happened to me. I was walking and they touched me. I turned around and kicked him and the guy flew away. You do not touch me, I told him […] I know how to defend myself."

This risk is also experienced at the end of the entrada when the women face the uncertainty of how to get home safely. As Jessica comments:

> "So, you know we are in a distant place, better to be with someone you know, with friends […] I always try to find my old friends. The same happened in Chijini[32] with Guillermo, they are friends that I know, who will take care of us in the sense that we cannot leave alone, so, we can go until certain point [together] and then leave."

The testimonies of the women demonstrate two different attitudes towards violence experienced in the entrada. Nancy takes a more autonomous stance, that of defending herself; while Jessica reveals the vulnerability of women who have to turn to men to feel secure and be 'taken care

[32] Dance entrada of the neighborhood of Chijini.

of' because of the fear of being robbed, but mainly of being harassed or raped, is always there. Despite the different approaches, both testimonies give evidence of the concrete presence of sexual violence in their dancing context.

In terms of participation, women experienced restrictions due to their mode of association as an independent female block of figuras. To participate in any entrada, Machas Yuriña need to be invited by a fraternity as a guest block. The process of negotiation after the invitation is of great importance for an independent block because the place in which a block dances has a special value in the dance community. As Jessica explains:

> "The figura that is in front of the band is the one with more prestige. So, being closer to the band is as a matter of prestige and obviously that you dance better, because the *bombo* [drum] sounds louder, the music stimulates you."

This testimony reveals the relationship between the dancer's position in the parade and the prestige it represents. The position of the block, as explained before, involves a payment that is divided equally among the block's members. The smaller the number of dancers, the higher the amount they have to pay. This aspect suggests that the prestige of a block is not only measured by its trajectory or dancing quality but is directly related to the economic power of the block.

Another restriction can be spotted during the negotiations for a place between the women and the fraternities' authorities. The women's testimonies highlight the power differentials between the two parts of the negotiation. Although sometimes the negotiation can be done with a woman, it is often done with men of higher status in the dance community such as a fraternity's founder. In my field notes, I registered Jessica's feelings regarding one experience of negotiation:

> "She was also summoned once in a bar by one of the founders of Simon Bolivar […]. And they were two men and she was going to be alone. She was afraid and called Talia. But both were unsure and called Guillermo so he could help them to negotiate. Why do women feel defenseless in the act of negotiation? What are they afraid of? Why would anyone summon you in a bar, with the presence of alcohol, to negotiate? It is evident that women have much to lose in these negotiations."

Every negotiation entails a tension between obtaining the best place they can for their limited budget. Economic power, then, becomes a key factor of constriction for women's participation. According to Jessica, this is one of

the main reasons why dancers quit the dance. To dance in Caporales, a female figura must invest yearly around 3,000 bolivianos in a new costume and pay for the band's fee each time they dance. Consequently, women dancing independently as figuras experience a huge disadvantage due to their 'informality' and reduced number of members.

Although economic power is a problem that affects both male and female figuras, this particular restriction is more severe on women. It highlights the power differences between men and women in the dance entrada. Guillermo, a Macho Caporal dancer, confirms the hierarchies present among Machos and Machas in the dance event:

> "In the structure of the organization to enter an entrada, I have hardly ever seen Machas in front of the band […]. There is always a block of men and other men and men with women[33] […]. They [Machas] don't get the best place unless they pay a lot."

Machas disruptive nature and hybridity between the male and female roles have caused controversies among spectators, peers, and family members. If "how one moves and how one moves in relation to others, can constitute a public enactment of sexuality and gender"[34], Macha's dance performance and display of gender has engendered both the public's rejection and approval. Indeed, in Machas Yuriña's testimonies, the effect of the audience's reactions to their performance is very significant. It is in the entrada where they exchange and negotiate meanings and values about the dance. While dancing, women have to interact with all kinds of comments and gestures concerning their performance. As Jackeline says: "I heard some comments that day that women can't dance [like men], that they only know how to move the pollerita and that's it. I've heard people say in Gran Poder and other entradas."

Claudia also remembers the attitude of male dancers towards them during the same entrada:

> "The boys, the Machos are the ones who look at you badly […]. They must think you want to imitate them. They looked at us with an expression of: what are they doing? Like saying: we can jump and you can't, we can lift our legs like that [suggesting a big height] and you can't."

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[33] Referring to mixed-gender blocks that are run by men and composed of a majority of men. Thus, the blocks that tend to occupy an emically relevant spot in the parade are male blocks.

[34] Desmond 2001: 6.

During an interview with Guillermo, he denied any competition between Machas and Machos: "They do not compete with men from what I have seen, well, because we are a little more agile. They are clumsier in the steps." This male dancer's perception of competitiveness takes the opportunity to compete with men away from women due to their inability to dance like them, which only confirms the women's perceptions about male dancers' feelings of superiority in the dance field.[35]

The experiences of rejection, diminishment and aggression expressed by the women reveal how "social relations are both enacted and produced through the body"[36]. In dancing, Machas are continually measured against the social expectations regarding a woman's performance and the canons established in dance about what a woman can or cannot do. Thus, their experiences only confirm the chauvinism present in the dance entradas. Nevertheless, Machas Yuriña has managed to win the approval of a segment of the audience due to their ability to match the man in the dance through a singular performance style. According to Jessica, in Caporales dance, style can be classified into three categories: strong, intermediate, and soft. In this spectrum, she situates the block in the intermediate style. The categories brought up by Jessica suggest a conceptualization of dance that relates movement qualities with features associated with traditional gender characteristics perceived in the opposites of the gender binary: masculine and feminine. Therefore, the strong style is related to an extreme roughness such as the one displayed by some male blocks, and the soft style is related to a soft and delicate performance associated with Cholitas.

The key aspect of Machas Yuriña's performance lies in the balance of qualities that are featured both in the male and female characters. The women appropriate the male's strength and use of space but at the same time, keep their sensuality and elegance. In their performance, what they perceive as 'masculine' and 'feminine' traits have the same value. It is the women's capacity to redefine femininity through an active and strong performance that consolidates their dancing style and allows them to display a presentation that is – as the women perceive – 'out of the ordinary'.

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[35] Although the focus of this paper is to make visible women's points of view, men were also interviewed to contrast and complement women's opinions. The older men presented an orthodox point of view that diminishes or rejects the presence of Machas in the dance. Younger Macho Caporal dancers are more open to welcoming Machas in the dance. However, in their testimonies, the perception of the supremacy of the men's dance based on their belief in masculine corporality's superiority prevailed. I will explore these findings in a future article that compares Macha Caporal and Macho Caporal performances.

[36] Desmond 1997: 33.

As explored, social expectations and gender norms permeate women's performances and experiences posing challenges to them as women in the field and as independent dancers. Nevertheless, the women display agency in the dance arena, managing to counteract diverse obstacles and presenting a singular performance style. In the field, they showcase skills to negotiate and achieve a place in the dance event.

To Dance Makes Them Human

This role that moves between binaries – male and female, masculine and feminine – and whose surface is a sum or combination of seemingly opposite elements – beauty and strength, delicacy and roughness – has gained a place in the dance circuit and is today recognized by many as a character of the dance. This acceptance of Machas is reflected in the field by the audience's words of congratulations, cheers, and applause. As Jessica says: "as Machas, the ladies, the men, children, everyone comes and congratulate you because you are dancing well […] trying to match the man […] they come and congratulate you".

In the women's testimonies, the power of the audience's applause and congratulations seems to have an enormous effect on the satisfaction and positive feelings they associate with dancing: to Nancy, it elevates her self-esteem, whereas to Claudia, is a feeling she craves for every time. To Talia, is proof that she did a good job. And to Jackeline, is a joy. Thus, the dance entrada becomes a space of experience, where women can exchange their desires, fears, and expectations with peers and audiences. Through the other's recognition of their performance, women can build a sense of self-validation. As Nancy expressed it: "well, to me what I like the most…is that they applaud us. That they say: there come the girls, they are the Machas Yuriña. That they see us…dance, develop a step, express ourselves, with freedom." In this search for recognition, being recognized by their own merits becomes an important aspect for women. As Jessica notes:

> "One of the benefits of having your own block is that you have more display. You are seen more and you can be recognized for how you dance, not by the money you have or by your name but for how you dance."

The women's interviews give testimony to the obstacles and preconceptions faced during entradas. In their performances of Macha Caporal, women's identities and abilities are put into question. However, through the

performance of this role, they also gain happiness, freedom, and a sense of satisfaction that comes from the process of dancing autonomously and matching the men in performance.

In addition, the intimacy and closeness experienced in an independent block seem to provide women with a web of support and friendship. It is through dancing that some women have achieved a feeling of community and fulfilled their need for social interaction, entertainment, and affect. For instance, Jackeline recalls finding in the block the comfort and strength she needed when she had to separate from her son. To Jessica, creating the block and dancing was a motivation to overcome a deep depression. The women, in general, acknowledge the comfort, trust, and fun that is created in the environment of an independent female block.

For each of the women, the experience of dancing works differently, but the effects of dancing are enough to keep them in the dance. What I have come to learn from the women's own experiences while also seeing it as a participant is that women tend to give more value to positive feelings. Those sensations and emotions that they cherished the most can obscure any negative experience and motivate them to persist in a practice that poses many limitations to them as independent female dancers.

Conclusions

Through the description and analysis of Machas Yuriña's performances, this study has examined the endeavors involved in the processes of managing and dancing in an independent female block. The experience in the field revealed that women have to engage in numerous negotiations to participate in the entradas as individuals and as an independent block. Such negotiations covered items ranging from the time and money to be invested in the dance event as well as more personal aspects such as the support or lack of it from the women's families. The dancers' experiences reveal an intricate network of gender issues where expected gender roles, restrictions, and stereotypes are present and intertwine with their dancing. What emerged progressively in the research through in-depth interviews were the asymmetrical relations at play in the dance with gender being a tacit restriction. Women appear to be less assisted or more limited by the conditions set in the dance environment. The risks of sexual harassment threaten their safety and dance experience.

The challenges women face in performing are counteracted by the feelings experienced in and through dancing. The material gathered indicates women have found in Macha Caporal a role that allows them to dance on their own

terms. Specifically, to dance as they want by being dressed more comfortably to move with freedom, strength, and with a feeling of safety. In the women's testimonies, the dancer's mode of association has emerged as a relevant element. Machas can dance independently or in a fraternity – the most traditional mode of participation. Each mode of participation engenders different types of organizations, performances, and experiences. Thus, identifying these differentiated modes of dancing within the research was relevant to contextualize and better understand Machas Yuriña's practice.

As the study has shown, dancing independently as figuras engenders feelings of accomplishment and self-validation in the dancers. It appears that this mode of dancing provides a space for women to dance together, joining efforts to resist and by-pass the adversities present in the dance context. In this process, Machas Yuriña, a small and independent enterprise of ordinary women accomplishes the unexpected: achieving recognition and visibility from others in a dance field permeated by gender inequality.

This article has put in evidence the complex interrelationships of aesthetics and politics in female dance practice. Furthermore, it has revealed women's strategies to make their way in a male-dominated arena, highlighting the "agentive nature of dance"[37] and the creativity and resourcefulness of women to generate and sustain a singular dance style and practice that enables them to reach a position not as equal to men but as 'out of the ordinary' women and dancers.

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[37] Reed 1998: 521.

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Nóra Ábrahám

Anthropology in Dance
Gesture Systems of the Body

Abstract

My paper outlines an anthropological approach to dance focusing on the body's interpretation within the contexts of space, sensuality, theater, fashion, aesthetic quality, and the development of gesture systems of the body. The study addresses the question whether the bareness of the body and space may be defined as a form of emptiness or rather as a case of sincere manifestation and revolves around the issues of social and personal attitudes related to dance performance, including mimetic performers, limits of social body norms, and the possibilities of survival, especially the changes in the female body's perceptual and social roles and strategies.

Keywords: body, consciousness, art, theater, politics

My paper focuses on and outlines an anthropological interpretation of body motion.[1] I argue that an overview of the body's gesture system may provide a means to the better understanding of the differences in movement interpretations and at the same time also clarify its role and responsibilities.

My research focuses primarily on the art of movement and my findings indicate that there are numerous forms of interpretation of the body itself. The anthropological approach relies on several criteria and cultural anthropology also uses numerous somatic-aesthetic methods to gain a better understanding of the body as a material subject. American researchers argue that the body is an element of the cultural medium performing a social function, while European scholars, in contrast, contend that in the cooperation of the body-soul-spirit it may be a means of expressing individuality in culture.[2] Christoph Wulf, in his perspective on historical anthropology in the European cultural context (and with relevance to the body) also applies it to gaining knowledge of the person existing within the body. Wulf considers the

[1] My research was conducted in the Ethnography and Cultural Anthropology program of the Doctoral School of History and Ethnography at the University of Debrecen.

[2] Kaeppler 2000; Royce 2004; Wulf 2013.

dialectical study of diachronic and synchronous elements of motion to be primary in the anthropological interpretation of the body, highlighting the unique characteristics of historicity and culture and creating the possibility for a disciplinary and international dialogue within anthropology. Secondly, within this specific form of historical-cultural anthropology, the mimetic gesture system of the body may also serve as a subject of research within the social context of society, which it associates with logic and emotions.[3] Agreeing with Máté Kavecsánszki, the theory of Christoph Wulf covers the interpretation of body movement in the most complex way.[4] In my previous studies, I adapted Anya Peterson Royce's theory, arguing that the aesthetics of dance itself and its performance may be best interpreted from a cross-cultural perspective.[5] According to Royce, the body and creative intelligence, through the cultural impact created in society, provide an opportunity for the emergence of new stylistic forms in the world of dance as a representative of performing arts.[6] Maybe it is the combination of these two types of research approaches, the etic and emic perspective, which may together provide a dance anthropological thesis for the interpretation of the body and the understanding of movement. The opportunities for interpreting culture and the body, the phenomenon of dance itself and the interrelatedness of all these issues are what truly intrigue me as a scholar. Wulf suggests that the human body, as an object existing in itself, gains experience through perceiving the outside world, from which it can learn. Hence, the duality of the body as a subject and an object, the body and the soul will together characterize "being in a body", as a result of which it can also interpret its own inner world.[7] The different interpretations of the body, in turn, are the result of different historical and cultural processes, the ever-changing factors of which are adaptation in social space, keeping distance, and discipline.[8] In his theoretical explanation, Wulf also refers to the ideas of Bourdieu, Elias, Foucault, Horkheimer, and Adorno related to the body, with the keywords of habits, perception, space, social medium, sensuality, thinking, and dialectics. In her argumenttation the body is no longer a text, but it may be defined as a descriptive tool of the culture of society.[9] Therefore, culture cannot be limited to objects and various creations, but it is interpreted as existential experience realized in the

3 Wulf 2013: 117.
4 Kavecsánszki 2020: 80.
5 Ábrahám 2020: 40.
6 Royce 2004: 3.
7 Wulf 2013: 171.
8 Wulf 2013: 172.
9 Wulf 2013: 175.

space rooted in the body. Thus, the heterogeneous nature of cultural influences represents bodies that can be interpreted in different cultural systems in terms of their localization.

From the point of view of cultural history, the dancing body belongs to a distinct social space as well as a representative performance space. Meanwhile, several questions arise in connection with this: how many interpretations of physical culture can dance itself represent? Is dance strictly just dance or is it movement and theater? What meanings does the body carry? What effect does dance have on the body? What does the body communicate by dancing?

In this paper, I discuss these mimetic-performing or social body norms and the gesture systems of the body, which I hope clarifies issues related to the interpretation of the body and consequently, the role of dance and the attitude of the performer. The space of the stage, at the same time, also includes the involvement of the outside observer, and thus I also emphasize the impact of stage dance on the spectator.[10] My writing also seeks to reflect on interpretations of body and space as defined by contemporary dance theories, perhaps clarifying the differences in interpretations and facilitating the convergence of differing positions.

The Anthropological Study of the Body and Its Use in Dance

The first key point of my study involves the definition of the body, trying to describe this concept as precisely as possible. According to András A. Gergely, it is such a biological-physical dynamic concept that is the embodiment of the soul, watching itself from the inside.[11] If, however, we wish to specify this further, I would argue that the body is a material object that is symmetrical in its extent, has consciousness, is able to perceive and think. A *perpetuum mobile* that has a soul and can thus become an individual. As Hegel's phenomenology argues, no subject can exist without an object and it is in constant motion. And if it is already moving, we can assume that dance is a phenomenon that makes the body interpretable in space based on its movement. The dancing body is influenced on the one hand by the extrasensory world at the level of the soul (faith), while on the other hand also by consciousness (thinking), and thirdly by desire (experience). It symbolizes, communicates, is in symbiosis with both society and the cultural processes

[10] Kapitány Á. – Kapitány G. 2008: 397.
[11] A. Gergely 2014: 15.

taking place in society. It is also related to nature, since human actions are determined by the general laws of nature according to Kant.[12] Therefore the body and thus dance realize their role in the dialectical relationship between society and the individual, as supplemented by gender.

My paper mentions sexuality, the display of sensuality in relation to the relational system of bodies. In society, in their ritual relationship, bodies receive a ludic-entertainment function disciplined by morality and ethics, while the body expressing the individual thinks, communicates feelings and becomes an artistic means of expressing culture.[13] Both being ludic and providing entertainment are realized in the space of society also. The involvement of an outside observer, however, also implicates a focused, special space and the crossing of a conventional boundary. The interpretation and embodiment of the body in a cultural context may presuppose a commitment, it may qualify the movement of the body as a focused expressive action.[14] The interpretation of movement presenting the representational possibilities of the body also deserves attention in the contemporary art scene. In the formulation of contemporary dance theory, it focuses on the choreographers and the composition and physical form they create. The basis for it is the dance which is practice and immanent critique articulated in aesthetic form as a created choreography. The artistic process itself is the means and space of critique, which as an experimental space represents the scene of socialization. There are no general rules, however, it accepts the directions of dialectics strictly in terms of thinking and movement. This may always be interpreted only in a specific framework, claiming that with generalization it would lose its unique character.

In her writing, Gabriele Klein characterizes the cultural world of the turn of the century as a crisis of modernity in the epistemological field of dance, however, she does not define either the body or the basic motivational aspects of dance.[15] She refers to the individual formulations of artists, talks about the nature of the process, dramaturgy, aesthetics, compositional structure in connection with dance. At the same time, she states that the combination of theory and practice would represent an opportunity for moving forward with artistic motion. She mentions two basic theoretical distinctions from the point of view of sociology, Bordeau's theory of practice, and Foucault's field theory from a socio-historical perspective. In Klein's interpretation, practice is a constructed notion of materials describing the

[12] Kapitány Á. – Kapitány G. 2007: 164.
[13] Csordas 1990: 6.
[14] Csordas 1990: 10.
[15] Klein 2013: 207.

processes of subjectivization oriented towards bodies. The field is the thematization of historical epistemologies and dispositions, which is a self-shaping set of mimetic and performative art techniques.[16] Bourdieu's body definition, however, is more specific than that of Foucault as the latter ignores the physical limitations of the body. Bourdieu attributes cultural, social, and symbolic capital to the body appearing in space. This, in turn, opens up broader perspectives, presupposes cultural competence, a system of customs, the social space itself, and the range of knowledge and understanding in which the body is interpreted on the basis of various rules and regularities.[17] Therefore, the theory of practice itself actually argues that the interpretation of the body is determined by a system of gestures and patterns of behavior rooted in the cultural system. The movement of the body cannot be separated from the consciousness, the thoughts and feelings communicated trough the movement of the intelligent body that can be interpreted not only through the choreography, but also the technique of the movement.[18] Klein's interpretation relies on Claudia Jeschke's understanding of the body based on choreographic analysis, which considers the formal gestures of ballet to be fundamental.[19]

Thus, the question arises as to whether this practicing matter as a body can express itself in an artistic or popular performance in a sociological-social approach. And if it already exists as a form of expression, what can it become, what does it risk? Does it distinguish and designate the personal space of the body, or does it interpret itself in an ever-changing spatial specificity? Can it leave the created field or its own comfort zone and practice self-reflection? Is it just an individual manifestation or a group/social experience? What is the role of the choreographer and that of the choreography in the relationship between material and space? At this point, however, we must also include the space of the theater in the space of body and spatial interpretation, because even in Mejerhold's naturalistic formulation, the body plays a role as an instrument that has artistic value. In his *Empty Space*, Peter Brook poses the following questions in this regard:

16 Klein 2013: 210.
17 Morris 2001: 54.
18 Morris 2001: 58.
19 Jeschke 1999: 4–7.

> "Is there any language other than the language of words with which the author can express his thoughts with the same precision? Is there a separate language for action, for sounds? Is a sound, a movement, or a rhythm enough to express a feeling and does it have an expressive value? Does it have strength and boundaries?"[20]

Thus, the drive for a basic definition of body and movement has become clear, while it has also been revealed what is missing from all of this. The dance-theory work analyzing the body and created by Olga Szentpál at the turn of the century, which is referred to as the "crisis of modernity" by Klein, is in the center of my research.[21] Based on my research, this period cannot be referred to as a crisis, in its social consciousness and ideological expression it can certainly be distinguished from the 60s, but I would certainly not consider it as a period lagging behind of the 60s even. In terms of representation, the artistic aspirations of the turn of the century are examples of performance art, similarly to the 60s, because it is brought to life by the cooperation with related branches of art (such as music, literature, fine arts), their contemporary nature, and the desire for change. What is extraordinary in the system of movement-based analysis formulated by Szentpál is that the motion of the body comes into focus, which is realized on the physical plane of the matter relative to the person. Thus, complemented by cognition and thinking, it may determine the concrete appearance, form, characteristic, manifestation of the body and dance, together with the inner content defining it. This needs to be highlighted because it defines the body, the axes, its range of motion, and the basic sequences of movement from which dance is constructed. For this, it is also necessary to establish the plastic, rhythmic and dynamic functions of the body. It is important to emphasize that Szentpál uses the concept of function as a task defining and regulating the body.

Movement can be interpreted as dance if the movement structure is defined. To be honest, this would already represent a major step in the interpretation of dance and the body, but goes even further when it distinguishes the current dance culture, by dividing it based on the formal characteristics of ballet, ballroom dance, expressionist dance and folk dance. Dance structures that may be found in the social and focused space of both social and stage dance, serving functions of both being entertained and providing entertainment. It is also clear to me that space and the use of space are of particular importance along with everything else that can be included this category, as it is relevant in the context of interpretation. On the one

[20] Brook 1999: 65.

[21] Klein 2013: 207.

hand, in dance the manifestations of the habits of social behavioral norms related to dance etiquette may be distinguished. On the other hand, it also communicates dominance, primarily in terms of men. The dominant figure of the "leader" communicates important content even when homogeneous bodies appear in space, let them be a group of men or women. The meaning of space changes in the relationship between men and women, fulfilling a function related to gender and identity. Yet another content is associated with it if the body provides entertainment as this is where the use of space becomes central, as it may also have a dramaturgical role here. We should not forget the gesture system acting without speech as mentioned by Brook either, as it also provided a new direction to acting in the wake of his experiments,[22] complemented by the sounds, physical contacts made by the body and opportunities for interpreting various situations, the scenic designation and emphasis of the dominant points of space.

The Cultural-Historical Contexts and Functional Analysis of the Gesture Systems of the Body

The part-whole relationship between body/bodies and social space and the degree of their association with a social class determine the role of culture and change the expression value and functions of its gesture systems.[23] In the context of cultural history, in addition to its ritual functions, we also need to mention those functions of dance and thus the body that are suitable for our own and others' entertainment. Historical, social and ideological characteristics contribute to the emergence and spread of new systems of bodily gestures, while they may also assume a political overtone, as I will prove later. These means of cultural expression that vary by age and present the phenolmenon of dance and appear in separate spaces, represent the symbiosis of social dance and stage dance and their constant source of inspiration. In traditional societies the magic of dance is used in relation to fertility, the rite of hunting, and to establish connections with the supernatural world.[24] In ancient India, it is associated with theater, faith and myths of origin.[25] In this period, in addition to the ritual nature of the dance, dance may also be defined in a sacralized space, also understood as stage dance. Ancient China

22 Brook 1999: 68.
23 Kapitány Á.–Kapitány G. 1995: 619.
24 Vályi 1969: 28.
25 Vályi 1969: 45.

differs from this, as the Beijing Opera is for the entertainment of the emperor, which is also a production realized in the stage space.[26] Pantomime acts are used by the Japanese No Theater.[27] In Greek theater, the facial expressions and chironomic hand-gestures, dances set on the rhythmic units of verse which help to visualize the plot of tragedies, condense and structure the performance as stage dance, also play a structuring and narrative role.[28] The word Khoros itself has multiple meanings as it means a group of 12 dancers, it refers to the dance itself (a maze dance according to Plato), singing, and it also indicates the venue of the famous dance form. Pantomime emerged from this as a new form of at and entertainment in ancient Rome.[29] Talking about amusement, aesthetic quality also plays a role this way. Lukianos also defines the basic requirements towards a dancer as entertainer-performer-actor. The dancer is a physically proportioned, rhythmically accurate, expressive artist who can show a mirror, a reflection to the audience.[30] This creates an opportunity to distance oneself from everyday life, whereby not only the performer but the audience also crosses a line. The stage act of the performance permeates the familiar and gives a new meaning not only to the body but also affects the senses.

For the performer, dance and music represent a kind of self-exploration, a means of self-education. At the same time, it also means the creation of a group in society that is "pure" or "mediators" for the performance of dance as a phenomenon. With the advent of the medieval feudal order and Christianity, the distinction of dance as a system of gestures that can be interpreted as social dance gains significance. The nobility already participate in ballroom dances based on moral and behavioral norms articulated by a dance master. Meanwhile, the peasantry retains its earlier ritual dances as a circle dance and an integrated custom of religion, while at the same time, it seeks to imitate the formal dances of the nobility.[31] During the Renaissance, the dance master, as *maestro di ballo*, is involved in dance choreography, teaching, the creation of dance etiquettes and the organization of celebrations. The profession of the dance master makes it possible for universalized-uniformed social dance culture to appear in Western-European societies, together with a set, choreographed form of dance.[32] During the Baroque, era it appears as

[26] Vályi 1969: 55.
[27] Vályi 1969: 60.
[28] Vályi 1969: 67.
[29] Vályi 1969: 81.
[30] Lukianosz 1974: 759.
[31] Vályi 1969: 87.
[32] Vályi 1969: 103.

court ballet, *baletto*, representing images and astronomical planetary movement and a form of dance with an aspect of entertainment that may also be referred to as stage dance.[33] This later evolves into a form of expression that seeks to show men's technical skills especially, emphasizing the aspiration for moving upwards, dominance, and primarily its Frenchness as *academic ballet.*[34] *Danseur Noble* refers to the category of qualified dancers and performers.[35] In French Rococo, the appearance of ladies, in addition to technical sophistication, contributes to the Renaissance of stage costumes and pantomime.[36] It is turned into *action ballet* by its reliance on Shakespeare's dramaturgy and Lukianos' aesthetics and by placing it above pure technical skills.[37]

During the Enlightenment, the newly arising national dances appeared in balls of the bourgeois as social dances and they become a part of stage dance when they become fashionable and widespread.[38] The popularity of national dances among the bourgeois represented, on the one hand, the political pressure of power, and on the other hand, the opportunity for expressing party affiliations.[39] At the time when *romantic ballet* appeared on the stage, the roles played by men and women were equally dominant, however, in the artistic concept of Romanticism, longing, and Platonic love shifted the main role and style of ballet representation towards women.[40] This is also accompanied by the "cruel torturing" of the female body, as the pointe technique, the absolutely twisted hip and the "artificial" flexibility comes with a terrible sense of pain during body training. Obscuring this, the airy yet fragile artistic charm is idolized in the performance, changing the role of women both in stage dance and social perception. The symbols of rank in the upper social class, preserved as artistic equivalents, as the roles of princes and princesses appear in a prominent position in the stage space. This can be partly explained by the fact that socially the intimate and private spheres, the spaces separating the bodies are becoming more and more distinguished.[41] In her writing, Emese Lafferton refers to Laqueur and notes specifically about the 19th century that it marked the restriction of female sexuality expressed in corporeality as a "downgrade" of the role of women. The entertainment

[33] Vályi 1969: 134.
[34] Vályi 1969: 144.
[35] Vályi 1969: 379.
[36] Vályi 1969: 155.
[37] Vályi 1969: 161.
[38] Vályi 1969: 182.
[39] Kavecsánszki 2015: 56.
[40] Vályi 1969: 203.
[41] Lafferton 1997: 42.

function is moved to a separate space, the spaces of the Orpheum-music hall and the Variety show. The "overtly erotic" female demons occupied a place beyond the boundaries of social morality, which widened the difference in the perception of various women. The woman on stage became the object of male admiration, and the wife was the guardian of social virtue, the cohesive force of the family, and a domestic worker. Why is this so important in connection with dance? Because the "star cult" that develops with prima ballerinas and Platonic love further away from sexuality are concentrated in the personality of the female dancer-performer. It is enough to think of the "instant" but unconsummated love in György Bessenyei's *Eszterházi vígasságok* with dancer Margherite Delphen.

The assumption of the exclusively entertainment role of stage dance is clearly confirmed by the mimicked but otherwise socially repressed realities of the Cabaret and Operettas as experienced in entertainment. This will downgrade the dancers of the stage genre that focused on the character dances of late Romanticism to the degrading category of "ballet rats" or even "women of questionable morality performing stunts". The response to this will lie exactly in the declaration of the intellectual, ethical and moral quality of the turn of the century. It becomes necessary to specify the elements of dance and the criteria of the dancers themselves because the role of art needed to be defined precisely, along with the role of women in art, which is formulated as a social need in the writings of Oszkár Jászi.[42] The cultural phenomenon of dance is thus a perfect reflection of the orientations towards the body and society. The diversity of perceptions of the body in different eras generates social perception and the highlighting of its political role. If we think of the turn of the century, body culture in the German cultural milieu of Western Europe can mean an ecstatic dance and body experience based on Sufi philosophy[43], or the individual formulation of the subject of artistic expression[44], and thirdly, the differences in political views and concrete positions generated and displayed by society through dance.[45] As a result of historical-cultural exploration in turn-of-the-century Hungary, the latter two have relevance, also clarifying the situation of women at the social level. This was formulated by Olga Szentpál to answer questions that arise in society and to declare her own vocation. This includes the disciplinary association of the

[42] Jászi 1908: 209.

[43] Rudolf Lábán (1879–1958) experiments with motion-experience. Vojtek 1999: 35.

[44] Regarding the body-technique and formulated works of art of Hungarian movement-artists, the works of Olga Szentpál, Alice Madzsar or Valéria Dienes and István Molnár.

[45] In the ballroom dance of the bourgeois, in addition to national dances, to create "Hungarian" dances and formulate their national aspirations. Szentpál 1954: 28.

body, defining the movement characteristics of the body, and presenting an approach to dance culture as a whole that features characters of both stage dance and ballroom dancing.

Taking these factors into account, in the anthropological study of the already mentioned dance structures and bodily gesture systems, this will bring different results in the interpretation of stage dance and that of ballroom dance or folk dance. In stage dance, technique, conscious movement, and expressiveness come to the forefront, pushing sexuality into the background (similarly to the appearance and control of a dominant role in same sex group dances). In ballroom dancing, it is exactly sensuality that comes to the fore, as it is about the contact of men and women as bodies, which is accompanied by the technical execution of dance, decency and identity, which is realized within the framework of a social event. While individual performance involves self-expression, choreography, aesthetic quality and performance, ballroom dancing emphasizes the leading role of the male and the adapting role of the female dancer and in this context stresses the emotional relationship and dialogue of dating and attraction, which is further enhanced by technical skills and performance. In stage dance, and especially in ballet or in the emergence of motion art at the turn of the century, there is little physical contact, instead adaptation and formalities by the performer come to the fore. Ballroom dancing, on the other hand, abounds in it, the repertoire involves not only the touches of the hands, but also the holding of the arms, and embracing of the partner. In terms of performance, the hip plays a characteristic role, while the use of the arms is more of a balancing and aesthetic element complementing body movement, which can also reflect social affiliation. The dances of the peasantry are not characterized by clearly raised arms, as it is allowed only for the higher social class by the arm position standards in the dance structure of ballet. The coordination and independence of the movements of the arms and legs can already be defined as criteria for the dancers' qualification and a sense of understanding of movement. The dancing body may seem awkward without the proper and appropriate use of the arm and appear uncoordinated in the expression of the bodily gesture system. The style of German expressionist dance, Hungarian motion art or American modern dance differ from one another in body planes and axes with regard to the bodily gesture system. Modern dance is a form of body and space use in contact with the ground. Movement controlled from the solar plexus with the techniques of *contraction and release*[46]

[46] Fuchs 2007: 83.

and *fall and recovery*[47] with the gesture of spiral twisting and dropping. It presents the physicality of the body and its postures in contact with the ground, rolling on it, it shows a sharply different kind of body perception than the bodily gesture systems discussed earlier. Sensuality is not relevant in this regard. The body and the contact contexts of the bodies play a central role guided by strength and momentum.

In terms of American modern dance, it is much more a sense of physical representation than an inner work that articulates a spiritual event. This style of dance, which expresses spiritual events was formulated by the creative performers of the German Expressionist School and Hungarian motion art. I see the proof for this in the fact that the performers of the German Expressionist School and Hungarian motion art formulated their own objectives and motivations and built their dance training systems on a definite theoretical basis. These systems focus on consciousness in the body-soul-spirit system in the primary position, which must be born in the performer herself/himself on the stage. The multitude of ludic and entertainment functions of bodily gesture systems have become visible as constantly changing and taking on expressive value in various cultural historical eras and social classes. Therefore, André Lepecki may be right about the style of modern dance in the entertainment category when he claims that it is only able to develop and survive for a while and unless it is able to renew itself, it becomes exhausted.[48] But can this be called exhaustion or is it more of a border crossing or a redefinition?

Is Individuality a Body, Sensuality or Identity?

When defining the individual, the attitude of the body needs to be defined also in terms of its appearance in social space, its relation to other bodies, and its role as technically trained or untrained. The training and discipline of the body was considered a virtue already in the court culture of the nobility in the late Middle Ages. And once dance is considered a virtue, according to the dance masters, those who dance "are not poor but beautiful"[49]. In Italian Renaissance, with the emergence of the title of the dance master, dance and etiquette in line with the Neoplatonist approach were primarily used in the

[47] Fuchs 2007: 87.
[48] Lepecki 2014: 236.
[49] Vályi 1969: 103.

service of the nobility.[50] Thus, not only social segmentation and dress, but even dance skills were used as indicators of distinction. Ballroom dances are characterized by a compliment or kiss initiating the dance, which indicates a courtesy function.[51] Thus, courtship itself becomes a social event intertwined with dance. The appearance and displayability of the individual is not yet part of the body's toolbox, but is already shaped by adaptation and formality in relation to body and space. The individual appears only in productions presenting independent performance, it becomes visible in space for the specific era and society. The ethnic belonging of the body in social space becomes a determining factor as part of this, together with the assumption of identity, the legitimate right of its independence as a character.[52] The area that shapes the personality and also shows its expression will simultaneously become dance and theater, body and space, self-fulfilling performance and/or national interest. With the appearance of the entertainment and dominance function on the male body, this process may not be as spectacular as in the changes taking place on the female body.[53] From the perspective of the female body, this involves a myriad of change strategies in social perception or acceptance regulations and roles. The training of the body and stage dance are formed into a form of self-expression in the social and entertainment activities of high culture at the courts.

The cohesive power of the peasantry is equally represented by dance and organized dance events, which serve as entertainment opportunities and social events of the village community. The strongest regulatory system is heritage and tradition, which at the same time reforms itself in a slowly but steadily changing acculturation process by partially or temporarily merging dance fashions.[54] They are not trained dancers, but all members of the community must dance because it is a duty defined as a criterion of belonging to the community. In terms of the dynamics of the village community, an exception is made only if the community for some reason expels and punishes a person who violates the written or unwritten rules of the community.[55] In village society, gaining a position in outstanding cases may also be generated by dance skills. This is how especially skilled dancers became legendary dancers and formed dance dynasties, whose favorite dances could

50 Vályi 1969: 101.
51 Vályi 1969: 102.
52 Szentpál 1954: 26.
53 Szentpál describes men's "not so sanguine but more choleric" character with a highly extroverted leading role. Szentpál 1954: 43.
54 Kavecsánszki 2015: 75.
55 Pesovár 1978: 58.

even survive as independent dance types.[56] There is, however, a process in the peasant dance culture as well that precedes young adulthood, when the mimicked movements must "become part of the dancer" during practice while guarding cattle or hiding in behind the barn, forming and adapting the village's dance gesture system to reveal their own talent.[57] This transformation process takes place at around the age of 11–16 before reaching the age of marriage. This is followed by another boundary or initiation rite when growing up and entering adulthood with marriage and by this time already assuming a role of controlling the behavior of the youth. Role changes within the community make up the closed yet changing world of the village community resembling a slowly grinding mill. This boundary or rite of passage is also associated with the attendance of balls and reaching the military age. The young people of the bourgeois and the aristocratic nobility learn the universal dance fashion (that culturally meant the dance standard accepted at the Habsburg court) at the dance school from the dance masters. It has the same function of entering social life as in peasant society.

Balls are linked to the Enlightenment and the national fashion of ballroom dancing may be interpreted as a symbol of national independence or identity, which is why it is not closely tied to the representtation of the individual. In a uniformed dance culture, the national dance expressing Hungarian identity with the *verbunk* style is based on the social spaces of balls and the theater.[58] Ballroom dancing becomes part of basic education, enabling participation in social events. In the Reform Era, the concept of the individual already has a political overtone with the creation and social impact of "Hungarian" dance, and it may clearly be referred to as a symbol of isolation and independence. Actors are the first dancers of the Reform Era to create "national" or rather "Hungarian" dance as they had already become skilled dancers who studied ballet in the theater.[59] This style of dance which may be described as the pedestal of masculinity is born and made fashionable in the circles of the gentry-bourgeois social class and this also appears in the space of the stage.[60] After the Compromise, it passes from the gentry to the peasantry as a rite of passage and as a virtuous formula beginning a dance.[61] It also intertwines

[56] Examples include Bábó's verbunk (*Vámosmikola*), Bertók's verbunk (*Szigetköz*), Ádám Bene's verbunk (*Kiskunhalas*), Sallai's verbunk (*Kéménd*) and Porkolábos dance (*Tiszadob*). Communicated by Pesovár 1978: 11.

[57] Kaposi–Maácz 1958: 108.

[58] Szentpál 1954: 9.

[59] Szentpál 1954: 10; Kaán 1989: 33.

[60] Szentpál 1954: 15.

[61] Vályi 1969: 189.

with musicality, as *verbunkos* music had appeared before the dance in the composition of Márk Rózsavölgyi.

If I were to compare dance and music from the perspective of the individual and interpretation, some connections in terms of Classicism-Romanticism-Art Nouveau also become clear. I would point out a few letters of difference between two musical terms, *cadenza* and *cadence*. While *cadenza* used in Classicism involves free interpretation, improvisation at or near the close of a movement of a composition, *cadence* refers to a strict closing. In the musical form of Romanticism, there is no such freedom anymore, and playing the tunes of the piece of music precisely and the ability of interpretation become key objectives. Dance as an educational tool and a uniformed style of partner dance culture is without free improvisation during this period, which is more characteristic of folk dance. With the emergence of the artistic trends of Art Nouveau at the turn of the century and the pursuit for self-realization and free self-expression, the body is viewed as a natural ornament and the focus shifts to the skills of interpretation and improvisation. The theoretical foundations of art will be the subject of study among representatives of German idealist philosophy in the context of the natural body and thinking. The invention by Dalcroze of a technique that helps people to understand the musical structure and musicians to improve their posture and better understand the rhythm, becomes a specific dance style and becomes the basis of the expressionist school. It becomes linked with the paramount importance of natural thinking and women's education at the societal level.[62] This is why for Pina Bausch, the most unique but already contemporary artist emerging from the further development of the school of German expressionism, the dancer is the center of knowledge and the work of art is self-knowledge, theater, and interpretation all at once.

Body and Theatre

Theater is a form of expression that assumes the function of entertainment and endows the body with communicative value in space. It is therefore a space involving conscious border crossing that is a critical reflection of the body of society. Empty space provides the body with innumerable opportunities for communication. The bodily gesture language expands here, in addition to movement, it also includes the sounds made by/with the body, such as punching, beating, clapping, or physical conflict in the interaction of

[62] Ábrahám 2020: 41.

bodies, which is highlighted and made meaningful by silence and stillness. The actor's job is to make a character of the person embodied that reveals exactly what the director expects. This, according to Brook, does not begin with the learning of words, but one must find the wordless pantomime movement from which and based on which the speaking character himself/herself can be construed. The body and the interpretation of the body in the world of theater always consider the principles that prevail in society to be the basis, for which it must add aesthetic quality (as we are talking about a special event put on stage). The actors generate a gesture language from the basic conflict of the understood act, thus making their individual struggles visible in the space presented to society as an involved outside observer.[63] This, however, may be traced to a social counterpoint. Namely that the "comedian" is always "on the move", thus they always live at or outside the periphery of society. Theater and the comedians who create and implement it represent a social group that live according to well-defined and observed, yet unwritten laws.[64] Theater, for them, represents their body, soul, and their life. Bodies moving in space and body contacts are always filled with meaningful content, making impressions on the audience. "Brechtian" alienation as a situation provokes the spectator and makes them think. It is the body filled with communicative content that shapes its role through posture and gestures. It may be popular and accessible for everyone and at the same time serving political interests, but in this case, in Brook's words, we are talking about "dead" theater.[65] It may be a dissonant, acting, and raw subcultural revelation full of wit, which is much more interesting and it is more of a theater expressing life and the human nature of people than a mirror of society. The latter may be the "voice of the people" which, because of its bare honesty, speaks directly to the outside observer, who will identify with it exactly because of this pure form of expression. In the process of creation, therefore, the creator has a knife in one hand that figuratively cuts into the flesh of society's body, and a stethoscope in the other monitoring the heartrate to make sure the body is alive, seeking and living the experience of change and alteration.[66]

63 Brook 1999: 106.
64 Brook 1999: 138.
65 Brook 1999: 8.
66 Brook 1999: 114.

The intensity of the emotional content is closely intertwined with the cool thought and dialectical, controversial arguments, otherwise the already very delicate balance that characterizes the acting theater would be upset. If the seed of thought is not planted, which can take root and develop into the stem in the outside observer, the viewer will remain "hungry" and leave frustrated. The expressive content of the action reflects social truth, which does not radiate conviction, but rather the desire for change that the situation presented may somehow be resolved. On the stage, naked, bare souls shine in the representation of the body but nudity is not about bareness, it is about authenticity [67] This may be raw and sharp, but by no means "pleasantly mannered" or trivially simple. The space of the stage does not celebrate the "consubstantial ego" but the lonely, acting hero who must always show most humanity towards society when it is least experienced by it. Truth and development always appear and promise a hopeful future with the representative death of the ego and self-interest, with the stoic calmness inherited from Seneca. This is why the petrified stereotypes are the ones that make the body dead along with everything it wants to communicate.

The symbolism and meaning of all the elements we bring onto the stage space come with a responsibility. It is just as much a space for positioning society as it is for displaying dispositions. A good example for this is provided by turn-of-the-century France and Paris in particular. The modern Russian ballet with its novel ideals and excellent choreographic attitudes is stationed there. The body interpretation that renews rites and sensuality outrages society accustomed to the entertaining nature of romantic ballet.[68] But this company also has a rival that emphasizes the peculiarities of national character and puts social groups on the periphery of society in the focus of art on the stage in the creative attitude of Swedish ballet.[69] Interests, marks, bodies, "evolutionist animal-like sexuality" interpreted in planar spaces, deviant costumes, reformed, recreated gesture systems, modern music, and theatrical traditions confront each other in the contemporary artistic concept. This also enters Hungarian dance life, building on newer formal and national stylistic solutions. As for the interpretation of the body and space, drawing the fundamental boundary is an essential moment in relation to interpretability. The fact and awareness of crossing borders is significant because it calls attention and highlights the borders left behind. The fact of transcenddence must be conscious so that a new frontier or convention may be born

[67] Brook 1999: 121.
[68] Fuchs 2007: 49.
[69] Fuchs 2007: 58.

from it, legitimizing its own role in a canonical rearrangement.[70] Sensuality is not dominant on stage only and exclusively in the contact of bodies or objects symbolizing the body. The naked body may be a rebellion if it has meaning. For me, the extravagant relationship between the body and the skin covering the body became clear during my university years when listening to Judit Gombár's lectures on the history of culture. In her works, Gombár formulated a unique body interpretation in her costumes made for ballet performances. For her, the beauty, shape and aesthetic quality of the body served as the basis, which she complemented, made visible and hinted at with her superbly tailored costumes. Nudity was a tool for her just as much as a material that best supported the shape and form of the body and the dance. The unique eroticism of the body is most evident in this respect, as it is much more exciting to see only a part or even just a silhouette having to imagine it than presenting it in its full reality to the spectator. However, it has become so common in modern theatre that it has lost its original role. If the viewer can decide what to think, what to conceive of the body, and how to evaluate the production seen, it becomes overtly subjective.

Looking at a body from the outside, "in its naked reality", I have also experienced this while sitting in the audience and watching the reactions of those around me. One old gentleman looked for the gender characteristics of the body and the "possibility of insight," the other wanted to see how cared for the body hair was, while the third looked for the signs of abdominal fat. And I, who thought that I understood modern theater, left with eyes wide open and "hungry" because I was waiting for the developed ideas, smooth acting, that didn't even require a clearly understood composition. I, too, have only understood now that this naked, fatty body is the prison of the soul that, in the "swirl of lipids," circles around itself, and this has been built for it by society that also imprisoned it. It lost touch with nature and itself in the rush of civilization, rolling towards something without seeing its legs and that is no longer clearly understood as good or bad, self-proclaimed contemplation disguised as progress. In the same way, a grotesque body revelation may be a self-seeking body perception, a dissection and twisting of the body, a simulating body mosaic of legs and arms, the lack of heart, mind, thought, and soul, as well as its instinctive nature.

[70] Kékesi Kun 2006: 75.

Is Choreography the Critique of the Choreographer or That of Society?

The role of the choreographer is a complex one according to the historical-cultural approach. Through dance as a tool, s/he not only communicates a social position and current artistic perception, but also needs to express an individual opinion. In this respect s/he also chooses a political stance as to what interests, morals or moral values the interpretation of the communication implies or confronts. Choreography is the symbolic and formal application of this and it is also a composition structured in its buildup and use of space, as well as in its spatial form. Symmetry always carries a safe, easy-to-understand, and well-positioned meaning. Asymmetry, however, is a system of rules of confusion that is always in search of harmony, compositional balance and therefore represents a raw-wild-relative acting attitude. Using the scenic tools of light, it makes the dynamic points of space convex or concave, focusing on the body within it. Symmetry is a representative showcase and asymmetry is a revolution in experiment. The center-positioned box-stage of the stone theater is purposefully dominant, the experimental theater created from "nothing" is the "creativity of the universe". The creative choreographer acts as the director, who may be the dancer him/herself, similarly to the Renaissance dance masters.

At this point let me highlight the essential difference between European and American cultural perceptions. In Europe, culture represents something "sacred", it embodies the profound creative force of virtues, social problems, feelings, innovation and discovery, and the individual talent of the character. As opposed to this, the American approach considers the instinctiveness of ordinary gestures to be fundamental, which, like in the case of Pavlov's dog, is based on conditioning. As a deep conviction, it also claims that they invented and discovered it, even if it can be proven that the phenomenon may have appeared or existed in other cultures before.[71] Hence, the responsibility of the dancer's cultural representation is the task and duty of the choreographer or director. This is why it is important to train creative and performing people as expressed by the German Expressionist School and the Hungarian motion art, who are familiar with the rules of the body and space, and consciously turn towards creation and performance. For them, dance and creation are not only a physical task to be performed, but to "give birth" to a work and perform it is also an inner spiritual-emotional task. Meanwhile, the etic attitude of the outside observer should represent the critique. A space of

[71] Brook 1999: 157.

discussion confronting points of view, arguments, styles, which praises or condemns the work. This is important also from the sense that the role of criticism is dominant in terms of acceptance by society. If criticism is good, the performance stays in the program, making people curious and eager to watch, rate, or possibly become fans of it. If it is shocked and arrogant or over-positioned, people will lose interest in the topic as there is no motivation for it. It generates at most anger and dislike, which in turn equates to a death sentence. It would therefore be important for the critic's work to articulate values as well while standing on the ground of reality, of course, while also mentioning problems, because the critic wraps his/her own subjective opinion into words, which raises the question of what their purpose is. Does it serve the cultural benefit and development of society or the critic, or does it position power?

Possibilities for the Survival of the Body and Movement

The bodily gesture systems presented so far all have their own specific flaws. As they are created by humans and not machines, they may strive for perfection and can be perfect in imperfection. The formulation of the concept of skilled and unskilled was made as a performing attitude. Training is the arena that must consciously utilize the assets and traditions of the body's gesture systems and at the same time make the receptive space formable on a cultural level. By this I also mean understanding the system of relations between "knowing somewhat" and "collective knowledge", the practical understanding of techniques. If we think only of the art of movement, motion art: how many different representations exist? The generic development of body movement always focuses on the body's gesture system. Within this space, it always needs to use the right technique, style or gesture system, from which it creates its own technique that also expresses individuality. Using the ideas and definitions of Olga Szentpál, motion art borrows the aesthetic quality of ballet, the physical contact and social relationship of ballroom and folk dance, and also uses the body as an instrument, the pantomimic gesture system of soul expression. She is not alone in this respect in motion art. If we look for points of connection with pantomime, we can find the unique art of Cilli Wang and Ellen Tels, or Gertrud Kraus, in which it plays a role.[72]

[72] For example, they are not listed as performers in Hungarian dance history. Karl Toepfer writes about them in *Empire of Ecstasy* published in 1997.

Among those practicing the art of movement, there was a relatively large number of people who were persecuted for their origins, who had to flee those parts of Europe where the categorizing theories of National Socialism triumphed. Survival, however, remained an option, and the aesthetic dimensions of their art led the body and its movement towards another stylistic formality. At this point we need to mention Ohad Naharin and Gaga as a style, Marcel Marceau, who grew up on Étienne Decroux's school that looked at the material corpus as a tool, and the manipulation of objects he invented, as well as rhythmic gymnastics, physiotherapy represented by Sára Berczik, or for that matter artistic gymnastics as interpreted by Ágnes Keleti. Perhaps it is even more interesting how this genre found its way back to Hungary after the Holocaust and the loosening of ideological barriers. It was my aunt, Elizabeth Abraham (whom everyone knows as Tücsi), who told me about this as she was an active performer during this period.[73] During her years of studying at the Teacher-Training College, she often went to the University Theater, where she liked Miklós Köllő's pantomime performances the most, which represented a progressive-alternative line. In Prague, Miklós Köllő learned the technique of pantomime from Vladislav Fialka, which he also taught in Budapest.

In the late 70s, the young intellectuals of Budapest attended exhibitions and concerts together, where performance art was frequently present. She was an active participant of the performance art actions of *Dr. Újhajnal,* i.e., Sándor Bernath Y., where they performed as a "transconservative" band under the name of *Okker Szisztersz*, *Női Lépték*, or even *King Fingersz* or *Matuska Szilverbend*. From the beginning of the 1980s, my aunt joined the András M. Kecskés *Corpus* pantomime ensemble. This was followed in 1984 by the establishment of the movement theater department of the Katona József Theater in Kecskemét where they worked together with Gábor Goda under the leadership of István Malgot. The first recognition of the success of their joint work with Goda was embodied by the audience's award of the *Déjavu* choreography at the New Dance Competition of Budapest. These performances and the genre of pantomime itself had a definite political weight and aspect. *Artus Theater* was established as a result of this, which was built on the results of József Nagy, who taught what he studied from Marceau in France at home, transforming it into a new genre. And this is by no means different in its ideals from the art of movement. The movement theater of the silent body in which my aunt played Pierrot. She was the sad clown, who stands in front of the audience with sadness condensed into gags,

[73] I am sharing these memories with the permission of my aunt, Elizabeth Abraham.

and yet with a pure heart and a naked soul. She lived in Vienna since the birth of her son in 1987. She helped his friends countless times to come up with new ideas and inspired them at the "gate of the guilty imperialist West." For her, the idea always represented the foundation of the work and the expression of creativity. I always looked up at her for being able to step back from the stage for freedom, build a children's theater from scratch, and finding a new role and form of expression for herself. She provided the base and the connection between "East and West" when it came to learning about new artistic trends. This serves not only as evidence of a mixture of genres, but also for stating the fact that not only American modern dance represents contemporary dance art in Hungary. The idea and style of motion art did not die, it only found a different form of manifestation.[74]

Summary

Based on those aspects listed in this paper, it is clear that dance represents ideas, modes of body interpretation, and social attitudes born out of the body within the dialectical system of society and the individual. It is necessary to limit the body with axes, endow it with aesthetic qualities, natural dynamics and place it within an epistemological dimension, making the inner and outer space of the body visible also, because dance, as a form of behavior of the body, may be interpreted truly only in the context of the historical-cultural dimensions of society. The body disciplines itself in the process of socialization, acquires a "basic education", and learns to orient itself in the space imposed by society. It has to learn to express itself and participate in joint action. It can move on symbolically, if it is trained and becomes a dancer, with performing arts becoming its vocation. The stylistic change of development and gesture systems of the body lies in the conscious transgression of conventional boundaries, be it the interpretation of the body or movement, a generic peculiarity. In the space of the stage, the body may become a mimicked poser and an instrument transcending with a bare soul. It may as well be a familiar-adapting sensual object in society or an individual wishing to

[74] Let me note that productions and performers that reached the standard of movement art also appeared in the New Circus or Tribal fusion belly dance categories. The New Circus displays body and object manipulation, and the tribal belly dance reevaluated body consciousness by presenting the body in a novel form with the independence of movement centers. As a prominent performer of the New Circus, I must mention the artistic gesture system and peculiar theatrical formal language of Linda Farkas (1980–2016), who died tragically early.

reveal him/herself. Culture or art is inseparable from both the body and society, it represents a compelling need for transcendence. As a pure source, it makes you thirsty, offering an opportunity for renewal this way. The "national strive" assumes community and identification with society and the body, bringing art closer to the body as an understandable and familiar community space, and offers new ways of representation. Clinging to bodily appearances, insistence on rigid idols is a form of distancing from change. The relationship and degree of connection between body-bodies and the social part-whole relationship of space serves as evidence for the role of culture and its constant reinterpretation.[75] The change and conscious alteration of tradition and expression, body-soul, object-subject, asymmetry-symmetry, space and theory, fashion and etiquette play the key role on the stage of dance and bodies. We should not focus on the creative habit of personalities, but on defining, evaluating and interpreting the dancing body and follow it through space and its historical-cultural transformation. As my writing proves, the body always wears the current cultural mark of the given historical era on itself, irrespective of whether it is entertaining itself or providing entertainment. Leaving the comfort zone takes place when body and dance take the stage, as it changes its rules as not everyone in the space is active and moves at the same time, but processes what is seen by the external observer. Thus dance and movement represent a social body norm with an emic attitude reflecting on the internal processes of society. High culture communicates through the gesture systems of the body and creates opportunities for manifestation (functions and structures) in various strata of society, thereby also generating subcultural counterpoints within itself. Therefore, it is the dialectical system of society and the individual that changes the culture of the body with its power and by moving beyond its limits.

[75] Kapitány Á.–Kapitány G. 1995: 619.

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Erzsébet Ábrahám as Pierrot. (Private ownership image: Erzsébet Ábrahám.)

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Imre Gráfik

Der Sattel
Unser östliches Kulturerbe

The Saddle
Our Eastern Cultural Heritage

Abstract

The study summarizes the most important knowledge about the saddle, the eastern heritage of Hungarian culture, based on the results of the research and an exhibition. Animal husbandry, especially keeping horses, has always played a very important part in Hungarians life. Saddling horses was significant up until the middle of the 20th century in Hungary, we have information about it from noblemen, the aristocracy, the upper social stratas, as well as from peasants and market town inhabitants. Objects and memories connected to riding culture, riding as a way of life, were present in the memory of the upper social classes and in folklore. There were different types, varieties of saddles, just as there were varieties of almost all the objects in our culture, depending on who used them and for what purposes. In general we can say that as the terms and conditions of life changed so objects were transformed and developed. The same is true for saddles, they belong to a group of objects which gained their final, almost perfect shape very early in time, so very few changes were made to them. The saddles used by Hungarians were very suited to riding. The big advantage of wooden saddles is that they spare horses. There are two basic types of saddles usually known as the western and eastern types. From a professional point of view, on the basis of examined material, we speak of the *pommel-sole/panel* type and the *fork-side panel/bar* type. The Hungarian saddle belongs to the Eastern type. A unique and famous variety of the Hungarian saddle is the Tiszafüred saddle. Light cavalry equipped with Hungarian harness spread around Europe, so Hungarian type saddles (Hussar saddle) were an essential part of military equipment. Nowadays there is an increased interest in the riding tradition, and the historical past, and attention is focused on the Hungarian wooden saddle that has been used successfully over the centuries.

Keywords: Horses husbandry, the Saddle, eastern type; pommel-sole/panel saddle, western type; fork-side panel/bar saddle, Hungarian wooden Saddle, the Saddler, Saddle from Tiszafüred/Tiszafüred Saddle, Hussar/cavalry Saddle, horse/riding culture

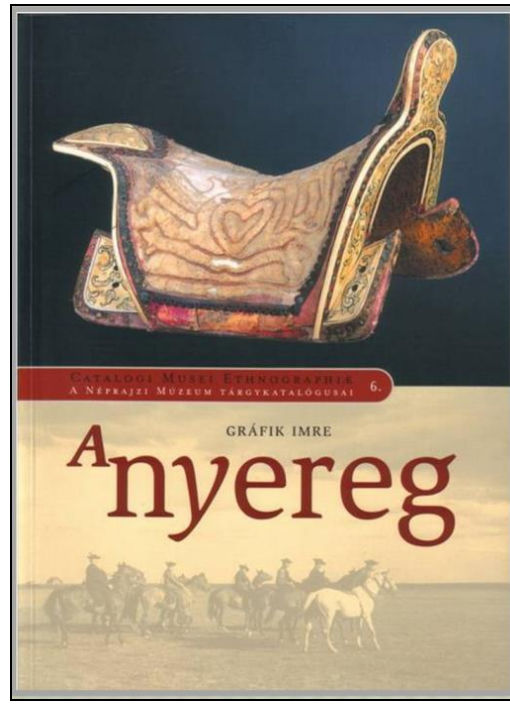

Bild. Nr. 1a: *Der Sattel – Kunstwerkkatalog*

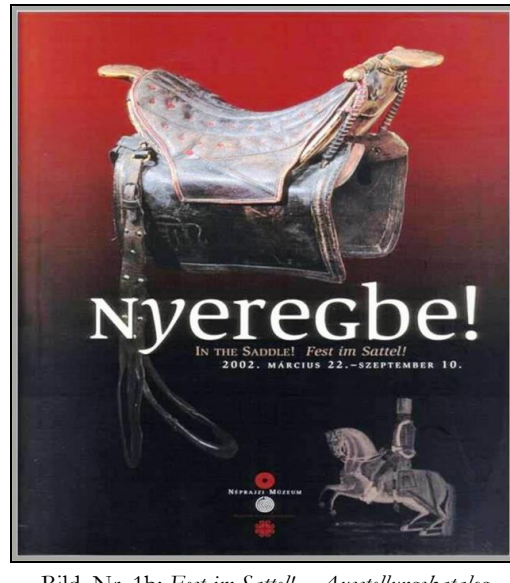

Bild. Nr. 1b: *Fest im Sattel! – Ausstellungskatalog*

Die Pferdezucht hatte eine wichtige Rolle im Leben der im Karpatenbecken angesiedelten Ungarn. Die Bedeutung des Reitens ist in Ungarn seit der Landnahme (896 n.Chr., d.h. im 9. Jahrhundert) bis zur Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts zu beobachten. Die Gegenstände – unter ihnen die verschiedenen Sättel –, die mit der reitenden Lebensweise und Kultur zusammenhängen, waren gleichermaßen unter den Erinnerungsstücken der höheren Gesellschaftsschichten und der volkstümlichen Bildung zu finden.

Über den Sattel

So wie fast jeder feste Bestandteil unserer gegenständlichen Kultur, so durchlief auch der Sattel viele verschiedene Stadien, Typen und Formen, je nachdem, wer ihn zu welchem Zweck oder Anlass bestieg. Mit den Jahrhunderten wandelten sich die Lebenswelten und -bedingungen, und parallel dazu entwickelten sich auch unsere allseits bekannten Gegenstände. Der Sattel stellt hier keine Ausnahme dar, obwohl eingeräumt werden muss, dass er zu jenen Kulturgütern gehört, die schon sehr früh ihre optimale funktionelle Form und Struktur erhielten, sodass er im Lauf der Zeit kaum geändert werden musste.

Der ungarische Begriff für Sattel, *nyereg* („nerg", „närg"), gehört der Sprachwissenschaft zufolge zum sprachlichen Urerbe aus der ugrischen Zeit. Dies wird auch von den wogulischen und osztjakischen Formen bestätigt. Im obi-ugrischen kam es zu einer Lautumstellung in der Konsonantenverbindung im Wortinneren. Die ugrische Grundform mag „*närk*3" gelautet haben. In der ursprünglichen Bedeutung bezeichnete das Wort vermutlich die dem Tier aufgebürdete Last, die seinem Rücken aufgebundene Decke usw., und sein Ursprung steht wohl im Zusammenhang mit der Pferdehaltung zu ugrischen Zeiten.

Die Bedeutung der Reitkunst im ungarischen Lebensalltag dauert mehr oder weniger bis in die Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts an und kann für sämtliche gesellschaftlichen Schichten und Klassen, wie Hoch- und Kleinadel, Bürgertum, Bauernstand, Land- und Stadtbewohner gleichermaßen gut dokumentiert werden.

Jene Gebrauchsgegenstände, die einen so untrennbaren Teil der Reitkultur darstellen, wie der Sattel, stellen nicht nur das Erbe der höheren Gesellschaftsschichten dar, sondern gehören generell der Volkskultur an.

Die von den Ungarn benützten Sättel entsprachen hervorragend den verschiedenen Anforderungen der Reitkultur, wie Fernritte, Ritterkämpfe usw. Eine der besten Eigenschaften der hierzulande bekannten Holzsättel ist, dass

sie das Pferd schonen. Der Sattel selbst ist leicht, sein Gewicht – auf das Gerippe bezogen – beträgt ganze 1,5 bis 2,5 kg. Wird das Pferd richtig gesattelt, dann reibt er den Rücken des Tieres nicht wund und behindert es weder im Schritt noch im Galopp. Dem Reiter wiederum sichert der Sattel, neben dem Gefühl der Sattelfestigkeit bei Verwendung des Zügels, die notwendige Beweglichkeit seitwärts und rückwärts, was insbesondere bei berittenen Kampfhandlungen ausschlaggebend war.

Bild. Nr. 2: *Sattel, Sattelrahmen/Sattelgerüst.* NM 69.27.4

Der Satteltyp und dessen Formgebung werden grundsätzlich von seinem strukturellen Aufbau bestimmt, von der Art bzw. vom Fehlen oder Vorhandensein des Gerippes, des sogenannten Sattelbaumes.

Das Sattelgerippe wurde ursprünglich aus Holz hergestellt, es gibt aber auch Varianten aus Knochen oder mit Knochenverzierungen, eventuell auch aus Leder bzw. mit Ergänzungen aus Leder sowie aus Metall (Eisen oder Stahl). Die Holzsättel – die den überwiegenden Teil der Sammlung des Ethnografischen Museums ausmachen – wurden aus vier bis sechs Teilen zusammengestellt (geschnürt, gebunden, gezapft, genagelt, geschraubt). Zwei Teile bilden den Sattel*fuß*, der auf dem Pferderücken aufliegt. Diese Fußteile oder *Polsterhölzer* werden auch *Sattelflügel* oder *Sattelbretter* genannt. Die Sattelflügel werden vom *Sattelkopf* oder *Zwiesel* (*Vorder*zwiesel und *Hinter*zwiesel) aus zwei oder vier Stücken zusammengehalten.

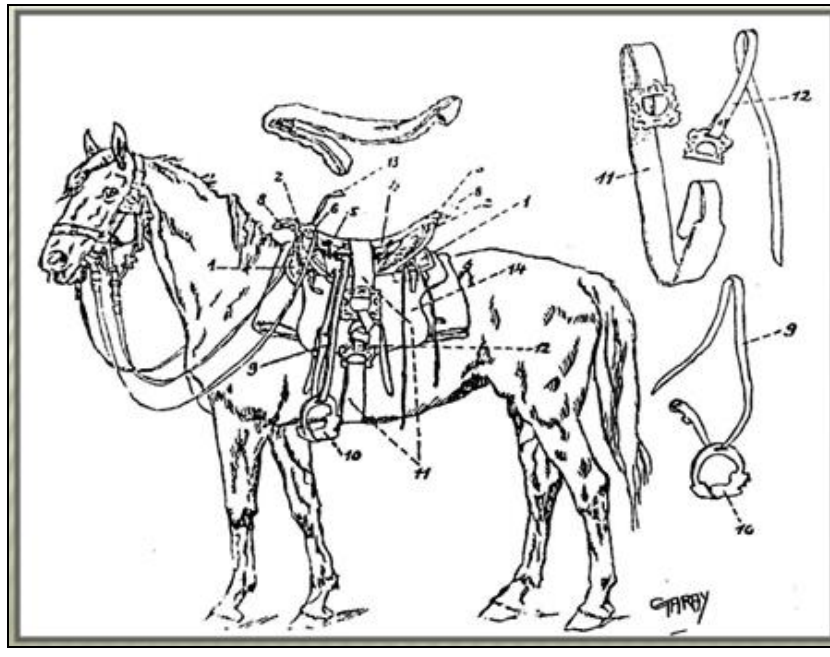

Bild. Nr. 3a: *Sattelung in der ungarischen Tiefebene* (Garay 1936).

Die einzelnen Teile wurden derart aneinandergefügt, dass auf das Rückgrat des Pferdes kein Druck ausgeübt wurde. Darum blieb die Mitte des Sattels bzw. des Gerippes im Allgemeinen leer, dies wurde *Sattelkammer* genannt. Zur Überbrückung der Sattelkammer und zur Ausformung der Sitzfläche wurden mehrere fingerbreite *Hinter-* bzw. *Fahrleder*, manchmal auch Leinengurte, um das Gerippe gewickelt.

Obwohl die Sattelflügel, die direkt auf dem Pferderücken aufliegen, zumeist mit Leinen umwickelt wurden, konnte unter dem Sattel auch noch eine sogenannte Schweißdecke zu liegen kommen.

Das Sitzpolster (Sattelkissen) bestand aus verschiedenen Füllmaterialien (z.B. Tierhaar) sowie aus Leinen- und Lederbezug. Der Sitz selber wurde – vor allem bei Ziersätteln – aus edleren Materialien hergestellt und gegebenenfalls mit einer kunstvoll gestickten sogenannten *Schabracke* bedeckt. Fallweise wurde diese Ausstattung durch eine *Seitendecke* ergänzt, zumeist aus Leder.

Der Sattel wurde mit Riemen und Gurten (*Brustriemen, Schweifriemen*, bzw. *Vordergurt/Lastgurt* und fallweise *Hintergurt*) auf dem Pferderücken festgezurrt.

Unabkömmlich für das sichere Reiten sind die unterschiedlich geformten *Steigbügel* aus verschiedenen Materialien (Holz, Eisen, Bronze), die an Riemen (*Steigriemen*) vom Sattel herunterhängen.

Bild. Nr. 3b: *Sattel mit voller Ausrüstung (mit sogenannten Ledersattelflügeln).*
NM 60.108.10

Einige Sättel wurden beiderseitig mit abwechslungsreich verzierten Behängen versehen. Diese Schalanken wurden zumeist von denselben Sattlermeistern erstellt, die auch die Sättel herstellten. Zu ihrer ästhetischen Verzierung wurden Techniken wie Durchstechen, Flechten, Pressen, Relief und Applikation verwendet.

Als weitere Bestandteile des Sattels gelten noch *Zügel, Zaumzeug* (bei Gespannen die *Beizügel*) und verschiedene *Trensen*.

Die europäischen Sättel können allgemein in zwei Grundarten eingeteilt werden, je nach struktureller Eigenart. In der Umgangssprache werden diese Kategorien *östlicher* bzw. *westlicher Typ* genannt. Von beiden Grundarten sind selbstverständlich zahlreiche Variationen bekannt, je nach Gebiet, Stand und Funktion. Reich verziert und individuell ausgeführt wurden in erster Linie die Sättel des Hochadels, der Herrscherhäuser und der Damen.

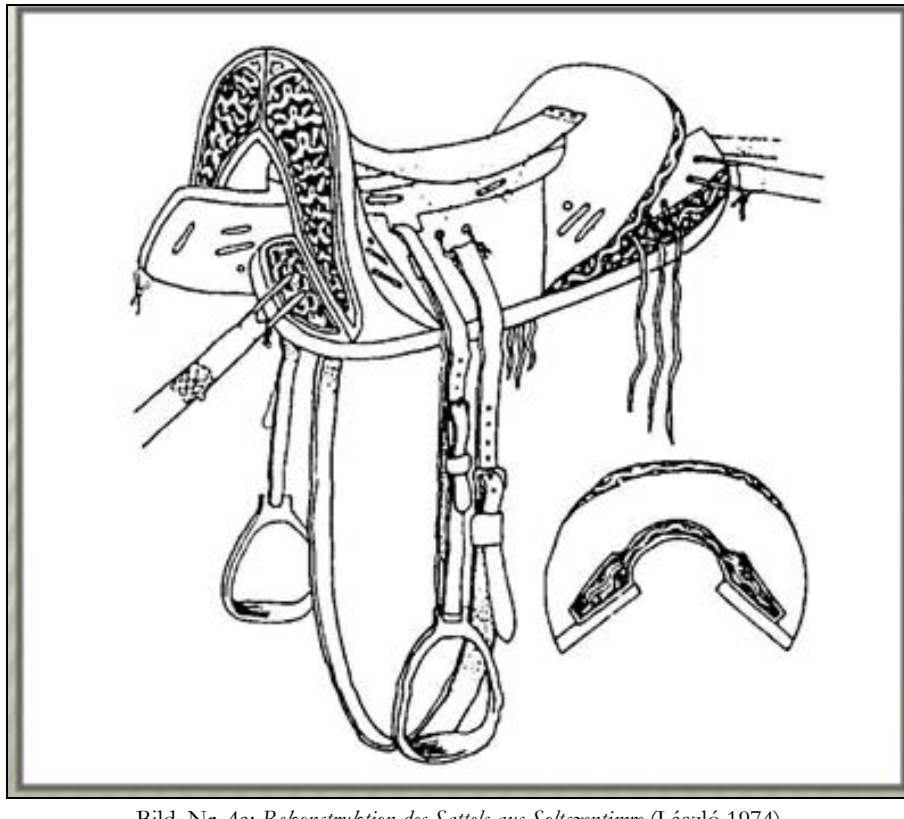

Bild. Nr. 4a: *Rekonstruktion des Sattels aus Soltszentimre* (László 1974).

Bild. Nr. 4b: *Rekonstruktion des Sattels aus Soltszentimre, von Attila Pánczél, Márta Lobmajer.*

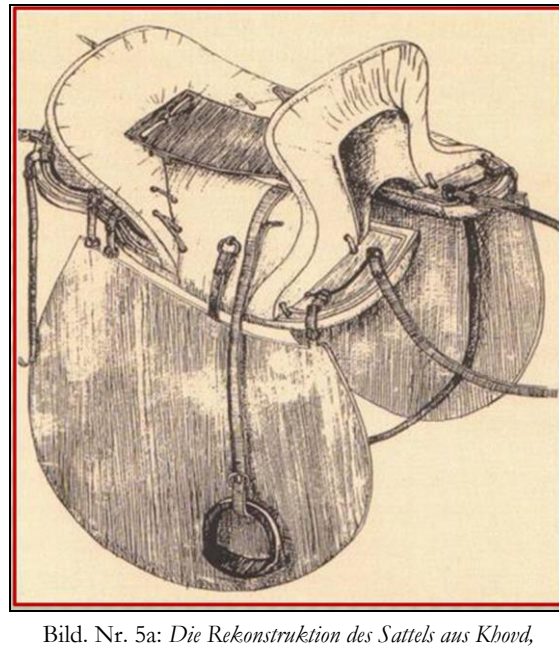

Bild. Nr. 5a: *Die Rekonstruktion des Sattels aus Khovd, Mongolei* (U. Kőhalmi 1968).

Bild. Nr. 5b: *Rekonstruktion des Sattels aus Izsák-Balázspuszta, von Attila Pánczél, Márta Lobmajer.*

Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Sättel wurde in der ungarischen Fachliteratur zuerst von Gyula László untersucht, insbesondere auch hinsichtlich ihrer Funktion im Leben der östlichen Nomadenvölker. Zuletzt fasste Katalin U. Kőhalmi den Stand der Forschung zusammen. In Kenntnis der historischen Daten und sonstigen Quellenmaterials gilt es als wahrscheinlich, dass der Sattel irgendwo in Asien „erfunden" wurde und dort bereits in mehreren Varianten verbreitet war, die im Zuge der Völkerwanderungen nach Europa gelangten. In das Karpatenbecken brachten ihn vermutlich zuerst die Skythen oder die Hunnen und Awaren.

Rein fachlich gesprochen, wäre es aufgrund des ausgestellten und untersuchten Materials eher angebracht, grundsätzlich zwischen den beiden Grundtypen *Zwiesel-Flügel-Sättel* und *Gabel-Seitenbrett-Strukturen* zu unterscheiden. Abgesehen von kleineren Details und Unterschieden, können wir diese beiden Typen folgendermaßen unterscheiden:

Zwiesel-Flügel-Sättel *(Östlicher Typ)*	***Gabel-Seitenbrett-Sättel*** *(Westlicher Typ)*
• leichteres Gerippe und Ausstattung	• schwereres Gerippe und Ausstattung
• Zwiesel-Flügel-Struktur, d.h.	• Gabelstruktur, d.h.
• horizontal, auf Flügelbretter gebaut	• senkrecht, auf gabelartigen Zwiesel gesetzt
• relativ niedrig	• relativ hoch
• eher flacher Sattelkörper	• steilerer Sattelkörper
• sog. Fahr-/Hinterleder-Brücke	• Brückenstruktur bzw. „stuhlartig"
• im Allg. breiterer Sitz	• schmälerer Sitz
• meist mit Lederriemen geschnürt	• geleimt, vernagelt

Unter dem *westlichen Typ* versteht die Fachliteratur, insbesondere im Hinblick auf das Mittelalter, den sogenannten „Rittersattel". Dessen Ursprung geht auf den „parthischen" Sattel („Parthus"-Sattel) zurück. Der wurde von den Römern übernommen, und diese Strukturform verbreitete sich später in Westeuropa, und gen Osten zurückgekehrt, im ganzen südlichen Eurasien. Die Grundstruktur dieser Sättel wurde in Ungarn von den – später weiterentwickelten – „belastenden" Sätteln übernommen. Zwei gabelartige Zwiesel liegen hier unmittelbar auf dem Pferderücken auf, und die beiden werden beiderseitig von Hölzern zusammengehalten.
Der westliche Satteltyp wurde gegen Ende des Mittelalters durch den Niedergang des Rittertums in den Hintergrund gedrängt. Auch die berittene Kriegskunst änderte sich, wie ganz allgemein die Pferdehaltung und die Reitkunst, die immer mehr den bürgerlichen Bedürfnissen zu entsprechen suchte. Diesen neuen Bedürfnissen entsprach der sogenannte *englische Sattel* besser. In seinen Varianten breitete er sich deshalb immer weiter in Europa und in der Neuen Welt aus. Charakteristisch für den englischen Sattel (und seine Untertypen) ist die „Verkümmerung" von Zwiesel und Gabel, die bei einigen Arten ganz fehlen und gleichzeitig die Sitzoberfläche aus Leder, in die das Gerippe eingearbeitet ist, und der speziell aus dem Ledermaterial herausgebildete Sattelkörper.

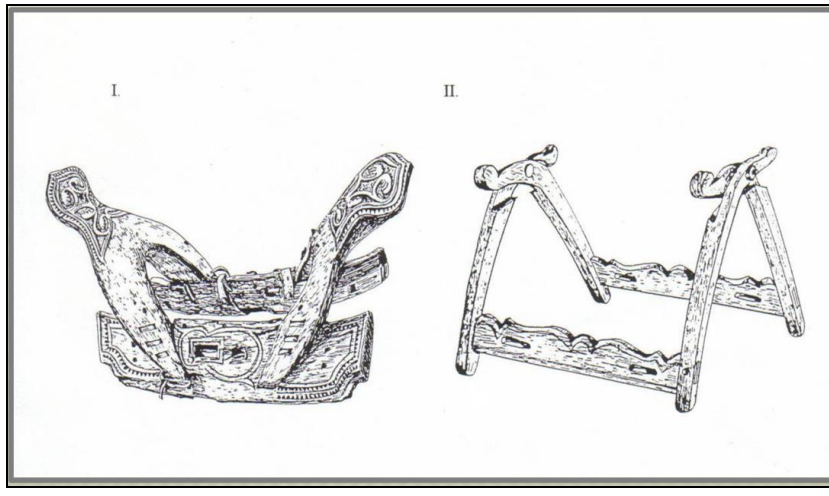

Bild. Nr. 6a: *Beide Grundtypen: I. östlicher und II. westlicher Sattel-typ.*

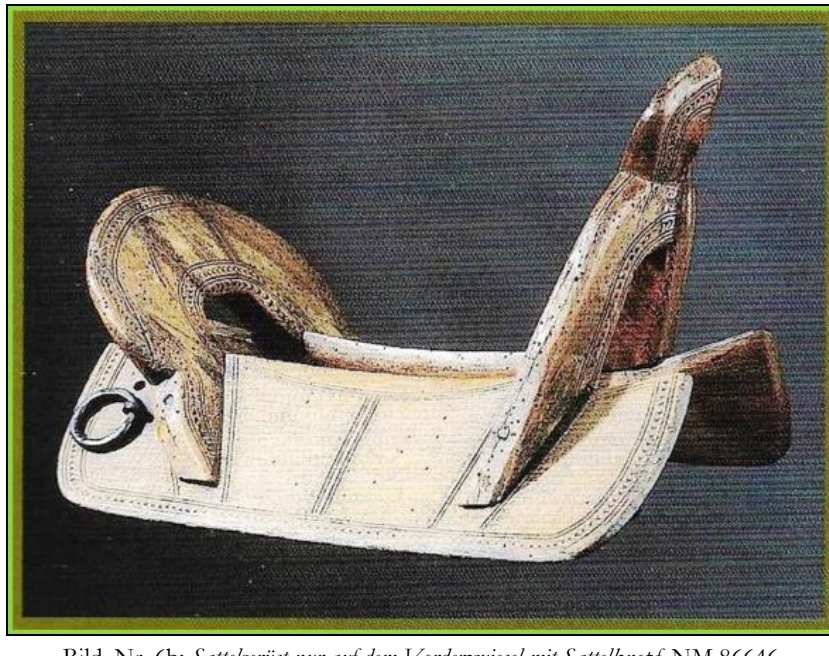

Bild. Nr. 6b: *Sattelgerüst nur auf dem Vorderzwiesel mit Sattelknopf*. NM 86646.

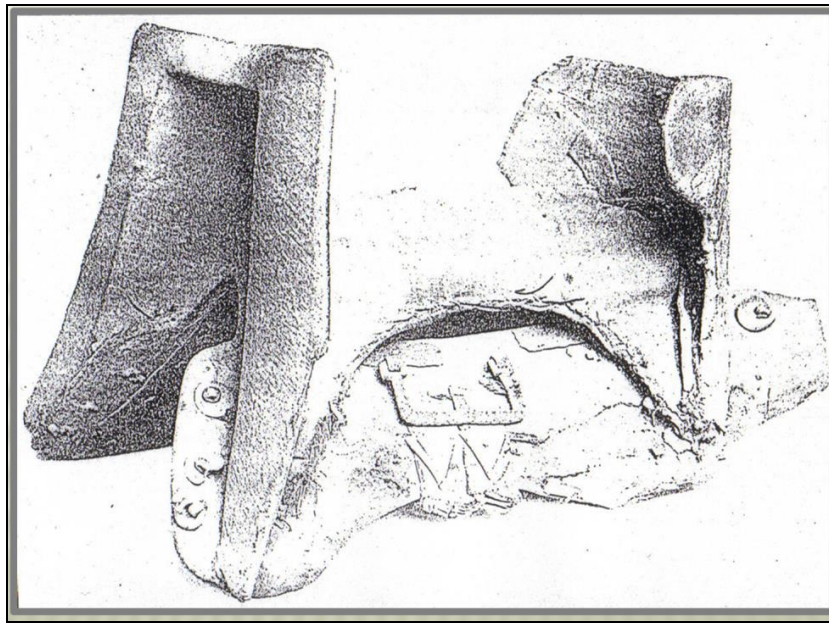

Bild. Nr. 6c: *Rittersattel* (Laking 1920. III.), *Sattel am Grab von König Heinrich V. in der Chantry Chapel* (Westminster Abbey).

Der ungarische Sattel

Wichtigstes Merkmal des *ungarischen Sattels* ist, dass er ein ausgeprägter *Osttyp* ist. Er ist niedrig ausgeformt, seine bogenförmigen Zwiesel werden von Fahrleder zusammengebunden. Die Zwiesel, deren Kopf vorne herausgebildet ist, hinten nur bei einigen Varianten dominiert, werden mit Lederriemen zusammengehalten und/oder mit Zapfen an die Sattelfüße angefügt, die sich an den Pferderücken schmiegen. Der nach vorne geneigte Vorderzwiesel ragt empor, der Hinterzwiesel neigt sich meist zurück und ist rund ausgeformt, was einer bequemen, aber beweglichen Sitzhaltung entgegenkommt.

Angesichts der Abweichungen zwischen den beiden Grundarten können wir daher feststellen, dass es zwischen den lotrechten, auf einen Gabelzwiesel aufgebauten Sätteln und den waagrechten, auf die Sattelflügel aufgesetzten Sätteln grundlegende Unterschiede gibt. Letzterer liegt nur an zwei Punkten auf dem Pferd auf, und hier kommt auch der Gurt zum Einsatz, während die abgerundeten Sattelflügel das Pferd in keiner Weise in seiner Bewegung beeinträchtigen. Die Sattelflügel ermöglichen auch die Ausbildung des beque-

men hinteren Zwiesels, an den man sich anlehnen kann, und die Entfernung zwischen den beiden Zwieseln ist hier größer als bei den Gabelsätteln. In diesem Sattel kann sich der Reiter daher frei bewegen, wenden und hin- und herbeugen, und so eignete er sich etwa für das Bogenschießen nach hinten und für den berittenen Nahkampf. Diese Eigenschaften wurden durch eine entscheidende Neuerung begünstigt, dem Steigbügel. In ihm gewinnt der Reiter sozusagen sicheren Boden, seine Beine können sich abstützen, und er kann im Sattel aufstehen.

Bild. Nr. 7: *Holzsattel* (Muzej Vojvodine, Novi Sad, Srbija).

Aufgrund des archäologischen Befundes, einschließlich der Rekonstruktionen, der Miniaturabbildungen zeitgenössischer Chroniken und Kodexe, sonstiger künstlerischer Abbildungen und des eher wortkargen einschlägigen Quellenmaterials sowie aufgrund vergleichender ethnografischer Daten der heimischen Volkskunde können wir uns mit relativer Sicherheit ein Bild von dem ungarischen Sattel machen, wie er von den Magyaren zur Zeit der Landnahme verwendet wurde, sich im Laufe des Mittelalters umwandelte und doch seine Form und Ausbildung bewahrte. Basierend auf dem recherchierten und analysierten Material haben wir auch die verschiedenen Konstruktionsvarianten in einer Ausstellung vorgestellt.

Im Mittelalter wurde der später „ungarischer Sattel“ genannte Typ durch den Siegeszug der gepanzerten Ritterschaft verdrängt, die einen anders aufgebauten Sattel verwendete. Die leichtere berittene Kampftechnik, deren Effektivität sich zur Zeit der Zurückdrängung der türkischen Herrschaft bewährte, verschaffte dem *ungarischen Sattel* wieder Vorrang.

Bild. Nr. 8: *Holzsattel* (Finta Múzeum, Túrkeve).

Sattler und Sattler: Hersteller von Sätteln

Jene Meister, die Sättel herstellten, wurden *Sattler* genannt. Auf Ungarisch ist das entsprechende Wort als Standesbezeichnung seit 1359 bekannt, und auch der Begriff *Sattelmacher* war gebräuchlich, wofür wir ab 1510 Aufzeichnungen kennen. Die Sattlermeister lebten und arbeiteten am Übergang zwischen den bauernständischen Handwerkern und den städtischen Zunft- oder Zechen-Handwerken. Einige Dörfer und Märkte entwickelten sich zu Zentren der Sattlerei. In den bedeutenderen Städten organisierte sich der Berufsstand auch in Zünften.

Aus dem Vermächtnis der Zünfte wissen wir mit einiger Genauigkeit, in welchen Siedlungen Ungarns Sättel hergestellt wurden. Die Sattler waren in der Regel gleichzeitig auch Riemer bzw. die Riemer beschäftigten sich auch mit der Herstellung von Sätteln, und sie organisierten sich bereits im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert zu einer Zunft.

Über jene Zünfte, die sich nur mit Sattlerei beschäftigten, verfügen wir über Quellenangaben aus dem 16. Jahrhundert: Schässburg (*Segesvár*, Ro) 1510, Hermannstadt (*Nagyszeben/Sibiu*, Ro) 1545, Preschau (*Eperjes/ Prešov*, Sl) 1589, Kaschau (*Kassa/Košice*, Sl) 1591, Leutschau (*Lőcse/ Levoča*, Sl) 1592, Käsmarkt (*Késmárk/Kežmarok*, Sl) 1614, Ödenburg (*Sopron*) 1670, *Buda* 1690, Deutsch-Liptsch (*Németlipcse/Partizánska Ľupča*, Sl) 1728, Pest 1778, *Debrecen* 1783, *Tiszafüred* 1822; die meisten Quellen stammen aus Siebenbürgen, das im Zunftwesen allen voraus war, aus Oberungarn und aus den Zentralregionen.

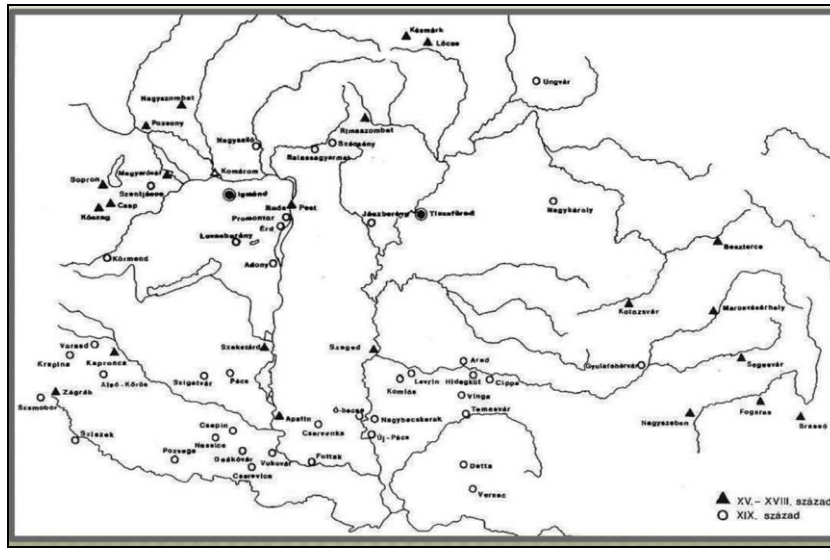

Bild. Nr. 9: *Siedlungen, in denen sich mit Sattlerei beschäftigt wurde* (Bild vom Autor).

Der Tiszafüreder Sattel und seine Hersteller

Der Sattel von *Tiszafüred* (Stadt an dem Fluß Theiß im Nord-Tiefland Ungarns) war eine distinkte und berühmte Variante des ungarischen Sattels. Gyula László hat auf Grund der archäologischen Funde und durch die Arbeit des Sattelmeisters in *Tiszafüred* bewiesen, dass die in *Tiszafüred* gefertigten Sättel ihre Struktur aus der Zeit der Landnahme erhalten haben. Charakteristisch für diesen Typ, der ursprünglich in *Tiszafüred* hergestellt wurde und sich später ausbreitete, war die sehr niedrige Stellung und die Ausbildung des vorderen und hinteren Zwieselkopfes als sogenannter *Zwieselöffel*, der häufig mit Schnitzwerk verziert wurde.

Aufgrund der neuesten Nachforschungen können wir die Sattlerei in *Tiszafüred* bis in die Mitte des 18. Jahrhundert zurückverfolgen. Darüber hinaus sind wir auf Vermutungen angewiesen.

Aufgrund des Quellenmaterials gehört die in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts gegründete Tiszafüreder Zunft zu den späten Zünften. Aus *Tiszafüred* stammt gleichzeitig die genaueste Beschreibung der Sattelherstellung in unserem Besitz, und von allen regionalen Zentren der Sattlerei wissen wir am meisten über deren Geschichte in Tiszafüred, einschließlich der dort typischen Holzsättel mit Kunstschnitzerei.

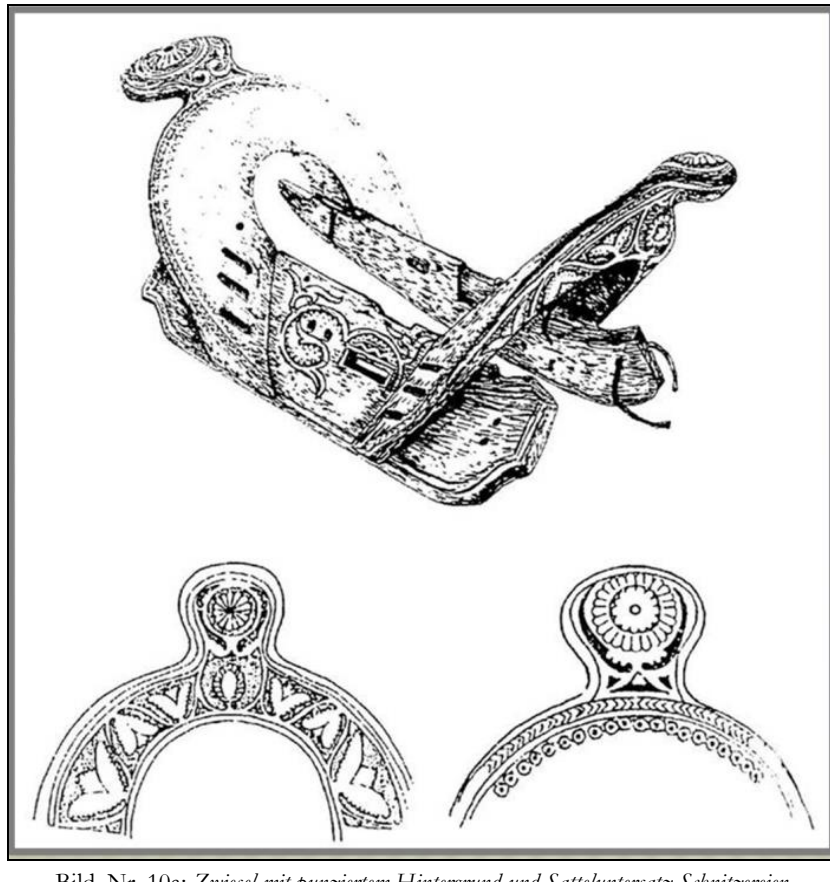

Bild. Nr. 10a: *Zwiesel mit punziertem Hintergrund und Satteluntersatz-Schnitzereien.* NM 56.32.157.

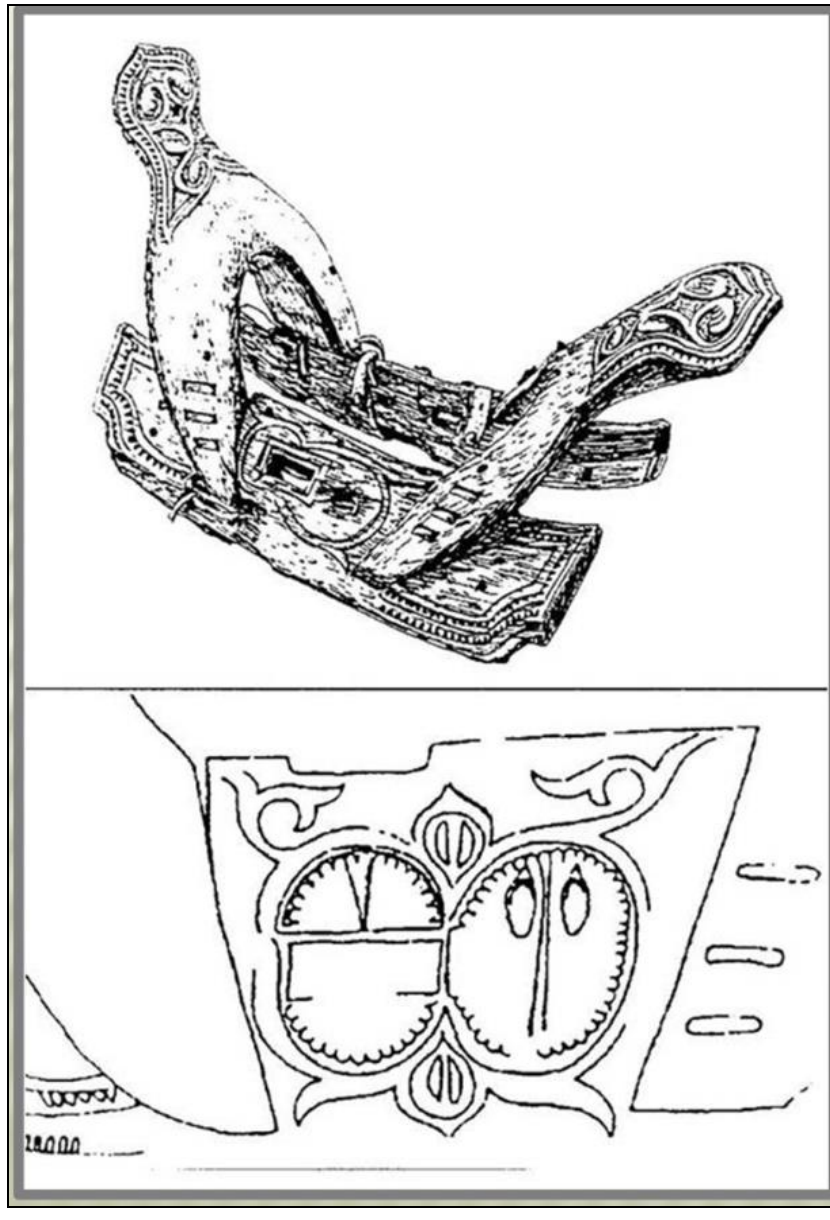

Bild. Nr. 10b: *Geschnitzter Sattel, verziert mit punziertem Hintergrund und Satteluntersatz-Schnitzereien.*

Auf der Einberufungstafel der Tiszafüreder Sattlerzunft, die sich im Besitz des Ethnografischen Museums befindet, stehen zwei Jahreszahlen (1822 und 1849). Die ovale hölzerne Tafel ist ebenfalls mit Schnitzerei verziert, welche die Werkzeuge des Handwerks und einen Sattel aus der Vorderperspektive abbildet. Die Nachricht konnte in einem Seitenfach mit Schiebeverschluss deponiert werden. Auf dem Schieber sind Tulpenmotive zu sehen, auf deren in Spiralform endenden Stiel ist auch das auf den Zwiesellöffeln beliebte Palmettenmotiv vertreten. Die beiden Daten verweisen mit ziemlicher Sicherheit auf das Gründungsjahr sowie auf das Jahr der Erneuerung des Privilegs. Es gab auch einen Zunftstempel, der allerdings samt Privileg und Protokollen verlorengegangen ist. Nach Auflösung der Zunft wurden die Sattler 1876 Mitglieder des zweiten Handwerkerverbandes.Aus der goldenen Zeit der Tiszafüreder Sattler verfügen wir über Quellen, dass Füreder Sattler in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts auch im Ausland verdingt wurden. Der preußische König Friedrich der Große ließ seine Kavallerie ganz nach ungarischem Muster ausstatten und ausbilden, wozu er ungarische Offiziere heranzog und gleichzeitig etliche Meister aus Tiszafüred anstellte, die in Preußen die Armee-Sattelbestände herstellten.

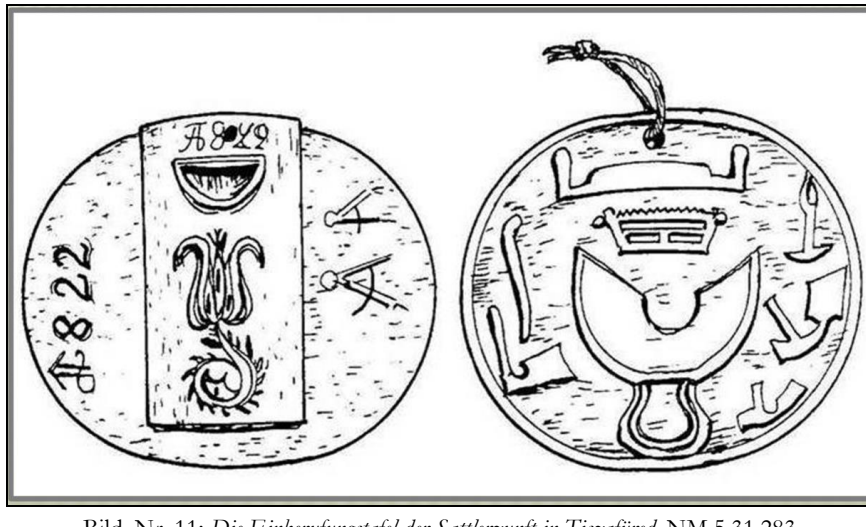

Bild. Nr. 11: *Die Einberufungstafel der Sattlerzunft in Tiszafüred*. NM 5.31.283.

Ungarische Sättel – Husarensättel

Nach dem Muster des Husarentums verbreitete sich die leichte Kavallerie in ganz Europa, und mit ihr wurde über Jahrhunderte hinweg der ungarische Sattel als unabdingbarer Ausrüstungsgegenstand verbreitet. Die Husaren waren eine besondere ungarische Militärgattung von leichter Kavallerie. Aufgrund ihrer Kriegserfolge wurden sie europaweit bekannt, und nach dem Misserfolg des Rákóczi-Befreiungskampfes wurden die Husaren überall gern gesehen und verdingt. Aus diesem Grund breitete sich ab dem frühen 18. Jahrhundert diese typisch ungarische Gattung von Kavallerie auf vierunddreißig Staaten dieser Welt aus.

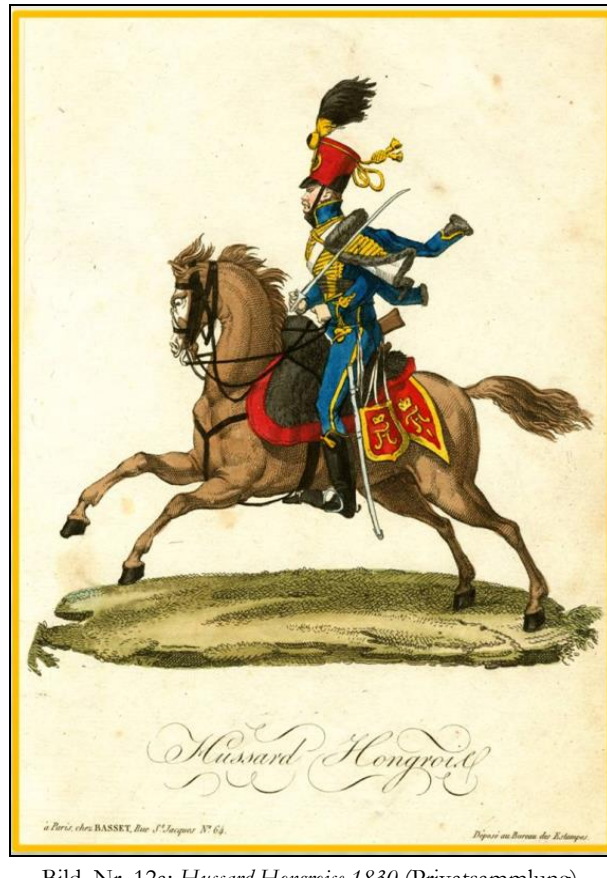

Bild. Nr. 12a: *Hussard Hongroise 1830* (Privatsammlung).

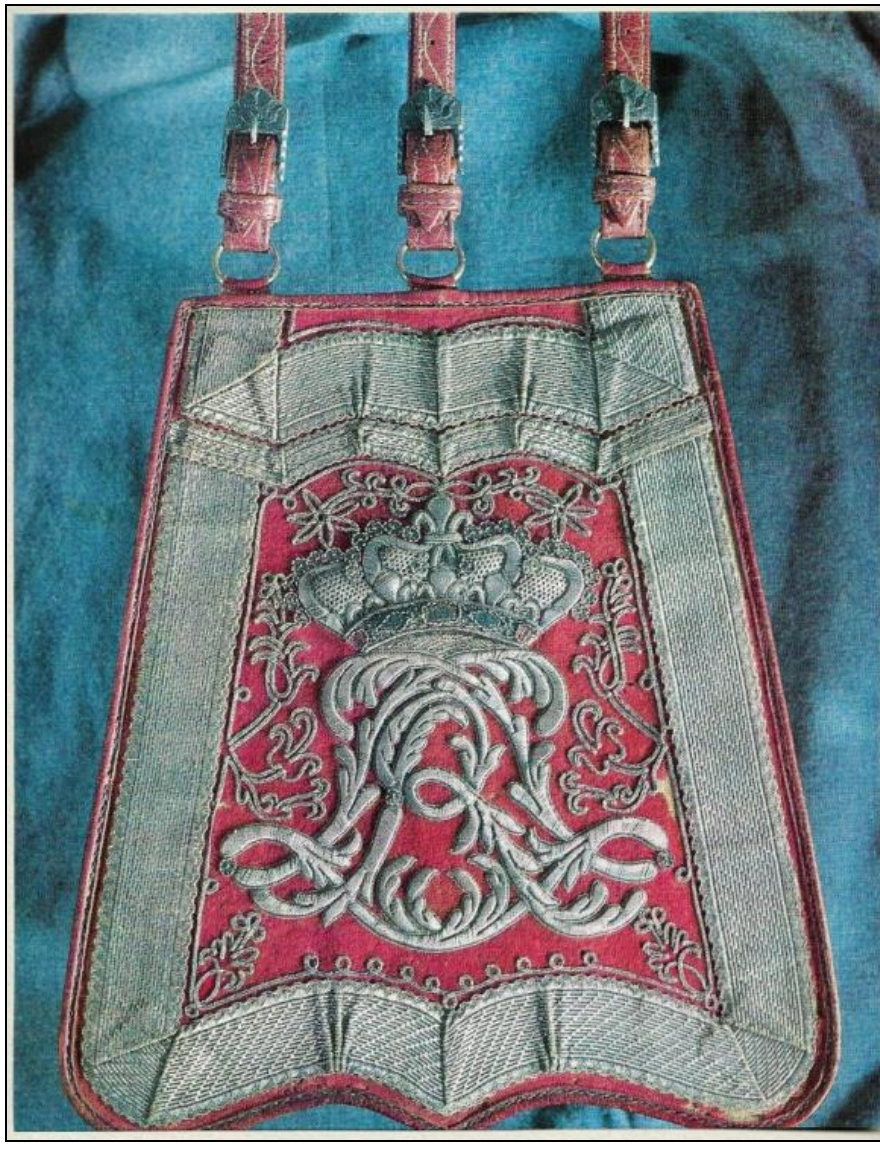

Bild. Nr. 12b: *Offiziersdekorationstasche (ungarisch „tarsoly") von Husar Berzsenyi*
(Le Musée International des Hussards, Tarbes).

Bild. Nr. 12c: *Aufständischer adeliger Kronhüter aus dem Komitat VAS*
(Magyar Történelmi Képcsarnok. 54.120).

Bild. Nr. 12d: *Der „letzte Husar" 1940, Vater des Autors*
(Zeichnung von Győző Somogyi).

Bild. Nr. 13: *Geschnitzte Banklehne.* NM 73.193.1.

Im Rahmen der Ausstellung „nyeregbe!“ (deut.: „Fest im Sattel!“; Ethnografisches Museum / *Néprajzi Múzeum, Budapest,* 2002) setzten wir dem legendären ungarischen Husarentum mit Sätteln, zahlreichen zeitgenössischen Abbildungen und Kunstgemälden ein lebensechtes Andenken.

Bild. Nr. 14a: *Einheitliches Kavallerie-Sattelgerüst mit Muster aus 1868*.
HM 94.115.1.

Bild. Nr. 14b: *Militärsattel mit Lederbrücke, benutzt von Bauern*. NM 60.108.2.

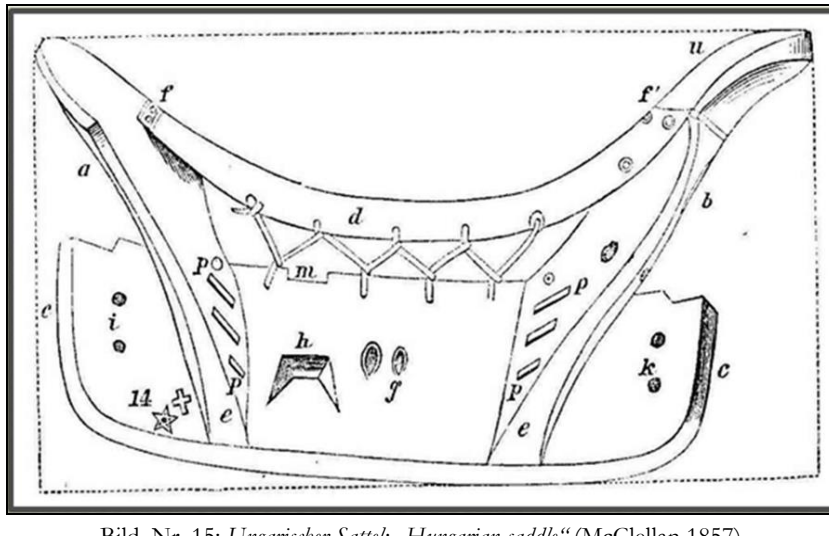

Bild. Nr. 15: *Ungarischer Sattel: „Hungarian saddle"* (McClellan 1857).

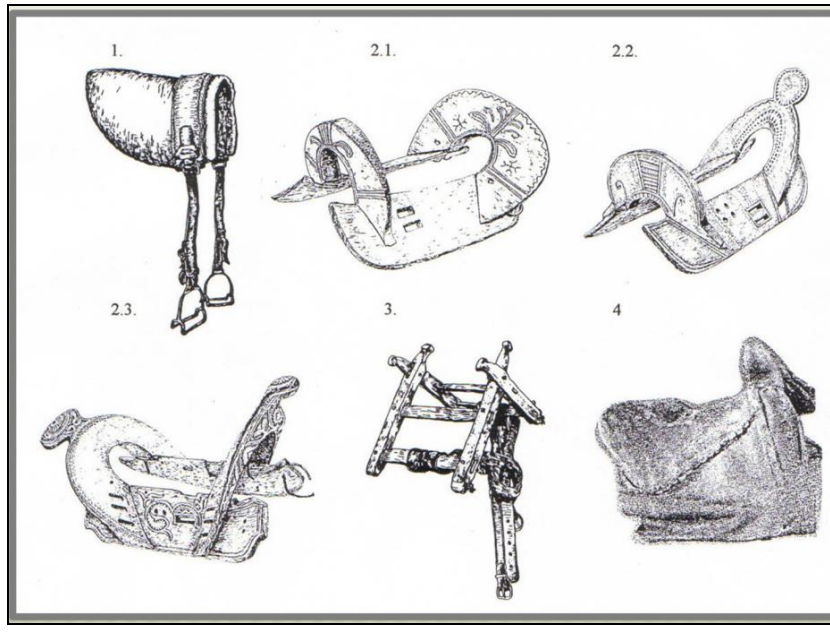

Bild. Nr. 16: *Sattel-Grundtypen aus den Sammlungen des Ethnografischen Museums* (Néprajzi Múzeum, Budapest).

Die Sättelsammlung des Ethnografischen Museums **(Néprajzi Múzeum, Budapest)**

Die größte Anzahl an Sätteln innerhalb der Bestände des Ethnografischen Museums (93 Stück) stammt aus der Sammlung für Verkehrswesen der Ungarischen Sektion. Aber auch die afrikanischen, asiatischen und europäischen Sammlungen der Internationalen Sektion enthalten nennenswerte Sattelbestände (35 Stück). Vereinzelt finden sich Sättel sowie Dokumentationen zu Sätteln auch in anderen Sammlungen, insofern bietet die gesamthafte Darstellung der einschlägigen Bestände gewisse Möglichkeiten für vergleichende Analysen. Die Ausstellung, die die Sammlung präsentierte, war wie folgt strukturiert: Sie wurde nach gesellschaftlichen Kategorien gegliedert, wie ländlichem Bauernstand, Bewohnern der Marktflecken, höheren Ständen, und vergleichsweise wurden die nicht-ungarischen Bestände anderer Völker einbezogen, insofern deren Reitkultur durch die Bestände des Museums dargestellt werden konnte. In dieser Hinsicht fiel die Sammlungspräsentation zwar bescheidener aus, aber mit Hilfe der zur Verfügung stehenden Gegen-

stände und der vergleichenden Fachliteratur wurde eine relativ umfassende Vorstellung der nicht-ungarischen Satteltypen ermöglicht.

Die ausgestellten Sättel aus den Sammlungen des Ethnografischen Museums gliederten sich aus technischer Perspektive in folgende Grundtypen:

1./ *ohne Sattelbaum, sog. Polstersattel*
2./ *Sattelgerippe aus Zwiesel, Sattelfuß*
3./ *gabelartige Seitenbrett-Gerippe*
4./ *sonstige individuelle Sattelgestelle*

Geografisch betrachtet, waren nach Herkunfts-/Verwendungsort folgende Streuung vertreten:

- *Große Tiefebene* bzw. *Tisza-Umland* (mit Ortsbezeichnung): 37 Stück, davon: *Hajdúböszörmény* 8 Stück, *Hajdúszoboszló* 3 Stück, *Botpalád* 3 Stück, *Túrkeve* 3 Stück, *Tiszafüred* 2 Stück, *Tiszabogdány* 2 Stück, *Komádi* 2 Stück, *Kecskemét-Bugac* 2 Stück, Komitat Hajdú 2 Stück, sonstige Siedlungen (je ein Exemplar) 10 Stück
- *Einzugsbereich der Tiefebene* (mit Ortsbezeichnung): 12 Stück, davon: *Eger* 6 Stück, sonstige Siedlungen (je ein Exemplar) 6 Stück.
- *Übriges Ungarn* (darunter mehrere, in der Hauptstadt erworbene Exemplare ohne Ortsbezeichnung): 23 Stück.
- *Übriges Karpatenbecken* (mit Ortsbezeichnung): 20 Stück.

Die Sättel der Ungarischen Sektion des Ethnografischen Museums sind hinsichtlich ihres Grundtyps überwiegend der 2. Kategorie (*Zwiesel, Sattelfuß, Sattelgerippe*) zuzuordnen. Aufgrund gewisser Merkmale können innerhalb der Grundarten weitere Untertypen bzw. viel eher Varianten unterschieden werden. Eine erzwungene Kategorisierung soll vermieden werden, insofern halten wir nur innerhalb der 2. Grundart eine weitere Typisierung für angezeigt, und zwar aufgrund der Unterschiede hinsichtlich der Ausformung der Zwiesel und deren Verbindungen zum Sattelfuß. In dieser Hinsicht gehören die Exemplare der Sammlungen der Ungarischen Sektion zu folgenden Grundarten und Untertypen:

Polstersattel: 5%; 2.1. *Ungarischer Sattel* (Vorderer und hinterer Zwiesel enden im sog. Zwieselknopf, Verbindung aus Lederriemen und/oder verzapft, sog. Fahrledersitz): 10%; 2.2. *Ostungarischer/Siebenbürger Sattel* (Hinterzwiesel ohne Kopf, sog. Rundausformung, verzapfte Verbindung): 11%; 2.3. *Tiszafüreder Sattel* (Vorder- und Hinterzwiesel enden im charakteristischen sog.

Zwiesellöffel, Verbindung aus Lederriemen, sog. Fahrledersitz): 55%; 3. *Lastensättel*: 6%; 4. *Sonstige Sättel*: 13%.

Bild. Nr. 17a: *Sattel/ Sattelgerüst.* NM 121725.

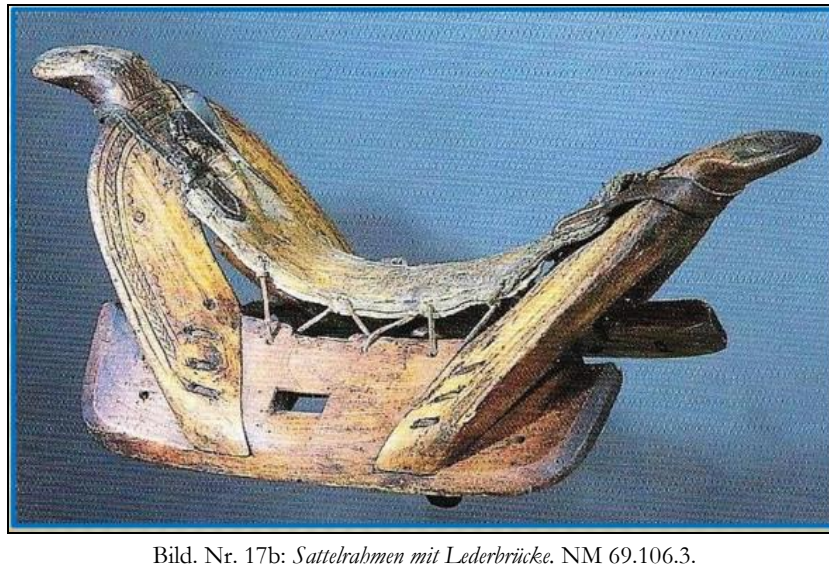

Bild. Nr. 17b: *Sattelrahmen mit Lederbrücke.* NM 69.106.3.

Bild. Nr. 17c: *Sattelrahmen mit Kreuzstange.* NM 78.63.4.

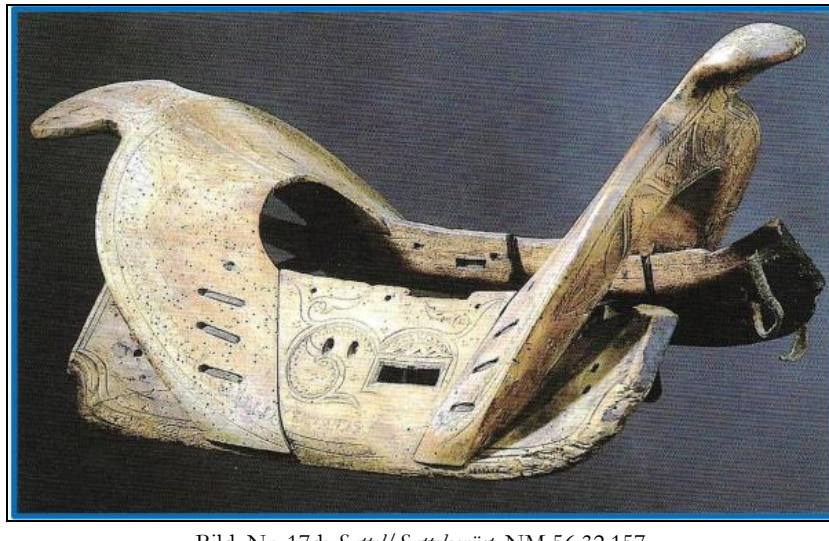

Bild. Nr. 17d: *Sattel/Sattelgerüst.* NM 56.32.157.

Bild. Nr. 18: *Sattel mit voller Ausrüstung.* NM 75.27.1.1–3.

In den Sammlungen der Internationalen Sektion des Ethnografischen Museums befinden sich Exemplare mit folgender Streuung: *Afrika-Sammlung* (insgesamt 5 Exemplare): Abessinien 1, Afrika 1, Alexandrien 1, Jemen 1, Marokko 1 Stück. *Asien-Sammlung* (insgesamt 26 Exemplare): Asien 6, Basch-

kirien 1, Damaskus 1, Indien 1, Kaukasus 6, Kasachstan 1, China 2, Mongolei 1, Tibet 1, Turkestan 6 Stück. *Europa-Sammlung* (insgesamt 4 Exemplare): Finnland 4 Stück.

Die relativ kleine Sammlung ist in struktureller Hinsicht und im Hinblick auf die Ausstattung dezidiert vielseitig und reichhaltig. Typologisch fällt die Streuung folgendermaßen aus:

- Polstersattel: 6%, 2. Zwiesel-Sattelfuß: 77%, 3. Gabelartig-Seitenleiste/-brett: 11%, 4. Sonstige und Übergangsformen: 6%.

Bild. Nr. 19: *Sattelausrüstung aus Bashkortostan*.
NM 79982.

Bild. Nr. 20: *Sattelrahmen/Sattelgerüst aus Japan.* NM 75959.

Die Sattelherstellung

Hinsichtlich der Herstellung der ungarischen Sättel steht dem Ethnografischen Museum reichhaltiges, sich gegenseitig ergänzendes Quellenmaterial zur Verfügung. Das Wörterbuch von János Frecskay enthält eine allgemeine Einführung in die Arbeitsgänge und den Werkzeugbedarf der Sattelherstellung.

Die Handwerkliche Sammlung des Ethnografischen Museums gelangte in den Besitz mehrerer Werkzeuge aus der Werkstatt Mihály Kulis, des letzten der Tiszafüreder Meister. Die Sattlerei war überwiegend eine Familientradition, die über mehrere Generationen weitergegeben wurde. Gyula László hat aufgrund der Erinnerungen und der Berufserfahrung des Tiszafüreder Meisters eine akribisch ausführliche Beschreibung der Meistergriffe und der Arbeitsgänge für die Herstellung des Füreder Holzsattels veröffentlicht.

Wichtige Details zu den Prozessen der Sattelherstellung, den verwendeten Materialien und den verschiedenen technischen Kunstgriffen und Verfahren werden auch aus Analysen im Rahmen der Restaurierung einzelner Exemplare gewonnen.

Alles in allem erhalten wir ein klares Bild zu den Arbeitsgängen der Herstellung eines ungarischen (Tiszafüreder) Sattels. Die dargestellte Ausstellung verwertete dieses Wissen, indem sie das Innere einer Sattler- und Riemerwerkstatt als Rekonstruktion präsentierte.

Bild. Nr. 21a: *Sattelmeister während der Arbeit* (László 1943).

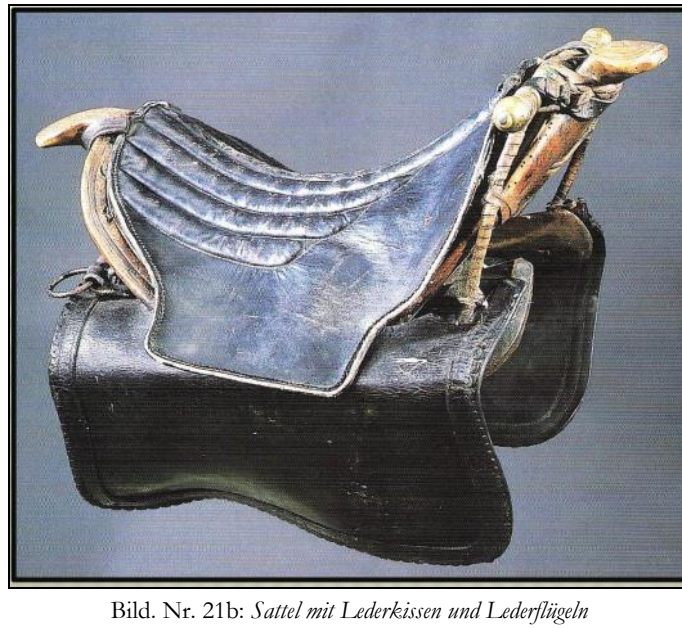

Bild. Nr. 21b: *Sattel mit Lederkissen und Lederflügeln* (Riemenhersteller). NM 67.153.1.

Bild. Nr. 22: *Rekonstruierte Sattler- und Riemerwerkstatt in der Ausstellung* (Familie Pánczél).

Die Verzierung der Sättel

Die Sättel wurden vor dem Aneinanderfügen des Sattelfußes und des Zwiesels verziert. Holzsättel wurden mit Schnitzwerk versehen und mit Punkt-Strich-Motiven, Blumen und sonstigen folkloristischen Motiven bemalt. Selbstverständlich wurden auch schmucklose Gebrauchssattel hergestellt.

Die wichtigsten Werkzeuge zur Verzierung waren das *Zackeneisen*, das *Schnitzmesser*, der *kleine Stechbeitel* und der *Holzhammer*. Mit dem Zackeneisen wurden Kreise, Halbkreise und Keilformen verschiedener Größe ins Holz getrieben. Mit Hilfe des Schnitzmessers wurden die Kunstschnitzereien hergestellt. Mit dem kleinen Stechbeitel wurden verschiedene Muster in die Holzoberfläche geschlagen.

Die am meisten verzierten bzw. betonten Teile des Sattels waren die Zwiesel und die Seiten der Sattelköpfe. Oft wurde nur die Außenseite verziert, aber es gibt mehrere Beispiele dafür, dass auch die Innenseite reich und anspruchsvoll verziert wurde – mitunter reichhaltiger und arbeitsintensiver als die Außenseite.

Die neuesten ethnografischen Forschungen haben neue Details zur Erstellung der Verzierungen der Tiszafüreder Holzsättel an den Tag gebracht und haben unser Wissen um weitere Zierelemente, Formen und Motive erweitert.

Hinsichtlich der Verzierung verdienen die sogenannten Knochensättel des Ethnografischen Museums eine gesonderte Erwähnung. Typologisch gesehen sind diese Exemplare den ungarischen Sätteln zuzuordnen, in ihren strukturellen Eigenschaften und ihrer Form kommen sie im Wesentlichen dem Tiszafüreder Typ nahe, doch stellen sie eine besondere, hochstehende Variante des Sattler-Kunsthandwerks dar.

Bild. Nr. 23a: *Sattelrahmen mit versenkter Schnitzerei*. NM 38945.

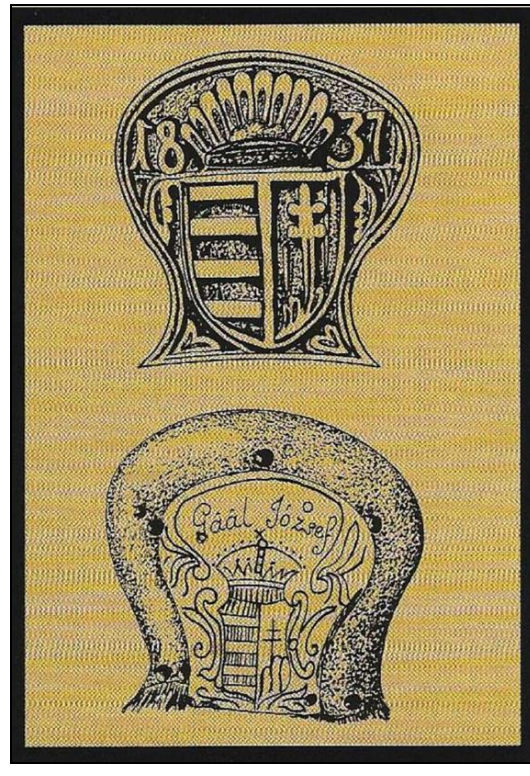

Bild. Nr. 23b: *Wappenschnitzereien auf Sättelköpfen.*

Gebrauch der Sättel

Die Erforschung der Urgeschichte des Ungarntums zeigt, dass die Reitkunst bereits fester Bestandteil des finno-ugrischen Kulturkreises war. Die zahlreichen Funde von Zaumzeug in den Ausgrabungen der Ananyinoer Kultur zeugen weniger von Bejochung als vielmehr von der Nutzung des Pferdes als Reittier.

Zusammenfassend kann festgestellt werden, dass je einfacher das Sattelgerippe und die Ausstattung gehalten war, desto eindeutiger war der Sattel für einen alltäglichen Gebrauch bestimmt, gegebenenfalls speziell für eine bestimmte Tätigkeit, einen bestimmten Zweck. Je anspruchsvoller und reicher ein Sattel verziert und je umfangreicher die Ausstattung war, desto wahrscheinlicher diente er repräsentativen und protokollarischen Zwecken bzw. wurde er zu Festzeiten verwendet. Wir haben ein Experiment auf der Ausstellung gemachtund durch Darstellungen, Fotos sowie Film- und Videoclips

vom verschiedenartigen Gebrauch des Sattels bis hin zum Sportreiten, zum therapeutischen Reiten (sog. Hippotherapie) und zum Reittourismus ein lebendiges Bild vermittelt. Ein Sonderraum ist dem Andenken an die Glanzleistungen des ungarischen Pferdesports gewidmet (*Kincsem, Imperial*). Eine weitere Einheit ist den heutigen Bemühungen vorbehalten, die Traditionen der Reitkultur einschließlich des Tourismus am Leben zu erhalten.

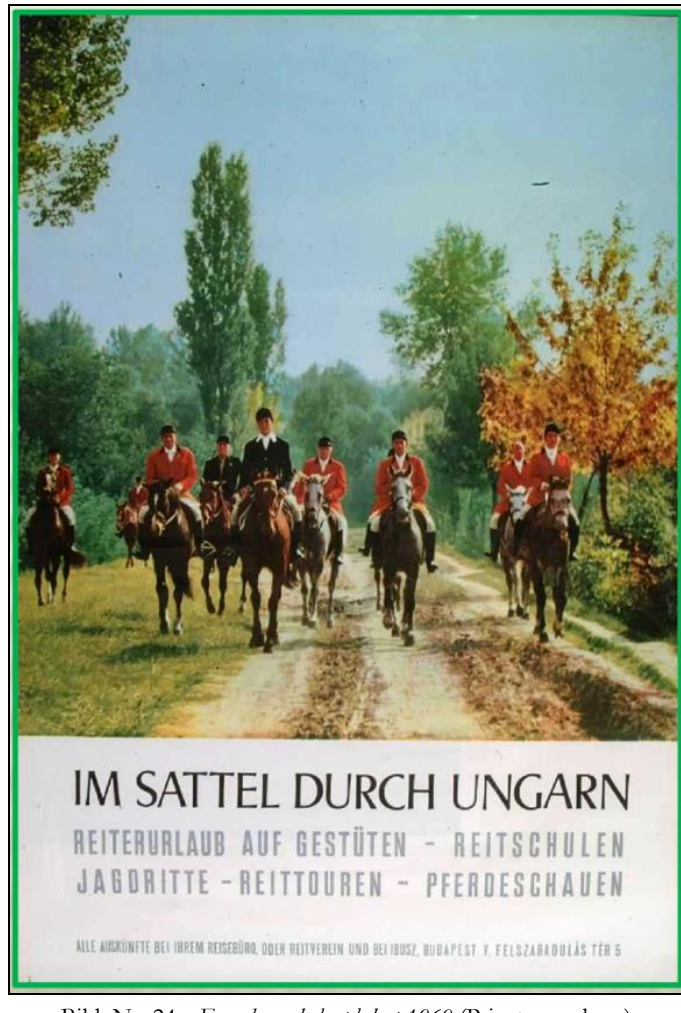

Bild. Nr. 24a: *Fremdenverkehrsplakat 1960* (Privatsammlung).

Bild. Nr. 24b: *Damensattel* (MMM 56.82.1)
und reitende Dame (MMM WB 2077).

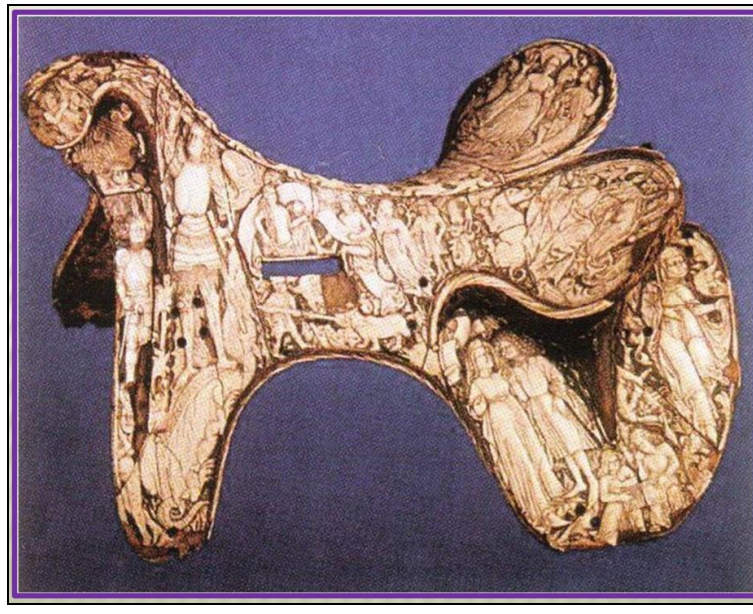

Bild. Nr. 25: *Knochensattel, 15. Jahrhundert, aus der Sammlung von Kázmér Batthyány.* MNM 55.3117 (Temesváry 1995)

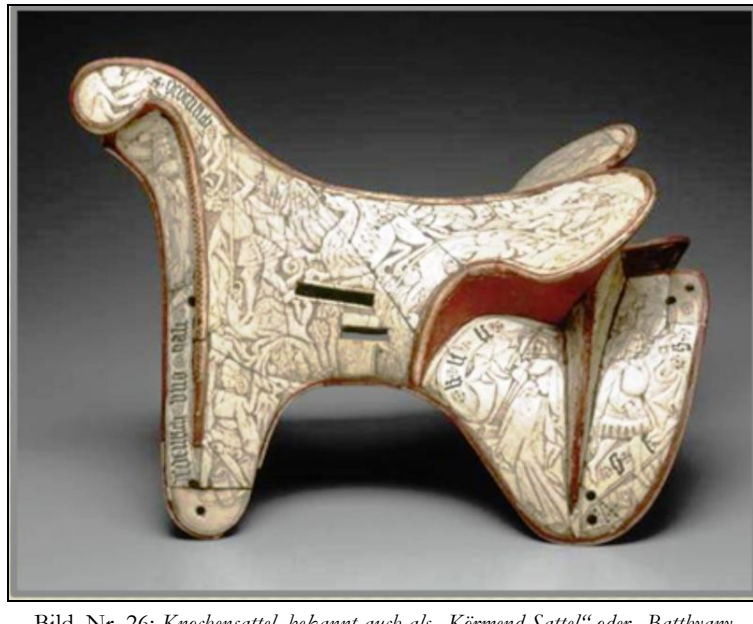

Bild. Nr. 26: *Knochensattel, bekannt auch als „Körmend Sattel" oder „Batthyany-Strattman Sattel", 15. Jahrhundert.* (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts 69.944).

Bild. Nr. 27: *Türkischer Sattel von Sámuel Teleki mit Silber verziert, 17. Jahrhundert.* MMM 55.3561. (Temesváry 1995)

Bild. Nr. 28: *Ungarischer Sattel (Füreder Typ), 18. Jahrhundert.* MNM 57.6706. (Temesváry 1995)

Heutzutage kann beobachtet werden, dass das Interesse an der Geschichte und den Traditionen der Reitkultur wieder im Steigen begriffen ist. Das neue Interesse mag zwar dazu verleiten, zu idealisieren, trotzdem ist zu begrüßen, dass der gute alte ungarische Holzsattel wieder dem Dunkel der Vergangenheit entrissen wird, hat sich dieser doch über Jahrhunderte hinweg bewährt. Wir sind praktisch Zeugen einer Wiederbelebung von für vergangen gehaltener Traditionen: Sattler studieren die alten Exemplare und erstellen Rekonstruktionen, und es wird sogar an einer Weiterentwicklung des bewährten Holzsattels vom Tiszafüreder Typ gearbeitet, der heutigen Anforderungen entsprechen soll. Die obengenannte Ausstellung präsentierte auch die Versuche gewisser Handwerker und Firmen, das historische Erbe weiterzuvermitteln.

Bild. Nr. 29: *Knochensattel, sogenannter Bocksattel, 17. Jahrhundert.* NM 134692.

Bis zu seiner Verdrängung als Gebrauchsgegenstand war der ungarische Sattel im Leben der ländlichen Bevölkerung ein allseits geschätzter Bestandteil des Alltags und auch ein Zeichen der Repräsentation und der

Festfreude. Die Ziersättel avancierten im Kreise der Adelsfamilien mitunter zu wahrhaftigen Familienikonen.

Die Schlussfolgerungen und Feststellungen aus dem reichhaltigen, aber hinsichtlich Zeit und Raum, Menge und Qualität doch gewissen Beschränkungen unterliegenden Bestand sind erzwungenermaßen von beschränkter Gültigkeit. Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der verschiedenen Sattelvarianten kann in groben Zügen als bekannt vorausgesetzt werden, doch sehen wir uns in vielen Details noch unbeantworteten Fragen gegenüber. Wir hoffen, dass auch diese Studie Anhaltspunkte für die weitere Erforschung der noch unklaren Bereiche bietet. Durch das Aufwerfen der bislang unbeantworteten Fragen beabsichtigen wir, zu deren fachlicher und wissenschaftlicher Klärung anzuspornen.

Zum Schluss erinnern wir uns an die Besonderheit des östlichen Satteltypus', der Ausdruck einer intimen Beziehung und gegenseitigen Wertschätzung zwischen Mensch und Pferd ist und ein selbstredendes Zeugnis der Bestrebung darstellt, die Harmonie zwischen dem Tier und seinem Halter aufrechtzuerhalten. Sowohl die Baschkiren als auch die Kirgisen waren sehr bestrebt, jedem Aufreiben des Pferderückens zuvorzukommen. Ein kirgisischer Spruch besagt: *Attin arkaszin boszkan ijerni, altin hoszti bolszada otka zsak* – einen Sattel, der den Rücken deines Pferdes aufreibt, sollst du selbst dann verbrennen, wenn sein Kopf aus Gold wäre.

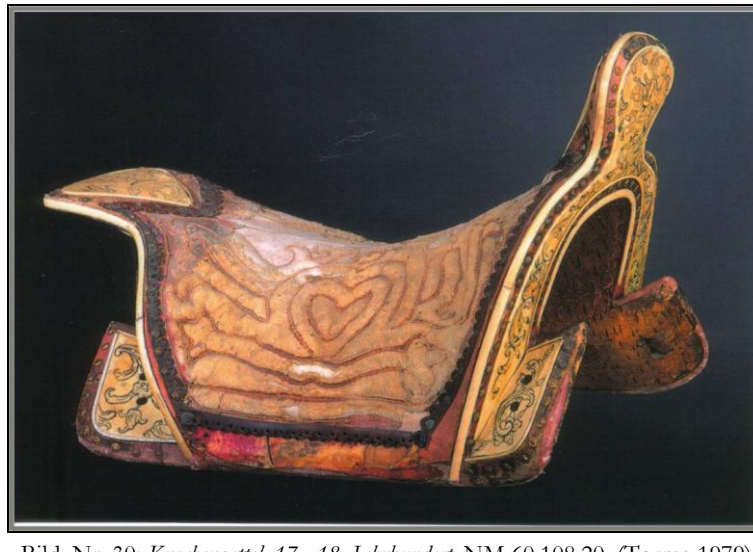

Bild. Nr. 30: *Knochensattel, 17.–18. Jahrhundert.* NM 60.108.20. (Torma 1979)

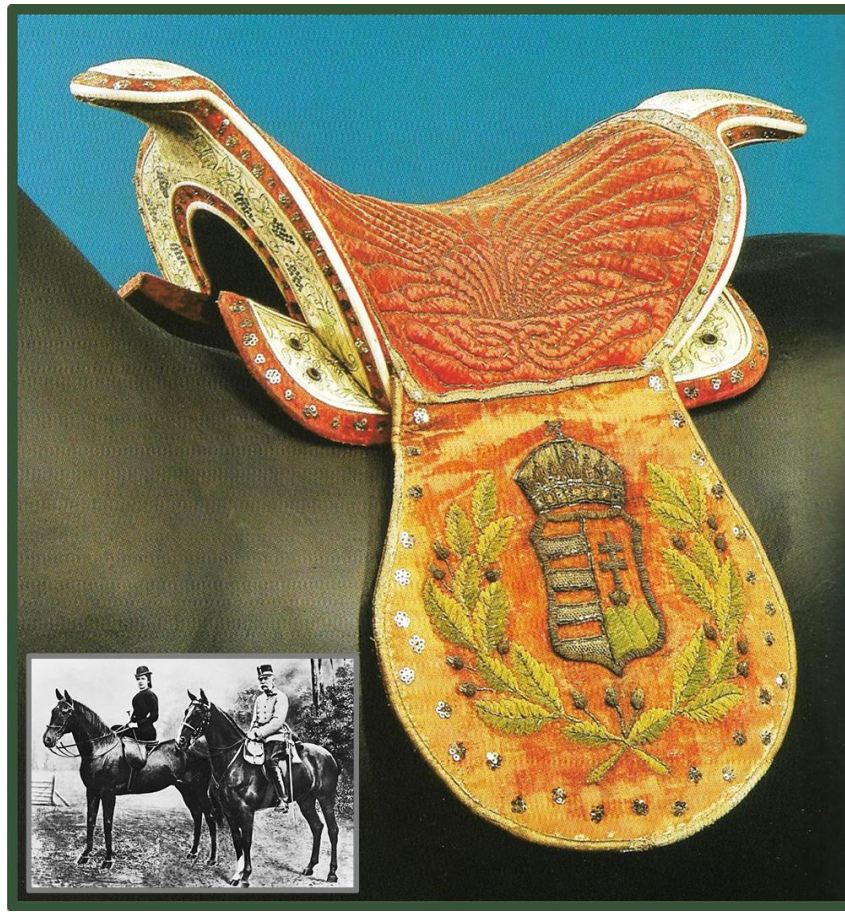

Bild. Nr. 31: *Kaiser Franz Josephs Sattel.* (Hergestellt von József Majomy im Jahre 1857, Rimaszombat.) MMM 57.6702 (Temesváry 1995) –
Bild im Bild: *Sissi, dh. Königin Elisabeth von Ungarn und Kaiser Franz Joseph von Österreich und König von Ungarn.* (Quelle: Kovács 2019)

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HM – Hadtörténeti Múzeum (Militärhistorisches Museum), Budapest
MMM – Magyar Mezőgazdasági Múzeum (Ungarisches Landwirtschaftsmuseum), Budapest
MNM – Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum (Ungarisches Nationalmuseum), Budapest
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