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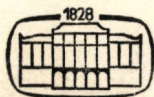
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HUNGARIAN MATRIARCHY?

FACTS AND PROBLEMS

Tibor Bodrogi

Ethnographical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

The question in the history of sciences

The problem of the relationship of matriarchy and patriarchy in the social development as well as that of the primary organization was first raised in science in 1861. This year saw the publication of J. J. Bachofen's "Das Mutterrecht", in which the legal scientist of Basel stood up for the primary appearance of matrilineal institutions, while at the same time the British Henry S. Maine, continuing the traditions of several centuries, supported the primacy of the patrilineal family in his book entitled "Ancient Law". The contradictory views taken in the question have divided researchers into two camps almost up to the present day.¹ In opposition to Maine, who defended the patrilineal theory but after all not denied the early existence of the matrilineal institutions, other leading personalities of the evolutionist researchers, such as McLennan (1865, 1876), John Lubbock (1865), Lewis H. Morgan (1877) — though with different arguments — stood for the primacy of matriarchy, and played an essentially prevalent role in the formation of ideas related to ancient history up to the appearance of E. Westermarck's work hallmarking the end of an era (1891).

In addition to these authors, whose works were known in Hungary partly in the original and partly in translation, it was especially two outstanding representatives of Hungarian social sciences, Leó Beöthy and Gyula Lánczy who played an important role in spreading the matrilineal theory as well as in its independent development. Both authors — at times criticizing, at times accepting the theories of their Western colleagues — stood for the universal primacy of matriarchy. In Beöthy's view, "We find similar phenomena, which may be included under the heading matrilineal descent, so frequently in the age of initial development that it may at

least be qualified as doubtful whether this is followed by the majority of patrilineal descent. In addition, in societies which follow the latter, we find myths according to which they originally followed the other; moreover, we have full awareness of cases in which certain peoples switched over from matrilineal to patrilineal descent. We have no example to the contrary, however. This circumstance may make the system of matrilineal descent out to be as exclusively initial ... we do not hesitate to overtly join the stance of those who recognize the origin of the institution of matrilineal descent, so general at the initial stages, in the fact that, on account of the morals of ancient people, only the mother's status could be verified, and that of the father could not be verified either legally or psychologically." Later when speaking about the results of "Morgan Lajos Henrik", mentioning the versions of the concept related to the degrees of kinship, he makes a similar summarizing remark: "... society did not evolve from the patriarchal family; it could not have evolved from it since it had existed earlier than that" (BEÖTHY 1882: 132, 155). As to its essence, it is identical with the stance of Gyula Lánczy (1881). In opposition to Maine, referring to McLennan, Morgan, Bachofen and Spencer, he too believes that the patrilineal family is "but a very slow and belated development", and therefore, following the initial promiscuity in general, he argues for the prevalent nature of "maternal law" (LÁNCZY 1881: 281, 289).

In the years around the turn of the century and also in the decades to follow, the concepts of the 19th century gained the upper hand in Hungarian ethnographical literature when dealing with the question of the social structure of the "ancient Hungarians". Thus Géza Nagy (1894: 274) argued that abducting women which "in primitive societies was one way of marriage" ... "used at one time to be the habit of the Hungarians and it seems that it was still widely spread among them at the time of the Hungarian Conquest". The writing which refers to the testimony of historical sources was supplemented by Bernát Munkácsi (1894: 275) with his remark listing similar old habits of our language relatives reflected in folklore. It was these two authors that first took into account the survivals in the historical reconstruction; Géza Nagy (1894: 274) considers the abduction of girls which acquired a ceremonial character to be the remnant of this early habit, while Bernát Munkácsi (1894: 275) looks upon "several details of our folk customs related to the wedding feasts" as "the remnants of the process indicated having dwindled down to an in-

nocent action". (In his remark attached to the topic, Soma Perl (1894) quotes instances of abducting girls from the 17th century.) In the following, Antal Hermann (1907) touches upon the question of the ancient social structure in his brief publication, in which he points out that the denomination "kisebbik uram" (my lesser master) "is probably the remnant of the ancient form of Hungarian marriage when brothers had wives in common". Bernát Munkácsi (1907) does not share Hermann's view insofar as he connects such and similar denominations to the system of common house and property ownership. Although he acknowledges the possibility that "acquiring women at a price used to be preceded by a women's community in the case of the Hungarians too", he adds that "so far this has not been verified to my best knowledge".

In his widely known and frequented quoted work Károly Tagányi (1919) stands for neither the primacy of matriarchy nor for that of patriarchy. Although he mentions the theory of the primacy of matriarchy but only as a reference and applies a turn "in respect to" other scholars. Anyway, he points out — thus following the standpoint of contemporary ethnology — that the expression of "matriarchy" is incorrect since in the matrilineal organizations "the male members and male relatives of the mother's family are entitled to the leading role" (TAGÁNYI 1919: 40).

Hardly two years later Sándor Solymossy argues that "the system of matriarchy" is prevalent in the initial phase of social evolution. "As a consequence of the promiscuous sexual life going hand in hand with the primitive state of affairs, it was impossible to state unequivocally who the father of the new-born baby was, it was all the more certain who the mother was, and the primitive family system had to adjust to this natural experience of outstanding significance." He supplements this well-known view of the 19th century by pointing out that the man and father could only secure rights by "being accepted to the bondage of blood through adoption" (SOLYMOSSY 1921: 146). He tries to verify his standpoint with one of the formula of Hungarian folk tales: the hero addresses the witch as "his mother" and thus manages to escape death. He connects this formula, the parallels of which he finds among Asian, Caucasian and Northern African peoples, to symbolic breast-feeding and through that to matriarchy, and believes that the Hungarians brought it along with them at the time of the Conquest (SOLYMOSSY 1921: 136).

A few years later Solymossy changed his stance. Dealing with the theoretical questions of ethnology and accepting the evolutionist theses

of E. Grosse, he proposes that the system of "matriarchy" is connected to land cultivation while that of "patriarchy" is connected to animal husbandry, and the fishing-hunting societies are also patriarchal. Discarding the principle of promiscuity, he attaches "definite and strict small family unit" to the earliest times. In accordance with this series, he believes that the typical feature of the Ugrian age, "characterized by a more highly developed stage of the fishing-hunting occupation", was a hearth arrangement of a "patriarchal system" (SOLYMOSSY 1926: 5, 10).

Relying primarily on Tagányi and Solyomossy, Ákos Szendrey seems to discover the traces of the primary "matriarchal culture" in the customs of name-giving related to son-in-lawship. Classifying the versions of the family names pointing in this direction, he proposes by way of a summary that "The remnants of ancient matriarchy ... though in a highly fragmentary manner, are alive even in the popular tradition of today" (SZENDREY 1936: 426).

This writing of Szendrey actually closes the first phase of the ethnographic history of the question lasting till the middle of the 1940s.² In her survey published in 1948, in the wake of the scarce antecedents, Edit Fél (1948: 34) makes no definite statement but calls upon the researchers to indulge in further work instead: "The collectors should seek both the patriarchal and the matriarchal elements instead of adopting them from conclusions drawn from alien materials."

The stances of our historians (and legal historians) related to the ancient social structure of the Hungarians gave an unequivocal priority to the patriarchal theory for a long time. Thus Ákos Timon (1902: 306-309) speaks exclusively about the patrilineal descent of the tribes of the Hungarian Conquest. In his view, following her marriage, the woman joined the clan of her husband, therefore at the beginning she was completely excluded from the ancient property. The explanation for it is that although the woman joins her husband's clan, she will not be its member possessing full rights. More accurate, but essentially identical, is the view held by József Illés (1907: 52-53) who defines the Hungarian clan at the time of the Conquest as relatives deriving from a real or imaginary common male ancestor.

Compared to the definition of Illés, correct on the whole, Bálint Hóman's clan definition is of a narrower scope but more to the point related to the age of the Hungarian Conquest. His definition is that: "The clan is the community of families descended from a common ancestor patri-

lineally, based upon the bondage of blood, thus created in a natural manner, aiming at economic advantages as well as legal protection" (HÓMAN 1921: 537). He fully discards the question of the earlier existence of matriarchy and categorically points out: "The matrilineal organization (matriarchy) possesses no significance from the point of view of Hungarian social history in the narrow sense of the word, therefore I consciously neglected its terms" (HÓMAN 1921: 536). We encounter his stance revealed here — though he widens the definition — in Volume I of "Magyar történet" (Hungarian history) as well (HÓMAN—SZEKFŰ 1935: 94).

While the views mentioned above refer primarily to Hungarian social structure at the time of the Conquest, István Zichy, on the basis of Vogul and Ostyak examples, as well as Karjalainen's elaborations discussing the Ostyak kinship terminology, assumes a patrilineal blood relation and family in the Ugrian period and in the one preceding it. He does not mention the clan specifically, but at the same time speaks about marriage outside the clan without separating patrilineal family and the clan (ZICHY 1923: 24).

The investigation of the ancient history of society received a new impetus after 1945. The ideological background of the new research was provided by the direct acquaintance with the Marxist concept of history and the indirect acquaintance with it through Soviet scientific research. Wide masses of people familiarized themselves with F. Engels' "The origin of the family, private property and the state" (1884), whose statements defined for a long time the views of works dealing with universal ancient history and the Hungarian one. As to our narrower topic, an outstanding influence was exerted by Kosven's "Matriarchy", mainly the categorical statement that matriarchy is a period of evolution in world history preceding patriarchy (KOSZVEN 1950: Bevezetés /Introduction/). Concerning Hungarians, it was Erik Molnár who made the thesis of ancient Hungarian matriarchy to be the official Marxist standpoint and he was the first among our researchers who dealt with the question with an appropriate knowledge and in an analysing manner. Criticizing Zichy's patrilineal theory, he raises the question: "were the Hungarian-Ugrian clans really patrilineal formations?" Expressing his doubts about the testimony of the kinship terminology, he argues: "since maternal law was generally prevalent among savage peoples ... it must be assumed that the Hungarian-Ugrians lived in a matrilineal system". Since this cannot be verified directly, he refers to mythological-religious traces. However, the most

important proof is that "certain remnants of maternal law... can be found among the memories of the Hungarian pastoral age, moreover in the Hungarian popular world of today preserving the past as well" (MOLNÁR 1949: 20-21).

His statements and, in addition, the theses of Engels and other Marxist classics fundamentally determined the views of the researchers of the decades to come. Thus legal historian Endre Nizsalovszky (1963: 26-27) speaks about initial matriarchy, referring to Engels and Bebel specifically when talking in general terms, and mainly to Erik Molnár when touching upon the case of the Hungarians. In Volume I of "Magyarország története" (The history of Hungary), György Székely (1967: 30) exceeds even Erik Molnár when pointing out that society was "matrilineal", "the clan group was managed by one of the older women", and "some of the remnants of ancient matriarchy could be demonstrated in Hungarian tradition and popular life as well".

Following these concise and essentially unsatisfactorily verified statements, Antal Bartha provides a more accurate analysis. Bartha, who was in a position to summarize the linguistic, archeological research results in the past three decades, waives the earlier periodization of universal ancient history, even though he does not wholly discard it. He classifies the Uralic and Ugrian periods as follows:

Time	Historical periodization	Linguistic-historical periodization	Archeological periodization
From prior to the 4th millennium B.C. to the end of the 2nd millennium B.C.	Ancient communities. The period of matrilineal clans.	The period of the Uralic and Finno-Ugrian basic languages.	The Mesolithic Age, the Neolithic Age, the Eneolithic (stone-copper) Age.
From the beginning of the 2nd millennium B.C. to the middle of the 8th century B.C.	The period of the patrilineal clans.	The period of the Ugrian basic language.	The Bronze Age.

In this study Antal Bartha does not prove the existence of the matrilineal order, he only assumes in relation to the word ara to be found in the Ugrian languages that "originally it specifically meant a female relative on the mother's side but it also meant a male relative on the

mother's side" (BARTHA 1977: 28). He deals with the question in greater detail in the chapter entitled: "The social organization based upon kinship" of his work in manuscript form.³ Mainly on the basis of linguistic and archeological data, as well as of the Hunor-Magor myth, he dates back the existence of the matrilineal clans to the Uralic period and believes that "it is at best the traditions of this order of descent which lived in the myths at the beginning of the independent life of the Hungarian ethnic group, in the 8-7th centuries B.C." (BARTHA 1983: 174).

Hungarian archeology has made little contribution to solving the problem. Gyula László was the first who in 1944 believed that at the time of the Hungarian Conquest the matrilineal extended family also existed side by side the patrilineal extended family, and that "a few clans were still preserving in a lively manner the traditional leading role of the mother — obviously in burials only" (LÁSZLÓ 1971: 11), basing his statement primarily on the rich tombs of women. This thesis was discussed in greater detail by Károly Mesterházy (1967) in his lengthy study who listed Ob-Ugric and Hungarian ethnographic proofs in addition to analysing the archeological material. In his work published more than a decade later he discarded the assumption of the matrilineal extended family at the time of the Hungarian Conquest and explained the rich tombs by the stronger preservation of traditions by women as well as by pointing out that "their pompousness only expressed the real power their husbands wielded in life" (MESTERHÁZY 1980: 113).⁴ In opposition to Gyula László, István Erdélyi (1960) revealed a more realistic approach, though not completely acceptable in all its details. Here in the part entitled On the question of matriarchy among the Hungarians at the time of the Conquest, he discusses, in addition to the archeological material, the social phenomena of the Asiatic peoples explained by research as the survivals of matriarchy. In his opinion, "such cases must not be looked upon as the survivals of matriarchy in some form. Such phenomena have no direct connection with matriarchy whatsoever". He suggests that it is rather the preservation of the unity of the patrilineal extended family in case there is no appropriate male successor, and then "the wife of the deceased male leader takes over management temporarily for the period of a generation or even less" (ERDÉLYI 1960: 174).

Linguists having been deeply immersed in the problem of ancient history also took sides in this question. In 1953, Péter Hajdú points out that the Finno-Ugric clans kept track of matrilineal descent. Still he

considers it necessary to remark that "there are no real proofs to that effect", and therefore refers to the classics of Marxism as well as ethnographical-archeological data when verifying his assumption (HAJDÚ 1953: 30-31). In other places he makes more cautious remarks. He reveals the following opinion in his concise work on the Finno-Ugric peoples and languages: "No matter how many data we should have indicating that remnants of the consciousness of matrilineal descent among the Finno-Ugric peoples were still existing in historical times, even in an awareness of them we would not be able to decide whether the clan society of the Finno-Ugric period recognized consanguineal relatives according to patrilineal or matrilineal descent" (HAJDÚ 1962: 73).⁵ Bárczy is equally cautious. Though he presumes that "the Finno-Ugric period was probably characterized by matriarchy, it may have been transformed into patriarchy towards the end of the Ugric period, however, these suggestions are only probable assumptions — they may neither be verified nor refuted on a linguistic basis" (BÁRCZY 1975: 29).

Being aware of the different standpoints, László Kubinyi (1967) elaborates on his stance expressly on the basis of linguistic considerations. In his conclusions, relying primarily on analysing the words ember and nép, he presumes the matrilineal order of descent of the Hungarian clans prior to the Turkish influence. Following Kubinyi, it was János Gulya who dealt with the problem. Discussing the linguistic history of the Hungarian word ara, he answers to the question raised in the title of his study that "recognition of the matrilineal descent ... existed in the Ugric period (its Ob-Ugric existence was known so far too)" and it existed "for a very long time" (up to the Hungarian medieval times?, the Modern Age?) in the Hungarian popular world as well (GULYA 1968: 407). Dealing with the term ara recently, Éva Korenchy (1970: 427-428) considers the changes in the meaning of the word ara more complicated. On the basis of investigating the Ostyak and Vogul terms, she suggests that "at the initial stage of development the uterine male and female relatives were not distinguished from each other", i.e. the word served to indicate collectively the younger relatives (male and female) of the mother. This is what the agnatic order of descent was formulated from later on. Réka Lőrinczi (1980), to whom we owe our thanks for the most thorough work of the history of Hungarian kinship terminology, does not deal with the ancient order of descent. In the present context we do not refer to her interesting conclusions related to the social organization.

Following 1945, among Hungarian ethnologists it was the author of the present study the first who made a few general statements of social anthropological character. Debating certain theses of the study written by László Vértes, we pointed out, among other things, the possibility of variations. In respect to the recent neolithic societies, for example, we stated that "in societies possessing identical means of labour, leading an identical way of life and living under completely identical natural conditions, there may be a matrilineal or patrilineal descent, totemism may exist or may be missing, there may be a clan organization in which the families are associated not by the rule of consanguineal descent but by settlement as well as other factors" (BODROGI 1954: 265). The question was later dealt with by János Láng. In his view, "originally the common name, the name of the clan was inherited through two lines, both the male and the female lines to an equal extent". In the course of development the two lines were separated from each other, in the case of the "primitive" land cultivating peoples the matrilineal, and in the case of the pastoralists the patrilineal descent was formulated (LÁNG 1978: 27-31).

In Hungarian social anthropology the question was raised only in recent years. In his study, by listing ethnological, related people's as well as Hungarian ethnographical material, Imre Katona (1977) stood for patrilineality and the leading role played by men beginning from the latter period.

László Szabó bases his statements assuming the primacy of matriarchy primarily on kinship terminology, more exactly on the existence or lack of terms which may be traced back to the individual periods. In his view, the Uralic period was characterized by the matriarchal extended family system and, consequently, matrilineal descent. He suggests a more differentiated patrilineal descent in the Finno-Ugric period and believes that it was at this time that the disruption of the matrilineal extended family order started as a consequence of the spreading of pastoralism and an upswing of barter trade, but even in this period he attributes a greater significance to the matriarchal extended family. As to the Ugric period, he accepts the existence of the patrilineal extended family, but he still reckons with the survival of the matriarchal order of descent. In his view, the final patriarchal restructuring took place in the ancient Hungarian period which may be dated to around 500 B.C., it was then that the unilateral order of reckoning descent became bilateral and the kinship system of a descriptive type became fully established (SZABÓ 1980).

We also encounter the assumption of ancient matriarchy in the few writings of Hungarian folklorists dealing with ancient poetry. In his study analysing the Ob-Ugric and Hungarian material, Gábor Lükő relies on the theory of Erik Molnár when speaking about matriarchy in the Ugric age in the closing part of his paper. He believes that the myth on the rabbit-mother and the fox-mother, the ancient mothers of the two Ostyak phratries points to a phraternal order of descent in which only "the girls followed the clan order of their mother, the boys became members of the other phratry". After mentioning other features which he believes to be matriarchal, he reveals his stance that this system's "memory was still vividly living among the Hungarians at the time of the Conquest, as it is testified by the myth of the origin of the princes of the Árpád dynasty" (LÜKŐ 1965: 84).

In his two essays Géza Képes (1976a, 1976b) reveals an assumption similar to that of Lükő. Accepting the primacy of gynaeocracy, he traces epic and folk tale topics as well as elements back to the assumed matriarchal ancient times. According to his categorical statement, "the Vogul and Ostyak creation myths were all conceived in the spirit of matrilineal society" (KÉPES 1976a: 31).

Let us summarize the essential statements of research performed so far. Earlier, the minority of the authors, primarily historians, assumed a patrilineal system for the whole of ancient Hungarian society. Research carried out after 1945 drew a more differentiated picture of the character of ancient society. According to the consensus reached after the debates, the period of matrilineal descent lasted from prior to the 4th millennium B.C. to the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C., when in the Bronze Age, in the period of the Ugric basic language, matrilineal descent was replaced by patrilineal descent. In making this statement ancient history relies in addition to archeology on data of ethnology referring to general and Finno-Ugric territories, more specifically to the Siberian-Central Asian regions, making references on occasion to certain phenomena of Hungarian folk society as well as the material of folklore, similarly to the disciplines dealing with the latter problem which support their theses with the relevant views of the other specific fields. In spite of the almost general consensus, we, on our part, do not consider the fact of matriarchy among the ancient Hungarians and at the beginning of the period as verified, and deem it necessary to revise the present stances from the point of view of both universal and Hungarian ethnography.

Preliminary remarks

First, we have to point to a few elementary errors which frequently appear in the works of authors who are not well versed in social anthropology. We call the attention primarily to the faulty interpretation of descent and recognition of relatives. Several authors believe that if the rule of descent is unilateral (unilineal), then kinship is also reckoned one-sidedly only. However, by using the expression "descent", professional terminology indicates how the social situation of the individual is regulated by the attachment to the group of relatives. In the case of bilateral descent, the individual equally belongs to his father and mother, as well as through them to the relatives of both of them, just like, for example, in the case of the Hungarian rule of descent today. In the case of unilateral descent, the individual belongs, from a definite point of view, to either the father's or the mother's group (clan, lineage, moiety, caste, cultic community), this is patri- or matrilineal descent, its versions are ambilineal and duolineal descent; in the former case belonging to the father's or the mother's group is not automatic but the result of a separate decision, while in the case of the duolineal system, the individual belongs to both the father's and the mother's group on the basis of certain considerations.⁶ Reckoning with relatives is independent of the above. However, according to our knowledge gathered so far, irrespective of the nature of the rule of descent, the relatives on the father's as well as on the mother's side are always reckoned with, as is demonstrated by the kinship terminologies, and certain relatives on both sides play a definite role in the individual's social life even in the case of unilateral rule. This statement refers to reckoning with affinal relatives too. Exception to this in the case of individual terms may only be found where the consanguineal relative is at the same time an affinal relative, which is frequent, for example, in preferred marriages with relatives. For example, in marriage with a matrilineal cousin the uncle on the mother's side is at the same time the father-in-law, so the two relationships are indicated with a single term. It is a different question, with which we shall deal later, that kinship is not necessarily symmetrical. Thus, keeping track of relatives is not of the same extent and size on both sides.⁷

Another frequent error is to misunderstand the relationship between clan and family. The question was first clarified by L. H. Morgan in

"Ancient society" (1877: 230). In a debate with Grote, the historian, he points out: "The two organizations proceed upon different principles and are independent of each other. The gens embraces a part only of the descendants of a supposed common ancestor, and excludes the remainder; it also embraces a part only of a family, and excludes the remainder." All that is the consequence of exogamy, for the parties to the marriage must always come from two, or in the case of polygynic marriage, even more sibs. There may be exceptions, primarily in the societies referred to as clans by G. P. Murdock (1949: 65-78)⁸ and known primarily in North-Western America. By the way, it is a very infrequent practice that the wife is included in the sib of her husband by adoption;⁹ on the other hand, different versions of adoption are widely spread in the patrilineal peoples, thus in the pastoral societies in Asia, if there is no son in the family.¹⁰

It occurs in our scientific publications — not to speak of popular scientific literature — even today that certain authors identify matrilineal descent (matrilineality) with matriarchy, i.e. gynaeocracy. However, we have no authentic data to verify that there had been or there is any society in which political power is exercised solely by women or in which their social status is higher than that of men. For example, we do not know about any women heads of clans, let alone women chieftains. Even in the most typical matrilineal societies men hold offices in the political organization, matrilineality is mostly ensured by the successor coming from among the sons of the sister. (They belong to the same sib as their mother and uncle.) As an example for scientific consensus we may quote either the American L. H. Lowie (1948: 262-263) or the Soviet Yu. I. Semyonov who pointed out as early as 1959 that we cannot, in general, speak about gynaeocracy and therefore the expression "matriarchy" cannot be used to indicate the first phase of primitive society.¹¹ An identical view is held by archeology. In G. Childe's opinion, "the archeologist could not hope to recognize the supposed prerogatives of matriarchy", and he believes that the representations of women in primitive societies should be looked upon as the requisites of fertility cults rather than the manifestations of matriarchy (CHILDE 1950: 67). Thus the opinion of Chlobystin is quoted in a Current Anthropology debate of 1979 which points out that archeology cannot — at least in respect to the Northern Neolithic — verify the leading role of women, therefore it is better to use the expression matrilineal kinship group instead of the term "matriarchy" (FLUEHR-LOBBAN 1979: 345).

However, the fact that we possess no examples of gynaeocracy does not mean that there are no fields of political life where the leading positions are held by women or we are not aware of the phenomenon that "some societies recognize certain prerogatives of women that are unusual or contrary to Western law" (LOWIE 1948: 263). Turning our attention to just the first statement, what we primarily see is that in a number of matri- and patrilineal societies it is women who control the household and its members; since power is generally exercised by elderly women, in this respect we can really speak about matriarchy. Such an institution of the typically matrilineal societies is excellently demonstrated by the North-American Iroquois as we are informed by Morgan or by Engels in the wake of Morgan.¹² This is what may be pointed out in respect to the expressly patriarchal — this expression continues to be valid in an unchanged manner — nomads of Central Asia. As L. Krader (1962: 145) writes with a summarizing validity: "The women are possessed of definite rights and duties which define their social status, which is generally below that of the men; authority is ultimately patriarchal in the family. Yet the mother rules her part of the household with authority; she, too, has an empire within an empire."

The general picture

As we have seen, Erik Molnár (1949: 20) based the initial existence of Hungarian matrilineality on the fact that "primitive peoples are generally ruled by maternal law". Although he did not support his hypothesis, it obviously stems from the relevant views of 19th century evolutionists as well as those of Engels. We know, however, that these authors could only work with the material of few and quite superficially known societies and their comparative methodology may be qualified as rudimentary, too. However, the claim for a more exact method was raised at an early stage. E. B. Tylor was the first who outlined the statistical method in the British Anthropological Institute in 1888 with the help of which a correlation (he uses the word adhesion) can be detected among social institutions, customs, procedures (TYLOR 1889). (Tylor included approximately 400 societies in his survey.) Now neglecting the results of the statistical correlation investigations following the initiative of Tylor on account of faulty representation, a "world-wide" survey and a rela-

tively trustworthy correlation analysis was made possible by the widespread collection of material performed within a "cross-cultural survey" under the supervision of G. P. Murdock for the first time.¹³ On the basis of the tables published by him (MURDOCK 1957),¹⁴ D.F. Aberle made an attempt to find a correlation (among other things) between the type of subsistence and the different regulations of descent.¹⁵ The results of his investigation which we are presently interested in, on the basis of the 505 societies included in the sample, are shown in Table 1.

Table 1

Subsistence type	Bilateral	Patri- lineal	Matri- lineal	Duo- lineal	Number of cases
Plough agriculture	32%	59%	8%	1%	117
Pastoralism	12%	77%	5%	6%	66
Dominant horticulture	35%	35%	25%	5%	188
Other horticulture	45%	34%	15%	6%	33
Hunting-gathering	61%	19%	13%	7%	101
Total:					505

From this and other relevant correlation tables Aberle finally draws the conclusion that matrilineality is not a "degree" or "level" in the general evolution but it appears at every level of social organization in addition to the bilateral, patrilineal and duolineal descents. There is no doubt that it is in a correlation with certain production systems, primarily with agriculture without a plough, but the trend¹⁶ is definitely the following: it gradually vanishes with the appearance of plough agriculture as well as industrialization (Fig. 1). It clearly appears from the data — independently of the percentage authenticity of the numerical figures — that it is not maternal law which rules "primitive peoples in general", but, in addition to the majority of bilateral descent, we also encounter other unilateral organizations, with a slight preponderance of patrilineality. (For the types of the latter and the distribution of patri- and matrilineality, see the table of G.P. Murdock which he set up in accordance with their relationship to exogamy.) The table includes 193 unilateral organizations compared in a sample of 250 societies (MURDOCK 1949: 49).

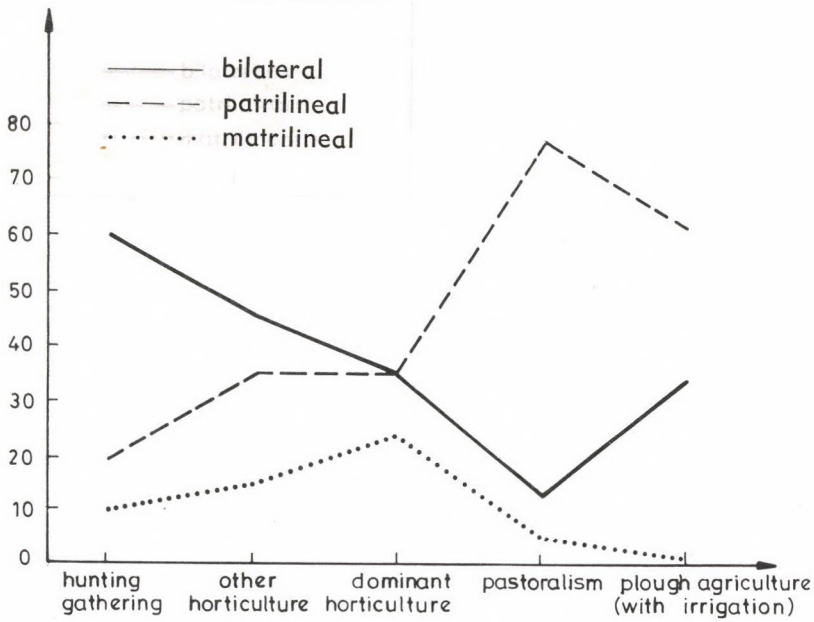


Fig. 1. Correlations between the types of subsistence and descent

Table 2

Type of kin group and prevalence of exogamy	lineal descent	
	Patri-	Matri-
exogamous moieties	10	19
non-exogamous moieties and exogamous sibs	4	5
non-exogamous moieties and other, non-exogamous kinship groups	3	0
exogamous phratries	9	5
exogamous sibs	74	33
non-exogamous sibs and exogamous lineages	4	0
non-exogamous sibs and lineages	3	0
exogamous lineages only	10	5
non-exogamous lineages only	6	3
Total:	123	70

However, it is surprising that unilateral organizations appear at this level of socio-economic development at all, for their formation is usually placed at later levels. There are two explanations for their existence (at present only hypothetical for lack of related investigations). The category of hunting-gathering (foraging) characterizing the way of subsistence is too wide. It is obvious on the basis of our general knowledge that at least three categories are to be distinguished, such as A) the groups of general foragers, B) specialized foragers, and C) those foragers where expropriating economy was or is preponderant but incipient agriculture and pastoralism also appear. It is unnecessary to prove separately the decisive influence of the ecological environment on the formation of the economic activities and social structure of the individual categories. It may be supposed that category A is typically characterized by bilateral descent based on the monogamous, and to a lesser extent polygamous, family as an economic unit, while at the higher production levels — as a consequence of a larger population size and partial or full settling down — unilateral organizations based upon the existence of local groups already, could also come into being. We cannot disregard the possibility of secondary primitivization either, in the course of which societies carrying out production on a lower level that previously maintained, perhaps in a reduced form, some version of the unilateral organization established at a higher level earlier. (It is not impossible that this is what happened in the case of the Ob-Ugrians having wandered to the arctic territories of Asia, practising also pastoralism and land cultivation in the middle of the 2nd millennium B.C.) (FODOR 1975: 67-70).

Disregarding now the problem why unilateral organizations could be established at all, the question arises what is the reason why we encounter two basic types, of matri- and patrilineal regulation, from the point of view of descent, and whether it is possible that a change was made in general from an earlier matrilineal rule into a patrilineal one. (The latter question cannot be posed the other way round since we have no example for such a change, as is pointed out by Murdock.¹⁷ Independently of Murdock, the same opinion is also held by Erik Molnár.) For a change to occur, there is obviously need for a socio-economic cause which makes it inevitable. Such a compelling moment is constituted primarily by the appearance of plough agriculture, irrigation, as well as pastoralism, and, together with it, the formation of private property. It appears from Aberle's table that it is at this level that there is a strong reduction

in the cases of matrilineality. At the earlier levels we find communal-tribal, clan, lineage, settlement property, with the right of use or possession of the family or the "household". However, we do not encounter such an incentive at the socio-economic level of the foragers, and we also know that it is generally males who play a dominant role in acquiring food.¹⁸ And if no such change took place, and if the economic-production system cannot be connected with the rule of descent, then we must resort to the principle of limited choices for an appropriate explanation (MURDOCK 1949: 200). In our case there are three basic possibilities of reckoning descent, and it is to be attributed to specific historical-psychological circumstances, which cannot be identified for the time being, under the constraints of which the individual societies chose this or that one.¹⁹ At the same time it is highly probable that the solution hit upon was handed down to the next generations and spread among the peoples of a common origin or in touch with each other, and it was maintained until its transformation was made necessary by some kind of significant moment. Thus it may be supposed that a matri- or patrilineal regulation evolved (or failed to evolve) from the initial bilateral descent and then in the course of social development they gave way to a patrilineal system in general, and further on to a bilateral system.²⁰

The primacy of matrilineality and together with it the supposition of its being a stage of universal development are not considered as acceptable by Marxist research either. Let us mention two stances. This is what Yu. I. Semyonov (1979: 819) writes in a Current Anthropology debate: "Soviet ethnographers take into account the indisputable fact that the paternal clan may have existed at a rather early stage and the maternal clan at some later stage of the evolution of primitive society. A similar opinion is held by Günther Guhr, though his wording is not quite accurate. He points out in his encyclopaedic article: "Die angekommene ursprüngliche mutterrechtliche Ordnung der Gentilgesellschaft wird heute nicht mehr vertreten, weil die jägerischen Stämme derartige Verhältnisse nicht kennen" (GUHR 1981/II: 290).

By way of a summary, we can say that it is unequivocally demonstrated by ethnological data that it is not justified to suppose the matrilineal descent and organization to be a universal development stage in the history of human society, and its general priority cannot be verified.

The case of the Ugrians

So far our presentation has only proved that all the three versions of descent may be relevant to the period of the Uralic and Finno-Ugric basic languages in general (4th-2nd millenniums B.C.). The ethnological analogies which may be connected to the archeological periodization do not take us closer to deciding the question, since we encounter all three organizational solutions in the societies of Upper-Paleolithic and Neolithic technologies, and in more than one case (e.g. the Australians) the simultaneous existence of matri- and patrilineal organizations. Let us therefore take a look, first of all, at all those societies in Siberia and Central Asia which may serve as an analogy, on the basis of their way of life in the recent past, for the social structure of the early periods. We shall discuss only the most important characteristics, primarily the order of descent and the type of social organization, and, wherever possible, the residence rule after marriage.

The Ob-Ugrians (Ostyaks and Voguls)

Way of life: fishing, hunting, gathering,²¹ keeping reindeer in the north.
Society: patrilineal phratries and clans, patrilocal marriage.

The Samoyeds

Way of life: hunting, fishing, partly sedentary reindeer keeping.
Society: patrilineal phratries and clans, patrilocal marriage.

The Lapps

Way of life: originally hunting-fishing, later keeping reindeer.
Society: bilateral descent, matri- and patrilocal marriage.

The Koryak

Way of life: originally hunting and gathering, later reindeer nomadism;
sedentary fishers and sea hunters.
Society: bilateral descent, patrilocal marriage.

The Gilyak

Way of life: originally fishers, seal hunters and hunters, a part of them
are pastoralists and land cultivators today.
Society: patrilineal clans, patrilocal marriage.

The Yukagyr

Way of life: originally hunters and fishers, later reindeer keepers.
Society: bilateral descent, uxori-patrilocal then viri-patrilocal marriage.

The Chukchee

Way of life: fishers, sea hunters, gatherers, partly reindeer keepers.
Society: bilateral descent, uxori-patri- then viri-patrilocal marriage.

The Ainu

Way of life: settled down hunters, fishers and gatherers.
Society: bilateral descent, matri- or patrilocal marriage.

The Ket (Yenisei-Ostyaks)

Way of life: hunting, fishing.
Society: patrilineal clans, patrilocal marriage.

The Kamchadal

Way of life: sedentary fishing, hunting sea mammals, later animal husbandry,
potato growing.
Society: ?

The Eskimos (Siberians)

Way of life: sea hunting, fishing.
Society: bilateral descent, neolocal marriage.

The Nanay

Way of life: fishing, hunting.
Society: patrilineal clans, after initial uxori-patrilocal settlement
viri-patrilocality.

The Yakut

Way of life: originally animal husbandry, hunting, fishing (sea mammals
too).
Society: patrilineal clans, matri- or patrilocal marriage.

The Tungus

Way of life: hunting, keeping reindeer, fishing, partly land cultivation.
Earlier they were land cultivators.
Society: patrilineal clans.

So the societies living in the Arctic belt — whether they are foragers or animal keepers — possess unequivocally a patrilineal or bilateral descent. Since we do not know about essential changes which might refer to a matrilineal system having been transformed into a patrilineal one, we may suppose that the original system may have been bilateral, from which, under the influence of appropriate circumstances, patrilineal organizations came into existence in a few cases.

The same picture is revealed when we make the order of descent of the Altaic pastoral peoples our object of investigation. It will suffice

to refer here to the generalizing statement of L. Krader, dealing with the organization of these societies in detail. He points out that: "The primary feature common to all Altaic pastoralists is the principle of descent in the male line. Each of the peoples in question has a parallel structure to the other as a patrilineal descent group, a society based upon the principle of agnatic relationship" (KRADER 1963: 86).

From the above it may be concluded with a fairly high degree of probability that in the Siberian and Central-Asian regions of Asia patrilineal organizations came into being in addition to the bilateral system, while we do not encounter matrilineality at all. There is no doubt that the characteristic features of subsistence — hunting, fishing, animal husbandry — also played a part in the formation of such a patrilineal region; these are patterns of subsistence which are primarily connected to production activities performed by men. In addition to parallel development, the possibility of handing down traditions originating from genetic connections (as well as adoption) cannot be excluded either. The investigations performed worldwide have not yet considered this problematique. (Following from the principle of representation of Murdock, conclusions may hardly be drawn from his table to territorial distribution and interethnic connections, however, examples known from other territories support our assumption.)²²

The testimony of kinship terminology

When Erik Molnár held the opinion in 1949 that "no conclusions to a patrilineal family may be drawn from kinship terminology" and that "the same kinship terminology correlates with kinship relations on both the father's and the mother's line" (MOLNÁR 1949: 20), he was only partially right. It is understandable since in the same year Murdock's "Social Structure" appeared, which introduced new viewpoints of classifying kinship terminologies, and investigated these terminologies, among others, from the point of view of the correlations of the rule of descent.²³

Basing his tables on 250 societies (MURDOCK 1949: 61-72), he demonstrates the following correlation of terminology and descent:

Eskimo type -- bilateral	18
patrilineal	2
matrilineal	2
duolineal	12

Hawaiian type -- bilateral	1
patrilineal	11
matrilineal	2
Iroquois - bilateral	16
patrilineal	33
matrilineal	25
duolineal	8
Sudanese -- bilateral	2
patrilineal	13
mixed	2
Ohama -- bilateral	2
patrilineal	25
duolineal	1
Crow -- bilateral	2
matrilineal	23
duolineal	2

Even though some details of this representation may be criticized,²⁴ primarily because of the changes that may have taken place,²⁵ it is certain that, with the exception of the Iroquois type, a definite correlation may be demonstrated between terminology and the rule of descent. If we turn our attention to the region we are interested in at present, we shall find the following distribution in the cases known to us. 1. The Eskimo-type terminology is possessed by the Lapps, Koryak, Chuckchee, Ainu, and the Eskimos with a bilateral distribution, while the Samoyeds that also belong here²⁶ have a patrilineal descent. 2. The Omaha-type terminology is possessed by the Kirgis, Kalmuks, Khalkas, Uzbeks, Yakut, Tungus, Ostyaks, Voguls with a patrilineal descent. 3. The Iroquois terminology is possessed by the Gilyak with a patrilineal descent.²⁷

But how does the Omaha terminology appear at the Ob-Ugrians? According to Murdock's definition (1949: 102), in this terminology system (the father's sisters' children are classed with sororal nephews and nieces, and the mother's brothers' children with maternal uncles and aunts. In the Ostyak and Vogul terminologies the denominations of the relatives belonging to different generations show a similar picture, identical with the above definition, as it appears from the Ostyak kinship terminology in which the terms of the uncle on the father's side and his children are also indicated.

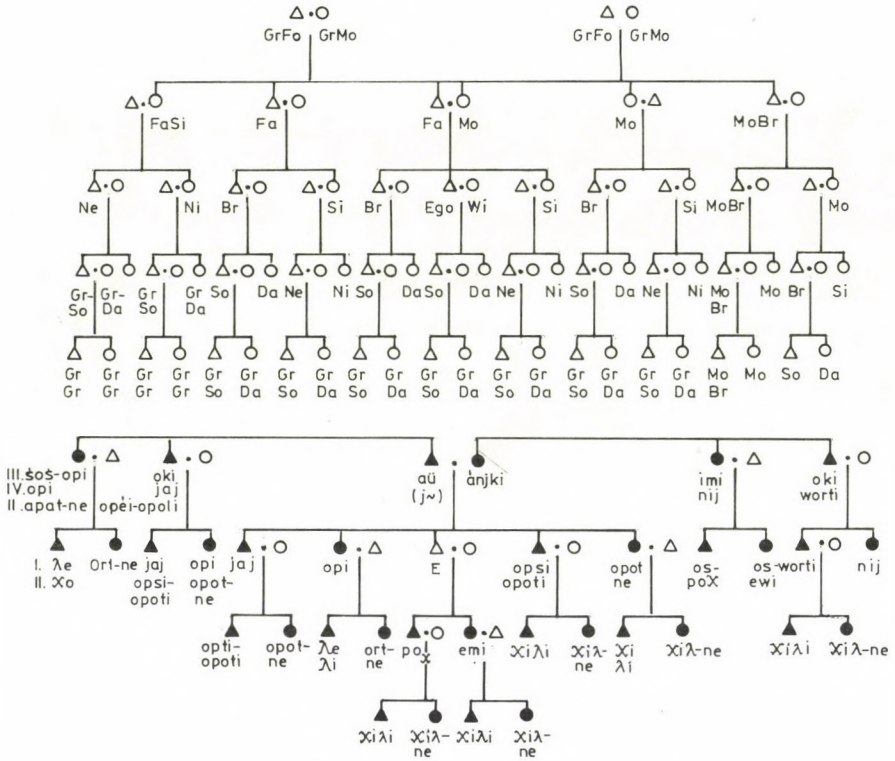


Fig. 2. Above we find abbreviations for kinship relations used in anthropological literature in English. Below we see the Ostyak kinship terminology

(The divergence from the definition is only an apparent one, since Murdock takes into account only the children of the uncle on the father's side and of the aunt on the father's side in his cousin-terminology.) This identification of the +1 and the 0 generations is expressed in the 0, -1 and -2 generations too. Thus ört- ne = "Tochter der älteren Schwester des Vaters"; "Tochter der jüngeren Schwester des Vaters, wenn die Tante älter ist als Ego", i.e. the term comprises the 0 and the -1 generations. At the same time xilne = "Tochter des Sohnes"; "Tochter der Tochter"; "Tochter des jüngeren Bruders"; "Tochter der jüngeren Schwester des Vaters", i.e. the expression includes the female relatives of the 0, -1 and -2 generations

(KARJALAINEN 1913: 225, 234-235). (A wife uses the same expressions when referring to the relatives of her husband listed here.)

There is no need to further discuss the details of the Ostyak kinship terminology and of the Vogul one which is essentially identical with it (VÁVRA 1965); from the point of view of our topic it will suffice to point out that the patrilineal terminology is more extensively elaborated than the matrilineal one, as to both the number of the expressions applied and their extension.²⁸ Conclusions can be drawn from the structure of certain terminologies²⁹ as to the patrilineal or matrilineal character of society and the same can be pointed out in relation to the numerical distribution of the expressions. This specificity caught the attention of János Láng, though his principle of classification is different from that of Murdock and he provides his figures according to paternal and maternal clans. According to his classification, in the case of the Ostyaks we find 5 terms of matrilineal character as opposed to 8 patrilineal expressions,³⁰ this proportion is 8:6 in the Vogul, 8:6 in the Yakut, 11:3 in the Fox Indian; at the same time in the case of the matrilineal Cherokee the maternal line figures with eight and the paternal one with two terms (LÁNG 1978: 236, 242, 248, 262). (Even though we do not agree with Láng in all the details, the proportions are essentially correct.)³¹

The principle of asymmetry and of agnation within it is even stronger in the case of the Central Asian Mongol-Turkic pastoral peoples. Thus, in the Kazakh, on the father's side out of 17 relatives kinship terms are applied to 3 female relatives, while on the mother's line 3 out of 7 denominations refer to female relatives. The principle is identical in the case of kinship through marriage; from her husband's relatives a wife refers to 11 relatives extended to three generations, among them there are 4 for females, while the husband uses 7 denominations for the wife's relatives in two generations, 4 of which refer to women (KRADER 1963: 390-391, 401-402).

We do not wish to draw far-reaching conclusions from this brief terminological analysis either as to the possible earlier connections of the Ob-Ugrians with peoples having lived in the steppes, or in relation to the formation of the local use of the Omaha system.³² All we wish to point out here is that in all the societies which the Hungarians were related to or met in the course of their history, we only found terminological systems characteristic of patrilineality. At the same time, in our view, it also appears from the distribution of the terminologies³³ that the Asian region

outlined earlier may be looked upon unequivocally as either a bilateral or a patrilineal region.³⁴ Thus it is quite improbable that the Hungarians had a matrilineal descent system even in the Uralic period.³⁵

The problem of survivals

To support their thesis, the advocates of the matriarchal theory frequently refer to social facts or folklore elements which are known either from the Ob-Ugric or the Hungarian ethnographic material.³⁶ The inclusion of the ethnographical-folkloristic data originates from a double consideration: on the one hand, they suppose or take for granted that some kind of role of the mother, or, more generally, of women, refers to an earlier matriarchal system in any society; on the other hand, they believe that such phenomena may continue to live as survivals for several millennia. As far as the latter fact is concerned, we naturally recognize the validity of the principle, with the reservation that we can speak about a survival and with it a fact referring to the past only in case the existence of the phenomenon in question cannot be interpreted from its present contexts.³⁷

Let us first examine the social phenomena looked upon as the survivals of matriarchy. For example, W. Steinitz, dealing with the Finno-Ugric kinship terminology, concludes from the existence of the Ostyak terms worti and wort-sat ("jüngere Brüder der Mutter", "der jüngere Bruder der Mutter mit den Kindern seiner Schwester") that "Der Jüngere Bruder der Mutter hat ein besonders enges Verhältniss zu den Kindern seiner Schwester — auch das ist eine weit vorbereitete Erscheinung, Avunkulat, die wohl mit dem Mutterrecht zusammenhängt" (STEINITZ 1974: 19). There is no doubt that the institution of avunculate is one of the important though not inevitable characteristic features of matrilineal societies, it is highly questionable, however, whether the classifying term in question refers to a matrilineal avuncular relationship. This is contradicted by the specificity of the Omaha terminology that we encounter a similar, moreover more extensive classification among the patrilineal relatives as well; according to that terminology, there must be a similarly close connection between Ego and the uncle on the father's side and the aunt on the father's side, as well as their children.³⁸

But it is not merely the terminological features which refute the assumption of considering avunculate to be a specific matrilineal institution: it is a widely spread phenomenon among the patrilineal nomads of the Asian steppes. Although in these societies a less significant role is played by the matrilineal relatives, still: "The maternal kin, and specifically the mother's brother, are highly respected" (KRADER 1963: 355). Thus, for example, among the 16th century Mongols of Ordos, the maternal uncle could not express his anger if his sister's son committed adultery with his wife. At the same time the maternal uncle figured as a father-in-law or a potential father-in-law by letting his daughter marry his sister's son, or by financially assisting him in acquiring a wife, moreover the cousin partook of his uncle's property too. As L. Krader makes the summarizing statement of the pastoral nomads of the Asian steppes: "These societies based upon an unilineal descent principle do not necessarily subsume all consanguineal relationships under the unilineal principle they have adopted. Thus, a society based upon patrilineal descent includes at least some consanguineal relations which are nonagnatic" (KRADER 1963: 353, 351-356). But even more general conclusions can be drawn: there is no society of unilateral (unilineal) organization in which the patrilineal and matrilineal relatives do not have a definite place in respect to those belonging to either the mother's or the father's line, be they consanguineal or affinal relatives.

Among the social proofs of Hungarian matriarchy, it is customary to refer to the brief writing of Ákos Szendrey (1936) quoted above. In Szendrey's view, the practice that the wife's family or surname is attached to her husband's name and that the mother's or her older female relatives' name is inherited by the children, moreover, the grand and great-grandchildren may be looked upon as the remnant of matriarchy. However, we believe that it is not necessary to look upon this custom as the survival of matriarchy. It is much more probable, almost certain, that it is connected to the institution of son-in-lawship as it is stated by Szendrey himself; in other cases, however, it cannot be excluded that, similarly to the surnames, the objective may have been to more accurately separate those of the same family name,³⁹ or, perhaps, we are faced with one of the survivals of the clan system.⁴⁰ At the same time son-in-lawship cannot be considered to be a matrilineal institution, moreover, it is expressly connected to patrilineality as is testified by the well-known cases of ambil-anak marriage.⁴¹ By way of an analogy, we may mention the pastoral Mongols

of the steppes, in whose case, for lack of a male offspring, the son-in-law is adopted as a son in order that the family name could survive. In such cases marriage is matrilocal instead of the usual patrilocal settlement and the offspring bear the names of their fathers and mothers (KRADER 1963: 301).

We believe that it is obvious enough from the above that the data of social anthropology referred to above do not prove the original existence of Hungarian matriarchy: the function of the customs mentioned may rather be explained from recent contexts.⁴²

Creations of folklore — the different beliefs and customs —, either in their whole or in certain motifs, reflect the memories of distant ages even more than the social phenomena reacting more directly and rapidly do. Solymossy rightly stated in his study (1921) that even after the termination of the original meaning certain symbols keep on living, frequently in the form of sayings, and they are suitable for reconstructing state of affairs in the past as survivals. It is, naturally, necessary to be cautious when evaluating them, for it is obvious — just like in the case of folk tales — that the explanation derived from the present circumstances can only to a limited extent, or not at all, be taken into account. At the same time reconstruction is hindered by the fact that it is difficult or impossible to define the time a particular motif was created, for we must be familiar with the social or mental conditions having induced its genesis, also difficult to discover. At the same time we must differentiate between the identity resulting from genetic connections, contacts and independent handling, i.e. the cases of arbitrary coincidences.

However, the application of correct methodological principles may be followed by a faulty final result if the researcher takes faulty facts as starting points. Quite unfoundedly, Solymossy believed that, following the introduction of exogamy — in the initial "matriarchy system" resulting from promiscuity — the man established a connection with his wife either in the form of a so-called visiting marriage or he was taken into "his wife's bondage" "by way of some form of adoption". Although both versions occur, the cases of the "visiting marriage" are extremely infrequent,⁴³ and adoption into the wife's family means the institution of "son-in-lawship", which is connected to patrilineality. However, we find no example of the husband being formally admitted into his wife's family apart from the latter case; the husband "appears" in his wife's family (uxorilocal marriage), there is no need for a separate admittance. On the

other hand, examples for adoption into the family or even the clan are known widely, they, however, are not correlated either to matrilineality or patrilineality; they equally occur in both systems. At the same time Soly-mossy considers it the symbolic form of adoption that the mother offers her breast to the adopted, after which the mother (and her relatives) address the adopted with the proper term of kinship and the adopted — having become a quasi-blood relative of theirs — addresses or refers to them with expressions of kinship as well. We, on our part, are ready to admit the wide-spread character of this custom of adoption outlined by Soly-mossy. We consider it quite doubtful, however, that the following expressions (and their versions) of Hungarian folk tales "Good evening, mother" and "You are lucky that you called me mother, otherwise your life would have ended here" (SOLYMOSSY 1921: 139) could be attached to a rite of adoption of this kind. It is possible that the formula is the result of a take-over, its attachment to adoption, however, could only be looked upon as proven if the motif of mother's breast or milk also appeared in our folk tales or if we were aware of such customs of adoption in the case of the Hungarians as well.⁴⁴ At the same time Soly-mossy considers the forms of address "old mother" and "old father" as "deteriorated" forms without justifying his views. In our opinion, it is not necessary to look for the origin of the saying in such a distant past and among peoples living so far away, we might rather think of the custom living in our days and known from other places too that the person addressing a stranger tries to establish a more direct contact by applying a kinship term; and the different terms are adjusted to the sex and age of the addressed which may also be reflected in the formulæ of the tales.⁴⁵

The researchers base their stances on faulty social anthropological premises again when they believe to discover the traces of an earlier matrilineal system of the Hungarians in the Hunor-Magor myth.⁴⁶ Being the first to interpret the myth, Gyula Sebestyén (1904/I: 347-359) proposed that the motif of eloping with the woman reflected the switch-over from maternal to paternal rights, while prior to the new system an "animal community" of matrilineal character, general in hunting-fishing societies, had ruled; for eloping with women brought about exogamy as well as monogamy. In his assumption Sebestyén relied primarily on J.F. McLennan and J. Lubbock, accepting the views of McLennan, and he was correct insofar as he connected abducting women to societies with a patriarchal system, but he was wrong when originating exogamy and monogamy from it, as it had been

refuted by research already in the 19th century. Erik Molnár (1949: 51) approaches the myth from a different angle. What is of primary interest to him is the moment pointing to earlier maternal rights that in the myth the doe, i.e. a female animal figures as the ancient mother and that in the myth of the origin of the Árpád dynasty "the ancient mother of the family Emesü (mother) is inseminated by the turul bird". A similar opinion is held by Tibor Klaniczay (1964/I: 11). Generally accepting the hypothesis of the universal primacy of the matrilineal system, he believes that: "The so-called totemistic myths related to animal ancestors were widely spread in the matriarchal age", then, following the switchover to the patrilineal system, the two myths underwent a transformation. The transformation was performed so that: "Ménrót was placed next to Enech and Úgyek was placed next to Emesü, while the totemistic deer and turul motifs received another, subordinated role in the legends".⁴⁷ It was Dezső Pais who tried to refute the latter two explanations primarily with linguistic arguments, discussing briefly the question of the social attachment of totemism. Though but briefly, he raised the question whether it is possible to verify female totems and whether it is so certain that "the belief of totemism appeared in the age of matrilineal society and not only in the patrilineal phase of development?" (PAIS 1959: 80).

Pais' question is justified, however; when wording the question he is also under the influence of the hypothesis of the undoubted sequence of matrilineality-patrilineality widely spread in Hungarian science. Without repeating our earlier arguments, that much is certain that different forms of appearance of totemism occur both in matrilineal and in patrilineal societies, even though for lack of relevant investigations we cannot at present state whether totemism has characteristic features in this or that formation. Still on the basis of our present knowledge we can say in general terms that it is not male or female animals (if we encounter animals) but species without sexual distinction which figure in totemistic contexts, irrespective of the type of social organization.⁴⁸ Thus the totem names in themselves do not provide us with orientation as to the way of reckoning with descent and this or that character of the institutions. There is no need to prove that totemism is not a universal phase of the development of religion and it is not a generally spread phenomenon, whichever type of it we make the object of our investigation.

Gábor Lükő's (1965) concise analysis of certain Hungarian ritual texts and his tracing them back to the totemistic myths of the Ob-Ugric

phratries are much more thorough than Solymossy's sketchy writing and statements.⁴⁹ His conclusion may be accepted in theory since the reflection of social organization is a well-known phenomenon especially in mythology dealing with origin, though we have no reason to assume its universal existence. At the same time we do not believe that his conclusion is properly proven when pointing out that we are necessarily faced with a matriarchal system or its memories in Ostyak myths and other motifs quoted by him. In our view it is a basically mistaken approach which rigidly binds the roles of women as ancient mother or in other functions to matriarchy (i.e. matrilineality) and unequivocally attaches the dominance of men in folklore to patriarchy. Although we do not wish to speak about a binary opposition, we consider the representation of men and women in their proper functions as self-evident in the different folklore creations. Referring to myths of origin and origin in general only, it is obvious that there is need for the togetherness of man and woman from the point of view of the existence of humanity and life in general. Thus it is no surprise if a patrilineal society traces its unilateral institutions to the ancient mother and imparts a secondary role to the inseminating man, placing him perhaps into a mythological form, even into the role of a totem animal. The problem cannot be solved in the light of our present knowledge since any of the approaches seems to be verifiable on the basis of the examples selected at random. A satisfying conclusion could only be drawn after a "cross-cultural" investigation which would estimate whether there was a correlation between the mythological systems or their plots and motifs on the one hand, and the matri- or patrilineal systems and institutions of descent on the other.

Just one more concrete remark to the closing part of Lükő's study. It is here that he mentions in support of his matriarchal stance that "only the girls followed the clan order of their mother, the boys became members of the other phratry", then, taking as a starting point the motif of the Rabbit-boy having been first a member of the mos-phratry, and then appearing as a bear after his vanishing, he assumes that "he joined the phratry of his wife and moved to her clan" (LÜKŐ 1965: 84-85). However, we have no data to prove that anything like that is known to any society: the boys and the girls always belong to the phratry and clan of their father or mother, and they keep their membership all their lives; it does not occur anywhere that the girls leave their mother's unilateral group and the boys leave their father's unilateral group and join the other group

when getting married. Exceptions to this are only the cases of adoption. We do not believe, however, that this might be concluded from the motifs in question.

On the basis of the above arguments, we consider the following conclusion as well-founded: neither in the Uralic period nor in the later course of its historical development did Hungarian society have a phase which was characterized by matrilineality.

Notes

¹For the history of the question, see M. O. Kosven's thorough though biased work (KOSZVEN 1950).

²The "Magyarország Néprajza" (Ethnography of the Hungarians), whose volume on social anthropology was not prepared, did not discuss the question in a meaningful manner.

³The mentioned chapter appeared as Bartha (1984) in the meantime. As the author used it in a manuscript form his references are given here (the editor).

⁴Speaking about his earlier study of 1967, here he is of the opinion that its assumption related to the existence of the matrilineal extended family "was built upon a body of data not selected critically enough, therefore it was erroneous from the very beginning" (MESTERHÁZY 1980: 148).

⁵Later on, too, Péter Hajdú warns about the question of descent. As he suggests in his work co-written with Péter Domokos in 1978, matriarchy cannot be necessarily concluded from our awareness of supernatural beings in female figures, and "we could not decide even in an awareness of signs seemingly pointing to this whether the clan society of the Finno-Ugric period reckoned consanguineal relations of its members on the father's or the mother's side" (HAJDÚ-DOMOKOS 1978: 78-79). — In this place I thank Péter Hajdú for reading my paper and his edifying remarks.

⁶See in greater detail Bodrogi (1957).

⁷The idea of "kinship through females only" was first raised — independently of each other — by Bachofen and McLennan. Their starting point was promiscuity in which only the person of the mother was known and that of the father was not, thus they considered it logical that kinship was recognized only on the mother's side up to the appearance of monogamy. The assumption was refuted by Morgan, although his starting point was also promiscuity (1961: 399-400). Engels accepted the thesis of "kinship through females only" but criticized McLennan for keeping on applying this expression well suited to an earlier phase to later phases of development, in which descent and inheritance are kept track of exceptionally along the mother's line but kinship is recognized and expressed on the male line too (ENGELS 1884: 437). The question of promiscuity having ever existed has been debated since that time. Darwin, for example, did not consider it probable that unregulated sexual life in a natural state had ever been dominant (1961: 646-650). On account of the differences in the sexual and family behaviours of the different species of apes, the recent research on the social life of mammals of a higher order has not been able to give a definite answer to the question of promiscuity. (From recent literature see, for example, KUMMER 1975; MELOTTI 1981).

⁸That means that, e.g. the woman keeps her sib membership but through her marriage she belongs to her husband's patrilineal settlement kinship (clan).

⁹The ethnographical literature knows only two such cases, that of the Manchus and the Indian Todas. This practice of the Manchus is briefly described by L. Krader (1963: 341): "The Manchu practice is to incorporate the woman fully into her husband's sib; the fire ceremonies and other rites purify her entirely of her natal spirits and naturalize her fully in her new family and sib. She calls her husband's sib 'my sib', just as her husband does, and she gives up all connection with the family into which she was born. Her familiar spirits are those of her husband."

¹⁰Krader 1963: 298-299. It is especially the adoption of the son-in-law which frequently occurs.

¹¹Later he stated as the consensus of Soviet research: "The premise of the equality of men and women in the early evolutionary stages of primitive society is so universally accepted in Soviet ethnographic science that it has long since been introduced into textbooks on the history of primitive societies and encyclopaedic books" (SEMYONOV 1979: 818).

¹²For the role of the women played in the household and their non-institutionalized but existing political influence see L.H. Morgan 1961: 350. Still it must not be concluded from this that the women's role was more outstanding in general than that of the men. This is clearly shown by the continuation of the letter of A. Wright, a missionary active among the Seneca, published by Morgan in 1881 in "Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines". According to that, the influence of an Iroquois woman "seems to have commenced and ended with the household. This view is quite consistent with the life of patient drudgery and of general subordination to the husband which the Iroquois wife cheerfully accepted as the portion of her sex" (MORGAN 1881: 128).

¹³It was in 1937 that Murdock first examined with this method the connections between matri- and patrilineal institutions, then in 1949 he pointed to correlations with other social institutions as well.

¹⁴We consider Murdock's system as basically useable, although his tables include only the social institutions looked upon as most important by him. Unfortunately, his categories representing the types of subsistence are too crude.

¹⁵Aberle 1961: 676-677. Aberle made Murdock's categories related to the ways of subsistence more precise, even though in a manner not fully satisfying our purposes.

¹⁶We are talking about a "trend" and not a rule of general validity. Thus in the case of the Iroquois we encounter an unchanged matrilineal descent after intensive contacts with whites for two hundred years.

¹⁷It is worth quoting Murdock verbatim. After pointing out that we do not know about a change from patrilineality to matrilineality, he suggests that: "Every other major transition in descent — from bilateral to patrilineal, from patrilineal to bilateral, from bilateral to matrilineal, from matrilineal to bilateral, and from matrilineal to patrilineal — is possible, and historically attested instances can be adduced in fair number. Only the direct transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent is impossible" (MURDOCK 1949: 190).

¹⁸The frequently aired view which connects matri- or patrilineality to the roles played by the sexes in the production cannot be accepted. It is contradicted not only by the distribution appearing from our table but by the fact too that, e.g. in agriculture a role is played by man too — though with varying intensity —, or he fulfils the proper function in the distribution between the sexes, in the whole of social life. It may also be mentioned that heavy physical work is done by men in cultivation. At the same time we know that expropriative economy is also complex even though the individual lineages may be dominant on account of the ecological conditions. (For the problem see SERVICE, E. R.-SAHLINS, M. D.-WOLF, E. R. 1973).

¹⁹The same can be said about the types of kinship terminologies (apart from a few versions which are unclassifiable, seven basic systems have been elaborated for humans); however, this does not hold true for the social organization since in the creation of the types of the organizational forms definite roles are played by the economic and other, e.g. demographical as well as historical factors.

²⁰Murdock (1949: 218) considers duolineal descent to be a secondary development which evolved from the matrilineal organization.

²¹In his well-known study, Chernietsov speaks about the earlier matriarchal clan without any meaningful proof; the fact that vendettas were also committed for relatives on the mother's side cannot be looked upon as an undoubted remnant of the "matriarchal" order (CSERNYECOV 1949).

²²Thus, for example, in South-East New Guinea, the population living along the western coast and speaking Austronesian languages is divided into non-localized patrilineal clans, and, in a similar manner, the Austronesian groups are organized patrilineally in Central Papua. At the same time the Austronesian population of the Massim region is strictly matrilineal. In Melanesia we encounter both matrilineal and patrilineal societies in a definite geographical distribution on the individual groups of islands. The tribes speaking non-Austronesian languages are generally patrilineal in New Guinea and — where they are to be found in a scattered configuration — in Insular-Melanesia (BELLWOOD 1978: 96-102).

²³The classification is based upon the terms for cousins. (For the system see BODROGI 1957: 11-13.) It must be pointed out that five of the six categories of Murdock — though with different viewpoints of classification — except for the Sudanese one, are also to be found in Morgan (1877); moreover, even the denominations are essentially identical. On account of Murdock's system of representation these types of kinship are suitable for drawing greater generalizations and tendencies. However, to separate the local subtypes and clarify their connections constitute further tasks. For our attempt to this end, see Bodrogi 1975.

²⁴It is quite probable that the figures and proportions would be different if we were to analyse the tables published by Murdock later (1957), but we would need a computerized method to carry out this analysis. We only wish to remark in relation to our table that the types apart from the bilateral one are connected to some unilateral organization (dual organization, clan, etc.). By the way, the tables have been enlarged by two new kinship types, the Buryat and the Murngin, but their occurrence is negligible. For their definition see Murdock 1957: 223-224.

²⁵One example will suffice here. Murdock, working with local informants and obviously with a dictionary, classifies the Hungarian kinship terminology into the Eskimo type, indicating as one of its characteristic features that the term of uncles is linear. (This means that the uncles on the father's and the mother's side are referred to by the same term but are distinguished from the father.) This classification is adequate to the terminology of today but the old Hungarian vernacular terminology cannot be classified in either of Murdock's types.

²⁶Our knowledge related to the Samoyed kinship terminology is not satisfactory, as is pointed out by Tamás Márk (1977: 161). Still the fact that on the mother's side an identical term is used for the aunt and the daughter of the younger uncle, and the same principle is resorted to in the case of the younger uncle and his son, as well as for the sons and daughter of the aunt on the father's side younger than Ego, points in the direction of the Omaha system. This is definitely in harmony with the fact that the Samoyeds possess a unilateral, patrilineal organization. However, we do not consider it probable that an earlier matriarchy could be concluded from the matrilineal denominations mentioned above, as is believed by Márk (1977: 156). A few characteristic features of the kinship terminology of the Nganasan Samoyeds point in the direction of the Omaha system. As it appears from the work of I. Kortt and Yu. Simchenko (manuscript) certain expressions are identical in the 0 and +1 generations: niny = elder brother; the father's younger brother; the son of the father's elder sister; the son of the father's elder brother; ngáhu = elder sister; the father's younger sister; the daughters of the father's elder brother; the wife of the elder brother. On the mother's side, the order of denominations is different from the typical one, but we again encounter identification in generations 0 — +1. Thus tytyj's = the mother's younger brother; the son of the mother's elder brother. Unfortunately, the material is not satisfac-

tory and it is contradictory in places; it needs correcting and supplementing. Certain terms allow us to draw conclusions to marriages of cross-cousins, such as *katu* = the father's elder sister; the wife of the father's elder brother; the wife of the mother's elder brother. (Here too I wish to extend my thanks to the authors for the data, and I called their attention to the need of further clarification.)

²⁷ We do not deal with the Buryat kinship system. According to Murdock's definition, this terminology uses different terms in relation to the father's and the mother's cousins, and again different terms in relation to the brothers (1957: 205). For the detailed description see Krader 1963: 98-115.

²⁸ It is not obvious from the specificities of the terminology mentioned above to which organizational form they are connected to. The Ob-Ugric society is usually defined as a clan society, and the clans are divided into two phratries. (In harmony with the international terminology, we would rather speak about a dual or moiety system, although we could use the expression "system of two clans" too since the moieties perform functions identical with those of the clans in many respects.) Referring to V. N. Chernietsov, Sokolova (1976) speaks about genealogical consanguineal kinship groups instead of clans. It is not our task here to decide this question, still we wish to remark that the Omaha system may equally be related to lineages, clans, but it may be found in societies which are not familiar with unilateral organizations, especially where there are large families (MURDOCK 1957). Thus, for example, Omaha terminology is possessed by the Kazakh, the Khalkas, the Uzbeks, the Yakut, etc. (KRADER 1963: 316-335). It is possible, at the same time, as is pointed out by Krader (1963: 369), that the exogamous lineage was preceded by an exogamous clan system, and the lineage system is the consequence of the disruption of the clan. It is a logical process — this is already our stance —, since the larger a clan and the larger the territory it occupies, the greater the possibility that its functions, especially exogamy, are taken over by the lineages.

²⁹ Such are the Omaha and Crow asymmetrical terminologies. In the symmetrical terminologies, such as the Eskimo, Hawaiian, Iroquois or Sudanese, the father's and the mother's sides are identical in their structure in a mirror-like manner, albeit the terms are different.

³⁰ The symmetry is even more conspicuous when we examine the kinship relations according to paternal and maternal side, and within them consanguineal and affinal ties. Considered this way — on the basis of the meanings of the terms published by János Láng (1978: 230-232) — 64 patrilineal relationships are reckoned. Among them, 41 are consanguineal relatives and 23 are affinal relatives, in opposition to 13 matrilineal relatives; among them 9 are consanguineal relatives and 4 are affinal relatives.

³¹ By the way, the terminology does not fully justify Láng's assumption that the kinship terms are distributed according to the father's, the mother's and the wife's clans. Although in accordance with the principle of patrilineal descent the denominations of the aunt on the father's side and the children of the elder sister are logically different from each other since they belong to different clan(s), this is not the situation in the case of the children of the younger sister and Ego's daughter. They belong to a clan different from that of Ego, still their denomination is identical with the terms for children of the younger brother and the Ego's daughter belonging to the father's line.

³² Research is not yet able to satisfactorily explain the formation of the Omaha terminology. As has already been referred to, it occurs not only in unilateral societies, therefore it cannot in general be attached to the clan. L. A. White, who does attach it to the clan, solves the contradiction of the Iroquois type terminology being much more frequent in the societies possessing clans, in the evolutionist way. According to this solution, the Iroquois system is characteristic of the young and weak clan system, while the fully developed, flourishing clans are characterized by the Omaha or the Crow type which evolved from the Iroquois system (WHITE 1939: 569-570). However, we do not consider the Iroquois clans less developed than the Winnebago clans of the Omaha system. From the ample literature of the question see also Lowie 1948: 69-73; Radcliffe-Brown 1950: 33-72.

³³ So far research has not devoted the proper attention to the geographical spreading of the individual terminologies. As it appears from Murdock's table taking into account continents only (1949: 249), that much is certain that we can speak about their establishment independently of each other. At the same time, however, within the larger regions, societies genetically connected to one another or keeping contacts with one another possess a common terminological system. Thus Murdock considers the Hawaiian type as originally characteristic of the Malayo-Polynesian language group (Austronesian), while in the case of the Indoeuropean peoples, he traces terminologies differing from each other in their details only to a common Eskimo type (MURDOCK 1949: 349-350). The independent creation of the Crow and Omaha terminologies as well as their diffusion within certain regions is assumed (in North America) by A. Lesser (1929) too.

³⁴ The primacy of patrilineality is supported by the investigations related to the Proto-Indoeuropeans too and this at the same time leads to the extension of the region characterized by patrilineality in Asia, and in Europe as well. Dealing with the kinship system of the Proto-Indoeuropeans mainly on a linguistic basis, Friedrich suggests that the "PIE kinship was patriarchal, patrilocal and patrilineal, and with a system of terms and statuses that would now be classed as 'Omaha'". According to his knowledge, we find matrilineality only at the Lykians of Asia Minor, but societies possessing a bilateral order of descent also occurred (FRIEDRICH 1966: 5, 22). For this question see also Wallis 1918; Miller 1953; Goody 1969.

³⁵ It is the task of linguists to evaluate the terminological reconstruction of László Szabó related to the Uralic period. However, we cannot but refute his generalizing statement that "under the circumstances of matriarchy the relationships of women were more clarified and those of men were more obscure, and it was longer historical development and social transformation which made keeping track of the relationships more refined and precise on both lines" (SZABÓ 1980: 22). For of the known terminological systems listed above, in four — irrespective of the law of descent — keeping track of the relatives is symmetrical, the two exceptions being the Omaha system attached to patrilineality and the Crow system of matrilineal character. However, the latter system is unknown in Eurasia (MURDOCK 1949: Table 72). As to his hypothesis, we agree with the evaluation of Tamás Faragó (1983: Note 145) by and large.

³⁶ However, these references are mostly of summarizing character and they generally neglect criticism. Thus Erik Molnár (1949: 21) argues that: "The most important proof of matriarchy ... is that there are certain remnants of maternal law ... among the memories of the Hungarian pastoral age, moreover they may be found in the Hungarian folklore world preserving the past." A similar stance is taken by György Székely (1967: 30, 32) who refers to Solymosy's study when mentioning Finno-Ugric totemistic and mythological data. Gyula László (1971: 11) also believes that "Hungarian ethnographical observations can demonstrate dim traces of the patriarchal extended family up to the present day".

³⁷ Attention to this was called by C.N. Starcke at an early date. He pointed out as a methodological principle: "Können wir in den gegenwärtigen Verhältnissen die Ursachen einer Sitte finden, denn beharren wir bei diesen; und nur bestimmte geschichtliche Nachrichten von der früheren Existenz der Sitte können uns eine andere Erklärung aufnöthigen" (STARCKE 1888: 20). The same opinion is held by Károly Marót (1945: 5): "... one must not force historical antecedents where no such things are to be discerned or what cannot be fitted into the given case".

³⁸ For the parallel existence of this institutionalized relationship called *amitatus* and *avunculus*, see Radcliffe-Brown (1952).

³⁹ There is need for a more detailed and extensive investigation in the course of which attention should be paid to the background of the custom of name-giving. The same may be said about the Finno-Ugric and Asian examples mentioned by Szendrey briefly, as well as about Nyári's statement of a single sentence that in Piliny, when a child's name is asked, he frequently says not his father's but his mother's name, and men are often referred to by the names of their wives (NYÁRY 1909: 151). Attachment to son-in-lawship is referred to also

by the custom of the nobility that "the children wear not the names of their fathers coming from far away but the family name of their mother ... there are son-in-laws in the village who are proud of their families having been referred to by their names and not their wives names" (ELEK et al. 1936: 48).

⁴⁰This appears from László Szabó's data from Jászdózsa (1982: 76). "Those belong to the same clan who wear the same surname. They are related to each other. The wife does not belong to the clan anymore. She has her own separate clan ... They are referred to not by the names of their husbands but by their own names, Ūrzi Cukor, Ūrzi Bugyi and not Mrs. Pál Tury or Mrs. Imre Vámos."

⁴¹See Bodrogi 1957: 4-25. Szendrey (1936) is wrong when writing the following: "Matriarchy starts by the son-in-law's being adopted into the family of the wife, the so-called *ambil-anak* marriage." What Szendrey is talking about is *matrilocal* marriage.

⁴²It would again be a mistake to conclude from the data of Edit Fél from Kocs ("There were people who looked upon the relatives on the woman's side as more important than on the men's side.") that it is a survival of the *matrilineal* order (FÉL 1941: 103). This practice — we do not know how widely spread it is in Kocs — needs further investigation, just like Edit Fél's following statement: "The child belongs to his/her mother or his/her mother's parents after the decease of the husband or mother, respectively" (FÉL 1941: 109).

⁴³For their definition and examples see Bodrogi 1957: 25-26.

⁴⁴For the Hungarian practice of adoption see Tárkány Szűcs 1981: 494-497. The author does not refer to a custom like that.

⁴⁵Just one example, in a Szekler folk tale the lad trying his luck addresses the giant as "my father-sir", to which the well-known reply commences (KRIZA 1956: 62). Solymossy's data are supplemented by Bernát Munkácsi (1931: 86-87) with Caucasian examples.

⁴⁶Opinions differ as to the question of the origin of the legend and of its genuine Hungarian character. In opposition to Sebestyén and others, György Király (1980: 113) believes that "The Hungarian Hunn legend was the genealogical legend of the Hungarian royal family which was adopted by us together with the belief of the Hunn-Hungarian kinship from the west...". In opposition to Király and Bálint Hóman, who is reserved when discussing the problem (HÓMAN 1925: 65), János Berze Nagy (1927: 164) considers it an authentic legend of origin and dates its creation back to the 9th century. Later Solymossy took a side with the eastern origin and the tradition which was still alive in the age of Kézai.

⁴⁷This is the way the legend of origin is evaluated by Antal Bartha (1983: 151). In a summarizing statement he points out that "The respect of *matrilineal* tradition is hidden behind the patriarchal structure of the legend".

⁴⁸In the case of the Iroquois which may be mentioned as the classic example of the *matrilineal* social system, the eight clans of the Senecas had the following totemistic names. Wolf, Bear, Turtle, Beaver, Deer, Snipe, Heron, Hawk (MORGAN 1961: 65). But we may also quote J. P. Averkieva (1982) about the totemism of the *matrilineal* Indians of the North-West Coast; in their case we also find names of animals without a difference in gender.

⁴⁹We mention here only by the way that those referring to Solymossy generally neglect his study published in 1926 which is diametrically opposed to his earlier patriarchal theory.

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THE CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF THE FAMILY AND KINSHIP IN THE VILLAGES OF
THE KÁLI-BASIN FROM THE MIDDLE OF THE 18TH CENTURY UNTIL THE MIDDLE OF THE
20TH CENTURY

Emőke S. Lackovits

Laczkó Dezső Museum, Veszprém

The Káli-basin, situated among the volcanic hills between Veszprém and Tapolca, is one of the most beautiful areas, a uniform basin, of the northern region of Lake Balaton. It includes eight villages. At the beginning of the century the villages mostly populated by members of the Protestant middle nobility were Kővágóörs (Lutheran), Köveskál, Balatonhenye, Monoszló (Calvinist). The other four villages, Szentbékállá, Mindszentkállá, Kékkút, Salföld were populated solely by Roman Catholics.

Some old settlements, Kerekikál, Sásdikál, Szentvidkál, Sóstókál, Tötöskál, had been destroyed in the years of Turkish rule in Hungary. The population of the other settlements was forced to flee temporarily. When the Turkish occupation ended, the majority of the natives returned after 1686 (BAKAY—KALICZ—SÁGI 1966). The lack of population was made up for by Hungarian people: they came primarily from Szentgál, populated mainly by Calvinists belonging to the lesser nobility but also from Szentantalfa and Mencshely, populated mostly by Protestants. In the middle of the 18th century, at the time of counter-Reformation activities of Márton Padányi Biró, bishop of Veszprém, this was the region where a part of the Calvinist chased away from their dwelling places found refuge (they came from Magyarpolány, Városlőd, Balatoncsicsó).

The potentials offered by the natural factors, as well as the form and structure of the economic activities determined by them influenced the family structure in addition to the way of life of the population in this region too. Another factor of fundamental importance was social attachment.

Written sources related to the 17th century are scarce in this topic. However, that much may be pointed out that the family names occurring here may be encountered in an unchanged manner in the population censuses of the 18-19th centuries and in the registers of births, marriages and deaths kept from the first half of the 18th century. It is primarily these records¹

which constitute the basis of outlining the characteristics of family structure in the 18th century. The accuracy of the recorded material may be checked to a certain extent with the help of the data of the population census ordered by Joseph II in 1784-87 (DÁNYI—DÁVID 1960). The characteristics of the family structure in the second half of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th century may be outlined with recent ethnographical data already. The same holds true for kinship in this period. The properties of the regional kinship system in the 18th century may only be concluded from the existing data as well as those known from other investigations (GUNDA 1949; SZABÓ 1980).

The oldest family name of the region is Györffy. The ancestor of the "clan" received his nobility from King László IV, as is testified by the diploma guarded in Pápa. Since the 13th century, the clan has lived in Köveskál, divided into several branches. The census of noblemen conducted in 1790 recorded thirty-one men in eleven branches, and in 1845 a similar census recorded forty-five men in sixteen branches.² It may also be seen from the data of the registers of births, marriages and deaths that the number of children was high as well (in certain years of the 18th century 10-12).³ As a consequence of this high birth rate in the 18th century, the "clan" still has offsprings in this region. As a result of the birth restriction started among the Protestant population in the last quarter of the 19th century, "clans" ceased to exist (Csatáry, Csögör, Parragh, Lakos), and the one-time Protestant majority was pushed back in all the four villages to the benefit of the Catholic natives and the people who settled down here later. As a consequence of all that, the number of children, influencing the size of the population, changed from family to family and from period to period.

The family structure of the population of the villages is characterized by the general existence of nuclear families (parents and children). In addition, however, the temporary existence of joint families (extensions upwards, downwards and laterally) may also be demonstrated from the 18th century. The coming into existence of the latter may have had economic and population reasons. They could be observed in the families of Catholic small nobility origin (Rhédey, Körmendy) and in those of well-to-do serfs. In addition to the two types, the existence of the stem-families (married couple+children+one or both parents of the husband) may also be classified as general (patrilocality). The families only lived in a household shared with the wife's parents (matrilocality) if, for economic

reasons, the man was forced to join the family of his wife. As it appears from the written and recent data, the families were not unchanged as regards their composition (SZABÓ 1982: 113). As on the Hungarian language territory in general, here, too, different types were formulated depending on the opportunities to make a living (TÁRKÁNY SZÚCS 1981).

In view of the fact that it was not only people belonging together on the basis of consanguineal kinship who lived under the same roof and shared the same bread but affines and non-family persons (servants, serfs, cotters lonely or with their families, lonely elderly people, widows) too, it is justified to separate the concept of family from that of household. These households included one or more nuclear families. Apart from a few cases, the families were not related to each other by kinship. It was generally characteristic from the 18th century that the households lived either with or without servants. Following from the prevailing family structure (small families tied together by consanguineal kinship), the majority was constituted by households with servants. Their existence was connected to the organization of work. The characteristic type of the family and household structure was adequate to the prevailing economic activity, viticulture. This ensured the labour force at the given time. Since this was not a region characterized by monoculture but a transitory one where viticulture was coupled with cereal production and animal husbandry, compromise relationships may be observed in the family and household structure (VERESS 1958: 424). Thus we encounter both the temporarily reorganized joint family based on consanguineal kinship ensuring economic stability and the complex household including several family nuclei (FARAGÓ 1977: 115).

It may be stated in general that the Protestant lesser nobility, the population of lesser nobility origin, was primarily characterized by nuclear families tied together by consanguineal kinship and households with one family nucleus, with or without servants. The Roman Catholic population of serf origin were characterized, in addition to nuclear families, by temporarily joint families and households with one, two, perhaps three family nuclei, with or without servants. They frequently included households accomodating cotters or widows unable to make a living alone, seeking protection. In a changing number, there were dwellers living under the same roof with the owner of the house, constituting a separate family and household, possessing no dwelling place of their own. In accordance with all the above-mentioned factors, the number of families,

households, and the people living under the same roof changed from period to period.

Sixteen family and household types can be determined in the villages of the region (LACKOVITS 1985: 627). These types may also be observed in the order of burial and in the cemetery structure as well; moreover they may be supplemented by three or four new types. However, the latter reflect not only the family and household structure but the kinship relations as well.

In the eight villages examined two main groups of kinship are reckoned with: consanguineal kinship in direct and lateral lines as well as kinship acquired by way of marriage. By consanguineal kinship they mean the offspring descending from the ancestor of the "clan" in direct and lateral lines. The kinship acquired through marriage (affinal relationships) equally includes the direct and lateral lines of the consanguineal relatives of the married couple. When speaking about kinship, they mean both groups of relatives. However, when addressing or mentioning relatives, as well as indicating them individually, a reference is always made to the degree of kinship, its close or distant character.

Keeping track of kinship has remained most remarkably and strongly in the population of lesser nobility origin. This phenomenon may be observed with a lesser degree of intensity in the case of the population of serf-peasant origin, referred to as free peasants. As to the families of servant and cotter origin, we may hardly speak about "clan" consciousness, keeping track of the ancestors, fostering kinship ties in a wide circle. While a person of lesser nobility origin may list as many as 260 relatives, a one-time farmer recalls 60-230 kin, a former servant hardly remembers even the names of his grandparents.

Kinship was reckoned both in the paternal and the maternal lines (bilaterally), though in the majority of cases patrilineal descent proved to be stronger than matrilineal descent. The reason for this is to be found in inheritance law. However, individuals were most strongly attached emotionally to the maternal line. Here actually two groups of relatives may be separated from each other where attachment within the identical groups is ensured by regularly repeated actions of the same type. This has already been pointed out by László Szabó in relation to the population of other Hungarian regions (SZABÓ 1986: 9).

The strongest ties could be observed among those living in the same village (local connection). If someone was disrupted from a village as a

consequence of marrying someone living in another place, the second or third generation of his descendents did not or barely kept contact with those left behind in the original settlement. It may be concluded from reminiscences that in the past century primary importance was attached to lineal and collateral consanguineal relations. Locality was only a factor of secondary importance. However, coming close to the middle of the 20th century, locality assumed a decisive importance. Here changes in the way of life played a role of outstanding significance. Nevertheless, it could be observed in several families that the rank of the related family was the primary consideration in fostering kinship relations. The marital status of the individual was also an important factor. It may be referred to as prevalent that kinship ties were maintained through families. Kinship relationships existed not through individuals but families. The family was the unit of possession, production and labour organization as well as the living-space for the individual (SZABÓ 1980: 64). However, if someone lived by himself, he tried to foster his kinship relations extended to every line.

There were limitations to reckoning with the ties of kinship. Kin with whom relations were maintained were generally to the third degree on both lines. Beyond that, relatives were referred to as distant. This limit was presumably influenced by the prohibition of the church to marital ties up to the third degree of kinship. The intensive fostering of kinship relations could be looked upon as satisfactory up to the second degree (second cousin) in the majority of cases. Beyond that, it was only the big family and church holidays (wedding feast, burial, wake) which maintained the consciousness of belonging together.

Certain noble families did not consider first and second cousins as real relatives either. The marriages of cousins were most frequent in these families.

Kinship established by marriage is referred to as distant relation. Keeping and fostering connections with distant relatives were always dependent upon the strength of the kinship ties of the betrothed.

The expression relative was used for referring to all the relatives. Within the relatives, the lineages were differentiated, thus referring to the "clan" and the ancestor of the "clan". The relatives only included living ones, while the lines also comprised the living and the dead originating from a common ancestor. The concept of "clan" was used only in the negative sense, it was replaced by those of familia⁴ and tüke. They included the lineage and then the family. Several families formed the

lineage and several lineages formed the kinship ties of the relatives. Within the complete whole, brotherhood and in-law-hood were separated from each other, thus separating the consanguineal relatives from affinal relatives. In the case of the lesser nobility the child belonged to the "clan" of the father and the mother to an equal extent, while in the case of the peasantry it mostly belonged to the "clan" of the father. The wife was only member of the lineage ("clan") of her parents and not that of her husband's relations. It was the same in the case of her husband, respectively.

The common ancestor from whom they originate themselves and their consanguineal relatives is called the jób: e.g. "My jób old father came here..." The denomination ük can only be found sporadically. The jób is followed by the déd, though the existence of several generations can be felt between them. The déds were followed by the grandparents (öregapám, öreganyám, then édesmama, nagymama), and then by the parents (édesapám, édesanyám, aptya, anya). The parents' younger and older siblings were differentiated together with their spouses. The older siblings were referred to as sógorbácsi, sógorbátya (male terms) and ányi (female term), and the younger ones were called sógor and ányi and sógorasszony (male and female terms respectively). In the case of those who at one time lived in a joint family the older sister of the young woman was addressed as nénnye (older sister), while the husband's younger brother was kisebbik uram (my lesser master). The male cousins of the married couple were mutually referred to as sógor. But the relatives acquired by way of marriage were addressed and referred to in the same way: sógor, sógornő (male and female terms respectively).

The father-in-law was referred to as ipam, then apósom, but he was addressed as kedvesapám or papa. The mother-in-law was referred to as napam, then anyósom, but she was addressed as kedvesanyám or mama.

In the families of the lesser nobility, the distant female relatives, neighbours, strangers, if younger, were addressed as öcsémasszony, asszony-öcsém, húgomasszony, and similar males öcsémuram by both men and women. If they were older, they were addressed as nénémasszony, asszonynéni (female term), bátyámuram, urambátyám (male term). A woman of noble origin, when married to a member of a non-noble family, was addressed by the family members as asszonyság. The elderly men of some rank (mostly noblemen) were addressed by the younger men and women as urabácsi, and the women of a similar social status were addressed as asszonynéni. The latter way of addressing was general in Szentgál populated by members of the lesser

nobility but in Felsőörs among the non-noble but well-to-do peasant farmers too.

A process of impoverishment may be observed in denominations and addresses: an archaic layer can still partly be found, but next to it an increasingly larger ground is being gained by a way of addressing not designating differences in age, degrees of relation, of a homogeneous character, characteristic primarily of the citizens.

When analysing kinship, we may not neglect the so-called god-relationship or komaság either. In Sándor Bálint's view, it used at one time to designate a relationship of sacrament. In Ernő Tárkány-Szűcs's opinion, there was a spiritual relationship among the parents, their children and their godparents, originating from the sacrament of baptism or confirmation (TÁRKÁNY-SZŰCS 1981: 497). Three versions of the komaság are known in the region: keresztkomaság (god-relatives of baptism, in all the three denominations), bérmakomaság (god-relatives of confirmation, among Roman Catholics), búcsui or mosdatott (on occasion of a patronal festival or washed) relationship between the godmother and her godchild (also among Roman Catholics). The latter relationship existed in our villages among women and lasted till their deaths. It is quite probable that it was a specific version of the well-known mátkálás (LACKOVITS 1983: 87; GUNDA 1949; SZABÓ 1980).

As to the person of koma, three types could be differentiated.

1. Not relatives but friends, neighbours of the parents' age were addressed as koma.

2. Relatives, but mainly distant ones, mainly the in-laws were called koma.

3. Koma was a consanguineal relative, a sibling of the first degree. This may first of all be observed in the most recent time examined by us.

As a consequence of marital relations, the second version of koma was most widespread.

Among komas, the following addresses were used: koma, komámuram (male terms), komaasszony, komámasszony (female terms). Up to the 1930s, the generally used way of addressing each other was the formal one (maga). In opposition, however, among those related to each other, the younger ones and those of the same age addressed each other informally (te), the older ones, however, used the formal way of addressing each other.

The number of komas changed from denomination to denomination. Among the Protestants, their number varied from 2 to 8-12 pairs, among the Roman Catholics there were only one or two pairs.

Though komaság was not considered to be kinship, still a stronger bondage was assumed to hide behind it than that of kinship. Actually, it was a firm relationship equal to a strong kinship tie. It extended the limits of the connections of a family, a related group, as well as strengthened them.

Irrespective of the two-sided, actual connection between the godparent and the godchild, komaság was inherited through two-three generations. It was maintained between the godchild, his or her spouse and children as well as the godparents and their children.

Concluding from the above, we believe that the three systems of connections of kinship preserve a specific institution of kinship. This is the had uniting the related families in all the three denominations, including the patrilineally, related men and women (including the collaterals too) as well as the sógors and the komas (SZABÓ 1982: 89, 98; MORVAY 1966).

A live manifestation of kinship ties may be observed in a specific form of labour organization, in the settlement arrangement among the lesser nobility, as well as in the order of sitting in church, the way of standing around the bier and the order of burial.

In the region examined by us no kinship or neighbourly associations were created for performing different jobs. These were done by the family together with the members, the servants or the temporary day labourers. The only exception was takarolás (transportation of the harvested crop). Here there was need for teams horses in addition to the physical labour of the participants. These activities requiring great strength surpassed the labour force of the nuclear family. Both in the families of the lesser nobility and in those of the peasant communities the people helped each other in work. The association of participants in exchange of labour networks was based on kinship ties. The communities created with the purpose of performing work were constant: first and second degree linear and collateral consanguineal relatives, the closest sógors (sibling, husband of 1st cousin) as well as the komas participated in it. The number of the participants depended on the size of the nuclear family and the land, as well as the amount of the work to be done. Those who did not have horses always received help from the same relatives and reciprocated by physical work. These associations allow us to conjecture the existence of the had organization.

On the settlements — primarily in Köveskál — those belonging to the same "clan" can be found close to each other. The same may be said about

the way of sitting in church among the Calvinists. The Roman Catholics were separated from each other by sex and age-group in church (BÁNK 1983: 284-285). Among Protestants, mainly among the Calvinists, the place occupied by the "clan" in the village community determined its place in church and the distance of the bench from the Lord's table. The right and the left sides were also separated: men sat on the right and women on the left. The girls sat on the bench of their mother and grandmother on their father's side, following their marriage in the bench of their mother-in-law, inheriting her place. If the bench of the mother of a married woman was left empty, the place remained without an inheritor, then the young woman went back there from the bench of her mother-in-law. The men, after leaving the bench of the lads, inherited their father's bench. This order of inheriting the benches in church can be observed in other Calvinist communities too: Szentgál, Szentkirályszabadja, Balatonfüred, Arács, Nemesvámos, Öcs, etc.

In addition to the order mentioned above, kinship spots may also be drawn in the cemeteries. Although the churches encouraged linear tomb arrangement, it could not really be realized either here or in the rest of the villages in the region north of Lake Balaton. In the villages of the region examined by us, all the denominations made efforts to bury those belonging to the same "clan" close to each other. Thus kinship spots may be drawn in all the cemeteries.⁵ It verifies the precept of László K. Kovács: the family (as well as kinship uniting families!) constitutes an eternal unity in the consciousness of the members of the community, its members are inseparably connected to each other not only on the earth but in the other world as well (K. KOVÁCS 1944).

When examining the kinship ties, one of the moments of burial is a remarkable factor: the order of standing around the bier. Two tapes may be distinguished irrespective of denominations. In both cases the right side and the left side (compared to the dead person) were separated from each other. In one case, the mourners were separated into men's and women's sides, in the other into the line of relatives and non-relatives. In both cases the decisive factor was the order in which the mourners stood. The main place occupied by the spouse of the deceased, followed by the parent if still alive and then the boys according to age. They were followed by the brothers, then the brother-in-laws, the grandsons, sógors, the cousins, other distant relatives, komas, neighbours, friends. On the women's side, according to the same order: the spouse, the girls or small children under

age, parent, sisters, daughter-in-laws, grand-daughters, sister-in-laws, nieces, other relatives, the komaasszonys, neighbours, girlfriends. It happened that the son- and daughter-in-laws did not stand separately: in the case of a male deceased, the son-in-laws were followed by the daughter-in-laws, while in the case of a female deceased the son-in-laws stood behind the daughter-in-laws. In case of a child deceased, the first place of the male side was occupied by the grandfather on the father's line, on the women's side by the parents. They were followed according to sex by the other grandparents, the siblings, godparents, uncles, sógorbácsis, aunts, ángys. They were followed by the other relatives and the neighbours.

In the other version, on the side of the relatives stood the spouse at the head of the deceased, followed by the sons, daughters, the parents, the godchildren, siblings, grandchildren, sógors, ángys, cousins, other distant relatives, komas. All the other participants in the burial were placed on the other side. In the case of child deceased, the grandparents were followed by the godparents, the siblings, the uncles (báttya), and the aunts (nénnye). If the number of relatives was high, they were arranged in lines: in the first line stood the spouse and the children, in the second line stood the siblings, close relatives, and in the third line stood the distant relatives and the komas. The following order of standing may be observed: direct family members, consanguines, affines (sógors), god-relatives (komas). An order of standing around the bier similar to this could be found in other villages of the region north of Lake Balaton. The coffin was followed to the tomb and the tomb was encircled in the same order.

Both versions of standing at the bier and around the tomb are connected to the kinship system. However, the first type reflects mainly the characteristics of the family structure. In the second type the kinship system is outlined where the relatives are separated according to lineages. Comparing our data with the research performed by László K. Kovács (1944) and Júlia Őrsi (1982: 272), it may be concluded that here too, just like in the greater part of the Hungarian language territory, the formula of the kinship unity rooted in the Middle Ages has been preserved in the order of standing around the bier. This order reflects the existence of kinship relations within limits and keeps them alive as well.

Notes

¹Population censuses of Márton Padányi Bíró, Bishop of Veszprém: 1745, 1757, 1771, 1776. Püspöki Levéltár, Veszprém. In addition "Number of Calvinist people in Köveskál 1769". Unarranged material (in Hungarian). Pápa, Dunántúli Református Egyházkerület Tudományos Gyűjteményei.

²Population censuses among the noblemen (in Hungarian): 1790, 1829, 1845. Zalaegerszeg, Zala Megyei Levéltár.

³Calvinist mixed register of births, marriages and deaths. Köveskál, I-II. (In Hungarian).

⁴In its wider meaning, the word denotes not only the family but more than that, the whole household. It must have been adopted from Latin among the lesser nobility.

⁵A similar phenomenon was observed by László Timaffy in Szigetköz (1960: 161-167), Júlia Örsi in the agricultural towns in the Great Hungarian Plain (1982: 257-275), and László Szabó along the Lower-Garam (1986: 44-60).

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EXCHANGE OF LABOUR IN TISZAIGAR
(EASTERN HUNGARY)

Endre Sik

University of Economics, Budapest

"... what is referred to as the 'sprit de corp' (corporate spirit) is nowhere as strong as among the peasants. This is what makes their lot easier, for lighter is the burden which is shared by others and the one who is a companion in misery is looked upon as a friend."

Gergely Berzeviczy

In the 'sixties anthropologists and family sociologists dealing with modern, industrial societies discovered that the nuclear family had not become dominant in the developed industrial-urban societies to the extent assumed by T. Parsons, moreover multifunctional primary organizations of a loose structure could be found interwoven in the social texture of big cities, in the face of the spreading of division of labour, individualization, secondary organizations on a wide scale. Since that time the existence of various broad kinship systems has been identified in almost every culture, and it has also become accepted that they have equally indispensable functions in providing services, socialization, groups in specific positions and unique situations as well as in the "emotional sphere" of families and their social-spatial mobility (LITWAK-SZELÉNYI 1969; WOLF 1966).

Related to the above, urban sociologists have refuted or rather modified the precept of Wirth on the narrowing down of primary connections and proved the existence of urban "villages", the network of neighbourly relations with several bondages and its operation, as well as the social disorganization in the case of its inability to function (YOUNG—WILMOTT 1957; PFEIL 1959).

Ever since E. Mayo the sociology of labour has been aware of the importance of primary organizations and informal groups, their influence upon performance, the formation of behaviours at the workplace; and it was also in the 'sixties that the trend of internal labour market and the segmented labour force market spread in economic literature, which, when describing the processes of labour market in the segments separated from each other, investigated not merely the ideal price-regulating market processes but the activities of the primary organizations as well.¹

The sociologists and economists paying attention to the secondary (irregular, black, etc.) economy which has strengthened recently have also discovered the role played by the primary organizations, the existence of "traditional" transactions which function as the weapons of the fight against the state (taxation) and the trade unions (wage regulation) (FÖLDVÁRI 1979; FEIGE 1980).

Aware of all the above-mentioned precepts and preconditions, my aim in the present study is to demonstrate in a single village the widespread labour allocation processes in the primary organizations and among them (belonging not to the state sphere but not to the "developed private sphere"² either), as well as to analyse the causes of their spreading on such a wide scale.

I merely wish to indicate here that the forms of performing work to be analysed in this study can be found on other scenes, within the framework of other primary organizations in the Hungarian economy of today as well, thus what is going to be presented here is not some kind of "ethnographical" specificity or uniqueness.³

The "case"

"I got married in 1972. I and my wife lived with my stepmother in a house of one room and a kitchen. We had two sons born in two years so the house soon became too small for us. We built an adobe on the yard and laid on water too. We also installed electricity so it was quite comfortable. I know how to make adobes, the family gave me a hand so things went pretty fast. We did not even think of building a house, we were poorly off, there were the children to look after and we also needed some furniture. I also needed a motorcycle because riding by bus was costly and I could only do extra work to make extra money if I could move around freely. And we did need the extra money but had to make a living and save up some money too. I am a bricklayer so I could make an extra income by working on building sites, it was better than raising animals, especially because my wife Sáríka was always working and my stepmother was frequently ill.

We slowly began to think of building a house too. At first I made a good fence. I got wood from the state farm cheap, I had it cut up properly and did the rest with the help of my mother-in-law and Sáríka. It turned out to be so pretty that people came over from the other end of the village to look at it too. Two people have already asked me to lend them the mould because they want a similar fence.

Gradually the material was collected on the yard. An acquaintance of mine brought us the bricks. It was cheaper than in the shop so the difference was his profit for the transport. In a small village like ours transport is expensive for it is difficult to buy anything locally and it is not easy to organize the matter either, so we were glad to hit upon this solution. Later we transported some things in the small van of my company too, with the help of an acquaintance.

In 1977 we arranged the formalities with the plot too. We concluded a contract with my stepmother, with whom we had lived so far too, that we would look after her. That was the cheapest way to arrange the question of ownership. Well, it does make a difference that both of us work for the local council — I deal with housing and Sáríka is in charge of taxation — so we have acquaintances who are experts on legal matters and know the best solutions. And, in this way, the administrative side was easier and went faster than normally too.

We also managed to put together some money. We were lucky because our premium bonds yielded us 200%, and we also worked hard. Thus we had 10 000 forints in the savings bank and also had 15 000 forints in building materials. We could save all our salaries because our mother-in-law helped us, we heated only one room and the five of us lived from the pension money my mother-in-law received. We only ate as much as was enough to keep us going. We only spent money on the children to provide them with enough vitamins and proteins.

I made the design myself too, it was only drawn "official" by an engineer. He charged the normal fees for it, it was not on a friendly basis. We did not pull down the old house of my stepmother completely, we just threw off the old roof. We lifted the attic and added two rooms, a hall, a lavatory and a separate bathroom. We built stairs leading directly to the attic and put a high roof on it, with a small loggia facing the street so that later on a room could be formulated without much trouble up there too.

Then in June 1978 we started laying down the base. most of the work was done by Sáríka and my mother-in-law under my guidance. At this time we received a lot of help from two families who are our kins, they live in Szentimre, they are the grandchildren of my godmother and their husbands. Earlier they had not visited us more often than once a year. If they happened to be visiting us they gave us a hand if there was need for it, I also did one or two things for them but they had never come with the definite aim of helping us before. At Eastertime they saw the material on the yard and told us to let them know when we needed some help because they also planned to build a house and a garage.

So we called them on the phone, they got into their car and came over on a free Saturday and we started laying down the base. Their wives also came with them, they cooked and helped us with the easier jobs. Even my stepmother did a few things to help although she could hardly walk.

Uncle Sanyi, our neighbour also helped us. He is not our kin just the stepson of the uncle of my stepmother. He is not a relative but we got into the family in a very similar manner. He was adopted as a child who had been forsaken and I was adopted in 'fifty-two when I had become an orphan. My mother had died and my father found it too much to bring up three children so gave us to three different families in the village and hanged himself.

Well, all that is beside the point, what is important here is that both Uncle Sanyi and his son Sanyi helped us. He just came over the weekends, as a "good boy", he did not yet court the girls, so he could spare the time. Of course, there will surely be work to do there too, they will also want to renovate the house and then they will need some help. Uncle Sanyi had helped us earlier too when I was making the fence, and Sanyi came over to dig a trench for the pigs just yesterday. The two Sanyis came to help us even when they saw that building would be longer than expected on account of my accident and I would not be able to help them.

We completed laying down the base on two weekends. The two little kids also came over from next door, they searched for pebbles which we worked into the base. They just came on their own account. They had always been browsing around here so we thought we might as well put them to good use. They were here during the whole time of building. We never had to ask them, they came anyway. At times I gave them a hundred forints to buy something for themselves.

Laying down the base was hard work. We worked from six in the morning till six in the evening, we ate 5 chickens and 3 kilos of meet and drank two crates of beer. And we could only progress because I was lent a mixer. The guy is from the village and I saw that he was building a house too. I called on him and asked him whether he would lend it to me. I also asked him when he did not need it and when I should return it. He told me he would let me know when he needed it again. He accepted no money for it, villagers are ready to lend each other small machines or superfluous materials.

Then came the walls. That needed two weekends and two weekday afternoons, and I and the family always did one or two things before work and after it. The kins from Szentimre and the two Sanyis helped in this work too, and two colleagues also gave us a hand. One of them, his name is Sanyi too, is a bricklayer. 2-3 years ago I helped him a few days, I did the skilled work of a bricklayer. He himself would have been able to finish the skilled work because he had big sons to do the unskilled work, but he was in a hurry to finish most of the work before the prices were raised. So he accepted my offer and promised to give it back when I needed it. The other, Uncle Lajos is an unskilled worker. I worked a lot for him but he paid me too. We agreed that if the work was less in the office and the weather was good, we would go and I would do the skilled work for him. I even took a few days off for his sake. We agreed upon 22 forints an hour, that was the money I worked for him as a skilled worker. It was a reasonable price. We kept track of how many hours I worked for him. He came to help me because then I had helped him do his house quickly and at a reasonable price. He did not, and could not, ask me to do it for free as he is not a skilled worker and he could not have helped me back. He was happy to get an expert and at a reasonable price.

There was to have been another bricklayer, the husband of the cousin of my wife. They planned to build their own house too. We agreed that we would help each other. Then they changed their mind, they thought they would apply to the council for a flat which they did not get, by the way, so since then they have embarked on renovating their old house anyway. Well, he walked back on the word he had given me, saying that I would not be able to return his help. That was bad enough for I had counted on him as an expert. I believe he should have respected kinship more than that. I too go and help one or two days for nothing but just to be thanked for it. But we are not angry with each other for what happened.

Again everyone helped to dig the cesspool, everyone I mentioned before. Then came the trouble. I had an accident. It stopped the work on the house for a few weeks. But I worked with my leg in bandage too, and it

was good that I was on sick leave for then I could do the work of a healthy man already. So, with the help of Sárika, my mother-in-law, the two Sanyis and the kids from next-door we slowly completed the walls of the cesspools in a month, and I was at home all the time until we raised the attic, pulled up the walls and put up the roof. On account of the delay, however, the kins from Szentimre quit us in the rest of the work. They could see that I would not be able to give back their help they expected and they had to start their work at home too.

And who else should I have invited then? My brothers, for one may mostly rely on his brothers, had been scattered. I do not really know where my elder brother lives, and my younger brother is on the verge of bankruptcy, so I do not want to put an extra burden on him by asking him to help me. He had an accident at his workplace, he keeps complaining that he has pain in his leg, so how could I call him in a state like this?

We did not ask friends either because we did not want to use them, we invited only those who said on their own initiative that they would also build a house and then I could return their kindness. When my friends build their house they too turn to their kins for help. One can always find experts among his kins, and on such occasions one is likely to reckon with the most distant relatives too in order to avoid having to pay for the work. And then came the big work, pulling down the old roof. It needs a lot of people and it needs to be done in a hurry for if it starts raining one has no roof above his head. We did this work for four days, day and night, without interruption. My mother-in-law and the little kids from next door participated in this work like grown-up men. They picked up the tiles from the belt and put them aside carefully to save them from breaking.

Uncle Dani, our other next-door neighbour, also helped us in our work. I had already had some business with him before. I concreted his kitchen floor and tiled his kitchen walls. He only paid for the price of the material because I told him that it was enough and asked him to help me when I was going to build my house. He was always on the lookout and hurried to help when there was anything to do. He was always there when the van came and helped unload the things. He also transported the adobe on the small garden tractor from the neighbourhood. Such things mean considerable savings because if one has no such help available a lot of material may be spoilt because of bad weather. Uncle Mihály, our neighbour across the street, also helped when we pulled down the old roof. Earlier I had helped him when he built his house and stalls. He asked me to help because he did not want to be caught in the rainy weather. The man who had started the construction work, Uncle László, had asked 150 forints for a day and he told me that he was ready to pay me that much too. I took off four or five days and worked as hard as I could. I would not have asked him to pay me anything for whenever I needed some instruments or help on occasion he was always ready to help me but once he had employed a man he figured he had better pay me too so that I should be there all the time.

The day we pulled down the roof saw a swarming we had never ever experienced before. No wonder that none of those people came to help again. Of course, the family worked till the very end and others came to help. The godson of my stepmother was one of them. I had helped him before and he only passed by and saw that I was working. He said to me: Pistuka! Do you need any help? Shall I come over? I said to him that it would really come in handy. He did come too, and then he let me know that he was in need of some pebbles and some help too. He wanted to build a water-meter. I worked for him for about three hours but he worked at least as much for me too.

I had a colleague, a painter, he also helped us. He is a sturdy young man. He got married not long before so we knew that he would also need help. I reserved him for the painting job, I thought he should help where he can make the best use of his skills. So it cost me less to have the painting done than if I had had it done by a stranger, but what was most important was that I had someone to do it because it is difficult to get an expert in the summer, they are really busy then.

I had already gone back to work when the doors and the windows were put into their place so I had to take a few days off. In this job I was only an unskilled worker, the skilled work was done by Uncle Miki, an old friend of Sáríka's family. He is from Debrecen. Once he came to visit us that he would help us with putting the windows in their place and we agreed that we would write to him beforehand. And that's how it happened. He worked here for three days, he did everything for love, he would not take any money. Perhaps some time he will ask us to help him in something and then, of course, we will return his kindness, but so far he has not called on us about it.

The first phase of installing electricity took place already in October. A retired colleague of mine did it. He asked money for it but a moderate price as he was a colleague. And we only paid him the next autumn when he finished all the work. That was also great help. Well, of course, I had also helped him a lot when we had worked together and he did some work on the side or was tired. So we only paid two thirds of what it would have cost us if it had been done by a stranger, and he made the designs too which he had accepted by the authorities much faster and easier than usual.

That is where the building operations were disrupted last year. On account of my illness we were not able to finish it at one go as is usually done in the country. We had no more help and we had got tired too. We moved into the only room that we could heat, we pushed the beds together and spent the winter there, all the five of us sleeping on those beds.

What came then I could mostly do by myself, I am an expert after all, so I needed occasional help only, it was mainly the members of the family and the neighbours who came over to give me a hand. Three unskilled workers who are dependent on me at my workplace came to work a few days too. I could no longer rely on the relatives. I had already drawn heavily on their resources and once you have reached a certain level you no longer count on them.

I figure that now I owe work to some twenty people although Sáríka, my mother-in-law and me worked very hard for almost two years. But if we had had to pay for all the skilled and unskilled work, we could not even have embarked on this construction. It is much cheaper to build a house with such help than paying for everything, but if someone pays for everything he sleeps better without feeling the pressure of owing so much to this, that much to that, I have to work so-and-so many hours on the house of this one, and then of that one.

It may also happen that one cannot give back the help he received before because the other person moves away from the neighbourhood and then one feels that he is indebted to the other person. And that is a very bad feeling and it is difficult to meet him. That is why I say that building a house in this way is advantageous from the financial point of view but it is disadvantageous from the moral point of view.

It rarely happens that I help someone and he does not give it back. There are people who keep track of things like that. They buy a notebook for that purpose and write in it: I worked for Uncle Józsi five days on one occasion and three days on another. It is not like a contract, some people do not keep track of such things. I did not do so either, but I had not helped so much myself. But I had kept it in mind too. I never wanted

anyone to help me for love, I gave back his kindness as soon as possible. We usually discussed it while we were working. We fixed the time and they let us know. It happens that someone says in three or five years' time: Come and help me, I have embarked on building a house myself too! And then you cannot possibly say no. And you can't even say that that I will only help you so much because you only worked for me so much. One must work and work, there is no getting around it!"

I. The concept of exchange of labour

On the basis of the above case study, a diversity of analyses could be prepared on the labour utilization and distribution of the household.

Here I will analyse the process and institutional system of work with the help of an anthropological approach because, in my view, this will best reveal the "economic" and "social" features of this phenomenon in their complexity. This is the "sociology of exchange" approach elaborated by M. Sahlins (1974: 185-196).

Among the jobs to be found in the case study there is but one which cannot be analysed along the dimension of Sahlins because no labour or its product exchange owners. That is the labour performed by the household.⁴ Hereafter this kind of labour will be referred to as self-exploiting, by which I mean extra work of a low profit.⁵

The other kinds of jobs or labour contained in the case study may be examined with the help of "the spirit of exchange". Thus we find work which is not followed by reciprocity (or only uncertainly, in the distant future), we find another type which is characterized by exchange in kind (mostly of labour) striving at strict equality,⁶ and we also find work which is done for money in accordance with the relationship of supply and demand (regulated or unregulated by the state). In the case of the majority of the labour performed for money, the transaction is realized among persons who are in personal relationships with each other, and those relationships modify the price of labour set on the basis of the state of supply-demand at the given time.⁷

In the following I shall speak about exchange of labour if an exchange of equal values is carried out (with the use of money or without it) in a transaction embedded in a manystranded⁸ system of relationships established among individuals in a personal relationship with each other.⁹

Thus it was not an exchange of labour when the design was made or when the bricks were transported since they were done on the basis of

prices set by the state and the prices calculated in the second economy, in the course of an impersonal-occasional bargaining. The participation of the mother-in-law and Uncle Miki in the construction operations is not an exchange of labour, their labour is close to the end point of general reciprocity defined by Sahlins. I classify the rest of the jobs as transactions to be included in the category of exchange of labour.¹⁰

Now let us examine to what extent the institution of distributing labour presented here and referred to as exchange of labour has spread in Tiszaigar.

II. Exchange of labour in Tiszaigar

First of all, it is to be proved that the different jobs recorded with questionnaires can justly be referred to as exchange of labour in accordance with the above definition.

5/6th of the jobs included in the questionnaires (N=353) can be called exchange of labour on the basis of the following characteristics:¹¹

1. The jobs are almost never connected to payment in money or in kind (product, means of production) which was calculated in harmony with a market principle of price regulation. At the same time there are few cases when the help is not followed (or preceded) by reciprocity. Thus the jobs covered by the questionnaires are not price regulating market actions and they are not forms of connections of general reciprocative character excluding their being returned either. In half of the cases reciprocation occurs with identical jobs and in a further one third with other jobs.

In two thirds of the transactions the two parties keep precise records of who worked how much for whom and when and in what form they will get (or give) it back.

Exchange of labour frequently occurs in a labour organization where everyone who "receives" work immediately gives it back in a labour organization shared with the "giver". In the following case, for example, there is no need to agree upon the degree, way, time of reciprocity since their occurrence as well as the quality and quantity of the work to be performed are guaranteed by the organizational form of labour:

"We always harvested maize together with each other's help. We gather in a band, one works for the state farm, the other works for the co-operative, and agree that today we shall harvest the maize on your field, tomorrow on our field. And we go together in the morning. Before we

get down to work, the host offers us scones and a shot of brandy. Then we harvest the maize, collect it and carry it home. Tomorrow we shall go to the other village. Four of my family members belong to the band. Every day we harvest the maize of someone else. Even if the work does not last for a whole day we cannot go somewhere else on the same day because the plots are far from each other. If 5-6 people come to help us, we shall work 5-6 days as well. We agree by and large that next week we shall harvest maize, go and collect the band. Who is coming? Then I convince this and that to come along, and then we harvest together on holidays."

Whereas in the case of harvesting maize exchange of labour occurs in a manystranded polyadic¹² labour organization, and there is no need to record the characteristics of reciprocative relationships, in the case of construction where the households exchange a diversity of labour of varying complexity with less certain conditions and dates of reciprocation, agreement plays a role of greater significance.

"We agreed with the X-family beforehand that they would come and help with pulling up the walls. We work in the same place and we agreed on Friday that we would start work at five o'clock on Saturday morning. They did come too and they worked not one or two days but four-five, and the whole family came along, the father with his three sons. And I had been the only one from my family when I had gone to help them. Of course, they appreciated my work since an expert can do more than they can. That is why several of them came. I don't think they had it worse than they thought they would, and they did not count the hours or the number of persons. They were happy when their house had been completed so quickly. Then we agreed that they would return my help and I would only have to let them know the day."

If the quality and quantity of the different jobs are very different from each other, they are generally compared in accordance with some universally accepted "norms" and even on these occasions accuracy is not the main objective, usually it is the length of the work done which is more or less kept track on. Even though the transaction is preceded by calculation, it is not directed at the disadvantage of the partner in the exchange, or at extracting an excess labour, but immediate reciprocation of an equal value is no requirement either; moreover if reciprocation does not materialize it does not necessarily lead to sanctions on the part of the community or the partner left in the lurch, just because the transaction operates embedded in a manystranded system of social obligations and it is not a one-time, anonymous, "naked" economic act.

3. The characteristics of the transaction are influenced by the social position and kinship relations of the participants, adjusted to the system of norms of the community. There are no two identical transactions, but it is not possible to conclude any kind of agreement either;

every transaction precisely expresses the position of the participants in the social structure of the village and in relation to each other.

Kinship, neighbourhood and workplace constitute the scene where relations of labour exchange are formulated. These bonds are general and strong enough to safely "stick" on them the series of labour exchange transactions. Kinship has priority but within kinship (which is very loosely defined if necessary) only those households are taken into account where there is/will be a potential of reciprocity; it is not the whole kinship but only "the useable parts of it" which are mobilized in the course of the transactions of labour exchange. Thus labour exchange units of a varying composition may come into being within kinship.¹³

"On the average, the gang harvesting maize is formulated from the closest families, kins or neighbours. We work together with them every year. Earlier the gang was larger but one of my brother's daughters has left it since they only have a land of one acre. They said they would not do it any more, they would rather do day labour for the Water Works, and so they quit our gang. So we no longer invite them to work with us because they may come or they may not, and one would feel bad because one would think that he is indebted to them or something, for they have no vineyard where we could go and help with the harvest."

Table 1 indicates that the kins participate in every exchange of labour, and it is primarily the kins who are resorted to in labour exchange, and the non-related labour force (primarily neighbours)¹⁴ are included only after the "capacity" of the relatives has been fully utilized. That occurs mainly where labour exchange is used in two or more jobs too.

Table 1

The composition of participants in labour exchange according to the frequency of labour exchange (%)¹⁵

	Number of labour exchanges		Total
	one-two	more	
N:	85	47	132
Participants in labour exchange:			
only relatives	81	42	58
not only relatives	19	58	42
Total	100	100	100

In the course of the labour exchanges stable but not rigid "nets of relationships" come into being which run through the village community with

a diversity of strands depending on the following factors: the character of work (the quantity and quality of labour force, its "intimacy"), the size and composition of kinship, the strength of constraints stemming from being unable to resort to other solutions and the strength of the system of norms regulating all that.

This is what Bourdieu (1978: 318) described in the following way: "Since such contracts come into being only among acquaintances, i.e. relatives or friends, their future is ensured by the present itself; not only by the mutual experience according to which all of the contracting parties are known for adhering to their obligations but, and mainly, by the objective relationship which binds the parties to each other. This relationship far outlives the given transaction and more safely guarantees the future of the exchange than all the explicit and formal legal regulations with which credit is forced to armour itself once it presupposes a completely impersonal character of the relationship between the contracting parties."

In Tiszaigar, 95% of the respondents contact the same people, low in number, when in need of labour exchange. This indicates the stability of the labour exchange relationships, namely that the identity of the situation and the interests organizes the general reciprocative elements and the local market (patron-client) relationships as well as labour exchanges — and all of them together — into a complicated network of relationship of a high "inertia".

III. The degree of spreading of labour exchange in Tiszaigar

Exchange of labour is widely spread in Tiszaigar in two senses. Firstly, exchange of labour could be observed in 70% of the households, secondly, where there was exchange of labour, different kinds of work were performed by the households with the help of exchange of labour in two thirds of the cases. Thus the majority of the households are forced to resort to it, and are also in a position to make use of it, on the other hand, where exchange of labour relationships are formulated, there it is used not in one or two jobs but in several jobs of different character by the household.¹⁶

So I believe that exchange of labour is a widely spread institution of division of labour in Tiszaigar. Then I examined whether exchange of labour is spread to the same extent in the society of Tiszaigar or

there are social strata where it may be encountered more or less frequently than in the rest.

I found no difference in the utilization of exchange of labour when investigating the place occupied by the head of the household or the whole household in the social structure. The household of agricultural and industrial skilled or unskilled workers participated in exchange of labour just like the low number of the local intellectuals.

I only found four dimensions along which a difference — though not too significant — could be observed in the degree of spreading of exchange of labour.

In 70% of the 210 households included in the survey there was exchange of labour, but this value was 76% in the households where there are more active earners than the family members whom they cater for (N=61), in the households including two generations (N=115) it reached 75%, in those of landowner and servant origin it was 76 and 85% (N=55 and 40, respectively) and in the households of animal breeders this value amounted to 78% (N=109).¹⁷

Thus there is no great "dispersion" in the use of exchange of labour in Tiszaigar; and what may still be experienced is not among the social strata of the village but among the households of a different family cycle and economic system.

Unfortunately, it was not possible to investigate the economic systems, therefore here it may only be pointed out that animal breeding contains no labour processes requiring reciprocal exchange of labour for these jobs are generally performed by the family itself. The fact that exchange of labour is especially widely spread in these households is the consequence of obtaining fodder — growing, harvesting maize (the necessary work is either done on the own plot of the household or people enter in such labour relationships for receiving a part of the produce in return for their work), or this phenomenon may be encountered in these households more frequently independently of animal breeding. In this case animal breeding is merely an indicator of the aspiration and ability to accumulate which presupposes frequent reciprocal exchange of labour in the given situation too.¹⁸

The difference to be found in the family cycle also indicates that exchange of labour is characteristic of every household in Tiszaigar with the exception of the households in a specific situation.¹⁹ For the households where reciprocal exchange of labour occurred relatively infrequently

at the time of the survey, may have belonged to those dealing with animal husbandry, building houses, i.e. frequently using exchange of labour, ten years ago. They had stopped those activities by the time of the survey, their aspiration and ability to accumulate had expired, and their need for reciprocal exchange of labour had decreased. Since there were fewer family members in good health, able to perform substantial work, the ability of the household to reciprocate the help received was also limited. (Let us not forget, however, that there was reciprocal exchange of labour in close to 60% of the households too where is no animal breeding and active earners. Thus exchange of labour is utilized by the majority of those households as well.²⁰ In the given village these households would be unable to function without exchange of labour because exchange of labour is necessary not only for accumulation but for the activities of everyday life too,²¹ though less and of a different nature.

Table 2 demonstrates that "stagnant" and "accumulating" one- and two-generation households use exchange of labour in different fields.

Table 2

The distribution of the participants in the most frequent types of exchange of labour according to the composition of the household (%)

	Maize harvesting	Harvesting other plants	Con- struction	Sample
N:	75	43	48	200
active households				
one-generation	27	43	17	29
two-generation	59	47	69	56
three-generation	14	10	14	15
total	100	100	100	100
inactive households	16	33	15	22

In the one-generation households and in those where there are no active earners reciprocal exchange of labour occurs with a frequency above the average in harvesting plants necessary for making a living.

In the two-generation households exchange of labour is more frequent in jobs necessary for accumulation because they were in a family cycle at the time of the survey when they were able to reciprocate the help received and needed exchange of work for accumulation too.²²

IV. Why is reciprocal exchange of labour so widespread in Tiszaigar?
(Approaches to the analysis of the maintenance/rejuvenation of a
traditional form of distribution)

In this chapter I will examine in a thesis-like manner the factors why reciprocal exchange of labour has been maintained/revived in Tiszaigar.²³

As an example I have selected construction and agricultural labour because these two fields were mentioned most frequently as the scenes of exchange of labour in most recent times.²⁴

1. Whether I am concerned with the maintenance of exchange of labour or its rejuvenation, I assume that earlier it was a widely spread institution of distributing work. This institution may be supposed to have existed at the turn of the century, there are a great many signs which indicate that this ancient institution could still be found in the villages all over Hungary at this time (JANÓ 1966; SZENDREY 1938). It may have been a remnant of the disrupted clan or lineage organizations; it may have been a part of the production organizations of the one-time land communities; it may have been the settling of people and the system of state deductions that called to life these transactions and shifted them in the direction of balanced reciprocity in comparison with the one-time general reciprocative practice.²⁵ It is a fact that even in the 'sixties' ethnographers wrote about the transactions of the labour exchange type as the direct offspring of the ancient form (KODOLÁNYI 1963; JANÓ 1966; SZABÓ 1968).

By direct origin I mean that networks of exchange of labour established generations earlier are maintained within or among undisrupted primary organizations so that the offsprings continue the line of reciprocal services inherited from their forefathers. Naturally, we also speak about direct survival when exchange of labour appears from time to time within the integral community.

Direct origin is frequent primarily in the small communities less exposed to urbanization and industrialization, better preserving the traditional peasant value system, on the periphery of economic development²⁶ but there may be cohesive primary organizations which preserve an institutional system of distribution also in the middle of the town, in which the acts of reciprocal exchange of labour appear continually too (YOUNG-WILMOTT 1957; WOLF 1966; KROPOTKIN 1924).

Exchange of labour may survive indirectly too as a traditional institution which has been left out of practice (this may be interpreted in the case of a household, a community, a primary organization, a culture too!) but may be rejuvenated as a possible means any time whenever requested by necessity.

In this case we can speak about cultural mediation. (Naturally, the "rediscovery" of reciprocal exchange of labour is also possible. Under the influence of circumstances, this instrument may also be resorted to by households-communities which never used it before).

Thus exchange of labour is an ancient institution distributing work which functions in the villages of today as a tradition living by direct or cultural mediation.²⁷

2. Earlier primary organizations as well as the principle and organization of reciprocal help may have been an elementary instrument of survival. The transactions of the exchange of labour type may have existed all the time within this multi-thread polyadic system of connections. In the course of historical changes reciprocal exchange of labour at times vanished, at times flourished. It was primarily the consequence of a protective reaction to emergency situations.²⁸ The (re)-spreading of reciprocal exchange of labour could equally be at the expense of the frequency of the general or negative (market) reciproactive elements too. In the first case the spreading of reciprocal exchange of labour of "a more market character" is the concomittant phenomenon of the disruption of the primary organizations, in the second case it is the sign of the re-strengthening of the primary organizations against the market or the state. On such occasions, naturally, the economy is not transformed back into an ancient social organization but traditional instruments are revived, while a new social (economic) organization is established.

In traditional societies exchange of labour belongs to the "economic" (less personal) transactions, while, on the contrary, in the economies operating according to price regulating market principles and in the "state" economies it is one of the "non-economic" (personal-traditional) institutions. In the latter economies this institution makes it possible to avoid the use of money, the manifestation of the market principle to a limited degree or its exclusion in certain systems of connections and in the case of certain jobs. It does so by comparing different jobs in a way controlled by traditions, orientated to maintaining

equal values, regulating the transactions as "personal" ones strictly among the households. Thereby those households which could otherwise not buy labour have access to it too, and this does not place them into a client situation, this transaction does not result in unlimited exploitation petrified into a rigid situation.

It is just because of the looseness and personal character of comparison that reciprocal exchange of labour may be the cover of price-regulating market transaction and as such it may become the patriarchal instrument of exploitation.²⁹ The network of exchange of labour helps the households participating in it to have access to labour "in a non-market character" (but not necessarily cheaply), rendering assistance to those in a worse situation, at the same time it places the whole of the participants in the network into a worse situation as compared to the social layers able to have access to the state or market instruments. (They receive less from state distribution just because of their fruitful operation for it is not necessary to "pay attention" to them, while in the price-regulating market the households "collecting" exchange of work by preliminary work and obliged to reciprocate the help received earlier, fall short of the chances to perform well-paying extra work on account of their capacity being tied up already.)

Exchange of work extends and "shifts" in time the labour force of the household, and to that extent it is a specific version of self-exploitation. The labour exchange network secures external labour force for the households by working beforehand and/or reciprocating later, without engaging in a transaction of "purchasing" character. Thus the households in a "bad market situation" also have access to "external labour force", and they do not become fully compromised and subordinated to others although that possibility is also hidden in the transaction since this transaction occurs in the "market-state" economy as well.³⁰

3. In the market economies the transactions of reciprocal exchange of labour must be analysed in relation to transactions operating according to the market principle since in such economies exchange of labour operates just against such transactions (and, in the minority of cases, besides them).

Exchange of labour appears as a social stratum-culture-specific institution in segmented economies. It facilitates groups and labour processes in which market and state distribution does not work for some reason.

Thus in economies based upon state distribution and/or the market reciprocal exchange of labour is spread in jobs and among people where the households themselves could not do the work by themselves, they have no power or/and money to purchase it, and even if they do have the money, solvent demand cannot be satisfied on account of state or market labour shortage. It is a precondition of exchange of labour coming into existence that the households should live in a social organization where it is possible to implement exchange of labour.

4. In rural construction exchange of labour has survived because the rural inhabitants do not receive the labour force necessary for construction from the state (building operations are carried out almost completely from the own resources of the villagers)³¹ and "state labour force" could only find its way to the private builders if building were carried out by the state or the co-operatives (through work performed in the primary economy), but they cannot buy sufficient labour force in the market either, partly — and this holds true for quite a lot of people — because they do not have enough money and partly because labour supply in the market is low.

In the case of rural boom, on account of an increase in solvent demand, the number of houses built based upon wage work increases (HOFFMANN 1975). The role of wage work grows on account of the multiplication of skilled jobs and the increasing lack of skilled workers. In building private houses, the main reason for the lack of skilled labour is that the first economy makes use of almost all the labour force accessible in construction for 8 hours a day. In villages commuting continues to distract further time from the price regulating market of house building, and the same influence is exerted by the attraction of higher prices established in the price regulating market of urban construction. (As a side effect, commuting "brings home" the necessary labour force to the urban price regulating market.)

5. To be included in the network of exchange of labour of house building means a direct economic advantage and an indirect social advantage too because it is getting increasingly more "economical" to eliminate the growing wages and the lack of labour force with the help of exchange of labour — and that is the only way possible too; on the other hand, the network of exchange of labour is contacted with social systems which are the prime movers of social success, such as kinship systems, patron-client relationships, power groups and associations.

6. According to the peasant value system, to pay for work "does not do" even if the sources are available. This is the traditional strategy of accumulation, at the same time the "respect" for money of those earning a living or accumulation with hard work. (Let us not forget that in the village the money necessary for building a house is earned by agricultural work in general, primarily by animal breeding, but anyway through regular self-exploiting activities, and that, in accordance with the peasant value system, is not compatible with spending money on work related to construction.)

To have all work done for money is impossible also because material can only be purchased for money to an increasing extent. Whereas the prices of materials are raised by the state rapidly too, and shortage economy burdens rural construction with the extra expenses necessary for obtaining the materials as well. (It may be supposed that the expenses of looking for the materials are also higher here than in the urban settlements; the expenses of travelling, transport, but also "tips" are higher for the "strangers".) The rural households, wherever possible, pay for the extra expenses by self-exploitation and exchange of labour. This "replacement" of spending money is acceptable to them even at the expense of a great deal of self-exploitation and exchange of labour since they look upon work done by themselves either not as spending money or as different expenses (CHAYANOV 1966).

Self-exploitation and reciprocal exchange of labour are necessary also because skilled labour is in a shortage in villages. This leads not only to the increase in the price of skilled work but enforcing "obligatory" exchange of labour in the case of absolute shortage.

It must be pointed out here that the "void" left by the state and the market in rural construction cannot be filled in by self-exploitation since the households of today are too small for that. (And there is always a shortage in "men" doing hard and complicated physical work in the households, and they too are mostly tied up in the urban first economy. At the same time the technology of house building requires the harmonization of several people's work in several phases, and it limits the building season to the middle 8-9 months of the year too. (Construction exceeding the building season multiplies the hardships of the life of the households, and construction lasting for several years increases the chances of pauperization (BERKOVICS 1976).

Under the influence of shortage of labour, the households may also utilize reciprocal exchange of labour by giving it as an "extra" in addition to money.

It seems to contradict my assumption related to the lack of skilled workers that the different types of skilled work to be used in building houses are generally known in the villages. (Here I have in mind not necessarily a skilled worker's certificate but the knowledge necessary for carrying out the work properly and safely.) It is the special knowledge of construction spread in a wide circle which enables private building to have access to labour force after working hours too and makes it possible to exchange different kinds of skilled work within the network of labour exchange. (Unskilled work can only be sold for skilled work to a limited degree because unskilled work can more easily be supplied by the relatives and other primary organizations but unskilled workers' deficiency on the price regulating market is lower too.) Thus the lack of skilled workers is caused not by the lack of expertise but that of capacity.

7. Exchange of labour has remained in agricultural small-scale production where and because the co-operative cannot or does not want to provide machine work supplementing human labour and the own labour force of the household is not sufficient for performing the work. Agricultural work is more tied to time than the work of building a house, and although in the former case most of the work is done by women, which may be provided by the households of today more easily, a great deal of hard work must be performed within a short period of time, thus the households are forced to resort to exchange of labour here too. (It is impossible to fully mechanize agricultural work within the household, it is getting increasingly more expensive and more difficult to buy day labour on the labour force market since the state sucks away unskilled labour force from here too and what is left behind is used by all the households for their own petty commodity production.)

May I note here that the rapidity and urgency of performing work is warranted not only by natural factors but also by the fact that it is necessary to co-ordinate the work of many people properly because a larger group of people who are not members of the household can only be utilized for a short period of time. On the other hand, the fate of future exchanges of labour depends upon whether the given group is operated smoothly or not.

Since the workers come from outside the household, it is necessary to make sure that the activities follow each other as closely as possible (and that always requires increased speed) also because there are a great many factors of uncertainty and there is no guarantee that the labour force promised can come on other occasions too if necessary. "Personal guarantee" can only be used up to a limited extent because hurrying the people too frequently or putting off things threaten to disrupt the connections.

8. Reciprocal exchange of labour would not be so widely spread if the work to be done could be replaced by machines or technology to be "handled" by the household. In this case there would be no need for state or market labour force and the work of the household would not have a character of self-exploiting either.

In the case of house building, the increase in skilled work and the technological changes display a process going in the opposite direction. The necessary small machines, the more up-to-date materials do not simplify but at best speed up the work, and few households have access to them too. (Since one household does not build a house regularly, it would not be economical to invest in such matters. State or market hiring has not been established in the villages, and it seems that the presently functioning networks of hiring and reciprocating labour are not able to take the burden of investing in such things off the shoulders of the households the way it used to be earlier.)³²

The supply of small-scale agricultural units with machines is not significant.³³ The fear from the strengthening of peasant farms has always induced the state to curb that supply, but the peasant farms did not really dare to invest too much in production because they were afraid of the rejuvenation of "belt-tightening" policies to be applied at will, against which nothing can be done merely by efficient farming. Even so, the mechanization and technological development of large-scale agricultural units, and based upon it the organization of labour force and machinery supply of the small farms through co-operatives and special groups purchasing and consumption, have led to the termination of exchange of labour in a number of fields.³⁴

9. The survival of exchange of labour is supported by the increased demand for rural construction. As a result of moving away from the parents after young people get married increasingly more quickly (ZSIGMOND 1978), a number of new houses must be built, and that is quite different from the speed of construction characteristic of the earlier decades. This is sup-

ported by the competition spirit requiring larger and more expensive houses, based upon the rural boom and the traditional value system, but also by the fear from the possible termination of the boom. The house erected today solves the housing problem of the generations to come and it can also be bequeathed and represents a wealth that does not deteriorate (KENÉZ 1978).

The house creates a new, independent economic unit which is also true if the new household does not immediately make use of this possibility.

Beyond the traditional sign of status, the house must also function as a status symbol which lays the basis as well as strengthens the power prestige relationships within the individualizing community by making them visible.³⁵

10. Since the 'sixties, the state has urged building houses and agricultural small commodity production from private resources (even though it does not support them at times). It makes it possible for the households to use their own labour force and exchange of labour to be connected to it in agricultural commodity production.³⁶ The state "encourages" the builders with lending money and administrative facilities to start building activities from their own resources — which cannot be utilized by the state in any other way³⁷ — thus increasing the property of the state (and their own too), lifting a part of the burden of building flats from the shoulders of the state. The agricultural products thus produced as well as the houses built also constitute a basis for taxation. The new houses indirectly increase the population (within it primarily the stratum of agricultural small commodity producers) and alleviate the pace of migration to the cities and towns.

In most recent times, the number of private houses built has decreased, the state tries to encourage the households to engage in construction again by selling plots and improving the conditions of giving loans through the National Savings Bank, while it significantly drains the money produced in the villages by raising the price of materials.

At the same time it is the source of a significant problem for the state and the enterprises that they are forced to integrate the self-exploiting strategies of the households operating through exchange of labour. The households are forced and also interested in not being disrupted from the first economy but they operate as "economic units" capable of using their own independent strategies when "saving" their labour force from the

primary economy by keeping back their performance. It is only obvious that the households becoming independent of the state-enterprise strategies, their strengthening and differentiation pose problems for the state.

In addition, exchange of labour "infiltrates" into the state sphere, there it appears in the form of corruption, nepotism, increases the power of informal organizations, the patron-client networks.

11. Exchange of labour cannot function outside the primary organizations. Following an unsuccessful struggle against state power, the old clan-lineage organization, the village community, the joint family vanished. The kinship organizations connecting the nuclear families of a loose structure, the communities of neighbours are informal groups established within the modern bureaucratic organizations in the Weberian sense, the patron-client networks interwoven in all the spheres of society are viable in complex societies too, moreover, they function just against increasing state supervision and market individualization. It is these institutions which preserve and "rediscover" the institution of exchange of labour.

They are the descendents of traditional primary organizations but they operate differently. One of their functions may be to establish labour exchange networks in case of need. These networks at times temporarily connect separated households placed among several primary organizations, generally within a primary organization, in order to manifest common interests. These action groups³⁸ are not constant, their organization is not based upon the omnipotence and exclusiveness of traditional primary units either, but they come into existence as a result of the independent decisions of independent households within the framework of an institutional system of several alternatives. This network of exchange of labour may easily be disrupted, moreover the structure and scope of the primary organizations serving as its basis may be transformed as well. Identical situations, the overlapping of the circumstances of constraint and the available means, the similarity of traditions, the identical value system generally keep together these networks and the primary organizations themselves, which, however, does not mean that their composition is unchanged. The elements of the network (nuclear families) may change without the disruption of the network if they are parts of a well "standardized" mass culture or a homogeneous community culture.³⁹

(1980)

Notes

¹M. Dornstein (1977) separates the closed and open labour market, and believes that the former is characterized by its role of distributing labour expressed in the sponsorship of the primary organizations (kinship, acquaintance) as a risk-reducing instrument indispensable for the formal organization in the case of fulfilling "elite jobs" where school certificates are not looked upon as sufficient for that purpose. The role of the primary organizations played in distributing work is significant in the secondary labour market characterized by low incomes, instability, unskilled workers (cf. LEWIS 1968 and PETERSEN 1971).

²I use the concept after R. I. Gábor - P. Galasi: Magángazdasági tevékenység a mai szocialista gazdaságban (Private economy activities in the socialist economy of today). (Manuscript 1979.)

³Thus reciprocal exchange of labour may be equally found in the labour organization of the big industry (HEGEDŰS-MÁRKUS 1962) as well as on the new housing estates (KONRÁD-SZELÉNYI 1969.)

⁴The "story-teller", Sáríka and her stepmother were wage labourers from the household.

⁵This is what Ferenc Erdei (1977: 173-174) writes about the rural worker: "He must work without any moderation not in order to collect riches but to make a mere living. Very often he has to work on holidays too. All the limitations of working hours and free time benefits which are taken for granted in the cities cannot even be imagined in the village. The economic limitations of rural life are so strict that everyone must work nonstop. A part of the holidays are only partly holidays because the rural people use the other part for doing the work outside their professions which cannot be done by anyone else. It is at this time that the worker can work for himself, the farmer does craftsman's work and the artisan works in his garden or in his vineyard.

It is on account of such limitations that it becomes characteristic of rural productive work that in the village more work must be performed to attain the same result than in the city... Neither the farmer nor the independent artisan nor the tradesman can have a fixed working time, they must always work whenever it is possible, but this limitation is difficult to apply for the worker too since it is in his interest too to work as much as he can when the opportunity presents itself. And even if in certain professions there is a limit on the working hours, the worker still works a lot for in his freetime, he works on his house or is busy in his garden." Erdei presents rural self-exploitation in a society on the way to capitalism, and the quoted passage speaks not about peasants but the rural workers working overtime because of their dwelling place being in the village. Here we can find the two characteristic features of self-exploitation which, we believe, are also valid in the socialist society of today too for rural self-exploitation. In today's socialist economy self-exploitation may be looked upon as work done beyond "state working hours" whose specific and/or gross profitability is non-existent or low. It is characteristic of its spreading that in small-scale agricultural production one third of the working time comes from the earning population (ANDORKA 1979) and the low profitability of this work is borne out by the fact that the income per one working hour is 9 Ft on small farms. The data contained in Kovács-Francia (1979) also demonstrate that both among the non-agricultural physical, and the intellectual workers the income per working hour is lower where there are small farms than where there are none - to an equal extent in Budapest, in country towns and in villages.

Building houses from own resources is possible only in the form of working overtime, and it makes no sense to calculate its profitability since the "product" is not sold but it makes up for the needs of the household that cannot be satisfied in any other way. (It is quite probable that if such a calculation did make sense the gross or specific profitability of building houses would not be high since this activity is very expensive and needs a great deal of labour and in the villages houses are not so expensive anyway.)

⁶An example for the first is the participation of Uncle Miki and for the second that of the former colleague (Sanyi).

⁷Transporting bricks or preparing the design are of "purely market" character, while the work of the retired electrician is "personal market" character, as well as the work giving rise to the reciprocated work of Dani and Uncle Mihály, the two neighbours and the former colleague (Uncle Lajos) from the point of view of the "story-teller".

⁸See E. R. Wolf (1966a: 81): "A manystranded coalition is built up through the interweaving of many ties, all of which imply one another: Economic exchanges imply kinship or friendly or neighbourliness, relations of kinship, friendly or neighbourliness imply the existence of social sanctions to govern them; social sanctions imply the existence of symbols which reinforce and represent the other relations. The various relations support one another."

⁹This is the balanced reciprocity on the Sahlinsian continuum which may be placed towards the middle of the pole.

¹⁰Of the reciprocal exchanges of labour to be found in the study, the work done by the neighbourly father — Sanyi and his son-Sanyi — stands closer to general reciprocity and the work done by the former colleague — Uncle Lajos — is closer to the negative pole (price-regulating market pole).

¹¹In one sixth of the cases I found not an exchange of labour but work standing close to general and negative reciprocity. I had no opportunity to examine them in detail but 1) since these transactions take place in a state closely intertwined with the relations of exchange of labour and 2) since there are only differences of kind between exchange of labour and these forms of distributing work, therefore these approximately 60 cases do not influence my conclusions.

Two examples for the closeness of the intertwining of exchange of labour and the forms of performing work standing closer to the pole of negative reciprocity: Á. Janó (1966) mentions the following complex example from Alsófehér county from the time of the turn of the century: "The harvesting exchanges of labour of the young were the most notable. They hired the gypsies for their feasts for the whole year to whom the girls paid with a little money and the boys with day labour performed in groups... since the gypsies had no landed property, they sold the day labour to one of the respected big farmers before whom two judges of the young men took sponsorship for the young people. At the time of harvesting the lads served the day labour by working together."

Another example is given of the intertwining of reciprocal exchange of labour and wage labour in Kós (1972: 96): "Around 1910 István Jakab, married not long before, since his wife was at home with the child, could participate in exchange labour but alone and thus in return he did not receive sufficient help to cultivate his larger land. Thus in addition to exchange labour he had to hire day labourers too which he did by keeping the group reciprocating for his help rendered earlier for a few extra days for which he paid them wages by the day. (The lenders were glad to stay for day labour too because István Jakab was a funny man, and the young people liked him and were happy to work for him.)"

¹²As E. R. Wolf (1966a) suggests the connection is polyadic if it includes several households.

¹³According to Kane's view (1979), in a village where everyone is the relative of everyone else, exchange of labour transactions come into existence depending upon what the interests of the households are and accordingly some of the families call other families "their kins". His simile is that kinship is a "transparent curtain" which receives its colour from the background, its colour changes when the background changes and it loses its colour when there is no background with a strong colour.

¹⁴80% of the type "not only relatives" is constituted by neighbours.

¹⁵You have mentioned that this year you received help in Please tell me who helped you

Name	"quality"	the work done
1.		
2.		
3.		

Following this question we asked: "Do you rely on their help on other occasions too? 1. yes; 2. not always; 3. generally not; 4. no." (A separate answer had to be provided in the case of each of the persons mentioned.)

¹⁶We examined the generality of reciprocal exchange of labour with two questions: "How do you generally do the? 1. only those living under the same roof participate in this common work; 2. besides that you resort to extra help; 3. you have the work done for money; 4. you have the work done by resorting to extra help and also for money; 5. sometimes in the former, sometimes in the latter way." And also: "Is it a usual thing that people help each other in doing in Tiszaigar? 1. yes; 2. no."

The answers confirming the general spreading of reciprocal exchange of labour amounted to over 90% in both cases. The respondents believed that exchange of labour was used by the other households in Tiszaigar too and the households interrogated had the work mentioned done by receiving help on other occasions too.

¹⁷Origin is connected to the demographical composition of the households too. The proportion of the two-generation families is higher among the families with landowner or servant background.

¹⁸The probability of the two explanations not excluding each other is demonstrated by the following data: in the animal breeding families the proportion of refrigerators is 11% higher, that of the household plots is 10% higher, that of TV sets is 9% higher, that of washing machines is 8% higher, that of own land is 6% higher than the proportion in the sample.

¹⁹Let us say a few words here about the one third of the households where according to the questionnaire there was no exchange of labour prior to the survey. The most essential feature of them is that they do not constitute a uniform social stratum. Among them there are intellectuals (who went to live in Tiszaigar not long before), elderly, lonely women, skilled workers commuting to Budapest.

I assume that earlier (or later on) these households also used (or will use) reciprocal exchange of labour. It is not purposeful to be fully excluded from the network of reciprocal exchange of labour because it may result in economic disadvantages. (Only economic disadvantages because, in my view, in the Hungarian villages of today the households not participating in labour exchange are not hit by the curse of the community. These households too can rely on the occasional help of the relatives and neighbours and also on assistance in case of an emergency.)

Exchange of labour is used to a lesser extent or not at all by the households which occupy a marginal position in the society of the village and/or are self-sufficient in obtaining the labour force necessary for them. Thus it is not so easy or certain to have access to reciprocal exchange of labour for the discriminated groups of the village (gypsies, deviant families), the households leaving the society of the village because they climb "upwards" on the social ladder who are in a lesser need of it too because they are able to utilize the resources of the state and the market potentials. (Thus, for example, newly arrived intellectuals or cadres, commuting households not engaged in agricultural accumulation, large families with limited requirements and/or a lot of labour force.)

²⁰There cannot be a great difference in the use of exchange of labour by the households in different family cycles also because the kinship ties connecting the households are strong, and the lonely, elderly family appearing as an independent household in the questionnaire may continue to be economically related to the younger generation which has moved out already. When analysing the institutions dividing labour this means that the work performed by self-exploitation within the large family is transformed into exchange of labour after the younger generation has moved into a new house without a change having occurred in the labour organization. Thus self-exploitation and reciprocal exchange of labour are hardly separated from each other among the groups of a linear descent.

²¹For this see Serfözö (1979): "Last night his son Kálmán brought over thirty eggs to Mrs. Imre Gubacs to take them to the market with her when going to sell some marrows anyway this morning. His wife is ill, she has been bedridden for half a year and she cannot ride the bus... Tomorrow he must go over to Karcsi Géza to sell the sow to the co-operative, so it must be transported there by cart.

— They too helped us carry in the straw from the street which I had bought from the co-operative — he explains to me while we are driving along the row of the gypsies...

— We cannot make it any other way but by helping each other. We cannot really rely on our children. They are busy too. And a lot of them do not live in the vicinity but scattered all over the country. We cannot call them when we need help. Next week, for example, the sugarbeets must be harvested on our neighbour's field. Mengyi Sztrunga, our neighbour living across the street is ill. He cannot get up and do the work. But there are others who need help too. Who could pay the day labourers? We must co-operate if we want to have something done for we cannot make it all by ourselves. It is mostly elderly people who live here. Many have lost their wives, others have no husbands anymore. We try to help out each other. We go and dig the garden once here then there. We must have the stalks brought home too and have them collected. Then the neighbours will surely come over and lend us a hand. We shall never run out of work."

²²Their ability to accumulate is demonstrated by the fact that among the households which comprise two generations the proportion of those having a washing machine is 14% higher than that of the average in the sample. The same is to be experienced among those possessing a motorcycle (+10%), a refrigerator (+9%), a house built after 1960 (+9%), and a bathroom (+6%).

²³The reader should not be misled by the fact that affirmative sentences will follow here and so far I have talked about questions. These theses are just a first draft. I could have written the whole study in the form of questions but then who would read it?

I am not striving at proving the "pseudo-statements", it is only here and there that I refer to the observations of ethnographers, statistical data, the analyses of other authors.

²⁴The distribution of the labour exchanges included in the survey is the following: 21% were used for harvesting maize, 13% for building or reconstructing houses, 12% for harvesting other plants (primarily potatoes).

²⁵According to L. Szabó (1965) who summarizes historical and ethnographical researches: "Originally the Hungarian village was nothing else but the community of one or more large families of the same root... After that the community principle inherited from the clan society was manifested in the land communities. The action communities formed in order to cultivate the common land were organized on a territorial basis on account of the termination of the clan character of the village... At the turn of the 13th-14th centuries, rural autonomies began to be formulated in order to justly distribute the lands having become scarce and to manifest the principle of the land community... This process was accelerated by the complete development of feudalism. For in medieval society the individuals could only exist as the members of a closed community providing them with protection and rights. At the time of the organization of the estates in the 13th century, the peasantry also tried to formulate its organ protecting its interests, the village community... This old community legal order was conserved by the formation of closed communities... The power of the landlords strengthened which even more conserved the old community legal state since the village had to stand up against the landlord even more uniformly. For a long time the peasantry looked upon the village community as its only organized refuge. But the landlord did not try to disrupt the community either just to use it for his own purposes. The so-called 'village system' expressed not only settlement and the connections among the people but it also meant the order of production (this is what the order of lands, waters, places of fishing, judgement, public administration, taxation, etc. was based upon). Thus the peasantry was incorporated into the structure of the feudal order with a legal order and an organizational form preserved in a state hardly changed from an earlier society."

²⁶L. Szabó (1965) demonstrates such a connection among the closeness of the settlement, its social structure and the degree of spreading of reciprocal exchange of labour.

²⁷In the case of house building, according to Á. Janó (1966), this is explained by the "above-generation" character of construction: "... it frequently happened that it was not necessary to call the people to help when someone was building a house. The neighbours, relatives, acquaintances came without being asked. They asked: — Don't you need some help? Either I will go tomorrow or send my son. As many people gathered as workers for bricklaying were needed. If there were not enough hands, the acquaintances were asked: — I have problems with the bricklayer, let your son come to carry the bricks! Work of that kind was reciprocated when others were building or reconstructing a house too, work of other nature was not asked in return. It happened that help was returned only years later or not at all. They reckoned that even if the worker invited would not need similar assistance, one of his sons or relatives will need some time in the future."

²⁸Thus, for example, I. Szabó (1969) discusses the land community and its common labour organization as the institution operating against the oppression of the landlord.

I. Balassa (1973) presents "cimboraság" (occasional working community gathered for ploughing) as the labour organization formulated because of the constraints of lack of horses and the necessity of deduction.

In the 'fifties those settling over and the new farmers started to build a house only in possession of the plot and the labour force of the family. In such a situation the network of exchange of labour "based on mechanical solidarity" came into being immediately too. See Bakó (1963) and Szolnok (1953).

An example from the most recent times: the labour communities of people building houses without the permission of the authorities in the vicinity of the capital, whose aim is to complete construction as soon as possible, assuming that it happens less frequently that the authorities have completed houses pulled down (MÜLLER 1965).

²⁹This is how I. Balassa (1960) characterizes the different forms of reciprocating help.

³⁰Hallpike (1979: 118-119) calls the attention to the fact that the situation of the household which first offers money, animals or services (including work) in a reciprocative transaction is not identical in the non-market economy either. "It seems to be almost a universal principle that givers of things thereby become superior in status to the receivers; contrarily, a person who performs a service for someone else does not render himself by doing so the recipient's superior, but, quite the opposite, his inferior. This aspect of 'service' becomes clearer if we consider the case of a contest of gift exchange where the parties try to shame each other by successively giving larger and larger presents. If this contest were converted into one where not gifts but services were exchanged, so that the person who won was he who performed the most services, such a condition of winning would be indistinguishable from a condition of servitude and social inferiority." It is obvious that this phenomenon exerts an even sharper influence in the complex societies.

³¹In 1970 92% of the flats built in the villages were erected by private persons (Lakásépítési adatok, 1970). The proportion of flats built from own resources in the past 20 years has been above 90% in a stable manner (Lakásépítés — megszűnés, 1978).

³²This is what Fél-Hofer (1969: 174) write: "One of the chief goals of Átány households is to be self-sufficient, 'to have everything'. 'One strives to avoid borrowing'; nevertheless. 'No one can say that he is not dependent on anyone, because nobody can have everything.' 'One of us has this, the other that, so we lend things to each other.' That is the economic basis of the reciprocity network of the neighbours objectified as a community norm. Trusting in this network, without discussing and consciously planning beforehand, the households "distribute" their investments, everyone who can purchase instruments with which he can "contribute" to the system, and he avoids buying instruments (e.g. used for one thing) which is already possessed in the system, instead he "replaces" the investment by exchange or work. (It is a different matter that not every instrument is lent to everyone. It is not al-

ways necessary to give something in return for every instrument but it also happens that not everyone is requested to give the same in return for the same instrument.)

³³In 1972 10 000 small farms had 601 carts, 175 transporting vehicles, 34 tractors, 26 spraying machines. In 1976 in Transdanubia — which indicates a better situation than the average in the country — 100 farms had 44 grinders, 29 shellers, 9 horse-carts, 1.7 tractors, 1.8 milking machines, 4.9 pig feeders, 3.2 poultry feeders (VARGA 1979). It may be safely stated on the basis of the data presented by Fazekas (1967) that not many machines had been bequeathed to the small farms from earlier times since following 1949 almost nothing was produced for the individual farmers and in 1957 a half of the farms had neither ploughs nor harrows nor horse-hoes but only 47% of the farms had a cart with a horse too and where there was a plough too close to a half of them had been purchased before 1935!

³⁴Kenéz (1976) publishes the data of a survey held by the National Council of Co-operatives. In 20-70% of the agricultural co-operatives plant growing on the household plots needs no work where wage work or exchange of labour would be necessary because the co-operative carries out e.g. the harvesting, weed killing with herbicides, etc.

³⁵As I wrote earlier, there are hardly any state tenement flats in the villages and private persons do not rent flats frequently not only because there are few possibilities but also because according to the peasant value system this is a "poverty stigma" (see peasants without a house), therefore "árenda" (renting) cannot be a long-term alternative for the average village household.

³⁶In 1945 the network of exchange of labour was "nationalized" insofar as the population was called upon in a decree to help the others with transport and work (ORBÁN 1972). Up to the '60s, the "family" labour force used on the household plot ensured the living of the villagers, since then it has ensured their accumulation and a part of the labour force of the co-operative. In this way, the state was able to integrate through the co-operatives the work schedule of the peasant households, solved a part of the problems of employment, was freed from the problems of providing for two-thirds-a half of the population and had access to agricultural produce (DONÁTH 1977).

³⁷For in the course of agricultural small-scale production and house building the households collect "fragments of working hour" which cannot be utilized by the state by organizing the labour force impossible to organize by the state (scattered labour force) into working groups which perform efficient work.

³⁸Cf. C. Bell's category of "action-set" (BELL 1971).

³⁹If the household is isolated and has no access to reciprocal exchange of labour, its being left all by itself leads to self-exploitation to be used for a long time. This — just like the delayed construction — results in the formation of poverty culture. A part of the immigrants of the agglomerations are in such a situation (BERKOVICS 1976), but the household disrupted from the discriminated minorities may fall into the same trap anywhere (alcoholists, gypsies, etc.). (Here I disregard specific communities /communas/ and specific situations, e.g. natural catastrophies, when and where requirements are satisfied by general reciprocative connections.)

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THE DIVISION OF LABOUR IN THE FARM HOUSEHOLD IN 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY
SOUTH-WEST ENGLAND

Mary Bouquet

Instituto Superior de Ciencias do Trabalho e da Empresa, Lisbon

The problem

The images of Devonshire and the farmer's wife have long been associated with the promotion of dairy products by British manufacturers. The contradiction between the use of these images as sales promotion devices and the virtual absence, in reality, of women from contemporary dairy and agricultural production impresses the observer. In this part of south-west England, milk production is one of the principal sources of regular income for the farmer. Milk is collected daily from the farms by bulk tanker and taken to factories which serve different parts of the region, there to be manufactured into 'farmhouse' products by industrial methods. In this paper I will describe and explain the historical and material origins of the images and the reality, and examine the implications for our understanding of rural society and women's place in it.

The aims and location of research

In my research¹ I examined the composition of the farm household and the organisation of work done by men and women in it from the mid-19th c. to the present day, in relation to the possibilities for cultivation and husbandry at different phases. The location of my study was a large coastal parish in north-west Devon, named Hartland. The peripherality of Devon, on the south-west peninsula and part of the highland zone of Britain, and Hartland in the far west of that county, suggested that although not a 'typical' English rural community, this might be an area of particular interest to the historian and anthropologist concerned with continuity and change.

Methodology

The methodology employed was a combination of historical reconstruction (MACFARLANE 1977) and participant observation. Census returns of the 19th c., wills, the apportionment of the tithe award, and other parish records were among the documents used in the reconstruction. The main difference between this form of reconstruction combined with fieldwork, and historical reconstruction per se, is that many informants are descended from historical persons visible 'in profile' in the records. It is possible, using a combination of techniques, to flesh out the people of the past using the memories of the living, and to check informants' accounts against documentary evidence. The censuses, for example, cover the entire population over the decades 1841-1871, and when combined with other documents, such as wills, enable one to pursue specifiable individuals through their lives, and to observe domestic groups in the course of their developmental cycles. Elderly informants have in their memories detailed and idiosyncratic knowledge covering a similar timespan, about themselves, their families, and the rest of the population. From these combined sources it has been possible to examine the division of labour in the farm household in the past, the present, and various intermediary stages. The problem has been to explain why today farming is considered to be 'a man's job', as Williams states in "Ashworthy" (1963), whereas in the past women played an important role in agricultural activities, as will become clear later. What is striking about the present division of labour on the farms is that while men have kept abreast of changing patterns of production, women no longer appear to know about such matters and are mainly concerned with housekeeping, taking in visitors and participating in local social activities of various sorts.

Background: main trends in English agriculture, with particular reference to the development of the milk industry; 19th c. and 20th c.

It is necessary to give some background information before examining in detail patterns of work and relationships between members of the household, and other households. This background information clarifies some of the external influences exerted upon the farm household as a unit of production and consumption. It is within this context that social action and human relationships are to be interpreted in this paper.

Developments which took place in English agriculture during the 19th c. must be understood in relation to the processes of industrialization which were taking place at the same time. The development of the milk industry, which is considered here, is a particularly apt illustration for the industrialization of agriculture.

One of the most important factors behind the changes in agriculture was the increase in population at the beginning of the 19th c.; this increase was accompanied by a movement from the countryside to the towns (HILL 1977: ch. 1). The urban proletariat had to be fed with food produced in the countryside, the population of which also had to support itself. Agricultural production rose between the years 1813 and 1836, both because of the extension of the acreage under cultivation and the introduction of crop rotation practices which improved the fertility of the soil; at the same time, this enabled more animals to be fed during the winter, which in turn meant more manure with which to fertilize the soil. The decline in the price of wheat, however, caused distress in certain areas of the country. The circumstances of an area such as East Anglia, where arable farming predominated, can be contrasted with areas of more mixed farming, such as the highland zone (i.e. that area west of the Exe/Tees line), of which Devon is a part (see Table 1).

During the Napoleonic wars, wheat producers had become accustomed to getting higher prices for their grain. They attempted to protect their interests with the Corn Laws of 1815, but without substantially increasing prices. The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 is an index of the strength gained by the middle classes following their enfranchisement with the 1832 Reform Act. After the repeal of the Corn Laws there followed two decades of prosperity for arable farmers, although this was short-lived once imports of cheap grain from North America began in the 1870s. Cheap food for urban workers was the prime consideration for factory and business owners; their purposes could best be achieved through free trade which meant exchange with overseas markets on terms particularly favourable to manufacturers. In other words, they imported cheap foods and raw materials and exported manufactured goods. Their interests were therefore opposed to those of home producers. The trend away from arable to more mixed agriculture became pronounced after the mid-19th c. The development of the railway system in the mid-19th c. was another factor which contributed to this trend indirectly by altering the possibilities for transporting human beings, animals and goods. Links between the countryside and the towns were also strengthened

Table 1
The agriculture of Devon contrasted with Norfolk

	Devon	Norfolk
<u>Population (1861)</u>	584 373	434 798
<u>Total area (statute acres)</u>	1 657 180	1 354 301
<u>CROPS</u> Total acreage (all crops, fallow and grass)	919 336	1 009 087
<u>AND</u> Under corn crops	271 254 29.5%	449 432 44.5%
<u>GRASS</u> Under green crops	131 017	194 045
Clover, artificial and other grasses (rotn.)	121 939	147 782
Permanent pasture, meadow, grass	310 872	208 872

<u>CATTLE</u> Total	184 222	97 043
Propn.: 100 acres, crops, fallow and grass	20.0	9.6
<u>SHEEP</u> Sheep, total	769 126	596 683
Propn.: 100 acres, crops, fallow and grass	83.7	59.1

<u>Acreage under each kind of corn crop.</u>		
Wheat	111 768	189 398
Barley	75 312	186 925
Oats	82 023	34 227
Rye	214	8 647
Beans	893	13 364
Peas	1 044	16 871
Total	271 254	449 432

<u>Green crops</u> Potatoes	14 994	5 640
Turnips and swedes	75 757	134 489
Mangold	17 509	34 370
Carrots	84	1 072
Cabbage, kohlrabi and rape	13 084	5 271
Vetches, lucerne etc. (except clover/grass)	9 189	13 203
Total	131 017	194 045

<u>Other</u> Hops	9	-
Bare fallow or uncropped arable land	84 245	8 956
Clover, artificial and other grasses under rotation	121 939	147 782
Permanent pasture, meadow or grass, not broken up		
in rotation, exclusive of hill pasture	310 872	208 872
Total (crops, bare fallow and grass)	919 336	1 009 087

From: Agricultural Report, 1866.

by improvements to roads; whereas previously the coastal trade had been an extremely important means of transport, the combination of roads, railways and canals began to change this.

Until the 1860s, large herds of cows had been kept for milking purposes in London; they were pastured in the neighbouring counties while dry. Milk and dairy products were important items of diet by the mid-19th c., and one of the few foods which could not be imported more cheaply from

abroad at that time. While it is certainly true that some dairy produce was already being brought from the provinces by rail before the 1860s, the main part was still locally supplied. In January 1865, 8000 gallons of milk were transported by the Great Western Railway to London. In the same month of the following year, 144 000 gallons were carried. How can this increase be explained? The outbreak of cattle plague in 1865, which necessitated the slaughter of most of the animals kept in the city, caused a specific alteration in the relations of milk production between the town and countryside. The small dairy owners of the city switched from keeping and milking cows to handling the milk now being brought by rail, and distributing it. A number of dairy companies were established, each receiving milk from different parts of the country. The trend towards mixed forms of agriculture with an intensification of the numbers of cattle kept now seemed a profitable alternative to wheat production. Health Acts and pasteurization processes, introduced later in the century, made milk safe as a food in addition to being cheap (HILL 1977: 199).

The agricultural depression of the late 19th c., mainly due to the inability of the home producers to compete with cheap imports, was at least partly ameliorated by the cushioning effect of the landlord-tenant relationship. In 1870, for example, 10% or less of the land in England was owner-occupied. But this was not a pattern for the future development of farming in Britain, given the changes in the balance of power which had occurred during the 19th c. within Britain. The future for farmers lay in an alliance between themselves and the manufacturers who would process and market their product. Before examining the way in which the milk industry came to fulfil this role, let us return to the mid-19th c. socio-economic background of the region and the locality.

The social structure of the 19th c. countryside: Devon and Hartland

Devon is one of the largest English counties (1 657 180 acres); the population in 1861 was 584 373. In this part of the paper I will examine how this population supported itself agriculturally in the mid-19th c. The practices of cultivation and animal husbandry in early 19th c. Devon are described by two contemporary authors, Marshall (1796) and Vancouver (1808), who were among the first to be commissioned by the Board of Agriculture (established in 1793) to make reports on the state of agriculture in the counties of England. These secondary sources permit an interpre-

tation of the primary documentation concerning the local population and its socio-economic organisation to be made.

As Table 1 shows, the main crops grown in 1866 were wheat, barley and oats. Root and green crops included potatoes, turnips, swedes, mangolds, cabbages, kohlrabi and rape. The cattle population was 184 222 (20: 100 acres), 50 000 of which were milking cows. Sheep and pigs were also kept; horses and oxen provided muscular power. The wet climate of the north-west coast of Devon (annual av. rainfall over past 35 years has been 866 mm) has had important implications for the development of agriculture in the county. The plentiful supply of rainwater has meant that grass grows abundantly on the pastureland, thus making it suitable for grazing animals such as cows. Unlike Somerset, the adjacent county to the east, where it was possible for farmers to use portable bail milking machines later when the intensification of dairy farming occurred, in the wetter climate of Devon considerable investment in buildings was necessary.

Devon in the 19th c. was a county of large estates; the largest of these extended over some 55 000 acres (Rolle estate). The Stucley Buck estate of mid-19th c. Hartland (the Abbey lands) comprised almost one third of the total area of the parish (i.e. 5000 + acres). The estate owner had more than 60 tenants; other landowners had between one and nine tenants. The distribution of the population in the parish at this time is particularly interesting since it combined a nucleated village of the midland type with a scattered settlement pattern of hamlets and isolated farms. The hamlets comprised two or perhaps three farms of about 100 acres or more, together with one or two smallholdings of a few acres each. Smallholding was frequently combined with another activity, such as tanner, miller or cordwainer. Apart from the farm households and smallholder/craftsman households, there were also landless labourer households. In terms of the distribution of land, therefore, the population was strongly stratified. The landowners formed the highest stratum of the society; in addition to the principal estate owner these included the clergy and a number of absentee landlords. Below the landowners came the yeoman farmers, who were mainly owner-occupiers. Then came the tenant farmers; and below them, smallholders and, finally, the landless labourers. In addition to that part of the population which made its living in various ways from the land and ranked itself accordingly, local craftsmen provided other services which were necessary in a local economy at the time: blacksmith, shoemaker, wheelwright, thatcher and miller all provided such services. I am here concerned

with the farm household and other households within the landlord-tenant/yeoman-labourer ambit.

The population of Hartland rose to a peak of over 2200 in 1841 — the highest number recorded in the 19th c. or 20th c. Since 1841 the population declined, sharply at first, although with a temporary respite around the prosperous years of the 1880s, then decreasing steadily until 1931, after which the decline is less pronounced. The animal population in 1866 comprised 1853 cattle, of which 446 were cows in milk; there were 572 pigs; the numbers of horses, sheep and poultry are not given. This suggests that at the time oxen may still have been in use as draught animals — a view which is supported by Chope (1918). The importance of cows and pigs within the domestic economy should therefore be emphasized, particularly since both animals were part of the domain controlled by women at that time.

At the beginning of the 19th c. wheat was exported from the parish by ship from Hartland Quay on the Atlantic coast. Cereals were, and still are, grown along a belt of drier soil on the coast. Further inland the soil was wetter and heavier and only in recent years, with drainage and fertilizer has it become possible to grow cereals. Some land in the south-eastern part of the parish is so poor and wet that it has been purchased by the Forestry Commission and planted with coniferous trees in the period since the Second World War. In the 19th c., coal, lime, building materials and, later, guano, were imported through the Quay. After 1810, however, the decline in the price of wheat meant that it became less important as an export. This of course affected the local economy and may have been one of the reasons why dairying later became so important in the area.

Throughout the 19th c. the parish authorities were much concerned with improving roads and building bridges in the parish.² The improvement of roads and the building of the railway to Torrington, combined with the decline in the export of wheat, meant that by 1896 the Quay had been allowed to fall into disrepair and was destroyed by a storm.

The farm household

The labour required for the mixed agriculture of north Devon was organised on the principle of allocating specific tasks to particular people within or attached to the farm household. Although some of the farms were isolated, geographically, their composition which is observable from the censuses indicates that we are not here dealing with 'farm families' in

the sense that term has been used ever since by Chayanov (1966). My concern here is with relationships between members of farm households and labouring households, given the possibilities which existed at different historical phases for making a living. It is, then, necessary to explain long-term changes in the relationships between these types of household within the local socio-economic system as well as the allocation of work within the farm household in relation to specific external influences. The domestic organisation of these two types of household is central to an understanding of those areas of continuity and change in the local socio-economic system within which the position of women is to be assessed. The combination of Chayanov's demographic approach to the composition of the household with a class analysis of the interaction between households seems particularly well-suited to understanding roles both in the 19th c. and the present day. Together they enable an assessment to be made of women's responses to changing external social and economic circumstances.

The size of the farm household in mid-19th c. Hartland ranged from 6 to 16 in number (Census 1851). Labouring households were smaller in size, between 4 and 8 persons living in them. Some were members of the farm household by virtue of birth; others, depending on the stage in the developmental cycle, were recruited as servants. The heads of farm households were recorded in the 1851 census as employing a varying number of day labourers (between 1 and 9), in addition to the servants resident in the domestic group of the farm household itself. The relationship between farm households and labouring household can be conceptualized as one of servant-giving and servant-taking: whereas the farming family itself lacked, at different points in the developmental cycle, sufficient labour with which to work the resources at its disposal, the labouring family lacked sufficient resources for the support of its members. It was therefore necessary for the labourer and his wife too to work as day labourers on the farms. In addition to money they customarily received cider and the use of a potato ground as part of their wages. Women in 19th c. Devon, unlike neighbouring counties, did farm work in winter as well as summer.³ Once labourers' and, in some cases, smallholders' children reached the age of 9 or 10 they were sent as servants to work in a farm household which might be close at hand or further afield. Servants were usually hired for one year at Lady Day (March 25th) which was also the time when labourers and farmers 'bargained' and 'agreed' on terms for the next year. A labourer moved on from one job to another if he could get better pay for his ex-

perience or skill. The socialization of labourers' children in the farm household prepared them for life as members of the labouring class. While in service they worked with children from other labouring households and with the children of the household itself, unless the latter were going to school. Under these circumstances they often met their spouse and, on marrying in their early or mid-20s, would set up a separate household in a farm cottage, and thus begin the cycle anew. Thus farm and labouring households had interlocking developmental cycles based upon structural insufficiencies in each case.

Emigration and inequality

Despite this arrangement between households of different social strata there was, in the mid-19th c., when the population reached its maximum, a kind of 'structural unemployment' (FINCH 1979), evinced in the censuses by the presence of 'servants out of place' and paupers. Emigration to Prince Edward Island on the east coast of Canada, and other parts of north America from south-west England was very marked during the 19th c. Bideford, 13 miles east of Hartland, was one of the major ports involved in the timber trade between England and the east coast of Canada, following Napoleon's blockade of the Scandinavian ports in the early years of the 19th c. Ships carrying timber from west to east (for the shipbuilding trade) returned with emigrants in search of better prospects overseas. Cases in the parish records illustrate this movement (for example Vestry Book, Census 1851 and Wills). What were the reasons for this exodus? The structural inequality in the relationship between farm- and labouring households, based upon the unequal distribution of land, was maintained and even created by the system of inheritance which, through the rule of primogeniture, kept larger holdings intact. The division of smallholdings among heirs, which certainly occurred, was precisely because it made no difference if such holdings were divided. In the case of farms, however, other sons, and daughters on marriage or at the death of their father if they remained unmarried, received money and goods. Sons received more than daughters in money; daughters, however, might receive furniture, silver and other goods. Sometimes the other sons would receive a training, such as surgery, in which case the amount of money they received on their father's death would be less. For the non-inheriting son who did not move away, marry an inheriting daughter, or take up some laterative occupation, the

only possibilities left open to him were to take on the tenancy of a farm or smallholding, or to work as a labourer for kin or others. Given the numbers of sons and the limited number of holdings, together with the practice of primogeniture and impartible inheritance, there were simply too many men and not enough land: hence, emigration.

The leases under which people occupied land as tenants were various. The 'lease of three lives' was common in the early part of the 19th c. This lease meant that the tenant 'purchased' the right to lease a farm for the lifetimes of three people: himself, his son and the landlord, perhaps. The tenant who thus spent most of his capital on a form of pseudo-ownership was left with very little money with which to stock, equip and improve the holding. When the lives in question had expired, and there was no certainty about when this would be, the family could be left without even the guarantee of the right of re-purchase. Early commentators, such as Marshall, condemned the system, comparing it to a 'game of chance'. The fluidity of tenants and labour described by Williams of Ashworthy, was paralleled in Hartland in the movement between farms as tenants, or between farm households as servants or labourers. In such conditions of mobility, Williams has characterized the lease of three lives as one of relative security.

Working skills of men and women

It is against this background that the hierarchy among labourers and farm servants, based on the type of work done and the skills required to do it, needs to be viewed. The preparation of the soil for crops required human and animal labour; oxen, and later, horses were used to plough. Donkeys carried sand up from the beaches for use as fertilizer on the land. At the top of the work hierarchy was the plough man, or later, the horseman; if there were two teams, that is two pairs of horses, the horseman responsible for the first team ranked higher than the man responsible for the second, who had to do other jobs besides taking care of his team. Next came the 'man to stand the work', who cut wood, pared brimble, and did hedging and ditching — no small task considering the size of the hedgerows in Devon and the necessity of keeping the ditches clear in such a wet climate. Then came the cattleman who was in charge of feeding cattle, and who helped with milking. Finally there were the boys in service who learned from the older men. Despite the distinctions in the work done by men, the fact that they worked together with their master engendered a degree of mutual re-

spect and an ideology of equality. This could be seen from the treatment of the servants, who were at the bottom of the hierarchy, although of course this varied a very great deal between households. In at least one household it was the rule that servants were considered to be 'members of the household'. Because of this they sat down to eat with the family, except on special occasions. 'If a man is good enough to work for me he is good enough to eat with me', was the maxim of the farmer in question.

A day's work for a man might be to plough an acre; to make 50 fagots of wood, each containing a certain number of sticks; to spread 60 heaps of dung, four heaps to a butt-load, 80 paces apart. All the work revolved around cultivation, and the use of the plough, which was necessary in order to support the animal population and hence the human population of the farm. While it was not subsistence farming, nevertheless a considerable portion of what was produced was used on the farm itself.

It is possible to conceptualize the relations between men under these kinds of working conditions as a 'plough culture' which was separate from but complementary to the work done by women. Marshall's description of ploughing in Devon gives a sense of this idea:

The style of driving an ox-team, here is observable; indeed cannot pass unnoticed by a stranger. The language, though in a great degree peculiar to the country, does not arrest attention; but the tone, or rather tune, in which it is delivered. It resembles, with great exactness the chantings or recitative of the cathedral service. The plough boy chants the counter tenor, with unabated ardour through the day; the plough man throwing in, at intervals, his hoarser notes. It is understood that this chanting march, which may sometimes be heard to a considerable distance, encourages and animates the team, as the music of a marching army, or the song of the rowers... I have never seen so much cheerfulness attending the operation of ploughing, anywhere, as in Devonshire. (1796:11)

Later in the year the corn had to be cut, bound, carried and made into ricks. It was threshed during the winter using hand flails before the introduction of 'round houses', in which threshing machines powered by horses, to the area. At this time men and women were engaged in both harvesting and threshing.

Women's work, on the other hand, was concerned largely with the care of domestic animals, such as pigs, cows and calves, and took place in

the outbuildings or in the dairy which was located in the farmhouse itself. Daughters of the house and servant maids were required to help with milking, feeding the pigs and calves, as well as with household chores. Milk was made into cream and butter by the farmer's wife or dairy woman. Cows pastured on the soils of Devon produce milk with large fat globules which is best suited to the manufacture of cream and butter, rather than cheese. The milk yield of the beast indigenous to the country was considerably lower than that of the ubiquitous Friesian of the present day, so that this dairy production was on a small scale. Not only farmers' wives but also other women (labourers' and smallholders' wives) with access to a few acres of land, milked cows and made dairy products.

The development of the milk industry in north Devon can be traced from 1874 when a creamery was established at Torrington, approximately 15 miles east of Hartland. Farmers' wives in the locality of Torrington exchanged dairy produce for groceries. If milk was sold to the creamery, the skimmed milk was returned to the farmer to be fed to the calves. By the 1890s, eggs, butter and cream were being collected from Hartland, in exchange for cash; farmers' wives also used to take their produce to the pannier market in Bideford and sell it themselves. Improvements made to the roads made this journey possible with a pony and trap; otherwise produce could be sent with the carrier. Egg and butter money was used by the women to keep house. As a source of income for housekeeping, egg and butter money was important to farmers' and smallholders' wives alike. From the early 1890s cream produced on some of the farms was being sold to a hotel established at Hartland Quay, and served to increasing numbers of visitors who began to come to the area in the form of cream teas. Women's activities in the dairy therefore formed a separate but parallel domain to those of men whose activities revolved around plough cultivation.

Clotted cream, as opposed to raw cream, was made by gently heating the milk and then allowing it to cool so that a crust of cream forms on the surface. Cream was used in the household diet, in combination for example with potatoes or apples. It could otherwise be made into butter, which could also be made by churning the milk itself, either by hand or using one of the many varieties of churn. It is perhaps possible to find in the butter charms which women repeated as they worked, a parallel with the chantings of the ploughmen, which encouraged his team to work. One such charm went:

Come, butter, come,
Come, butter, come
Peter's at the gate,
Waiting for a buttered cake,
Come, butter, come,
Come, butter, come. (BYLES 1922)

The 1843 Report (see Note 3) contrasts the laboriousness of dairy work, 'work that is never finished', with the relatively pleasant outdoor work done by women on the farms (such as at hay and corn harvests, hoeing turnips, weeding, and picking stones; planting and digging potatoes; pulling, digging and hacking turnips; attending the threshing machine; winnowing corn; bearing manure, filling dung-carts, etc.). Unlike outdoor work, which formed part of the longer agricultural cycle, dairy work was based on a daily cycle which made it seem much more laborious and repetitive.

Technological and social change

Innovations in agricultural technology began to filter through to the area towards the end of the 19th c., with considerable implications for the labour requirements of the farm household, and hence its composition and organisation. Whilst the horse remained the principal source of draught power on the farms, a considerable amount of labour and other resources were expended on its care, and this put a ceiling on the level of production possible. The arrival of the reaper and binder meant, however, that less labour was required at harvest time and that it was organised in a different way from the teams of men and women who used hand tools, such as sickles and scythes. The first category of labour to be affected by these changes was women; this was consonant with the ideology which stressed the gentility and domesticity of women which developed in Victorian times. Ploughs and other implements for the cultivation of the soil were improved and manufactured at plough works in north Devon. The manufacturing processes involved in the production of these implements affected relations between farmer and carpenter and farmer and blacksmith at the local level. Such alterations occurred in many other spheres of the economy and social structure. The effects of new forms of manufacturing processes thus affected relations between households as much as the technology itself affected the requirement for and allocation of labour on the farm itself.

The reduction in the size of the farm household from the turn of the century onwards marks the beginning of the breakdown of the structure

of interdependency between households of different social strata, which was based on the unequal distribution of land and a particular mode of producing from it. Central to the change in the landlord-tenant-labourer social structure, and the relationship between servant-giving and servant-taking households, were alterations in the pattern of landownership. The economic and political decline of the landowners in relation to the manufacturers has already been noted in connection with the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 and the subsequent triumph of free trade. This decline was consolidated by the 1909 'People's Budget' of the Liberal government which imposed death duties and income taxes on the wealthy and a special tax on the unearned increment of land, to be paid whenever land was transferred.

The death of the estate owner, Sir Lewis Stucley, within a few years of this budget, meant that a number of farms were sold to tenants. The purchase of farms was made possible partly through the profits made during the years of the First World War. This outlay of money was accompanied by expenditure on new machinery and new kinds of materials for repairing and improving farm buildings; and for the first time farmers began to employ fewer labourers and keep fewer servants in an attempt to cut their costs. Genealogies collected during fieldwork suggest that there was some delay in the reduction of the size of farming families, since sons and daughters were needed more than ever before to help on the farms. Servants and labourers were, of course, still hired -- the former until the Second World War -- but in greatly reduced numbers as compared with the previous century. The economic necessity of keeping the patrimony intact meant that only one son could inherit. However farmers tried to set each of their sons up on a farm or smallholding if possible, particularly since their contribution in terms of labour before leaving home had become of such importance. As long as there remained a certain number of tenant farms and smallholdings, this practice could continue.

"Taking in visitors" in the twentieth century

The decline in the size of the farm household resulted in space within the large old farmhouses becoming available, when the children were young or as they left home. Railway transport had another effect on life in the countryside in addition to enabling milk produced there to be transported to urban areas. Railways played a part in changing the concept of the holiday (PERKIN 1969). In place of the Victorian gentleman making his

tour of the picturesque landscapes of south-west England, we may posit the emergence of a new concept: that of family travel to and holidaying in the countryside. Farmers' wives responded to a new possibility which thus arose: they provided accommodation for such families in the farmhouses which now contained smaller domestic groups. In those early days visitors received three meals a day, or two and a picnic hamper to take onto the beach. Over the years a symbiotic relationship between visitors and farm households developed. Women were already accustomed to catering for large numbers from the time when they had to feed a household containing servants. Daughters assisted their mothers, thereby learning from them the requisite skills. One woman for instance said,

When I left school I didn't go away to train up for a job like they do these days; I went home and helped mother, with my two sisters. We milked the cows, fed the calves and pigs and helped mother in the dairy... We took up to 12 visitors at a time, three meals a day...the labourer's wife used to come in and do the washing.

Visitors and dairy production coexisted for a while as ways of making money for farmers' wives and, on a smaller scale, for other women. Smallholders were less likely to take in visitors to the same extent as was possible for farmers' wives since their households did not change significantly in size and their houses were less large.

Farmhouses were two-storied and substantially built, the materials typically employed being stone, cob (clay and chopped straw mixed together), thatch, timber, galvanized and corrugated iron. In other words, there was a mixture of locally obtained materials and those which were brought in and therefore had to be purchased. Downstairs there was usually a back kitchen, where the cooking and preparation of food was done; a front kitchen, which corresponds to a present-day living room; a dairy, on the north side of the house, which was the coolest part; a pantry and a larder for storing various kinds of foods and preserves; and a sitting room or parlour where visitors would be entertained or guests would assemble on feast days. In many of the houses there were two staircases: front stairs leading from the front hallway and entrance to family bedrooms, and back stairs leading to the servants' rooms. Coal was often stored under the stairs which was convenient for burning in the fireplaces of the rooms on each side of the staircase. Some of the houses had bathrooms and water closets in 1911, but

many still had earth closets out of doors. Upstairs there were between four and nine bedrooms, some of which had sloping or 'slee' ceilings. Most bedrooms led from one to another, except in the case of servants' quarters completely separated from the main part of the house. Often the back stairs led straight from the back kitchen to a room or rooms overhead. In the farm households where servants did not eat with their master, they customarily ate in the back kitchen.

The money which came from taking in visitors belonged to the woman although she might pool it with her husband for some household purpose. It seems to have been usual for women to spend their money on improving, repairing, extending or decorating the house. In one case the money was used to convert two old cart lincays (open sheds) into another wing of the house — in which to accommodate more visitors. Women were thus able to make a contribution to the farmhouse, as a physical entity, into which she had married. Since women change their surname and move away from their natal home on marriage, this contribution was a way of establishing herself as part of her husband's household and perhaps balancing the situation somewhat.

In the early part of the present century young couples sometimes lived in the farmhouse with the parents, as occurred in the 19th c. If there was a cottage close at hand, however, they were more likely to occupy this until the death or retirement of the father, when they would move into the farmhouse. Sometimes the eldest son would, on marriage, go to farm in another parish on a tenant farm until it was time to inherit, and then he would move back again. The contributions made by each generation of women to the house were a means of establishing their own identities within the 'patriarchal' family. This manipulation of the resources which fell within her domain was not, however, simply a matter of personal identity within a kinship system, as we shall see later. Each woman contributed within the idiom of her generation; so that, in one case, the grandmother had had the slee ceilings squared off; the mother had a bathroom and W.C. installed the daughter-in-law has enlarged the kitchen (knocking down a wall which had divided the back kitchen from the larder); the former dairy now houses the deep freeze, and is also used for other cookery storage.

Why, then, did the women begin to take in visitors? Changes in the size and composition of the farm household and in the relations between households reflect the influence exerted by external factors, such as the price of wheat, the possibilities of dairy production given the

development of the railway system, the sale of estate lands, on domestic organisation. In these and other ways the local economy was brought, in a very direct way, into a different relationship with the national economy. The purchase of land and the mechanisation of agriculture were both factors which were forced upon farmers and which in turn forced them to increase production in order to remain in business. People needed increasingly cash for goods and services which were no longer provided locally because of the new relationships between town and country, engendered by a form of exchange based on the specialization and concentration of manufacturing and agricultural production in different areas. In the past, for example, the miller took part of the corn he ground for the farmer as payment. Hence the children's rhyme,

Millerdy, millerdy, dowsty poll,
How many pecks hev you a-stole?

(Chope 1891:40).

In the new organisation of economic and hence social life, the production and sale of corn became separate from its milling and consumption, so that either the farmer ground what he needed for his own purposes, or otherwise simply sold his product in the form of grain and purchased ready-ground meal from the merchant and flour from the village stores.

Government intervention in agriculture: the production of milk

The depression of the 1920s and '30s which followed the period of agricultural prosperity during the First World War, caused considerable hardship in this part of south-west England. There was no market for the increased amounts of farm produce and some, in desperation, sold their farms, either leaving the area completely or else taking on smallholdings and working part-time for the Council on the roads. Those who purchased land at this time included not only farmers but also one or two former labourers who had the opportunity, for the first time in living memory, to buy land. The rationale of those who bought land at this time was that at least if they had land on which to keep animals and grow crops for subsistence they and their families would not starve.

Government began to intervene in the 1930s, after abandoning aid in the early '20s, with the establishment of Marketing Boards by the Acts of

1931 and 1933. This was when the Milk Marketing Board was set up, and the government began to show an interest in encouraging the consumption of milk by the population. Milk collection by lorry for the Torrington factory began in Hartland in 1937. Milk was collected from 17 producers daily, and cream was collected from four producers three times per week. One now prosperous farmer described the Milk Marketing Board as 'the salvation of north Devon'. Farmers were thus assured of a regular income where for more than a decade they had experienced only uncertainty.

The production of liquid milk collected from the farm and pasteurized and manufactured into dairy goods at a factory profoundly altered the domestic organisation of the farm household and hence male and female roles within it. While cream was still produced for sale women still retained some hold within their former domain, the dairy. However, even in 1937 it is clear that the production of milk for the factory was already more important. During the Second World War the government gave further encouragement to milk producers. After the war there was a substantial injection of capital into agriculture in the form of subsidies to encourage increased production. During the '50s the Conservative government changed this policy towards the support of fixed assets (buildings, drainage, land improvement schemes, machinery) and producers were urged to make production more cost-effective.

In the early days of mechanization there was some sharing of implements and other equipment. However, the later pattern of grants for the improvement of holdings and the purchase of equipment was geared towards the individual producer. Electrification of farms began mainly after 1948, when the electricity supply was nationalized, although a private company took the first initiative during the '30s in bringing electricity to the village of Hartland. Because of the pattern of investment each farm household also had to cut its costs as best it could, and this occurred in two ways. In the first place the employment of outside labour became increasingly rare, as the economy based upon the muscle power of the horse was superceded; and as the conditions for the employment of farm workers became standardized and defined in law. Secondly, within the farm household itself, the division of labour between the sexes became more pronounced as it became clear the milk production on a larger scale was one of the few possibilities open to the producer. During the 1940s there were over 90 milk producers in the parish. Initially, these included small (av. 48 litres) producers, but eventually the number of producers fell (1980, N = 46), and those who re-

rained became larger (av. 891 litres) and more specialized. The milking machine began to replace hand-milking after the Second World War, and this tended to expel women from the dairy, since the installation of such machinery meant that the farmer was going in for dairying in a serious fashion.

On smallholdings, women continued to milk and do other farm work mainly because their husbands had off-farm employment and the scale of the enterprise was not large. For a while, poultry-keeping became a popular source of income among farmers' wives (after the subsidy on eggs in 1947). However, as soon as factory farming of poultry began, farmers' wives found that it became cheaper to buy eggs in the village stores than to purchase the feed for the hens and spend the time and energy on keeping them. Thus this sideline turned out to be untenable.

Tourism, on the other hand, continued to develop, and was indeed encouraged by the Second World War during which large numbers of people were evacuated from London and other large cities to the countryside. After the war many of these evacuees would come down to stay with the same families, who took them in for holidays. Farmers' wives thus came to devote more time to catering for tourists and less to farm work, within the limits of their ability to do so given their responsibilities to their own families. In this respect their new role had ambiguous consequences for relationships within the household. On the one hand men, as the main producers in the domestic group, depended on women to act as their 'reproducers': in other words, taking care of them in every way, thus freeing them to do their job properly. Women were able to make the house a more comfortable place in which to live, with carpets, paint, wallpaper and new furniture; they also made their own tasks less laborious by purchasing hoovers, washing machines and kitchen gadgetry. Some even paid for the private education of their sons with the money they made from taking in visitors. By this time the number of children in the farm family had been reduced in most cases to less than four. The education of sons, particularly at agricultural college, has become an important part of the training of a young farmer. In other words, it is precisely in order to gain knowledge which his father does not have and therefore cannot pass on to him that he goes to agricultural college. Women are much more concerned that their sons should have a spell away from home acquiring such knowledge, whereas men (i.e. fathers) tend to believe that they can teach their sons as much themselves as they would ever learn by studying at college. Their authority

is more likely to be challenged by a son who has been away than by one who has learned at home. This divergence of opinion reflects the divergence of experience on the part of the sexes within the farm household. The women are the ones, in most cases, who have to 'travel', that is to move to their husband's farm. Their role on the farm has been reduced to a minimum but their involvement with visitors brings them into contact with other value systems, often those of the professional middle classes on holiday. Not only ideas about education but indeed the very concept of homemaking has in most cases been gleaned from one of the standardized versions available in glossy magazines. Compliance with these standards is required of the woman who wants to take in visitors; this is an area of life in which the men claim to have little interest, unless they regard the presence of visitors as an intrusion.

The visitors, themselves workers on holiday, sometimes seem therefore in the eyes of the resident producers, to be receiving preferential treatment at their expense. They see their wives conforming to externally imposed standards, whether of fire regulations or interior decoration, which somehow seem to have the same up-country origins as the visitors themselves. But it is mainly the restrictions on space and movement within the house which can be a source of friction between the farmer's wife and her menfolk; in some cases this had led to the abandonment of taking in visitors by the woman despite the fact that she herself would like to continue. The "tradition" of the womenfolk taking enormous teas out to the harvestfield and providing plentifully for those labourers who came from neighbouring farms on threshing days, probably arose when their role in production declined, and their role as reproducers increased in importance. Therefore, in a certain sense, it is quite understandable that resentment should arise among the producers of the household when the person on whom they depend divides her time between them and visitors. There is, however, a further dimension to the situation. As we have already seen, the pattern of investment in farming has been for each individual farmer to avail himself of whatever benefits he could. Extensive borrowing of money from banks and credit organisations began in the '60s. This was necessary to meet the conditions and requirements of production, especially in the case of milk, which are determined by the manufacturer. Thus borrowing has taken place against the value of farm land, which in turn has pushed the price of land up (£2000 + per acre, 1979). The money borrowed can only be spent on approved projects which effectively means that the farmer is even more tight-

ly controlled and has even less liquid capital at his disposal. As an example of how this works, let us take the terms of sale for milk sold by milk-producers to the Milk Marketing Board (Jan. 1980), which establishes that the producer shall provide a bulk tank in which to store and cool the milk pending the arrival of the bulk tanker to collect it. The farmer also has to provide electricity and water and ancillary equipment as required. Under the former system, the factory sent milk churns which the farmer was responsible for filling and placing at the end of his lane for collection. The necessity to buy a bulk milk tank, to install a milking parlour, and to provide access for a bulk tanker to enter the farm each day, involves considerable expense. Under this procedure the producer complies with standards set by the manufacturer, despite the categorization of the farmer as a 'self-employed' person. The borrowing of money necessary to satisfy these conditions incurs debts of many thousands of pounds. One farmer stated that he 'could not afford to die' just yet, such was the extent of his debt.

Under these conditions, taking in visitors is a necessity; farm and farmhouse can be conceptualized as two different sets of resources, the latter providing a necessary support system for the former. Yet the ways in which each kind of resource can be made productive are widely different. On the one hand the farmer and his sons are concerned with the first level in the production of food; on the other, farmers' wives must reproduce the conditions for the family's daily life (by shopping, housekeeping etc.), and by providing an extension of these services for visitors in order to earn some cash. There are points in the developmental cycle of the farm household when it is possible to take visitors, and points where the ability or necessity declines. In the case of a young couple moving into the farmhouse on the death or retirement of the farmer, the young wife may need to take in visitors and in this she often receives help from her mother-in-law. This may take the form of help in the house, or looking after young children thus freeing their mother to get on with her work. Later, however, when there are more children or the children grow up and tensions such as those between mother and son described above develop, the women may have to give up her sideline.

Women form a network among themselves, telephoning each other daily or more frequently, to exchange gossip and also to pass on visitors to one another if the house is full. They may also help each other by fetching groceries back from the cash and carry store 13 miles away, where prices of some goods are less than in the local shops. There are perhaps two guiding

principles in the minds of the women in relation to visitors. On the one hand, they endeavour to comply with that image of hospitality and housewifely competence which redounds to the Devonshire farmer's wife. On the other hand they are motivated by a desire to earn some money without, if possible, expending much extra money or energy beyond that required for the household. Obviously distinctions have to be made in this process, but ideally the women would like to appear very hospitable while at the same time making a handsome profit through good management of their resources. As already pointed out, the reputation for hospitality seems likely to have come into existence when women's role in agricultural production, which in Devon was considerable, declined and they were obliged to make the most of domesticity. The modern farmer's wife compares her own situation with that of women 50 years ago with a sense of relief that she no longer has to work on the farm and pride that she has been able to make life so much more comfortable inside the farmhouse. Older women, and the few smallholders wives who still keep a few cows and chickens state that they prefer the outdoor life and could not stand being cooped up indoors. The divergence in attitudes among different ages and classes of women themselves is of considerable interest, and leads us to examine the broader questions concerning the position of women in rural society.

The seasonality of life in Hartland exists, but not in the extreme form described by Brody in "Inishkillane" (1973). In the case of Hartland, in winter when there are few visitors as the landscape loses its summertime appeal, village events such as darts' matches, skittle tournaments, whist, bingo, Over-60s club and the Women's Institute, once again return to prominence. During the summer there are also many village events, but their character is different because of the presence of the visitors and also because this is a busy time of the year for farmers, to get the harvest in and, in the houses, where visitors are taken, to wait upon them. During the winter there are many fund-raising events; it is impossible to go out without being asked to buy a raffle ticket for this or that good cause. Women often take a lead in organising jumble sales, whist, bingo and other money-making activities. A notable example of such events was the purchase of a community vehicle so that, in an emergency, a person could be taken straight to hospital without having to wait for an ambulance to be sent from the town where hospital resources are based. Women organised coffee evenings, fashion shows, sponsored walks and sales to raise more than two thousand pounds which were needed.

All such events require contributions to be made from the household budget, on behalf of the community. But this is not a simple monetary affair. By making things and holding events, people establish maintain or lose their position within a local order. Among women, another dimension of their competence as women rests upon their ability to participate in such activities. The mark of womanly competence is to be good housewife, a good hostess, and a good member of the community. A woman must take care of her family; if she is able, she should take in visitors, an ability much envied by those women who are unable to do so; finally she must participate in village social life, thus showing her adherence to collectivities greater than her own domestic group.

The women who cannot take in visitors have few options open to them for making money. During the holiday season they may work in one of the hotels or cafes; in winter time they may work in a bar, although this is not considered altogether fit work for married women. The other possibility is that of domestic work particularly in the houses of those middle class women who have chosen to retire to the countryside. Such people are often those who came on holiday earlier in their lives and dreamt of retiring in old age to a cottage in the country. The cottage is usually one vacated by a member of the vanished population of farm labourers and craftsmen. Such cottages are also popular as second homes for people who have not yet retired. There is little social mixing between the local women who find such employment and their employees. Bingo and the pub are largely despised by the middle class immigrants, whose organizational capacities, on the other hand, often mean that they are voted onto numerous committees and then accused of 'taking over' the village. Thus new forms of stratification have come into existence; others, however, persist from earlier times. Although the owner of the once large estate now owns relatively little land in the parish, the awe with which most of the local people still regard him indicates that his prestige and status locally remain very high. Each Sunday he and his wife take their seat for Morning Service in the special family pew, separated from the rest of the congregation by the rood screen.

The women who work as domestics in the houses of the 'newcomers' envy women able to stay at home and take in visitors. Their envy is not only a matter of finance but derives from the dominant ideas about womanly competence which have been discussed above. Some of the tensions which arise within the farm household indicate, as I have also tried to show, that taking in visitors may be more of necessity than choice. The domestic

arrangements necessitated by the presence of visitors in the home include cramped sleeping quarters, for example, mother, father and two young sons sleeping on one bedroom; the restriction of the family to the kitchen area which, although it may be carpeted and very comfortable, nonetheless imposes restrictions on the family's freedom of movement; dining room and sitting room have also to be turned over to visitors in the evening; if there is only one bathroom it is often necessary to install a shower downstairs for the use, particularly, of outdoor workers in the summer.

The aspiration to take in visitors is part of a system of values generated by the removal of women from agricultural production, and especially their former domain of the dairy, and the limitation of their role to that of reproducers. These conditions set the limits for aspirations and their possible fulfillment. The restriction of women to the domestic sphere has resulted in an elaboration and sophistication of activities within that domain, but linked to a set of standards and conditions which come from outside it and which belong to standard middle class culture. The use of the images of Devonshire and farmers' wives on the part of manufacturers confirms them as anachronistic, both because of the rationalization of production which standardizes and minimizes regional differentiation, and because farmers' wives no longer have a part in a particular process of producing dairy goods. Both thus have the quality of benign archaism, which renders them safe and suitable as sales devices.⁴

Womanly competence within the domestic domain is measured in a rural population not only by her ability as a housewife and a hostess, but also by participating in local events whose stated aim is to improve the life of the community. The consonance of this ideology of womanliness with the necessity of ad hoc action on the part of local ginger groups to provide services which are not provided by the State, is striking. It appears that women in rural society are nowadays stratified according to whether, where, and to whom they render services. At the beginning of this article I referred to the peripherality of Devon; in conclusion I wish to stress that there is a sense in which areas such as Hartland have become more peripheral with the development of industrial agriculture, in that the population must conform to externally imposed standards. The effect on the position of women has been to make the majority of them, whether farmers' wives or not, domestic labourers in their own home or somebody else's -- if not all day and all the year round, at least for parts thereof.

Notes

- ¹Fieldwork: March 1978 — September 1979, funded by the Social Science Research Council.
- ²Hartland parish Vestry Books of the 19th c.; kept by the Clerk of the Parish Council, Hartland, Devon.
- ³Report of the special assistant Poor Law Commissioners on the employment of women and children in agriculture, 1843. British Parliamentary Papers.
- ⁴"To agribusiness it makes much more sense to produce a tasteless product lacking any nutritional value under conditions of semi-automated technology and then add colouring, flavouring and vitamins, helpfully provided by the flourishing science of food technology. The public can then be convinced of the 'country goodness' of the product by packaging and advertising" (Newby 1979: 118).

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**MAXIMIZATION AND RECIPROCITY AS STRATEGIES OF PRODUCTION IN
RURAL GALICIA (NW SPAIN)**

Raul Iturra

Instituto Superior de Ciencias do Trabalho e da Empresa, Lisbon

1. Peasant economy and exchange

The superiority gained by the production of goods aimed at exchange over the production of goods for use appears to be the factor of greatest relevance in the internal organization of a peasant economy nowadays. The use of land, the techniques applied, the organization of work relations, in short the logic of the use and distribution of human and natural resources appear to be guided by a rationality derived from commercial relations with the external economy and from the producers' own economic potentialities.

In exchange production the producers have recourse to two spheres of resources: that of an external or market economy and that of an internal or peasant economy. The commodity production brings about by its very nature a contradiction between the two spheres. From this contradiction there originates a series of constraints on the resources of the small-holdings, which make their work difficult and which remain for the peasants themselves to be resolved. The solutions observed in practice indicate that commodity production is the result of a permanent process of distribution and redistribution of resources within the peasant economy. This process is aimed at overcoming the deficient material conditions derived from the exchange with the economy to which the peasants sell their produce.

The elements of this contradiction can be made clear by specifying some of the characteristics attributed to rural production. This can first be attempted by saying that the peasant economy is that economic form of free smallholders in which the economic agent (the peasant, who is also referred to as producer, rural producer and smallholder alternatively) sells a product in order to buy others and to continue producing. The

peasant is a producer who combines the means of production with his own work and that of his family and who is in a position to control the technical conditions of production. According to this approach, derived from the studies Marx (1894) made for his explanation of the functioning of the capitalist mode of production, the peasant is a worker whose activity is not oriented towards the maximization of the price of his products, nor towards the gain which he obtains from them: in his transactions he orientates himself according to his need to sell in order to secure his own and his family's subsistence. From the above one can appreciate the contradiction within which peasant production takes place, which can be summarized by saying that the transactions of the small producer do not equal the value of his work or, at least, the price of his production.

The theoretical development later contributed by Lenin (1899) and Chayanov (1925) furnishes other elements which help in appreciating the contradictory situation in the countryside. For Lenin the smallholding as an economic form and specialization in the production of commodities are incompatible since the requirements in machinery and manpower cannot be met by the producers, who lack the capital to organize an agricultural enterprise: the emergence of a capitalist rationality in agriculture would put an end to the forms of peasant rationality. For Chayanov on the other hand the rationality of the peasant economic unit is aimed at satisfying family needs, and when these needs are satisfied productive activity decreases -- this constitutes the nucleus of an economic form with distinctive features. In this economic form work relations are not altered as a result of the change in the technical relations of production. While Lenin emphasized that sales were a part of the rationality of the peasant economy, Chayanov emphasized the internal conditions of the family unit of production.

Subsequent theoretical development has shown first, that the peasant economy has not disappeared as a phenomenon and secondly, that it has maintained its character as a domestic unit of production. Thirdly, it has been observed, both in the capitalist organization of the Western European economy and in which Franklin (1969) calls the primitive socialist accumulation of Eastern Europe, that the peasant form of economy appears to be subordinated to another external form of economy. In both one can observe the extraction of a surplus or the domination of the peasantry from outside. In Shanin's words (1971 and 1973) this domination takes the form of political subordination in conjunction with cultural subordination and economic exploitation by means of taxes, "corvee", rent, interest and con-

ditions of exchange unfavourable to the peasant. In this stage of theoretical development other contradictory characteristics stand out along with that of external exploitation, such as: lack of concentration of land, properties of small size, productive work carried out by families and neighbours and ownership of insufficient means of production. These are factors which limit the specialized production of goods and make it possible to distinguish the existence of a peasant economic sector differentiated from the central economic system in the countries of Europe today.

Private ownership of land and other means of production, and productive work, orientated towards the market and carried out by the family are the features emphasized most by the different authors in their identification of the peasant economy. Tepicht (1973) refers to it as embodying a definite type of productive forces in which there is little substitution of the labour factor by the capital factor in tractors and machinery or improvement of land; the characteristic substitution is that made between the factors of land and labour. Shanin (1971) characterizes a peasant economy on the basis of four main features: the family as the basic productive unit and a multidimensional unit of social organization — the family provides the work force, satisfies consumption needs and meets the payment of its obligations and in its rationale the motive of maximizing gains in terms of money is seldom explicit; traditional culture; the rearing of animals to satisfy the greater part of the peasants' consumption needs; and the external domination of the economy which has already been cited.

For Franklin (1969) the decisive factor in the definition of the peasant form of economy is the objective of the enterprise's work. He defines this objective as the maximization of the work input rather than the maximization of gains; the peasants, with their work, seek to provide employment for all the family and security for its oldest members, on the basis of their family ties and on the basis of co-ownership. To finish this survey Galesky (1977) identifies the features of a peasant economy as those of an economy producing foodstuffs, in which the needs of family consumption and the need to sell commodities fuse in a single firm. In this establishment the rationality of production is orientated towards the need to obtain a family income and to make a gain on the sale of commodities.

These authors not only provide a useful conceptual framework for the study of other cases of peasant economies; in their conceptualization one can also read the constraints operating on the functioning of this form of economy. This form of economy is subjected to a market which purchases its

products and in which transactions are generally unfavourable to the peasants. Even when a peasant economy maintains elements of the rationality of its own relations of production in its functioning, these are subsumed to capitalist relations of production more than in the past. Amongst the elements which structure this domination the one that stands out most is the relationship with the means of production. Peasants today do not own all the means of production they need in order to achieve profitable volumes of produce of a quality that permits them to compete successfully. The owner of the land can carry out a part of the reproduction of the agricultural cycle by resorting to organizing the work force on the basis of the family and the neighbours, to traditional techniques, to the use of natural elements, in all these cases using the cultural mechanisms at his disposal and his stock of social knowledge. However, the means he disposes of are neither all those he uses in his work nor all those he needs in order to reproduce the agricultural cycle and to support himself. There are other elements of the structural relationship with the capitalist economy, one of which is the need to use money in transactions with the external economy which pervades the smallholder's other activities. Another is the intervention of the State and the opening-up in the external economy of other work possibilities which remove functions from the peasant economy and drain people from the rural areas. The need to dedicate more land to specialized production within the general limit of the inelasticity of this factor removes possibilities of subsistence cultivation by means of which all the members of the household could be fed; at the same time the money gains derived from specialized production are not sufficient to meet the consumption needs of a large family. As a consequence of this a good part of the potential work force must emigrate. This emigration is facilitated by the access to posts in industry, commerce and services both within and outside the national economy.

These elements of my model which I am introducing here are those which make it possible to assert that the preponderance of production for exchange means the beginning of a transformation of the peasant economy. The traditional forms which are being maintained -- techniques, equipment and work relations defined with relation to family obligations -- are neither sufficient for commodity production, nor do they appear to be structured around the factors of production for domestic consumption. Even the ownership of land itself does not appear to be a sufficient factor either for producing or for the development and modernization of smallhold-

ings (FRANKLIN 1971; COLE and WOLF 1974; ITURRA 1971 and 1973). The need for the producers themselves to control the distribution and marketing of products is becoming clearer all the time in the perception of the peasants; this question also appears to be limited by the national economies. The ownership of land does not in itself suffice to meet the need, which is beginning to emerge, for the capitalization of productive units. In order that production should remain viable in the sphere of exchange, the peasants need to modernize their holdings; this appears to be made difficult by the mechanisms of domination. This is exactly the problem which can be observed amongst the smallholders of Galicia in the north-west of Spain who are the subject of this paper. An external control is exerted over them which limits their capitalization and which they resolve temporarily within the limits of their own resources.¹

The other elements of the model are a series of mechanisms related to prices and incentives. In order to provide a point of reference these can be compared with the treatment of agriculture in the European Economic Community. In the EEC there is state intervention which takes the form of price incentives, credits, assurances concerning the sale of produce, and so on. The objective in the Community is to increase production, give the rural population the possibility of a reasonable standard of living, stabilize the markets, guarantee supplies and ensure reasonable prices for the consumers (The Rome Treaty 1957). In the terms of the model which I am presenting it is a question of diminishing the contradiction between peasant production and industrial production. In Tamames' words (1970) the countries of the European Economic Community are modernizing their agriculture, guaranteeing their economic agents income levels fair in comparison with those of other economic activities.

In the case of Spanish agriculture, and therefore in Galicia, the same does not occur. The general objectives of agriculture as they have been defined by the law aim at raising the standard of living in the agricultural sector, putting production in order and training those involved in agriculture. Specific measures have been programmed such as redistributing smallholdings, increasing the importance of cattle-rearing, increasing the use of machinery, creating credit mechanisms and so on. In practice the furtherance of these measures is subject both to the will of the peasants and to their personal economic possibilities in terms of the guarantees they can give for the purchase of machinery, for credits, etc. It can be said that in the Spanish case the greatest part of the transformation which

its agriculture is undergoing has taken place on the basis of the rural exodus and the reinvestment which the emigrants have made in the land (BEIRAS et al. 1978).

These general conditions make it possible to say that the gravitation, observed in Galician agriculture, towards the sphere of exchange, has resulted from the activities of its economic agents who have taken advantage of conjunctural situations in the global economic structure. This form of development produces the result of peasant differentiation which is reflected in the structure of land tenure and in the range of economic activities in the rural units. As I have said in a separate work (ITURRA 1980) at one extreme of what we could call a graduation of different manners of producing there can be seen a percentage of producers amongst whom clearly exist established capitalist relations of production; in the centre there are a number of units which function on the basis of work done by the family and by the neighbours, with production partly for the market and partly for the consumption of the producers – these constitute the majority; at the other extreme there are still a considerable number of producers who produce mainly for their own consumption and who occasionally sell to the market. It is on these two ways of producing – predominantly commodity production and production predominantly for consumption – that I have centred my observation in a Galician parish in which both exist.

The aim of my work up to this point can be summarized by saying that the subsumption to capital in Galicia leaves in the hands of the peasants the problem of finding solutions to the problems derived from exchange with the market. The resources of the sphere of their economy and their own economic forms constitute both the basic nucleus of resources for their work and at the same time the source of knowledge for the creation of alternative possibilities of economic and social arrangement. The truth of this last assertion can be seen in the very transformation of peasant forms in the process of seeking the solutions mentioned above.

The economy of the small producers in the parish of Vilatuxe in Galicia is finding in its own activity a way out of the contradictions inherent in its production. My specific hypothesis is that both the constraints of capital and other constraints existing in the internal sphere of the peasant economy operate as factors dynamizing social behaviour in the process of finding solutions. These constraints appear to the producers to be of a kind which, if not overcome, will make it impossible for them to

reach the goals of production that guarantee their reproduction and survival.

This dynamization finds expression in a series of logical decision processes or strategies of production, by means of which the producers construct their work relations, concentrate their patrimony and adjust their domestic relations and their relations with neighbours with respect to the goals of their work and the equipment they use. This dynamic which transforms their traditional forms as they make use of them displaces the basis on which the calculation of production is made from the purely domestic sphere to the sphere in which there are possibilities for the sale of their products. It is on this broader basis of calculation that the peasants regulate their social relations and their work relations. The constraints on production, the forms in which they are overcome, the processes which originate and the factors around which options are structured on different levels constitute the core of my study. In other words, the organization of the internal sphere of a peasant economy penetrated by capital: who works with whom, how, for what reasons, and whose is the economic gain. In the organization of this internal sphere in Vilatuxe, one can observe that maximization and reciprocity appear as two interrelated types of behaviour that constitute factors around which productive relations are organized. Whilst maximizing behaviour aims at overcoming the shortage of productive capital, reciprocal behaviour aims at making this effective through the exchange of human and material resources among producers.

In effect, in order to achieve their production objectives, the producers of the parish exchange with one another their labour, and specialized services; their tools and any modern machinery they might have; their draught animals, and utilities such as plots of land and agricultural produce. Thus, two spheres of exchange can be distinguished in Vilatuxe; the external sphere of exchange with the market, either for goods or for labour and the internal sphere of exchange within the parish itself. The former sphere represents the monetarized sector of the local economy whilst in the sphere of exchange within the parish, money rarely changes hands. The internal sphere of exchange within the parish allows individual households to make up for any deficiencies in labour force or tools that might otherwise prevent them from realizing their objectives in the external sphere of exchange with the market.

Production in both spheres of exchange is limited by certain constraints. In the external sphere, these constraints are imposed by the multinational companies which dominate the market in the goods that the smallholders produce; in the internal sphere, these constraints derive from the social and historical experience of the community as I briefly describe in the following section. At the same time, however, it is these very constraints that have served as the catalyst for a series of strategies designed to overcome or minimize the limits they impose on the smallholders' productive capacities. It is with the elements of these strategies that I shall primarily be concerned in this paper.

2. The socio-economic background

Galicia is a region of north-west Spain covering an area of 29 400 sq km, with approximately 2 600 000 inhabitants. Of these, 1 900 000 constitute the rural population occupying approximately 2 400 000 ha, which is the total of the agriculturally productive land in the region. Though they have not a strictly legal administrative standing, Parroquias (parishes) represent the main units of organization. Each parish has come to be organized into a number of settlements known as Lugares (localities) which consist of a varying number of households called simply Casas (houses). The people conceive of a household as consisting of the buildings, the lands, and the group of individuals forming an elementary or some sort of extended family. The inhabitants provide for their subsistence by working the land, by working as migrant labourers or by pursuing crafts and trades. Each household or domestic group counts on a certain quantity of land divided into a number of fincas (small plots) which are dispersed throughout the parish and sometimes even outside it. One of the principal features of the land tenure system is the wide dispersal of the property, i.e. the fact that the small plots of the same domestic group are not concentrated in one area; and that each plot is of a small size. There are also common lands of the parish (el monte) that are used to supplement the production from private lands. Each domestic group may make use of whatever amount of common land and for whatever time it considers necessary but is not permitted to fence it. The access to private land is by inheritance, buying, by sharecropping contract (caseiro), renting and donation. Access to el monte is facilitated by the mere fact of "having casa in the parroquia" as

they say; in other words, by belonging to a domestic group and participating in its economy.

As I have already mentioned I carried out my study in the Galician parish of Vilatuxe, in the central plain of Galicia. In the years 1975 and 1976 I carried out continuous fieldwork, residing in the parish. I continued my observation during a period of three months in 1977, both within and outside the parish of Vilatuxe, and during a period of four months in 1978, studying other parishes in Galicia.

Vilatuxe comprises an area of approximately 40 km²; the lands are distributed among the 188 domestic groups of the 17 distinct localities with a total population of 623 inhabitants (800, if we include migrant workers; my census).

The historical background of the system of land tenure has been important for its effects on the economy and is relevant to the present discussion; I will try, therefore, to summarize briefly its development. Up to 1926, there were three different categories of land holdings in Vilatuxe. The first was formed by large holdings of 80 to 200 hectares, the second consisted of smaller holdings of 10 to 20 hectares, and into the third category fell a few small holdings of under one hectare. In the first category, there were only four households, but among themselves, they held the majority of the lands in Vilatuxe. The plots of these four households were cultivated with the help of various types of contracts, the most usual ones being sharecropping and the foro. The foro is a widely distributed Galician contract whose origins have been traced back to the 10th century. Basically, it is a contract of emphyteusis by which a large landowning household ceded portions of land, plus living quarters, to an elementary family which had to pay a rent consisting of a fixed amount of agricultural goods, regardless of whether it actually produced such goods or in such an amount. This contract usually lasted for three generations. The size of the plot and its location depended on the arbitrary decision of the landlord. This was the origin of the Casar, which consisted of the lands, the buildings and the occupants, today known as the Casa. These casares were grouped together in isolated settlements according to the pattern of allocation, which gave rise to the contemporary localities.

The domestic groups with holdings of 10 to 20 hectares cultivated their lands themselves, with the use of the hired labour of the landless peasants who were paid mainly in kind. They were called casas de labradores (cultivators). There were about ten of them in Vilatuxe, plus a collective medium-sized owner, the local Roman Catholic Church.

The smallest owners can be considered, for all practical purposes, as virtually landless peasants.

The total number of casas in Vilatuxe, at that time, was 134, with the total population of approximately 1200 inhabitants.

In 1926 the foro system was legally abolished and the large landlords were forced to sell all the lands then under contract. However, the potential buyers, small owners and landless peasants, did not have the means to buy; therefore, they started temporarily to emigrate in order to raise money for buying the plots of land. Moreover, the availability of migratory work led also to the departure of people too poor to be interested in buying lands and people cut from the lands by the abolition of the foro. This led to a considerable shortage of manpower in the parroquia which, together with the fact that labour migrants were returning with ready cash for the purchase of their own plots rather than for working for others, led the large households gradually to sell even more of the remaining lands. Hence the land tenure system, based predominantly on large- and medium-size holdings, cultivated with the help of sharecropping, foro and hired work, changed into a system of individual ownership of small plots dispersed within and beyond the boundaries of the parish; this process was consolidated by 1960. Thus, it was basically the foro system and the subsequent selling of lands by large owners which provided the basis of the current structure of the land tenure system in Vilatuxe, together with the activities of the smallholders themselves. Mediating the transition from the old system to the new, lie the decisions of countless producers on such matters as how to find the money to buy plots of land, whether to stay or to emigrate, how to deal with the demands of the market, how to modernize their operations, and how to manipulate their social networks in order to increase the productivity of their holdings. The emergence of the smallholding system is the result, not merely of a change in the law, but also of the way in which the producers have manipulated their social and economic conditions to make the best use of their limited resources. This manipulation is of necessity in the face of many constraints.

This change had several important consequences. Firstly, once the foro was abolished, the only possible way to obtain land on a permanent basis was to buy or to inherit it. Since money was scarce in Vilatuxe, as in rural Galicia generally, people were obliged to migrate in order to raise the necessary amount. Secondly, people's savings and gains were exhausted in purchasing land; therefore, they were unable to buy modern

equipment, such as tractors, motor mowers and threshing machines, which were only introduced later and on a very limited scale (at the time of my field work, there were only 8 tractors in the parish, and no more than 10 motor mowers). Because of that, the importance of traditional low-productivity equipment such as ox-carts, wooden ploughs, hoes, has survived practically undiminished. This limits the potential benefits that the smallholders stand to derive from the commercial dairy production in which they are involved. Thirdly, the new smallholdings were not large enough to sustain often large families, especially considering the technology of cultivation; therefore, migrant work has continued. It is now considered the best, and sometimes the only way of obtaining cash. Thus, people are increasingly abandoning the parish and that puts a heavy load of agricultural work on the remaining population.

The economy of the parish is based on the cultivation of potatoes, rye, corn, maize and the raising of cattle for draught purposes, for meat and, most importantly, for dairy production. Over the last fifteen years the dairy production has become steadily more important because of the sale of milk to Nestle (the local factory of the Spanish branch of the multinational milk-processing company). About 70% of the households sell at least one litre daily, and there are seven that gear their activities completely towards the production of milk, with an average daily sale of 100 litres each. Since the Nestle company began operations in the parish during the 1950s, the production of goods for exchange has gained superiority over the production of goods for use in the internal organization of the local economy. One can distinguish between several general categories within the rural population, differentiated one from another on the basis of land ownerships and commercial activities: smallholders who produce mostly for domestic consumption and sell only a small surplus of milk or other products; professional people and craftsmen who are only marginally engaged in agricultural activities and finally, the shopkeepers, construction workers and others who own no land and live entirely from their businesses and their salaries.

All households, regardless of the kind of productive activity in which their members are primarily engaged, also supplement their income in at least one of a number of other ways, such as the sale of alcohol and groceries, craftwork, seasonal casual labouring outside the region or by pensions to those over 65 years of age or social security payments to those unable to work on account of illness.²

3. The constraints imposed on the productive process by exchange with the market

The present conditions of land use, equipment and labour mobilization in Vilatuxe all serve to limit production. These conditions are, as we have seen, partly the result of the abolition of the foro system and the granting of land titles to the smallholders. But the historical experience of the parish does not by itself constitute a sufficient explanation of current conditions. For a full explanation of these conditions one must also examine how they are sustained by the present economic circumstances of the smallholders of Vilatuxe.

One of the central problems that any smallholder involved in producing for the market confronts is the need to amass a certain amount of capital. But this begs the question of how this capital is to be defined.

As Wolf has pointed out (1966), the capital reserves of a peasant economy must be examined in the light of the division of labour and the norms that regulate it. Wolf argues that the principal objective of the participants of such an economy is to balance out the annual subsistence needs of their families against external demands for rent. Thus in order to identify the capital that a peasant producer needs, as well as to determine the factors that limit his production, one needs to analyze the wider social and economic context in which the local peasant economy of which he is part is set.

Given that the peasant economy of Vilatuxe forms part of the rural economy of Galicia which in turn forms part of the Spanish state economy, the goods that a smallholder of the parish can produce by his own efforts form only a part of the total capital that he would need to alter his present condition. The peasant economy of which he is part is inextricably bound to the capitalist economy of the Spanish state, defined by the law in El Fuero del Trabajo as "the totalitarian instrument binding the country together" (1939 and 1967), where the economy, in the official ideology of state Fascism is conceived of as "a gigantic trade union of producers... organized into militias" with the State as "the supreme director of the economy" (Preambulo a la Ley de Bases de la Organizacion Sindical, Diciembre de 1940 in SOLE-TURA 1972).

The articulation of the peasant economy with the capitalist economy involves, on the one hand, a group of producers who sell goods to obtain the money they need to go on producing and on the other hand, a group of

entrepreneurs who buy these goods with money and then re-sell them so as to increase their stock of money. It is this latter form of economic activity which generates the capital necessary to acquire the equipment that, given the relationship of the parish economy to the capitalist economy, is essential to the realization of the productive objectives of the smallholders.

As I have already mentioned, the Nestle company put into effect an investment programme in Vilatuxe as part of its plan to increase the production of marketable goods. This set in motion a cycle of demand from the company for goods that both in quantity and quality were beyond the capacity of the smallholders to produce. The milk produced needed to have a certain proportion of fat and to be of a certain acidity so that it could be sold in the cities and so that a number of products such as cheese, yoghurt, condensed and powdered milk could be derived from it. The producers of Vilatuxe could only meet these conditions if they adopted the technical innovations introduced by Nestle such as better pastures and fodders, improved breeds of cattle, etc., which they could only acquire if they had the money to buy them. Moreover, the adoption of one of these innovations often required the adoption of another. For example, the seeds for improved pasture grasses often brought with them insects which meant that the smallholders would also need to buy insecticides; the new pasture lands require artificial chemical fertilizers and herbicides for fast growth; the introduced Friesian cows for whom these pastures are sown need modern sheds to protect them from the climate. All these industrially-produced goods are sold to the smallholders by capitalist concerns. Further, the changes going on in the agrarian infrastructure have encouraged the speeding up of all tasks by means of modern machinery. The introduction of the tractor and the motor mower is yet another way in which the smallholders are becoming dependent on the rest of the Spanish economy.

All these new inputs have to be bought with money. This the smallholders acquire by the sale of their products, supplemented by seasonal emigration, work in the towns, etc. The prices paid for their products are low and fixed and they do not cover many of the factors that go into production, such as the labour of the household members and their neighbours, the use of the lands and natural resources. A litre of milk is sold at 11.50 pesetas. Taking as an example a median case of milk production with daily sales of 70 litres, monthly income would total 27 250 pesetas (see Table 1). Expenses in fodder used, fertilizers, improved seed, electricity, taxes, land rent, and other articles used by these producers to maintain a

Table 1

The accounts of a milk-producer in Vilatuxe (1975-76)

Holding size: 24 ferrados; domestic group: 2 adults, 2 children; cowshed: 7 milch-cows

k	Expenditure	Income
	(pesetas)	
<u>1. Establishment costs and finance</u>		
a) <u>Cost</u>		
land purchase (24 ferrados, 1966)	200 000	
house construction (1968)	100 000	
cowshed construction (modern, 1969)	60 000	
sub-total	360 000	
cows (3 milch-cows a 15 000 psts)	45 000	
total	405 000	
b) <u>Finance</u>		
savings from migrant work (10 years abroad, 1956-66)		300 000
family loan		50 000
State loan (1970, a 5% annual interest)		60 000
total		410 000
	balance - 5000	+ 5000
<u>2. Average monthly accounts (1975-76)</u>		
a) <u>Monthly costs</u>		
inputs: fodder (1000 kg a month)	11 000	
hay (1 cart load a month)	1 000	
fertilizers	300	
seed	500	
land rental (5 ferrados)	500	
electricity	1 250	
taxes: State land levy (2670 psts/year)	220	
rates (26% a year of rateable value)	22	
land registration tax (90 psts a year)	7	
trade union contribution	16	
social security premium (1300 psts per adult a month)	2 600	
cart tax	14	
interest on State loan	250	
total	18 909	
b) <u>Monthly income</u>		
milk: 2100 litres/month (11.50 psts/litre)		27 150
savings from wife's seasonal migration (30 000 for season)		2 500
sundry sales (1 ham a year at 1200 psts)		100
total		29 750
balance		+10 841
		=====

constant high level of production, would amount to 15 883 pesetas per month in equipment and expenses. To these expenses others would have to be added — in many cases, for instance, the amortization of fields yet to be paid for, credit and other services, and in all cases the feeding of the family group, which on the average is composed of four people. In all, income from milk proves to be too small a profit to be able to sustain a substitution of equipment better suited to this type of labour. The producers have no union or political party by which to exercise some control over the prices paid for their products. Strikes have been prohibited by law in Spain for the last forty years.

The acquisition of credit facilities from the banks and government agencies is made difficult by the type of guarantee that these entities require. The conditions for obtaining credit depend upon land tenancy and other general conditions which exist on a particular holding: that the property be in one piece or that all of the land be physically consolidated; that the total size of the holding exceed the minimum area required for raising ten cows (on land suitable for conversion to artificial pasture land) — that is, lower valley land and not higher mountainous terrain; that three-quarters of the surface of the land be assigned to meadows and forage; to achieve this aim the cultivated crops should be reduced to an even greater extent than has occurred since the 1950s. The household should be composed of two young persons, as is specified verbally to the peasants by Ministry officials. With these conditions satisfied, long-term credit may be granted at an annual interest rate of 5%. The amount of credit is calculated with reference to prices set by the Ministry for various items of equipment as specified in Table 2. The viability of modernization would be cut short at the start without these initially determinant conditions.

In effect, Government agencies require producers to participate in agricultural development schemes. Contrasted with actual conditions in the parish, each of these specifications seems impossible to fulfil. No more than ten households own or control the necessary quantities of land, and in any case none of these has its land consolidated. Despite the existence of a State programme, through the IRYDA (Instituto de Reforma y Desarrollo Agropecuario), for the consolidation of plots, the programme was not applied in Vilatuxe because the peasants did not accept its propositions. Briefly, the programme consists of the exchange of plots of land evaluated by a specialist as equal in quality, in such a way that all of one household's plots are exchanged for all of those of other households whose fields are

close to the house whose land is being consolidated. This programme encounters at the start two serious problems: the existence of peasants with different agricultural practices, whose contentment with present conditions obstructs changes in the practices of others, and the small number of peasants who possess minimal conditions with regard to landholding but who are, furthermore, quite old, and whose children have left the land. These attitudes give rise to disputes over the value of land, given that the majority of peasants claim that their own plots are of highest quality; and because of the programme itself. The prices for equipment set by the Ministry of Agriculture are unreasonable: for instance, that a milch-cow costs 50 000 pesetas on the market and a tractor 700 000 (see Table 2). The producers are forced, by the programme itself and by the deliberate underestimation of prices for propaganda purposes, to conclude that the whole programme is a fraud. Apart from the impossibility of the majority of producers paying even the ideal prices, a specialized farm requires fertilizers, pesticides, and a whole series of other products not included in the calculation drawn up for the installation of a model farm. From the peasants' point of view, it is "a rich man's agriculture".

All these points have been made in order to explain the key problem of financing, which restricts the productive options of each producer in different ways, depending upon the resources at hand in each specific case. It is the lack of correspondence between the prices paid for the product and other financial facilities and the factors required to produce it, that is the Achilles heel of the small-scale agriculture in Vilatuxe. It is precisely in this lack of correspondence that the obstacles to the development of a capitalist form of agricultural production lie. The organization of the work force on a family basis, supplemented by help from neighbours, involves a series of individuals who do not receive salaries but who need to be fed and whose needs have increased since the penetration of the traditional way of life by the money economy (Bradby 1975). The maintenance of a family involves a degree of demand which the present form of production does not satisfy. Thus the transactions of an individual smallholder are primarily motivated by his need to sell in order to make a viable economic concern of the land of which he has only recently become the owner and to maintain his dependents who make up his work force. Nor is the use of land and equipment covered by the price paid for products sold to the companies. As a result, the smallholders are not able to maintain their work force, nor renew their equipment, and this production consequently remains low.

Table 2

The organization and management of a model productive unit1. Factors of production and their employment for one case type
(as advised by the Spanish Ministry of Agriculture in 1975-76)

No of members	Amount land (ferrados)	No. of plots	No. & type of cows	Average daily milk output	Equip-ment*	Other activities
2	200	1	10 F	150 lts	Mechan.	None

2. Use and distribution of elements of production

- I) Animal feeding a) fodder: at the rate of 1 kg for every 12 lts of milk, plus another kg for every extra 3 lts per cow
b) grazing: 10 ferrados of land per cow a year
- II) Animal shelter a) cowshed: as specified above
b) pitch
c) milking machine
- III) Land distribution a) 50% of total land to pastures (artificial prairie)
b) 25% to fodder (only maize)
c) 25% to tillage (only potatoes, betruce and orchard)

3. Estimated expenditure to start running a model productive unit

Land: it is assumed that every casa has enough. Prices vary considerably

Cows: a 40 000 psts each 400 000

Equipment: tractor 500 000
cistern 150 000
trailer 40 000
harrow 30 000
cowshed 300 000 (considering non-paid domestic labour)
milking machine 40 000

Total 1 460 000

Note: Housing, salaries, other equipment and silage is not considered; it is estimated that the old equipment of the casa will do; as for manual labour, the unpaid family labour whose salary consists of the "earnings" of such enterprise

4. Credit

- a) Amount 1 500 000 psts once only with no interest if paid back to the State in five years' time
- b) Conditions for credit To own more than 100 ferrados of land and 10 milk cows

F = milch-cow

* Detail of equipment to be used: 1 tractor; cistern; trailer; harrow

A modern cowshed built in cement with running water, electricity, milking machine and septic tank.

The smallholders are also prevented from participating in the distribution of their product. The distribution of milk by Nestle and Larsa and of meat by Himae are concessions that are granted by the central government. The cost of a concession and an appropriate vehicle together is something in the region of a million pesetas, which effectively inhibits any of the smallholders becoming involved in distribution.

In short, a series of factors — the lack of finance, the low prices paid for the product, the method of distributing it, state regulations — all serve to limit the productive potential of the smallholders. With reference to The Congo, Dupre and Rey (1973) have formulated the hypothesis that it is by means of such processes that a capitalist economic inhibits agricultural reproduction. Whilst this assertion is also valid for the situation in Vilatuxe, it needs to be re-cast in a more positive manner to take into account how producers respond to these conditions. In Vilatuxe, the external conditions to which they have to submit on account of their involvement in the market require them to use modern machinery whilst at the same time making it difficult for them to acquire it. Nevertheless, they do produce enough to make it worthwhile for the large companies to continue operating there and to permit a slow but sustained development of infrastructural facilities in certain households. These households manipulate available resources in a careful way, enabling them to amass the money necessary to buy the most essential items of equipment and to compensate for those they cannot buy (Galesky 1977).

The pressures on the smallholders created by the introduction of technology from outside and the other conditions devolving from their relations with external capital serve to increase the profits of the companies since they oblige the producers to mobilize all available resources to produce for the market. Since the companies do not pay for the labour invested in the product, nor for the use of land and equipment, their profits are greater than if they were directly involved in production themselves.

In effect then, the interests of the companies and the producers are diametrically opposed to one another. Whilst the companies seek to control the productive process within the parish in order to obtain a cheap product, the producers seek to secure sufficient gain on their productive activities to be able to remunerate their own and their household's labour and, in the course of time, be able to improve their equipment. But, until the producers control the distribution of their product and hence receive

sufficient return on their activities to be able to reproduce the means of production, their exchanges with the market will continue to act as a constraint on their productive activities. Under these conditions, the only solution open to the producers is merely that of maintaining the status quo: to mobilize as much labour as possible and put the greatest possible area of land into production whilst at the same time reducing the number of dependents to a minimum. In a word, the present state of affairs works to put direct pressure on the smallholders' capital whilst at the same time increasing that of the milk and meat marketing companies.

4. The producers' response to the constraints on their production

The way in which the smallholders of Vilatux manipulate their resources varies considerably according to the degree of involvement in producing for the market. But all smallholders are concerned either to produce something which they can sell, be it milk, meat or cereals, or to get money from the sale of craftwork, commerce or wage-labouring. This is because all parishioners of Vilatuxe need money to buy modern machinery with which they will be able to increase their productive capacity.

As we have seen, as far as land is concerned, one of the greatest constraints on the productivity of the smallholders of Vilatuxe is the fragmentation of property. In order to avoid any further fragmentation of their lands, many households recur to the device of passing property on to only one of the possible heirs, relying on his or her marriage and the children produced by it to provide the necessary work force. In this situation the heir's siblings find work elsewhere in the local economy or emigrate since the productivity of the average household is generally not great enough to maintain them.

As a result, most of the households of Vilatuxe consist of no more than four or five people. This in turn frequently gives rise to a chronic shortage of labour and most households have to call upon the members of other households on occasion. When they do so, they often appeal to obligations customarily associated with kinship, but although the resultant relations of production may be described in kinship terms, in reality, all such relationships are assessed in terms of the economic advantages to be gained from them. Moreover, since all households suffer from labour shortages, it is often impossible to get help.

More important than the kinship ties between the households of Vilatuxe is their common subjugation to the market dominated by the multinational companies. The activities of these companies have given rise to a hierarchy of households, ranked according to their degree of involvement in the market. In order to meet their market-oriented production objectives, the households towards the top of the hierarchy look to those lower down to provide them with labour and goods which they cannot provide themselves. However the households that produce primarily for consumption are usually even smaller than those that produce for the market and find even greater difficulty in making ends meet with the result that they are often unable to supply the more commercially-oriented households with the goods and labour that they need.

In the last analysis, the smallholders of Vilatuxe participate in the internal system of exchange between the households of the parish for the purpose of mobilizing resources to strengthen their position in the external system of exchange with the market. Each household within the parish represents a potential resource for another, which can be exploited by means of an exchange of goods and services. The basic premise underlying participation in this system of exchange is not to allow oneself to be deprived of resources essential to production for the market whilst at the same time obtaining those that one lacks from other households. In other words, it is a system based both on the principle of maximization by individual households of their productive capacities and on the principle of reciprocity. Although there may sometimes be a certain degree of tension between these two principles of behaviour, given that no two households in the parish have identical resources, the system works to the general economic benefit of the community, notably in the sense that it allows all households to save the most scarce of all resources in the parish — money.

5. Maximization and reciprocity as the basis of production strategies

As pointed out before, in the literature on peasant economies, the family as a unit of production and consumption is taken as a basic factor in the calculation of production. In more recent works, the production of exchange values for the market has been added as another factor. I have argued explicitly above that in the transactions of some peasant economies oriented towards the market, the production of use values is subordinate to the production of exchange values.

In the particular case of Vilatuxe, we have seen that the subordination of some aspects of the peasant economy to the principles underlying the Spanish economy as a whole produces a situation in which the peasant economy disposes of insufficient labour and inadequate means of production. Thus one might say that the producers of Vilatuxe are obliged to make a calculation prior to the calculation of production itself, that is, a calculation of the strategies necessary to provide themselves with the elements they need to begin production. This calculation is based on the principle of maximizing the use of one's own resources whilst taking advantage of those of others through the establishment of a reciprocal exchange relationship with them. The relation between these two principles of behaviour is dialectical: the need to maximize one's productive potential requires the establishment of a series of reciprocal exchanges with others; at the same time, obligations stemming from these reciprocal exchanges must be manipulated so that they do not inhibit maximization.

However one ought to make quite clear what one means by maximization and reciprocity in the context of Vilatuxe. These concepts are used so loosely in anthropological theory that it is necessary to define them precisely in order to use them here. Since Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill developed it in relation to the notion of homo oeconomicus, the concept of maximization has been used to refer to the logic that every individual is supposed to exercise in economic circumstances that he knows and handles well in selecting the course of action that will give him the greatest gain, be it economic, political or whatever, depending on the area in which the concept is applied (GRAMPP 1948; LE CLAIRE and SCHNEIDER 1967; HEATH 1976; EKEH 1974). The concept of reciprocity on the other hand, has been developed by authors who deny the universality of the principle of maximization. Polányi, for example, has been explicit in criticizing the use of the notion of maximization with reference to non-capitalist societies:

"The last two centuries produced in Western Europe and North America an organisation of man's livelihood to which the rules of choice happened to be singularly applicable. This form of the economy consisted in a system of price-making markets. Since acts of exchange, as practiced under such a system, involve the participants in choices induced by an insufficiency of means, the system could be reduced to a pattern that lent itself to the application of methods based on the formal meaning of 'economic'." (POLÁNYI 1957: 244)

These remarks of Polányi and the operation of the Vilatuxe economy as I have described it so far, endorse the application of the notion of

maximization to the calculation of production strategies in the parish and thus require some explanation of the reasons why I apply the concept of reciprocity to them as well. Even the notion of maximization needs to be tailored to fit the situation in Vilatuxe.

The economy of Vilatuxe is typical of peasant economies in general in the sense that the smallholders of the parish maximize neither on prices nor on profits. As a result of their lack of capital, almost all the smallholders of the parish are unable to vary their production with the variation in prices nor to alternate between producing milk or producing meat or some other line depending on which the market favours at any particular moment. Being unable to vary their production to meet demand, the smallholders maximize in other ways, that is, by making the best possible use of the labour resources of their families and neighbours and of the lands that they own. By manipulating these resources, the smallholders are able to maximize their chances of meeting a level of income which would allow them to reproduce their conditions of live and work and, in the long run, even to improve them. But it is the companies that exploit the situation of the smallholders to maximize on profits. The smallholder, for his part, once he has become involved in producing for the market is obliged to manipulate his social relations and material resources to maintain his level of production even though the price paid for his product remains very low. In effect, then, the smallholders are, in Hollis' phrase, maximizing on their scarcity (HOLLIS 1975).

Another matter related to the question of maximization is the way in which knowledge of market opportunities and of new techniques is applied to the production process. Part of the resources a smallholder needs are to be found on the property of other households, or to put it another way, the productive resources necessary to attain production goals are distributed amongst all households. In order to benefit from collaboration from others, it is necessary for a smallholder to know others' work plans. Thus in one sense, in order to maximize production, the smallholders have to act collectively rather than individually in the production process. Such collaboration however is predicated on the assumption that those with whom one is going to work are experienced in the type of work involved and know how to apply modern techniques.

In short, the model of homo oeconomicus, an individual acting freely on the basis of information about prices, entering or retiring from the market according to the fluctuations in supply and demand, cannot be

applied to Vilatuxe. Instead one finds groups of individuals who produce in collaboration with one another. Maximization within this system consists of the rational exploitation of resources available within the parish in order to meet the conditions imposed by the market. This form of rationality is intrinsic to the economic system of Villatuxe and is the consequence of a particular hierarchy of values and of the current needs of the groups of individuals who make up the community (GODELIER 1966).

Maximizing strategies would not be successful, however, if they did not embrace strategies involving reciprocity. Dalton and the substantivist school in general (DALTON 1961 and 1965; POLANYI 1957 and 1977) argue that the principle of reciprocity does not explain transactions within the market context and that in the case of European peasants, their system of relations is to be explained by their sales (DALTON 1971). In the case of Vilatuxe, however, both from an economic point of view as well as from a strictly sociological point of view, it is precisely exchange with the external world that generates reciprocal forms of behaviour. It is exchange with the milk marketing companies that gives rise to the need for producers to cooperate economically. But their relations with one another are direct and are not mediated by the market. The relationship between each household and the market is a highly individual one. But this relationship requires another set of relations that are monetarized and involve no formal dependence amongst those who collaborate with one another.

The restrictions that the substantivists impose on the use of the notion of reciprocity are due to the fact that their analysis concentrates on the circulation of goods and not on the production of them. Their view of kinship or religion as generators of exchange relations in accordance with the social obligations that these institutions imply does not take into account the organization of production, in which relations of reciprocity are fundamental. As Jenkins points out:

"Neither Hopkins, Neale, Polanyi, Dalton nor any of the other authors is able to furnish arguments for the limits of intervention of the non-economic in the economic or for the reasons for the intervention of any specific non-economic element." (JENKINS 1977: 86)

It is in the theoretical developments elaborated by, amongst others, Sahlins (1960, 1969, 1972), Wolf (1966), Cole and Wolf (1974), Firth (1964, 1967), Barth (1966, 1967) and Nash (1961) that one finds non-economic inter-personal relations explained in relation to the economic sphere. In Godelier's work (1977), one finds the family and religion described as

bases for production whilst in Bourdieu's work (1976), matrimonial strategies are presented as the means for maintaining inheritances intact. All these authors, both formalist and materialist, introduce the relations of production into the explanation of inter-personal relations. The absence of this form of explanation in the substantivists' approach means that the latter's theory does not include consideration of the conditions which producers without appropriate means of production (or any possibility of accumulation) need to fulfil in order to be able to produce for a market. In itself, the price mechanism is not sufficient to put an end to reciprocity in economic matters; on the contrary, in the case of Vilatuxe, and probably in many other cases as well, the emergence of the market has served to maintain the so-called traditional forms of cooperation (MEILLASOUX 1972; PRYOR 1977; MINTZ 1961). The concept of reciprocity in the form described by Gouldner (1960), Service (1966) and Sahlins (1972) is of greater utility in explaining direct inter-personal relations which are translated into cooperation in the arena of production. This by no means implies that the economic relations established upon this social context involve an equal exchange for the parties concerned. As has been shown elsewhere (ITURRA, 1980), reciprocal relations organized for the exchange with the capitalist economy necessarily mean different gains related to the amount of resources a person has or controls. Here I am referring only to the mechanics of the establishing of relations among producers, not to the economic value of their relation.

The reciprocity on which strategies in Vilatuxe are based operates within a social context. It is a form of behaviour developed between people who have established material ties with one another on the basis of pre-existent social ties. This social context is constituted by the personnel of the household, the extended family and the neighbourhood. Relations of production between the members of the household are regulated through common ownership of the means of production and the traditional ideology as to positions of authority and subordination within the family, originating from the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church and subsequently enshrined in the positivistic legislation of the Spanish State. For example, although a woman may be the legal owner of a household, authority remains in the hands of the husband by law and by Christian tradition. Of course, this situation is manipulated in many individual cases, but still constitutes the general rule.

As far as the extended family and neighbourhood are concerned, the accounts that the parishioners give of their productive activities are couched in the language of kinship, as if they emanated from the obligations of kinship or from the condition of being neighbours. This formulation, probably valid within the former system of subsistence agriculture, clashes with the present reality and is no more than a loose way of referring to the transactions that take place within the parish. The diversification in production that has taken place due to the intervention of the companies has given rise to specialization amongst the households of the parish in lines of work, technical knowledge and the possession of certain types of equipment. As a result, it is no longer one's kin or one's neighbours who necessarily possess potential productive resources for one's own activities but rather those who have specialized in the same line. Nowadays, the parishioners add on to the traditional categories qualifications as to the utility of such relations measured against their expectations of the profit to be gained from exchange with the companies. Moreover, the traditional ideology of cooperation with kin and neighbours does not explain the choices individual producers make as to whom to cooperate with in a place where everyone is a neighbour in the strict sense of the term, and where any individual considers at least half the population of the parish to be some sort of relative. The language of kinship is merely a verbal device invoked every time it is convenient to establish material relations of work in a situation where there is no other form of interpersonal relationship system to structure the establishment of such a relation. Given that each household is an independent legal entity and is the owner of its means of production, for collaboration in the exploitation of resources to occur, it is necessary for social ties to be created which carry with them the obligation to collaborate in the economic sphere. To establish such ties, kinship or the condition of being neighbours is invoked either in a negative or a positive sense depending on whether or not collaboration is sought.

The objects of the transactions established in this way are valued in the same way as described for other situations by Bohanan (1955), Salisbury (1962) and Godelier (1966), that is, valued as against the individual needs of the producers as defined by their social and economic context, a value that gives reason and direction to the exchange within the non-capitalist sphere.

Labour and modern machinery are the most valued objects of such transactions since they are those that are most scarce for reasons already explained. Other objects involved in such transactions are certain traditional items of equipment, draught animals, rights of usufruct over plots of land and agricultural produce. The fact that there is considerable variation in the degree to which all the various households of the parish lack these essential elements means that no fixed system of equivalence is used. In the last resort however, all transactions are assessed in terms of their contribution to the over-riding objective of producing goods for the market. Thus the social boundary of the group with which an individual smallholder may choose to collaborate, is confined to those who represent significant others from an economic point of view (STUCHLIK 1975, 1976, 1977).

Implicit in the notion of reciprocity as it is held by the smallholders of Vilatuxe is the idea that prestations should be reciprocated immediately. However there are a number of ways in which a good or a service can be "paid off" in a way that does not involve direct reciprocation in a like manner. Moreover, in actual practice, reciprocation is often deferred in cases where a stable relationship has been established between two or more households.

Proof of the fact that these relations of collaboration are purposive and primary and not the automatic result of other social relations is that repayment for any good received is obligatory. In the first instance however, these relations may be maintained and underwritten by interactions of a purely social character. There is a system of classification whereby all significant others are categorized in categories ranging from "relative" through to "neighbour" and "friend", in each of which a number of subdivisions are made. Close relatives are distinguished from those who are distant, neighbouring households are divided into those which pursue the same production objectives and who for this reason are potential collaborators and those which are not. An innumerable list of social activities helps to sustain these sets of relations — attendance at weddings, baptisms and funerals, ritual kinship, banquetting on name days, etc. — but their principal purpose remains directional in the sense that they are valued according to utilitarian criteria.

6. Conclusion

Both the principles of maximization and reciprocity regulate the non-monetarized area of the economy in Vilatuxe. This internal sphere of the economy is intimately bound to the other, external sphere, that is, production for the market. In the internal sphere, one seeks to gain control of the resources needed for production; in the external sphere one seeks to acquire money. Both the strategies based on maximization and those based on reciprocity in the internal sphere are directed towards the goal of acquiring money in external transactions. These strategies are put into effect in the use of land and the means of production and in the manipulation of social ties with kin and neighbours for the organization of a work force.

There exists a dialectical relationship between the sphere of the capitalist economy and that of the peasant economy which means that the peasant has greater flexibility in the manipulation of his own sphere and fewer possibilities in the manipulation of the capitalist sphere. In order to manipulate in this sphere he needs another element besides the mere capitalization of his enterprise: he needs to share the power wielded by the enterprises which trade with him, in other words he needs to participate in the power of the social class which governs. Far from forming part of this class or enjoying a conjunctural alliance with it, the producer in Vilatuxe has very little control over his power relationships as a result of the political domination exercised in Spain by Fascism; the lack of social, economic, and political power is one more factor which, as pointed out previously, explains why the producers resort to their own economic forms as the principal source of subsistence.

The political domination of the Franco State which preferred the export of manpower to other countries to investment in Spanish agriculture is a factor of the national structure which favoured the domination of capital over the peasant form. In this way there remains little room for manoeuvre and the process of finding solutions remains in the hands of the producer; within the limits imposed by the dominant capitalist class the producer creates mechanisms which allow him to take a step towards the development of his productive forces. Given that this step is taken amongst producers who participate in the dominant relations of capital as a differentiated or peasant sector, the step taken on their own initiative leads them to develop even further transitional forms which are in the process of

penetrating dominant relations, finally relying on them. How far a peasant producer in Vilatuxe can go in his capitalist development on the basis of his own efforts appears to be linked to the forms of the peasant economy which he uses (in the sense that this development will occur insofar as the other peasants provide him with labour in exchange for machines, for example); it also appears to be linked to the forms of the class structure, in that even the most developed producer in Vilatuxe comes up against his lack of ownership of some of the means of production, which would remove him from the narrow path of relying on purely peasant means of production. This class factor, however, can only be sketched out here and must provide the material for another analysis; without it there can be no complete answer concerning the manipulative capacity of the peasants and this must be the next step in the investigation of strategies.

The constraints on production open up a certain range of alternatives in the peasant sphere, in which the producers convert their resources into some of the solutions needed in order to produce for the enterprises and other areas of Spanish capital. The pressure of capital provides them with the stimulus to act upon their own resources; this can be observed amongst the peasants of Vilatuxe. The field of options is as broad as the peasant economy, in the sense that this is the principal source of the major alternatives. Within this field of alternatives the goal of organizing a labour force suitable for operating the means of production previously rationalized by the domestic groups appears to be the basis on which productive labour is organized. Even if the production of commodities is the general target orientating the use of land, the disposition of resources, etc., in the internal sphere it is orientated towards the acquisition of resources, the circulation of productive values, and the constitution of a labour force in manpower and technological elements. This is the way in which the chronic lack of capital is confronted by the smallholders. The need to organize such a labour force gives direction and meaning to the strategies of the domestic groups in relation to their members, as well as to all aspects of parish exchange.

Domestic relations are normally singled out as an organizing factor of the labour force in the economies of the peasantry. It is in this precise aspect that the beginning of a change can be seen in the social relations of Vilatuxe. There seems to be a close relationship between economic obligations to the exterior and the organization of family labour: as the former become more specialized the latter loses importance in its moral

aspects and in the maximization of the workers' input. It could be said that the penetration of work relations in Vilatuxe by capitalist evaluations has altered the norm of reciprocity between relatives and decreased the social distance between all those who take part in exchange but are not relatives. In other words, the family obligations by means of which goods were produced, circulated, and distributed, with unrestricted reciprocity between the members of the domestic group and the extended family in subsistence agriculture, have come to be fulfilled in very different ways. The strategies employed by domestic groups in order to mobilize their means of production and to organize their work force demonstrate that maximization is the principle which guides their actions. In this sense reciprocity has become a norm of maximization of the work force which assures, by means of the fulfilment of balanced obligations, social relations in the productive field. Even when there is greater economic benefit, in the field of value, for the producer who has more resources, in the field of prestations the evaluation tends to put them on the same level in order to solve the fundamental problem of producing. Reciprocity is the factor which assures relations between producers who are not linked by economic bonds of subordination, such as the bond constituted by a wage relationship. If there is no such bond between producers then relations between peasants are direct and the economic link needs to be established by various means on the basis of a non-economic principle which orientates the transactions of the internal sphere of the economy of Vilatuxe. This link, however, is also undergoing transformation by virtue of the relation with the market; economic value is pervading social interaction more and more and imposing a hierarchy on relations. It can be said that by means of reciprocal relations, capitalist relations are entering into the peasant economy of Vilatuxe; this explains the search for profit in these relations.

The model of the strategies that I have presented here is characterized by its contradictory elements: maximizing strategies within restricted and limited alternatives; maximization of scarcity, in which the orientation by prices is an element which helps the producers to continue producing permanently without being able to alter supply and demand for agricultural products; and reciprocity guided by the maximization of the labour force. This contradiction within which the peasants operate results from the reality within which they lead their lives, and from the antithesis which the gain sought by the enterprises which operate within peasant production means for peasant production itself, placing a limit to

the expansion sought in their logic of permanent distribution of persons and resources. However, these strategies are the only viable way of attaining the productive targets and surviving.

(1980)

Notes

¹I do not discuss the specific elements which constitute the problem of capital here since my aim is to elaborate a general model.

²The organization of agricultural work and of social relations in general in Vilatuxe must be understood against the background of these limiting factors.

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THE REAL AND IDEAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING OF IBAN WOMEN:
A STUDY OF A LONGHOUSE COMMUNITY IN SARAWAK, EAST MALAYSIA

Gitta I. Kományi

BURBANK

Introduction

To understand fully the human interaction within a given culture, it is very important to study the participation of its members and to evaluate the impact of their decisions upon their society. The purpose of this research is to determine the real and ideal participation in decision-making of Iban women through a study of a longhouse community in Sarawak, East Malaysia.

The question of women's participation in decision-making activities in the western world is most notably seen in the Women's Liberation Movement. This concern is as pressing today as it was about fifty years ago when similar issues were advanced by the suffragettes (MILLET 1970).

In the area of women's participation in decision-making in western countries as the United States or England, there is a sharp contrast between the real and ideal. According to western ideals, there is a quest for equal opportunities for men and women. In the real professional world, however, equality is not always achieved.

Although this inequality has existed in western countries, early nineteenth century writers visiting non-western societies were surprised and concerned with what appeared to them to be "unequal" treatment of women. According to one writer, "... women are regarded as inferior to men, and made to be subservient to their wants and pleasures" (Condition and Character of Females in Pagan and Mohamedan Countries, anon.: n.p. n.d.). The author further remarks that this kind of treatment would be unacceptable in Christian countries.

A look at Japan, India, Ceylon, and Liberia (PATAI 1967) shows that today women are permitted to occupy leading positions in government, business, and the professions.

Although in the past century anthropologists and scholars from other disciplines have studied the role of women within both literate and non-literate societies, little attention has been given to the specific relationship between the real and ideal participation in decision-making of women in non-literate societies. Through field studies of non-literate societies as yet little involved with western technology, the participant-observer can study what values are culture-bound to a particular society and which are universal (LINTON 1936: 397).

The people of Southeast Asia are similar in physical type, language, and material culture, and they share many cultural traits, yet subtle differences do exist between the different groups. The Iban life-style demonstrates such shared cultural traits, however, they display differences in detail which are unique to them.

This research attempts to identify the norms that permit or do not permit Iban women equal participation in decision-making with men. Further, this study contrasts the nature of differences between the ideal and real participation in decision-making of women in Iban society.

It is difficult to study one's own society. But by seeing its counterpart in a simpler form in another society, comparison and contrast can be gained that might provide fresh insight into problems of the real role of women in the western world.

History and cultural background of the Ibans

Early history reveals that the island of Borneo was known to the Arabs several centuries ago, and Baring-Gould and Bampfylde note that according to early fables "Simbad the Sailor" visited these shores. Further:

"When Genghis Khan conquered China, and founded his mighty Mogul Empire (1206-1227), it is possible that he extended his rule over Borneo, where the Chinese has already settled" (BARING-GOULD and BAMPFYLDE 1898: 36-37).

The first Europeans who sailed to Borneo were the Spanish, in 1521. Later, in 1600, Oliver Van Noost, a Dutchman, and in 1665 the first Englishman, Captain Cowley, visited the island (BARING-GOULD and BAMPFYLDE 1898: 42).

Prior to the arrival of another Englishman, James Brooke, in 1839, Sarawak did not attract many travelers' attention, except, that of Gonsavo

Pereora, a Portuguese, who on his second visit to Brunei, a neighbouring State of Sarawak, in 1530, reported that

"Tanjapura (which cannot be identified) and Cereva (Sarawak) were the principal ports, and contained many wealthy merchants" (BARING-GOULD and BAMPFYLDE 1898: 45).

At the time of James Brooke's second visit to Sarawak, in 1841, Rajah Muda Hassin, the heir to the throne of Brunei and whose jurisdiction also extended to Sarawak (PAYNE 1969: 38), requested Brooke's help to end the civil war between the Rajah's viceroys and his subjects. In gratitude for the intervention, Muda Hassim

"... assigned to James the government of Sarawak and its dependencies, in return for a small annual payment to the Sultan of Brunei and a promise to respect the laws and religion of the country. The document was duly signed, sealed and delivered; and on 24 November 1841 James Brooke was ceremoniously proclaimed Rajah and Governor of Sarawak" (RUNCIMAN 1964: 67).

The territory was ruled by the Brooke family until 1945. During World War II, from 1942 to 1945, Sarawak was occupied by the Japanese. In 1946 the third Rajah, Sir Charles Vyner Brooke, formally surrendered his domain to the British, and Sarawak became a British Crown Colony. Since the formation of Malaysia, in 1963, Sarawak is a State within the Malaysian Federation (JENSEN 1966: 6).

Among the numerous ethnic groups of Sarawak the Iban, or Sea Dayak, population is the second largest, numbering 247 000, which constitutes 30.2 percent of the total population (PRINGLE 1970: 16).

The Ibans are immigrants and arrived to Borneo

"less than three hundred years ago, possibly from Sumatra" (HOSE 1926: 7). "According to their own tradition and the available evidence, the Ibans came into Sarawak from the upper reaches of the Kapuas river (in what is now called Indonesian Borneo, Kalimantan) by way of the Kumpang river (JENSEN 1966: 14).

Politically Sarawak consists of five Divisions which are subdivided into Districts (JENSEN 1966: 12). The Ibans inhabit all five Divisions, however, the largest number live by the river banks in the Second and Third Division (JENSEN 1966: 15).

Concerning the Iban language, several theories have been suggested. Hose says that present-day Malay evolved from the Iban, and differences between these two languages are the result of the influence of the Islamic religion (HOSE 1926: 6-7). Roth, however, maintains that:

"... the language of the Sea Dayaks, though altogether different in such parts as having not been adopted from the Malay, is merely a less refined dialect of the language spoken over all Polynesia, and its connexion with that of the other wild tribes, particularly those of Sumatra is easily to be traced" (ROTH 1896/II: 271).

Bampfylde believes that the roots of Malay and Iban are not only synonymous, but that the two languages are even identical in origin. Bampfylde also observes that differences existing in these languages are due to Malay borrowing from Arabic, or from languages of India, such as Tamil, and from Javanese.

Pringle, on the other hand disagrees and says that because of the paucity in research done to date, it is not possible to state, as some writers have done (CENSE and UHLENBECK 1958: 10, 20), that the Iban language is a dialect of Malay. Pringle also states that there is a definite resentment by the Ibans toward some politicians of Malaysia who describe the Iban language as:

"... 'just bad Malay', something similar to the rural dialects of Kelmantan or Trengganu. They are particularly proud of the rich repertory of oral literature in the Iban language, which is totally different in form from anything in peninsular Malay" (PRINGLE 1970: 20-21).

The Ibans' physical characteristics reveal that they belong to the Malay stock. The Ibans, like the Malays, are brachycephalic, have straight black hair and dark eyes, like the "classic" Mongoloids, they are almost beardless, and their skin has an olive hue (BARING-GOULD and BAMPFYLDE 1909: 22-23).

Agriculture and religion for the Ibans are so closely related that "their whole way of life is permeated with religious conceptions"; therefore, in their daily life it is not possible to distinguish between "the technical and religious operations: they are equally necessary" (FREEMAN 1970: xiv). The Ibans believe that their agricultural methods "confirm their spiritual pedigree" because their knowledge of the technique of cultivation is derived from the gods (JENSEN 1966: 36).

The Iban practice dry rice cultivation. The rice padi is not only a crop, it is also the Iban "way of life" and "is the basis of Iban morality". Observation and recognition of rituals and restrictions are also associated with the rice padi (JENSEN 1966: 26, 38-39). The Sea Dayaks even today are very little controlled by the influence and consequences of modern technology. Their agriculture is based on the "slash and burn" method, and they still use very simple tools.

Concerning their relationship to the supernatural, the Ibans do not worship idols, their religion is animistic; they believe in spiritual beings who control the air, the earth, and the water (BARING-GOULD and BAMPFYLDE 1909: 445-446). These supernatural beings may be spirits, antu, or gods, petara, and they generally appear in human form (in dreams), or in animal form (FREEMAN 1970: 117). The spirits, antu, can be good or evil and are often "savage, hungry, and violent"; the good ones are often identified with the gods, petara, who are always good (ROTH 1896: 184, 186).

It is also believed that the padi is a "spirit" and that it has a soul and a personality of its own, therefore, it must be treated like the deities, with reverence and respect. Consequently, every Iban family possesses a strain of sacred rice, padi pun, which is the focus of the elaborate magico-religious padi cult (FREEMAN 1970: 50).

The Ibans implicitly rely on omens, which are given by birds, animals, reptiles, and in dreams,

"through which the spirits convey warning or encouragement in respect to the affairs they may be engaged upon, or contemplate undertaking" (BARING-GOULD and BAMPFYLDE 1909: 446).

Omens are followed when choosing the site for building, acquiring a bride, or performing padi rituals. At these occasions, girls beat gongs, the purpose of which is to forestall any possibility of an accidentally encountered omen bird causing the entire venture to be abandoned. To an outsider this seems to be quite inconsistent with the Ibans' general religious beliefs, but it is customary to obtain at least one good omen which is favorable toward the planned undertaking. Thus, having presented several propitiatory offerings to the gods before starting the project, the Ibans will shut their ears to all further admonition -- for better or for worse.

"As this suggests, an Iban's attitude towards his gods is far from passive, rather he is constantly concerned with the ritual manipulation of magical and supernatural forces, so that they will combine to his advantage" (FREEMAN 1970: 118).

The Sea Dayaks believe that their augury system "has a divine sanction", and its function is to guide and help, not hinder or harm the people. They believe that misfortune is not caused by

"omens of evil, but by man's failure to heed their warning, by his wilful disregard to the prognostication of the gods" (FREEMAN 1970: 118).

To perform the rituals and ceremonies the shaman's presence is important. The Sea Dayak shamans or manang are believed to possess mysterious powers, and although today many Ibans are Christian, the function of the shaman is still important. A shaman, or manang can be male or female (ROTH 1896/I: 282).

Charms, pengaroh, are also important for the Ibans. Every family possesses some charms which sometimes are kept in a small cloth bag, or in small baskets which are hung on the ceiling with the skulls of long ago defeated enemies. These pengaroh are either inherited or revealed by the spirits to the owner or to his ancestors in their dreams.

The Ibans live in longhouses which are built by the river banks; these structures are supported by stilts. Some of the longhouses are smaller, containing six to ten families, others are larger, and may have as many as fifty families. The longhouse is in "essence", a village consisting of a 'single street' of attached apartments. Each longhouse has a headman, tuai-rumah, sometimes a headwoman, chupi, and an augur, tuai-burong. The headman deals with judicial matters, and the augur is "generally responsible for the ritual well-being of the longhouse" (FREEMAN 1952: 3, 10, 26).

In the longhouse each family has an "apartment" or bilek, and among the families there are kinship ties (FREEMAN 1952: 1). The members of the family share the bilek as well as the privileges and the responsibilities involved. An average family consists of five-six persons, the parents, the children and the parents of either the wife or the husband, but never of both. The kinship system is bilateral which permits membership in either the mother's or the father's family and can be achieved by marriage or adoption (FREEMAN 1952: 5-7).

Literature reveals that Iban women

"... occupy a position of equality and respect. They work hard but they have considerable independence and in Iban custom their position is in no way inferior to that of their men folk" (MORRISON 1957: 197).

There are no restrictions in the division of labor, but women, men, young and old "prefer" certain occupations. As far as property is concerned, the Ibans distinguish between: ritual property, prestige property, productive property, and profitable assets (JENSEN 1966: 60-68).

These reputedly kind and hospitable people were the feared headhunters of Borneo (BARING-GOULD and BAMPFYLDE 1909: 390). The custom of

head-hunting is based on the same principle as that of scalp-hunting among the North American Indians (BARING-GOULD and BAMPFYLDE 1909: 25). The Iban "adopted" these practices from the "Kayans or other tribes" and

"... when the Ibans associated in practical matters with the Malays of the coast, these latter assigned to their allies the heads of their enemies, as a sort of perquisite" (HOSE 1926: 145).

A further possible explanation for head-hunting can be based upon an Iban custom which required that a dead chief's dependents must be killed "... in order that their spirit might accompany and serve him on the journey to the other world" (HOSE 1926: 145). Later this practice, serving the same purpose, was modified by slaying the "enemy on the field of combat and bringing home his head" (HOSE 1926: 146). Yet another reason for head-hunting is the fact that

"A young man formerly found it difficult to obtain a wife till he had got at least one head to present to the object of his heart as token of his powers; but it was quite immaterial whether the head was that of a man or woman, old or young (JENSEN 1966: 60-68).

Location and method of research

Each Iban longhouse has an individual identity. Therefore, to locate a longhouse, the name of the house, the river on which it is situated, the River System and the Division, and sometimes the name of the nearest city is included.

The research for this study was primarily conducted at Samu, an Iban longhouse located on the shore of the Paku river, which is part of the Saribas District near Spaoh, a city in the Second Division.

The Paku river is a tributary of the Saribas river; it is twenty-miles long and approximately seven thousand people live in twenty-eight longhouses along its banks. Samu, built in 1925, has twenty-one bileks, and approximately one hundred and twenty people live under its roof. The present site of Samu has been occupied by other longhouses through Iban history, since this part of the river was inhabited by Ibans from the time of their original settlement in Sarawak. The ancestors of the people of Samu initially lived by the Skrand and Padeh rivers in the Second Division, but between seven and nine generations ago, around the middle of the eighteenth century

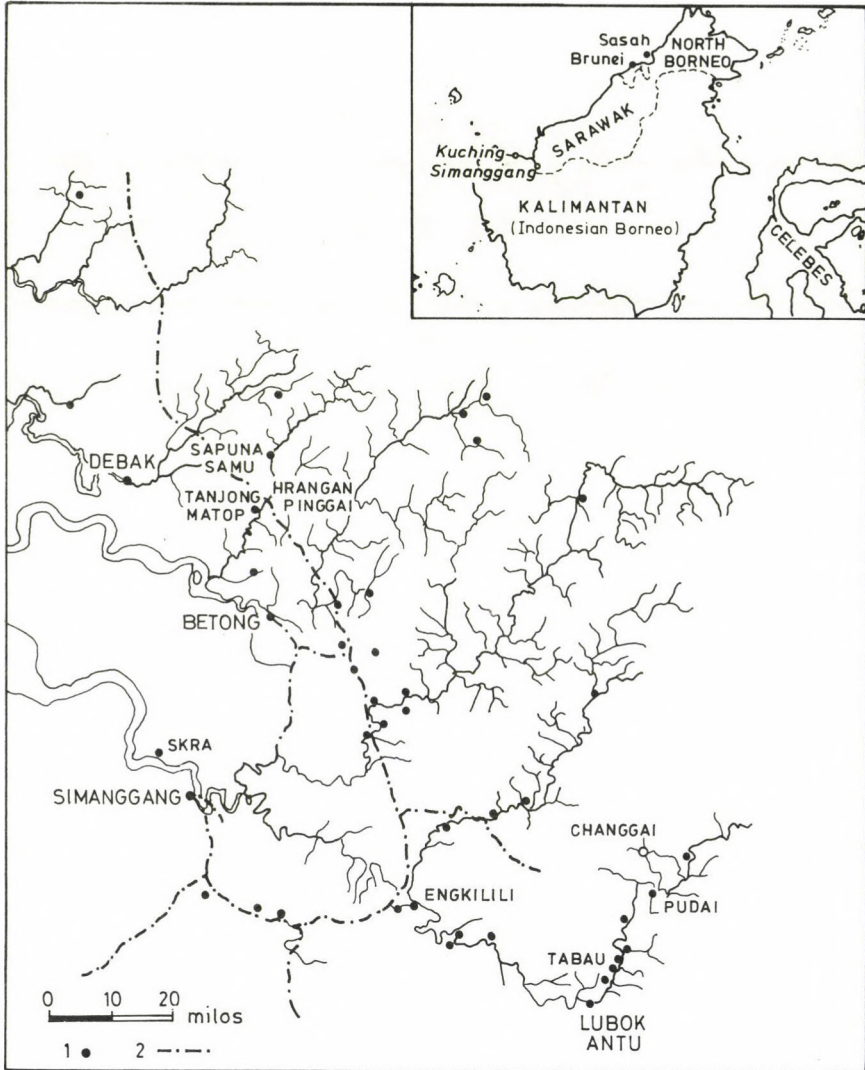


Fig. 1. The Second Division - Sarawak

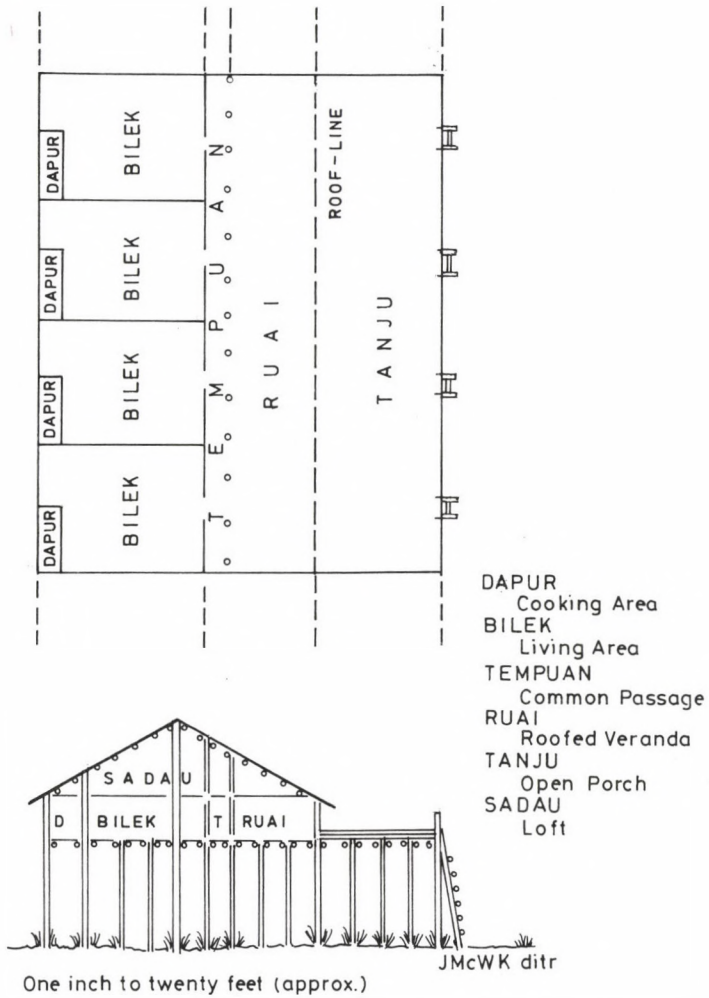


Fig. 2. Diagrammic views of a Rumah Panjai at Samu 1971
(The Iban longhouse in which the author lived)

"the Ibans followed their chief, Jantan, and his daughters and sons to the Paku river where they built the first Samu and other longhouses" (SANDIN 1971).

Samu was the longhouse in which the researcher lived during most of her stay in Sarawak, in 1971, and it served as a home-base from which other longhouses on the Paku and other rivers were visited.

This field study used the elements of descriptive research, a process "involving the collection of data for the purpose of describing conditions as they exist" (SAX 1968: 288).

The anthropological methods of inquiry involved participant observation, unstructured interviews, and utilized interpreters, tape-recorders, and cameras. Data collected at Samu were checked and cross-checked with information obtained from other longhouses.

While living in the longhouses, this researcher participated in the everyday activities of the Iban women. This consisted of helping to gather vegetables, carry water from the river, cook, care for children, and occasionally help and observe work on the padi fields, as well as in the pepper and rubber gardens. Often this "help" was rather a "hindrance" to the Iban women, especially when pounding rice, because they could do it much faster and more efficiently.

All activities, such as conferences, funerals, and wedding, were permitted to be observed. There were no parts of any event where this researcher could not be present or was treated as an outsider.

At Samu and the other longhouses visited, a total of approximately one-hundred females were interviewed. Among these were unmarried girls, young married women between the ages of twenty and thirty years, and older women up to the age of eighty.

When it was possible these interviews were taped. Iban women are shy and often the presence of the tape-recorder made them even more so; however, there were only few women who did not want to speak into the microphone at all.

Because the Iban way of life is primarily based on sharing and togetherness, and because the people of each longhouse are closely related (often to third and fourth cousins), privacy is rarely possible. Consequently, when interviewing in the house, it was difficult to speak to anyone in private; other women, men, and children always were present. Therefore, this researcher felt handicapped several times in getting accurate data distinguishing the real from the ideal participation in

decision-making by women at Samu. However, frequently when walking or shopping in the bazaars, it was possible to obtain information from single individuals.

Many teenagers could speak English, but were often reluctant to do so for fear of being laughed at or teased by the others, however good naturedly. The boys seemed to be less sensitive in this respect than the girls. Very few women aged twenty-five and older spoke English at all. Very frequently adolescent boys, as well as married men up to forty years of age, could speak English and were delighted to speak into the microphone. This researcher was very cautious in that the men should not answer the questions instead of the women, but there were times when some men declared: "I can give the correct answers to your questions".

Cross-checking the answers given by men and women always revealed that the men often did give the answers from the women's standpoint. It must be stressed that in Iban society the women are treated with pride and respect by the men, therefore, their opinion in any matter regarding the women was always positive. Everyone in Samu was aware of the fact that this study was primarily concerned with the women, consequently, the men were more than eager to take every opportunity to be present at the interviews and urge the women to show their intricately woven mats, baskets, and blankets, and to tell the researcher when they made them and what each item was used for.

To combat inconsistencies, the possibility of misunderstanding any questions and answers, or not obtaining accurate answers, all the information was cross-checked by interviewing women in other long-houses. The results thus obtained concerning the Iban women's participation in decision-making proved to be uniform in all houses. The only discernable difference in data could be traced to the different geographical location of the houses. While Samu was close to a main road and public transportation, some of the other houses could only be reached after long boat-rides, sometimes taking two-three hours. Consequently, exposure to Christianity as well as to "progress" in the western sense, had less impact on the houses in the remote areas. Thus, customs and traditions were kept alive and practiced more there.

Most informants did not know their ages or how many years they had been married, especially those who appeared to be over thirty years old. Whenever they were asked their ages, they looked puzzled and, instead of answering immediately, they asked the researcher, "How old are you?" Then

they either guessed a number, or consulted the others and then decided their own ages. One reason for this is that many people cannot read or write. Another reason is that, although everyone this investigator met was able to tell time by the clock (to possess a clock is a prestige symbol), the Ibans are not as "time oriented" as Western people are.

The Ibans work on their fields whenever it is necessary or the weather permits. Consequently, there are no specific "work days" or "rest days" observed during the week. The Ibans do not go to work daily in any kind of industry, but their whole life-style centers around their subsistence economy.

Since most people now have western calendars, they know during which month the sowing, weeding or harvesting is to be done. Their "new year" begins after the harvest is completed, which may be some time in May or June. However, June 1st is "Dayak Day", proclaimed by the government as the official Dayak New Year's Day. Elaborate harvest celebrations may take place occasionally, depending upon the wealth of the house and the abundance of the crop. However, the completion of the harvest is generally celebrated in every house with a day of rest. On these occasions a few close relatives might also visit the house.

While collecting data, photographs also were taken. The camera was permitted to be used at all times with one exception, during a funeral ceremony when the body was placed in the coffin and the coffin was still open.

During data collection, meticulous note-taking was employed, and the information was arranged under the following criteria:

1. Activities customarily performed exclusively or predominantly by females and males;
2. Activities both sexes participate in: alternatively, jointly;
3. Activities honoured, disliked by, or forbidden to women;
4. Women's daily routine;
5. Rights, duties, privileges and disabilities of women as compared to those of men: personal, domestic, economic, ceremonial and legal (MURDOCK 1945: 12, 47).

Growing up and becoming an active member in the Iban society

This investigator was favourably received by all longhouse communities which she had opportunity to visit and was accepted as a member of the family which was vitally important to this research.

While living with the Ibans and sharing their daily life, this investigator's first and most lasting impression was the important role played by the grandparents and their special function in the longhouse. It is the grandparents who spend a great deal of time with babies, children and youth; they are the story-tellers, the guardians of oral literature, they are the teachers of customs and traditions. They mould youngsters toward their future roles in adult life. The girls learn weaving, cooking, and sewing from their grandparents. Both boys and girls, however, learn far more than customary skills of everyday work patterns; they learn the Iban way of thinking and believing.

For Iban women the real and ideal participation in decision-making is largely determined early in life by the grandmothers' guidance and the way they shape girls from birth to adulthood. It is through imitation of the real adult that children and youth learn the ideal values of their culture. Kluckhohn and Kroeber define culture as:

"... a historically derived system of explicit and implicit design for living, which tends to be shared by all or especially designated members of a group" (KROEBER and KLUCKHOHN 1952: 119).

Characteristic to all cultures, though in varying degree, is the disparity between the real and the ideal. The real denotes what actually exists, the observable phenomenon, and the ideal pertains to what ought to be. According to Kluckhohn, as quoted by Beals and Hoijer,

"... ideal patterns define what the people of a society would do or say in particular situations if they conformed completely to the standards set by their culture... Behavioural (real) patterns, on the other hand, are derived from observations of how people actually behave in particular situations" (BEALS and HOIJER 1965: 272).

Birth and Infancy

Before the birth of an Iban child several taboos, penti, must be observed by both parents to protect the child from future accidents and evil influences. The future parents are not permitted to cut, chop, tie or nail

anything. Neither parent may eat while walking; if the neighbour next door hands something through the window both the pregnant woman and her husband must accept it so that their hands do not pass through the window. No animal may be killed during this time by either the husband or the wife, and if the husband participates in a hunt he can only kill an animal if it endangers his life.

However, the observance of certain taboos, penti, are often modified. For instance, the pregnant woman is permitted to waive, make baskets, and mats, but another woman has to begin the work for her. The husband, also, must follow similar rules in house building, tree-felling, and trench digging. He can participate, but other men who are not under penti must start the work for him. Similarly, if during the hunt the husband has to kill an animal, another member of the party must claim it, thus, diverting evil from the unborn child.

These restrictions are to be followed until the child cuts his first teeth, or in some cases, until he begins to speak. Informants at Tanjong and Skra longhouses commented, however, that today many Ibans, especially those who are Christians, do not always follow these rules, because they believe that "if luck is with you nothing evil can happen to you".

A midwife is usually present at the birth of an Iban child. She is either an older woman who is experienced midwife, or is a woman who has received some training through a program instituted by the Federal Government of Malaysia.

According to informants, Iban women usually have easy births. Should any difficulty occur to women living in remote areas, occasionally, the medicine man's help is sought. Where a government-run medical station is accessible, the woman usually is taken there.

The day before this investigator arrived at Skra longhouse, twin boys were born there. Skra can be reached by boat in about two hours from the city of Simanggang which has a hospital. Fortunately, the woman had no difficulties in giving birth, thus, the help of the longhouse women was sufficient. Informants responding to questions concerning the procedures at birth said that the afterbirth of boys and girls was buried near the house (sometimes it is placed in a small basket and hung on a tree in the cemetery), and the umbilical cord was put in a box and kept in the house.

The twins were bound in a cloth and placed on a "bed", which was a mat on the floor with a cloth over it, two small cushions and a blanket. The children's bodies were covered with a red substance made from a mix-

ture of betel (areca nuts, pepper leaf, sirah, and lime paste). When this is chewed, it produces a red liquid which the women spit and smear over the babies' bodies. This is to protect the children from infections, sickness and evil spirits.

After giving birth, the mother is seated with her back to the fire and she must do so from fourteen to thirty days. The time limit set and the activities she is permitted to do around the house are not always strictly followed. However, in most cases the woman sits by the fire for a few days following the birth, during which time she is not permitted to lie down "lest the bad blood goes to her head". Besides her usual meals, the mother is frequently given ginger tea, and her back is rubbed by a woman relative with vegetable oil.

When the baby is three days old, he is taken outside by an important person, such as the chief, or the augur of the longhouse, and is introduced to the sun. After a few weeks, or it may be later, the child is given a ceremonial bath in the river. The ceremony is performed by three men and one young girl. If the baby is a girl, the ceremony is performed by two men and one woman, if it is a boy, by three men; however, in both cases, the baby is bathed by a young girl. Food offerings are thrown into the water, and according to Penghulu Sanggatt, of Tanjong longhouse,

A prayer for the child's health and happiness is offered to the water, earth, sun and the moon. A rooster is killed and its wing is tied to a shuttle of a loom with a red thread if the ceremony is for a girl, and it is tied to a spear if the ceremony is for a boy. The child then is bathed in the river. After three days the rooster's wing is thrown into the river, the shuttle or the spear is taken back to the house. This ceremony is not held today by all Ibans exactly the same way, there are some changes in the procedure, especially with those people who are Christians.

No ceremony is held when a child is named, and until he is one or two years old he is known only by a nickname. His real name is chosen according to the rules of the Iban genealogies, from dreams of the parents or grandparents, or from at least seven names written on pieces of paper; these papers are placed on the ground and a rooster is brought, and whichever name the rooster pecks first, that name will become the child's real name.

Real names are often changed. In the case of Penghulu Sanggatt's son,

"when the boy was a few days old he became ill and in spite of lengthy hospital treatment he did not show improvement. One day the boy's great-grandmother had a dream that the child will get better only if his real name is changed".

Penghulu Sanggatt commented that, although he does not believe that sickness comes from evil spirits, he felt that the boy's name should be changed. Soon after receiving his new name, the child recovered and he is a healthy boy today.

Iban children are breast fed, sometimes for as long as four years if there is no new baby on the way. This, however, is the exception rather than the rule. It was observed in several houses that after the babies are about one year old they are fed from a bottle with diluted powdered milk¹ (fresh milk is not available), fruit juices, and other soft food, but frequently the mother's breast still serves as pacifier.

Childhood

Children born in an Iban longhouse live in a society where they are wanted and loved. The family and community generally does not favour one sex over the other, perhaps because in the Iban bilateral kinship system both sexes are equally important to the society.

Iban parents are permissive, thoroughly enjoy their children, and rarely punish them. This researcher has seen only once a father lightly slap his four year old son's leg, because in spite of several warnings, he tried to play with a sharp instrument.

Children are never left alone at any time. Older girls are always around to help to look after the little ones, and imitating their mothers and grandmothers, they carry the babies on their backs or their hips in a sarong slung over their shoulders. This researcher has never seen boys carrying babies. When the family is together in the evening, small children play with their parents. It is difficult to justify the expression play, because in the current western sense play frequently involves games and toys. Iban children do not play organized games with set rules, nor do they have many toys. Among the few toys this researcher saw in any longhouse were crudely carved wooden dolls, small manufactured dolls, motor cars or airplanes. One Iban parent said,

"we cannot afford to buy toys, therefore, it is best if the children do not get used to them".

The most important virtues instilled in Iban children at an early age are obedience, respect for elders and truthfulness. Later as adults, it will be their duty to care for the aging members of their families, and they will have to provide shelter and food for the sick and infirm. Lying

is one of the gravest crimes in the eyes of Ibans, and those who are not truthful are fined.²

At about five to six years of age the girls begin to help their mother and grandmother, and the boys, their fathers and grandfathers. The girls help in the house with the cooking, cleaning, and caring of the babies. They are often given a few strands of bamboo and assisted by the older female members of the house, they begin to learn to weave baskets and mats. The boys learn to carve, to collect firewood, to hunt, and to help on the rice fields. Both boys and girls are encouraged to learn to dance well and to play the gongs and drums, as these skills are much admired by the Ibans.

Children attend school whenever possible, even though many school buildings are located far from the longhouses and tuition, uniforms, and boarding are quite expensive. In spite of these difficulties, many parents send their children, boys as well as girls, to school. However, as one informant commented,

"often it is not only the question of money whether a child is educated or not, it is rather that, unfortunately, many parents do not yet understand the value of education".

Adolescence, courtship and marriage

No special ceremony marks the onset of adolescence, but both girls and boys assume increased responsibilities toward the family in their early teens. This researcher observed that the adolescent girl (fourteen-fifteen years old) participates actively in longhouse conferences and her opinion is often sought.

An Iban girl may marry when she is fifteen or sixteen years old. Now, however, as educational opportunities improve, marriages tend to occur at a slightly later age, such as eighteen to twenty two. A period of courtship, called ngajap, which is a uniquely Iban custom, precedes the betrothal.

Since young people have little opportunity to socialize during the day, the time for courting is during the night. In the bilek, apartment, in which a marriageable girl lives, a wooden four-poster bed is placed near the door. Bolsters and sheets usually are gaily embroidered, garlands often decorate the ceiling of the bed, and a mosquito net is hung around the bed.

Parents, small children, and the unmarried girls sleep in the same room, while unmarried men sleep on the ruai, verandah. When the family has retired the young man visits the girl of his choice and if he is favoured, he is admitted under the mosquito net. This courtship, according to customary law, demands that

"... when a young man and girl have reached a certain stage of intimacy, marriage should follow as a matter of fact. It is however, a recognized formality before marrying for the suitor to ask the consent of the girl's parents, who, had they any objection, would have naturally stopped the courtship at an early stage of the proceedings" (RICHARDS 1963: 95).

Before marriage can take place not only the parents' approval must be sought, but the whole longhouse must agree as well. On these occasions the headman, tuai rumah, holds a conference during which all members of the longhouse are present. Women are always told of the forthcoming conference and its objective, they are informed by their husbands and by the headman's wife, who exercises great influence upon the women.

The conference begins after the evening meal, and everyone gathers on the verandah. The men sit in one circle with the headman at the focal point, and the women form another circle next to the men. While the women say it is not "polite" for them to sit among the men, this researcher observed that the "separateness" is only physical, because the women actively participate in all decisions being made. After the headman announces the purpose of the meeting, the father of the bride speaks. (If both the bride and the groom are from the same house, both parents speak.) After the relationship of the two families is established according to Iban customary law, and no objection is raised by anyone in the house, the wedding day is set.

Conferences are held not only for marriage but also for funerals, as well as for any other occasion for which everyone in the longhouse is involved. During these conferences women speak freely, put forth proposals, and make comments.

The Ibans usually do not perform a "marriage ceremony", but before the couple finally settles down, either in the bride's or the groom's house, both parties have a separate wedding feast. According to informants, Ibans who are Christian often marry "in the Iban way as well as in the church of their faith". However, depending on the wealth of the family, the church wedding is held soon after the Iban wedding, or it may be deferred to a later date.

This researcher was invited to one wedding feast which was held at the bride's house, at Matop longhouse on the Paku river. Including the inhabitants of Matop, about seven hundred people attended the feast which lasted all day and night.

At the beginning of the festivities, the long line of visitors were required to walk around the longhouse verandah three times, led by the men. During the fourth time around, the guests were given rice wine, tuak, by members of each bilek, apartment. Rice wine is very potent, and since one must accept it from each person offering it, it is advisable to only taste it each time.

Preparation of the food began the day before and the meals were of pork, chicken, fish, rice and vegetables. Fruits, nuts, and rice cake, a traditional feature of Iban wedding feasts, were also in abundance. Along the verandah brass trays were placed filled with food offerings for the spirits.

During this festive occasion it is customary for the guests to visit every family in the longhouse. Consequently, the women of Matop were busy all day preparing and serving food and drinks for their visitors. The bride spent most of her time in the kitchen because her main concern was the well-being of her guests.

Meals were served several times during the day and night. The men were served first on the verandah by the women and young boys; the women ate later in their rooms. No woman ate on the verandah, but several men had their meals with the women in the rooms.

Entertainment was provided by men and women who were beating gongs, playing drums, and men dancing the traditional ngajat. "This dance is said originally to have been a kind of training for battle"³ (SEELER 1969: 192). Today the ngajat is danced by men and women, and while the motifs still suggest combat, the dance is not as realistic as before. At the wedding feast the women did not dance. Seeler notes,

"... dance is an integral part of religious ceremonies, healing rites, and social gatherings... Ibans appear to perform dances during occasions which are significant to the community as a whole. Dance does not play much part in birth or marriage or death since these are individual experience; the others affect the welfare of the community" (SEELER 1969: 189).

At the wedding feast which this researcher attended, a conference was held, lasting till morning, between the bride's and groom's families to establish the amount of money the groom can contribute to the marriage,

and to their future needs. However, according to the customary law:

"... no dowry is expected from either bride or bridgroom and parents have little control over the desires of their children; furthermore, if any interference is proved with intent to cause trouble between husband and wife, the meddling individual is fined..." (RICHARDS 1963: 109).

Courtship does not always precede a marriage, and not every courtship culminates in marriage. Occasionally, as it was the case at this wedding, the bride and groom did not know each other. The wedding had been arranged by the families. There had been no man in the bride's family since her father died, whereas in the husband's family no additional woman's help was needed, therefore, the new husband came to reside in his wife's house.

Interviewing women in several longhouses suggested that most Iban marriages, especially among those who are now approximately forty years old or over, were arranged by the families, and rarely marriages occur where the young people had a free choice. Ideally the Iban customary law does not forbid the freedom to choose one's partner in marriage, but even today, especially in the remote areas, this is seldom the case.

The bridegroom was not present at the wedding feast, but next morning the bride, accompanied by her women friends and relatives, was taken to her husband's house. Here both were seated on brass gongs, a rooster was waved over their heads by one of the elders of the house and a long prayer was offered to the Supreme Being⁴ for the couple's health and happiness.

The newly-weds remained seven days in the groom's house and then they came to live in the wife's house. A few days later the wife presented her new husband to her friends and relatives in the longhouses in her district.

Now that she is married, the Iban woman assumes her role as a fully accepted member of the community; her participation in decision-making becomes significant within her bilek-family and the longhouse as a whole. The only rule both husband and wife must abide by is to avoid to utter the names of their in-laws.⁵

Womanhood

Early writers commented that Iban women occupied important positions in their society. One writer observed that

"... in many cases they are more important than their husbands, and their advice is often followed in serious business. Likewise their assistance and good opinion go a long way to establish a successful result in any negotiation. Their general conversation is not wanting in wit, and considerable acuteness of perception is evinced..." (ROTH 1896: 85-86).

Iban women's role and participation in decision-making in their society subsequently is discussed in a) leadership and legal matters, b) religion and c) agriculture.

Leadership and legal matters

Leadership within the longhouse is exercised by the tuai rumah, headman. Although either man or woman can become tuai rumah, the only female who holds this title at present is Preda. Preda is married and is about thirty years old. Her father was the headman at Tabau, a longhouse at Lubok Antu in the Second Division. Preda was chosen to fulfill her father's office after his death about three years ago. This office is not inherited, however, there are cases when the headman is succeeded by a member of his immediate family.

This information was furnished to the researcher by the officers of the Sixth Royal Malaysian Regiment, stationed at Lubok Antu, at the time of collection of data for this study. When Sandin, the curator of the Sarawak Museum, was asked to confirm this information, he told this researcher that he had no knowledge of any woman holding the office of the tuai rumah. He further ascertained that, while Iban customary law does not specify whether man or woman should be headman, according to his knowledge the tuai rumah were always men.

The headman's wife is the "first lady" of the community and she exercises considerable influence on the women of the longhouse. Informants often remarked that "whenever the women wish to achieve changes, the headman's wife is consulted and her intervention is sought". An event which this researcher attended at Tanjong longhouse may serve as an example.

The Malaysian Government instituted a program through the Department of Agriculture to help the Ibans in matters of hygiene and economical housekeeping. A trained Home Demonstrator (an Iban woman) visited the longhouse to initiate the program. The whole house attended the conference, and, after the Home Demonstrator explained the program and its benefits, the headman's wife invited the women of the house to ask questions, make

comments, and decide whether or not to accept the proposed innovations. At this conference it was proposed that the people of the longhouse should be taught to plant vegetables. Informants said that

"not every house accepts the new program, but these people who do not wish to participate show that they do not like the new way of life and do not wish to improve their condition".

At Tanjong, however, the Home Demonstrator's proposals were well received. The headman's wife was nominated to be the head of the program, and several other women were chosen to be in charge of the different projects. As at all conferences, the men were also present. They too asked questions and made comments, but they did not influence the women in their decisions. When the researcher asked the women what would happen if a decision made by them would not be accepted by the men, informants replied,

"we try always to bring about a change which we know will benefit the community, the men understand this also, therefore, they never oppose our decisions".

The men must also participate in the program, they have to clear the ground for the vegetable garden. One woman commented,

"you might think that the men only agree to have a vegetable garden because it does not involve them, however, they too have to work extra to make the program successful".

The legal rights and duties of every Iban is defined by the adat, customary law. Among the laws affecting women are courtship, marriage, divorce, inheritance, and fines imposed in cases of infraction of the law. The fines are paid in kati,⁶ the value of which is based on brass or bronze, or in money; one kati equals one dollar (RICHARDS 1963: 35).⁷

If during courtship a girl becomes pregnant, she must name the father of the child, otherwise, she will be fined. If the man whom she named refuses to marry her, he has to pay the following fines: for refusal of marriage, 30 katis, \$ 30.00; for the pregnancy, 30 katis, \$ 30.00; for child maintainance 50 katis, \$ 50.00. If the woman names the father but does not wish to marry him, she has to pay the fine of 20 katis, \$ 20.00 (RICHARDS 1963: 29).

The adat further states that

"... an unmarried woman who is pregnant must claim a man as the father of her child: if she will not; (she is fined) 40 katis, and plasi menea according to local custom (RICHARDS 1963: 30).⁸

If a couple wishes to marry they have to report their intent to the tuai rumah, headman. If the families of the bride and groom, and the people in their longhouses agree, the marriage may take place.⁹

People who commit besapath and bekalih, minor incest, may marry after the fines are paid. Half of the total fines are to be paid to the government and half to the community (RICHARDS 1963: 30).

The Ibans differentiate between "minor incest" and "incest".¹⁰ "Incest" is the only crime for which the penalty is not equal for men and women. The fine imposed upon men is imprisonment, not exceeding five years. For women it is either a fine or imprisonment, equivalent to half of the penalty imposed on the men. In case of incest, marriage may not take place (revised penalty) (RICHARDS 1963: 104).

The adat specifies the types of divorces recognized by the Ibans, these are as follows:

"a) Divorce by mutual consent or "Sarak Manis" as it is called, is the offering by one party (Husband or Wife) and the acceptance by the other of a ring or a bracelet. This is known as "nyua Tinchin". In order to make no mistake about it, it is necessary that both parties appear before a Penghulu or at least two Tuai Rumah. If the wife accepts the pledge publicly then the divorce is recognized; the same applies to the husband.

b) Divorce by payment of a fine by either party. A husband can divorce his wife at any time and for any reason on application to his Penghulu and by payment of a fine of \$ 30.00 (thirty mungkul). This is known as Tunggu Tinggal. In the same way a wife can also obtain a divorce from her husband by payment of the same amount of fine through her Penghulu.

c) Divorce by desertion or infidelity by either party. Either party may apply to the District Native Court for a divorce on the plea of desertion and this may be granted by the Court if

1) One party has been left by the other and no maintenance money or gift in lieu have been received and the whereabouts of the other party cannot be ascertained.

2) The other party is mad or a leper or serving sentence of imprisonment more than one year. Such divorce shall be recorded as a Court case and a copy of the decree shall be given to the successful applicant.

3) Divorce may be granted to the injured party by a Penghulu if adultery is proved.

d) "Sarak Belega" or Temporary Divorce. This divorce can be agreed upon by a newly married couple to avert the evil consequences of bad omens. A certain period of separation is allowed at the end of which the co-parties co-habit again. There is no objection for either party to 'ngayap' (courtship custom) or be 'ngayaped' by any other person during the period of separation, but if bad omens persist, they usually prefer a mutual divorce. If after the separation period has expired, one party refuses to co-habit, though the bad omens have been dealt with, he or she would incur the usual divorce fine" (RICHARDS 1963: 83).

If a wife divorces her husband while she is pregnant, she has to pay a fine of 50 kati; she cannot claim confinement expenses, although the husband may pay it if he wishes to; however, the wife may not claim any property from her husband (RICHARDS 1963: 26).

For three months after the death of the husband or the wife, remarriage is not permitted. If this rule is not honoured, the offender is fined, the amount is not specified (RICHARDS 1963: 22).

Bigamy is an unusual offence among the Ibans, but a fine is imposed on those who are guilty of this. The fine is equal for men and women, which is one pikul, \$ 28.80 (RICHARDS 1963: 26).

The adat also defines the rules of inheritance. Among the Ibans it is not customary to make a will, because it is the family and not the individual who inherits. The inheritable property include china jars, bronze gongs, weapons, tools, smoked heads, ceremonial dresses and attire. However, the most important are:

"... magical charms and plants, the several strains of sacred and ritual padi, and the land rights vested in the bilek. All these things make up the bilek which persists through time, and which, from generation to generation, is owned and managed by the bilek-family" (RICHARDS 1963: 134).

All members of the bilek share equally in the property. However, at the time of marriage or adoption, the party who leaves the natal bilek relinquishes all rights there, but acquires equal rights in the new bilek. This rule applies to men and women (RICHARDS 1963: 133).

In the case of divorce, the property is equally divided between the divorcing parties, but the property inherited by the woman prior to her marriage is her personal property and the husband has no right to the disposal of it (RICHARDS 1963: 110).

As far as the children of divorcing parents are concerned, the adat states that,

"... if there is one child, he or she remains with the successful party to the case; if there are more, they are divided between the parties provided that very small children must always go to the mother. The party who incurs the fine must pay from \$ 3.00 to \$ 30.00 a month for children who are still small and until they reach the age of 18" (RICHARDS 1963: 26).

According to customary law, no senior member is permitted to disinherit any junior member of the family. The reason given is that it is the duty of the younger members of the family to care for the aged, and at

the time of their death the remaining members of the family must perform the elaborate mortuary rites. The Ibans believe that:

"... if the mortuary rites are equally performed, equally is the property (i.e. of the bilek) inherited" (RICHARDS 1963: 135).

Religion

As indicated, women's position is strongly intertwined with the production of food. Because agriculture and religion are inseparable in the lifestyle of the Ibans, women are not only important in Iban mythology, they also play an active part in the rituals connected with padi cultivation and in other religious ceremonies, such as funerals.

There are numerous stories of the Creation of the World and Man in Iban mythology, however, according to Howell (1963: 24) "none of them coincide". In some stories the creation of man is attributed to a female deity. An example of this is the story of Salampandai:

"... in the beginning Petara¹¹ commanded her to make a man, and she made one of stone, but it could not speak and Petara refused to accept it. She set to work again and fashioned one from iron, but neither could that speak, and so was rejected. The third time she made one of clay which had the power of speech, and Petara was pleased and said: 'Good is the man you have made, let him to be the ancestor of man.'" (ROTH 1896: 176).

Roth remarks that the Ibans have no special observance in direct honour of Salampandai, however, it is believed that this goddess resumes the shape of a frog, which also is called Salampandai and always treated with respect and is never killed (ROTH 1896: 177).

Female Petaras are important in other ways, too, such as in the case of illness of a child. When the shaman, manang, invites the gods to cure a child, the female Petaras accompany the male Petaras. Roth notes that on these occasions the female Petaras are dressed in

"... their fine garments and most valuable ornaments -- brass rings round their bodies, necklaces of precious stones, earrings and head decorations, beads and hawk-bells, and everything, in short, to delight feminine taste and beauty" (ROTH 1896: 172).

In padi rituals women actively participate, and as in their work on the farm, in religious ceremonies also, there is a well defined "division of labor". Freeman provides the following table:

The rituals of padi cultivation

Males	Females
The taking of bird omen	Preparation of offerings for all <u>padi</u> rituals
General supervision of ritual, especially during <u>manggol</u> and sowing	Care of sacred rices — <u>sang-king</u> and <u>padi pun</u>
Organization of major <u>padi</u> rituals	Participation in all <u>padi</u> rituals with special responsibility for those accompanying the harvest

(FREEMAN 1970: 229)

The Ibans have several festivals, among them are the whetstone festival, gawai batu; the festival of the dead, gawai antu;¹² and the harvest festival, gawai nyimpan padi (these festivals are seldom held today). Women fully participate in deciding when to hold these festivals and they actively take part in these as they do in ceremonies and rituals.

Informants in several longhouses were asked about the procedures today in padi rituals and festivals. It was found that in those families where one party is Christian and the other is pagan, in order to hold rituals, the consent of both parties must be given. As a rule, the pagan party does the necessary preparation for the ritual, and even though the Christian party is present, he or she does not participate in the ceremony.

While there are only a few shamans today (about one in every ten longhouses), their function is still important on occasions such as funerals. The male shaman is called manang, the female ini.

At Samu longhouse this researcher attended a funeral of an old lady (about eighty three years old), during which a bard lemembang, female shaman sang a death dirge, sabak, from sun-down to sun-up. The death dirge tells the story of the dead person's good deeds on this earth and her journey to the other world.¹³

At sun-up, with her feet tied together with rattan, lest she wants to return to this world, the body was put in a coffin along with her worldly possessions, including her clothes, a plate, and a cup. The body was taken to the cemetery by boat. The mourning party, consisting of men, carried in the boat a chicken, rice, and a cooking pot. Some men dug the grave, others prepared the meal which was eaten after the interment.

There were no women present at the cemetery except a young girl who helped with the cooking and this researcher.

It further must be noted that the dead lady was a Christian, therefore, a Christian prayer was said for her in Iban at the graveside. After the ceremony a wooden cross with the dead person's name and age was placed at the head of the grave.¹⁴

The tradition of headhunting may have also contributed to the important role of Iban women. Long before the arrival of James Brooke, and during his successor's reign, the Ibans had been headhunters. This practice had a two-fold purpose, a religious and a social one. As a religious practice, every time a chief died fresh enemy skulls were needed from which it was believed spirits would emerge, and accompany him on his journey into the other world. In addition, women danced bearing enemy skulls during festivals honouring the dead and signifying the end of the mourning period (HOSE 1926: 139). But it was primarily the social aspect of headhunting that concerned Iban women.

In the past, no woman would consider marriage until her suitor:

"... proves himself in battle and returns to the longhouse with the head of an enemy. Meanwhile, she assures him, she will strive to be worthy of his future attention by weaving a blanket. The young man goes off to war, and the young lady returns to her loom. The happy ending takes place when the young man returns with the head of an enemy. The young woman meets him at the head of the longhouse stairs, and, amid a scene of considerable community excitement, ceremoniously receives the head, swathes it in the new blanket, and then leads a procession of celebration around the longhouse" (PRINGLE 1970: 25).

The more skulls a man brought home, the higher the respect he enjoyed from his future wife and the community. Further, it was believed that a successful headhunter would have greater rank in the next world (ROTH 1896: 163).

Although the regime of the Brooke family and the introduction of Christianity in the nineteenth century did not change the position of Iban women, it had a stabilizing effect on the society. It eradicated certain pagan traditions, such as headhunting, and the Iban woman simply had to change her attitude toward this custom. By accepting this change, she meliorated the views of her society, and accepting a prospective husband no longer dependent upon his prowess as a headhunter.

As a proof of his deeds, a great warrior was tattooed on the back of his hands. Although headhunting is now against the law, this researcher

observed, especially among those living in the remote areas, that several men (approximately thirty five years old or older) had tattoos on their hand. Informants said, "the reason is that Iban women of today admire a hero, as they did it in the past, and these men distinguished themselves in recent wars". Similarly, women are tattooed as proof of their achievements in weaving, dancing, or singing. This indicates that women's achievements are equally acknowledged as those of men.

Traditional tattoo patterns are intricate, consisting of clusters of flowers, butterflies, circular and angular geometrical designs (ROTH 1896: 83-84). However, one woman at Skra longhouse proudly showed this researcher a "modern" tattoo on her arm, consisting of "Johnny", "Chicago", "London", and several arabic numerals. As a rule, tattooing appears on most parts of the body, including the throat. Today, the practice is waning, and very few men and women in their early thirties and younger are tattooed.

Agriculture

Because the Iban way of life is based primarily on agriculture, their subsistence economy requires joint effort by the family, and the woman's participation and contribution is important.

In Jensen's view there is "no rigid division of labour", men and women, young and old, are "expected to prefer" certain occupations (JENSEN 1966: 43). On the other hand, Freeman states that a well defined division of labour exists among the sexes (FREEMAN 1970: 228). In the following chart, Freeman gives a general description of the division of labour in Iban rice padi cultivation.

This investigator discovered support for Freeman's findings in that very few women revealed that they "prefer", for instance, housework to farm work. Those who did, reasoned that they would like to spend most of their time with their grandchildren in the house. However, this was not possible for them, because they said they were "still strong enough to look after their fields without the help of their married children". (The women questioned were approximately in their late forties.)

Younger women, married as well as unmarried, said that the thought of "preference" of work, if at all, rarely entered their minds because they knew that their families can survive only if the women perform all the tasks which are traditionally assigned to them.

Main routine of padi cultivation

Males	Females
Slashing of undergrowth	Slashing of undergrowth
Felling the jungle	
Cutting away branches of fallen trees	
Firing the farm	
Clearing away of branches, debris, etc. in the event of bad burn	Clearing away branches, debris, etc. in the event of bad burn
Dibbling	Sowing
Building of farm hut	Weeding
Erection of fences	
Making of traps	
Making of aeolian alarms, etc.	
Guarding the farm, especially at night	Guarding the farm, especially at night
	Reaping
The carrying of the <u>padi</u>	Selecting seeds, and its sub- sequent care
Threshing	Separating of grain from straw, and initial winnowing by fanning
	Winnowing by hand trays
	Guarding of <u>padi</u> while it is being sunned
Storing the <u>padi</u> in bins	Placing of <u>padi</u> in baskets ready for storing

Subsidiary tasks associated with padi cultivation

Blacksmithing, making of adzes, bush knives, weeding implements, and harvesting knives	Making of sowing baskets
Making of bark-cloth, and bark carrying- straps	
Making of <u>padi</u> carrying baskets	Making of large baskets for handling <u>padi</u>
Making of large mats for temporary storage and handling of <u>padi</u>	Making of mats, used during winnowing, sunning of <u>padi</u> , etc.
Making of palm fond cover, for pro- tecting <u>padi</u> after reaping	
Making of large, bark-bins for permanent storage of <u>padi</u>	

When the women were further questioned about the management of the farm and whose responsibility it is to choose the field for sowing rice or planting pepper, most women replied "the men are", some said "we do it together with the men". When asked who works harder, the women or the men, and who has more tasks to perform in the bilek and on the field, the women answered again "the men do", or "we work together".

Literature and personal observation reveal, however, that this is the ideal situation. In real life, certain facts interfere, the most important of them being the survival of the Iban custom of bejelai, literally meaning to walk or go on a journey. The aim of the journey is to gain material profit and social prestige. Today this custom is followed more by Iban men living in remote areas where cash crops are more difficult to produce. These journeys may take from a few months to several years. A man may leave his home either before he is married, or after, and during his absence most of the responsibility in the longhouse is left for the woman. Today, men who go on bejelai usually find work in lumber-jacking, tobacco farming, the oil-fields of Brunei or other jobs in the cities. Men who go for short journeys often return home for the jungle clearing and sowing season, but if they do not, the women are in charge of the farm work. For this reason

"... it is upon the women of the bilek family that the main effort of padi cultivation falls, and in particular, the responsibility of selecting, processing, and sorting seeds; deciding upon the planting order of the farm; and looking after the charms (pengaroh) and magical plants (sengkenyang) associated with padi rituals. In many families the women have much firmer grasp of the traditional rites of sowing and reaping than do the men. ... Moreover, because of the utrolateral structure of the Iban bilek family, women exercise considerable influence, and this is undoubtedly a factor of importance in producing the marked stability of culture and social custom which characterizes Iban tribes of the interior" (FREEMAN 1970: 227-228).

Certain chores, however, are never performed by the women, such as felling the jungle, building farm huts, or making tools. Help is always on hand in the longhouse since not all men are absent at the same time. Similarly, men, as a rule, do not perform such tasks as sowing, weeding, and reaping. According to Freeman,

"... nothing will persuade (young men) to participate in the essential feminine duties of sowing, weeding and reaping. To do so would be to excite the immediate ridicule of their fellows, and, of shame, the Iban are extremely sensitive" (FREEMAN 1970: 229-230).

The author adds, however, that this system is not "absolutely binding" at all time. For instance, in times of sickness or pregnancy, some bilek families might be left without female help, thus, the men in the family engage in the feminine tasks on the farm.

This investigator observed that often older men willingly participate at any time in women's work on the field, whereas the younger men somewhat resent to do the same.

Division of labour in the home, as in agriculture, follows a pattern from which women and men only deviate under exceptional circumstances. Women, in addition to their work on the field, must perform their duties in the bilek. Among these are getting water for cooking, preparing the meals, cleaning, washing, and caring for the children. The women wash the children's and their own clothes. The men, as a rule, wash their own clothes.

However, this researcher observed on several occasions that in the bileks where the grandmother was not living with the family, on occasions when the mother had to go to the field or shopping in the nearby city, the father remained in the house to look after the children. He bathed them, and washed their clothes, but he did not wash his wife's clothes,¹⁵ did not fetch water, and did not cook the meals. These were done by a woman relative in the longhouse.

It is interesting to note at this point, that although the Ibans live in close contact with the Malays and have many cultural traits in common, there are, nevertheless, distinct differences between their lifestyles.

The main reason for the difference in the Iban and Malay way of life is religion. The Ibans are either pagans or Christians. The Malays, however, without exception, are Muslims.¹⁶ Among the Ibans the adat, customary law, equally applies to pagans and Christians, and the adoption of Christianity did not change the basic concepts of the adat. The Malay customary law, Undang-Undang Mahkamah Melayu Sarawak, follows the dictate of Islam. There are several Muslim schools of law,¹⁷ however, the Sarawak Malays primarily belong to the Shafii school.

Among the differences between Iban and Malay customary law are the marriage and divorce rules. While the Ibans are fined for bigamy, the Malays, following the Islamic Law, are permitted polygamy, not exceeding four wives; Malay women, however, are permitted one husband.¹⁸

In Iban marriage the husband may live with his wife's family, or the wife may move to her husband's house. Among the Malays,

"... the age-long tradition observed in Sarawak shows that in most cases the groom comes to stay with the bride's family" (YUSUF 1966: 29).

In the case of Malay divorce, Yusuf Puteh states that a man may divorce his wife at will, however, the woman has "almost no opportunity to obtain a divorce on her own initiative" (YUSUF 1966: 32). Further, while in the Iban society childlessness is seldom the cause for divorce (adoption may take care of the continuance of the bilek family), among the Malays childlessness is one of the common reasons for divorce (YUSUF 1966: 32).

Another reason for the difference between the Iban way of life and the Malay way of life is the form of dwelling. The Ibans live in long-houses, and in this single building the bilek families form a village community. The Malays live in kampongs which consist of a group of single family houses, and these single houses together form a village.

Concerning leadership, in the longhouse the headman, tuai rumah, is not only the law enforcer, he is often the ritual leader, tuai burong. Among the Malays, the headman, tua kampong, is mainly concerned with the enforcement of the customary law, and

"... in the village it is the Islamic faith which keeps the community compact. The Mosque is the heart and nerve of the community in a very real way (YUSUF 1966: 6).

Differences in the treatment of women in Malay and Iban society are also evident. According to Malay informants,¹⁹ Islam forbids any act of discrimination or suppression of women. However, Wilson maintains that "publicly the Malay male has a higher 'status' than the female, but privately this may not be true, or so" (WILSON 1968: 143). This status difference does not exist among the Ibans.

Informants further stated that Malay women are treated by their husbands and children with respect and equality in their homes. While Iban women may participate in decision-making from about the age of sixteen whether they are married or not, among the Malays only when they reach the age of forty, or have finished child bearing may they

"... speak freely in the company of their men-folk, often smoke cigarettes in public, and invariably chew betel. Furthermore, women of this status ... are influential in all decision-making, both

within the household — especially with regard to economic — and, indirectly, in the village (WILSON 1968: 106).

Iban women participate fully in all rituals and ceremonies. The Malay women, however, do not have the same freedom in their society; specifically, they are excluded from one of the most important ceremonies, circumcision.²⁰

In conclusion, it can be stated that the Iban girl grows up as an equal member of her society, and as an adult she is permitted to participate fully in every aspect of Iban life. These facts are especially notable as being unique to the Ibans, because, although the Malays have close contact with the Ibans, there are several differences between their way of life.

Evaluation of the findings

This study addressed itself to the question: which underlying cultural factors permit Asian women to occupy high offices in their society?

To examine this question this researcher conducted a field study among the Ibans of Sarawak, a non-literate society as yet very little involved in western technology. The investigation concentrated on identifying those norms in the culture which are indicative to the real and ideal participation in decision-making of Iban women in their society.

A non-literate society was chosen because the

"... understanding of society in general and of our own modern urbanized society in particular can be gained through consideration of the societies least like our own: the primitive, or folk societies" (REDFIELD 1947: 293).

Furthermore, with the advancement of science and technology, non-literate indigenous societies are diminishing. Before the remaining non-literate societies adopt the lifeways of the industrialized western world, valuable information about their culture, myths, mores, taboos, magic, and rituals can be recorded through field studies.

In the field data were collected through tape-recording and photography, as well as through the anthropological method of participant observation. This method made it possible to observe clearly which universal²¹ values are culture-bound in the Iban society.

Anthropology distinguishes between real and ideal culture patterns. The real denotes what actually exists, the observable phenomenon, and the ideal pertains to what ought to be (ARENSBERG and NIEHOFF 1964: 163).

Malinowski, in interpreting real and ideal in a culture, distinguishes between activities and rules:

"The activities depend on the ability, power, honesty and goodwill of the members. They deviate invariably from the rules, which represent the idea, performance, not necessarily its reality. The activities, moreover, are embodied in actual behavior: the rules very often in precepts, texts, and regulations" (MALINOWSKI 1969: 53).

An example given by Arensberg and Niehoff further explains this concept:

"... every culture has its morals and ideals. When people are questioned directly about what they do, they tend to express the ideal pattern of behaviour, or else to tell the questioner what they think will please him. For instance, in village India one might inquire as to the occupation of the Brahmins and Chamars. The answer might be that the Brahmins were priests and the Chamars leatherworkers. Yet investigation might show that both Brahmins and Chamars, in a particular village were primarily farmers" (ARENSBERG and NIEHOFF 1964: 193-194).

In this study the real and ideal was applied to Iban women's participation in decision-making in their society. Decision-making is "one form of causal change" (KURTZ 1965: 240), and it involves anticipation and expectation. Social and cultural practices serve the needs of a particular society. They are manifested in that culture's institutions and cultural traditions, and they achieve a type of autonomy and status. While the social and cultural practices are designed to create satisfaction, they also develop:

"... a new structuring of native impulses and potentialities, a new ordering by means of habit. Decisions and desires are moulded and modified in terms of context of satisfaction. Society and culture exist as unconscious or quasi-unconscious instrumentalities for meeting individual wants and for creating new wants" (KURTZ 1965: 134).

By making a decision, the individual of the society plans and projects future goals which may maintain what already exists or proposes something new. Decision-making may present a short-range, delayed, or long-range plans; and the process must have an awareness of

- 1) the particular facts of the situation;
- 2) the general causal conditions and laws;
- 3) the means at our disposal and the consequences of our actions;

- 4) the existing de facto values involved, both individually and socially
- 5) the basic needs of man (KURTZ 1965: 241).

According to Ofstad, when an individual makes a decision it may mean that he or she

- 1) has started a series of behavioural reactions in favour of something, or
- 2) made up his mind to do a certain action, which he has no doubts that he ought to do, or
- 3) made a judgement regarding what one ought to do in a certain situation after having deliberated on some alternative course of action (OFSTAD 1961: 15).

To determine the real and ideal participation in decision-making the data collected at Samu and other longhouses in the Second Division of Sarawak were examined according to the criteria of visibility, activity, and function of Iban women in their society.

Visibility

Comparing what was said by all the informants and what was actually observed by the researcher, the findings show that ideally Iban women are not only permitted to participate in all decision-making conferences, but their presence is in fact of a vital importance. Because the women often assume total responsibility during the absence of their husbands, conferences concerning longhouse matters absolutely require the women's presence.

The conferences are held on the ruai, verandah, the men sit in one circle, the women in another. This separation of sexes does not indicate any value judgment as such. Although informants simply stated that "this is the way it is always done", this researcher, nevertheless, observed that the women worked out suggestions and solutions among themselves and then presented them, more or less convincingly, to the men who often seemed less concerned and less active than the women.

As an example of this kind of decision-making, any government proposed improvement of the Iban's living conditions must be put into effect jointly, thereby, blending the real and ideal situation in women's visibility during conferences.

Activity

Ideally, women actively and equally participate in the production of food, in all rituals concerning rice cultivation, in ceremonies, such as giving a young child his ceremonial bath, in weddings, funerals, and conferences concerning leadership and legal matters within the longhouse. Women are not excluded from any part of the rituals or meetings. In fact, no religious ceremony or conference can take place in the longhouse without them, since certain functions are the women's exclusive domain. According to informants, all important decisions are made by women and men together, and all work is shared between them.

In reality, however, the women exercise more power in deciding whether to accept or reject a proposal presented at the conferences. The reason for this is that women often have to face total responsibility of all matters in their homes, because according to Iban custom, the men go on bejelai, journey, which frequently lasts for several months or years. Also, during times of emergency and stress, everybody's role changes in an Iban longhouse, and the women not only have to be active in participation in decision-making, but they also, often have to take over the men's tasks. These include the tasks in agriculture and in rituals. The only exception is in tree-felling, which according to the customary law, "cannot be undertaken by women, boys or old men" (RICHARDS 1963: 131). Thus, help must be sought from another house where a man is available to help out. The man who offers his assistance may reside for the duration of the work in that family's bilek whose trees he is felling. For his work he is compensated with the right of sharing the land he helped to clear. (The size of the share is not specified in the adat.)

The activity of women in Iban society ideally is based on women and men sharing the decision-making and working land together, however, as the findings indicate, women have a more vital role in all the activities in the longhouse community.

Function

Ideally, the key concept in Iban customary law is equality between women and men. This equality also applies to the assumption of leadership in the longhouse.

Although this investigator did not meet Preda, the headwoman in Tabau longhouse, she paid particular attention to the obedience and respect given to female leaders in all houses visited. Among these leaders were the wives of headmen, and women who were in charge of innovating projects. At no time would this researcher observe any depreciation of the importance of a position because it was not held by a man. In fact, on many occasions men were observed doing jobs normally assigned to women, such as harvesting, tending to pepper gardens, and caring for the children.

Furthermore, the woman's function in the family and in the longhouse becomes crucially important during her husband's absence when she has to assume added responsibilities.

Thus, the function of the woman in Iban society ideally is equal to that of the man, however, in reality her status is often enhanced by the society's demands.

Changing Traditions in Today's Iban Society

Samu is a longhouse where traditions are markedly changing. The first reason is that, although the slash and burn agriculture is still the main feature of Iban economy, the people of Samu, and many other longhouses on the Paku river, grow rubber and pepper as well. These crops give added income, while people of the interior who grow only rice, have to rely on money earned by men who undertake journeys or they have to sell some of their rice.

Growing rubber and pepper adds to the work-load and requires more time and energy, thus, the people of Samu, and other neighbouring longhouses, have less time to devote to traditional practices, such as holding festivals, dancing, singing and weaving.

The second reason is that at Samu a greater number of people are Christians than in other parts of the Second Division. Consequently, pagan customs, such as rituals connected with rice cultivation, longhouse building, honouring the dead, etc., are less frequently practiced or are greatly modified in comparison to those held in the interior.

The third reason is that opportunities for education in Sarawak are increasing. Education in Sarawak is based on the English school system in which frequent examinations are administered to the students and those who are unable to pass have to terminate their education. Thus, girls and boys stay in school as long as they can. Many of them reach high school level

and eventually enter university in West Malaysia, Australia, New Zealand or England.²²

At present there are only few schools located nearby longhouses, therefore, in most cases children have to attend boarding schools. The teachers are primarily from the American Peace Corps or they are Australian or Canadian voluntary workers. In addition there is an increasing number of Iban teachers who are being trained in England, Australia, and at the Batu Lintang Teachers College in Kuching. To improve the standard of education, daily radio broadcasts for schools is transmitted in English from Kuching. The broadcasts are received by battery operated short-wave radios in the schools.

The language of communication in the schools is English, and since there are only a few Iban teachers to date, students seldom have an opportunity to learn about their culture and tradition. At home, during vacation, the parents are often more interested in what the children learned in school than in imparting knowledge to them about Iban myths, songs, stories and dancing.

Consequently, this researcher often had difficulty in learning the exact meaning of Iban stories, songs and myths. Several young people who spoke English could not understand or translate them. They often remarked that many words and idioms are not used anymore. They also said that their interest was oriented to the future rather than understanding the past.

In the houses of the interior, on the other hand, where fewer children had the opportunity to attend school, everyone was more familiar with Iban traditional practices and customs.

Summary and Conclusion

Summary of the Findings

The findings of this study clearly show that in Iban culture the division between the ideal and real in what women say and what they do seems almost non-existent at first. However, subtle dichotomies do soon appear. These dichotomies are manifested primarily in leadership and legal matters, in religious ceremonies connected with padi rituals, and in work roles, such as the division of labour in agriculture.

A. Leadership and Legal Matters

Ideally, the adat, customary law, does not prevent man or woman from becoming tuai rumah, head of the longhouse, and the status of the position is not decreased because it is held by a woman. In reality, however, the tuai rumah are usually men, and to date there is only one woman in the Second Division who holds this title.

Concerning decision-making, although ideally men and women participate together, in reality men and women are equally powerful. This observation is based upon the fact that Iban women and men live in a classless, egalitarian society (FREEMAN 1970: 54). There is no institution of chieftainship. High prestige and leadership can be acquired, but rank is not inheritable. Another factor is that from the moment of birth of an Iban infant, there is no separation between the child and the adult worlds. At no time children are excluded from rituals, conferences, or any event taking place in the longhouse. The third factor is that an Iban husband is often absent from his home, and as a consequence, the woman is left in full charge of her family's welfare of the religious practices, and of the work in agriculture.

The woman's influence in participation in decision-making is evident not only during her husband's absence but is also exercised when the man is at home.

In legal matters, ideally, the adat is fully exercised, but in reality, modification concerning customs and traditions are now evident. However, laws concerning marriage, divorce, and inheritance are equally exercised today in the ideal as well as in the real situation.

In marriage, husband and wife equally share the bilek property. In the case of divorce, the same amount of fine is to be paid whether the man or the woman is guilty. An exception in this equality of fines is in the case of incest, in which the fine is smaller for the woman than for the man. Also, in the case of divorce, the woman may keep what she owned before marriage, and property acquired during marriage is to be equally divided between the parties.

B. Religion

Religion and agriculture are inseparable in the lifestyles of the Ibans. Ideally, a pattern of division of labor is followed in which women and men share duties connected with padi rituals, festivals and ceremonies.

In reality, the situation is different. During the absence of their husbands, the women are responsible for looking after the charms and magical plants used in padi rituals, and also for the preparation and participation in these rituals, ceremonies and festivals.

C. Agriculture

In agriculture ideally women and men follow a pattern of division of labour. Female informants often said that they share the work with the men. They do not prefer one job over another in the home or in the field because their families can survive only if they perform the tasks traditionally assigned to them.

In reality, it was found that due to the custom of bejelai, journey by the men, women often are left in charge of the farm. Work, such as deciding the planting order of the farm, selecting the seeds for sowing, and working on the fields has to be done by women. However, women never fell jungles or burn the undergrowth. During the husband's absence these tasks are done by male relatives.

Conclusion

In Iban culture the keynote seems to be equality. In the longhouse communities "true" democracy prevails because there is equality between the sexes which creates equality in the society. In the social and political organization there is no class distinction; a man or a woman may become the head of the longhouse. In religion there are equally important male and female deities; in rituals men and women participate together, and in the life-crises there are no differences in the ceremonies performed for men and women.

While many Iban traditional practices are diminishing and western influences are increasing, the basic concept of Iban culture, equality, seems to remain. The acceptance of change, such as formal education, affects both sexes equally. Thus, a girl is not bound by tradition to devote her life solely to the family and to household duties. She is supported and encouraged to continue her education and is not denied the opportunity of obtaining a job away from her community. The acceptance of this change does not destroy the basic values of society, rather, it enhances the Ibans' survival.²³

Although Sarawak is a developing country with very little industry, several Iban women occupy leading positions in city and state government in teaching, nursing and social work. Whithin their professional responsibilities these women promote Iban culture, contribute to better health and hygiene, and continue to maintain close contact with the longhouses.

As roads are being built, public transportation is becoming increasingly available, and as more and more people receive education, many traditional features are disappearing. This situation is primarily evident in the Saribas District of the Second Division where this research was conducted. However, change does not occur at the same pace in all parts of the Second Division or in other divisions of Sarawak. Further study indicating the impact of change, and whether or not it influences the Iban women's position in their society in other parts of Sarawak would present valuable information to scholars and educators in the United States and in other parts of the world.

Also, further studies may examine the values in other Asian societies and the degree to which these values permit or deny women participation in decision-making in their communities.

Notes

¹ Powdered milk is purchased from nearby Chinese bazaars.

² Personal interview with Benedict Sandin. Sandin relates that in the olden days anyone who lied was remembered for generations. According to custom, all those who passed the farm of a liar were required to throw rubbish on a designated spot. The Ibans called this collected trash the "liar's heap" or tugong bula. Today the adat forbids the starting of a liar's heap. The fine for infringement of this law is 25 katis.

The adat lists the fine for lying today as:

(1) Whoever tells lies about or slanders anyone maliciously or frivolously may be fined 10 katis, or up to one pikul according to the gravity of the offence.

(2) Whoever tells lies or passes false news so as to cause trouble and disturbance in any area may be fined a pikul (RICHARDS 1963).

³ The battles were fought with neighbouring tribes.

⁴ To the Ibans the Supreme Being is similar to the Christian concept of god, but to them this god manifests himself in many ways.

⁵ "... in the various tusut Iban names are frequently repeated every four generations... This interval is required because according to Iban custom, the names of affinal kin within a range of three generations may not be repeated. Because of this prohibition against using the names of in-laws, one parent or the other would not be able to use the child's name without risking serious ill fortune, were he named after a forebear within the three-generation range" (SANDIN 1967: xviii-xix).

⁶"Kati is a measure of weight traditionally slightly over three pounds. (The modern kati is $\frac{1}{100}$ pikul, or 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ pounds.)" (PRINGLE 1970: 48).

⁷One US \$ is equivalent to three Malaysian dollars. The amounts cited here are in Malaysian dollars.

⁸Plasi menea: woman's fine. "Half of the total fines are payable to Government, half to the community (and divided out) as plasi menea. (It has been the practice for the man's fine to be paid to the Government and the woman's fine to be paid as plasi menea)" (RICHARDS 1963: 30).

⁹According to the adat, marriage is forbidden between the following parties: "Besapat and Bekalih (minor incest). Cousins may marry without offence but a person may not marry the child of a cousin (cousin once removed) without fine; 1st cousin once removed: 15 katis; 2nd cousin once removed: 6 katis; 4th cousin once removed: 4 katis, these are bekalih" (RICHARDS 1963: 29-30).

¹⁰Incest is committed between the following parties, and the fines are: "1) father/daughter, mother/son, full brother and sister or adopted before reaching 15 years of age: \$ 200; 2) uncle/niece, aunt/newpew: \$ 150; 3) half brother and sister: \$ 100; 4) uncle by marriage and niece, aunt by marriage and nephew: \$ 100; 5) stepfather and -daughter, step-mother and -son, stepbrother and -sister: \$ 100; 6) husband/wife's aunt, wife/husband's uncle: \$ 100; 7) husband/mother-in-law, wife/father-in-law: \$ 100; 8) grandfather and granddaughter, grandmother and grandson: \$ 100. If adopting parents have divorced or separated, children adopted by them while together are still their adopted children and this section applies to them" (RICHARDS 1963: 30).

¹¹Petara, collective name for the Iban anthropomorphic deity (HOWELL 1968: 68).

¹²The last gawai antu was held in the Saratok District, Second Division in May, 1971.

¹³When a man dies the Ibans believe that his soul will be accompanied to the other world by the spirits of his dead relatives, friends, leaders of the dead and by the sound of the singer. His journey to the other world is by boat, and on his way he passes many huts, and settlements of birds. However, the departed soul is constantly homesick for his relatives whom he left behind, but he is assured that the Mandai, the sacred river of death, in the other world is beautiful. At the door of the earth, which is also the pankalan, landing-stage for the Mandai river, the spirit of the worm, Binsu Belut, welcomes the newcomer on his further journey. "If the dead man has been an outstanding leader, he will not step into the boat unless the support of its roof has been made from the bones of his enemies; and at the same time the roof must be made of the enemy's skin — by a woman of outstanding ability in making mats and blankets while she was still living." On his journey on the Mandai river, to his final home the newcomer passes several longhouses, and finally arrives to his family's house where he is reunited with his long dead relatives. The reunion makes the newcomer happy and he is ceased to be homesick for the world he has left behind. "It is commonly thought that Remi, daughter of Serapeh, and mother-in-law of Dara Tinchin Temaga, the eldest daughter of Singalang Burong, who lived about twenty-five generations ago, was the first woman to recite sabak. Singers of death dirges in succeeding generations up to the present have added, and referred to contemporary events."

The summary of the death dirge was based on SANDIN n.d.

¹⁴For further, detailed description of burial rites see: HOWELL 1968; GUERITS 1968; ROTH 1896: 135-163.

¹⁵According to Benedict Sandin, women are considered to be unclean in most Southeast Asian cultures, therefore, th men never wash women's clothes.

¹⁶"The attachment to Islam does not preclude persistence of 'pagan' beliefs in spirits, and the continued practice of some non-Muslim customs, e.g. in marriages. Malay peasants still rely upon the services of spirit mediums for the treatment of illness, just as

they may perform propiatory rites to spirits which influence the rice harvest or the catch of fish. Even further removed from orthodoxy are those groups which have been recently and partially converted to Islam, such as the Melanaus. The cult of the spirit medium still flourishes and in particular the ritual of driving out the spirit of illness by leading them onto rafts. However, there is a tendency for spirit cults to die out among the Muslims who are gradually losing touch with the occult knowledge required of the old rites" (YUSUF 1966: 6, 7).

17 "... Fairly early in Muslim history, four main schools of law or interpretation of the Quran and Hadith arose. These are the Hanifite, which extends orthodox teaching by analogy; the Malakite, which depends upon consensus of the community; the Sgafiite, which opposes the Hanifite school by stressing a return to the Quran; and the Hanibalite, which like the Shafiite, is conservative in its interpretation (BRADLEY 1963: 78).

18 "... the institution of marriage as a whole can conveniently be considered through its legal, social and religious aspects... Social Aspects: In its social aspect, three important factors must be remembered, a) Islamic law gives to the woman a definitely high social status after marriage; in Sarawak marriages provide a considerable amount of freedom to the girls in their social life and they naturally value this freedom; b) restrictions are placed upon the unlimited polygamy of pre-Islamic times, and instead a controlled polygamy is allowed; c) the Prophet, both by example and precept, encouraged the status of marriage. He positively enjoined marriage to all who could afford it. And a well-known saying attributed to the Prophet, 'there is no monasticism in Islam' ... Expresses his attitude towards celibacy briefly but adequately" (YUSUF 1966: 18).

19 Information is by the courtesy of Enche Ismail Ahmed, Information Service Psychological Officer, Kuching, Sarawak, and Enche Hasbie Suleiman, State Cultural Officer, Kuching, Sarawak.

20 Information obtained from Enche Hasbie Suleiman.

21 "... ideas, habits, and conditioned emotional responses which are common to all sane adult members of the society. We will call these the Universals... This category also includes the associations and values which lie for the most part, below the level of consciousness but which are, at the same time, an integral part of culture" (LINTON 1936: 397).

22 While a number of students reach high school diploma level, only a small number of Iban students attend universities.

23 Similar is the case with the Navaho Indians in the United States. Accepting new ideas from neighbouring tribes, such as working with silver, did not affect the Navaho's basic culture, but it contributed to their growth and prosperity. (Class lectures given by Professor Ethel J. Alpenfels at New York University, 1972.)

Appendix

Interview guide

A. Are there any activities which are customarily performed exclusively or predominantly by adult females?

- 1) What are these activities?
- 2) Do they depend on age?
- 3) When do you perform these activities?
- 4) Where do you perform these activities?
- 5) Who decides who should perform these activities?

- B. Are there any activities forbidden or despised by adult females?
- 1) What activities are forbidden?
 - 2) Who or what is the decisive factor which forbids these activities?
 - 3) Why are they forbidden?
 - 4) Do you ever carry out forbidden activities?
 - 5) What activities do you despise?
 - 6) Are you ever forced to carry out activities which you despise?
 - 7) Are there any persons whom you can call upon to perform these activities for you?
 - 8) Who are they?
- C. Are there any activities in which both sexes participate alternately or jointly?
- 1) What are they?
 - 2) On what does the participation depend?
 - 3) Who or what are the decisive factors?
- D. What is the daily routine of adult women?
- 1) What time do you rise?
 - 2) At what time do you retire?
 - 3) What hours do your daily activities require of you?
 - 4) Who or what is the decisive factor in determining the amount of activities required of you?
 - 5) What kind of activities are demanded of you?
 - 6) What are some of the activities you perform daily?
 - 7) Which of these activities do you consider to be most important? Why?
 - 8) Which do you consider to be least important? Why?
 - 9) Are there any activities that you perform that could be performed by someone else?
 - 10) Do you think these activities should be performed by someone other than yourself? Why?
- E. What are the rights, duties, privileges of women?
- 1) Do you have any rights in your home, in the community?
 - 2) What are they?
 - 3) Who determines your rights in your home, in the community?
 - 4) Do you receive any inheritance?
 - 5) What and under what circumstances?
 - 6) Do you have any choice in the acceptance or the refusal of any activities thrust upon you in your home, in the community?
 - 7) Who or what is the decisive factor in these matters?
 - 8) What are your duties?
 - a. to your husband
 - b. to your children before they reach adulthood
 - c. to your relatives
 - d. to your friends
 - e. to strangers
 - f. to the community
 - 9) Who assigns your duties?
 - 10) Do you have any privileges in your home, in the community?
 - 11) What are they?
 - 12) Who or what is the decisive factor?
 - 13) Do you wish to have more privileges? What are they?
 - 14) Do you feel that you deserve more privileges than you have? Why?
 - 15) Do you have any choice in the arrangement of your marriage?
 - 16) What is the criteria in choice of marriage partner?
 - 17) At the occurrence of your husband's absence or death, who takes over his tasks?
 - 18) Who or what is the decisive factor?
 - 19) Are you free to accept or refuse the decision?

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**ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS OF INTERTRIBAL EXCHANGE OF GOODS
AMONG THE HIGHLANDS PEOPLES OF PAPUA-NEW GUINEA**

H. C. Dosedla

Universität Wien

Introduction

Though the mountainous interior of Papua-New Guinea may generally be regarded as a rather uniform geographical and cultural region, there is still great diversity between distinct areas depending on altitude, soil, climatic zones and numerous other natural conditions which are to be met by the local populations. Many of these conditions which have remained nearly unchanged until very recently were also met during the author's field research period (1970-72) mainly among the Mbowamb or Mount Hagen Tribes of the Western Highlands Province and the most significant neighbouring groups.

The common cultural patterns of the PNG highlands peoples have been characterized as that of tribal societies based on a primary stage of subsistence horticulture which meet their spiritual expression in a ritual background — including elaborate systems of ceremonial exchange of pigs and other valuables — focussing an intricate concept of fertility which have been dealt with in full detail elsewhere (BUS 1951; ELKIN 1954; BULMER 1960/61; RYAN 1961; SALISBURY 1962; STRATHERN 1966). That the term subsistence in the case of these communities does not mean complete autarchy can be demonstrated by the following brief description of some rather profane bartering systems which for centuries previous to European contact enabled the exchange of essentially important trade goods throughout the whole interior of PNG thus about covering the distance between the Papuan Gulf and the Sepik region in the north-south direction as well as between the Huon Peninsula and the border of Irian Dyaya from east to west.

The rather intensively populated highlands area is surrounded by a vast chain of mountain ranges which are referred to as the fringe zone.

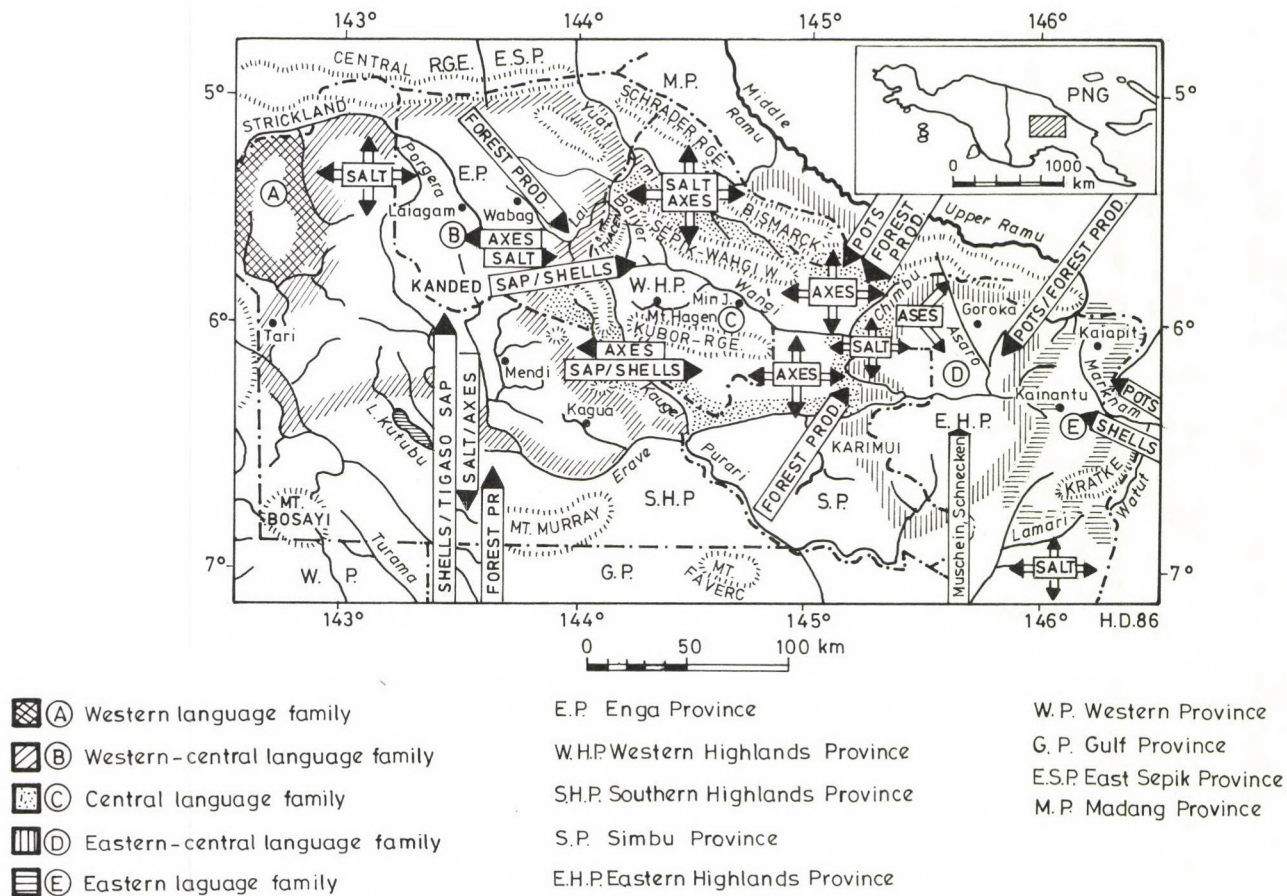


Fig. 1. Goods and routes of trade in the Highlands of Papua New Guinea

Thus a number of trade routes linking the coastal regions with the interior lead across the highlands fringe traditionally following the most suitable paths as shown in the corresponding location map. These penetrate the sparsely settled habitat of one or the other small group of the more or less semi-nomadic fringe peoples representing the latest communities having experienced European contact in recent years only (BROWN 1978:28ff.).

Depending on the different local conditions, natural resources including the botanical, zoological and mineralogical complex are not of equal availability to every community neither in the highlands nor in the fringe area. While in the latter case the combination of feral plants and game as food sources provides sustenance for a small gathering and hunting population, the available wild food has been greatly replaced among the dense highlands population by cultivated crops and pig husbandry based on permanent settlement (BROWN 1978: 117 ff.). An immense variety of other natural resources provides shelter, clothing, tools and other necessities of life such as medicines, cosmetics, dyes, stimulants, poisons and magical materials. Since many of these materials are obtained from the Montane rain forest zone which has been extremely reduced by human activity in the highlands in the course of centuries (BOWERS 1968; GOLSON 1977: 601 ff.), the intertribal exchange of such goods was developed as a logical consequence. Trading expeditions covering long distances following district traditional networks as well as localized barter or exchange brought these materials into circulation so that their final use or consumption takes place far from their origin.

Geographical situation

About eighty percent of the highlands peoples are considered to share some linguistical relationship for which the term of "PNG-Highlands-Stock" or "PNG-Highlands-Phylum" has been established. This phylum is further divided into five sections or families, i.e. the eastern, the eastern-central, the central, the western-central and the western language family. Geographically the speakers of these languages cover the areas of the Eastern Highlands Province (E.H.P.), the Simbu Province (S.P.), the Western Highlands Province (W.H.P.), the Enga Province (E.P.) and the Southern Highlands Province (S.H.P.). The Eastern Highlands Province is bordered by the Kratke Mountains in the south and the eastern slopes of

the Bismarck Range in the north providing the sources of three significant rivers: the Markham falling eastwards into the Huon Gulf, the Ramu falling towards the northern shore and the southwards falling Lamari. The neighbouring Simbu Province which is extremely mountainous with except in the south with its Karimui Plateau, lies between the Bismarck Range and the Purari falling into the Papuan Gulf. The Wahgi River, a tributary of the Purari, provides the connection of the Simbu Province with the Western Highlands Province which is lined by the Schrader Range in the north and the Kaugel valley which marks the boundary to the Southern Highlands Province, while the erratic massive of Mount Hagen separates the Western Highlands Province from the Enga Province.

The Enga Province, called after its dominant tribal inhabitants, includes the northern part of the western-central language family as well as a few rather nomadic groups along the northern slopes of the Central Range which are at present not too closely known as Hewa speakers belonging to the highlands fringe peoples (WURM 1961: 14-20 ff.).

Except for other local groups belonging to the fringe peoples in the vicinity of Lake Kutubu, the most part of the Southern Highlands Province is inhabited by members of the western-central language family, while the Duna speakers of the Strickland River area make up the western language family.

The majority populating the Western Highlands Province belong to the Mbowamb or Mt. Hagen tribes of the central language group. Whether the small sized inhabitants of the northern and southern fringe zones of this highlands province can be considered as pygmies -- "Kubor Range Pygmies", also known as "Uipni" or "Ypni", and "Schrader Pygmies" (DOSEDLA 1974: 161) -- is still a point of some controversion. The same applies to the so-called Karimui Pygmies and Upper Ramu Pygmies (DOSEDLA 1974: 166; DOSEDLA 1979: 163) which formerly were on traditional trading terms with the tribes of the Simbu Province and Eastern Highlands Province. The most prominent representatives of the fringe peoples, the Kukukukus, apparently never maintained too close contacts to the highlanders, whereas the small local group of the Pavaia living along the Lamari played a dominant role as trading partners linking the southern gulf region with the interior (DOSEDLA 1979: 160).

Finally, the Austronesian population of the barren grassland plains of the Markham Valley (Wampar or Lae Womba) traditionally depended on the

surrounding mountain tribes for purchasing a vast variety of forest products (DOSEDLA 1979: 163).

Other most important items of intertribal exchange than those originating from the primary forest regions were -- in pre-European times -- stone axe blades and salt which could be obtained from just a dozen remote and more or less taboo-stricken sites, clay pots, only manufactured in the coastal region or in certain parts of its hinterland and last but not least, shells and conches of maritime origin which went from hand to hand throughout the highlands as highly appreciated valuables in the sense of a substitute for currency.

Maritime resources

The occurrence of shells and conches in such considerable amounts as found among the highlands tribes in localities of sometimes more than 300 km from the coast may be regarded as the most striking feature of intertribal trade in the whole of Melanesia.

As one attempt towards an explanation of this phenomenon even the existence of some fossile sources in the mountainous interior of PNG has been taken into account. The fact that the first Europeans entering the shores of New Guinea never found the slightest trace of any maritime diving by the coastal peoples could at least be taken into consideration as being in favour of this theory (WILLIAMS 1940: 132; McCARTHY 1964: 119). According to other theories, some ancient trading route might have existed linking the Papuan Gulf with the southern and western highlands, possibly starting from the estuary of the Fly and following up the Strickland river (GITLOW 1947: 75; MEGGITT 1956: 102, 121, 131).

There is also no explanation for the statistical fact that nearly every second highlander was in possession of a rather large shell (e.g. Goldlip shell, Pearl shell; *Pinctada margaritifera*) or conch piece (e.g. Bailer shell; *Melo amphora* L.) favoured as personal adornment while on the other hand only comparatively poor pieces were in use among the coastal peoples (WILLIAMS 1940: 132 ff.; McCARTHY 1964: 119).

Important trade goods with more or less currency character especially in the eastern highlands were Cowries (*Cypraea moneta*) and tiny *Nassa* conches (*Marginella* sp.) which were lined up on strings of sometimes

several meters length, as well as pieces of a distinct green conch (*Turbo marmoratus* L.) (FISCHER 1968: 320).

Mineral resources

Depending on the varying local geological conditions, axe blades of suitable stone material were manufactured as a rule only by those local groups owning the quarries and — with one single exception in the Mt. Hagen area (DOSEDLA 1975: 103) — stone raw material was never an item of trade.

According to the two main types of blades, there were two general distribution zones of stone axes. While axe or adze blades with oval cross section as manufactured at Kafetu, E.H.P., were exclusively common east of the Simbu-Asaro-Divide, the blades originating from the other quarries showing a rectangular cross section were traded throughout the rest of the highlands regions (DOSEDLA 1975: 104).

Since the once vitally important stone axe trade which finally ceased only in the late sixties of this century has been treated sufficiently by the author and many other researchers in exclusive publications (WATSON 1980: 167, including the latest bibliography), the topic is only mentioned here in so far as the traditional routes of this trade are concerned as there also provided the base for the circulation of various other goods of exchange.

Another dominant item of the highlands trade which ceased at about the same time was salt, which was obtained in two different qualities from distinct mineral sources. Depending on the technology applied, the result was either a blackish potassium salt of rather faint taste or a more or less purified product with a higher degree of concentration. Most of the salt consumed in the western parts of the highlands originated from a number of sources in the Enga Province (MEGGILL 1957: 40; MEGGILL 1958a: 289; MEGGILL 1958b), whereas a few sources in the Schrader Mountains were of lesser importance in the northern section of the Western Highlands Province (DOSEDLA 1979: 165 ff.).

Of greater extension was the trade with salt from the source at the Kia river, a tributary of the lower Wahgi, which covered not only most parts of the Simbu Province but also crossed the Bismarck Range penetrat-

ing the Gende territory of the neighbouring Madang Province (WIRZ 1952: 211; REAY 1959: 7).

In the Eastern Highlands Province salt was mainly obtained from the source at SinaSina but also from various minor sources in the Lamari area (FISCHER 1968: 315 ff.).

In spite of the abundant occurrence of suitable clay in many places of interior PNG, pottery of recent manufacture was only practised outside the highlands region and the distribution of claypots obtained from across its fringes was limited to the Eastern Highlands Province and a small section of the Simbu Province. While pottery originating from the Austro-nesian Markham population was exchanged as a rule for various forest products from the eastern highlanders, the claypots used among the northern Simbu tribes were obtained mainly in exchange for stone axes from the Upper Ramu (WATSON 1977: 59).

A special role in all highlands communities is played by red ochre used for the adornment of ritual objects and on ceremonial occasions as a face and body paint which could not yet be completely replaced by imported powder paints of European origin. While white and yellow clays used for similar purposes are available nearly everywhere in interior PNG, the occurrence of red ochre is apparently limited to only a few localities. Of some importance was a distinct kind of red ochre from the Upper Wahgi which was a traditional trade item throughout the Western Highlands Province (STRATHERN 1971: 26).

Plant resources

The ethnobotanical situation of the PNG highlands as surveyed and documented by the author in 1970-74 (DOSEDLA 1974) may to a certain degree be described as uniform for most local groups as long as they have equal access to all possible varieties of the general mountainous habitat of rather subtropical character. Yet -- owing to a considerable diversity of altitudinal, climatical and soil conditions -- there are plant specimen representing items of essential value in the life of the highlanders which occur only seldom. As cases of plants becoming items of exchange are extremely numerous, only those involving the traditional main routes of intertribal trade are mentioned in this context.

Within the material culture of all New Guinean peoples which is based to a high percentage on wood, there are quite strict traditional rules as to what kind of trees are to be used for certain purposes. For the manufacture of almost every article, only one special kind of wood is regarded as proper since any substitute of minor quality would not guarantee the same degree of efficiency.

Such an example significant for all parts of PNG is the case of the bow used both for warfare and hunting the bigger game which is cut exclusively from the so-called black palm of the *Areca* family as well as the most favoured quality of spears. Since this palm tree belonging to the lower primary forest region in the interior of the island is of extremely scattered occurrence in a few climatically suitable localities, the distribution of such specific wooden products by intertribal trade may literally be regarded as of strategic significance (SCHMITZ 1960: 98 ff.; DOSEDLA 1979: 170).

A remarkable type of four-pronged spear referred to as the so-called ceremonial spear of the Simbu and Wahgi areas is manufactured from a tree of the *Gardenia* family (*Gardenia hageniana* Gilli, Rubiaceae) occurring exclusively in the alpine rain forest regions of the Bismarck Range near Mt. Wilhelm (DOSEDLA 1979: 165).

Ceremonial drums of the typical New Guinean Kundu type are imported to the highlands from a few parts of the fringe zone such as the Karimui Plateau, the Porgera Valley of the Enga Province and the Lake Kutubu region in the southern highlands (WILLIAMS 1940: 130 ff., 135).

Tapa cloth manufactured mainly from the bark of certain *Ficus* species was used for richly ornamented capes, belts or huge head-dresses in the eastern highlands and formerly constituted an important item of trade east of the Simbu-Asaro-Divide (DOSEDLA 1978a: 100). Of some significance in the vast grasslands of the Wahgi Valley was trade with the typical bark belts of the western highlanders which were mainly obtained from the Jimy Valley north of the Sepik-Wahgi-Divide (DOSEDLA 1985).

A traditional trade good representing the greatest luxury to all highlanders west of the Simbu-Asaro-Divide is a body ointment consisting of the pungent sap of a distinct tree native to the hinterland of the Papuan Gulf where it is vernacularly known as Tigaso. This sap is collected in the Lake Kutubu region in specially prepared bamboo containers of up to 18 ft. length. These are carried in the course of regularly held trading expeditions across the whole Southern Highlands Province towards

the Enga and Mbowamb territories where, until recently, the sap sometimes gained prices of more than one large pig per ounce (WILLIAMS 1940: 131).

Rattan cane abundant in the Upper Ramu area was traditionally split for the manufacture of finely plaited ornaments typical for bracelets, belts or the coverings of the famous ceremonial axes of the central highlands. This cane was not only an item accompanying the claypot trade across the whole Bismarck Range but has developed in recent years into some small-scale industries in the areas of its occurrence (DOSEDLA 1979: 164).

A distinct kind of glossy yellow orchid vine common in the primary rain forests of the northern fringe zone is highly valued for manufacturing decorations worn at festivities and is also an occasional item of intertribal exchange in many parts of the highlands (DOSEDLA 1979: 163).

Game resources

Though hunting is not an essential part of life for the highlanders, there is still a keen interest in this occupation even among the local groups which have no access to any forested area on their territory. Accordingly, besides the existing intertribal trade system, there are also traditional treaties between neighbouring communities concerning the right of using the other's game grounds for limited hunting parties as well as organized fishing trips on the base of reciprocal benefits (DOSEDLA 1974: 166 ff.; DOSEDLA 1982; DOSEDLA 1983). While greater amounts of venison may be smoked and taken home after having shared mannerly with the hosts group the smaller prey is, as a rule, consumed on the spot (DOSEDLA 1981: 10).

Yet of far more importance than the nutritional value of the meat are plumes, furs, skins and some other parts of game such as the shinbones and claws of cassowaries much in demand as weapons or billhorn beaks worn as a decoration as well as used as a spoon (DOSEDLA 1978a: 103 ff., fig. 13).

The most dominant role in traditional trade with feral animal products was always and — in spite of recently decreed rigorous restrictions — still is played by the brilliant plumage of various kinds of bird of paradise as well as of numerous other rare ornithological specimens (including the nearly extinct Montane Harpy also known as New Guinean Eagle). This topic has been treated extensively in literature (BULMER 1957; BULMER 1962; GILLIARD 1953; STRATHERN 1971).

This example is sufficient evidence of the vast impact the various aspects of the large field of hunting and fishing in the highlands, the topic of some exclusive publications by the author, had on the intertribal trade systems of pre-European Papua-New Guinea (DOSEDLA 1974; DOSEDLA 1978b, DOSEDLA 1982; DOSEDLA 1983).

Summary

This survey deals with the main features of traditional trade routes existing throughout PNG linking the mountainous interior with the coastal regions. The items figuring in this barter-like trading were stone axe blades and salt obtained exclusively from a few limited natural sources scattered in the highlands as well as pearlshell and various maritime conches which were imported as highly favoured valuables and a means of currency. While pottery was not practised by the recent highlands population, the import of claypots from the coastal areas had some cultural influence in the Eastern Highlands Province only. Due to the diversity of climatic zones and vegetation-patterns of the country, there were also certain products of the primary forests (e.g. wooden drums, spears, bows, bark belts, game and especially bird plumes) which were eagerly sought for by the inhabitants of the vast grassland areas within the highlands. Red ochre as well as an ointment consisting of the sap of a certain tree were both rubbed onto the skin on ceremonial occasions and were of only limited local occurrence making them important items of barter.

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"REX IUSTUS"

Traianus, Khosrau Anushirvan, Melik Shah and the unfortunate widow

Márton Istvánovits

Institute of Ethnography, Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Surprisingly, Georgian literature in the 16-17th centuries (the α β $\text{in} \text{e} \text{b} \text{i} \text{s} \text{p} \text{e} \text{r} \text{i} \text{o} \text{d} \text{i}$ — "age of rebirth") shows an abundance in the creations of the genre "the mirror of the kings"; it is rich both in original works and, primarily, in translations (the ample infiltration of Iranian literature through works of translation is highly characteristic of this age). Undoubtedly, the most outstanding, original example of this literary output was translated into Hungarian by R. Honti on the basis of the Russian adaptation, and, perhaps, for that reason enriched with an overdose of "orientalisms" (ORBELIANI 1953).

At present our attention is directed at an interesting story included in a similar collection of tales with a frame:

On truth and judgement: One of the Iranian rulers was called Melik Shah; one day he was hunting along a river where he took fancy to the green field and dismounted his horse to take a rest there. Then one of his magnates who was above the others in rank went into a village and caught sight of a cow there grazing on a river bank. He ordered his men to slaughter it, make shashlik from its meat which he consumed. The cow belonged to a widow who had four children, and fed them with the milk of the cow, the source of their sustenance. When the woman learnt that her cow had been killed she felt as if hit by lightening; she went to the bridge lying along the king's way and waited there. When the king got there she grabbed the bridle of the king's horse. Then the same man who had had the woman's cow slaughtered hit the woman's hand with his whip. The king ordered him: "Let us hear her complaint!" The woman told him in despair: "Oh, lion's son, if you do not grant me justice on this bridge, if you do not listen to my complaint here, then I will grab the edge of your robe in God's presence in the other world when the day of giving account of our deeds comes and I will reveal my complaint. You can listen to me

either here and now — or then and there, be it as you wish." The king dismounted and said to her: "Whatever complaint you have, reveal it to me; for I shall not be able to grant you justice over there: tell me who was it that did you wrong and what did he do to you". This is what the woman answered: "King, your man who hit me with his whip killed and ate my cow which used to feed me and my children". The king immediately ordered the man to be killed and sixty cows to be given to the woman to compensate her. Time passed by and the king died. However, the widow was still alive, she went to the king's tomb, opened her arms towards God and prayed as follows: "My Lord, the ruler of everything, the way you had mercy on my poor self and punished my enemy, be merciful now and forgive the sins of this king, place him into Paradise and do not hold his sins against him". After that a wise man saw the king in a dream: he was in Paradise. He asked the king what had been his merit before God with which he had deserved to be sent to Paradise. The king answered him the following: "God forgave me my sins because I listened to the complaint of a widow, otherwise my road to purification would have been a hard one". One kind of granting justice is that all the verdicts of the king should be divine, whenever a man goes to him with his complaint he should not release him empty-handed, and whether he condemns him or acquits him, his verdict should please God; he should avoid everything which is not God's order. If a king heeds all God's orders, God will make the sons of every man obedient to his orders...

This story belonging to the syncretic genre is from a collection of tales with a frame referred to as "the mirror of the kings"; and now we are not in a position to judge how popular or rare it might have been many years ago: for the sources at our disposal are familiar with but one single manuscript. Still, taking into account, on the one hand, the enormous losses of Georgian literature in manuscripts sustained amidst the vicissitudes of earlier centuries, and, on the other hand, the dominant role played by the genre in question (i.e. the attitude presupposing it) in the given age, we may assume, not without any ground, that variants once read in a wide circle got lost in this case or have not yet come to the surface.

If folklorists read the story of "Melik Shah and the poor widow", quoted above, their intuition will immediately direct their attention towards "folk poetry" and, in all probability, with some justification. Beyond the textological and structural features inducing this "after-

thought" (such cycles of stories are usually rooted in folklore both in Georgian literature and in Iranian literature serving as a source), by folklore we mean not "peasant folk poetry" in this case but "orality" which is not defined socially.

The story of creation of such cycles of tales with a frame represents a type of an independent process of creation, with its own specific laws, among the types of folklore and literary creations. What we commonly refer to as folklore is only a narrow province within the large terrain of orality described in aesthetics, and pointing this out is of specific significance when investigating the genesis of units of creation. We are still far from being familiar with the nature and laws of orality, although all the anthropological disciplines are interested in it. That is one reason why research has rarely managed to define the affiliation of certain pieces of cycles of stories, the investigation of which is the subject of the present study. In cases when we are aware of parallels of the individual stories either in national or international folklore, it happens very rarely that we are able find the common source. Generally speaking, we believe ourselves to be more successful if we are in possession of written sources, whereas the laws of written creations are not known better to us than those of the creations handed down by oral tradition. The characteristic situation is that in such cases folklorists stand up for the "folklore" origin and philologists support the "literary" origin of the folklore variations. Naturally, being biased does not help research progress; and since speculative approaches are of no use on questions of origin (by "origin" we do not mean some kind of archetypical denomination but the interpretation of the facts of creation from the point of view of creation history), good results can only be reached by induction, therefore the sine qua non of any kind of progress is the sufficient quantity of facts, "parallels" in the given case. In practice, increasing the number of the necessary facts is generally a fairly time-consuming and labour-intensive task: and, it may be admitted, but not once the result of a chance occurrence.

This network of connections which seems to be looming up before us in the wake of the plot of "Melik Shah and the widow" is really the creation of a chance occurrence. Being the researcher of Caucasian ethnography and folklore, I have for long been familiar with the moralizing story quoted above just like with the philological investigations which

are related to the cycle of tales with a frame containing the anecdote of "Melik Shah" as well.

The manuscript which has preserved it contains 48 pages, but at least two pages are missing from the beginning, therefore its title has not been handed down to posterity; and it is also possible that this is the reason why the author is not known to us. As has been pointed out, the work bears a great similarity to that of Said-Ali ibn Sahibuddin (c. 1385) entitled "Dadzkirat al-muluk"; just because of this kinship, Georgian literary history writing refers to it as "MephetaSalaro" — "Kings' treasurehouse", although it is certainly not the translation of Said Ali's work. For the original source was prepared after 1532/3, following the completion of Shamsaddin Ahmed Ben's work entitled "Negaristan". "Kings' treasurehouse" is undoubtedly a translation from Iranian origin, testified by its ample Persian (Arab) lexicology and other factors.

Facts of stylistic criticism and linguistic history also make it undoubtable that the Georgian publication was made at the turn of the 17-18th centuries.

"Kings' treasurehouse" is divided into 28 chapters: each chapter discusses a desirable feature of character of kings or their obligations: tolerance, forgiveness, endowment, generosity, etc. At the beginning of the chapters we read about the general features of these concepts and properties, followed by sentences-aphorisms as well as anecdotic stories illustrating them. The number of the latter varies in the individual chapters.

Naturally, the idealistic trend of the "Kings' treasurehouse" is Islamic, still — as is generally characteristic of the method of contemporary Georgian translation literature — we may also observe the efforts of the Christian author (translator) to manifest the requirements of his own and his readers' world view. As is pointed out by Georgian literary history writing, as far as its linguistic-stylistic presentation and aesthetic values are concerned, the work is not lagging behind any of the similar creations which once enjoyed great popularity (KOBIDZE n.d. 391-393; KEKELIDZE 1958: 461).

Thus we are not familiar with the original of the Georgian compilation; it may be assumed with a higher or lower degree of justification (this is the way works of this kind were mostly created) that the tales and short stories constituting its material were collected from a variety of sources (folklore and literary) by the anonymous author. A similar

process might be supposed in relation to the Georgian translator too (this may be proved in the case of more than one contemporary author) but we have no basis for that in the present instance: no further traces of the "Kings' treasurehouse" are to be found either in literature or in folklore. This holds true for the anecdote of "Melik Shah and the widow" as well: parallels to it are known by neither Georgian literature nor Caucasian folklore.

Only a distant oriental parallel, still belonging to our topic, may be presented here which bears a certain degree of similarity to the Georgian plot quoted above; which, however, is highly edifying from several points of view and which neither the researchers wishing to clarify the connections and affiliation of the Georgian nor those of the "European version" (see below) seem to be aware of.

It is in the well-known work of the famous minister of the Seljuq Shahs, Nizam al-Mulk, entitled "Siasat-name" where we find the following verbose story related as the parable of the correct way of meting out royal justice:

Khosrau Anushirvan appointed one of the high-ranking men of his court governor of Azerbaidzhan. The governor decided to have a palace with a garden built for himself outside his capital. However, in the place appointed for building an old woman possessed a small plot, on the meagre revenue of which she could barely support herself. Although the governor tried hard, he was unable to buy or swap the plot of the woman, therefore he took it by force. The woman went to the governor's palace to request legal justice but she was not even received there. Then she decided to submit her complaint to the lord of the governor, the Just Anushirvan. She went to the capital in secret and walked around the Shah's palace for a long time not trusting to gain admittance; she dared to approach the ruler with her grievance only when she saw him alone on a hunting trip. Anushirvan listened to the woman's complaint, conducted a complicated and tricky investigation to become convinced of the truth, then, in the presence and with the co-operation of his whole court, he condemned the unjust and violent governor: he had him skinned alive, his flesh was thrown to dogs to eat, his skin was stuffed with straw and nailed to the gate of the palace to serve as a warning for everyone. Then he compensated the woman lavishly for her just complaints (Siasat-name 1949: 36-43).

The final episode of the story is the famous case of "Khosru's bell meting out justice", to which Bernát Heller (1918: 181-183) adjusted an interesting series of parallels.

It is completely obvious that this story is independent of the tradition whose continuation is the Georgian "Melik Shah and the widow". Most conspicuous is the lack of the central moment of the plot tradition, namely that there is need for a separate call of the widow, her statement "shocking" the king, to induce the king to take immediate action; and at the same time that it keeps a "side-line kinship", figuratively speaking, with that tradition. If it could be proved that this myth related to Hosrau Anushirvan was known already in the Sasanids' age (for it is known to us that a cycle of myths was created around this excellent ruler by that time – see PUTTKA 1979), then we would be possessing the oldest trace of the "oriental version" of the myth-legend-anecdote tradition in question. Unfortunately, however, this cannot be proved, at least not today. The "Siasat-name" came into existence in the 11th century, and even if it is certain that the story we are concerned with here was not concocted by its author, we are not familiar with its source. Moreover, in addition to the testimony of the Georgian example, all the "proofs" of the whole "oriental tradition" are the story of Nizam al-Mulk and its drastically shortened version to be read in the famous work of Afi (Siasat-name 1949: 279). As opposed to our meagre eastern data, Central Europe offers a relatively substantial material of parallels.

Our plot may pride itself on an extensive career here. It may be traced from the beginning of the 8th century until the middle of the 16th century, formulated in different genres (from the legend to the Schwank); serving the expression of a variety of ideas, but almost always connected to the activities of Roman Emperor Traianus or Pope Gregory the Great.

This is how "the contents of the European publication" are summarized by Claus Riessner on the basis of the *Vitae* of Paulus Diaconus (died at the end of the 8th century) and Johannes Diaconus (died at the end of the 9th century), describing the biographies of the Roman popes:

Emperor Traianus was on his way to a military campaign when a crying widow stopped him on the road and asked him not to leave before punishing those responsible for the death of her only son and meting out justice to them. In his reply the emperor promised to remedy her complaint as soon as he had returned from the war. This, however, failed to satisfy the woman, who asked the emperor what would happen if he failed to return from the war. Trying to calm her, the emperor replied that in that case his successor would remedy her complaint. This is what the woman indignantly retorted: "It will not enhance your respect if someone else metes out jus-

tice instead of you!" The widow's words shocked the emperor who dismounted his horse and fulfilled her request before leaving for the war. And Pope Gregory the Great was so deeply touched by this deed of Emperor Traianus seeking justice that he prayed for his salvation until the ruler, having been thrown to hell, was purified from his sins.

The versions of this story were collected by G. Paris as early as the end of the past century; his material was supplemented and analysed again by A. Graf. C. Riessner, who, as far as I know, most recently dealt with the Traianus-Pope Gregory legend (RIESSNER 1980: 151-160), is familiar with no new wording, and none of the authors listed knows the Georgian parallel or its (Iranian) source.

In his brief but excellent study, C. Riessner did not set as his aim to increase the number of facts, he tried to reveal the genesis of the "external" and "internal" format of the plot; he investigated the composition of its elements and the history of the process of its creation.

It may be pointed out immediately that he realizes his efforts with a highly respectable knowledge of material, with a fine feeling of the spiritual substance of bygone ages, so much so that we have to accept his arguments as convincing if we remain within the boundaries of the train of thought and factual knowledge of the author.

Relying on a rich storehouse of sources, C. Riessner outlines the picture formulated of Emperor Trianus as "the just one" by late Roman and Christian medieval mentality; and he performs this reconstruction in relation to the figure of Pope Gregory -- possessing a much more "efficient" spiritual-moral strength than the pagan emperor. Related to the latter, an especially great importance is attached, from our point of view, to the belief we are informed about from the so-called epitaph of the pope: "Die Mitwelt pries an Gregor nicht nur seine Werke der Fürsorge um die Armen, sondern sie schrieb ihm schon damals die Macht zu, die Seelen aus dem Fegefeuer zu erlösen."

This survey allows our author to draw the conclusion that the mental basis of the creation of this pious story is the concept-belief of the extraordinary feeling of justice of the two heroes (Traianus and Pope Gregory) widely spread already in their age; the long series of stories relating their deeds of justice well-known to the general public. And the reason for the plot realizing the principles of the genre of the legend in this formulation is that the "justness" of Pope Gregory -- understandably -- is Christian mercifulness (pietas): the basic idea of our story. Consequently, the main hero of the legend is Pope Gregory the Great.

In the following, C. Riessner directs his attention to those architectural and fine art relics of imperial Rome (Traianus' forum) which Gregory the Great may have seen in his lifetime and which were the objects of deep admiration even in early medieval Christian times, and around which, as testified by the works of the type "Mirabilis Romae", legends were formulated and spread in a wide circle. The art relics and the "cycle of the legends related to the city" in question undoubtedly contributed to the formulation of the legend of Pope Gregory, all the more so as on the so-called Anaglypha Traiani-relief we may also observe the representation of a plot in which we must conjecture, and perhaps not without any basis, the illustration of Traianus' meting out judgement.

The modest aim of the present study makes it unnecessary to keep following the presentation of C. Riessner and reproduce his "wandering" through the centuries of the Middle Ages. It will suffice to mention here from among his observations that our topic enjoyed an upswing in European literature especially from the 12th century onwards while -- as has already been referred to -- it was moulded according to the norms of a diversity of genres and was made to serve different ideals (in Dante, for example, it served as an expression of a theological problem: what will be the fate of excellent personalities having lived prior to Christianity, can they obtain absolution, etc.; while in Hans Sachs "rex iustus", the anecdote of Traianus, is the manifestation of his democratic world view too: it is a warning picture for the powerful people of the own age of the writer).

Now let us return to the Georgian-Iranian version of our story by way of an epilogue.

It may hardly be suggested that this version is the direct "adoption" of the "European" one. True, as we have seen, we are not familiar with the source of the "Kings' treasurehouse", thus we do not know to what extent the plot interesting for us followed the original in its formulation, how much change was brought about in it, etc., but we have all the reason to abstain from considering the only hero of the story named in it, "Melik Shah" (and, of course, the anecdotic core of the tale) to be the invention of the Georgian adapter. This "Melik Shah" is in all probability that most outstanding ruler of the Seljuq dynasty who is a "rex iustus" in Middle Eastern literature (including "popular literature") just like Traianus in Europe. However, Georgian literary and folklore tradition knows nothing about the Roman emperor; at the same time it knows "Melik Shah" well, and although the medieval Georgian feudalistic great power

came into being partly in the course of the wars against the Seljuqs lasting for decades, the contemporary chronicler speaks about "Melik Shah" with the highest respect and recognition (obviously in harmony with the way of thinking of the possessors of power), emphasizing his understanding and well-meaning in respect to the Christians (KARTLIS CXOVREBA 1955: 321). Wherever the Georgian translator may have taken his story about "Truth and justice" from, it is connected, in all probability, to the oriental and not the European tradition.

Judging on the basis of the facts at our disposal, we have to classify the exposition of the Georgian version with the Eastern tradition too: the episode in which the high-ranking man of the king has the cow of the widow slaughtered. No example of a similar episode can be found in the European material, here we always read about the unjust death of the widow's son and not about her having been deprived of her possession. Its closest analogy may be found in the related legend connected to Hasrau Anushirvan presented above. Nevertheless, this analogy is a fairly distant one, it cannot in any way have served as the "forefather" in formulating the Georgian version of the episode in question. The only correlation which has to be pointed out is the loss of property constituting the basic conflict of both stories.

As a result of an interpolation of cultural history, we again have to presume an oriental source behind the Georgian version when investigating the role of Pope Gregory the Great. Although the orthodox Georgian Church never disrupted its connections with Rome following the great schism either, these contacts were mainly of a political character, and always unfruitful for the Georgians to boot. If there was any intellectual-cultural co-operation between them, its significance is negligible from the point of view of Georgian cultural history. Here a remarkable exception from our point of view is just the person of Gregory the Great, some of whose works were even translated by the Georgians; moreover, one of their Catholicoses (the head of the Autocephalic Georgian Church) named Kirion sustained a correspondence with the pope in questions of anti-Nestorian dogmatics (KEKELIDZE 1980: 125, 203, 207, 469, 483, 582). Thus if the Georgian translator of the story entitled "On truth and justice" had been in possession of a source, directly or indirectly, in which Gregory the Great figured as an active personality, he would have had no reason to leave him out of his work without even mentioning his name.

After all that has been stated above it seems that we might be certain that the Georgian version is rooted in Moslem traditions and we must carry on our further search for its origin there.

It must be noticed, however, that both in its structure and in (at least one of) its basic idea(s) the Georgian version is connected to the European one. The similarity in structure is that the story does not come to an end with royal justice meted out but — and this refers to both its basic idea and the anecdote genre being transformed into the genre of legend — then comes the closing episode: relating the "justification" of the king in the other world. In the function of the saint pope of the European version the Georgian story also presents a figure, or divides his function between the unfortunate widow and a "certain wise man" who is left anonymous: it is the prayer of the widow grateful for justification that purifies the dead pagan king from his sins; the wise man (his dream) testifies to the justification of the king in the other world. We may hardly have doubts about the Christian character of this idea, moreover it may be connected with a fairly great probability to "European thinking" as well. Anyway, the idea raised just in relation to Emperor Traianus, as has already been mentioned, became, through Dante, the subject of vehement debates all over Europe in the centuries to come; at the same time in Eastern Christianity, even though the problem is not unknown. The Georgian version of the story is a proof to that effect but beyond it we also possess Byzantine examples, e.g. in the famous epigramma of Ioannes Mauropus Eukhaites written at the end of the 11th century, in which he prays for the salvation of Plato and Plutarch: "Oh Jesus if among the pagans there were others worthy of being saved from damnation, let it be Plato and Plutarch..." (MORAVCSIK 1974: 370), it did not occupy the Fathers of the Church as intensively by far as in the West.

Thus while Melik Shah as an active person, furthermore the basic conflict, the "lack" Pope Gregory the Great induced us to connect the Georgian version to the oriental tradition, the structure, the generic transformation, the idea of "justification in the other world" seem to lead to the realm of Western Christian tradition.

Similar "Western-Eastern alloys" are no rare phenomena in the Georgian history of ideas: literature, poetry, fine art, scientific thinking. Naturally, with all that we have not solved "the question of origin" by far, all the more so because we cannot only think of the creation of autonomous versions completely independent of each other but

we must prove their possible existence as well. It is our intuition which tells us that in the present case the Georgian version is really an example of this kind of creation: the local transformation induced by factors of world view, the components at the points of encounter of two areas of traditions (or on their peripheries) — as a result of an awareness of the world views of both sides. The facts at our disposal do not make it possible for us to take steps beyond this conclusion for the time being.

Finally, we have to briefly touch upon one of the structural cores of the story entitled "On truth and judgement": the idea expressed in the dialogue between the king and the widow. It is conspicuous that the reply of the widow in this unfortunate situation which finally induced the king to take immediate action does not seem weighty enough to us to justify the decision made by the king. Naturally, this moment did not avoid the attention of C. Riessner either. He points out that in the oldest version of the story the royal deed was inspired by a single short sentence ("Domine, sit, si inde non venies, nemo me adiuvet"); in the following: "Wer dann in der Folge die Geschichte weitererzählte, mag das Bedürfnis empfunden haben, den Worten der Frau einen rationalen Sinn zu geben, um den letzten entscheidenden Schritt des Kaisers zu rechtfertigen und besser verständlich zu machen."

We on our part had no access to the whole material of the European versions thus we cannot judge what the effort at rationalization mentioned by the author led to. All we can say is that the variations quoted by him do not make the king's behaviour "more understandable" than the recommendation of the Georgian publication. Or, to put it more precisely, these variations do not actually demonstrate the "rationalization" assumed by C. Riessner; in this or that way, they reflect the unanimous belief that the king, by his character and nature, is "just" (like all the 'rex iustus', his "good king" colleagues — from Khosrau Anushirvan to the Hungarian King Matthias), there is no need for any specific command or warning to make him sympathise with the unfortunate person and act "righteously".

It is undoubtable, however, that in the command inducing the king to take action a strong emphasis is given to his comparison with his one-time successor; a hint to the vanity of the king in a way, but this emphasis is equally present in both the Georgian and the European versions, thus offering no orientation in judging the place of the former.

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A COMMUNITY OF PEASANT POETS IN LITTLE-CUMANIA

Ákos Janó

Rákóczi Museum, Sárospatak

Recent research in ethnography and the history of Hungarian literature has been bringing to light manuscript relics of poetry previously unknown to or disregarded by our literary history. As a result of the evaluation of the literary material from archives and family documents more and more individual poets are presented to us; furthermore, we come across numerous pieces of poetry even in the account-books of some farms and in other family records. These works of poetry often turn out to be unsuccessful poetic attempts, but there are also remarkable ones of enduring value and high literary standards.

In many cases the poetic pieces found in the literary material of archives and family documents and in manuscript songbooks are written by educated people well-versed in literature, but very often one also finds among them a number of attempts by uneducated people of instinctive poetic talent not used to writing at all. The latter mostly come from among peasants and shepherds, and their works are the expressions of the political, economic and social problems of the peasantry as well as the manifestations of traditional culture and the peasant taste, soul and way of thinking. By studying the works of these peasant poets not only literary history but also folklore can learn a lesson and obtain profound knowledge of material and experience. These works of folk poets, which are no longer based on a verbal tradition but tied to written forms so did not undergo reformation and transformation by the community, are to be found on the edge and at the point of contact of literary history and folkloristics; thus, they were left unnoticed by both disciplines for a long time.

Literacy was at a low level in Hungary until the second half of the 19th century, the rate of illiteracy being especially high among the peasantry. Under such circumstances it was the verbal tradition that

played a decisive role in the intellectual development of the peasantry. However, an ennoblement of the peasantry took place in the second half of the 19th century together with the decline of feudal culture, one of the main characteristics of which was a verbal tradition. Parallel with the ennoblement feudal culture was replaced by the culture of the new individualistic society, and this society was based on readings and written works. Due to the Compulsory Schooling Act of 1868, the overwhelming majority of peasants were able to read by the end of the 19th century. Simultaneously with this development lower social classes began to buy the works of wandering poets sold at markets and other trashy literature which became the standard for peasants next to calendars and religious publications for a long time.

Before and during the second half of the 19th century it became a familiar sight at markets to see lonely, disabled, sick people, sometimes too old to work, who begged by singing poems and lived on the alms obtained in this way. These market poets either learnt their rhyming songs from others or made them up themselves; never writing them down they only memorized them so their songs were constantly changed and improved through repetition. Their aim was not so much to popularize their poems but to produce transitory emotional effects and induce the people at markets and wakes to give them alms. Their songs represent one of the oldest relics of peasant versification and performance.

The wandering booksellers, wandering poets and news-poets, who flooded the markets with booklets of cheap literature in the second half of the 19th century, came from among former serfs expelled from their lands, craftsmen unable to get on in life and work-shy servants of all kinds. In order to make an easy living they were selling booklets containing poems about news and events of common interest partly written by themselves. They covered large areas wandering from place to place. At first these wandering poets and news-poets wrote for the upper classes, but in fact they served everyone in the hope of financial benefit. The "prowl" or peddling by these tramps was prohibited by the authorities for a long time, but their activities could not be prevented. The prohibitions and punishments drove them to safer distant villages, which were difficult to control, and there they tried to get some money on the occasion of markets, church-ales and other gatherings. Counting also on the interest of the lower classes, in their work they conformed to the taste and thinking of village people. They were zealously writing, printing and selling their

poems depicting news and events that had taken place in the neighbourhood. They collected the material for their poems during their wanderings. While selling their booklets they were loudly reciting the poems so as to arouse interest in their works amongst as many people as possible. This is how the wandering poets visiting markets became well-known very quickly; village people learnt a lot from them and often incorporated their poems into their own folk poetry. Many villagers even started to imitate them (TAKÁCS 1951: 9).

In the second half of the 19th century narrators of historical events were characteristic figures of village markets and wakes. They enriched the selection of low-grade novels written for the peasants with printed works, too, but these were mainly works of prose. While the news-poems recorded real events in verse form, the folk-chronicles described mostly historical events and tragic love stories in prose or drew on mythology and other tales and they often contained a moral lesson as well. Unlike the prose-chronicles, the news-poems took the place of newspapers and played a significant role in informing people (TAKÁCS 1956: 225-239). Whereas the market poets' way of composition goes back to the verbal tradition of peasant culture, the news-poets and narrators of historical events represent a transition between the peasant culture based on an oral tradition and the peasant culture based on literacy.

In addition to the work of market poets, news-poets and folk-chroniclers one finds yet another manifestation of the peasant poetic instinct in the second half of the 19th century. Lajos Gergely writes the following about a Székely peasant poet, who lived in Transylvania, "... in some Székely congregations at funerals the priest reads a sometimes lengthy poem, in which on behalf of the deceased he bids farewell to his kinsmen, neighbours, friends and all those who had done him some favour during his life and also to the mournful gathering of all ranks present. This done, the cantor steps forward, he does not want to fall behind and appear less, either, so he also takes a poem he was writing for two or three days, accompanies it with some sorrowful tune and makes every effort to outdo the priest in moving the mourners. The poem that brings more tears into the eyes of the womenfolk, first of all, and that succeeds in making the easily moved audience weep more is usually considered the 'better' farewell poem" (GERGELY 1868/II: 84-85).

Then peasants also began to write poems modelled on the poems and laments written by priests and cantors for funerals. Besides laments and

funeral poems they wrote other occasional poems for weddings, name-days and funeral feasts, which were more popular among their fellows than any other types of verse. Imre Korda, a renowned teacher from Kiskunhalas, Little-Cumania, writes about a local peasant poet, "To those who are in touch with the common people of Hungary the figure of the so-called peasant poet is not unknown. In almost every town and village there is a man wearing wide white linen trousers and a long embroidered felt cloak who drudges with the scythe, the hoe or the stilt of the plough on weekdays but who spends his holidays and winter days of rest reading and writing wise saws; he is a real 'writer' whose writings sell like hot cakes at social gatherings, wine-bibbings or on leisurely Sunday afternoons" (KORDA n.d.). Those who could even had their poems printed and sold them for money. There were quite a few people, mainly the elderly, for whom writing poems remained the only way to earn a living, but there were other peasant poets, too, who wrote poems only to please themselves, who never had their poems printed. They wrote on any bit of paper they could get hold of and then they read their poems just to entertain each other (TÖMÖRKÉNY 1898: 198). These "lonely" peasant versifiers wrote mainly satirical verses. "If something annoys them: some high regulation or law, there appears as many as six poems about it at once... What is not after their own heart is put into verse by them", writes István Tömörkény (1898: 198) about these poets. They composed lyrical poems and love song, they sang of their own lot, life and vicissitudes, of their desires, joys and hopeless agonies.

Versifiers belonging to this group of peasant poets are called folk-poets. They appeared in the second half of the 19th century, though they had been present in rural society all through the previous centuries, they had just remained modestly hidden and anonymous within their close communities. They were part of the masses; they did not write down their work which flowed into the stream of folk culture feeding and enriching it. The poems themselves were transformed and became public property. It was the process of ennoblement of the peasantry that helped the creative peasant individual break away from the masses, and it was literacy that made him famous, that made him a folk-poet.

Along with the market poets, news-poets and folk-chroniclers, the role and significance of the folk-poets is altogether different. The former were satisfied with the transitory, short-lived effects of their poetry in order to get alms. The news-poets and folk-chroniclers hoped to

gain financial profit by spreading information and recording events. They used the verse-form for the purpose of attractiveness and marketableness. The folk-poets, however, consciously satisfied the intellectual needs of their community. They did this with a sense of vocation at a higher literary standard often without hope of financial gain. At the same time, they took great pleasure in the creative activity and they proudly called themselves poets.

Poets of our peasant communities were present in their greatest numbers throughout the country at the turn of the century. They were mainly uneducated poor peasants who were made outstanding figures of their communities by their inborn talent and who were raised from the monotonous peasant life by the traditional intellectual nourishing force of folk culture alive in them. Their constant readings included occasional volumes of classical works as well as the trashy literature of the markets. This also helped them manifest their creative talent in the face of their exclusion from schools and the limited cultural facilities available to them. Having broken free from the bounds of their class background, they were able to devote their creative energy to delivering the message of their people. Their work is inseparably connected with the social status of the peasantry, they reflect the everyday problems, desires, the ideological and political standpoints of their communities. Their poems have literary merits, too, but their main significance lies in the fact that they acquaint us with the life of the common people of those days, with the ideas and the mentality of their communities, and also with their attitudes to great events and historical turning-points.

At the end of the 18th and at the beginning of the 19th century in Kiskunhalas, which is to be found in Little-Cumania, several of the well-to-do and learned citizens were concerned with writing poems, but as early as this, peasants also composed occasional poems. However, the written work of these poets was lost later on and not even their names are known now. Still, there survived a great many poems by peasant poets living in the second half of the 19th century, and at the turn of the 20th century. The most outstanding figures among these peasant poets were István Gózon, Antal Gyenizse, János Egyed Izsák, László Bacsó, Imre Kis Illés, Sándor Modok and Imre Vas.

Kiskunhalas, being one of the territorial and administrative centres of Little-Cumania, had had privileges for a long time, and these drew a distinction between its free inhabitants and those living under semi-

feudal conditions in other parts of the country. These privileges meant faster bourgeois development and earlier prosperity for its dwellers compared with the opportunities open to people living under restricted feudal conditions. The privileged status of the town went with the early development of schooling and the fast progress of general culture. The birth of written peasant poetry inevitably presupposes a certain more advanced level of peasant culture the initiator of which was the school.

Towards the end of the 19th century schools paid close attention to the advancement of the people's education outside school as well. The school was instrumental in the formation of the general collegium-minded classical culture, which is often present in the work of peasant poets, too; the school made the town the cultural centre of the region and it also extended its influence over the peasantry. The school library of Kiskunhalas with tens of thousands of volumes was open to the whole population of the town, among them also to peasants, who were interested and eager to learn. The town's learned Calvinist pastor, Áron Szilády, kept in touch with the peasants who were interested in arts and sciences and who were eager to become learned. Several winters he and the teaching staff of the secondary grammar school gave the peasants educational scientific lectures every Sunday afternoon.

General education was promoted by the cultural societies that began to form in the middle of the 19th century. In 1845 the Municipal Council reported to the Jászkun Kerület (Jazygian-Cumanian District) that there were no societies with written constitutions in the town, although the Kaszinó (Casino Club) and the Polgári Olvasókör (Civic Book Club) already existed at that time. The Casino Club was to be found upstairs in the City Hall and better-off peasants frequented it as well to read newspapers. It was mostly the town's tradesmen and farmers who held their meetings in the Civic Book Club. The Halasi Gazdasági Egyesület (Farming Society of Halas) was founded in 1875 but it functioned only for a year and it was re-established under the name of Kiskunhalasi Gazdakör (Farmers' Club of Kiskunhalas) later in 1902. The Függetlenségi és 1848-as Kör (Society of Independence and 1848) existed from 1876. In addition to these, various craftsmen's and religious circles were formed at this time.

Local newspapers were an important means of general education, they informed the population about major events and they significantly enriched the knowledge of peasants. After the appearance of the first one, newspapers began to have a more and more important place in the reading-matter

of the peasantry. At first they were published weekly, later twice a week. Besides the Halasi Újság launched in 1882 the town had as many as 8 weeklies in succession, and just before World War I the population could choose from 3 local papers.

Our peasant poets composed their poems mainly in winter but they spent their spare time writing poems in work seasons, too. Their poems were conceived on holidays, during rainy weeks and sleepless nights. In the evenings and sometimes even all through the night they kept writing with a stork- or goose-pen by the flickering light of a candle or floating wick. They wrote occasional poems, canvass-songs, they recorded the important local and national events, among their works we also find lyrical pieces, folksong-like verses and political poems which rebelled against the regulations and decrees which oppressed the peasantry.

István Gózon frequently wrote long epic poems whose topics were taken from everyday life, recalled from memory or borrowed from the world of tales and legends. He was already 60 years old when he took to writing poems in the 1880s. Far away from his home he "pitched a tent" on a hill at the edge of a small aspen grove and when he had some time to spare, sometimes even a whole day, he would write at a table he had made himself while listening to the bells of grazing sheep. His first volume of poems was entirely devoted to memories of the long-lost world of herdsmen and outlaws, but since this work was not yet published the manuscript was lost while being passed from hand to hand. One of the best pieces in that volume may have been an epic poem entitled "Ménesek nyírása" (The Clipping of Studs) only small fragments of which are known to us.

In old pastoral life it was a practice with studs in the 'puszta' that a colt's mane was clipped and its tail was bobbed every June. The clipping of the herds was accompanied by a big annual festival. Horse-herds, cattle-herds and some shepherds from the neighbourhood, distinguished farmers with their families, provosts, the police officer responsible for the district and his men were also invited for this special occasion of the puszta. The cut-off manes and tails were sold to merchants who had come the previous day, and the money went to the young herdsmen as extra income. After the clipping a great party was thrown. István Gózon recorded a similar pastoral festival, one held in Szank, a grazing land in the confines of Kiskunahals, where he had been present as a young village constable.

Most of István Gózon's poems are imbued with his recollections of the world of the herdsmen and outlaws of the puszta. It was these memories that he would recount with great pleasure to his family, his neighbours and old friends. His remembrances of the open Cumanian puszta brightened the evening of his life. His wise words and poetic parables lived long in the memory of the people, and even half a century after his death he was frequently remembered, especially by his peers.

László Bacsó produced about 12 volumes of poetry and prose writings. His two most important narrative poems are "The Commassation or the Remembrance of the 1860-61 Land Distribution in Halas" and "A Defence of the Calvinist Vestry of Kiskunhalas, its Chief Calvinist Pastor and the Liberal party, the Backbone of the Bourgeoisie in Commemoration of the 1878 Election of Deputies and the Market Riot". He was a deeply religious man who had learnt and was able to cite perfectly certain parts of the Bible. Religious meditations often recur in his poems. He was also highly inclined to philosophize. From the age of 12 he recorded in separate copy-books all the important events of his life, the receipts and expenses of his farm and sometimes also his thoughts. Into his year-books he copied the poems he had heard or read and liked best of all. These year-books contain some of his own poems, too.

On the occasion of pig-killing feasts, name-days and other parties he entertained the company with his poems giving short speeches of congratulation. He had complete self-control and his children were brought up in the same spirit. He never uttered a word of complaint or dissent. In his poems his figure is outlined as that of a quiet and contented man.

The poems by Antal Gyenizse are characterized by lamentation about the past and their tone is akin to the tone of the plaintive songs of the Kuruts, who were soldiers in the insurrectionist armies of Imre Thököly and Ferenc Rákóczi fighting against Habsburg oppression at the turn of the 17th century. He lacks the purposeful endeavour, sense of form and refinement typical of István Gózon and László Bacsó. His poems, void of zest for life, found little response in his surroundings.

Among our peasant poets probably the figure of Imre Kis Illés has remained the most obscure to us. Details of his life are still unknown, and owing to the nature of his poems, we can hardly find answers to our questions even from his works. He could not really earn respect due to his suspicious former life. His poems, which he sold printed, are close to the

rhyming chronicles of the markets and to the best men's verses, so he can be classified as a folk-chronicler within the group of peasant poets.

János Egyed Izsák did not write down his poems, he aimed at transitory effects, so his works and his way of presentation are akin to that of market singers. Writing poems was not a spiritual need for him but a manifestation of social behaviour. Tradition has it that whenever he caught sight of his acquaintances in the street, he invited them in and offered them a glass of wine from each of his casks. He was a master of jokes and entertaining. His poems are up-to-date, funny and always related to the occasion; not infrequently, however, they are also fully imbued with political content. He put into verse the doings and the carefully kept secrets of the well-known figures of the peasant and the bourgeois society only to recite them at the next pig-killing feasts. Besides being funny his "Talicska-vers" (Wheelbarrow Song) reveals a touch of social criticism, too. His best poems are those with a good cadence and a snappy ending. Once he had become acquainted with someone after a few minutes' talk, he wrote a poem about him. He was not overkeen on manual labour, whenever he could, he went to the nearby horse-driven- and wind-mills or to the neighbouring blacksmith's shops to amuse and entertain all those present.

He was quite young when he was elected a member of the municipal board of representatives, and later, at the time of the 1863 Commassation a member of the assessors' committee. After this, a great misfortune befell him, which had an influence on the rest of his life: his eyes grew dim and he had to go to hospital. Though unable to read and write from now on he kept composing poems, he stored the words of his poems in his mind until he died. László Nagy Czirok wrote down his poems from dictation during their meetings in the 1890s. He got on well with István Gózon, who was his brother-in-law. At first they corresponded through poems, and later, when they grew quite old, they often came together being close neighbours.

Our folk-poets wrote satirical verses, too. Sándor Modok ridiculed an avaricious man in one of his poems. His other poems recall grieving, melancholic, exhausted men in the tones of human sadness beyond all the joys of life. His best memories are attached to the past beauties of pastoral life.

Among our peasant poets Imre Vas is the most typical folk-poet. He is not only a versifier but a real poet. His work reflects the general poetic preoccupations of the age as well as the sufferings, struggles,

ambitions and emotions of his personal life. His interests also go beyond the limits of the peasant poets' idea of the world. He is interested in the whole world as it is. He is a resolute, strong and mature poetic talent with all the makings of a great poet, and he is hindered from becoming one only by his difficulties of expression and inhibitions due to his lack of education. His development is the same as that of the other poets of the age. At the beginning of his career he fights against convention; later, when his scope is widened and he is strained by the need to express an emotional message that cannot be expressed by the poetic traditions he is familiar with, he finds a personal tone and establishes new forms of expression. At first he consciously fights against his feeling of poetic vocation. After his first period, when he struggled with the form, his poems written in the 1910s are characterized by a mature content and thought. While with the other peasant poets one finds an intense local patriotism their subject matter being determined by the limits of local events, the historical past, the peasant and public life, the poems by Imre Vas written about general social and political concerns display a wider outlook and a strict critical vision. His tragedy is that his view of life attached to his peasant lot prevented him from finding a way out of social problems. He learnt a lot from Sándor Petőfi, but he lacks his optimism and militant vocation. His message and his life-story full of strokes of fate unbend in a unique personal lyricism.

István Gózon and László Bacsó were the most productive among our peasant poets and the folk-poets. They often wrote their poems on small pieces of paper and copied them when they could get hold of some decent sheets. Then the first drafts of their poems were used for lighting fires or pipes. Thus, the original drafts have not survived. When rewriting and copying the poems, the poets made corrections here and there and also inserted belated thoughts. The never-ending philosophizing, the explanations, thorough descriptions and digressions often present in their narrative poems are the results of copying and adding new thoughts to these poems. They rarely left out parts of complete poems, they kept reforming and supplementing their works instead. That is why László Bacsó's poem about the Commassation is about 1200 lines long. Among the works of István Gózon his narrative poem entitled "Egy kisasszonyból lett juhászbojtár élete" (The Life of a Young Shepherd Who Was a Young Lady Before) is the longest one being over 1500 lines long, but the majority of his narrative poems are also of at least 500 lines. The lyrically-minded Imre Vas wrote only

one narrative poem in which he depicted his own life of vicissitudes. Here he could not avoid being long-winded, either, so this poem is also longer than 500 lines.

Our peasant poets' surroundings and readings helped them in the formation of their versification and subject matter. Imre Korda states about István Gózon, "... Such a folk-poet... is mostly a learned man, educated to a certain extent and also well-read. He is usually an eminent pupil, who drops out early but who longs for literacy even as a peasant labourer. Regular self-education is out of the question for him since he has neither time nor means for it. He cannot choose his readings, he has only low quality literature at hand and a few old books under the crossbeams of friends' houses. These books have been passed down for a hundred years and they include "A magyar gyász" (The Hungarian Mourning), "Zátony históriája" (The History of Zátony), and even older relics such as Hallers's "Hármas história" (The Triple History) and "Árgyélus királyfi meséje" (The Tale of Prince Árgyélus). His intellectual life is determined by these works though the latest literature is not unknown to him, either. He knows of Sándor Petőfi and János Arany, though mainly from hearsay and newspapers..." (KORDA n.d.).

Today we do not know what works belonged to the readings of our peasant poets, what books helped them master the art of versification and widen the scope of their themes, but we must recognize a more thorough knowledge of literature in their poems than presupposed by Imre Korda. They were familiar with the works of Márton Etédi Sánta and Gerzson Dálnoki Veres as well as the contemporary products of trashy literature mainly about historical topics. They also often read our classics. From among old prose writings the books by Zsigmond Kemény and Miklós Jósika were perused with pleasure and from among poems the works by Bálint Balassi, István Gyöngyösi, Mihály Csokonai Vitéz and Sándor Petőfi were widely read and even quoted by heart. The poems of István Gyöngyösi and Mihály Csokonai Vitéz were widespread among and favoured by not only our poets of the peasant community but also the peasantry as a whole. During wedding parties the guests sometimes found it pleasurable to recite verses to each other boasting their knowledge of poems. István Gózon knew word for word almost all of the poems by Bálint Balassi and István Gyöngyösi.

Each of our peasant poets had the opportunity to learn at an elementary school for only one or two years, still their poems reveal most surprising erudition. László Bacsó studied for two years altogether; he ac-

quired his knowledge through his own diligence and curiosity. Owing to the vicissitudes of his youth, he could not have had much time for self-improvement, his acquisition of knowledge may have occurred at an older age when he was already economically independent. Besides the printed booklets of poetry and short stories in prose available on farms and at markets, his main readings were calendars and he also knew and often used the great library of the secondary grammar school; what is more, he immortalized it in his poem entitled "Kiskun Halasi helvét hitvalló iskolai könyvtár dicsérete" (In Praise of the Calvinist School Library of Kiskunhalas). He also subscribed to newspapers, but his greatest pleasure was to study the Bible. In acquiring his great erudition he was also helped by his early relationship with pastor Áron Szilády. He must have been fascinated at a young age by the striking personality of the famous and learned pastor. This may have induced László Bacsó later in his capacity as a presbyter of the Calvinist Church to become a permanent aid and supporter to Áron Szilády even in his social and political struggle. Áron Szilády also highly appreciated László Bacsó and tried to keep him by himself. He trained and taught him making his precious library available to him. Some good poems by László Bacsó were published in the weekly "Vasárnap" (Sunday) in the early 1880s through the good offices of Áron Szilády.

István Gózon also would have liked to see his poems printed as he refers to it in his "Legénykori ábrándjaim" (Dreams of My Bachelorhood). Áron Szilády and later Imre Korda offered to help him achieve it but then both gave up probably because István Gózon raised unreasonable financial claims. A close relationship between Áron Szilády and István Gózon similar to the relationship between Szilády and Bacsó could not be established, the reason being that István Gózon rarely had the opportunity to go to church. Nevertheless Áron Szilády held him in great esteem for his exemplary life. When István Gózon died the pastor, already quite advanced in years, administered the funeral rites unsolicited, contrary to his practice.

Like László Bacsó, István Gózon was also widely-read as proved by his poems. The composition and the structure of his narrative poems indicate his familiarity with our great epic poets' works. In most cases he expresses the state of his own emotions indirectly, through relating events, actions and stories. He spins his stories in a slow, thoughtful, guarded and narrative way paying attention to every detail and at the same time interrupting the course of events never failing to interweave his own

point of view and judgement in the story. The epic character of his poems also demands a unified structure and an emotional summing up of events whereas the sometimes intricate cycle of actions requires historicism and consistency in the structure of the poet's work. The poems by István Gózon definitely reveal his intention to form and compose his verse consciously as well as the direct influence of his readings.

István Gózon knew of Sándor Petőfi not only from hearsay. In some of his poems we can recognize the rhythm and the melody of Sándor Petőfi's metrics. In the poem entitled "Végbúcsú" (Last Farewell) he gives evidence of his recognition of Sándor Petőfi's true poetic vocation. Still, it was Mihály Csokonai Vitéz who had the strongest influence on him. It is typical of his respect for Mihály Csokonai Vitéz that he immortalized the great poet in a long narrative poem "Csokonai vándorlása" (The Wanderings of Csokonai).

In the work of János Egyed Izsák the influence of folksongs, popular literature and 19th century plays about peasants with popular art-music intermingles with his own smart sense of humour. "Rózsa Sándor nótája" (The Song of Sándor Rózsa) written about the famous outlaw is a splendid, concise poem in the clear-ringing tone of folksongs, and his "Nóta" (Song) testifies to the influence of the songs of the afore-mentioned plays. His poem entitled "Halasi határ" (The Confines of Halas) is an authentic description of the region reminding its reader of the verses in old geography textbooks.

In the work of Imre Kis Illés one can observe a profound knowledge of the poems of the market poets of historical events and that of best men's verses. He not only drew on best men's poetic tradition for topics and versification but he himself significantly enriched this genre of our treasurehouse of folk poetry with his "Bajuszos Kis József életleírása és lakodalma" (The Life-Story and Wedding of József Bajuszos Kis). Later, at wedding parties verse-maker best men often quoted from this poem, one or two well-written parts of which have been on almost everybody's lips in Halas until recently.

The poetry of Imre Vas may have been influenced most of all by the poems of Mihály Csokonai Vitéz and Sándor Petőfi. His "Töprengés" (Meditation) reminds us of the poems of Mihály Csokonai Vitéz even through its train of thought. In "Vadász lettem" (I Have Become a Hunter) the knowledge of the troubadours' image-formation may have been transmitted to him by Bálint Balassi. Sometimes he still struggles with the influence of

popular art songs and popular patterns of thought "Megizenem" (I Send Word). His "Ha én elég erős volnék" (If I Were Strong Enough) represents powerful, pure social lyric poetry even despite its naivety where the poet is transfigured as if by the justice of a folk-tale hero.

While the versification of László Bacsó and István Gózon is characterized by the poetic tone of the old Calvinist colleges and the Classical culture spread by the school of Kiskunhalas, and the poems of Antal Gyenizse, Sándor Modok, János Egyed Izsák and Imre Kis Illés are decisively influenced by the often inferior literature read by the lowest social strata of the age, Imre Vas was an ardent follower of modern progressive poetic thought even in the sphere of peasant poetry. In László Bacsó's poem entitled "Az 1866-ik évi fagyásról" (On the Freeze of 1866) the marvellous description of the image of May and his excellent similes evoke Horatian thoughts. In spite of István Gózon's and László Bacsó's versification of profound peasant philosophy, firm outlook, mature, perfect rhyming accompanying a steady cadence and a slow flow, the poems of Imre Vas are sometimes straining with poetic thoughts ready to break free and they are piled up with unspeakable emotions fighting against all the barriers of the poet's peasant lot. In his poems we feel the restless desires and impatient anxiety of the poet of the new era and we hear the candid voice expressing every inner vibration and disharmony. He undertook more than his fellow-poets; no wonder he got tired, came to a halt and struggled with disillusionment from time to time.

Our folk-poets learnt not only from their readings but also from each other. István Gózon was the most respected one and his advice was taken before that of others. He himself also strived to gather his fellow peasant poets around him, during their meetings they discussed the problems of the country and the town, the lot of the people and also the events of their own lives. They corresponded through poems, too. They were reading, judging and correcting each other's works. They wrote their poems not for themselves but for their people, fellow-peasants, friends and neighbours. István Gózon always kept his latest poems stuck in his boot-leg, and when he visited his acquaintances and the neighbouring farmers he would read them out. They wrote for the poor peasants and in their poems they were mostly concerned with the lot of these people. Their poems were widely known by the population, several of them were copied and often even the original manuscripts were passed around. István Gózon was the most popular among them being respected and esteemed by his fellow-

peasants whom he did not become alienated from till the end of his life. In his old age he used to read out his poems to old peasants who were passing the winter in horse-driven- and wind-mills, in balcksmith's and cartwright's shops. He wrote poems for political meetings and read them there. With his thoughts and standpoints he helped in the formation of the peasants' political views.

The poetry of László Bacsó was never noticed by the masses. His closer social circle understood him but did not appreciate him as much as he deserved. His most widely read work was the narrative poem on the Com-massation. His family and relatives did not support or encourage him to write poems. Besides his fellow-poets, it was only Áron Szilády who ap-preciated his work as a poet.

The personal lyrical poetry of Imre Vas was not very close to the peasantry but through his political poems he was mainly esteemed by in-dustrial workers whose numbers had significantly increased by then. The only surviving manuscript volume of his poems was presented to the Halasi Munkásképző Egylet (Halas Association for Workers' Training) by the poet. Besides, being a smart man fond of amusement and dancing, he was one of the best known figures in the town.

Though the few manuscript volumes of poems by the folk-poets were lost in the course of time, the literary and folk-poetry material that has been collected and saved makes a number of talented peasant poets known to us. The work of the folk-poets educated either through our classics or the products of trashy literature cannot be judged on a high literary level. These works are only experiments and attempts. However, they can be approached from the point of view of literary history or they can be treated as products of folk-poetry.

The folk-poets are the popular poet personalities who, in accordance with the common taste and need, put into verse the messages of their com-munities. These were messages that the communities themselves were unable to express. But at a time when the peasantry was already literate, these works could not undergo the formation and improvement that similar works of folk-art had previously undergone. Knowing the processes by which folk-poetry is created and knowing the work itself which has been made public property by the community, the greatest task for folklore is to get to know the original writers of the poems, the anonymous poetic personalities of the peasantry and also the first drafts of their work. Even if the works of the poets of the peasant community presented here usually did not

undergo the formation that had helped their predecessors become folksongs, they had the potential possibility to become a shared and valuable educational tool for the people. What makes the works of the folk-poets interesting for us is that they bring us one step closer to the solution of the so far unsolved enigma of the individual creator of folk-poetry.

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"DIE GELEITERIN DER SEELE"

Über die Dramaturgie der Totenklage und die Phänomenologie ihrer Gestik

László S. Károly

Ethnographisches Institut der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
Budapest

I. Es ist eine wohlbekannte Tatsache, dass es mehrere Kategorien oder Erscheinungsformen ("Gattungen", "Genres") der Folklore gibt, welche aus einem Ritus, einem Brauch—Prozess entstehen oder einen solchen begleiten. Solche Kategorien kann man nicht in ihrer Wirklichkeit erkennen, wenn man diese nur von einem bloss literarischen (literaturhistorischen), musikalischen, ästhetischen, texttheoretischen u.ä. Standpunkt aus, also als ein "Text" an sich, betrachtet, wie es vielfach in der Folkloristik geschehen ist. Die rituelle Totenklage (als Aktion und Produkt) ist eine dieser Kategorien, und müsste als solche von einem "funktionalistischen" Ausgangspunkt aus behandelt werden. Man kann wohl, wie wir sehen werden, von einem virtuellen "Drehbuch" und einer mehr oder weniger bewussten Inszenierung der traditionellen Totenklage (des Beklagens) sprechen. Bei gewissen Momenten des Rituals mussten Klagelieder bzw. Klagerufe, Klageworte angestimmt werden, d.h. die Totenklage bildete einen wichtigen Bestandteil des Totenrituals und -kultus. Es war kein Ganzes an sich. Das kann man schon daraus ersehen, dass manche Textmotive kaum begreiflich sind ohne Kenntnis des betreffenden Brauch—Momentes und der dazugehörigen Glaubensvorstellungen. Wenn man darüber also genau sprechen wollte, müsste man eigentlich bestimmen, zu welcher Phase des Ritus das eben gemeinte Klagelied gehört. Es ist nur natürlich, dass Inhalt und Richtung (Zweck) dieser Klagelieder dementsprechend modifiziert bzw. abgestimmt erscheinen.

Das klagende, gejamerte Beweinen ist also keineswegs als eine schlechthin lyrische Ausdrucksform (im Sinne einer Poetik), eine spontane Gefühlsäußerung zu interpretieren. Vielmehr als eine durch die "Tradition" bestimmte und von der betreffenden Gemeinschaft (Gruppe) erforderte, das ist, kulturbedingte Verhaltensweise aufzufassen. Der "Text" ist lediglich eine der Komponenten innerhalb derselben.

Überdies waren die Klagelieder im ursprünglichen Sinne der mit den Toten verbundenen Glaubensvorstellungen, nicht nur an die Gemeinschaft der Lebenden, sondern, und vor allem, an die "mythische Gemeinschaft" der Toten gerichtet, an welche sich der eben Verstorbene allmählich anschliessen sollte. Aus solchen Gründen wird verständlich, warum die Klagefrau in einigen Gegenden Ungarns "Begleiterin der Seele" genannt wurde.¹

Das Motiv der Verbindung des Toten mit früher verstorbenen Familienmitgliedern und das der Beziehungen zwischen lebenden und toten Verwandten kommt in Klageliedtexten auch vor.

"házból viszik ki édesapámat":

/.../ Három napjától könyörgünk
kendnek, hogy kellyen fel, || szoljan vaj egyget nekünk!
S hogy meg-haragzott rívánk, || édes taticám,
han nem akar szóllani még egyget ís! /.../

"Most indulunk ki a templomból":

Jöjjen hazafelé, édes taticám,
ne menjen azakra /a/ járhatatlan utakra...! /.../
Nézzen vissza szegén árváira,
kisérgessük át hozunnat...!

Jaj, /: nagyapókám :/,

jöjjen édes taticámnak elejibe!

Met e Joisten || őt is elvitte... /.../

Édes taticám, || s nagyapókám s többi tesvérejm,
emelyikek odagyültetek || mingyájan csokorba,
csak mink maradtunk vissza.

Tekintsenek vissza || mingyájankra
s ne felejtssenek el münköt ís!

.....

"a temető kapujánál":

/.../ Jaj, édes taticám!,
merre menjünk, mère fagjunk, taticám,
ham-mi még egyszer összetalálko/z/zunk
s a csokrecksába esszegyüllyünk...? /.../

Édes taticám, || jöjjön el álmunkba,

tanítgassan meg münköt!,

hogy bajakba ne essünk, met más senki sincsen,

aki megtanítsan! /.../

"Jetzt trägt man meinen lieben Vater aus dem Hause hinaus"

/.../ For three days we've been begging you to get up and speak at least one word to us! But you seem to have grown angry with us, and in vain do we pour out our tears, dear father, for you won't say a word. /.../

"Jetzt gehen wir von der Kirche aus"

Come home, dear father, don't set foot on that impassable path! /.../
Look back on your poor orphans, following you on the way that leads from home to the world beyond...!

Álas, /: grandfather :/, come and meet father in his way, since the good Lord has called him away... /.../ Dear father, grandfather, brothers and sisters, already united there above in the family circle

look down upon us and don't let us stay here long! /.../

.....
 "am Tor des Friedhofes":

/.../ Alas, dear father, where shall we go, where shall we turn,
 father, to meet again in the family circle...? /.../

Dear father, come to us at least in dreams
 and teach us how to keep away from what is²bad for us,
 for there's no one else to teach us! /.../

In diesem Fragment erscheinen mehrere mit archaischen Glaubensvorstellungen zusammenhängende Motive. Die an den Toten gerichtete Bitte aufzustehen und wiederzukehren; die Suche nach dem Toten; der Wunsch mit ihm eine Verbindung (mindestens im Traume) schaffen zu können; die Zusammengehörigkeit der Familie sowohl im Jenseits.³ In anderen Klageliedtexten lässt man auch eine Botschaft für die früher Verstorbenen vom Toten mitbringen (was nahe verwandt ist mit dem Brauch vergessene Sachen anderer Toten in den Sarg des eben Abgeschiedenen hineinzulegen, ferner mit der Totenspeisung):

/.../ Drága jó édesanyám! /.../
 Mindjár elindulunk arra jaz útra,
 ahunnat többet nem jó vissza!
 Mindjár ott leszünk édesapám mellett...!
Mondja meg édesapámnak,
 hogy hagyott itt engem, || mijen fájós szivvel!
 Kedves édesapám,
 ölejje magához édesanyámat!
 Hadd mondja jel a panaszát...! /.../

/.../ My precious, kind mother! /.../
 We shall soon start on the way from which no one has ever returned!
 Soon we shall reach our father's place...! Tell my father how you
 left me with an aching heart! Dear father,⁴ take mother in your arms!
 Let her tell you of her sorrow...! /.../

Wir sehen, dass diese Motive meistens mit gewissen Phasen (Schauplätzen) des Ritus verknüpft sind.

Somit ist die Totenklage auch ein Kommunikationsmittel zwischen Lebenden und Toten, die sich in manchen Zügen und Intentionen den Zaubersprüchen (Beschwörungen, Inkantationen) nähert, obwohl sie mit diesen nicht identisch ist.

II. Der Prozess der "Begleitung", d.h., die Gesamtheit der Bräuche vom Sterben bis zur Beerdigung und dem nachfolgenden Totenmahl, konnte auch drei Tage lang dauern. Ich möchte als Beispiel eine Beschreibung aus einer ethnographischen Dorfmonographie von Ungarn etwas detaillierter anführen, damit man sich den Komplex, der uns hier beschäftigt, konkret vorstellen kann.⁵

"(...) Der Beginn der Totenklage (Beweinen und Gesang) hat eine geregelte Ordnung. Der Tote wird nach ortsüblichem Brauch angekleidet und in der 'reinen Stube' unter dem Hauptbalken in der Mitte... auf das 'kalte Lager' /Leichenbahre, Totengerüst/ gelegt und so aufgebahrt, damit die Beine zur Tür liegen...

An den Längsseiten des 'Kaltbettes' werden Bänke und Stühle in einer oder zwei Reihen aufgestellt, gemäss der Zahl der 'Klagegefährten', d.i. nahen weiblichen Verwandten. Das hält man für schön, wenn sie einen Toten sogar zweimal... umgeben... (...) Ohne Klagende ist eine Bahre in Á. unvorstellbar. Sogar der alleinstehende Mensch hat auch mindestens irgendjemanden, der neben ihm bleibt und sich über den Sarg wirft und ihn singend beklagt. (...)

(...) Der Totenbesuch beginnt schon nach dem Frühgottesdienst, 'und bis der Tote beerdigt wird, ist bei Tag und Nacht das Haus immer voller Leute'. —

(...) Die 'gesprochene/erzählende/ Klage' löst während des Tages das Kommen jeder Person aus und der Inhalt des gesprochenen Textes hängt von der Person des Besuchers ab und von ihrem Verhältnis zum Toten und zur Familie. Von der Person des Besuchers hängt es auch ab, ob bei ihrem Ankommen die 'Klagegefährten' aufstehen oder nicht. Obwohl es einige Frauen gibt, die bei jedem aufstehen, da sie nur stehend klagen können. Sonst deutet das Aufstehen die hervorragenden Klageabschnitte an; dannenströmen die schönsten Worte und Sätze den Lippen, fliessen die meisten Tränen und dann bewegen sich die Arme in langsamen Gesten. Während des Tages gibt es keine vorgeschriebenen Grenzen, wie oft die Klagenden aufstehen sollen, abends aber wenn die meisten 'Totenbesucher' da sind, stehen sie wenigstens dreimal auf.

Die zu dem Toten gehenden verwandten Frauen gehen, das zusammengefaltete Taschentuch vor dem Mund haltend mit ein wenig geneigtem Kopf, in gemessenen Schritten auf der Strasse, nicht eilend. (...) Die nahe Verwandte tritt ohne Gruss in das Zimmer und geht an die Seite des 'Kaltbettes', fasst es und 'stösst einen grossen Wehruf aus'. (...) —

Auf den Wehruf des Besuchers antworten die 'Klagegefährten'. Zuerst spricht die nächste Verwandte, die Ehefrau — (...)

Die Tochter löst sie ab — (...) Die Frau übernimmt wieder das Wort — (...)

(...) So wie sich das Haus mit den Besuchern füllt, so erschallt die Klage lauter; die Trauernden dürfen nicht ohne Wehrufe sein. Sie können sich auf einige Zeit setzen, leiser klagen, vielleicht sprechen sie ihre Sätze ohne zu singen, aber schweigen dürfen sie nicht. Das Kommen neuer werter Gäste veranlasst sie sogar zu neuem lauten Weinen und Aufstehen. (...) —

Wenn die Klagenden mitfühlend sind, dann vergiessen die Besucher Tränen mit ihnen, aber wenn ihr Verhalten nicht gefällt, dann lassen sie leise ausgesprochene Bemerkungen fallen und sagen sie 's dort auf der Stelle. (...) —"

Hieraus sieht man ganz klar, wie die Totenklage den gemeinschaftlichen Erfordernissen entsprechen muss, was aus dem Folgenden noch eindeutiger hervorgeht.

"(...) Der hervorragendste Teil des Totenbesuches und der Wehklage kommt am Abend.

(...) Der Eintritt der Männer, der sich gewöhnlich im Laufe des Abends dreimal wiederholt, gibt den Klagenden Gelegenheit zum Aufstehen; dann lassen sie ihre schönsten Wehklagen hören. Die Klagen richten sich an sie und es gehört sich, dass sie jeden Mann persönlich in den Text ihrer Wehklage einschliessen. Die Klagenden neigen sich dann über den Toten und es gibt welche, die mit beiden Händen dessen Kopf umkreisen, sein Polster streicheln, aber den Toten selbst nicht berühren. Eine Frau, ihre Arme ausbreitend, die Ellbogen ein wenig gebogen, wirft sich während des Weinens /Klagens/ über den Toten. Es ist häufig, dass die bitterlich Weinenden-Klagenden mit einem Arm die eine Kante des Totenbettes oder des Sarges, mit ihrem anderen Arm die andere umfassen — mit dem Gesicht zum Toten, also mit dem Rücken zu den Trauergästen, und sie beugen sich langsam immer wieder, im Takt ihrer Wehklage. Die dicke Atmosphäre des Abends steigert das Erscheinen der zündenden verwandten Männer, die dann kommen um sich zu versöhnen. (...)

/Am anderen Tag bzw. am Tage der Bestattungszeremonie:/

Das Schliessen des Sarges gibt der Totenklage neuen Schwung. Zu dieser Zeit sind nur noch Verwandte im Hause. Das Volk, nach Geschlecht und bis zu einem gewissen Grad nach Altersklassen gruppiert, wartet im Hof auf die Zeremonie. Den geschlossenen Sarg umfassen die Klagenden mit dem einen Arm diese mit dem anderen die andere Seite fassend. Mehrere, ihr Gesicht in die gefalteten Hände verbergend, werfen sich auf den Sarg, den Rumpf gebeugt. In der letzteren Haltung geleiten sie den Sarg auf den Hof. (...) Man sieht den hinausgestellten Sarg auf dem Hof, den die Klagenden einem Knäuel gleich beinahe vollständig bedecken mit den Armen umfassend und ihre Köpfe darüber geneigt. (...) Während des Trauerzuges zum Friedhof wird leise geweint, aber jene, die unterwegs zurückbleiben (...) stossen bei der Trennung ein 'lautes Wehgeschrei' /einen Satz/ aus. (...) Solch eine Klagende 'jammert' solange der Leichenzug zu sehen ist.

Auf dem Friedhof wird der Sarg neben die Graböffnung...gestellt. Die nah verwandten Klageweiber hocken sich ganz daneben nieder oder werfen sich tief gebeugt darüber und 'jammern' so.

(...) Die Wehklagen /Klageworte/ brechen stärker aus, wenn der Sarg ins Grab gelassen und zugeworfen wird. Mit dem Aufstellen des Grabholzes und dem Zurechtmachen des Grabes nimmt der /religiöse/ Gesang und die Zeremonie ein Ende und das Trauergefolge zerstreut sich auf dem Friedhof: Ein jeder sucht seine eigene Toten auf... Der enge Kreis der nahen Verwandten, die um die Bahre herumgesessen sind, bleibt noch neben dem neuen Grab und beklagt weiter. Den Toten anrufend — mit denselben Gesten, mit denen sie das Gesicht des Aufgebahrten umkreisten — glätten jetzt um das Grabholz. Vor dem Weggehen berührt jeder das Grabholz ... Auf dem Heimweg darf nicht mehr geweint werden, man eilt vielmehr um ein bescheidenes Mahl abhalten zu können... (...)

Die Totenklage /das Beweinen und Beklagen/ ... die letzte Musterung der Gemeindeschar ist im Trauerhaus, wo plötzlich alles öffentlich wird und im Rahmen traditioneller Formen die Familie des Toten wie die ganze Einwohnerschaft der Gemeinde gleichsam geprüft wird ... (...)

Der Tote wird auch nach dem Begräbnis beim Grabe beweint und beklagt. Es gibt welche, die auch 10 Jahre lang ihre Toten regelmässig aufsuchen und sie des Grabholz mit den Händen umkreisend bitterlich beweinen. Das ist aber kein allgemeiner Brauch. (...)"

III. Wie man aus dieser Beschreibung wohl sehen kann, ist das öffentliche Beweinen und Beklagen des Toten ein durch kulturelle und gesellschaftliche Erwartungen, Urteile und Vorschriften geregeltes Schauspiel, ein dramatischer Handlungsprozess. Die "Akte" und "Szenen" jenes "letzten Dramas" stimmen mit den bedeutsamen Momenten der Totenbräuche und der Begräbniszeremonie überein. Diese sind zusammenfassend (im ungarischen Sprachgebiet):

0. Vom Sterben (Agonisieren) bis zur Aufbahrung

In dieser Phase spielt die Totenklage keine besondere Rolle. Vor dem Eintritte des Todes ist es überhaupt verboten den Sterbenden laut zu beweinen und zu beklagen. In einigen Gegenden benachrichtigte die nahe Verwandte die Nachbarschaft mit Klagerufen oder Wehklagen vom Todesfalle.⁶

1. Während der Tote im Hause aufgebahrt liegt und der Leichenbesuch dauert

Wichtige Klageszenen entfalten sich innerhalb dieses Zeitraumes: — immer wenn ein neuer Besucher kommt (der Zeitraum des Totenbesuches ist übrigens die intensivste Phase des Beweinens und Beklagens);

— während der Totenwacht — wenn die Frauengruppe, eventuell mit der Männergruppe abwechselnd, kirchlich-religiöse Totenwachtgesänge anstimmt — ist es nicht üblich Klagelieder zu singen oder zu deklamieren (SCHNEEWEIS 1961: 93; KÁROLY 1981a: 22);

— wenn der Leichnam in den Sarg gelegt wird (falls er nicht im Sarge aufgebahrt wurde);

— bei der Sargschließung und dem Hinaustragen des Sarges in den Hof (mit nach vorne gerichteten Füßen!), "dann kommt das 'grosse Jamern'" wie man sagt;

2. Auf dem Hof

— vor und nach der kirchlichen Zeremonie und bei gewissen Stellen (Anreden) des vom (Bauern)kantor angestimmten Abschiedsgesanges (eine Art halb-volkstümlicher Nachruf in Versen);

— beim Aufbruch des Leichenzuges;

3. Auf dem Wege zum Friedhof und eventuell an seinem Tor

Diese Phase ist nicht besonders wichtig, was die Totenklage betrifft. Es sei doch erwähnt, dass der Tote in manchen Orten und bei gewissen Fällen (z.B. beim Begräbnis eines Jungen oder einer Jungfer) mit instrumentaler Musik auf den Friedhof begleitet wird (TARI 1974: 55 ff., 74 ff).

4. Auf dem Friedhof

– beim Hinablassen des Sarges ins Grab und beim Hineinwerfen (Nachwerfen) der "letzten Scholle" (Beginn der Beerdigung);

– eventuell beim Abschied vom Grabe.

Nach der Bestattung hört die Totenklage im allgemeinen auf bzw. ist dem Individuum überlassen wann und wie es seine(n) Toten beweint und beklagt. (Es kann bei den gewöhnlichen Gräberbesuchen, anlässlich eines Begräbnisses, am Allerseelentag /1. Nov./ vorkommen.)

Es ist bemerkenswert, dass man die auszuführenden Handlungen in manchen Klageliedtexten auch erwähnt:

Édes kedves párom!
 Majd jön mán az idő, hogy elzárnak tőlem;
eljön mán a temetésnek az ideje.
Elzárnak tőlem a koporsóba,
 akár se ajtó, se ablak nincsen,
 többet nem láthatlak soha! (...)
 Kedves Párom, || ne feledkezzél el rólam!
Gyere el énérted is...!

Sweet, dear husband, the time is nearing when they will take you from me for ever; the time of the burial is nearing.
You will be shut in the coffin that has neither door nor window, and I shall see no more of you. (...) Dear husband, don't forget me, come and take me with you...;

... drága kis leányom!
 Gyere, nézd meg, mennyi sok szép virágot hoztak;
gyere, nézd meg, miben díszbe jöttek a leányok a temetésedre!
 Ezek visznek téged arra ja hosszú jútra,
 ahunna nem jössz többé vissza soha!
 Kedves ... leányom!
Megérkeztünk az örök nyúghejre,
 ahol az örök nyugalom vár rejád. (...)
 Most az utolsó búcsúnál vagyunk;
 most már itt kell hagynunk,
mert már csak a sírhalmodat látjuk.
 Isten veled, drága....!

... my dearest, prettiest daughter! Come and look at the beautiful flowers that have been brought; come and look at the girls all dressed in pretty dresses for your burial!
 They have come to show you the way on that long journey whence you will never return. My dear ... daughter, we've reached the place where you'll take your last rest. (...) Now we say our last farewell to you; now we have to leave you;
 from now on, we can see no more of you but your grave. Good-bye, my dear...;

(Dieser Text enthält eine Anspielung auf die sog. Totenhochzeit.)

Jaj, mikó odaérkezē, / Mondd meg a sírásóknak,
 hogy Csinájjanak egy ablakat, / Hogy lássod meg még a napat!//
 Jaj, de méjen eltemetnek!
 Amijen méjen béltemetnek, / Ojan méj a műk bánatunk is. //
 Jaj, lelkem, drága jó testvirünk!
 Hogyha odaérkezel, / Jaja, mondd meg drága többijeknek,
 Hogy hogy mit tudunk csinálni! //

Alas, when you get there / Tell the sexton
To make a window / Through which you may see the sun. //
 Alas, you are buried in a deep grave,
 But our sorrow is as deep
 As is the grave in which you are placed. //
 Alas, dearest, our kindest brother,
 When you get there, / Alas, ask all the others
 To let us know what to do!//⁷

In archaischeren Zuständen kommt dieses Verfahren viel häufiger und in recht epischer Form vor. A. K. Mikushev, ein Forscher der Komi-Syrjänen, sagt z. B.: "Mit den Klageliedern begleitete man den Verstorbenen auf dem letzten Weg, in dem Glauben, ihm den Gang ins Reich der Toten zu erleichtern. Wie auch in den Schamanenliedern wurde in mündlichen Formeln die Reihenfolge der auszuführenden Handlungen festgehalten. (:)

"In dem Nadelwald kommen wir an einen dunklen Ort, (...)
 Den eichenen Sarg verabschieden wir,
 Mit gelbem Sand decken wir ihn zu." (MIKUSCHEV 1976: 80)

Ein anderes Beispiel von ihm ist eine Improvisation auf dem Weg zum Friedhof:

"Herrscher, Väterchen, verabschiede dich (!)
 Von der hellen freien Welt,
 Von dem unermesslich weiten Feld,
 Von den unzähligen dunklen Wälder." (MIKUSCHEV 1976: 79-80)

In diesem Fragment tritt ganz offensichtlich die — in manchen ungarischen Textmotiven auch vorhandene — apotropäische Absicht (der Abwehrzauber) hervor. Hier will ich bemerken, dass die oben genannten Motive des Zurückrufens des Toten und der Beziehungen mit ihm als Hintergrund die Absicht haben seiner ungeregelten (vorschriftswidrigen) und deshalb schrecklichen Wiederkehr vorzubeugen.⁸ Das kommt am deutlichsten beim Abschiednehmen am Grabe zum Vorschein, das ein wichtiges Motiv auch in den ungarischen Klageliedern ist. Als ob man dem Toten sagen würde: Ich verabschiede mich, damit auch du das machst und in deinem "ewigen Haus" in Frieden ruhest. Dieses ist noch einduetiger im Falle derartiger Brauch-Elemente wie Folgendes aus Bulgarien: "In vielen Gegenden nennt man das Grab kr̄sta, dom na umrelija 'Haus des Toten'. Bevor der Tote hineingelegt

wird, steigt ein Mann hinunter und fegt, als sei das Grab ein Haus. Hierzu gibt es einen Spruch: Da izmeta az tvojata k^vsta, ta da ne izmetes^v ti mojata 'ich will dein Haus fegen, damit du meines nicht fegst' (VAKARELSKI 1969: 307).

(5). Bei vielen (in Osteuropa zumeist orthodoxen) Völkern und Völkergruppen spielt die Totenklage eine wichtige Rolle bei den sog. "Totengedenkfesten", sowohl bei den Familienfeiern der Trauerzeit als auch bei den allgemeinen (kollektiven) Gedenkfesten ("Seelenmessen").⁹

Der Schwerpunkt der Bräuche bis zur Bestattung und darüber hinaus in der nachfolgenden engeren Trauerzeit ist das "Geleiten" des Toten, die ihm gebotene Hilfe, einerseits; die Selbstverteidigung der Hinterbliebenen gegen die vermeintlichen Störungen, die von ihm herrühren sollen, andererseits. In den Handlungen dagegen, die sich mit den Gedenkfesten verknüpfen (und zu diesen gehört auch das Anstimmen von "Gedenk-Klagen"), "man ist um die Verstorbenen besorgt, um sich ihres Schutzes zu versichern" — wie Mikushev (1976: 82) sagt. Hier handelt es sich also um eine Verehrung der Vorfahren als Schutzgeister, um eine Art Ahnenkult. (Dieses gilt insbesondere für die allgemeinen Totenfeste.)

Es ist hervorzuheben, dass in den ritualen Handlungen bis zur Bestattung (einschliesslich des ersten Totenmahles) die Orte des Rituals eine primäre Funktion innezuhaben scheinen;¹⁰ in den Totengedenkfesten spielen aber die Zeitpunkte eine Hauptrolle. (Man stellt sich die Seele so vor, dass sie sich nach einiger Zeit endgültig von der Erdenwelt trennt, das heisst, vom "Raum" allmählich in die reine "Zeit" hinübergeht.)

IV. Machen wir jetzt einen kurzen Überblick über die (1) Raumformen; (2) Bewegungen, Körper- und Kopfhaltungen und (3) Gebärden (Gesten), die mit dem Beweinen und Beklagen verknüpft erscheinen.

1. a) Die "Urform" der um den Toten herum gebildeten Raumformen scheint allerdings die Kreisbildung mit ihren Varianten zu sein. Im Trauerhaus bildeten die Klagenden sitzend einen etwas geöffneten Kreis um den Toten; auf dem Hof und am Grabe stehend.¹¹

b) Hierher gehört der Umgang um das Leichengerüst, um den Sarg und das Grab; ferner das Umkreisen des Gesichts des Toten mit den Händen — was nahe verwandt mit Gebärden bei Zauberhandlungen ist. (S. unten) Diesen Umgang erwähnt man öfters in Gesprächen über Totenklage; manchmal auch in Klagetexten:



Abb. 1. Das charakteristische Ausbreiten der Arme. Tápiószőlős (Kom. Pest). Foto: B. Sárosi, 1962.
Institut für Musikologie (Budapest), Fotoarchiv Nr. 4952



Abb. 2. Grablegung. Detail eines Fresko. Gecefalva (ehem. Kom. Gömör) -- Kocelovce (Umgebung von Rožnava^{VV}, Slowakei), evangelische Kirche. "Meister von Gecefalva", Ende des 14ten Jh.s. A magyarországi művészet története I, 3. jav. kiad. (Die Geschichte der Kunst in Ungarn, B.1, 3. verb. Aufl.) Hrsg. von L. Fülep, D. Dercsényi. Abb. 121, S. 174. Bp., 1964



Abb. 3. Klage der Gattin und Schwestern beim Sarg auf dem Hof während des Begräbnisses von István Mátyás (Mundruc).
Magyarvista (Kom. Kolozs) - Viștea (jud. Cluj; Rumänien). Foto: S. Michaletzky, 1977. Inst. f. Musikologie,
Fotoarchiv T. f. 37 646



Abb. 4. "Begräbnis eines Mädchens." (Totenhochzeit.) Detail einer farbigen Zeichnung der Volkskünstlerin Frau Vankó, geb. Juli Dudás, Galgácsa (Kom. Pest). Der kleine Sarg ist blau bemalt. Die Inschrift über dem Kopf der klagenden Mutter heisst: "Weh mir, es ist hin mein einziges Kind" (rechts). Emlékül hagyom... önéletírások (Ich lasse auch es als Erinnerung... Autobiographien von Bauern). Hrsg. von M.

Hoppál, I. Küllös, J. Manga. Beigabe zur S. 120. Bp., 1974



Abb. 5. Klage der Ehefrau und Töchter beim Eingang der Kirche vor der Beisetzung am Begräbnis von János Tankó (Kóta). Der Friedhof befindet sich hinter der Kirche. Gyimesközéplok (Csík) - Lunca de Jos (Ciuc, Rumän.) Foto: B. Sárosi, 1960. Inst. f. Mus., Fotoarchiv Nr. 4990



Abb. 6. Klage beim Grab (den Toten ansprechend) unmittelbar nach der Beerdigung. Siehe Angaben bei Abb. 3
(T. f. 37 671)



Abb. 7. Klage mit rythmischem Schwanken vor dem Grabkreuz anlässlich eines Besuches beim Grab. Siehe Angaben zu Abb. 5 (Nr. 5005)



Abb. 8. Klage auf dem Friedhof am Sonntag Nachmittag (sich neigend zum Grabholz). Hosszúpályi (Kom. Hajdú-Bihar). Foto: B. Sárosi, 1961. Inst. f. Mus., Fotoarchiv Nr. 4814



Abb. 9. Ein Moment einer Totenklage. (Umkreisen des Gesichts.) Castel Saraceno (Lucania, Süditalien). De Martino 1958, Atlante figurato Nr. 1a

Gyertek ide, kedves testvérek;
 kerüjjük körül az édes jó apánk sírját, || koporsóját!
 Sírassuk meg, mert nem látjuk a mi jó édesapánkat többet!
 Here, come here, dear brothers and sisters, let's circle about our
good father's grave, our dear father's coffin!
 Let's keen for him, because we shan't see him anymore!¹²

(Vgl. das oben Gesagte über Ritus-Elemente in Klageliedtexten.) Der Umgang soll eine Umwandlung des Totentanzes sein. "Eine der häufigsten Formen des Totentanzes – sagt diesbezüglich Ranke Dürfte (...) der feierliche Reigen bzw. seine Variation, der Umgang oder Umritt um den Toten oder um das Grab gewesen sein. (...) Zuweilen ist eine bestimmte Richtung vorgeschrieben [in Richtung mit der und gegen die Sonne] (...) Sehr früh scheint sich der Umgang mit der Totenklage und dem Preislied zu einem feierlichen Ritus verbunden zu haben."¹³ (Ich möchte hier die Frage nach Bedeutung und Zweck dieses Ritus offen lassen.)

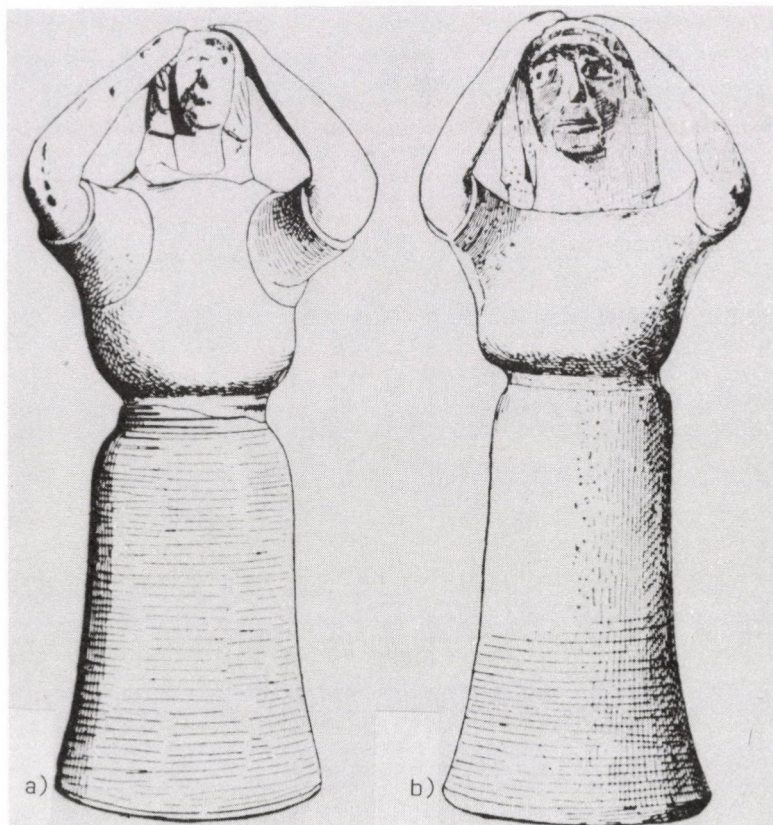


Abb. 10. Figürchen eines Klageweibes (Griechenland, Altertum); a) aus Tanagra (Louvre), b) von unbekanntem Ort (Museum von Athen). Siehe Abb. 9, Nr. 44-45

c) Hier ist auch der Leichenzug zu erwähnen, in welchem die Teilnehmer in einer bestimmten Ordnung (nach Geschlecht, Alter, Verwandtschaftsgrad und Funktionen beim Begräbnis), wahrscheinlich auch einen vorgeschriebenen Weg folgend, vom Trauerhaus zum Friedhofe gelangten.

2. Die charakteristischen Bewegungen, Körper- und Kopfhaltungen sind:¹⁴

- gehen in gemessenen Schritten (auf der Strasse)
- gehen und stehen mit geneigtem Kopf
- aufstehen beim Singen
- sich über den (aufgebahrt) Toten, den Sarg, das Grabzeichen neigen oder werfen (auch mit Umgehen verknüpft) (Abb. 5, 7, 8)

— sich seit- oder vorwärts wiegen (also rythmisch schwanken) mit dem zwischen die Hände genommenen Haupt oder vor dem Munde gehaltenen Taschentuch (Abb. 5, 7)

(— selten: sich nach rückwärts beugen, das Taschentuch ins Gesicht schlagend).

Auf dem Friedhof:

— hinhocken neben den Sarg

— sich niederhocken (kauern) zu dem oder neigen über das Grabzeichen.

3. Die eigentlichen Gebärden (Gesten) sind:¹⁵

— die Arme und Hände ausbreiten (mehrmals öffnen) (Abb. 1, 2 in der Mitte)

— umkreisen mit den Händen das Gesicht des Toten (streicheln mit den Händen um den Kopf des Toten in der Luft herum) (Abb. 9)

— streicheln das Polster und das Gewand des aufgebahrten Toten (von Kopf bis Fuss)

— umfassen (umarmen) die Bahre, den Sarg (auch mit Umgang und rythmischem Schwanken) (Abb. 5)

— das Taschentuch vor den Mund (vors Gesicht) halten ("Weil es hässlich ist, wenn man den geöffneten Mund sieht" — sagte mir eine Frau) (Abb. 4, 5 u. 6 rechts)

— das Gesicht in die Hände verbergen.

Seltener kommen vor: — Schlagen des zugemachten Sargs (auch am Leichenwagen) mit der Handfläche oder Faust

— sich mit den Ellbogen auf den Sarg darauflehnen

Nur in geschichtlichen Quellen und Darstellungen: — die Hände auf dem Kopf falten (Abb. 2 links oben, 10).

Auf dem Friedhof:

— umglätten (um-streicheln) das Grabzeichen

— berühren das Grabzeichen beim Abschiednehmen.

Wir sehen also: Das (rituelle) Beklagen hat nicht nur eine ziemlich streng bestimmte Dramaturgie, sondern auch eine traditionelle Choreographie und Gebärdensprache. (Der Versuch einer Erklärung dieser Gesten könnte den Stoff einer anderen Studie ausmachen.)

Die Totenklage erfüllte auf diese Art eine wichtige individual- und sozialpsychologische Funktion in der Gestalt eines vielschichtigen Benehmens, das in den Anschauungen (im Weltbild) und in der sozialen Struktur der betreffenden Gesellschaft wurzelte.¹⁶

Anmerkungen

¹Vgl. die Beschreibung der Funktionen und Bezeichnungen des Klageweibes bei den Chewssuren (Georgien) in Charachidzé 1968: 265-267.

²CMPH (MNT) 1966: Nr. 190; (833, 1083). S. Domokos — Rajeczky 1956: Nr. 12, 12a,b; 214, 216, 217, 218-219, 222-223. Es ist zu bemerken, dass die Übersetzungen dieser gesungenen Texte selbstverständlich nur annähernd sein können. /Der Verfasser übernahm die englische Übersetzungen von Imre Gombos. Der Herausgeber./

³Für die Motive der ungarischen Klageliedtexte siehe meine beiden Studien: Károly 1977, 1981b.

⁴CMPH 1966: Nr. 150A, 1001-1002, 1076.

⁵CMPH 1966: 31ff. (in englischer Sprache: 95ff.) Es ist ein Teil der monographischen Arbeit von Edit Fél und Tamás Hofer. Es handelt sich um ein Dorf in den 50er Jahren in Mittel-Ost-Ungarn, namens Átány, mit reformierten Einwohnern (FÉL-HOFER 1968).

⁶S. dazu als Parallele Vakarelski 1969. 305. "In kleineren Orten, wo es keine Kirche [d. i. Glocken] gibt, werden die Leute durch langanhaltendes und lautes Wehklagen informiert."

⁷CMPH 1966: Nr. 31, 233, 234 (789); Nr. 150, 572, 573 (821); Nr. 213, 767-768 (840, Strophen 6-8. Das letzte Beispiel ist ein Klagelied mit gebundenem Aufbau.)

⁸S. dazu De Martino 1958: 103-109. Hier zitieren wir nur das Folgende: "Anche il lamento funebre può essere considerato nel quadro delle tecniche indirizzate a combattere il ritorno irrelativo del morto." (108) "... il lamento è un regolatore dei rapporti col defunto anche in un senso più generale, poiché attraverso la sua iterazione nelle date rituali... 'fa tornare' il morto in modo regolato e culturalmente significativo." (109.)

⁹Vgl. z.B. Ranke 1951: 92ff., 287ff.; Schneewis 1961: 92ff.; Károly 1981a: 16-17 u. Nr. 4 (35ff.); Vakarelski 1969: 308-309. Der letztgenannte Forscher sagt diesbezüglich: "Ende des 19ten Jahrhunderts war die Totenklage... viel wichtiger als die Seelenmesse." (306.)

¹⁰Hierher gehören auch: Die bedeutsame Rolle der Schwelle beim Hinaustragen des Sarges und der Brauch den Toten durch eine ungewöhnliche Stelle (z.B. durch das Fenster, ein in die Wand oder unter der Schwelle gehauenes Loch) aus dem Hause hinauszutragen; ferner der sog. "Weg der Toten", ein Weg oder Pfad, der meistens zum Zweck des Leichenzuges allein dient. S. zum ersteren Károly 1981a: 15-16 (Literatur in Anm. 13!); zum letzteren kenne ich Angaben von den "Baskischen Ländern" und verschiedenen Regionen Frankreichs (BARANDIÁVÁN 1960: 60, 131; GENNEP 1946: 733, 739-741).

¹¹Es seien folgende Parallelen erwähnt: Schneewis 1961: 93. "Mit dem Singen des Klagelieds ist meist eine charakteristische Körperhaltung verbunden: In der Crna Gora z.B. bilden die Trauernden in der Nähe des Grabes nach der Bestattung einen Kreis, eine Frau beginnt mit vor der Brust gekreuzten Händen zu klagen, wobei sie langsam hin- und herschreitet..." — Zelenin 1927, 331: "Sind mehrere Klageweiber da, so lösen sie einander ab oder sie klagen einstimmig im Chor, indem sie zuweilen einander umschlungen halten und den ganzen Körper hin und her bewegen" (wie beim Reigentanz!) — Böckel 1913: 106: "Die 'grosse' Klage... erhebt man erst am Frühmorgen vor dem Leichenbegängnisse, wenn der Tote in den Sarg gelegt wird... Eine Frau... führt einen Chor der Klageweiber. (...) Sobald der Chor in das Haus tritt, begrüßen die Klageweiber die Leidtragende... und sie neigen Kopf an Kopf wohl eine halbe Minute lang. Dann ladet ein Weib der trauernden Familie die Zusammengekommenen zum Klagen ein. Sie machen um die 'Tola' (Totengerüst) einen Kreis, ... und schwingen sich heulend um den Toten, den Kreis lösend wieder schliessend, immer mit Klageruf..." (Korsika)

¹²CMPH 1966: Nr. 94, 413-414 (806).

¹³Ranke 1951: 297-298, 299. Über Sinn und Bedeutung dieses Ritus: 303ff. Vgl. Roux

1963: 151. "Les lamentations, les blessures volontaires sont accompagnées par des déambulations, des courses de chevaux rituelles autour de la tente du défunt, et elles sont peut-être étroitement apparentées avec elles." Schneeweis 1961: 93, 100: "Um Užice beginnt die nächste weibliche Verwandte mit aufgelöstem Haar zu singen; die Hände stützt sie dabei auf den Gürtel, den Kopf neigt sie seitlich auf eine Schulter und umwandelt einige Male den Tisch." (Am Morgen nach dem Begräbnis gehen die Frauen schweigend zum Grab...) "Die Sachen legen sie auf dem Grabhügel auf ein Tüchlein, beräuchern sie, dann umkreisen sie dreimal das Grab. Nachher ziehen sie einen roten Wollfaden um das Grab und stechen das Messer neben das Kreuz. Sie sprechen dann: Naruceno ti je da se ne krećeš s tvojega mesta, dobio si sve tvoje zadovoljstvo! 'Es ist dir bestellt, dass du dich nicht von deiner Stelle rührst, du hast alles erhalten, was du brauchst!'" (Banat)

¹⁴Vgl. Schneeweis 1961: 93. "Anderswo streckt die Montenegrinerin die linke Hand über die rechte Brust, so dass der Ellbogen des rechten Armes in der linken Hand ruht, die rechte Hand legt sie unterhalb des rechten Ohres an. Nach jedem Schritt beugt sie sich vor und richtet sich wieder auf." S. auch Anm. 17, 21.

¹⁵Vgl. Nioradze 1931: 21-22. "Die allgemeine Beweinung beginnt am Tage der Bestattung. (...) Das Klageweib hockt sich beim Toten hin, wobei es sich auf den Säbel oder Dolch des Verstorbenen oder auf einen gewöhnlichen Stab, wenn es sich um eine tote Frau handelt, stützt. (...) Falls eine Frau beweint wird, berührt das Klageweib mit der Hand sein 'Mandili' (Kopfputz in Form eines langen Wolltuches...). Neben dem Klageweib hocken oder sitzen in Reihen die anderen Frauen (Abb. 7 und 8), vorne die nahen, hinten die entfernter Verwandten, wobei alt und jung durcheinander sitzt. Die Männer dagegen achten streng darauf, dass die alten vorne stehen, während die jüngeren die hinteren Reihen einnehmen. Nachdem sich nun alle um das Klageweib gruppiert haben... beginnt, unter Führung des Klageweibes, die allgemeine Beweinung. In singendem monoton-rythmischem Tone beginnt das Klageweib alle Heldentaten des Verstorbenen aufzuzählen... Die anderen Frauen sekundieren der Anführerin mit allgemeinen Wehklagen, unter fortwährendem 'Waj, waj' und unter Ausrufen einzelner Worte." — Alexiou 1974: 6, 8, 31, 40, 42. S. auch Anm. 17, 20.

¹⁶Dieser Aufsatz wurde als Vortrag, in abgekürzter Form und ins Bulgarische übersetzt, am 29ten Sept. 1981 auf einer Konferenz in Primorsko (Bulgarien) vorgelesen. — Die Aufnahmen aus dem Archiv des Institutes für Musikologie durften mit freundlicher Genehmigung von Bálint Sárosi und György Martin reproduziert werden.

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FARBSYMBOLLE BEI DEN BALKANTÜRKEN UND DEN SÜDSLAWEN

Gabriella Schubert

Osteuropa-Institut, Abteilung Balkanologie, Berlin

Dieser Beitrag erfolgt auf der Grundlage der Kenntnis der Balkanhalbinsel — eines geographischen Raumes, der durch das Neben- und Miteinander von Kulturen unterschiedlicher Prägung gekennzeichnet ist. Die Spezifik, aber auch die gegenseitige Durchdringung dieser verschiedenen Kulturen wird anhand der Farbwahrnehmung und der damit zusammenhängenden Symbolbildungen bei den Türken und Südslawen demonstriert. Ein besonderes Augenmerk gilt auch jenen Farbsymbolen, die auf dem Balkan infolge der Osmanenherrschaft Bedeutung erlangten.

Orientalische Einflüsse haben in nicht geringem Masse am Aufbau der balkanischen Volkskulturen mitgewirkt. Mit Blick auf die südslawischen Stämme lassen sich solche bereits für die Zeit vor der Landnahme konstatieren, als diese mit Hunnen, Protobulgaren, Awaren und Chasaren in Berührung kamen. Als sie dann im 6. Jahrhundert nach der Balkanhalbinsel einwanderten, fanden sie auch hier zahlreiche Vorstellungen vor, die östlicher Herkunft sind und in der Zeit der Antike heimisch wurden (LIUNGMANN 1937: 38; ferner auch SADNIK 1954). Später vermittelten solche die im kulturellen Einflussbereich des Byzantinischen Reiches befindlichen Bulgaren, ferner die aus Asien nach dem Balkan vordringenden Bogumilen. Erwähnenswert unter den altorientalischen Einflüssen, die freilich oft erst aus ihrer Verflechtung mit altbalkanischen, romanischen, slawischen und anderen Elementen gelöst werden müssen, sind jene kosmologischen Farbsymbole, die im alten China sowie bei verschiedenen asiatischen Steppenvölkern verbreitet waren und durch letztere während der Völkerwanderungszeit nach Europa hineingetragen wurden (ausführlich behandelt bei LUDAT 1953; sowie PRITSAK 1954). Es handelt sich um den in Asien weit verbreiteten Brauch, für Himmelsrichtungen und Völker bestimmte Farben als Attribute zu verwenden (bei den Nomaden wurde bis in die mongolische Periode hinein der Norden mit

Schwarz, der Osten mit Blau, der Westen mit Weiss, der Süden mit Rot bezeichnet.¹ Verschiedene geographische und ethnische Bezeichnungen bei den Balkanslawen (wie im übrigen auch bei den Griechen) lassen auf eine Nachahmung dieses Brauches schliessen;² am deutlichsten wird sie bei der bulgarischen Bezeichnung für das Mittelmeer: Beloe more wörtlich "Weisses Meer" — dazu türk. Ak Denizi "ds".

Die bei weitem bedeutendste Prägung durch orientalische Einflüsse erfuhren die Kulturen der Balkanvölker während der fünfhundertjährigen Herrschaft der Osmanen auf dem Balkan. Diese Periode veränderte die ethnische, soziale und kulturelle Physiognomie der Halbinsel grundlegend und nachhaltig. Elemente der asiatischen, vor allem osmanischen Volkskultur manifestierten sich in allen Lebensbereichen der beherrschten Völker. Sie leben bis heute in Volksglauben, Volksdichtung und Brauchtum wie natürlich auch in den Sprachen der Balkanvölker fort und zeigen vielfach, nicht nur bei den Resten der auf dem Balkan noch heute vorhandenen türkischen sowie türkischsprachigen Bevölkerung,³ eine erstaunliche Konsistenz.⁴ Durch diesen Umstand erlangen sie nahezu die Bedeutung von Geschichtsquellen.

Unter diesen kulturhistorischen Prämissen ist es mein Ziel, Farbeempfinden und Farbsymbolik bei den Türken und Südslawen auf dem Balkan einer näheren Betrachtung zu unterziehen, um zu zeigen, wie sich bestimmte Farbformeln im Glauben und im Brauchtum dieser Völker verfestigt haben und wie sie sich als Determinanten für konfessionelle, ethnische und soziale Zugehörigkeit auf das Zusammenleben der Menschen auf dem Balkan in der Zeit der osmanischen Herrschaft auswirkten.

Das menschliche Empfinden reagiert sehr komplex auf die Begegnung mit Farben; hier ist die Farbpsychologie zu erstaunlichen Ergebnissen gekommen. Unter anderem wurde festgestellt, dass es zwischen Farben und Gefühlszuständen eine enge Beziehung gibt. Für bestimmte Gefühlszustände werden über die Grenzen von Kulturgemeinschaften hinweg bevorzugt bestimmte Farben gewählt und umgekehrt werden zur Beschreibung von bestimmten Farben bevorzugt bestimmte Gefühlszustände angegeben. So besitzt die Farbe Rot eine Affinität zu erregten Affektlagen wie Ausgelassenheit, Liebe und Zorn; Blau hingegen, ebenso auch Weiss, werden mit Kälte und Einsamkeit assoziiert (FRIELING 1983). Neben diesen, wenn man so will, naturgegebenen und aus der ursprünglichen ökologischen Einpassung des Menschen resultierenden Einstellungen zu Farben, verwendet der Mensch als soziales, in Gruppen lebendes Wesen Farben auch dazu, um Signale zu setzen. Ein Farbsignal ist als Mittel der Kommunikation bei räumlicher wie sozialer Orientierung von hoher

Effektivität. Aus diesem Grunde wurden schon in den ältesten Kulturen der Menschheitsgeschichte Farben als kulturelle Zeichen, als Symbole weltlicher und kirchlicher Herrschaft, ja auch als Symbole politischer Bewegungen angesehen (GRIESHAMMER 1983). Durch Farbe lassen sich Bewusstseinsinhalte öffentlich machen, und zwar direkter, wenngleich auch weniger präzise, als durch verbalen Ausdruck, welcher erst der Formulierung bedarf.

Zweifellos gilt, dass der Mensch die individuelle Bewertung wie auch die praktische Verwendung von Farbwerten nach vorgegebenen, also in der jeweiligen Kulturgemeinschaft tradierten Einstellungen vornimmt. In unserer heutigen westeuropäischen Industriegesellschaft gibt es hinsichtlich der Farbtraditionen nur noch sehr wenige überkommene Sinnzusammenhänge. Rot ist für uns ein Warnzeichen, Symbol einer politischen Gesinnung oder die Farbe der Liebe; kaum noch identifizieren wir Rot wie einst als Herrschaftssymbol oder als ein apotropäisches Mittel. Heute sind Farben willkürlich austauschbar und kreierbar. Rote, gelbe, blaue Schilder zur Kennzeichnung der Bus- oder Untergrundbahnhaltestelle wechseln in rascher Folge. Bis unlängst war die Farbskala zur Kennzeichnung politischer Parteien relativ konstant; nun unterliegt auch sie, wie wir am Grün der Grünen Partei beobachten können, Veränderungen bzw. Erweiterungen. Unser Farbbewusstsein ist Schwankungen und Manipulationen ausgesetzt, die von Modetrends und wirtschaftlichen Interessen bestimmt sind — so etwa von den Werbesprüchen der Waschmittelhersteller, die uns immer neue Vorstellungen von Weiss wie weisser als weiss oder das strahlendste Weiss meines Lebens suggerieren. Wollen wir uns im Alltagsleben zurechtfinden, müssen wir uns stets neue Farbsymbole einprägen (ausführlich BRÜCKNER 1983; sowie BRÜCKNER 1982). In Zeiten, als es die Anilinfarben noch nicht gab, als Farben noch nicht fabrikmässig, sondern in Heimarbeit und aus Naturprodukten hergestellt wurden, war der Zeichencharakter von Farben eindeutiger und auf längere Sicht konstant, wenn auch natürlich langfristig Wandlungen unterworfen.

Die Farbbezeichnungen bei Türken und Südslawen

Wenden wir uns zunächst jenen Informationen zu, die wir aus den türkischen und slawischen Farbbezeichnungen über die Bewertung von Farben erhalten.⁵

Eine Besonderheit der Türksprachen ist es, dass sie sehr viele gegenstandsgebundene Farbnamen aufweisen — eine solche Gegenstandsgebunden-

heit liegt z. B. im Deutschen bei blond vor, das vor allem zur Kennzeichnung des menschlichen Haares verwendet wird. Bei einer Fülle von Bezeichnungen für einzelne graue, braune und teilweise auch blaue Farbtöne ist bei den Türkvölkern das Bedürfnis nach einer zusammenfassenden Benennung für das Grau, das Braun, das Blau, wie dies in den slawischen und auch anderen europäischen Sprachen der Fall ist, noch nicht spürbar geworden (so auch LAUDE-CIRTAUTAS 1961: 127f.). Hierin kommt die nomadische und viehzüchterische Lebensweise der Türkvölker zum Ausdruck, ihre genauere Naturbeobachtung, durch welche das Grau oder Braun eines Pferdes ein anderes ist als das Grau bzw. Braun eines Vogels oder des menschlichen Haares (vgl. z. B. atü. kök täyi "graues Eichhörnchen", aber kir. boz at "graues Pferd"). Die Typisierung der Farben in der Weise, dass sie zur Kennzeichnung eines beliebigen Gegenstandes verwendet werden können, ist hier noch nicht abgeschlossen; lediglich das Türkeitürkische zeigt bereits eine grössere Tendenz in dieser Richtung. So gibt es hier zur Bezeichnung der blauen Farbe die allgemeine Bezeichnung māvi, während gök~kök auf die Augenfarbe reduziert wurde. Das Türkeitürkische stellt damit ein Bindeglied zu den slawischen Sprachen her, wo wir eine weitgehende Typisierung bei den Farbnamen, d. h. ihre Anwendbarkeit auf jeden beliebigen Gegenstand, vorfinden (so auch HERNE 1954: 113 [S. 179]). Diese Typisierung erfolgte hier bereits sehr früh, denn seit den ältesten Zeiten besitzen die slawischen Sprachen für Grün, Gelb, Schwarz und Weiss allgemeine Bezeichnungen, ebenso für Rot, das ursprünglich offenbar mit den Inhalten "klar" und "schön" assoziiert wurde (russ. krasnyj, bulg. rud signalisieren noch heute neben "rot" "schön"). Freilich gibt es auch in den slawischen Sprachen gegenstandsgebundene Farbbezeichnungen, die aber offenbar nur selten auf indogermanische Verhältnisse zurückgehen; immerhin, es gibt sie: vgl. urslaw. plavu "hell fahl, blond, in bezug auf Haut und Haare" oder bronu "fahl, gelb, rötlich, weissgrau, zur Bezeichnung gewisser Tiere". Auch urslaw. *sinji "blau, hinter der Haut" deutet darauf hin, dass es wohl einst ähnlich wie bei den Türkdialekten gegenstandsgebundene Farbbezeichnungen gab, die später verallgemeinert wurden. Mit der Typisierung der Farbbezeichnungen geht indes auch immer ein Verlust an Reichhaltigkeit einher. So erklärt es sich, dass wir in den slawischen Sprachen dort, wo es um die Bezeichnung von Tierfarben geht, häufig Lehnwörter finden vgl. z. B. skr. sura bedevija "graue Stute" hierbei sur — nichtslawischen, möglicherweise alttürkischen Ursprungs. Auch türk. al "rot" und kara "schwarz" wurden in die slawischen Sprachen in diesem Zusammenhang entlehnt.⁶

Ein weiterer Unterschied fällt beim Vergleich der Farbbezeichnungen der Slawen mit denen der Türkvölker ins Auge. Die in den Türkdialekten überlieferten Farbbezeichnungen besitzen eine hohe Affinität zu mythischen Vorstellungen und zu Gemütsbewegungen. So ist hier qara "schwarz" u.a. die Farbe der bösen Geister, der Schande, aber auch des unglücklichen Schicksals und der Trauer (vgl. z. B. ttü. qara ölüm "schwarzer Tod", yüz qarası "Schande, Schmach"), während aq "weiss" u.a. die Farbe der Furcht und des glückverheissenden Schicksals ist (vgl. Allah aq yol birsin "Allah möge einen guten, glücklichen Weg geben". Ähnlich verhält es sich bei Rot und Grün (LAUDE-CIRTAUTAS 1961: 17ff.). In den slawischen Sprachen ist dies nur noch bei der Verwendung einiger Farbnamen in Sprichwörtern und Redewendungen lebendig; vgl. z. B. skr. Čuvaj bele pare za crne dane wörtlich "hüte das weisse Geld für schwarze Tage", sinngemäss "sparst du in guten Tagen, hast du in der Not". Offenbar ging hier mit der Typisierung der Farbnamen auch ihre "Entmythisierung" und "Versachlichung" einher, während die Türkvölker im Gebrauch der Farbnamen noch einen ursprünglicheren Zustand bewahrt haben.

Farbnamen können freilich nur begrenzt darüber Auskunft geben, in welcher Weise sich bestimmte Farbauffassungen und Farbformeln in Volkskulturen verfestigt haben. Volksglaube und Volksbrauch sind in dieser Hinsicht aufschlussreicher und vermitteln auch älteste Farbassoziationen. Es gibt zwar einige grundlegende Farbeinschätzungen, die allgemeingültig zu sein scheinen, doch können verschiedene Kulturen in diesem Zusammenhang verschiedene Ausprägungen besitzen.

Farbauffassungen bei Türken und Südslawen

Als Tagtier empfindet der Mensch die Nachtschwärze als bedrohlich, Licht hingegen als positiv und beruhigend. So rücken denn auch die dunklen Farbtöne automatisch in den Ausdrucksbereich "ernst", die hellen dagegen in den des "Freundlichen". Auf dieser Grundlage kann sich die Stimmung "verdunkeln" und "aufhellen". Genau dies signalisieren auch türkisch qara "schwarz" und aq "weiss", ebenso wie südslawisch beo bzw. bjal "weiss" sowie crn bzw. Čeren "schwarz". Aus dieser Polarität von Schwarz und Weiss entwickelte sich bei den Türken sekundär Weiss als Standesfarbe — doch dazu später.

Im Koran wie in der Bibel finden wir Licht bzw. Helligkeit mit dem Himmel, die Dunkelheit bzw. die Finsternis mit der Hölle und der Verdammnis

assoziiert. Hier sind wir bereits bei Weiss und Schwarz als Kennzeichen für Gut und Böse, die im Bewusstsein der Gläubigen — hier wie dort — fest verankert sind.

Schwarz und Weiss besitzen ebenso im Volksglauben eine ausgeprägte Ausdeutung. qara signalisiert für die Türkvölker unter anderem die Farbe der bösen Geister, des Todes und der Krankheiten (vgl. z. B. den Geheimnamen kara nãmä der Altaier für ärlik, ferner ttü. qara qura "ein Krankheitsdämon") ebenso des damit zusammenhängenden Heilzaubers.

Im medizinischen Inventar der Türken finden wir z. B. folgende Angaben: Einem Cholerakranken legt man ein eben enthauptetes schwarzes Huhn auf die Magengegend. Gegen Milzkrankheiten hilft nur die Leber eines schwarzen Hammels (STERN 1903: 204).

Bei den Südslawen werden hingegen viele Gestalten aus dem Jenseits, so etwa die Vilen (eine Art von Feen) — diese können ebenfalls Krankheiten verursachen — weiss gewandet vorgestellt. Auch die Farbe des Todes ist hier weiss.

Diese Vorstellung tritt u. a. ebenso im Brauchtum der Zigeuner zutage: Sie feiern am Pfingsttag den "weissen Sonntag", das Fest der Toten, in weissen Kleidern gekleidet, da nach ihrem Glauben Weiss die Lieblingsfarbe der Toten ist (WLISLOCKI 1891: 158).

Anders als bei den Türken, die Schwarz als die Farbe des Trauer ansehen, war bei den Völkern Südosteuropas die Farbe der Trauerkleidung über lange Zeiten hinweg weiss; erst relativ spät übernahm Schwarz diese Funktion (FÉL 1935: 13f.; ZEČEVIĆ 1973: 109, Anm. 81. u. a.), ausgehend vom Bürgertum, bei dem Schwarz erstmals zu Beginn des letzten Jahrhunderts erschien und für aussergewöhnliche Anlässe des Lebens Verwendung fand: a) zu Festtagen, b) anlässlich der Trauer (cf. GÁBORJÁN 1984). Bei der bäuerlichen Bevölkerung aber war, und dies teilweise bis in unser Jahrhundert hinein, die weisse Farbe die Farbe der Trauer, insbesondere bei den Frauen (cf. GÁBORJÁN 1984; MNL 12: 339f. gyász). Weiss, in Verbindung mit dem im Hausgewerbe hergestellten, naturbelassenen Grobleinen, das sich schon aufgrund seiner Schlichtheit für den Trauerfall eignet, herrschte nicht nur in der Kleidung vor — dies ist in den südungarischen Provinzen Sárköz und Ormánság sowie in den südlich davon gelegenen slawonischen Gebieten bis heute der Fall —; auch die aufgebahrten Verstorbenen wurden in Weiss gekleidet, und ihre Särge wurden mit weissem Samt oder mit weissem Leinen überzogen. Es widerspricht sich nicht, dass Schwarz wie Weiss in diesem Zusammenhang die gleiche symbolische Qualität besitzt; bei Schwarz

wie bei Weiss handelt es sich um eine "Nicht-Farbe" gegenüber Rot, und es ist diese "Nicht-Farbe" bzw. die Farblosigkeit, die mit Trauer und Traurigkeit assoziiert wird (ELIADE 1957: 180f.). Bei qara ist auf eine weitere Eigentümlichkeit der Bewertung durch die Türken hinzuweisen. Aus der schrecken-einflössenden, bedrohlichen Qualität des Zeicheninhaltes entwickelte sich das Signalement "gross, stark, kräftig" sowie der Beiname für Personen, die über solche Eigenschaften verfügen. Auf dieser Grundlage erhielt Djordje Petrović, Sohn eines serbischen Bauern, der im Aufstand der Serben seit 1804 den Oberbefehl hatte und die Osmanen vertrieb, den Namen Karadjordje; unter diesem Namen ist er in die Geschichte eingegangen; von ihm leitet sich das serbische Herrschergeschlecht der Karadjordjevići ab.

Schwarz und Weiss sind auch im magischen Brauch der hier verglichenen Völker symbolträchtig. Bei den Türkvölkern unterscheidet man bekanntlich zwischen "weissen" Schamanen, jenen, die Beziehungen zu den Göttern besitzen und weiss gekleidet sind sowie den "schwarzen" Schamanen, die eine Affinität zu den Geistern haben und dunkle, mitunter auch blaue Tracht tragen (NIORADZE 1925: 26). Hier bedient man sich allgemein der weissen Farbe, so bei Bändern, die an Birken gebunden werden, ebenso bei Opferpferden, sofern es sich um Himmelsopfer handelt. Bei anderen Opfern wird dem Weiss immer eine andere Farbe zugefügt und durch die Beibehaltung des Weiss der Zusammenhang mit dem Himmelsopfer ausgedrückt: beim Berggeist- und dem Wassergeist-Opfer ist die hinzugefügte Farbe blau, beim Feuergeist-Opfer rot (SCHMIDT 1949: 178f., 617, 629f., 667f.). Bei den Südslawen hängt die apotropäische Funktion der Farbe Weiss mit dem beschriebenen Umstand zusammen, dass sie mit dem Jenseits in Verbindung gebracht wird. Hier wird Weiss indessen zumeist in Kombination mit Rot im magischen Brauch verwendet; dazu weiter unten.

Dem Schwarz als einem den Menschen durch seine Finsternis beeindruckenden Signal steht als zweiter elementarer Stimmungsauslöser die Blutfarbe Rot gegenüber. Rot, die wärmste Farbe im Farbkontinuum, wird sowohl bei Türken als auch bei den Südslawen mit dem Feuer und dem Blut, der Liebe und dem Zorn assoziiert — türk. qızıl signalisiert diese Inhalte heute noch.

In der Tüchersprache türkischer Liebender wird ein rotes Tuch als Bekenntnis der Liebe gedeutet. Häufig wird auch in türkischen Volksliedern die rote Farbe symbolhaft mit der Liebe in Beziehung gebracht.⁷

Die Assoziation mit dem Blut lässt sich auch bei den slawischen Bezeichnungen für Rot, wenn auch nur mittelbar, rekonstruieren. Urslaw.

*rudŭ, ruměny, rusŭ, *rysŭ, *rydiŭ "rot, hauptsächlich in bezug auf Haare, Fell, Haut" beinhalten idg. *reudh-, *roudho-, das im Ai., in rudhira-, einem substantivierten Adjektiv, mit "Blut" wiedergegeben wird (HERNE 1954: 24ff.). Erst später kam sowohl bei den Slawen als auch bei den Türken, mit den aus dem südwestlichen Asien eingeführten, karmesinrot gefärbten Stoffen (HERNE 1954: 37ff.), die Bezeichnung für "karmesinrot, in bezug auf Stoffe" auf; vgl. urslaw. črŭvlenŭ, türk. qirmizi (< ai. krmi-, mpers. kerm, arab. qirmiz "Wurm, Insekt") (HERNE 1954: 33ff., LAUDE-CIRTAUTAS 1961: 58f.).

Rot besitzt in den slawischen Sprachen die meisten Namensvarianten, und in der Volkskunst der Balkanländer können wir ein relatives Vorherrschen des Roten gegenüber den kalten Farben Blau oder Violett feststellen. Dies beruht wohl auf der ästhetischen Wirkung dieser Farbe wie sie z. B. in russ. krasnyj, in der Bedeutung "rot" und "schön" sprachlich zum Ausdruck kommt.

Rot ist eine besondere Farbe, denn man konnte sie früher nicht überall gleich gut und gleich billig herstellen. Die Türken waren führend in der Krappfärberei. Die Franzosen übernahmen, als sie sich mit den Türken gegen das Heilige Römische Reich Deutscher Nation verbündeten, den Krappanbau und die Färbetechniken von ihnen (KÖNIG 1983: 63). Schon aus diesen produktionstechnischen Gegebenheiten heraus musste Rot eine Standesfarbe werden — dies gilt für alle Länder Europas und Asiens und, wie wir noch sehen werden, auch für das osmanisch beherrschte Südosteuropa.

Der roten Farbe kommt in der Magie eine besonders wichtige Bedeutung zu (WUNDERLICH 1925: 4ff.; FÉL 1935: 9f.; BLACK 1967: 108ff.). Entsprechend jener Auffassung, dass allen Dingen, Wesen und Erscheinungen der belebten und unbelebten Natur besondere Kräfte innewohnen, die aufeinander wirken und dabei eine günstige oder schädigende Wirkung hervorrufen, glaubte man, die rote Farbe könne, ähnlich wie das Feuer, der Blitz, die Sonne und das Blut, Wärme akkumulieren und emanieren sowie Kräfte entwickeln, die böse Geister abwehren und unschädlich machen. In dieser Rolle wurde ursprünglich das menschliche Blut verwendet, und erst später trat die rote Farbe an deren Stelle.⁸ Menschen- und Tierblut spielen in der antiken Heilkunst eine wichtige Rolle; u. a. berichtet Plinius über Heilverfahren mit Hilfe von Blut. Bei ihm findet man den Hinweis, dass Fallsüchtige in Rom das Blut aus den Wunden der Fechter tranken. Als besonders heilkräftig galt in der Antike das Blut eines Hingerichteten; aus diesem Grunde wurden viele Morde verübt (WUNDERLICH 1925: 9). Dass man die wesentliche Eigenschaft des

Blutes, nämlich die Lebenswärme, bereits in der Antike häufig vergass und die heilende Kraft bald seiner Farbe zuschrieb, dass man also die rote Farbe bereits in gleicher Funktion verwendete, zeigt, dass die apotropäische Kraft des Blutes allmählich auf die rote Farbe übergang (WUNDERLICH 1925: 9).

Krankheitsdämonen werden im südslawischen Volksglauben häufig als Frauengestalten mit rotem Haar vorgestellt (STRAUSS 1898: 200ff.). Zu ihrer Abwehr verwendet man — möglicherweise auf antikem Erbe beruhend — auffallend oft die rote Farbe. Heute noch ist auf dem Balkan die Umgürtung von Neugeborenen, Schwangeren, Kranken und Schutzbedürftigen mit einem roten Faden oder einer Schnur aus rot-weissen, ineinandergedrehten Fäden üblich.

Allgemein verbreitet sind solche Umgürtungen am 1. März, der bei den Balkanslawen als Frühlingsbeginn bzw. als Tag der Martha gilt. Bekanntlich ist der menschliche Organismus zu Beginn des Frühjahrs durch den eintretenden Witterungsumschwung für Infektionen und Krankheiten in besonderem Masse anfällig, so dass der Glaube des Volkes, die Krankheitsdämonen entfaltet an diesem Tage eine verstärkte Aktivität, eine durchaus rationale Grundlage besitzt. Um dieser Aktivität entgegenzuwirken, d. h. gegen sie einen magischen Bannkreis zu schliessen, werden rote und weisse Fäden um Finger, Zehen, um das Handgelenk, den Arm oder den Hals, um und in die Zöpfe der Mädchen und Frauen, um den Spinnrocken, ja auch um das ganze Haus der Familie, ferner um den Hals von Zuchttieren und um die Zweige junger, zu schützender Bäumchen gebunden. Ebenso verfährt man am Vorabend des Georgstages (SCHUBERT 1984).

Ähnliche Bräuche sind auch bei den Türken bekannt. In Ohrid pflegte man in türkischen Bevölkerungskreisen einen roten Lappen über der Tür des Zimmers anzubringen, in dem gerade ein Kind geboren wurde, um so von Mutter und Kind Schaden durch den "bösen Blick" abzuwenden. Jeder Besucher, der in das Zimmer eintrat, blickte zwangsläufig zuerst auf diesen Lappen und erst dann auf Mutter und Kind (DJORDJEVIĆ 1938: 142). Ebenfalls apotropäische Funktion besitzt bei den Türken das Einfärben der Füße und Handflächen der Braut mit Henna nach den Hochzeitsfeierlichkeiten, ferner die Verwendung von Henna beim Neugeborenen und bei Opferschafen (NÉMETH 1965: 286f., 320ff., 347f.).

Der heute allgemein übliche Empfang hoher Staatsgäste auf einem roten Teppich ist ein sehr alter, wohl aus dem Orient übernommener Brauch, der dazu diente, die im Blickpunkt stehende Persönlichkeit vor der Verhexung durch den bösen Blick zu schützen.

Purpur, die berühmteste aller Herrscherfarben, wurde einst vorwiegend im Osten des Mittelmeeres, von den Phöniziern aus Spitzhornschnecken hergestellt (KÖNIG 1983: 62). Diese Farbe in ihren verschiedenen Schattierungen zwischen Blaugrün und Violett war sehr teuer und galt schon von daher als begehrt für Kleidungsstücke ranghoher Personen. Es wurde viel Verschwendung damit getrieben, und als die Bestände der Schnecken durch den Massenfang dezimiert waren, erliess Julius Caesar als erster strenge Bestimmungen über das Tragen von Purpurstoffen: sie standen nur höchsten Würdenträgern zu. An den Togen der Senatoren gab es nur noch einen Purpursaum. Die späteste offizielle Verwendung von echtem Purpur ist aus dem byzantinischen Reich bekannt. Demgegenüber trugen bis in unsere Tage hinein Kaiser und Könige den aus der Antike stammenden sog. purpurnen Herrschermantel, nur wurde dieser nicht mehr mit Purpur, sondern mit Scharlach gefärbt. So griff die Vorstellung um sich, Purpur sei rot. Auch heute wird Purpur mit "rot" umschrieben, ursprünglich war er das freilich nicht.⁹ Purpurroter Samt verbreitete sich auch in der osmanisch-türkischen Hofkleidung. Mit goldener Schnurstickerei verziert, finden wir ihn sehr häufig in der osmanisch beeinflussten städtischen Tracht des Balkans im 17., 18. Jahrhundert.

Komplementärfarbe zu Rot ist Grün. Im Farbkontinuum ist es die Farbe, die eine beruhigende und ausgleichende Wirkung auf den Menschen ausübt; dies kommt im Deutschen u. a. auch in Redensarten wie auf einen grünen Zweig kommen; ich bin dir grün zum Ausdruck. Entsprechend sollen die in Operationssälen von Ärzten und Schwestern getragenen grünen Mäntel beruhigend auf den Patienten wirken. Grün ist die Farbe der Landschaft, der Wiesen und der Wälder. Allgemein gilt Grün auch als die Farbe der Hoffnung. In der islamischen Welt gilt Grün als die Farbe des Propheten, als eine heilige Farbe. Zwar ist sich die Überlieferung darüber einig, dass der Prophet selber keine Kleidung oder einen Turban von grüner Farbe getragen hat und dass demzufolge die grüne Farbe durch das Gesetz und in der Überlieferung nicht belegt ist. Allerdings ist Grün die Farbe des Paradieses, und es soll auch die liebste Farbe des Propheten gewesen sein; auch sollen die Engel bei Hunain (oder bei Badr) grüne Turbane getragen haben.

Die Entstehung dieses Farbsymbols im Islam nachzuvollziehen, fällt nicht schwer, vergegenwärtigt man sich jene Landschaft, aus der Mohammed stammt und in welcher er gewirkt hat. Es war dies die rötliche Sandwüste unter der glühenden Sonne, in welcher grüne Oasen Labsal und Rettung vor dem Verdursten bedeuten.¹⁰ Liest man dann im "Koran" die Schilderung des

Paradieses als der herrlichsten aller Oasen, so wird die hohe Einschätzung der grünen Farbe hinlänglich klar. Grün, als Komplementärfarbe zum Rot der Wüste, signalisiert unter diesen Gegebenheiten eben Labung, Erholung, Lebensrettung. Grün, die Farbe des Propheten, durfte nur jener Moslem tragen, der nach Mekka gepilgert war. Auf diese Farbe mit den Füßen zu treten, wurde als Sünde angesehen; aus diesem Grunde ist sie in alten orientalischen Teppichen nicht zu finden.

In Auseinandersetzungen mit den Osmanen mussten sich christliche Soldaten davor hüten, Grün zu tragen, wollten sie nicht den unbändigen Zorn der Gegner heraufbeschwören. Aus diesem Grunde gab es auch bei den Truppen der Habsburger bis über die Zeiten Prinz Eugens hinaus, bis zur endgültigen Zurückdrängung der Osmanen, keine grünen Uniformen, kein grünes Abzeichen. Erst danach kamen, sozusagen als Siegeszeichen, grüne Uniformen bzw. grüne Jacken, u. a. für Generalstabsoffiziere, die Leibgardekompanie und für die Polizei, auf.¹¹

Grün ist bei den Türken auch im magisch-medizinischen Brauch verbreitet. In Vidin, in Bulgarien, pflegen die Türken, wenn ihnen ein Leid widerfahren ist oder wenn sie Kummer haben, eine grüne Decke für das Grab des Emirs Salatin (Salāheddīn) Efendi¹² zu kaufen, dann würden sie ihres Leides befreit. Es gibt Leute in Vidin, die dem Nazar Baba grünes Tuch geloben, ein Meter, zweieinhalb Meter, je nach ihrer materiellen Situation. Dann würden sie, wenn sie an Fieber leiden, genesen (NÉMETH 1965: 355 ff.). Die junge Türkin pflegte in den ersten Tagen ihrer Ehe ein grünes Kopftuch zu tragen, um sich Fruchtbarkeit zu sichern (STERN 1903: 204).

Blau wurde seit jeher mit dem Himmel assoziiert. Im christlichen Glauben erhielt diese Farbe eine positive Bewertung, sie ist die Gottes- und Himmelsfarbe (vgl. die dt. Farbbezeichnungen Himmelsblau, Königsblau). Der Vater-Herrscher-Gott ist in dieser Vorstellung blau gewandet, d. h. er regiert in blauem Himmelmantel. Blau ist aus diesen Assoziationen heraus dann auch zur Christusfarbe geworden. Im Islam erfreut sich die blaue Farbe keiner besonderen Wertschätzung. Der Prophet soll sie zwar zuerst gern getragen, dann aber verboten haben, weil die Ungläubigen Blau trugen. Im Koran kennzeichnet Blau am jüngsten Tag die Verbrecher.

Im volkstümlichen Vorstellungskontext ist Blau unter anderem eine Farbe, die den bösen Blick abwehrt. Das Tragen von blauen Schleifen, blauen Bändern, blauen Knöpfen ist weit verbreitet; auch der blaue Türkis ist ein beliebtes Amulett. Blau wird ferner als die Farbe der Hexen, Zauberer und Priester angesehen (BLACK 1967: 112f.; SCHMIDT 1966: 97). Aus

dieser Verbindung mit dem Jenseitigen erklärt sich offenbar die Funktion der blauen Farbe im magischen Brauchtum. Überall im Mittelmeerraum findet man für sie Beispiele. Blaumalereien um Fenster und Türen sind die verbreitetste Methode der Blickabwehr. In der Türkei findet man in Dörfern einzelne, von weitem sichtbare, blau gestrichene Häuser. Sie sollen den Ort vor dem Teufel schützen (KÖNIG 1983: 64). Im medizinischen Brauchtum der Türken findet man folgende therapeutische Massnahmen: Man verwendet verbranntes blaues Papier gegen Schnupfen. Auf blauem Papier löst man Tannenharz auf, mit welchem Eitergeschwüre kuriert werden (STERN 1903: 204). In Mazedonien pflegte man ein Kind dadurch gegen den bösen Blick zu schützen, dass man ihm ein blaues Band um die Hand band; bei den Bulgaren wurde vielfach bereits bei der Geburt das zum Kind auslaufende Nabelende mit einem blauen Faden umwunden (STRAUSS 1898: 291).

Schwierig sind Aussagen über die Einstufung der Farbe Gelb. Eine herausragende Rolle erhielt diese Farbe lediglich in China bzw. Ostasien, wo Gelb als die Farbe des Zentrums gilt und als solche hohes Ansehen genießt. Kleidung von gelber Farbe tragen hier nur hohe Würdenträger. Sonst aber gilt Gelb bei den meisten Völkern als eine eher problematische Farbe, die u. a. mit Neid und mit der kranken Hautfarbe in Verbindung gebracht wird. Hexen und Zauberer werden vielfach in gelber Kleidung vorgestellt; auf dem Balkan wird der gelben Farbe ebenfalls eine abwehrende Fähigkeit gegenüber dem bösen Blick zugeschrieben (ZEČEVIĆ 1973: 109). In der magischen Volksmedizin wird Gelb vor allem im Falle von Gelbsucht und bei Leberkrankheiten verwendet. Da die Hauptfarbe des Kranken in diesen Fällen häufig gelb ist, wird der gelben Farbe nach dem Grundsatz similia similibus eine heilende Wirkung zugeschrieben. Schliesslich sei erwähnt, dass im Osmanischen Reich gelbe Kopfbedeckungen die im Reich lebenden Juden kennzeichneten — hierauf wird weiter unten eingegangen.

Farbsymbolik und Kleiderordnung auf dem Balkan während der Osmanenherrschaft

Nach diesen mehr allgemeinen Ausführungen zu den Farbauffassungen bei Türken und Südslawen will ich verdeutlichen, in welcher Weise ein bestimmtes, von der politisch-militärischen Führung der Osmanen geprägtes Farbregister das Zusammenleben verschiedener Völker auf dem Balkan für Jahrhunderte reglementierte.

In der osmanisch-türkischen Tracht hielt man im allgemeinen an den

Farben fest, die man — ob zu Recht oder Unrecht — mit dem Propheten in Verbindung brachte. Es waren dies, neben einer gelegentlichen Beimischung von Rot: Weiss, Schwarz und Grün. Schwarz wurde indessen ziemlich bald fallen gelassen, und seit dem 14. Jahrhundert kleideten sich die Sultane fast immer in Weiss.¹³ Grün und Weiss dienten nunmehr als Unterscheidungsmerkmale für die Truppen, die weltlichen und kirchlichen Würdenträger, je nach Position und Reichtum des Trägers mehr oder weniger reich mit Goldstickerei und Verzierungen versehen. Von weisser Seide war das Kleid des Grossvezirs und von weissem Tuch das des Mufti, von grüner Seide das Kleid des Paschas, von drei Rossschweiften und von grünem Tuch das der Ulemas, der Geistlichen und Rechtsgelehrten. Später kam Scharlach- bzw. Prupurrot als Kaftanfarbe der gehobenen Schichten hinzu.

Noch genauer war die Farbe der Turbane geregelt, da diese als unveräusserliche Kennzeichen sozusagen mit zur Person gehörten, weshalb sie übrigens auch nie abgenommen wurden (PARET 1958: 84f.). Einen Turban von grüner Farbe zu tragen, blieb ein Vorrecht der Emire, der Nachkommen 'Alīs und der Stammesverwandten des Propheten — auch wenn dieser selber wohl keinen grünen Turban getragen hat. Bei den Osmanen, die selber ursprünglich die bei den Tataren übliche, runde oder viereckige Pilzmütze mit Pelzbesatz, kalpak genannt, trugen, wurde es unter Mehmed II. (1451—1481) allgemein üblich, den Turban zu tragen. Dieser bestand aus einer roten Kappe von unterschiedlicher Höhe und Form und einem äusserst kunstvoll um sie herumgewundenen Schal aus Seide oder Musselin von gewöhnlich weisser, bei den Emiren von grüner Farbe, mit Perlen, Edelsteinen und Federn verziert. 1832 wurde im Osmanischen Reich der Fes als nationale Kopfbedeckung eingeführt, der Turban blieb auf die geistlichen Würdenträger beschränkt (PARET 1958: 85).

So wie die Farbe innerhalb der osmanisch-türkischen Sozialorganisation die Position jedes Individuums festlegte, so dienten bestimmte Farbforneln dazu, die Nichtmuslimen im Osmanischen Reich nach ihrer konfessionellen, ethnischen und sozialen Zugehörigkeit zu kennzeichnen. Farben in Verbindung mit Kleiderordnungen wurden bewusst eingesetzt, um die "Herabsetzung der Mohammedaner und eine Heraufsetzung der sog. Dimmīs" zu vermeiden.¹⁴ Zwar genügte die farbliche Unterscheidung der Kleider nicht, denn auch deren Qualität wurde genau festgelegt, um die Selbstachtung auch der muslimischen Bettler nicht zu verletzen. Und doch diente die Farbe als primäres Klassifikationsmerkmal, die in der Öffentlichkeit eine sofortige Einordnung des Farbträgers ermöglichte. Westeuropäische Reisende des 16.

Jahrhunderts berichten über die Turbanfarben, die sie auf ihrer Reise durch das Reich wahrnehmen: Weiss für Muslime, Gelb für Juden, Blau für Christen und Weiss mit blauen und roten Streifen für Armenier (z. B. DERNSCHWAM 1553/55: 106). Ständige Zuwiderhandlungen und darauffolgende Beschwerden der Mohammedaner führen zu immer neuen Verordnungen: Im Jahre 1563 beanstandet der Kadi von Istanbul, dass entgegen den Vorschriften die Ungläubigen zu prächtig gekleidet seien. Er ordnet an, dass diese Kleider aus schwarzer oder dunkelblauer Baumwolle, schlicht und ungebügelt, zu tragen haben (BINSWANGER 1977: 170). 1580 wird in einem Hüküm an den Kadi von Istanbul den Christen und Juden der Turban verboten, stattdessen sollten die Juden rote, die Christen schwarze Hüte (Şapqa) tragen. Solche und ähnliche, häufig unterschiedlich gehandhabte Verordnungen sollten zum einen diskriminieren, zum anderen gerade dadurch einen Anreiz zum Glaubensübertritt bieten. Hans Dernschwam, der von 1553 bis 1555 eine Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien unternahm, berichtet darüber, dass man Christen bekehrte, indem man ihnen einfach einen weissen Turban aufsetzte. Auf eine solche Praxis deutet eine Fetwa mit folgendem Inhalt hin: Wenn ein Ungläubiger seine Kleider tauscht und dann, gefragt, ob er Ungläubiger oder Muslim sei, aus Angst sich Muslim nennt, dann ist er auch rechtlich als solcher zu betrachten (BINSWANGER 1977: 290).

Wie wirkten sich die geschilderten Massnahmen bei den Südslawen aus? Auch hier galten die seit Mehmed dem Eroberer immer wieder erneuerten Kleiderordnungen, die sich insbesondere auf die Kopfbedeckung bezogen (ausführlich u. a. FILIPOVIĆ 1961: 61ff.). Nichtmuslimen war das Tragen des Turbans verboten. Der kalpak wurde ihnen zugestanden, jedoch durfte der Kopf weder mit weissem Musselin, noch mit einem einfarbigen Schal umwunden werden. Mit Zobelfell besetzte Mützen sollten für Ärzte und Dolmetscher reserviert bleiben. Die weisse Farbe hingegen war für die Mohammedaner vorbehalten. Seit Mehmed dem Eroberer trugen auch die Janitscharen weisse Kappen, wie auch die Zelte der oberen Schichten und Wohlhabenden von weisser Farbe waren (FILIPOVIĆ 1961: 62). Die südslawische Volksdichtung weiss über die symbolische Bedeutung der weissen Zeltfarbe zu berichten. Jene muslimische Volksballade, die der italienische Reisende abate Alberto Fortis 1774 in Dalmatien aufzeichnete und die vom tragischen Schicksal der Gattin Hasan Agas handelt, das sich während der türkischen Herrschaft in Bosnien, im Gebiet von Imotski, ereignet haben soll, verarbeitet diese Symbolik auf sehr poetische Weise. Goethe hat diese Ballade unter dem Titel "Klagegesang von den edlen Frauen des Asan-Aga" nachgedichtet. Hier lautet

die betreffende Stelle, sie leitet das Geschehen ein, folgendermassen:

Was ist weisses dort am grünen Walde?
Ist es Schnee wohl, oder sind es Schwäne?
Wär es Schnee da, wäre weggeschmolzen,
Wären's Schwäne, wären weggeflogen.
Ist kein Schnee nicht, es sind keine Schwäne,
'S ist der Glanz der Zelten Asan Aga;
Niederliegt er drein an seiner Wunde.

Dieser ist von der Erwartung erfüllt, seine bosnische Frau würde zu ihm ans Krankenbett kommen. Ihr aber verbietet es die Scham, den Gatten zu besuchen. Daraus entwickelt sich das Drama. Doch zurück zu den Kleiderordnungen, die die südslawischen Untertanen zu beachten hatten. Solche wurden vom 16. bis zum 19. Jahrhundert nicht nur durch die Sultane in Istanbul, sondern auch durch die örtlichen Verwaltungsbeamten erlassen; sie bezogen sich in erster Linie auf die Bevölkerung der Städte, in denen Muslime neben Nichtmuslimen lebten, Letztere durch Handel und Gewerbe zu einer relativen Prosperität gelangten und gerade dadurch den Wunsch hegten, sich der privilegierten muslimischen Schicht auch äusserlich anzugleichen. Auf diese Weise verbreitete sich die osmanisch-türkische Tracht nicht nur bei jenen Christen, die zum Islam übergetreten waren (in Bosnien und der Herzegowina gab es Massenübertritte), sondern auch bei der übrigen christlichen Bevölkerung der Städte. Sogar die orthodoxen Bischöfe und die bosnischen Franziskaner kleideten sich, und dies besonders auf Reisen, um Gefahren zu entgehen, wie die Türken (FILIPOVIĆ 1961: 61ff.). Über die christliche Stadtbevölkerung und die auf dem Lande lebenden Mohammedaner — viele von ihnen kamen im Zuge einer planmässigen Kolonisation aus Anatolien nach dem inneren Balkan und liessen sich hier nieder — bürgerten sich orientalische bzw. türkische Elemente auch in der Tracht der dörflichen Bevölkerung ein; insbesondere trifft dies auf die Trachten der thrakischen Bulgaren und der mittelbosnischen Serben und Kroaten zu. Bereits im Jahre 1530 berichtet B. Kuripešić, ein slowenischer Reisender, der Bosnien, Serbien, Bulgarien und Rumänien besucht (VASIĆ 1968: 54), darüber, dass sich die Christen beiderlei Bekenntnisses genauso kleideten wie die Türken, nur, dass sie sich die Köpfe nicht rasierten. Ständige Beschwerden der Mohammedaner führten auch hier zu immer neueren Kleidervorschriften, die den Christen zunächst die Turbane mit weisser Umwindung, dann gelbe Pantoffel, später den roten Fes und rote sowie grüne Kleidung verboten, und dies auch nach der 1837 durch Sultan Mahmud II. herausgegebenen Proklamation der Gleichberechtigung aller Untertanen des Reiches. Gegen die Übertretung dieser Vorschriften wurde die

Todesstrafe angedroht und sie in einigen Fällen tatsächlich verhängt (HAMMER in GOR III: 665). 1836 berichtet Jovan Obrenović dem Fürsten Milos in Serbien darüber, dass die Türken in Novi Pazar allen Christen, die einen Fes tragen, diesen vom Kopf reissen und in die Erde stampfen. Auf dem Lande verstanden es die Menschen, auch die Farbanordnung, die die grüne, weisse, gelbe und rote Farbe auf die Tracht der Muslimen und Janitscharen beschränkte und für Nichtmuslime ungefärbte, blaue, braune oder dunkle Kleidung und schwarze Stiefel vorschrieb, zu unterlaufen und ihren ästhetischen Bedürfnissen Rechnung zu tragen, indem sie durch farbig broschierte Webmuster oder durch individuelles Übersticken des Stoffes die helle oder dunkle Farbe des Grundgewebes fast zum Verschwinden brachten. Als Farbtöne wurden zuerst Grundfarben: Rot, Grün und Gelb sowie Schwarz als Kontrastelement bevorzugt; später traten Mischfarben hinzu. Mit grosser Begeisterung berichtet der belgische Schriftsteller Busbeck, als er sich 1553 zwischen Niš und Sofia aufhält, über die bestickten Kleider der Frauen, die, obwohl aus einfachem Stoff gefertigt, die westeuropäische Kleidung an Prunk weit übertrafen (NASLEDNIKOVA 1969: 51). In ähnlicher Weise äussert sich Felix Kanitz in seinen, in Donau-Bulgarien gemachten Reisestudien aus den Jahren 1860—1879 (KANITZ 1882/III: 98, 106f.).

Bis zum Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts dauern die örtlich erlassenen Verordnungen zur Normierung der Kleidung an. Über die Verhältnisse in Serbien zu Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts berichtet Vuk Karadžić:

"Nur ein Türke darf einem Türken Selam zurufen (Gruss, wenn man sich trifft); würde einer aus der Rajah einem Türken Selam zurufen, würde er sofort ermordet, es sei denn, er würde sich zum Türken machen lassen; damit aber dem Türken diesbezüglich kein Irrtum unterlaufe, geziemt es sich, dass er an der Kleidung erkennt, wer ein Rajah ist und wer ein Türke. Aus diesem Grunde darf die Rajah nicht nur keine grüne Farbe benutzen, sondern auch keine schönen Kleidungsstücke wie sie bei den Türken üblich sind tragen, z. B. Umschlagtücher um den Kopf, Brustharnisch, Dolmane, besonders solche, die mit Silber und Gold bestickt sind. Mancherorts ist es der Rajah sogar verboten, rote Fesse und Jemenije (bunte Pantoffeln) zu tragen (KARADŽIĆ 1827: 117).

Wenn der Serbe schon zu Hause solche Kleidung offiziell nicht tragen durfte, so konnte er dies als Hajducke tun, wenn er in den Wald und in die Berge zog, um reiche türkische Karawanen zu überfallen, auszuplündern und unter anderem auch schöne grüne und rote Tuche sowie kostbare türkische Kleidungsstücke zu rauben. Diese trug er dann auch. Zahlreich sind jene Hajduken- und Uskokenlieder der Südslawen, die die türkische Kleidung der Hajduken- und Uskokenbanden beschreiben (ANTONIJEVIĆ 1977).

Ungeachtet der Massnahmen zur Normierung der Kleidung der christlichen Untertanen verfestigten sich die orientalischen Einflüsse in den Trachten der Balkanvölker, und sie sind aus den sog. Nationaltrachten des Balkans nicht mehr wegzudenken. Bis zum Ende des vergangenen Jahrhunderts war beispielsweise der rote Fes in Serbien nicht nur auf dem Lande, sondern auch in der Stadt die übliche Kopfbedeckung der Männer. Während er in der Türkei aufgrund des Verbotes von 1925 nicht mehr getragen wird, tragen ihn heute noch viele Mohammedaner in Bosnien — in Sarajevo sieht man ihn vielfach auf der BasČarsija, dem kommerziellen und gesellschaftlichen Mittelpunkt der Stadt. Sie tun dies bewusst und nicht ohne einen gewissen Stolz, kennzeichnet doch der rote Fes nicht nur ihre Zugehörigkeit zum Islam, sondern auch zu einer besonderen, in dem bisher noch gültigen Grundgesetz Jugoslawiens verankerten Nationalität. Seit 1961 erscheint in Jugoslawien bei der Volkszählung der amtliche Begriff "Muslime im ethnischen Sinne". Verstanden wurden darunter die Mohammedaner serbo-kroatischer Muttersprache in der Republik Bosnien und Herzegowina, Montenegro und Serbien. Auf der Grundlage der Volkszählung von 1971 waren etwa 16–17% des 20,5 Millionen zählenden Jugoslawiens Mohammedaner; in Bosnien und der Herzegowina beträgt ihr Anteil heute 40% bzw. rund anderthalb Millionen Menschen.

(1987)

Anmerkungen

¹ Ursprünglich, so nimmt man an, war Gelb, das später die Mitte repräsentierte, die Farbe für den Osten. Bei der kosmologischen Farbsymbolik handelt es sich offensichtlich um eine in ganz Asien verbreitete Gepflogenheit. Interessanterweise finden sich die genannten Farben, mit Gelb für den Osten, in gleicher Zuordnung für Windrichtungen in dem von Antiochos von Athen im 2. Jh. n. Chr. aus dem Orient eingeführten System. Hierzu HDA IV, 27 f.

² Kaiser Konstantin VII. Porphyrogennetos (912–959) berichtet an verschiedenen Stellen seines Werkes "De administrando imperio" über Rot- und Weiss-Kroatien wie über Weiss-serben. Mit der Vorstellung vom Westen als der "weissen" Himmelsrichtung hängt möglicherweise auch zusammen, dass der Krönungsort der kroatischen Herrscher am Adriatischen Meer, von dem Konstantin Porphyrogennetos berichtet, den Namen Belogradon (Belgrad) = Weissenburg = Alba regia ad mare trägt; im 15. Jh. wurde dieser Teil des Meeres ebenfalls Beloe more "Weisses Meer" bezeichnet. Es wird für möglich gehalten, dass der Völkernamen Kroaten mit dem Landschafts- und Völkernamen Harahvaiti, Harahwatis für das heutige, an Indien grenzende Satrapie (heutige südliche Hälfte Afghanistans und Belutschistans und östliche Teile Irans), die von den Persern "Weiss-Indien" und von den Griechen später Arachosia bezeichnet wurde, zusammenhängt (LUDAT 1953: 144).

³ Es gibt sie in Bulgarien, Jugoslawien, Albanien und Griechenland. Hierzu u. a. Németh 1965.

⁴ So wird beispielsweise in Sarajevo, von den Jugoslawen "Klein-Istanbul" genannt, osmanische Lebensart bewusst gepflegt. Dies bezieht sich nicht nur auf die Kultur des Kaffeetrinkens; auch die carsija, das Geschäfts- und Handwerkszentrum der Stadt, in dem die alten Läden und Bauten noch erhalten sind, ist nach demselben Prinzip wie ehemals (nach Handwerksstrassen) geordnet. Die Kupferschmiede arbeiten hier mit den gleichen Fertigkeiten wie in osmanischer Zeit. Zu den orientalischen Elementen auf dem Balkan vgl. Südosteuropa-Halbmönd 1975; Orientalische Elemente 1967.

⁵ Der Vergleich erfolgt im wesentlichen auf der Grundlage der Werke Herne 1954 und Laude-Cirtautas 1961, dazu noch Vasmer 1953/58; ferner Skok 1971/73; Radloff 1960.

⁶ Vgl. diese Entlehnungen aber auch in anderen Zusammenhängen z. B. bulg. alen bajrak "rote Fahne", skr. kara haber "schwarze Kunde".

⁷ Hierzu ein Beispiel bei Laude-Cirtautas 1961: 55, Anm. 2.: al dir yüzüym taşı / yanar yüräim başı / yar aqlima galdıkcâ . / agar gözlärim yaşı "Rot ist der Stein meines Ringes, es brennt meines Herzens Innere (wörtlich Haupt), kommt meine Liebste (mir) in meinen Sinn, fließen die Tränen meiner Augen".

⁸ Wunderlich 1925: 4ff. Zur Abschreckung der Geister ist der Mantel des mandschurischen Schamengewandes sowie die Mütze des altaischen Zauberers aus rotem Stoff gefertigt und mit Metallspiegel versehen. Vgl. Harva 1938: 522.

⁹ Da die alten Griechen in ihren epischen Werken häufig das Meer als purpurfarben bezeichneten, glaubten viele, die der irrigen Meinung waren, Purpur sei schon immer rot gewesen, dass Homer und seine Zeitgenossen farbenblind waren.

¹⁰ Als der Prophet im Kampf gegen eine feindliche Stadt den Befehl gab, die Frucht-bäume zu fällen, hätte sein Heer beinahe gemeutert.

¹¹ Noch heute trägt die Polizei Österreichs, sozusagen als letztes Erinnerungsstück an die Vertreibung der Osmanen, die traditionelle grüne Jacke.

¹² Einst Derwisch in Vidin, hier gab es im siebzehnten Jahrhundert sieben Derwischklöster.

¹³ Eine ausführliche Beschreibung der osmanisch-türkischen Kleidung finden wir u. a. bei Weiss 1872, 704ff.

¹⁴ Ausführlich behandelt durch Binswanger 1977: 165ff.

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CATALOGUE OF HUNGARIAN FOLKTALES

It is a laudable fact that beginning from 1982 a new impetus was given to the publishing of the catalogues of Hungarian folktales. Up till now 5 volumes have been completed by the Ethnographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, within the framework of the research programme entitled "Revealing and publishing our cultural and historical relics".

In a system accepted internationally and used in Hungarian folckloristics the authors of the volumes catalogue all the significant collections of tales published from the 18th century (in some volumes from the 16th century) up to 1985 in calendars, trivial literature, journals, at first in sporadic publications and later in regular collections. More than half of the material is constituted by the very rich publications of Hungarian folklore which appeared outside the borders of the country and a significant part of it is made up by the collections of the Archive of Manuscripts of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and the Ethnological Archive of the Ethnographic Museum.

The catalogues consist of introductions of theoretical and summarizing character, indices of types, the actual catalogues, lists of bibliography of the works used, recently geographical indices and maps, earlier collections of texts as well.

No. 1. 1987. KOVÁCS, Ágnes-BENEDEK, Katalin: A magyar állatmesék katalógusa (Types of Hungarian Animal Tales)

AaTh 1-299. (Second enlarged edition)

In the catalogue of animal tales the method of creating types was the following: on the basis of the Hungarian variations and the sketch outlined in the catalogue of Aarne-Thompson, the type sketch of the individual tales was prepared, the common frame compared to which the variations present an identical picture with more or less differences but similar in the main pattern. In the case of one-motif animal tales this method did not cause any special difficulties since the variations do not,

in general, display great differences either from each other or their international equivalents. In practice, the type sketch of these one-episode animal tales is identical with the common contentual abstract of several texts, or if a single text without variations is available, the abstract of the only variation is presented as the sketch of the given type.

Katalin Benedek divided the type descriptions broken down into the motives consisting of one episode into the motiphemes of Lack/Deception/Deceit/Liquidation of Lack formulated by her in the wake of Honti-Propp-Dundes-Haring-Tenèze, thus presenting a somewhat modified description of this type of animal tales – mainly of the Aesop-like fables.

The animal tales rooted in the ancient European oral tradition are less frequently of one motif, more often they are of the multi-motif type, constituting a cycle of tales. Therefore, in accordance with the method used in cataloguing tales, their type sketches are divided into epic units. These small structural units which live a real independent life within the tale and are adjusted next to each other in the animal tale fairly loosely, are indicated with Roman numerals (I, II, III), while the groups of plots repeated three or more times within them are indicated with small letters (Iabc, IIabc, etc.).

The tale types whose messages are alien to those of animal tales in the strict sense of the word (fairy-tales with animal figures, aetiological legends, tales imitating animal sounds) or those different in their structure (cumulative tales) have been excluded from the catalogue; the headword "Animal tales" includes a homogeneous material of tales which may really be qualified as belonging to the same genre, which, however, in spite of the neglect of alien material, has remained diverse and rich thematically. 664 tale texts have been examined in the catalogue, they contain 828 variations, and in them 221 types of Hungarian animal tales are outlined.

**No. 3. 1982. BERNÁT, László: A magyar legendamesék típusai
(Types of Hungarian Religious Tales)**

AaTh 750-849

László Bernát writes in his introduction: "The generic definitions approach the religious tale from two sides: The traditional religious tale of the definition has saints figuring in it, while the folklore tales belonging to the scope of religious legend may only be trapped with

the help of defining religious legend". In the religious tales of the Hungarian catalogue, in addition to Christ and St. Peter, figuring in 47 and 41 tales, respectively, saints occur in 7 tales, their number being 13. In the religious tales, however, we find not saints authenticated by the church but some other persons, similar to saints, wearing the names of Christ and St. Peter, St. Joseph and others. Among them Christ and on occasion an angel have some kind of magic power, supernatural power, which creates and foresees; with its help Christ awards, teaches lessons or punishes.

The catalogue of religious tales contains 77 types and 620 variations of religious tales. The religious tales may be divided into two historical layers easy to distinguish from each other: most of them are the scenes of the popular Catholic view of the world and their figures are somewhat grotesque, in their funny character they popularize charity and readiness to help, as well as the wisdom of Christ above everything. In the other layer we encounter the style and the arsenal of means of the medieval example. This layer is dead serious: these tales represent forgiving and the possibility of improvement, also the strict punishment of sins, but they also point out that the individual priests, hermits, monks, saints can be sinful too but they are punished for their sins even more severely. The function of the figures of the first layer may be described with three patterns:

— Christ asks for an abode — if he is granted one, he rewards, if not, he punishes.

— As a solution of the conflict between Christ and St. Peter, representing positive and negative behaviours, Christ teaches a lesson to St. Peter.

— Christ's incomprehensible prophecy, sentence, judgement rouses indignation in St. Peter, Christ proves his right.

The second layer bears the traits of an official ideology, its truths are more complex. Its symbols — lamb symbolizing angels, white doves symbolizing souls, the dead dog representing the most hideous repulsion, or fat oxen on the lean pasture, lean oxen on the fat pasture, representing mean and poor people, etc. indicate a more complex world already.

The tale catalogues refer here also the stories which are connected to the genre only with their scene — heaven.

**No. 4. 1984. BENEDEK, Katalin: A magyar novellamesék típusai
(Types of Hungarian Romantic Tales)**

AaTh 850-999

The Hungarian catalogue of romantic tales relies to some extent on the catalogue of Aarne-Thompson: "The Types of the Folktale" (Helsinki 1961), as an internationally used, widespread and basic handbook, in classifying the types, but differs from it in the following points:

a) The functional syntagmatic analysis of the type picture created with a static generalization of the multitude of the motifs constituting the type as well as with a dynamic generalization of the variations constituting the type. — The AaTh catalogue contains a standard type divided into episodes and motifs; so far in Hungary there is no other similar analysis, covering all the variations of a complete genre of tales.

b) The list of variations — in the AaTh catalogue only the total of the variations belonging to the type are mentioned in respect to the individual peoples.

c) The list of literary adaptations — in the AaTh catalogue they are either incorporated in the total of the folk variations or they do not figure at all.

d) Literature related to the type — disregarding the classical monographs, the types of the romantic tales in the strict sense of the word are not discussed by studies exhausting the topic, in spite of the large number of the sporadic data.

e) Structural, historical, stylistic remarks — they are missing from the AaTh catalogue.

f) The list of different and incomplete variations, reflecting influences in writing and containing only elements of the tale — it is incorporated in the whole variations in the AaTh catalogue.

g) The paradigmatic analysis of the variations equal to all the syntagms of the type picture — a more or less complete list of the motives of empirical intuition in the AaTh catalogue.

Thus in the catalogue of romantic tales the description analyzes the main characteristics constituting the types of traditional Hungarian romantic tales as well as the differences from them in the richness of details of the variations. The majority of the catalogues, the most recent ones too, or most of the earlier ones, do not reveal their material in the depth of analyzing the variations, they are content with classifying into

types: the earlier Hungarian catalogues, serving as a preliminary study, which included the short story tale, are based upon less material and contain no analysis of motifs. In the present volume all the variations are supplied with more extensive information than earlier, on the basis of the data collected from all the important folk tale publications. 525 variations are classified in 48 types in the catalogue (earlier Berze Nagy catalogued 144 variations in 51 types).

**No. 5. 1985. SÜVEGH, Veronika: A magyar rászédett ördög mesék típusai
(Types of Hungarian Stupid-Ogre Tales)**

AaTh 1030-1199

As compared to the catalogues of János Honti (Verzeichnis der publizierten ungarischen Volksmärchen. Helsinki, 1928, FFC 81) and János Berze Nagy (Magyar népmesetípusok /Types of Hungarian Folktales/. I-II. Pécs, 1957), the classification following the international catalogue of Aarne-Thompson displays a significant increase in the number of types and the number of the variations elaborated has increased greatly too. In this volume more than 676 variations from more than 300 tales are introduced, classified into 50 international and 36 new recommended types. (Earlier Honti set up 27 types, and Berze Nagy elaborated 35 types.) The structure of the catalogue, classification into types and marking follow the principles laid down by Ágnes Kovács in the earlier volumes of the "Catalogue of Hungarian folktales" and the practice realized in the previous volumes: the introduction provides orientation of the considerations of inclusion in the catalogue. It points out the relationships between the opposing figures (dull, stupid ogre, dragon, etc. but having supernatural features of character and tricky, clever poor man, artisan, gypsy, etc.), thereby justifying the elimination of the types of John the servant and the Cold-blooded servant, which are, by the way, discussed here in the international catalogue: the latter in Hungarian are about servant figures opposed by stupid, rich enemies without supernatural features.

Thus the material of the tales is divided into the following main type groups:

- AaTh 1030-1059 Partnership of the Man and the Ogre (112 variations),
- AaTh 1060-1114 Contest between Man and the Ogre (338 variations),
- AaTh 1115-1121 Attempt to Murder the Hero (44 variations),
- AaTh 1130-MNK 1168* The Ogre is Frightened and Escapes (140 variations).

AaTh 1174-1199 A Man Sells his Soul to the Devil (45 variations).

The catalogue also includes a collection of examples containing 23 pattern texts which gives some idea of the extremely rich and varied combination of types.

No. 7A 1986. VÖÖ, Gabriella in collaboration with VEHMAS, Marja:

A magyar népmesék tréfakatalógusa

(Types of Hungarian Jokes)

AaTh 1350-1429

As to their thematics and forms, the funny tales are as versatile as their genres are (numskull stories, anecdotes, jokes). Those about married couples are classified into stories on lazy, mean, stubborn, gossiping, unfaithful, clever, tricky women, the stupid woman and her husband, the stupid man and his wife. The catalogue contains close to 400 tales classified into 70 types (earlier in the catalogue of János Berze Nagy 49 texts were included in 19 types).

Gabriella Vöő is an internationally known researcher of this genre, she has already devoted a number of studies to the funny stories, this specific manifestation of the human way of thinking. She has revealed their specificities, from the aspects of genre, structure, semiotics, communication. In her introduction, summarizing her earlier statements, she separates the genres of funny tale, jests, numskull stories, anecdote. She points out that in jokes we witness the creation and comic solution of conflicts between two parties in some social relationship with each other. The jokes are divided into the following main segments: basic situation, or starting situation, comic situation and turn, final situation and consequence. In the next part of the catalogue, following the introduction, based on the collecting work of Marja Vehmas, the author first presents a summarizing picture of the given type in a generalized form, then builds on the above pattern the type sketches, emphasizing their decisive traits in the different types.

Then she lists in time-sequence the popular variations preserved in oral tradition, clarifying the relationship between publications and second-hand publications, then she presents the data worded by popular, non-folk authors known from Hungarian literature, and finally she gives comparative literary references.¹

KATALIN BENEDEK
Ethnographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences
Budapest

Notes

¹Since closing the manuscript of this short communication the following volumes appeared in the series Catalogue of the Hungarian Folktales:

No. 2. Dömötör, Á.: A magyar tündérmesék típusai (Types of Hungarian Tales of Magic). AaTh 300-749. Budapest, 1988.

No. 6. Kovács, Á.—Benedek, K.: A rátótiádák típusmutatója. A magyar falucsúfolók típusai (Types of Numskull Stories. Types of Hungarian Village Mocking Tales). AaTh 1200-1349. Budapest, 1990. (Second enlarged edition.)

No. 7/B. Vehmas, M.—Benedek, K.: A magyar népmesék trufa- és anekdóta katalógusa (Types of Hungarian Jokes and Anecdotes). AaTh 1430-1639. Budapest, 1988.

No. 7/C. Vehmas, M.—Benedek, K.: A magyar népmesék trufa- és anekdóta katalógusa (Types of Hungarian Jokes and Anecdotes). AaTh 1640-1874. Budapest, 1989.

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ETHNOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH IN THE MUSEUMS OF SZOLNOK COUNTY

The first museums in Szolnok county were established in the last third of the past century (Jászberény, 1874, Tiszafüred, 1877). The museum in Karcag was born on the initiative of István Györffy already at the beginning of the 20th century. However, at the seat of Szolnok county, in Szolnok the idea to organize a museum was very slow in taking root: the library and the museum came into being together in the 1930s. In the other settlements of the county the plans and ideas to establish museums remained intentions only for a long time. The museums already operating, or just scraping by, suffered severe losses during World War II and frequently only parts of their collections survived. Following the end of the war, the museums took a long time to revive. Their reorganization started from the early 1950s: the museum of Túrkeve began to operate from 1951 and the one of Tiszaföldvár opened its doors in 1956.

The second half of the 1950s saw the beginning of a new era, for it resulted not only in the rapid increase of the materials of the museum collections but the starting of ethnographical research performed in museums may be dated to this period as well. While earlier the museums had mainly collected archeological, historical and fine art materials, beginning from the 1950s there was a rapid increase in the role and significance of ethnography. One of the prime movers of this change was the training of museologists, including the organization of ethnographical education in regional centres as well. The Ethnographical Department of Lajos Kossuth University in Debrecen became one of the headquarters of training ethno-

graphical museologists under the guidance of Head of Department Béla Gunda (his successor after 1978 has been Zoltán Ujváry). This institution contributed with its research profile, approach, methods and, last but not least, with its connections established with the museum organizations to the young ethnographers starting their work in the regional or local museums well-versed in ethnographical knowledge, equipped with a thorough theoretical training, but not shrinking from practice, including specific museum tasks, either.

In the museums of Szolnok county the financial resources of collecting objects at a more significant level as well as the conditions of ethnographic research in museums became available, and were established, in the early 1960s. It was at this time that the first members of the group of experts active in the county today entered the organization (János Tóth, 1958; László Szabó, 1963; Tibor Bellon, 1964; then Anikó Füvessy, 1967), and collaborated with Sándor Erdész, Zsolt Csalog, Éva Pócs who have departed in the meantime or with Miklós Szilágyi, Sándor Bodó who spent a shorter period of time here. The ethnographical activities of Lajos Györffy, Sándor Szücs, Imre Dankó also enriched the collections of the museums in the county and their publications erased white spots in the ethnographical map of the county.

The slowly improving institutional conditions, the establishment of the network of highly trained experts enabled the launching of organized ethnographical research in collaboration, and the new museum yearbooks and series became the publication forum of several branches of science. Among them the greatest importance is attached to the museum yearbooks containing a large number of mixed profiled, archeological, historical and ethnographical studies. The Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Évkönyv (Museum Yearbook of Szolnok County) was published in Szolnok in 1973, 1978, 1979-80, 1980-81. The Finta Museum of Túrkeve published its Emlékkönyv (Festschrift) to commemorate its 10th, 20th, 30th anniversaries (1961, 1971, and 1981, edited by Imre Dankó), and in Jászberény the Jubileumi Évkönyv (Jubilee Yearbook) appeared in 1974, commemorating the centenary of the foundation of the Jász (Yazygian) Museum (edited by János Tóth). The series entitled A Damjanich János Múzeum Közleményei (The Publications of the János Damjanich Museum) which primarily accommodated more lengthy studies of local history and ethnography character was started in 1958. The works published here included monographs of villages as well as dissertations, such as Imre Soós: "A jobbágyföld helyzete a szolnoki Tiszatájon 1711-1770" (The situation of

the serfs' lands in the Tiszatáj of Szolnok 1711-1770). Szolnok, 1958. No. 1; Márton Dorogi: "A kiskunsági bunda" (The small furcoat of Little Cumania). Szolnok, 1962. Nos 8-9; László Szabó: "Munkaszervezet és termelékenység a magyar parasztságnál a XIX-XX. században" (Organization of work and productivity of the Hungarian peasantry in the 19-20th centuries). Szolnok, 1968. Nos 15-18; László Szabó: "A társadalom néprajz alapvető kérdései" (Basic questions of social anthropology). Szolnok, 1970. Nos 24-25; Tibor Bellon: "Karcag város gazdálkodása" (The economy of the town of Karcag /Agriculture/). Szolnok, 1973. Nos 34-35; László Kormos: "Kenderes története" (The history of Kenderes). Szolnok, 1979. No. 41. The latest piece of the series is No. 42 of the Publications, a monography analysing the cult of St. Wendelin by Éva Gulyás.

The series of publications entitled "Szolnok Megyei Múzeumi Adattár" (Archival Data from the Museums of Szolnok County), started in 1965, containing historical and ethnographical works, primarily presenting new data, is still going on today. Let us mention a few of the more important ones, Mátyás Kakuk: "Kunszentmárton földrajzi nevei" (The historical names of Kunszentmárton). Szolnok, 1965. No. 2; Miklós Szilágyi: "Adatok a Nagykunság XVIII. századi néprajzához" (Data related to the ethnography of Great Cumania in the 18th century). Szolnok, 1966. No. 5; István Szlankó: "Tanulmányok a Tiszazug életéből" (Studies related to life in the Tiszazug). Szolnok, 1971. No. 7. With its new profile, this series has recently included studies of archeological character (its latest publication is Gyöngyi Kovács: "Török kerámia Szolnokon" (Turkish ceramics in Szolnok). Szolnok, 1984. Nos 30-31).

The periodical entitled Múzeumi Levelek (Museum Letters), published since 1958, is of mixed content. This series founded with an aim of public education is addressed to, and interesting for, an audience of students and professionals attached to museums; at the same time it publishes scientific information as well, and it frequently is the forum of first publications related to excavations and significant ethnographical collections. The lectures of several scientific conferences on history, local history, ethnography held in the county were published on the pages of Museum Letters.

The first large-scale scientific undertaking of the museums of the county, which is of national significance both for methodology and for the material collected and published, is the "Szolnok Megye Néprajzi Atlasza" (Ethnographical Atlas of Szolnok County). The primary objective of SzMNA

was to lay down the basis of the ethnographic monography of Szolnok county which wished to clarify the spatial distribution of the folk culture of the county as well as the internal and external migration at the turn of the 20th century, outlining the different educational units and cultural phenomena of the county in a cartographic form. Its activities were started in 1962 on the initiative of Zsolt Csalog, Éva Pócs and Gyula Kaposvári. It was also they who elaborated the questionnaire of SzMNA on the basis of the "Magyar Néprajzi Atlasz" (Hungarian Ethnographical Atlas) and their knowledge of the area of the county. The activities were disrupted in 1965 and restarted under the guidance of László Szabó in 1968 who carried on the work with editor-in-chief Zsolt Csalog and the editorial committee consisting of five members (Jenő Barabás, Tibor Bellon, Éva Pócs, Anikó Füvessy, Gyula Kaposvári).

The 134 groups of questions of the questionnaire embraced all the fields of folk culture, from the questions of grain production through the questions investigating society, up to the vernacular. Approximately one third of the questions were destined to check the material collected in 14 research centres of Szolnok county of the Hungarian Ethnographical Atlas. At the same time a significant percentage of the questions were accounted for by the topics of land cultivation, animal husbandry, settlements, construction, nutrition, popular costumes, habits, popular beliefs. Here it was not in every case that the viewpoints of cartography played a dominating role, but one of the objectives was to get to know the whole of the county, even if at times the questions were directed at certain small segments of folk culture. In 1962 SzMNA had 82 research centres within the county and 3 outside it. On the basis of the test collections, in 1968 the number of research centres was set to be 65, including the independent villages established up to 1896 as well as three Yugoslavian villages inhabitants of which left the county in the 18th century (Pacsér, Piros, Bácsfeketehegy).

The work on the atlas yielded important methodological experience for the researchers of the museums in the county. They themselves did the greater proportion of the work of collecting, in the meantime several of the university students and outside collaborators involved in the activities joined the organization of the museums (Gábor Barna), and they are active in the county today (Éva Gulyás, Julianna Örsi). It was in the course of collecting the material of the atlas that a group of outside collaborators, organized mostly from teachers, was formulated; with its

number gradually increasing, the group acquired significant skills in the field of ethnography and produced independent publications of scientific value, while it participated in the museum research performed in collaboration in the past two decades. (The most outstanding among them are Sándor Hagymásy, Mrs. János Faragó, Mátyás Kakuk, Mrs. Mihály Csetényi. The authors of the commentaries of SZMNA were partly experts on individual topics known all over the country, partly museologists performing research in the county who gained a national grasp of the given topic while working on it. All of them made use of the experiences gathered while working on the atlas in their individual research topics.

Collecting SzMNA yielded concrete results in museology too, since it went hand in hand with a large scale of enriching the scope of topics, and thereby made it possible to reveal the distribution areas of various objects and recognize their variants. The atlas has an effort worthy of mentioning and important from the methodological point of view, too, namely that the material collected with the questionnaires filled out in the individual settlements constitutes an independent material by itself and therefore serves as a basis for a later village monography.

Beginning from the late 1960s, the ethnographers of the county set off along new roads on their individual research fields. This ethnographic research, which basically had a character of agricultural history in the mid-60s, though its thematic scale widened gradually, wished to reveal the conditions in the county in the 18-19th centuries, essentially the historical antecedents of the state of affairs at the turn of the 20th century which is mapped in SzMNA, concentrating in its first phase on the privileged regions because of the favourable source materials: Jászság (Jazygia) and Cumania. Research to this effect was performed by Tibor Bellon in Karcag, László Szabó in Jászdózsa and the other settlements of Jászság, Lajos Györfly in Túrkeve, while the Jazygian Museum directed by János Tóth contributed to understanding the historical ethnography of Jazygia with several publications. The research of Jászdózsa widened into a collaborative work. Anikó Füvessy performed her research in the topic of the eating habits of the shepherds in Tiszafüred and its neighbourhood, in the villages on the edge of Hortobágy and also revealed the historical roots of pottery in Tiszafüred, while Éva Gulyás investigated popular beliefs, folk music and folk costumes in Jazygia, in the vicinity of Török-szentmiklós and in Szolnok. The folkloristic collections of Gábor Barna in Tiszazug and then the social anthropological researches of Julianna Őrsi

in Karcag were significant contributions to all the regions of Szolnok county becoming the scenes of ethnographical research. The ethnographers entering the organization of the museums in the early 1980s, Edit Bathó in Jászberény, Ibolya T. Bereczki in Szolnok, Miklós Molnár Nagy in Mezőtúr, Eszter Szendrei in Kunszentmárton, Márta Zomborka active in Karcag for a short while, and Márta Magyarai in Kunszentmárton filled in the gaps of territorial organization as well as strengthened the research of the individual regions.

The ethnographic research performed on the whole territory of Szolnok county was coupled with the investigation of the individual settlements of a monographic claim. Among these activities an outstanding significance was attached to the work done in Jászdózsza. The archeological excavations carried out there, the archive material carefully elaborated, then the inclusion of historian István Szabó, linguist László Balogh and anthropologist Gyula Henkey favoured the realization of the monographic objectives as well as complex research. Beginning from 1969, an intensive ethnographical field-work was started in the settlement. The ethnographers included in the working group of Jászdózsza were Ilona Tóth, Gábor Barna, Éva Gulyás, still university students at the time; in 1971 they carried out ethnographical collecting activities lasting more than a month.

However, the slowing down of the research and the occupation of the participants in other fields did not favour a rapid realization of the monography. From 1970, the working group decided to publish the first volume of studies edited by László Szabó. Here the work was connected to the viewpoints of a regional research started in the meantime, extended to several counties: within the framework of the Palóc¹ research started with the methodological conference in 1967, an opportunity opened up to examine in Szolnok county the dimensions of the settling and re-settling of people from the Palóc areas in the 18th century as well as their influence and presence in the culture of the Great Hungarian Plain. The viewpoints of the investigation were included in the research carried out by Anikó Fűvessy in the neighbourhood of Tiszafüred. In the late 1970s, the group of experts, which had grown in number in the meantime, concentrated on the ethnic research of Csépa, another village in Tiszazug displaying Palóc characteristic features. As a result of the work based upon János Botka's revealing historical data, a bulky volume appeared among the Palóc thematic and local monographies, edited by Gábor Barna, entitled "Csépa. Tanulmányok egy alföldi palóc kirajzás népéletéből" (Studies from the life

of a Palóc population having settled down on the Great Hungarian Plain, Szolnok, 1982). In the case of Jászdózsa and Csépa, the objectives set included not only to identify the place and role of the Palóc features (together with estimating the negative features) but also to investigate how the given settlement is connected culturally to its close environment. Although none of the volumes can be looked upon as a monography, they provide a comprehensive picture of the cultural structure of the selected settlement and also of the ethnographic group to which Jászdózsa and Csépa belong. Both as to their material revealed and methodologically as well, these works equally contribute to the progress of ethnical research in Hungary and getting to know the Great Hungarian Plain.

A special trend is represented by the theoretically founded investigation of social anthropology which wishes to unite the different parts of culture in social activity as a basis and point of view. This research of László Szabó aiming at providing a synthesis interprets phenomena from the same social point of view and helps reveal the social motivations which lie behind certain groups of phenomena. An important merit of this work is that it is able to insert local results into a larger, more general system of connections. At the same time this theoretical work has contributed to laying down the theoretical basis of regional and thematic, primarily community-focused ethnographical research in Szolnok county. The most important publications are László Szabó's formerly mentioned publications "Munkaszervezet..." and "A társadalom néprajz...", and his other works "A magyar rokonsági rendszer" (The Hungarian kinship system. Debrecen, 1980); "A jász etnikai csoport" (The Jazygian ethnic group I-II. Szolnok, 1979-1982); "Jászság" (Jazygia. Budapest, 1982).

Among the individual accomplishments of an outstanding significance, emphasis must be given primarily to thematic ethnographical investigations. It was back in the 1960s that Éva Pócs completed her pioneer work entitled "Zagyvarékas néphite" (The popular beliefs of Zagyvarékas, Szolnok, 1965), which was followed by Éva Gulyás's monography of the popular beliefs of Jászdózsa, studies of customs and sacral ethnography investigations. Anikó Fűvessy examined questions of nutrition in Tiszafüred and Hortobágy-szél, the memories of foraging and then the historical layers of ceramics in Tiszafüred. Gábor Barna carried out research on customs and popular beliefs as well as in shepherd folklore of Hortobágy-szél. Ilona Tóth described farming in Jászdózsa. Tibor Bellon studied the economic system of the agricultural town; his works examining the specificities of farming in

the inundation area are of great significance; and he published a summarizing survey too: "Nagykunság" (Great Cumania. Budapest, 1979).

Important dissertations were born in the county by the end of the 1970s, such as Julianna Őrsi's work on the society of the town of Karcag presenting a number of novel methodological ideas or Éva Gulyás' monography, "Egy őszi pásztorünnep és európai párhuzamai" (A shepherd's holiday in autumn and its parallels in Europe. Szolnok, 1986), which reveals the material of the cult of St. Wendelin in the county but is also embedded in national and international contexts. Recent results of thematic investigations carried out in the county are Edit Bathó's work "A Jászság méhészezte" (Bee-keeping in Jazygia. Szolnok, 1988.) as well as her studies related to folk dancing, musical and dancing entertainment, wedding feasts; and the volume of Ibolya T. Bereczki, "Népi táplálkozás Szolnok megyében" (Popular nutrition in Szolnok county. Debrecen, 1986).

Parallel to the important individual accomplishments of the past 15 years achieved in the county, another characteristic feature of ethnographical research here is the continuation of the activities in collaboration, into which the individual research objectives are integrated; and also the inclusion of new research trends both thematically and territorially.

The collection of geographical names in the county, started in the 1960s and receiving a new impetus in the first third of the 1970s, required the inclusion of external forces and large-scale organizational activities. This research in Szolnok county was organized by the János Damjanich Museum, then by the county museum organization, under the guidance of László Szabó as well as by the Teacher Training College of Jászberény, where the collectors were co-ordinated by Ferenc Farkas. The co-operation agreement concluded between the two institutions in 1976 outlined a programme concerning the whole county. The collecting of all the names of the Jászberény district was completed by 1983 and was published in Jászberény, 1986 ("Szolnok megye földrajzi nevei I. A jászberényi járás nevei" /The geographical names of Szolnok county I. The names of the Jászberény district/). The collection of data has been completed in the other districts of the county as a result of ethnographical competitions, university and college theses as well as the collecting work of university students and professors. At present László Vincze is supplementing the geographical names of the Szolnok district and arranging them for the press; this will be followed by the other districts of the county.

Among the researches carried out by teams an outstanding role is played by the research related to Tiszazug. The series of thematic meetings elaborating the history and ethnography of Kunszentmárton and Tiszazug was started in 1972 and completed in 1984. The historic, economic and social history research of the first half of the 1970s was followed by conferences centering upon the viticulture and animal husbandry of Tiszazug, the role played by the Tisza and Körös rivers as well as the folklore, folk music, small industry, folk art and land cultivation of Tiszazug.

The systematic ethnographical research carried out in research camps since 1976 too awoke the national attention and became an example to be followed by ethnographical collections in other areas (Bács-Kiskun, Pest, Veszprém counties). Within the framework of these activities, several thousand objects documenting and representing thematic research found their way into the Collection of Local History of Kunszentmárton promoted to the rank of a museum in 1985. A whole host of publications born as a result of the investigation of Kunszentmárton and Tiszazug could be listed here. Among the independent publications are the following, János Botka: "Csépa története" (Csépa's history. Szolnok, 1977), the volumes of the Tiszazugi Füzetek (Tiszazug Booklets) (ed. by Gábor Barna), the work summarizing results and tasks, entitled "10 éves a Tiszazug kutatása" (The 10-years-old research of Tiszazug, ed. by László Szabó, Szolnok, 1981). The fruits of the past few years are the volume devoted to the small industry of Kunszentmárton and Tiszazug (ed. by László Szabó and Ibolya Bereczki, Szolnok, 1982) and the publication containing the presentations made at the conference, entitled "A Tiszazug földművelése" (Farming in the Tiszazug, ed. by Eszter Szendrei and Ibolya Bereczki. Museum Letters Nos 45-46, Szolnok, 1985).

It is the factors integrating culture, revealed in the course of the research activities carried out for fifteen years which determine the structure and elements of the peasant culture of Tiszazug, the internal and external connections of the region. It is on this recognition that the collaborating team bases the structure of its volume of a monographic claim elaborating the history and ethnography of Tiszazug. One of the tasks of this work is to outline the place of Tiszazug in the culture of the Great Hungarian Plain.

A group was organized from the museologists of Szolnok county, the ethnographers and university students of ethnography of the neighbouring counties (Pest, Bács-Kiskun counties), headed by László Szabó, which in

1978 travelled in boats along the stretch of the Tisza from Szolnok to Tiszazug in about three weeks. The method of traditional ethnographic collecting were supplemented with new viewpoints: the researchers travelled along the river, approaching the villages along the Tisza from the inundation area, investigating fishing, water traffic, farming in the inundation area, animal husbandry and viticulture there, studying the connections between humans and water, the names related to water, the folklore of water. The sporadic memories of the conditions prior to the regulation of the river in the 19th century could still be discovered, but light was thrown primarily upon the transformation of the scenery and its influence following the regulation. Ethnographical research was continued between 1981 and 1984 in a similar manner, but over a larger geographic territory, along the Tisza from Tiszafüred to Tiszazug. This investigation of the way of life on and along the water may also be looked upon as the antecedents of a regional research programme embracing several counties. In 1985, on the initiative of Szolnok county, the historians and ethnographers of the museums of Heves and Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén counties carried out field-work, setting off from Tiszafüred, and outlined the borders of the region under examination, extended to twenty settlements within the area of Mezőkövesd - Heves - Tizzasüly - Tiszaszentimre - Egyek- Polgár - Leninváros - Mezőcsát.

Within the complex research equally dealing with questions of settlement, history and nature protection, an important part is represented by ethnographic investigations (under the guidance of László Szabó - Szolnok, Tivadar Petercsák - Eger, Gyula Viga - Miskolc). The primary objective of the investigations is to reveal the specificities of the traditional culture of the region. A specific emphasis was given to the following topic: the Tisza as a geographical factor and its role in mediating culture in the traditional division of labour and system of connections of the region. The programme of ethnographic research also includes revealing the folklore values of the region and the possibilities of utilizing traditional culture.

Since the 1960s, a common, long-term plan of the experts working in the museums of Szolnok county has been to write the ethnographical monography of the county. In the first phase of the implementation of this programme designed for several decades, the volume "Szolnok megye népművészete" (The Folk Art of Szolnok County) was completed in its final form by 1985 and published by Európa Publishing House, with the assistance of the Council of Szolnok county (Budapest 1987). The work illustrated with ap-

proximately five hundred pictures and close to one hundred drawings introduces the specificities of the folk art of the county, being the first in a new representative series publishing the folk art of nineteen counties. The authors of the studies are all researchers active in the museums of the county (László Szabó, Tibor Bellon, Éva Gulyás, Julianna Örsi, János Tóth, Edit Bathó, Márta Zomborka, Márta Magyarai, Anikó Füvessy, Ibolya T. Bereczki) who processed, photographed and analysed the objects representing folk art value of museum storehouses, exhibitions, school collections as well as the material of private collections as a preliminary work of the studies. In collaboration they established the Folk Art Archives with more than ten thousand cards with photographs, together with some three thousand high quality photos of objects, situated in the János Damjanich Museum of Szolnok. (The photos were made by Károly Kozma.) This material collected serves as a basis for further folk art research and the examination of smaller topics since the "Szolnok megye népművészete" is necessarily of a summarizing character in the first place and is able to discuss partial questions to a lesser extent only. Following the chapter flashing up the historical relationships characteristic of the county (its authors are István Szabó and János Botka), the first part of the work, edited by László Szabó and Tibor Bellon, investigates the whole of the living environment. Within that, it introduces the settlement, construction, houses and their objects, folk costumes and sacral objects. It is here that the objects which are a part of the living environment but were not made in the county are analysed. The second part of the volume discusses the locally made pieces, representing valuable folk art, and wherever possible, examining separately the objects made by everyone and those created by specialists. The head of the line is occupied by children's toys; they are followed by rushwork objects, wooden, leather and horn objects, woven articles and embroideries. The authors introduce in separate chapters the objects made by experts and artisans, works of art of carpentry, metallurgy, furriery and pottery, which are, at the same time, branches of the folk art of Szolnok county, known and recognized at a national level as well.

An important feature of the volume is that it offers new information about the county in all areas of folk art. Its textual and pictorial material is primarily built upon the collections of the local museums, publishing them in this way. It is this rich material revealed which makes it possible to demonstrate the regional differences within Szolnok county itself, in the field of folk art, which characterize Jazygia, Great Cumania, the vicinity of Tiszafüred or Tiszazug.

By way of a summary it may be pointed out that the ethnographical research carried out in the museums of Szolnok county has gained national fame and recognition in the past few decades. It is not a chance occurrence that in this writing greater emphasis was given to the evaluation of the work performed in collaboration since thereby museum research could concern the whole of culture, making use of the experiences of the other fields of museology, relying on their results. This collective work was almost a vital question of existence for the ethnographer museologists, the participants in this research programme. The research results were refined, moulded into a unified whole in the course of the work performed together, by adopting uniform views. In the course of these investigations the regions, small ethnographic units of Szolnok county represented the Great Hungarian Plain itself, at the same time their extensive relationships with the other parts of the Great Hungarian Plain offered an opportunity for the ethnographers of the county to get to know the whole of the Great Hungarian Plain by collaborating with researchers of other counties.

IBOLYA T. BERECKZI
János Damjanich Múzeum
Szolnok

Notes

¹"The Palóc" are a Hungarian ethnic group in the mountainous region of Northern Hungary (Nógrád, Heves, Borsod counties).

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MERKMALE DES KARPATENBAUERNHAUSES AUF DEM GEBIET WESTMÄHRENS UND BÖHMENS

Der grundlegende Unterschied zwischen dem Bauernhaus der tschechoslowakischen Karpaten und den anderen Gebieten der tschechischen Länder kommt einmal in den äusseren Merkmalen, und zum anderen in der Entwicklungsstufe des Interieurs und der Heizvorrichtung zum Ausdruck: während in den tschechischen Ländern mit Ausnahme Ost- und Nordostmährens sich schrittweise unter dem Einfluss der allgemeinen Zivilisationsströmungen die Rauchstube vom 16. Jahrhundert an in die Stube verwandelte, die vom hinteren Teil des Hausflurs oder von der Küche aus beheizt wurde, blieb das Karpatenbauernhaus in Mähren und in der Slowakei mit Ausnahme des Hauses der Liptovsker, Turčiansker und Spišsker Slowaken diesen Umwandlungen gegenüber taub. Es wurde also bis in die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und in einigen Fällen auch länger durch die Rauchstube, eventuell Halbrauchstube charakterisiert, die hier auf einem verhältnismässig grossem Gebiet erhalten blieb (PLESSINGEROVÁ 1963; PRAŽÁK 1966; VAREKA 1971). Die Existenz der Rauchstube brachte eine ganze Reihe archaischer Elemente mit sich, die sich nicht nur in ihrer Konstruktion, der Gestaltung der Wände und Decke widerspiegelten (grössere Zahl von Blockbalken, Wandöffnungen für den Rauchabzug, von Unterdeckenbalken u. a., VAREKA 1967), sondern auch in der ganzen Einrichtung der Stube und der Lebensweise darin (PLESSINGEROVÁ 1963a). Die Rauchstube erschwerte auch gleichzeitig oder verhinderte sogar das vertikale Wachstum des Blockhauses. In der Slowakei entwickelte sich das Haus mit Ausnahme der zweigeschössigen Gebäude hauptsächlich in der Gegend von Kremnica (PRAŽÁK 1941; PRAŽÁK 1959; STRÁNSKÁ 1966; VAREKA 1974) in die Höhe in begrenztem Umfang, langsam und fast versteckt, und zwar nicht an der Stirnseite, sondern überwiegend nur in der hinteren Hälfte des Haustraktes über der Kammer (STRÁNSKÁ 1966; PLESSINGEROVÁ 1963a). Demgegenüber formierte sich in Nord- und Nordwestböhmen nach dem Weichen der Rauchstube vom 16. und 17. Jahrhundert an schrittweise ein ausgedehntes Gebiet des einstöckigen Blockhauses (gegebenfalls des Fachwerkhauses), (VAREKA-

SCHEYBAL 1976). Auch wenn die Ursachen seiner Verbreitung in kulturell-sozialen, ökonomischen und wahrscheinlich auch ethnischen Bedingungen wurzelten, war die Hauptvoraussetzung zur Entstehung des eingeschössigen Hauses der Untergang der alten Rauchstube. Die Stube, die die schwarze Stube ablöste, beeinflusste die Entwicklung des Hausgrundrisses in horizontaler und vertikaler Richtung; der dreiteilige Grund des Hauses (Stube, Hausflur, Kammer oder Speicher) hat sich aber nicht wesentlich verändert, und in dieser Richtung blieb es übereinstimmend mit dem Bauernhaus des Karpatenraums. Die fast allgemein verbreitete Ansicht, dass das zweiteilige Haus von Stube und Hausflur sich in den rezenten Unterlagen nur in den Karpatengebieten Mährens und der Slowakei bewahrt hat, entspricht nicht der Tatsache (PLESSINGEROVÁ—VAREKA 1973: 183-189; PLESSINGEROVÁ 1963a: 200). Es ist nämlich kein Spezifikum der Karpaten, denn es war auf dem gesamten Gebiet der Tschechoslowakei vertreten.¹ Vereinzelt erhalten gebliebene Lokalitäten des zweiteiligen Hauses zeigen, dass dieses Haus eher Beleg von Pauperität als Beispiel einer bestimmten Entwicklungsstufe ist. Diese Feststellung gilt nicht nur für die tschechischen Länder, sondern zum grossen Teil auch für die Slowakei, wo zweiteilige Häuser häufig neu erst im 19. Jahrhundert entstanden, beim Zerfall des Grossfamiliensystems, verbunden mit der komplizierten Teilung der dreiteiligen Behausung zwischen der Erben (oft wurde z. B. die Kammer abgetrennt zur Erlangung von Material zum Bau eines neuen Hauses für eine kleinere Familie, die aus der Familiengemeinschaft austrat), (VAREKA 1967).

Der äussere Anblick des volkstümlichen Blockhauses in den tschechoslowakischen Karpaten wird durch zwei auffällige architektonische Elemente charakterisiert: das Schopfdächlein und Simsdach. Sie befinden sich beide in der Giebelfront und von ihnen hat das Vordach an der Spitze des Giebels eine vorrangige Lage.

Überall dort, wo sich beim Blockhaus (vereinzelt auch beim gemauerten) in den Karpaten ein Satteldach mit Holzgiebel herausgebildet hatte, pflegt in seiner Spitze ein kegelförmiges Vordach zu sein und bei der Unterseite des Giebels ein Simsdach in zwei oder mehr Schindelreihen. Auch das Simsdach stellt ein markantes architektonisches Element dar, das bei der vorderen und hinteren Giebelwand errichtet wurde und nicht nur bei den Wohnhäusern, sondern auch bei den Wirtschafts- und technischen Gebäuden, bei Kirchenbauten u. a. verbreitet war, und zwar in der Stadt und auf dem Lande; in einigen Gebieten der Slowakei war es üblich, zwei und mehr Simsdächer übereinander zu bauen. Ein Haus mit Simsdach pflegt den Giebel in



Abb. 1. Blockhäuser mit typischen Simsdächern und Schopfdächlein (19. Jh.).
Vlkolíneč, Kreis Liptovský Mikuláš. Foto J. Váreka, 1979

der Ebene der Hauswand oder nur mässig abgerückt zu haben. Ladislav Štěpánek, der sich am gründlichsten mit Schopfdächlein und Simsdach befasste (ŠTĚPÁNEK 1966; ŠTĚPÁNEK 1968), ist der Ansicht, dass das Simsdach als Überbleibsel des ursprünglichen Walmdaches an den Giebel gebunden war, der von oben nach unten ragte, das hinter die vordere schmalere Hauswand gesetzt wurde (ŠTĚPÁNEK 1968: 225). Die Dokumentation dieser Bauten bestätigt aber unumstösslich, dass sich auch Häuser mit einem Giebel in der Ebene der Hauswand durch Simsdach auszeichnen.

Im Unterschied zum Schopfdächlein ist das Simsdach nicht nur slowakisches Merkmal, eventuell auch eines bestimmten Gebiets des tschechischen Bauernhauses, sondern ist ebenso charakteristisch für polnische, ukrainische und einige ungarische und rumänische Bauten. Aus dem Osten, für dessen Bauweise sie kennzeichnend ist, gelangt das Simsdach nach Ost- und Nordmähren zur Böhmischemährischen Höhe und von dort noch weiter nach Westen, rund entlang des Oberlaufs des Flusses Sázava bis in die Nähe von Havlíčkov Brod, von wo ihre Isoglosse in nördlicher Richtung nach Pardubice reicht; hier wendet sie sich nach Nordost und kehrt in der Nähe von Hradec Králové in östlicher Richtung nach Mähren zurück. Westlich von dieser Isoglosse taucht dieses Simsdach nicht mehr auf und die Holz-, gegebenenfalls Fachwerkgiebel pflegen mehr oder weniger vor der Vorderseite der Hauswand aufgesetzt zu sein;² dieses Vorsetzen ist besonders in Westböhmen und im mittleren Elbestromgebiet markant, wo die hölzernen Stirngiebel stellenweise von Säulen getragen werden (Vorlaubenhaus). Das Simsdach ist also ein



Abb. 2. Getünchtes Haus mit Blockhauskammer in der Dachkonstruktion.
 Čičmany, Nr. 216, Kreis Žilina. Foto J. Váreka, 1981

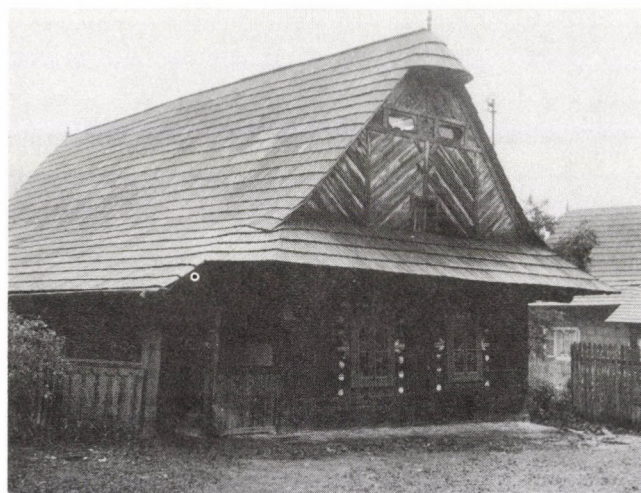


Abb. 3. Typisches Blockhaus aus Moravské Valašsko (Giebel verziert mit Polychromie,
 auf dem Grundbrett die Jahreszahl 1835). Nový Hrozenkov, Kreis Vsetín.
 Foto J. Váreka, 1980

typisches Karpatenhouselement, das weit in tschechische Gebiete vordrang, und zwar bis zur Elbe.

Das Schopfdächlein ist ein architektonisches Element, das den Holzgiebel schützt, und zwar überwiegend an der Stirnseite des Wohnhauses, eventuell auch anderer Bauten. Es hat auch eine Zierfunktion, formenmässig wiegt es die Fassade des Hauses aus und an seiner Spitze krönt gewöhnlich eine Verzierung. Auf dem Grundbrett-Schopfdächlein pflegen verschiedene Aufschriften zu sein, die ausser Gottessegens auch Daten über den Baumeister und den Bauherrn, die Jahreszahl des Baus beinhalten und manchmal finden wir auf ihnen auch eine schöne, einfache dekorative Malerei.

Eine Reihe von Forschern³ bezeichnet das Schopfdächlein als spezifisches Merkmal des slowakischen, eventuell tschechischen Hauses mit der Begründung, dass es in grösserer Masse woanders nicht auftaucht. Es deckt aber nicht restlos das Gebiet der Tschechoslowakei. Wir finden es zum Beispiel nicht in der Ostslowakei, wo seine Verbreitung die Existenz des alten Walmdachs verhinderte. Während auf dem Gebiet von Spiš^V bis zur Elbe für das Haus mit Satteldach und Holzgiebel ein kleines oder sogar sehr kleines Schopfdächlein in Form eines senkrechten geteilten Kegels kennzeichnend war, tauchten auf dem Gebiet Böhmens Schopfdächlein verschiedener Formen und Grössen auf. Noch Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts konnten wir dort — nach Fotos und Zeichnungen — kleine kegelförmige, pyramiden- und fächerförmige bis Schopfdächlein in Form einer mächtigen Pyramide (die bis nach Plzeň^V vordrangen) bis grosse, mächtige Schopfdächlein in Form eines Kegels mit ovalem Grundriss finden, die aus einem breiten Gebiet des mittleren Elbestromgebiets bekannt waren.⁴ Es scheint, dass gerade auf dem Gebiet Böhmens, also auf seinem westlichen Ausläufer im Gebiet des Blockhauses mit vorgesetztem Giebel, das Schopfdächlein die grösste Entwicklung und die grösste Formvariabilität erreichte. Dabei muss man sich dessen bewusst sein, dass man mit Schopfdächlein abgeschlossene Giebel nicht überall in Böhmen antrifft, sondern nur in seinem östlichen, nordöstlichen, und mittleren und teilweise auch im südwestlichen Teil, den von dem übrigen Gebiet ohne Vordach eine fiktive Linie trennt, die die Städte Jilemnice, Slaný, Plzeň, Týn nad Vltavou und Horní Cerekev (südlich von Pelhřimov) verbindet; jenseits dieser Grenze pflegen Giebel ohne Schopfdächlein zu sein.

Die Grenze der Verbreitung des Schopfdächleins in Böhmen war in der Vergangenheit wahrscheinlich verhältnismässig scharf, ebenso wie in der nördlichen Hälfte der Böhmischo-mährischen Höhe bis heute markant das Vor-



Abb. 4. Getünchtes Bauernblockhaus mit Simsdach und Schopfdächlein in Ostböhmen aus dem 18. Jahrhundert. Veselý Kopec Nr. 4, Kreis Chrudim. Foto J. Váreka, 1975



Abb. 5. Getünchtes Blockhaus mit Simsdach vom Karpatentyp in Ostböhmen von der Wende des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Kamenický Nr. 35, Kreis Chrudim. Foto J. Váreka, 1972



Abb. 6. Giebelstirnseite der Blockhütte mit Simsdach und Schopfdächlein
in Ostböhmen von der Wende des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts.
Slavětín Nr. 10, Kreis Havlickův Brod. Foto V. Kubásta, 1942



Abb. 7. Die am weitesten nach Westen reichende Blockhütte mit Simsdach
von Karpatentyp und mit Schopfdächlein. Kočí Nr. 67, Kreis Chrudim.
Foto J. Váreka, 1976



Abb. 8. Detail eines grossen Schopfdächleins mit Glöckchen aus Mittelböhmen (18.-19. Jh.). Palivo, Kreis Prábram. Foto J. Vareka, 1982

kommen des Hauses mit Simsdach abgrenzt. Darüber hinaus ist für die Grenze dieser Häuserelemente auch die geringe Dynamik dieser Grenze kennzeichnend: das Vordach drang hier niemals über die angeführte Linie weiter nach Westen vor, so dass grosse Gebiete Nordwest-, West- und Südwestböhmens mit den anliegenden Gebieten im Süden und Norden des Landes meistens ohne Schopfdächlein sind.

Es ist interessant, dass in Böhmen — mit Ausnahme des nordöstlichen Gebiets — das Schopfdächlein nicht in die Grenzgebiete vordrang, die bis 1945 von deutscher Bevölkerung bewohnt waren. Es kommt aber, wenn auch sehr selten, im tschechisch-deutschen Grenzgebiet, dem Chodenland, vor. Wie alte Photographien zeigen, neben Dächern mit mächtigem Halbwalmdach gab es dort auch Häuser mit pyramiden- oder fächerförmigem Schopfdächlein.⁵ Oft sind wir aber im Zweifel, ob es sich noch um ein Schopfdächlein oder um ein kleines Walmdach handelt, das die Spitze des Satteldaches abschneidet. Zur Verschmelzung des Schopfdächleins und des kleinen Walmdachs kommt es auch in Nordböhmen und im Karpatengebiet, und zwar seit der Zeit, wo der arbeitsaufwendige und an den Zimmermann anspruchsvolle Bau der Schopfdächlein durch eine technisch einfachere Lösung ersetzt wurde.

Zur Festlegung der Grenze des Vorkommens und zur Erkenntnis der Entwicklung des Schopfdächleins und Simsdaches trug auch der ikonographische Beleg des Blockhauses bei, den wir vor einiger Zeit im ersten Stock des Südflügels der gotischen Burg in der sog. Zelená světnice (Grüne Stube) in Žirovnice, einem Städtchen entdeckten, das im Südteil der Böh-

misch-Mährischen Höhe (Kreis Pelhřimov) liegt. Die umfangreiche und gut erhaltene farbige Freske aus dem Jahre 1490 stellt einen Spitzenbeleg der tschechischen Wandmalerei von der Wende der Spätgotik und Renaissance dar. Sie veranschaulicht die Burg in Žirovnice und ihre nächste Umgebung. In der rechten Ecke des Gemäldes ist eine Blockhütte, links unten in der Krümmung eines Baches über den eine Holzbrücke führt, steht ein ländlicher Blockbau. Es ist wahrscheinlich eine Mühle (der Teich auf dieser Seite unterhalb der Burg hat bis heute den Namen Mlýnský-Mühlteich). Sie hat ein Satteldach ohne Schornstein. Die Art der Bedachung ist nicht zu erkennen, aber aus der gelben Färbung kann man schliessen, dass das Dach mit Stroh bedeckt war. Der Giebel ist einfach, ohne Schopfdächlein und Simsdach. Obwohl die Art und Weise der Darstellung des volkstümlichen Blockhauses auf der Freske der Burg in Žirovnice — wenn auch weniger als auf anderen spätmittelalterlichen Belegen — recht schematisch ist, zeigt sie doch klar einige grundlegende Konstruktions- und architektonische Elemente, die wichtig sind für die Erkenntnis der Entwicklung der Blockwohnhäuser.⁶ Auf diesem einmaligen und bisher unbekanntem Beleg vom Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts ist schon deutlich der dreieckige gotische Giebel erkennbar, dessen Entstehung bei den ländlichen Bauten einige Forscher in einer weit späteren Zeit vermuteten (z. B. STĚPÁNEK 1968: 225; cf. auch PRAŽÁK 1949-50). Die Freske ist also ein unumstösslicher Beweis, dass Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts am ländlichen Blockhaus ein Giebel existierte. In dieser Landschaft und in dieser Zeit hatte es weder Schopfdächlein noch Simsdach. Das Schopfdächlein wurde dort offensichtlich auch später nicht heimisch. Die Grenze des Vorkommens des Simsdachs verläuft rund fünfzig Kilometer nordöstlich von Žirovnice und noch heute kann man sie in bestimmten Masse an rezenten Unterlagen verfolgen.

Das Simsdach ist auch nicht bei den ländlichen Bauten in dem Gradual von Český Brod aus den Jahren 1552-1570 eingezeichnet.⁷ Daraus schliessen wir, dass das Simsdach in Böhmen im 16. Jahrhundert (und nach den rezenten Unterlagen auch später nicht) die Elbe nicht überschritt. Aber beim ersten in das Gradual eingezeichneten Bau scheint ein kleines Schopfdächlein angedeutet zu sein, über dem eine verhältnismässig mächtige Spitzenverzierung in Form einer schlanken Pyramide hervorragt.⁸ Die Existenz des kleinen Schopfdächleins im mittleren Elbestromgebiet bestätigen bis heute vereinzelt erhalten gebliebene Blockhäuser vom Ende des 18. und Beginn des 19. Jahrhunderts.

Aus diesen beiden sehr alten Unterlagen, die uns zum Ende des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts führen, ist also ersichtlich, wie früh sie entstanden und durch welche lange Lebensdauer sich einige Konstruktionselemente des volkstümlichen Blockhauses auszeichnen.

Schluss

Die zwei markanten architektonischen Elemente des volkstümlichen Blockhauses — das Simsdach und das Schopfdächlein, die in den meisten Teilen der tschechoslowakischen Karpaten vorkommen, drangen im Westen über das Karpatengebiet hinaus vor. Während das Simsdach nur schwer und auf einem verhältnismässig kleinem Gebiet von Pardubice die Elbe erreichte, bedeckte das Blockhaus mit Schopfdächlein das ganze Gebiet Ost-, Nordost- und Mittelböhmens und reichte bis nach West- und Südwestböhmen. Zum Unterschied zum Simsdach, das in Mähren und in Ostböhmen nach den gleichen technischen Prinzipien wie in der Slowakei gebaut wurde, hat sich das Schopfdächlein in Böhmen selbständig in verschiedenen Formen und Grössen weiterentwickelt.⁹ Vom Karpatentyp haben sich am weitesten die pyramidenförmigen, fächerförmigen und die mächtigen Schopfdächlein ovalen Grundrisses entfernt.

Die Grenze des Vorkommens dieser architektonischen Elemente hat sich nicht in jüngerer Zeit herausgebildet, sondern ihre Grundlage ist älteren Datums, wie neu entdeckte oder von diesem Gesichtspunkt ausgewertete ikonographischen Unterlagen vom Ende des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts beweisen. Diese bezeugen klar die Existenz des dreieckigen Giebels ohne Schopfdächlein und Simsdach am volkstümlichen Blockhaus in der Umgebung von Žirovnice an der tschechisch-mährischen Grenze und die Existenz des Giebels mit Schopfdächlein ohne Simsdach in Mittelböhmen.

Eine bekannte kulturelle Wende zwischen dem tschechischen und Karpatenteil des Staates ist die approximative Verbindungslinie zwischen dem Mährischen Tor und Znojmo. Sie unterteilt in etwa auch die tschechische Volkskultur in zwei Gruppen: die erste, mehr durch westliche Elemente beeinflusste und die zweite — karpatische. Zu den Merkmalen, die diese zwei Zweige der Volkskultur von einander trennen, pflegt auch die Existenz des Simsdaches in den Giebeln des Bauernhauses des Karpatengebiets gezählt zu werden. Diese Grenze gilt — wie wir bei der Untersuchung des Simsdaches gezeigt haben — natürlich nur konturenmässig. Demgegenüber kann man mit den Schlüssen einverstanden sein, dass eine typische Eigenschaft des karpatischen und in bestimmten Masse auch des tschechischen Bauernhauses die

Errichtung des Schopfdächleins war. Es bedeckte einen grossen Teil des Gebiets der Tschechoslowakei.

Den Unterschied zwischen dem tschechischen und Karpatenbauernhaus formierte auch die Entstehung der Stube, d.h. der von der Rauchstube befreiten Wohnstube — in Böhmen schon vom 16. Jahrhundert an, während es in den Karpaten zur Aufhebung der Rauchstube mit Ausnahme von Liptov, Turec und Spiš^V viel später kam, überwiegend im 19. Jahrhundert, manchmal überlebte sie auch bis ins 20. Jahrhundert. In diesem Fall geht es aber nicht um ein grundsätzliches Trennungszeichen, sondern eher um Retardation in der Übernahme neuzeitlicher Einflüsse auf die Lebensweise des Menschen, weil die grundlegende Hausdisposition des dreiteiligen Hauses durch diese Umwandlung im wesentlichen unberührt blieb. Die Beseitigung der Rauchstube bedingte aber das Anwachsen des Wohnhauses in die Höhe, das z. B. in Nord- und Nordwestböhmen seit dem 17. Jahrhundert datiert, während zweistöckige Häuser in der Slowakei eher in der Weise der benachbarten deutschen Ethnik entstanden. Sofern sich auch die slowakischen Bauernhäuser in vertikaler Richtung entwickelten, dann blieb diese Entwicklung in der Regel nur auf den hinteren Haustrakt begrenzt (wie auch z. B. in Ostböhmen, Mittelmähren).

Die vorliegenden Ergebnisse der Vergleichsstudie des Karpaten- und tschechischen volkstümlichen Blockhauses tragen gleichzeitig zur ethnographischen Auswertung ausgewählter Häusererscheinungen bei. Zu ihrer richtigen Interpretation ist es erforderlich, diese Erscheinungen nicht nur innerhalb der Karpaten, sondern auch in grösserem Masse in westlicher Richtung in dem breiten Gebiet der Böhmisches Höhe zu untersuchen.

JOSEF VAŘEKA—ALENA PLESSINGEROVÁ

Institut für Ethnographie und Folkloristik der
Akademie der Wissenschaften der ČR,
Prag -- Nationalmuseum

Anmerkungen

^XDie Handschrift wurde im 1986 der Redaktion abgegeben.

¹In Böhmen repräsentierte das zweiteilige Haus die Disposition von Stube und Hausflur, der umgebaut und hinten als Rauchküche^V benutzt werden konnte. Eine Reihe zweiteiliger Häuser in Böhmen dokumentierte Ladislav Štěpánek (1977: 139).

²An das Simsdach erinnert entfernt die Gestaltung der Giebel in Südböhmen und woanders. Es handelt sich aber um ein mit einer oder zwei Reihen Dachziegeln bedecktes Kronsim, das bei gemauerten Gebäuden die vordere Fassadenwand schützt.

³Zum Beispiel Kornél Divald, Ladislav Štěpánek^{V,V} (vergleiche ŠTĚPÁNEK 1968: 223).

⁴ Die regionale Verbreitung der Schopfdächlein nach ihren Formen verzeichnete Ladislav Štěpánek (1968: 223, 228).

⁵ Vergleiche Vavroušek-Wirth 1925 (Gehöfte in Újezd im Chodenland auf dem Bild Nr. 125 und 131).

⁶ Das Objekt auf der Freske der Burg in Žirovnice besteht ungefähr aus acht bis neun gezimmerten Balken. Die Giebelstirnseite gliedern zwei längliche, symmetrisch verteilte Fenster und eine annähernd gleich grosse Öffnung, die in der Mitte des dreieckigen Giebels plaziert ist. Das Strohdach hat Sattelform.

⁷ Das Gradual von Český Brod wird in der Staatsbibliothek in Prag unter der Signatur MS XVII B fol. 323 b. aufbewahrt.

⁸ Der erste Bau hat einen dreieckigen Giebel mit viereckigem Ausschnitt in der unteren Hälfte, mit drei Säulen mit Bändern; der Autor hat auf diese Weise offensichtlich die Giebelvorlaube eingezeichnet. Die Giebelwand gliedern zwei kleine Fenster.

⁹ L. Štěpánek unterscheidet auf dem Gebiet Böhmens insgesamt fünf Grundtypen von Schopfdächlein kegel- und pyramidenförmiger Gestalt (ŠTĚPÁNEK 1968: 224, 228).

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SCHAMANENTRACHTEN IN SIBIRIEN

Formen und Funktionen, Alter und Herkunft*

1. In der 1980 herausgegebenen, bearbeiteten und erweiterten Auflage seiner Arbeit "Schamanen und Medizinmänner. Magie und Mystik früherer Kulturen" behandelt der Museumsforscher Andreas Lommel im Kapitel "Kunst und Schamanismus" auch "Schamanenkostüme und Masken" (LOMMEL 1980: 162-175). Das Kapitel stellt eigentlich eine Zusammenfassung früherer Forschung dar. Lommel betont drei Faktoren: 1) das Vorkommen einer "wirklichen" Schamanentracht einzig in Sibirien, 2) die Funktion der Tracht, die nach Lommels Ansicht in erster Linie psychologisch-künstlerischer Art ist und 3) die Symbolik der Tracht. Lommel betont den Charakter der Tracht als Tierverkleidung und weist darauf hin, dass "die älteste Darstellung eines Schamanen" — nämlich die Höhlenmalerei von Trois Frères — "einen Schamanen in Tierverkleidung zeigt" (LOMMEL 1980: 165). Weiterhin verweist er auf den Zusammenhang zwischen der Dekorierung der Tracht mit Tierfiguren und der schamanistischen Vorstellung von Hilfsgeistern in Tiergestalt. Diese weiter existierende oder wiederbelebte Skelettmagie vergleicht er mit Felsenmalereien und lappischen Trommeln der gleichen Art. Laut Lommel deutet die Skelettmagie auf die Auffassung der Jägervölker von der Wiederauferstehung des getöteten Tieres hin. Die figürlichen Gehänge an der Tracht bilden folglich Symbole für die Hilfsgeister in Tiergestalt, und deren Eigenschaften können im Zustand der Trance auf den Schamanen übergehen. Unter Hinweis auf eiserne Gehänge an den jakutischen, tungusischen, burjatischen und jenessei-ostjakischen Trachten stellt Lommel fest, dass die "alten, vollständigen Trachten" — seiner Meinung nach ähneln sich Schamanentrachten im allgemeinen — ein Tier darstellen und dass Haupttypen der Tierverkleidungen Vogel, Hirsch und Bär sind. Lommel stützt sich hier auf die Theorie von Uno Harva (HOLMBERG 1922, HARVA 1938), der wiederum auf Gedanken aufbaute, die schon 1925 von Nioradze und 1902 von Troščanskij^{VV} vorgebracht wurden. Ebenso stützt sich Lommel auf die Deutung der Funktion der Tracht durch A. Friedrich (1943-44). Laut eigenen Berichten sibirischer Schamanen sowie ausgehend von den ekstatischen Tänzen während der Seance, kann die Tracht gedeutet werden als ein Mittel, mit dessen Hilfe sich der Schamane in ein Tier verwandelt; ein atavistisches und somit altes Merkmal im Schamanismus. Die Wiedergeburt des Schamanen wiederum — den Berichten

* (Übersetzung Barthel Buchholz, Berlin.)

zufolge geschieht sie aus eigenem sowie aus dem Skelett und Fleisch der Stammesangehörigen — zeigt dessen menschliche Natur; auch dies kann von der Tracht veranschaulicht werden. Eine ähnliche, zusammenfassende Deutung gibt Eliade mit seiner Feststellung, dass die Tracht einerseits ein symbolisches System bildet, andererseits — als Werkzeug — verschiedene geistige Kräfte besitzt. Auch Eliade neigt dazu, die sibirischen Schamanentrachten in eine gewisse Entwicklungsreihe einzuordnen. Den vollständigsten und am besten erhaltenen Typ soll es danach unter den Altai-Stämmen geben, während die tungusischen Trachten Merkmale von den jakutischen und burjatischen Trachten erhalten haben sollen. Von den Kupferspiegeln an den Trachten der südlichen Tungusen nimmt man an, dass sie sino-mandschurischen Ursprungs seien (ELIADE 1970: 145-180).

2. Innerhalb der Religionsforschung sind die sibirischen Schamanentrachten vor allem als Dokument bei der Bestimmung des Wesens, des Alters und des Ursprungs des Schamanismus interessant geworden. Aus dem relativ heterogenen Material hat man einen Idealtyp einer Tracht geschaffen, obwohl es bei der rituellen schamanistischen Bekleidung in Sibirien grosse Unterschiede gibt und obwohl rituelle Trachten in Verbindung mit ekstatischer Religionsausübung auch in anderen Kulturen vorkommen. Ebenso berücksichtigt diese Betrachtungsweise nicht die lange und unterschiedliche Bevölkerungs- und Siedlungsgeschichte der sibirischen Völker. Auch sollte das Verhältnis der Tracht zu anderen Attributen — vor allem der Trommel — analysiert werden, ebenso die Frage, warum Trachten dieses Typs nur in Sibirien vorkommen, obwohl ähnliche Merkmale innerhalb des Schamanismus als Religionsform auch in anderen Gebieten — u.a. in Lappland — verbreitet sind. Ferner scheint die Deutung der zur Tracht gehörenden Figuren nicht so klar zu sein, wie man bisher annahm (vgl. IVANOV 1978).

Hans Findeisen, Vilmos Diószegi und Helmut Hoffmann haben die Schamanentrachten auch unter historischen Aspekten untersucht. Findeisen bringt Harvas Theorie mit ethnischen Fakten in Verbindung und ordnet daher die Trachten vom Typ Vogel den Gruppen mit Turksprachen zu (Altai, Jakuten) und die vom Typ gehörntes Reh sowie Rentier den Samojeden, Tungusen und Burjaten. Nach Findeisen ist die Vogelmaske die älteste Trachtform. Diese Aussage wird sowohl durch die Funktion der Tracht als Hilfsmittel während der Reise als auch durch die totemistischen Berichte über den Adler als Gebärerin des Schamanen unterstützt. Die prähistorischen Abbildungen zeugen jedoch von anderen Tierverkleidungen, und zwar von Fellen, Geweihen und Masken. Trotzdem können die Jägerkulturen in Sibirien

mit den prähistorischen Jägerkulturen in Verbindung gebracht werden und die Schamanentrachten können mit der Geschichte der Tierverkleidung verglichen werden, welche während des jüngeren Paläolithikums (Magdalenien ca. 8500 v. Chr.) begann (FINDEISEN 1957: 80-85).

In seiner Untersuchung des Schamanismus in der Mongolei betont Diószegi den unterschiedlichen ethnischen Ursprung der Stämme sowie deren sprachliche Differenzierung. Eine zentrale Frage ist laut Diószegi jedoch die, ob die Formen des Schamanismus als konservativ genug angesehen werden können, um ethnogenetische Probleme erhellen zu können. Die Burjaten, Tungusen und die Turkstämme leben ja über ganz Mittelasien und Sibirien verstreut. Ausser auf interethnische Akkulturationsprobleme weist Diószegi auch auf die interreligiöse Problematik hin, die das Verhältnis des ursprünglichen Schamanismus zum vordringenden Buddhismus betrifft. Auch Ulla Johansen und Eliade haben ähnliche Gesichtspunkte vorgebracht sowie mögliche kulturelle Einflüsse aus Tibet, China und der Mongolei angedeutet (DIÓSZEGI 1961; JOHANSEN 1954; ELIADE 1970).

In seiner Arbeit "Symbolik der tibetischen Religionen und des Schamanismus" schliesst sich Helmut Hoffmann Harvas Auffassung darüber an, dass die Schamanentracht in späterer Zeit degenerierte. Er nimmt an, dass die Tracht sowie die Masken in einem weiten arktischen Gebiet von Nord-sibirien bis nach Lappland vorkamen; dort hat sich die Trommel bis heute erhalten. Bei seiner Kritik der Diskussion Harvas und Findeisens über die Tiersymbolik widmet Hoffmann den Metallgehängen zentrale Aufmerksamkeit; er behauptet, dass diese relativ späte Requisiten seien, hinzugefügt "als die alte Bedeutung des Schamanengewandes nicht mehr vollkommen bekannt war" (HOFFMANN 1967: 131-140).

3. Die früheren Deutungen der Schamanentracht repräsentieren damit zwei verschiedene Betrachtungsweisen. Einerseits hat man die Funktion der Tracht als Inkarnation des Schutzgeistes -- des Tieres -- hervorgehoben (Troščanskij, Nioradze, Harva, Lommel), andererseits war man der Meinung, dass die Trommel der Vorgänger der Tracht war und man nahm an, dass die Tracht nach und nach ihre reich ausgearbeitete Form erhalten hat (STADLING 1912, nach PEKARSKIJ und VASILJEV 1910). Die eine Betrachtungsweise betont die Funktion der Tracht, die andere historisch-geographische Faktoren.

Des weiteren muss folgendes beachtet werden:

1) Bei Samojeden, Tschuktschen und gewissen anderen paläo-asiatischen Völkern (Nanaitsi) gibt es keine reich dekorierten, ausgesprochen rituellen Trachten in dem Sinne wie z. B. bei den eigentlichen Tungusen, den Altai-Völkern, den südlichen Tungusen und den Burjaten.

2) Die Festlegung dessen, was eine "eigentliche" Schamanentracht ist, wird auch durch die Tatsache erschwert, dass ein Schamane seine Tracht sein ganzes Leben lang vervollständigte. Während der Zeit, in der die Schamanentracht ausser Gebrauch kam, also im 20. Jahrhundert, haben die Museen auch sehr einfache und fragmentarische Schamanentrachten erworben.

Der überwiegende Teil der in Museen aufbewahrten Schamanentrachten aus Sibirien wurde zwischen ca. 1860 und 1920 gesammelt. Ich hatte Gelegenheit, in Museen in Europa und Sibirien ca. 130 erhaltene Trachten sowie Trachtteile (Kopfbedeckungen, Brustlätze, Handschuhe, Stiefel) zu besichtigen. Darüber hinaus sind ca. 50 Trachten wissenschaftlich publiziert worden. Ein Vergleich zwischen dem ältesten Bildmaterial (z. B. WITSEN 1672; GEORGI 1775; PALLAS 1771-76) und dem musealen Material zeigt, dass die Tracht von Ende des 18. bis Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts keine Veränderungen erfahren hat. Dagegen sind die Veränderungen im 20. Jahrhundert beträchtlich; sie bestehen hauptsächlich in einer Vereinfachung der Gestaltung. Weiter kann festgehalten werden:

1) Nicht alle Schamanen hatten speziell rituelle Trachten; bei einem Teil beschränkt sich das rituelle Merkmal auf die Kopfbedeckung. Dagegen ist die Trommel obligatorisch.

2) Die im ältesten musealen Material vorkommenden echten Tierteile (Krallen, Flügel, Pfoten) waren möglicherweise früher mehr verbreitet; darauf deuten auch die Bilder bei Witzen und Georgi hin, soweit sie zuverlässig sind.

4. Im folgenden sollen die Schamanentrachten in Sibirien nicht aus dem Gesichtspunkt der Religionsforschung untersucht werden, sondern aus dem Gesichtspunkt der Trachtengeschichte und der Trachtenethnologie. Bei Beachtung der oben referierten Forschung ist die zentrale Frage hier nicht die nach dem Beweiswert der Tracht bezüglich des Wesens, des Alters und des Ursprungs des Schamanismus, sondern die umgekehrte Frage, nämlich die nach dem Bedarf des Schamanismus, der rituellen Ekstasetechnik, an einer rituellen Tracht überhaupt.

Welche Schlüsse kann man aufgrund des Alters, der Form und der Verbreitung des erhaltenen Trachtenmaterials ziehen? In welchem Umfang kommen rituelle Trachten in Verbindung mit dem Schamanismus in Sibirien vor und kann man überhaupt von einem bestimmten Typ von Schamanentracht sprechen?

Welche Funktion hat die Tracht bei der Seance und auf welche Weise wird die Tracht durch die übrige Ausstattung ergänzt, d.h. in welchem Mass bildet die Tracht eine notwendige Ergänzung zu den übrigen Requisiten, insbesondere zum Gebrauch der Trommel?

Im Blickpunkt der Forschung steht also die Funktion der Tracht als Mittel der Transformation sowohl für den Schamanen als auch zwischen Schamanen und Zuschauern, eine Funktion, die die Trommel oder ein anderes Werkzeug nicht zu haben scheint. Gemeinsam für Trommel und Tracht ist jedoch, dass beide, wenn auch in verschiedener Form, das Weltbild des Schamanen, den Kosmos, veranschaulichen. Eine dekorierte Trommel und eine Tracht mit figursymbolischer Verzierung schliessen sich also zu einem gewissen Grad gegenseitig aus, sie bilden alternative Ekstasewerkzeuge. Aus visueller Perspektive dürfte die Trommel jedoch eine mehr direkte Beziehung zum Schamanen haben, während die Tracht sich ja visuell in hohem Masse an die Zuschauer wendet. Als persönliches Mittel zur Verwandlung dagegen ist die Tracht mehr zentral, während die Trommel wiederum die Funktion eines Beförderungsmittels für den Schamanen haben kann. Betreffend der Geräuscheffekte ist die Trommel dominierend, aber auch die mit Metallgehängen reich dekorierten Trachten haben die gleiche Funktion.

Wenn man die Tracht als ein Kodesystem ansieht, das die zweifache Funktion hat, sowohl die innere Existenz des Individuums/des Schamanen zu befördern als auch mit seiner Stellung gegenüber der sozialen Umwelt übereinzustimmen (vgl. ENNINGER 1983), wird die Frage nach der Notwendigkeit der Tracht noch zentraler. Im Blickpunkt steht dann die Rolle des Schamanen und des Schamanismus in der Gesellschaft überhaupt.

Vom trachtengeographischen Aspekt aus kann festgehalten werden, dass der überwiegende Teil des erhaltenen Trachtenmaterials aus dem südlichen Sibirien stammt, aus einer Zone, die vom Gebiet Altai/Bajkal bis zum Amur reicht. Auch das museale Material wird im wesentlichen von zwei Völkergruppen repräsentiert: 1) Tungusen (Krasnojarsk, Zabajkal, Irkutsk) und 2) verschiedene ethnische Gruppen im Gebiet des Altai, der Sajan-Berge und in der nördlichen Mongolei. Darauf folgt das Material von den samojedischen Stämmen, den Jakuten und den südlichen Tungusen. Die meisten Variationen bezüglich der Ausgestaltung und des Materials der Trachten findet man bei den zwei erstgenannten Gruppen. Ich habe das Trachtenmaterial in vier Gruppen eingeteilt, welche im wesentlichen der Einteilung von E. Prokofyeva aufgrund des Materials im Muzej Antropologii i Etnografii zu entsprechen scheint (PROKOFYEVA 1971, vgl. LÖNNQVIST 1976).

1. Zur ersten Gruppe können die Trachten der eigentlichen Tungusen gerechnet werden (Oberlauf des Jenissej, Angara);
2. zur zweiten Gruppe die Trachten der kleinen ethnischen Gruppen im Gebiet des Altai (Sojoten, Karagassen etc.);

3. zur dritten Gruppe die Trachten der südlichen Tungusen und der Burjaten, in der nördlichen Mongolei, in der nördlichen Mandschurei sowie die der Stämme am Unterlauf des Amur;

4. zur vierten Gruppe die Trachten der Samojuden zwischen Ob und Jenissej, der nördlichen Tungusen, der Dolganen, Jakuten, Jukagiren, Tschuktschen usw.

Eine derartige auf der Form und der geographischen Verbreitung der Trachten beruhende kartographische Aufnahme ergibt folgendes Bild:

1. Je weiter man sich vom Gebiet Altai/Bajkal/Amur entfernt in Richtung der Samojuden im Nordwesten und der Paläo-Asiaten im nordöstlichen Sibirien sowie am Unterlauf des Amur, umso weniger ausgeprägt ist die Verwendung einer speziellen rituellen Tracht in Verbindung mit dem Schamanismus.

2. Viele Details der Schamanentracht — wie hängende Bänder, Schellen, Stickereien aus Perlen oder Rentierhaaren, verzierte Stiefel, Handschuhe, Kopfbedeckungen — sind bei tungusischen, samojudischen, jakutischen Trachten sowie denen der Turkvölker allgemein verbreitet und haben keine ausschliesslich rituelle Funktion.

3. Als zentrale symbolische Elemente der Schamanentracht bleiben damit noch die metallischen oder aufgemalten oder aufgestickten Tierfiguren auf dem Kaftan oder der Kopfbedeckung übrig.

4. Eine ausgesprochen andersartige und in dieser Hinsicht "eigentliche" rituelle Tracht in Verbindung mit dem Schamanismus dürfte in erster Linie typisch sein für die Tungusen und die mit ihnen in Berührung stehenden Jakuten und Burjaten sowie für die Altai-Völker.

5. Eine ausschlaggebende Frage bei der Analyse der Ausgestaltung der Schamanentracht nach historischen, ökologischen und religiös-sozialen Gesichtspunkten betrifft das Verhältnis der Tracht zur Trommel als ein Werkzeug, das sowohl das Weltbild veranschaulicht als auch die verbale und musikalische Tradition während der Ekstase veranschaulicht. Diese Sichtweise vereinigt sowohl eine mehr zeitlose funktionalistische Perspektive als auch eine kulturhistorische Perspektive.

Es ist wichtig festzustellen, bei welchen Gruppen und in welchen Gebieten das Transformationsthema der Seance eine spezielle, rituelle Tracht entwickelt hat und die Bilderwelt der Trommel auf die der Tracht übergegangen ist. Könnte es möglicherweise so sein, dass ein primärer, nomadistischer Jagdritus und die Ahnenverehrung keine spezielle Tracht voraussetzten, sondern die Trommel als wichtigstes Ekstasewerkzeug und

Symbol des Weltbildes fungierte? Verschiedene Forscher haben ja auch die Funktion der Trommel als Reittier für die Reise des Schamanen betont (Kamel, Elch, Pferd) (vgl. POTAPOV 1978). Folglich müsste dann die eigentliche Schamanentracht in Sibirien mehr mit dramatischen religiösen Techniken zusammenhängen (öffentlicher Auftritt) sowie mit einer Situation, in der die Rolle des Schamanen Merkmale eines Berufs besitzt (vgl. WEINSTEIN 1963). Die Schamanentracht könnte dann als ein nördliches Parallelphänomen zu den rituellen Trachten der Glaubensformen Mittelasiens, z.B. des Lamaismus und der damit verschmolzenen Bon-Religion angesehen werden, sowie zu den bei den Cham-Zeremonien in der Inneren Mongolei verwandten Trachten. Trotzdem ist der rituelle Symbolwert der sibirischen Schamanentrachten ein anderer, obwohl ihre Funktion die ist, ihren Träger zu einem nicht-menschlichen Wesen zu transformieren. Die Trommel hat in diesem Zusammenhang nur eine begleitende Funktion; der Blick ist auf die Tracht gerichtet. Von diesem Gesichtspunkt aus gesehen könnte man daher bei den in Verbindung mit der schamanistischen Ekstase in Sibirien vorkommenden Requisiten zwei Traditionsschichten unterscheiden, einerseits ein archaisches Stadium, andererseits ein Stadium, in dem eine berufsmässige Ekstasetechnik eine ihr entsprechende Ausrüstung hervorgebracht hat. Die rituelle Tracht würde also nach dieser Betrachtungsweise das letztgenannte Stadium vertreten, d. h. sie würde ein Produkt einer religiösen Hochkultur darstellen und die Schamanentracht wäre demnach ein relativ spätes Phänomen bei den sibirischen Völkern. Gemäss einer solchen Betrachtungsweise hat sich eine speziell rituelle Tracht in Verbindung mit dem Schamanismus z.B. der Lappen niemals entwickelt. Vom obengenannten Gesichtspunkt aus gesehen erscheint dann auch ein Vergleich zwischen den sibirischen Schamanentrachten und den Tierverkleidungen in den prähistorischen Höhlen- und Felszeichnungen als ziemlich spekulativ.

BO LÖNNQUIST

Kommission für Humanistische Forschungen
an der Akademie Finnlands, Helsinki

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RECENSIONES

Magyar Néprajz V. Népköltészet (Hungarian Ethnography, V. Folk Poetry). Editor-in-chief: Lajos VARGYAS. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1988. 877 pp. 123 photographs

A new handbook of ethnography is being produced at the Ethnographic Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. This great undertaking is directed by Attila Paládi-Kovács. The book is scheduled to consist of eight volumes, out of which volume V was first published with the title "Népköltészet" (Folk Poetry) and with the participation of 18 research workers. This thick volume of studies provides a new summary of the research concerning the most important genres of Hungarian folk poetry. A synthesizing work of similar dimensions was last published more than fifty years ago with the title "A Magyarság Néprajza" (The Ethnography of the Hungarian People, I-IV, Budapest, 1933; 1938), consequently, the new book, besides satisfying a great social need, means a synthesis of the new trends and results of research.

The reviewed volume is primarily aimed at the presentation of the representative genres of folklore from a new aspect. Besides summarizing the material of folk tales, folk songs, folk ballads, legends and ritual poetry it also attempts to deal with folkloristic genres entirely missing from, or only touched upon in former synthesizing works. The reader is informed in detail about apocryphal prayers, curing and malefic spells, message verses, life stories, workers' folklore. Each chapter deals with the surveying of the history of the research on the particular genres, their definitions, inner dimensions, aesthetic features and function.

The first part of the handbook provides a colourful summary of the research on folk tales written by István Banó. He does not assume the traditional ethnographic methods, but takes the particular features of the Hungarian material as his basis instead. Thus, for instance, he does not follow the Aarne-Thompson system commonly used as the starting point for the classification of European genres, but considering which genre has become prevalent in Hungarian folklore, he started with the chapter on the detailed analysis of the particularities of fairy tales. A separate part is devoted to the representation of time and space and the characterization of people and society in tales. The revealing of the symbolic meaning of time and space, and the research of human and social qualities based on Propp's morphology of tales are quite new achievements in the Hungarian folkloristics. All this is organically completed by the study of Sándor Erdész on the relations of tales and popular beliefs.

A special concept of the world, mythic creatures, allegorical figures and metamorphosis are all important constituents of tales. About their regularities, existence apart from types, and relations with popular beliefs we are informed properly for the first time.

Three separate chapters are devoted to folk legends. Legends of origins are surveyed by Ilona Nagy principally based on the results of international research. The legends stemming from beliefs are systematized and summarized by Anna Bihari, completed with the commentary by Ilona Nagy. The basic information concerning historical legends is given by Dénes Lengyel. This latter, owing to its reduced length, does not give a comprehensive picture of the quite varied Hungarian tradition connected to a great variety of historic events and heroes, abounding in local elements. It is quite regrettable, since Hungarian society is keenly interested in this subject with special regard to national identity especially these days, seeking to be properly guided in this question.

Each short prosaic genre is dealt with in separate chapters. Concise summaries are written on anecdotes by István Sándor, on proverbs by Ágnes Szemerkényi, on puzzles and riddles by László Mándoki and on real stories and life stories by Imola Küllös. All the authors deal with terminological problems, the history of research, and explain aesthetic and functional phenomena.

A more comprehensive chapter is written on folk ballads, in which Lajos Vargyas summarizes his former publications in Hungarian and English. He speaks of the evolution of ballads as a literary genre, the historical levels of Hungarian ballads along with their French origin, attachment to the peasantry and stylistic features. The history of the research on folk ballads and the summary on legendary ballads are written by Ildikó Kríza. Broadside ballads on murders and message verses are dealt with by Lajos Takács as a part of the handbook.

The comprehensive study on lyric folk poetry is the work of Lajos Vargyas. He deals with the subject from a new aspect, based on the most characteristic feature of folk songs, their great variability. He attributes to this the grouping of folk songs according to subject-matter, as well as the relations of the genres to each other. As to formal characteristics he separates the external formal features (like the recurrence of lines, rhyme, burden) from the internal ones, such as symbolism, the opening with an image of natural scenery, the dialogical form, unreal and surrealist images. In spite of the other chapters the historical stratification of the genre and the occurrence of the medieval and modern texts are dealt with at the end of this chapter. The outline of the history of research was written by Imola Küllös.

The subject of Tekla Dömötör is the poetry of folk customs. She concentrates primarily on the occurrence of ritual songs, the songs in connection with the most important events in the calendar and in peoples' lives, along with ditties, rhymed sayings, greetings in verse and texts in prose in the Hungarian material. A comprehensive study on folk customs written by the same author is to be found in Volume VII of "Magyar Néprajz".

The poetry of childhood, with special regard to ditties, dramatic words of games and children's songs are dealt with Zsuzsanna Tátrai briefly, while the subject of children's games will be treated in detail in the next volume.

A short summary on the aesthetics, function, characteristics in words and tune of funeral-songs is written by László Sándor Károly. The last three chapters — on incantation and spells (by Éva Pócs), archaic folk prayers (Zsuzsanna Erdélyi) workers' folklore (Dezső Nagy) — provide the reader with a completely new material missing from the traditional handbooks of ethnography published so far partly or entirely. Thus in this respect the new handbook of Hungarian ethnology contains essentially new information.

The juxtaposition of the studies is partly the consequence of the scientific system, partly incidental. There are even essentially important subjects completely missing from the book. For example, no studies were written on the definition of folklore, the general problems of folkloristics, or the relation between literature and folklore. Today folklore can no longer be considered as a merely aesthetic phenomenon, and the social features of its existence constitute the part of generally required information. Thus this technical book written for the general reader is in part deficient. This is not compensated for either by the good selection of photographs, the technical register carefully prepared by Ágnes Szemerkenyi or the ample bibliography. However, in the literature of the Hungarian ethnography this recently published handbook is still an important milestone, offering a comprehensive picture of the most important fields of folklore to the Hungarian reader.

ILDIKÓ KRÍZA

LŐRINCZI, Réka. A magyar rokonsági elnevezések rendszerének változásai (Changes in the System of Hungarian Kinship Terms). Kriterion, Bucharest 1980. 259 pp.

The increasing research of social anthropology in the past decade — especially concerning the second half of the 19th as well as the 20th century — supplies us with more and more information for gaining a deeper knowledge of Hungarian rural society. The focus of the wide spectrum of this research was the kinship system and kinship terminology, which reflects more or less its functioning (see for example the publications of László Szabó). This means the positive recognition of the distinguished role of family relations in the life of the rural society before its industrialization, when capitalism was developing here slowly if at all. The synchronistic examinations have served to record the given situation on the one hand, and render possible the inference to earlier situations on the other, taking into consideration the phenomenon called "time-lag" generally known as playing a part in the change of kinship terms (terms change more slowly than family relations — there are terms referring to past relations but still living in the language, and conversely, there are relations not yet termed).

Nevertheless, these examinations gave a general picture only of the kinship and terminology system of the so-called "new Hungarian period" (if the periodization of linguistics may be applied to the kinship system at all) before the research, while the written material remained practically unexplored. More exactly, we had been informed only about the history of the particular terms from a linguistic point of view without getting a view of their interrelation. That is why the activity of Réka Lőrinczi supplies a great want — in part owing to the vast collection of data that she compiled aiming at completeness, and in part to the present work of her comprising the conclusions drawn from this.

The contents of the book can be only briefly reviewed. After the short Introduction the author classifies the terminology basically according to a linguistic aspect — in four chapters. These are the following: "The groups of terms implying essential changes in the reckoning of relatives"; "The groups of terms increasing only by synonymous terms"; "The groups of terms marking concepts differentiating in the course of time"; and finally "The groups of terms marking the relationships that were not differentiated terminologically before the old Hungarian period". The

method of representation is consistent: Réka Lőrinczi first describes the lexicological material of kinship terms, then she analyses the groups of terms one by one and demonstrates the semantic changes of terms. In these chapters Réka Lőrinczi fulfils her purpose expressed in the Introduction — within the compass of her material — by which instead of telling the history of the terms separately she wants to analyse the past and present of their relationships. Finally, in the closing chapter of the book she tries to give an outline of "the history of the development of the system of Hungarian kinship terminology" based on these "partial structures". This is based on the periodization of the book "A magyar nyelv története" (The History of Hungarian Language) (1967), and according to this she divides the kinship terminology system into three periods — the times before the old Hungarian period (up to 896), the old Hungarian period (896-1526), the middle Hungarian period (1526-1772) and the new Hungarian period (from 1772 to these days).

Being not conversant with the linguistic part of the study I am not competent to consider it; as for the ethnographic aspect I think, that the work of Réka Lőrinczi is quite a useful and important contribution to the study of the development of the Hungarian kinship system and terminology and along with it to a more comprehensive knowledge of Hungarian social history — and as such it is a reliable basis for further research. However, we must not think that the problems posed by the historical development have been already solved. To begin with, it is still uncertain whether the periodization of "The History of the Hungarian Language" is applicable to the history of Hungarian society and especially to that of kinship relations, of which terminology is an incomplete reflection. (It is not contradictory to the fact, that kinship relations are normally approached from the aspect of terminology in the methodology of research.) Besides, the book seems to have failed to acquaint us with the variants of the system of terms (or the structure of terminology). This cannot be replaced by enlisting the terms occurring in the different periods of language history, since it informs us just about the origins of the particular terms according to our linguistic research or about the data recorded by our written sources or collections. Another problem is, that the sources supply us only with the reference terms in most instances, neglecting the addressing terms, and thus the reconstruction of the two parallelly existing but different systems is not possible. Considering all these shortcomings as regards the sources, the essence of the method for defining the course of changeover from one system to the other would be, as we see it, based on terms that can be dated both from the point of view of language history and on the basis of written documents, in the most favourable case even geographically localised. Thus, through a series of tables representing the terms as parts of structures the purpose expressed in the title of the book could be realized. (All this is not meant to be a calling to account; it is only a proposition as regards a required step in the next phase of research.)

Finally just a few irrelevant remarks. I think that Réka Lőrinczi exaggerates the role played by the institutions of levirate and sororate in the formation of terminology. Although the interpretations referring to them date back to the 1910s, modern research generally repudiates this explanation essentially because their occurrence is so insignificant in the life of a society, that we cannot even speak of their modifying effect. We cannot agree to what she says in connection with the terms "husband" and "wife" either, I mean with what she says concerning promiscuity and the monogamous form of marriage following this. Modern ethnological research refuses the supposition of promiscuity and relates even the appearance of

homo sapiens to loose monogamy — polygyny. Let us make here another marginal reference to one of the statements in the last chapter — polygamy has never been prevalent, out of simple demographic reasons. As data from the 19th and 20th centuries in the societies that know the polygynic form of marriage as well the generally practised form still remains monogamy, and the universal force of this fact cannot be changed even by the gerontocratic polygyny of certain Australian tribes.

Our marginal critical remarks, though mutlipliable, do not concern the worth of Réka Lőrinczi's achievement. Her work (and material collected) is a firm basis for future research to build upon, either denying or confirming her analyses and conclusions.

TIBOR BODROGI

FÉL, Edit: *Le vinaigre et le fiel. La vie d'une paysanne hongroise*, par Margit Gari. Mémoires recueillis et présentés par —, avec la collaboration de Tamás Hofer. Librairie Plon — Corvina, Paris — Budapest 1983. 460 pp.

Edit Fél's book achieved instant success in France (its original Hungarian title was completely different) and sold out so quickly that a second edition was necessary. There is reason for printing the book in Hungary but in a foreign language. Most of the people about whom the book is concerned are still alive, including Margit Gari whose life's story it is, her relatives, friends and descendants who are mentioned by name. If published in Hungarian, the book could have caused offence and even outright antagonism amongst the people in the agro-town of Mezőkövesd and its surroundings (Borsod-county). It is true that famous men write biographies that mention individuals by name, but that is a very different matter from a circumscribed society where such publications could really lead to offence and complaint. All the same, we can only hope that sooner or later it will also appear in Hungarian, taking its due place of honour amongst modern peasant biographies.

Edit Fél, the outstanding cultural anthropologist, is well known at home and abroad, and we need mention only some of the main points in her life. Her doctorate was gained at Szeged, and she was one of the first to gain the qualification of senior university lecturer after the War in 1946, at Budapest. She worked for decades in the staff of the Ethnographical Museum in Budapest. At the centre of her research were questions relating to peasant society and to folk costume and decorative art. Her first works were of social anthropological character, e.g. "Harta néprajza" (The Ethnography of Harta, Budapest, 1935); "Kocs 1933-ban" (The Village Kocs in 1933, Budapest, 1941); "A nagycsalád és jogszokásai a Komárom megyei Martoson" (The Joint Family and its Customary Law in Martos in County Komárom, Budapest, 1944) (all in Hungarian).

From the 1950s, her comprehensive series of books on Hungarian folk art began to be published, partly in collaboration with Tamás Hofer and Klára K. Csilléry. The main work is probably the three volumes on the village Átány written together with Tamás Hofer (Proper Peasants. Chicago 1969; Bäuerliche Denkweise in Wirtschaft und Haushalt. Göttingen 1972; Geräte der Átányer Bauern. Köbenhavn—Budapest 1979). During the harsh days of 1944-48, she was also one of the editors of Ethnographia, the journal of the Hungarian Ethnological Society.

The present book seems to point to a new direction in her work. It is the first peasant biography published by her, and it can hardly be a

coincidence that it is set in Mezőkövesd, a town renowned for its folk art and costume. The late professor István Györfly also, alongside whom Edit Fél worked in her young days, was also much concerned with the development of costume in Mezőkövesd.

Mezőkövesd attracted national attention long ago for more reasons than one. First, there was in particular the decorative Matyó (name for residents of Mezőkövesd and the villages Tard and Szentistván) costume and embroidery, which had already in part become a domestic industry between the two World Wars; second, there was the extreme economic distress of the Matyó inhabitants at the same period. The books of Zoltán Szabó (later living in France) were already discussing these circumstances in the 1930s (*A tardi helyzet /The Situation in the Village of Tard, Budapest, 1936; "Cifra nyomorúság" /Windowdressing. Budapest, 1938/*). There were of course, parallels in other Hungarian villages where poor economic circumstances, poor soil and the throttling effects of big estates where poverty was disguised almost to the point of provocation by extremely showy costume and decorative art. There are striking examples amongst the Palóc villages (an ethnic group in Northern Hungary), but the leading case was the three Matyó settlements.

It should be added that these famous, or even infamous, Matyó costumes developed only during the 19th century, mostly after the end of the serfdom in 1848; the dress formerly worn by the Matyós differed little up till then from that of the surrounding villages.

Matyós differed from the inhabitants of these villages mostly in religion, being Catholic and not Calvinist, and to a certain degree the name Matyó implied mockery of their religion. The present biography testifies to the devotion to Catholicism. Questions of religion turn up on every page.

Of course, the incomparably colourful and rich Matyó costume was not created by the poorest people, but even they could not stand outside the locally-developed norms. The early Matyó embroidery was applied to both bed-clothes and underclothes. The earliest examples show it done in simple form with red and blue cotton on the ends of pillow-cases and sheets. Later wide decorated edgings were made on these, with rosettes. Still later, the style changed and the new freely-planned, extremely colourful Matyó embroidery came to appear almost as an exaggeration of folk art. Matyó roses were set along runners, and the materials and colours changed also. Changes in the embroidery of sheets were followed by changes in the embroidery of women's dress, of the sleeves of men's shirts, of aprons, etc. The costume of men and women was not only embroidered, but also decorated with gold lace and tassels. The long, bell-shaped skirt gave a characteristic form to the women's dress, and there went with it a short-sleeved upper part. The Mezőkövesd costume developed a characteristic form that was under continuous dynamic development; outstanding were the especially decorative wedding dresses of women and the dresses of the 'Girls of the Virgin Mary' religious association, but men's costume could be no less special.

This colourful, compact embroidery was attracting attention already at the turn of the century, and in 1911 the leading members of society suddenly appeared at the Opera Ball in Budapest wearing Mezőkövesd costumes. Between the Wars, the Mezőkövesd embroidery also appeared in town dwellings, mostly in the form of tablecloths. There is no need to go into detail about the history of this embroidery, about which there are several monographs, and the style of the Matyó embroidery is discussed in one of the appendices to Edit Fél's book.

What desire for show or what aesthetic pressure stimulated the Matyós to starve themselves in order to appear in extremely fine and decora-

tive dresses? For whom did they do it? What inner compulsion drove them to such showy display, far beyond their financial capacity, in spite of hunger and cold and nearby unbearable circumstances of life? They did not know how to back out of this custom, but neither did they want to. Misery, cheerless dwelling, a high infant mortality rate and starvation-wages were almost thought to be the course of nature, only in order to be able to appear before the rest of the village, empty in stomach, but with outstandingly decorated dress.

Religious fanaticism is not the answer to this question, because other Catholic villages answered the same challenge differently. Edit Fél does not ask this question in so many words, but let the answer come from Margit Gari's description of her own life style.

Margit Gari came from the poorest layer of inhabitants of Mezőkövesd: in her own words, "from the poor folk's corner". There, people had no piece of land, and could keep at most a few poultry. It made a great social difference if someone had even enough land to grow a little food for the animals. The poorest Mezőkövesd people could get some potatoes if the children gathered what others had left behind in the soil. The grain that fell from the stalks during harvest were used to feed their poultry. The folk who lived here, both men and women, carried out seasonal summer work on large estates, and in addition, the women made embroideries for the better off people in Mezőkövesd, and also to supply orders from towns. Mrs. Gari succeeded in getting out of this state of wretchedness only after the Second World War, when she herself began to trade in Matyó emroideries and used and new items of folk costume.

The book includes a declaration by Margit Gari that she willingly responded to nearly 10 years of questioning, by means of a tape recorder, by Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer. As a 9 year old girl, Margit Gari was already working as a nursemaid, so that there should a hungry mouth less be at home and in order to contribute to family income. Her life, though of course chance played a role in it, was not much different from that of the other girls in Mezőkövesd, being marked by unspeakable squalor, tuberculosis, a total lack of hygiene and comfort, and bad food. As a 11 year old girl, she went on seasonal summer work before the age legally permitted, when there was again much suffering from the hard work, poor board, lack of water, etc., but to be so employed was still to some extent better than the life at home. Groups of the same age could come together, and on free evenings and Sundays there could be dancing and meriment. Of course, Margit Gari also spoke of her admirers then, but in the end at the age of 21, which at that time in Mezőkövesd nearly counted as being a spinster, she married a "foreigner" from the different village of Szihalom. Further misery followed. Children came one after the other, her husband had mistresses, he frequented the inn, but they still stuck together. Where does the fault lie in bad marriages? In this case we can honestly say, in the social circumstances.

Edit Fél tries to give integrated shape to this curious life. The first chapter is concerned with Margit Gari's concept of the universe (and that of the Catholic Matyós). It is not surprising that foreign readers were almost shocked by the revelation of how several religious and superstitious elements came together to form this strange concept. At Edit Fél's request, Margit Gari also drew the way she viewed the universe, heaven and purgatory. These drawings are of particular interest because Hungarian villagers do not normally draw such pictures of the universe, or of mythical creatures. This normally only happens if an ethnologist asks for such drawings (e.g. when Sándor Bálint asked Sándor Tombácz, his favourite storyteller to try to draw his mental concept of the universe and of mythical creatures, or when a gypsy storyteller drew mythical

creatures for Béla Gunda, cf. *Fabula*, Vol. 6, 1963, 95-107). It is noteworthy that in spite of the richness, colour and degree of interest of the concept of the universe, the drawing is of such a primitive nature. The same women who were so good at embroidery and textiles became almost powerless when it came to a question of drawing and writing, of which they had no experience.

In the 18th century the previously Protestant Matyós became converted to Catholicism under Jesuit influence, but later they came under Franciscan influence. Margit Gari, like her mother, was a prayer leader and even a member of the lay order, or the Tertiaries, of the holy order of Franciscans. Mezökövesd came under the leadership of the Franciscans of Gyöngyös. In 1924, the priest in Mezökövesd ordered that the items of dress that had been obtained with such great effort, hard work and unbelievable financial sacrifice, and decorated with golden lace, should be heaped up in front of the church and burned. Though this caused great sorrow to the women, they still followed their mental leader without question.

Margit Gari's religious life is not only mirrored within the first chapter. The smallest and most trivial incidents of everyday life are also interwoven with references to religion and superstition, because, for Margit Gari, religious figures like Guardian Angels, or witches who collected dew or could turn into cats, were no less real than everyday matters or tasks. She greatly feared the devil, and punishment in the next world. At the same time, religion gave her much pleasure, and gave her social prestige as it had done to her mother. Pilgrimages brought a little variety into the monotony of everyday life, when they not only learned religious songs and achieved spiritual uplift, but also exchanged news, heard of remoter family members and acquaintances, and saw a bit of world.

The biography moves on from the concept of the universe and religion to the family tree, what Margit Gari drew as she imagined it, beginning with the grandparents. The Matyós were divided into so called 'hads' (clans). Members of the clans had equal status in law and were buried together in the cemetery. Nevertheless, the financial status of the individual could make invisible and unpassable boundaries between members of the same clan. Margit Gari speaks with great love of her mother and sisters, but had a much poorer opinion of the male members of the family. Although her father was a jack-of-all-trades, he still drank as heavily as her own husband in later years. Her brother, also, a leader of a group of migrant summer workers, did not in her view, treat the female members of the family, his sisters, well enough. But whatever the relationship between the family members, the appearance of good behaviour had to be maintained to the outside world.

In the third chapter, Margit Gari speaks of how hard it was to escape from the poor folk's corner. In principle, they could marry people who had land, but practically it was impossible. It is of much interest that these poor folk, living by summer migrant labour, and up to their necks in debt, still maintained an order of rank amongst themselves. Even the poorest had their beggars, to whom they gave presents on festival days, especially All Hallows' and All Souls' Days.

The poor folk's corner existed no less on income from the women's needlework. Between the two World Wars, they worked for starvation wages from dawn till dusk, so that they could survive the winter months. The case of the women was undoubtedly harder than that of the men, because they were also responsible for looking after small children and running the house.

In Margit Gari's story, small epic masterpieces are created from even the most trivial events. For example, the little girl, when growing

up, was so anaemic, that the doctor prescribed the eating of an egg every day. The family had a few hens only. The eggs were also sold, and salt, matches and paraffin for lighting bought from the proceeds. The eating of a few eggs could count as a real catastrophe for these poor people. This is a banal story, but quite characteristic of the Hungarian poor between the two World Wars.

Other small events could be given great significance, like a litre of milk given as a present, a secretly stolen single plum. Between the two World Wars, the rural poor characteristically had little white protein or vitamin; they fed mainly on carbohydrates and fat. In Mezőkövesd, as in other parts of the country, tuberculosis was rife. Still, as Mrs. Gari says, the young folk were cheerful, they danced, joked and above all, dressed up, because that was seen as obligatory. The deservedly world-famed Mezőkövesd costume reached its peak at this period, and also began to decline. Commercial interest discovered that Matyó embroidery was eagerly sought after, and bought both in Hungary and abroad.

Here the biography of Margit Gari really comes to an end. At the beginning of the war, she followed her husband to Germany on seasonal migrant work; she could not stop being amazed by the fact that every worker had his own bed there, since at home they slept on straw during such work, and not even individual straw mattresses were given to everybody. She had to return from Germany because she was expecting another child. In the years after the War, she herself became a trader, because she realized that needlework itself did not pay, but that through selling items of folk art, she could climb above the poverty line. That is how she first came to the Ethnographical Museum in Budapest, where Edit Fél recognized her outstanding narrative power, and her interesting and fantasy-filled style. That is how Margit Gari later entered the ranks of literary immortality.

The book more or less ends with the Second World War. The foreign reader certainly gets to know the almost inhuman circumstances of life of the poor in the Hungarian agro-towns of the period, and also Margit Gari, who, with a different place of upbringing and schooling, would have a different place in public life today. Margit Gari says she did not enjoy school, but she had a gift for embroidery, and for selling. It is of interest that she really says very little about the Matyó dress, but rather concerns herself with the financial burden for the family that the acquisition of an item of dress, a skirt, an apron or even a ribbon, meant. For festival occasions, people lent pieces to each other, to keep up the illusion to the outside world. She still felt it a great insult when her husband appeared at the wedding, not wearing the highly decorated Mezőkövesd clothes, but the plain black suit generally worn in his native village. But for the wedding photo her husband was indeed wearing Matyó clothes, which had been lent for the purpose because his wife insisted on it. In other words, costume was an important constituent of identity.

The success of the book abroad is justified in every way, and if we were not living in Hungary ourselves we would be sceptical about some of its statements. How could people live and rear children in such misery and dirt as in Mezőkövesd? We know that it was really so. We are happy that these days have gone. Now the Mezőkövesd folk do not wear a folk costume, but they still prepare the Matyó embroideries for sale. Here we can follow the development of peasant costume from its beginning to its adoption as an article of export, as shown in a recent exhibition in the Ethnographic Museum. At the same time, we get to know an excellent narrator, namely Margit Gari. When the time comes that the narrator is no longer alive, the book may yet be published in Hungarian as a living document of a past world.

The Appendices provide the evidence for the statements in the main part. In the first, Edit Fél describes how the book came into being, and the circumstances of publication. In the second, we find various documents: Mrs. Gari's agreement to the publication of the book, a sample of the Questionnaire responses, and photocopies of Margit Gari's not very skilful handwriting. In the third and very interesting Appendix, her husband, István Simon, gives his view of their married life. In the next, Edit Fél provides data for foreign readers about Mezőkövesd, the Matyó costume style, and their Catholic religious life.

The book provides foreign readers not only with details about the life of Hungarian villages and agro-towns in general, but also the special form demonstrated by the Matyós. But this biography is in many respects typical for much of Hungary because in other regions, also throttled by large estates, life ran a similar course, even if the antidote was not everywhere seen as lying in showy costume and embroidery. In the Protestant region of the Ormánság, for example, circumstances prompted families to have no more than one child.

The husband's viewpoint is especially interesting, as given in the book. Mrs. Gari did not draw a specially good picture about him, but stayed faithful to him all the time and they still live together. Her husband does not apologise at all, but explains his way of life. It is that men of Mezőkövesd living on seasonal migrant summer work had nothing to do in winter. Having no fields to look after, he drank on the boring winter evenings, because he simply could not stand it in the poorly heated, badly lit small house, where the women were sewing and children crying. He himself was not of Mezőkövesd origin and so the friends of his youth were not around. He felt less inhibited and more like a human being in the inn.

To understand this extraordinary degree of poverty, it is necessary to know the history of Hungary. The country was much reduced in size after the First World War. The proportion of big estates and several other circumstances led to the complete impoverishment of the members of some social strata who survived only on seasonal work.

'Vinegar and bite' is the French title of the book; but in the reminiscences in the book there is also sugar and honey. There was not only hard work. The young folk of Mezőkövesd also sang, danced, had gay times and found themselves in love. In their married lives and at festivals there were also good moments. This world has now completely gone, and the fine Mezőkövesd Matyó costume is found mainly in museum collections, or on the stage, when cultural entertainers perform the Matyó wedding dance.

The illustrations in the book highlight well the oppositions in it: on the one side there are the tall, nicely-dressed 'Girls of the Virgin Mary', and the pictures of the finely dressed, good-looking mourners, evidently out of the higher social strata, and on the other there is the picture of the pitiful group of impoverished Mezőkövesd girls and women who are bound by the toils of agricultural work. The Mezőkövesd of today would show a completely different picture, but this lies outside the scope of the book.

The photographs were taken partly by Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer, and partly come from the Archive of the Ethnographic Museum in Budapest. The drawings were made by Magda Schöberl.

In summary we can say that there are several different ways of describing the life of a layer of society. Edit Fél herself added no commentary to Margit Gari's words in the main text, and in the Appendices she preferred to explain for the foreign reader specific circumstances, e.g. what an agro-town was, and how seasonal work was legally organised

between the two World Wars in Hungary. Margit Gari speaks primarily of her small joys and sorrows, e.g., a new ribbon she got, the distress of a little girl who had to become a nursemaid instead of staying with her mother, the old beggar who in secret shared the alms he got with those who were poorer than himself. Margit Gari does not cite statistics. She was unschooled. But she had full personal experience of the unjustness of the society in which she lived.

It is noteworthy that women appear very much in recently published peasant memoirs, showing the great social change that has taken place in Hungary. It may not be by chance that the editor of the present study is also a woman.

We get a precise description of a society, seen through women's eyes.

TEKLA DÖMÖTÖR

VIKÁR, László and Gábor BERECKZI: *Votyak Folksongs*. Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1989. 521 pp.

The ethnomusicologist—philologist coauthors dedicated their book to the memory of Zoltán Kodály, since it was him who had suggested that they set off together on a trip to the region of the rivers Volga and Kama in 1958, with the purpose of collecting the musical traditions of Finno-Ugrians, related to Hungarians, and the Turkish-speaking peoples also living there. László Vikár and Gábor Bereczki were doing fieldwork of 4 to 6 weeks ten times between 1958 and 1979 (as long as it was permitted by the Soviet authorities) in the territory of the Mari (Cheremis), Chuwash, Tartar and Bashkir ASSRs in the Soviet Union. As a result of their collecting work the authors published two similar analytical works before this book — in 1971 a collection containing 320 Cheremis, and in 1979 another one containing 350 Chuwash folk songs, together with their texts. Thus "Votyak Folksongs" is a new, already third, synthesis of a systematic comparative ethnomusicological work, indispensable from the aspect of Hungarian folk music research, to be followed by a fourth volume representing the Tartar tunes.

As it is also stressed in the Introduction, the 330 songs published in the book do not represent the whole corpus of Votyak songs, only those of the so-called South-Votyaks living in the Bashkir and Tartar ASSRs, as the researchers could not do their work — owing to administrative difficulties — in the Udmurt ASSR, where the majority of the Votyaks live. But where one door shuts, another opens — the 54 Votyak villages where the fieldwork was carried out proved to be more traditionalist than those of the home-country, as a consequence of being enclosed by other ethnic groups like an island. Thus, besides adapting tunes of the folk music of the neighbouring peoples, the inhabitants of these villages have preserved the extremely archaic musical traditions of their own. László Vikár and Gábor Bereczki collected 686 tunes on four occasions between 1966 and 1975 among the South-Votyaks, almost twice as many as by all the researchers before. Besides, their representative selection has also supplied a great want, as since the works of R. Lach, an Austrian ethnomusicologist (1918; 1926) South-Votyak folk tunes have not been published at all.

The study of the musical traditions of the peoples living in the Volga—Kama region corroborated the idea expressed by Béla Bartók as well — that ethnomusicologists should primarily do regional studies, since tunes have no political (administrative) or linguistic boundaries. The present material makes it evident that Votyaks are the only people of the

Finno-Ugric language family whose music shows the effect of both Turkish and Slavic elements. The researchers also had to correct some of their earlier findings. For instance, a few tunes defined as East-Cheremis in 1971, were also found in the neighbouring Votyak and the nearby Bashkir communities. Thus musical traditions once again proved to belong to and characterize particular regions rather than particular languages.

The discovery that South-Votyak folk songs are typically tritonic was a great surprise to the researchers. Similar "trichord" tunes built on the repetition of the three notes do-re-mi were formerly found only in the Mordvinian wedding- and funeral-songs, and in the customary songs of the Baltic countries. Probably this exceedingly simple tune is a typical Finno-Ugric feature, since it has no traces in the folk music of the neighbouring Slavs and Turks. From the selection of songs collected in this volume 48 percent is of the trichord type, which is most common among the South-Western Votyaks living in the North of the Tartar territory, while the folk music of the South-Eastern Votyaks of Bashkiria (exclusively pentatonic tunes in major key and a typical ornamentation) shows a considerable effect of Turkish music. The latter types of Votyak songs (42 percent of the collection) are exactly the same as those of the Tartars living in North-West Bashkiria. Such a penetrating Turkish effect was found only in the Cheremis folk music before. Based on the work of other researchers László Vikár came to the conclusion, that the folk music of the Votyaks living in the Udmurt ASSR (i.e. to the north of the region under survey) — as a result of the 19th century locations of industry — shows the intensive influence of Slavic music.

Besides the ethnomusicological information taken in the narrow sense, as a consequence of the comprehensive professional knowledge of the authors, the reader is acquainted with the results of linguistics, poetics, ethnography, folkloristics, even of cultural anthropology. Gábor Bereczki gives a thorough, quite informative summary comprising the history of the Votyak people, the peculiarities of their language, their folksongs associated with the customary events of the calendar year and the stylistic and prosodic features of Votyak songs.

László Vikár summarizes the history of the collecting work among the Votyak people — naturally including the special problems of his joint fieldwork with Gábor Bereczki and of the publication of this book as well — gives an account of the musical features of the South-Votyak folk songs and acquaints us with the systematization of tunes in the collection. The greater part of the book is constituted by the notes and original words of 330 South-Votyak songs. As a part of the Index we can read the fine and exact translations of the texts — a Hungarian translation by Gábor Bereczki and an English one by Imre Gombos. The varied and quite useful material of the index makes the book easier to survey. (Distribution of Votyak folksongs published in this volume; Classification of melodic forms; Classification of tunes by tone-sets; Index of cadences; Classification of tunes by syllable count of first stanza; Compass of tunes; Divisions of compass; Distributions of informants by age and sex; List of songs grouped according to customs and social events; List of songs grouped by locality; List of songs in alphabetical order of first word of Votyak text.) To the deepest sorrow of Hungarian researchers the Soviet publications of folk music do not contain such indexes, and as they have no opportunity for doing fieldwork since 1979, comparative studies are rather slow.

The collection of Votyak songs is completed by an informative special bibliography and 75 photographs of the informants taken by László Vikár.

IMOLA KÜLLŐS

БРОМЛЕЙ, Юлиан В: Очерки теории этноса. Moscow 1983, 410 pp.

Soviet ethnographical research has already involved the analysis of the ethnic processes in this multinational country earlier. At the same time the study of ethnic community as one of the fundamental concepts of ethnography has gradually come into prominence. From among the works published so far the most remarkable one is the monograph written by the late director of the Ethnographic Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences in Moscow, which is the most complete modern summary of the problematique of ethnic groups. According to Bromley ethnic groups constitute a dynamic system, they represent a specific form of historically developed communities. Ethnic groups have specific, relatively permanent common cultural features, and as a consequence, common psychological features as well; their members are aware of their unity and their difference from the other similar communities. In addition, they have their own names and are of "endogamic" character. The stable cultural complex of an ethnic group comprises the language as well as the scale of values and the system of generally accepted behaviour. He discusses ethnic features as cultural peculiarities. Ethnic consciousness together with ethnonym is constituted by the common historical past, the concept of fictitious common origin, the evolution of "we vs. they" dichotomic group-consciousness, and the understanding of ethnic status and that of the unity of the community.

This is the most important criterion of ethnic group, since it is able to outlive even the geographical, economic and political unity of a community. The endogamy of an ethnic group is its stabilizer, a specific "defensive mechanism" that renders possible the communication of ethnocultural information besides the reproduction of population by means of the family. Marriages seem to dominate in ethnic groups with their 85 to 90 percent, as a consequence set a genetic boundary to them, thus turning them into populations. From the point of view of methodology Bromley's observation, that for the functioning of ethnic groups neither a common economy in the sense of political economy, nor a common language or territorial unity is essential, is quite new. He argues that there are peoples living torn apart, even dispersed. However, an ethnic group in a pure form has never existed — it is always present in a particular social form and environmental frame. Although the most important conditions for the evolution of ethnic groups or ethnogenesis are the social sphere and the natural environment, these may turn into factors of secondary importance later on. This ethnic and social processes overlap only in part, and, obviously, they are only related to each other indirectly, partly because ethnic groups are conscious linguistic-cultural units, having specific traditional and particular (ethnic) features. Consequently, they make up relatively independent structures changing much slower than social-economic characteristics. Thus ethnic groups can be preserved for even extremely long periods like two or more social-economic configurations still retaining their characteristics, stability and continuity. According to Y. V. Bromley one of the reasons of the controversy about the concept of ethnicity is the inconsistent usage of the term in a double meaning — in the literal sense as ethnic, and in a sociological sense (tribe — "people" — nation).

An ethnic group is not simply a total of certain characteristics but it constitutes a relatively closed cultural unit, it is in fact a conscious system. The people's consciousness is manifested in a common name, the awareness of their origin and endogamy. Besides the cultural features all the characteristics are based on conscious factors. In Bromley's opinion the psychic element is of fundamental importance in the perpetuation of culture. He thinks that the basis of the mechanism of perpetuation are the

stereotypes of the human psyche. In man adoption is rather conscious than intuitive, and the most important means in the transmission of experience is the language. However, psychic stereotypes are not the immanent parts of the human brain, but primarily those of the social-historical circumstances. Nevertheless, we can consider psychic factors only on the basis of external, cultural features.

The author divides ethnic processes into different types, such as consolidation, assimilation and integration, all characterized by an integrating tendency. An important form of the communication of the different ethnic groups or the interethnic relations is ethnic assimilation. It means that either individuals or groups, as a consequence of a foreign influence lasting for generations, gradually lose first their own cultural particularities, then their original ethnic identities and become the members of another ethnic group. Ethnic assimilation is finished only when the individual does not think of himself as separated from his ethnic environment, and vice versa. When the linguistic and ethnic identity overlap, the opposition to foreign cultural influence is much stronger than when this relation is missing. When the mother tongue and the ethnic identity are different it may result in ethnic indifference-ethnocentric disposition gets relatively diminished. The political macrostructure, the nation, built on a cultural-linguistic basis is characterized by the gradual disappearance of the multiple-stage character of ethnic identity, which was typical of nationalities at the time of feudalism. The economic community is actually not the characteristic of ethnic groups or nations, but rather that of the state; economic communities are only indirectly related to the nations and this relationship is also created by the state. As it is generally known, in multinational states more than one ethnic groups may exist within one economic structure. Along with the changes of socio-economic formations only the class-structure of the nations get modified, and the ethnic particularities are still retained. The complete cultural consolidation of a nation can be realized only after the elimination of class antagonism, along with considerable ethnic homogenization. Nations in the former Sovietunion are not simple continuations of the original ethnic communities, but constitute their qualitatively new form. Y. V. Bromley points out, that according to Russian researchers and also the political authorities, the national character will be preserved in the future as well, it will even be developing and flourishing under the conditions of social change. The main condition of this is the application of the internationalist policy towards the nationalities. It provides all ethnic groups and national minorities, depending on their population, with political autonomy and financial support for developing their culture, including radio and television broadcasts in their own languages, as well as the right of publishing newspapers and books in their mother tongues and having their own theatres, with special regard to amateur cultural groups. The Soviet policy towards national minorities has not been established on a scientific basis, and cannot be a model to be followed by the national policy of other countries irrespective of political affiliation. Bromley agrees to the observations of Averkieva, the famous Russian researcher and a follower of Boas, that the terms ethnography, ethnology, cultural and social anthropology are virtually synonyms, and all denote the same scientific field, i.e. ethnography. In order to avoid any misunderstanding it must be pointed out that Russian ethnographic literature uses the term ethnic group (people) in its Grecian form as ethnos.

PÉTER VERES

VÉKONY, Gábor: *Dákok, rómaiak, románok* (Dacians, Romans, Rumanians). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1989. 267 pp.

The long time that has passed since the activity of Lajos Tamás, Mátyás Gyóni, Zoltán I. Tóth and László Makkai who were analysing the historical ethnography of Transylvania, called for a handbook to give a comprehensive view of all aspects of the theory of Dacian-Rumanian continuity. Such a comprehensive handbook could probably be produced by the joint effort of the experts of the different fields of science. The involvement of archaeology would be essential, even if the question aggressively sharpened as ethnic and geographical could not be solved with its help. I would not think that the achievement of Hungarian science would be changed, but as regards the details, further refinement is quite possible. Rumanian historiography in the past almost fifty years has been trying to force the objects mute in respect of ethnic criteria to speak for continuity and its scene. The work of the estimation of the literature produced by the different disciplines in Rumanian science cannot be delayed, even if we must deal with the reiterations of obsessional ideas. The evaluation of popular scientific literature cannot be failed either and, however bizarre it might seem, the analysis of the available decisions made by the Rumanian state and communist party is also justified. For it was popular scientific literature and the decisions made on different levels in Rumania that realized the statements of the specialized fields of science, and it was the regulations of the communist party that bound scientific activity.

Within the scope of his possibilities Gábor Vékony deals with the archaeological aspects of the theory of continuity thoroughly. Doing this, however, he seems to neglect that his readers are not necessarily aware of the significance of the archaeological civilizations he has mentioned. A more compact lecture concentrating on history more intensively would be more instructive for the reader.

Ethnogenetic and prehistoric analyses should not go without talking about the achievements of linguistic history and their problems. The comparative linguistic paradigms and witty speculations of Gábor Vékony suggest that he wants to achieve something original in a similar, but still particular special field of science. But, unfortunately, his efforts show only the lack of his expertise. He is not to be blamed for his difficulties, since there is very little preserved from the Dacian, Geta and Thracian languages. I think it would have been worth for him consulting Strabon, born in the second half of the 1st century B.C. This author of the late antiquity in his monumental geographical-ethnographical work gives a more moderate estimation of the relationship between the Dacian and Geta languages. Gábor Vékony thinks that "shqip" the name by which Albanians call themselves is the equivalent of the Greek "Skythés", and from this he promptly concludes, that one constituent group of the Carps migrating from Scythia to Dalmatia were the ancestors of the Albanians, who, far from their original home assumed its ancient Greek name. The terms "Shqip" or "Shqiptar", selected by Albanians as their national name is also etymologized by the Albanian word for eagle, which is again hypothetical, like ethnic names in general. From the inscription quoted on page 230 the word "mergo", on which the author's analysis concerning the same inscription is based, is missing. Therefore it is rather difficult to guess where the term in question would occur in the text.

According to Gábor Vékony the related tribes of Dacians and Carps were living together for a short time in the region between the Lower Danube and the Balkan Mountains, and he supposes an indirect ethnic

relationship between Dacians and Rumanians originating from this. However, it is not equivalent to the continuity of the Dacian, that is to say Transylvanian Rumanism. The Dacian-Carp relationship remains a question. It is to be feared that the relationships of the different peoples suggested by Gábor Vékony surpass even those of Rumanian historians. On the other hand he observes rightly, that the words originating from the languages spoken by the Germanic and Turkish peoples rushing through Transylvania are missing from Rumanian. In this context it is specially remarkable that Cumanian words are also missing from Rumanian, although in the region between the Lower Danube and the South Carpathians a great number of Cumans were living in the 11th-13th centuries, which is acknowledged even by the Rumanian experts. Consequently, Rumanians settling down north of the Danube can be counted on only from the second half of the 13th century on. Rumanians settling down in Transylvania found ready-made Hungarian and Saxon toponyms. As supposed by Gábor Vékony Rumanians were formed to be a nation in the south of the Balkan Peninsula; to support this assumption the author refers to the strong Albanian-Rumanian linguistic relations.

Unfortunately, he does not mention the great number of Southern Slavic, or the not insignificant amount of Eastern Slavic loan words adopted by the Rumanian language. The originally Slavic vocabulary of Rumanian is being eliminated by the modern Latinization, out of political reasons. He could have referred to the Slavic elements of Rumanian grammar — Rumanian Literacy started with Cyrillic script, and the liturgic language of the Rumanian Orthodox Church was old Bulgarian.

The author's thesis, that 20th century research does not concern the development and shaping of the theory of Dacian-Rumanian continuity was met with surprise and incredulity. It is quite apparent, that the author himself does not believe in this thesis either. For if his opinion were this, it would be senseless to refer to the illustrious book by André du Nay (an assumed name) which was certainly written in Rumania, at the time of the tyranny of Ceausescu, but was published in the USA in 1977. According to Gábor Vékony, du Nay's book is "sometimes perhaps based on insufficient knowledge" (p. 54), but a few lines below he writes with appreciation that it has settled the disagreement on the question of continuity for a long time for the negative side. The reader who expects the book to be scientific might be wondering how a work "sometimes based on insufficient knowledge" can deserve the laurels the author offers for it. The otherwise exemplary work of du Nay is not at all likely to settle the centuries-old controversy.

The exaggerations of our respectable predecessors must be noted. Scolding Lajos Tamás in such a way would only be right completed with a remark, that he did not misuse scientific data, just tried to adopt the style generally used by Rumanian historiographers in a few cases. The condemnation of the excellent Hungarian Romanist is displeasing since he failed to give a comprehensive review of J. Daicoviciu's activity as a whole. In addition to the appreciation of the particular works written by the learned Rumanian historian the reviewer should have pointed out that he adapted the theory of Dacian-Rumanian continuity uninhibitedly to policy. Generally he applied the discipline of ethnogenesis as a means of denying the nationalities of Rumania, and especially the Hungarians their rights, and of depriving them of their national identity.

I must observe that, unfortunately, Gábor Vékony fails to inform the reader how it is possible that Rumanian historians, though skilled in their profession would support an obviously false theory. What is in the background? Professional blunder or political prejudice? Although he cites József Herman's opinion that the theory of Dacian-Rumanian continuity is

saturated with political matter and emotions to such an extent, that to discuss it calmly and openly is no longer possible (p. 54), and this opinion is quite acceptable, but what is the conclusion of Gábor Vékony himself? That we are never informed of. Silence here is equivalent to palliation -- with this the author creates the impression that Dacian-Rumanian continuity is just one of the harmless variations of the ethno-genetic idea -- it is a practical political weapon. "Theoretically" inspired by N. Ceausescu several decisions were made on high level that made this false theory of the continuity of the 2000 year-old Rumanian and state part of their national policy, setting it into Transylvania as its centre. The theory of continuity has been a means of intellectual and physical genocide aimed at Hungarians and the other nationalities living in Rumania in the practice of everyday policy applied by Rumanian pedagogy and popularization. Let me quote here from a letter written by a "Székely" teacher to me, "I have been teaching for two years, and now I really know how many variations of intellectual and physical persecution there are". The letter was written on the occasion when D. Berciu and C. Preda reacted in *Contemporanul* (1978, 6.) to my study analysing the Rumanian ethnogeny theory (published in *Magyar Tudomány* 1976, 7-8.) and to my article in *Magyar Hírlap* (25th December, 1977).

The situation has not changed, and was not expected to, even after the radical political changes. It is only through long and patient reasoning that we are likely to achieve any result. We cannot budge from our solid scientific position. We must not forget that the principle of "Roma locuta est, causa finita est" does not apply to this case, although it is used against us by the majority of Rumanian historiographers. The Hungarians of Transylvania are even recently sent to Asia, and as a suggested destination it has been referred to us, Hungarians of the mother-country several times as well, so we are also involved. I admit that the possibility of turning a delusion into a direct means of everyday policy does not make ethnogenetic and prehistoric research very attractive, but a false belief is a belief, and false consciousness is still consciousness. I do not think that the palliation of the Rumanian national delusion based on the theory of Dacian-Rumanian continuity has fulfilled its literary or publisher's purpose. To give an idea of this far-reaching problem let me cite Titus Livius, "Ingens telum necessitas", "Necessity is a powerful weapon" -- and so it is in intellectual resolution, too.

ANTAL BARTHA

Agricultura Carpatica, vol. 3. Valašské Muzeum v Pířirodě, Rožnov pod Radkořtem, 1981. 133 pp.

Agricultura Carpatica is a journal of the ethnographical open air museum (Valašské muzeum) in the NE mountain area of Moravia. This issue, edited by Jaroslva Štika, is based on papers presented at a conference on ethnological food research in the Carpathians. The Carpathian and Balkan countries have had for over two decades now a joint committee coordinating research in those areas. Mutual research and joint publications have been organized in the field of rural architecture, herdsman's work and popular outlaw-heroes. The food conference was held by the Czechoslovakian section of the Carpathian-Balkan Committee to consider whether a joint enterprise into food research in the area should be proposed and possibly organized by Czechoslovakian ethnologists. All ethnologists in the country who have ever done any food research and the outstanding Polish expert, Anna Kowalska-Lewicka, were invited.

The volume contains 17 papers on diverse topics such as the 18th and 19th century transformation of popular diet, the daily two- and three-meal system, the outstanding role of potato-dishes in the Carpathians, preserved vegetables, food of the mountain shepherds, the contrast in diet between the Plain and the mountain areas, Slovaks in Hungary and the food of those resettled in Czechoslovakia after the Second World War. Hearth and table, festival bakery, food as a gift, eating manners, aesthetics and literary sources are also discussed.

ERZSÉBET BÓDI

ROSC. Review of Scottish Culture. Edited by Alexander FENTON with Hugh CHEAPE and Rosalind M. MARSHALL. Number 1, 1984. John Donald Publishers Ltd. and National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland, Edinburgh 1984. 104 pp.

Scottish folk culture conserves not only ancient survivals, but has been greatly affected by the cultures of the neighbouring peoples as well. At the same time, there is also an important Scottish-Gaelic influence to be observed in North Atlantic Europe. Thanks to the investigations of Alexander Fenton the Scottish folk culture is fairly well known by now, but there are still some gaps this new periodical is supposed to surmount. The Review of Scottish Culture concentrates on the material aspects of social and economic life, with rural and urban, maritime and land-based topics, the folk arts, the actions and interactions of all sorts and conditions of men and women. The first number includes the following papers: T. Henderson, The Wreck of the Lastdrager; A. Fenton and C. Hendry, Wooden Tumbler Locks in Scotland and Beyond; D. Macdonald, Lewis Shielings, A. Sharp, The Clay Tobacco Pipe Collection in the National Museum; Rosalind M. Marshall, Wet-Nursing in Scotland: 1500-1800; P. Robinson, Tenements: A Pre-Industrial Urban Tradition; R.H. Buchanan, Box-Beds and Bannocks, The Living Past; R.C. Boud, Scottish Agricultural Improvement Societies, 1723-1835. The ethnologists of Central Europe may be primarily interested in the study on the wooden tumbler locks which have actually inspired already a classic author of our discipline: F. Luschan has written a treatise of basic importance on the wooden tumbler lock (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Vol. 49. 1916). Besides the Czech, Slovak, Polish and Hungarian publications let us mention two further relevant papers: Th. Delachaux, Divers types de serrures de bois des Alpes. *Schweizerisches Archiv für Volkskunde*, Vol. 21. 1917; F. Leinbock, Puulukud. *Eesti Rahva Muuseumi Aastaraamat*, Vol. II. Tartu 1926. We are glad, that A. Fenton and C. Hendry have again drawn the attention to this object known since ancient times. F. Luschan has characterized the wooden tumbler lock most appropriately by a French proverb (applying, of course, to innumerable other traits of folk-culture as well): Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.

Let us wish much success to the new periodical of the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland and of Alexander Fenton; we sincerely hope to be able to read the next numbers as often as possible.

BÉLA GUNDA

The Evil Eye. A Folklore Casebook. Edited by Alan DUNDES. Garland Publishing, Inc. 1981. New York — London, xiv + 312 pp.

That each work of Alan Dundes is a great event in international folkloristics has been expressed many times. Although his one-sided psycho-analytic explanations have been misunderstood and even laughed at as well

as received with ecstatic understanding, no one has ever doubted that he has a knowledge of a vast comparative folkloristic material, that he is very good at the theory of genres and poetry as well as at the recognition of problems, besides, he is the only American folklorist today whose interest can be regarded as global since he deals with the information concerning either of the continents on the same basis. The selection of his subjects is also very effective, and he is able to construct new anthologies from old studies in a way that the problems dealt with show new aspects. What is needed for this? Good and interesting subjects, a capacity to obtain a comprehensive view, the juxtaposition of well-known and important and unknown, possibly even more important studies, useful comments and additional notes, tiny but important editors' tricks, a staff to look after minor details, and an almost furious passion for work. All these features characterize Alan Dundes even after the edition of his tenth book, as well as this latest work of his. To persuade Garland Publishing Inc. into editing the thematic anthologies on the same subject of folklore with the title "Casebook" was also a good idea. In this series the present book on the subject of the evil eye was the first to be published.

The few pages of an introduction to the series (written by Dundes himself) is followed by the table of contents and then twenty essays. The volume itself is also supplied with a brief introduction. The dimensions of the volume implies that the studies take up about 10 to 15 printed pages each. Before each essay the author provides us with the necessary information and addenda and naturally gives the source of the text.

Although several notes could be made on all the essays, only the few most important ones will be mentioned here.

The book begins with a pamphlet by Arnold van Gennep, giving a brilliant caricature of the fanatic amateur researcher of the evil eye. I cannot help mentioning that according to the author the best symptom of incipient insanity is, if someone takes notes concerning this subject written in Hungarian (!). It can also be added no without some malice that Gennep's gigantic French "Manuel" amounts to 8 bulky volumes and contains an enormous bibliography. Thus he had a good reason in fact for mocking at collecting material. I think Dundes well knows why he has chosen this caricature of the comparative folklorist to begin his casebook with, with special regard to the obscene texts to be written in Latin.

McCartney deals with the survival of the ancient prohibition of praising; Langdon presents a short Babylonian text; there are also quotations from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha. Brav summarizes the Hebraic data -- the most remarkable fact here is, that his study was brought out in an ophtalmic publication. It was also from Dundes' notes that I learned that Seligmann (the author of the largest monograph having been written on the subject so far) had also been an ophtalmologist. Woodburne tells us about South-India, Donaldson about Iran, Oyler about the Nilotic Shilluks, Harfouche about Lebanon, Hardie about the Greek Macedonia, Murgoci about Rumania, Pitrè, the classic Italian folklorist about Italy, Davidson about Scotland and Jones about American immigrants coming from different European countries. The article of professor Wayland Hand published in 1974 offers a survey of European beliefs to the Americans. He represents a folkloristic approach, while Coss is a behaviourist, and Schoeck gives a sociological, Pocock an ethnological and Géza Róheim a psychoanalytical explanation. (This latter is an article written in English to be published very soon in Hungarian too, and even in the edition of Dundes the number of misprints remains less than a few dozen.) The longest article in the book was written by Stein in 1974. He gives a modern psychoanalytical explanation based on a material concerned with

American Slovaks, but without being biased. The volume is closed with a study by Dundes. It was not only written last of all (and being the longest one as well), but it seems to be obvious that its author also made use of the achievement of his predecessors, in spite of the others who produced bibliographies only for themselves. Though Stein made a reference list of 50 items, which is interesting enough but it is still not a historical review of science. Dundes has already listed in the introductory comments to the previous studies the publications in connection with the specific subject, method or the author himself. However, at the end of the book there is another list of publications consisting of over 300 items. This is all the more important because the whole volume with only one exception (the study by Pitrè) was compiled from English writings, while in this list there are references to German, French, Spanish, Italian, even to Serbo-Croatian, Estonian and Latin publications. There are also Hungarian authors mentioned (such as Géza Róheim, Sándor Ferenczi, Gershon Legman, and within the book a few others as well). I was surprised to read that Hugo Lomnitz Meltzl had been dealing with this subject in his "Le mauvais oeil chez les Arabes" on the pages 133-134 of Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni Popolari 3(1884). However, he is not quoted by the Hungarian authors or those living in Hungary (Kákossy, Fodor). Naturally, this bibliography is not at all complete. It does not contain for example the Greek, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Hungarian etc. collections of data, speaking of only one corner of Europe. It is also very likely that a great number of synthetic surveys were not mentioned either. To list all these here is impossible, only you feel sorry that we must do without at least the surveys published after Seligmann's comprehensive bibliography. Such a summary is also missing from Clarence Maloney's ethnological anthology of studies published in 1976 with the title "The Evil Eye". Any sort of short reviews in ethnographic handbooks, encyclopaedias, surveys on the history of religion or magic bear evidence of the necessity of a bibliography like that. Although Dundes cites the summarizing work of Iliomir Dorđević, which is specially important from our point of view, too (Zle oči u verovanju Južnih Slovena. Beograd, 1938), he quotes the title incorrectly, besides he does not make use of it at all. (It is a fact, however, that Hungarian folklorists have not made much use of it either.) As for data of Slavonic origin he adopts them only second-hand.

Speaking now about the study written by Dundes himself there are several quite different ideas involved. According to him this circle of ideas is primarily of Indo-German and Semitic origin. It is based on the theory of the finite goods which says that for someone to gain someone else must lose. This alone is a too general and at the same time particular opinion, since he is the one who knows best that the notion of the evil eye, which is spread all over the world in most cases refers rather to special "deprivation" and not to general damage. Certainly the actual central motives here are the eyes and the look, magic and social life in general gain their concrete forms through these. Dundes quotes the book of Margarete Rienschneider ("Augengott und heilige Hochzeit", 1953), but in fact he does not deduce (or relate to) the notion of the evil eye from that of the omniscient = omnipotent God. Naturally the ordinary, "small" magic is not identical with the supreme god, neither is the evil eye with the symbol of the Holy Trinity of oculus Dei. However, I think that these phenomena are connected to each other in a social context, and cannot be explained either by the psychoanalytic method or by present day erotic jokes, but by the comparative review of the history of religion and of customs.

The theory of Dundes is based on the opposition of "dry" (lifeless, dead) and "wet" (vitalizing) and considers them sexual symbols through the

identification of the eyes with the genitals. It has been expressed several times that this vulgar sexualism differs from vulgar marxism or the doctrinaire world concept of any other dogmatic religion only in its ingenuity and readability. Dundes relates the cow to the third eyes, spitting to sexual intercourse and the blinded Oedipus to the incestuous Oedipus with an unheard of witticism. I do not even say that he is never right. But the central figure in the interpretation of the evil eye of Hungarian peasantry is the witch, and although the ideas concerning witchcraft or enchantment are not identical with those concerning the evil eye, it would be desirable to examine the most important agent separately, even though witchcraft has also a sexualpathologic explanation.

The reason why we read the book with great interest and why we are eventually not satisfied with it is the same. We have expected the "case-book" to raise its subject to a universal level, but it did not prove to be a synthetizing work like that. The reader has no alternative but read more and think further. It is possible though, that it is what Dundes has aimed at. To conclude, the history of the evil eye in Hungary is still waiting to be written.

VILMOS VOIGT

BURKHART, Dagmar: Kulturraum Balkan, Studien zur Volkskunde und Literatur Südosteuropas. Berlin-Hamburg 1989. Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 327 S. (Lebensformen = Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Volkskunde der Universität Hamburg, Bd. 5)

Dagmar Burkhart gehört zu den jungen Hoffnungen der weltberühmten deutschen Slawistik und Balkanistik. Sie studierte in Heidelberg und München Slawistik, Balkanologie und vergleichende Volkskunde, unter ihren Lehrern waren die wichtigsten Alois Schmaus und Leopold Kretzenbacher, also ein Slawist und ein Folklorist von weltweitem Ruf. Seit 1985 ist Frau Burkhart Professorin für slawische Literatur in Hamburg. Trotz ihrer gar nicht alltäglichen Bewandertheit beispielsweise in der russischen Literaturwissenschaft, zählt sie seit langem eher zu den Koryphäen der folkloristisch-ethnographischen Balkanistik. Ihre frühen Studien und besonders ihre Dissertation (Untersuchungen zur Stratigraphie und Chronologie der süd-slawischen Volksepik. München, 1968) gelten bis heute als grundlegende Überblicke. Seither hat sie ihre Tätigkeit ausgesprochen vielseitig ausgeweitet, auf die Gebiete Folkloristik, Ethnographie, Literaturwissenschaft, Sprachwissenschaft, Kunstgeschichte usw. Ihr besonderes Verdienst ist, dass sie sich vom Kroatischen bis zum Bulgarischen, vom Griechischen bis zum Rumänischen auf fast alles versteht, souveräne Ansichten entwickelt und dies scharf gestochen formuliert. Sie ist ein Forscher von interdisziplinärem Interesse, verstand es, ihre Vorstellungen auf allen wichtigen Foren und Konferenzen mit Bestimmtheit zu vertreten und neuerdings solche Veranstaltungen auch selbst zustande zu bringen. Die 16 Studien dieses schönen (im Heimcomputer vorbereiteten) Bandes (mit den Worten der Autorin die 16 "Paradigmata") machen dies gerade deutlich. Dieser beispielhafte Sammelband beweist, dass es tatsächlich Erneuerungsmöglichkeiten für die "ausländische" Balkanistik (bzw. ihre ethnographisch-folkloristischen Bezüge) gibt. Ein Dank der Autorin, ihren Lehrern und dem Verlag, dass diese Sammlung zustande kommen konnte. In vielen Fällen wirkt sie programmatisch und macht auf wichtige Zusammenhänge aufmerksam, weshalb es nicht einfach ist, sich mit jeder Feststellung einzeln zu befassen.

Die wirkliche Einführung stellt den Balkan insgesamt als "Kulturraum" dar: Sie beschäftigt sich mit der Erforschung des Balkans als einer ethnographischen, ethnologischen und kulturgeschichtlichen Einheit und bietet scharfsinnige folkloristisch-philologische Beobachtungen. Sie setzt zwar mit der heute alltäglichen Universitäts- und Forschungspraxis ein, gelangt aber schliesslich zu allgemeinen folkloristischen Erkenntnissen. Wenn nämlich beispielsweise Stith Thompson (Bloomington), Åke Hulthkrantz (Stockholm) und Hermann Bausinger (Tübingen) "Folklore" definieren, dann ist dessen eigentliches Terrain eher der Balkan als die amerikanischen Indianer, das Volk auf schwedischen Strassen oder die in Tübingen gegen alles protestierenden Studenten. Zudem verweist hier die Autorin vor allem auf jugoslawische wissenschaftliche Abhandlungen. (Verständlicherweise auf kroatischen Publikationen, nahmen und nehmen sie doch hundertmal intensiver am internationalen wissenschaftlichen Leben teil als viele ihrer jugoslawischen Mitbürger.) Ein Gesichtspunkt fehlt in ihrer Argumentation: der der jeweiligen Minderheiten. Für mich lässt sich das einfacher formulieren, da meiner Meinung nach die "balkanische" Volkskultur im heutigen Ungarn eben diesen "Minderheiten"-Charakter trägt. Aus der Erforschung der am Ende des ersten Weltkriegs aus Kleinasien nach Griechenland Vertriebenen entstand die moderne griechische Folkloristik. Die Volkskulturforschung der Kosowo-Albaner ist zumindest ebenso wichtig wie die der Siebenbürger Ungarn oder Sachsen. Von gleichrangiger Wichtigkeit sind die sephardischen Juden (!) in der Umgebung Sarajewos, die Zigeuner, Gottschee-Deutschen, oder Serben, Kroaten und Wenden in Ungarn, die Tataren und Gagausen, Lipowanen und Deutschen in Rumänien, die Türken (und Pomaken) in Bulgarien, die Albaner in Griechenland, vielerorts die Sarakatschanen/Karakatschanen, ausserdem die Kutzowalachen, Meglenoromänen, Istrorumänen, dalmatischen Arbanesen, die Ruthenen in der Woiwodina, die Wingaer Bulgaren, Ada-Kaleher Türken, Grossbetschkereker Spanier und Szegediner Franzosen. Die Formel des slawonischen Gutsverwalters und Advokaten (um seine sonstigen Funktionen unerwähnt zu lassen) slowakischen Herkunft Ján Čaplovič "Ungarn ist Europa im Kleinen" gilt für den Balkan insgesamt: Die Unterschiedlichkeit der Bräuche, Trachten, Speisen, Häuser und allgemein der Lebensführung bestimmen das balkanische Volksleben ebenso wie die Kohäsion. Der Bauer von Tuzla, Üsküb, Csöbörösök, Ragusa, Rustschuk oder Drama (!) ist auch deshalb der, der er ist, damit er mit seinen Gefühlsgenossen übereinstimmt und sich andererseits von jedem anderen "unverwandeten" unterscheidet.

Die Verfasserin vertritt in allen vorliegenden Studien eine und dieselbe Lösung, weshalb es mir sinnvoll schien, diese Stellung auch allgemein zu formulieren.

Die Einzeluntersuchungen gehen vom rituellen Brot bis zu den Masken und dem die Braut einhüllenden roten (!) Schleier, von den Vampiren bis zur Hochzeitsterminologie auf vieles ein. Als in erster Linie Textforscherin epischer Volksdichtung befasst sich die Autorin mit solchen Themen mit Vorliebe. Der Band ist so zusammengestellt, dass sie sich mit einer Gattung oder einem ähnlichen Themenkreis einmal befasst, was sie "paradigmenartige" Untersuchung nennt. Das System der Benennung der Gattungsnamen, das Heldenlied, die Ballade, die Redensart bilden den Inhalt solcher Fallstudien. Im dritten Teil des Bandes kommen "literarische und sprachliche" Themen zu Worte: wiederum sehr vieles vom Werk Ivo Andrićs bis zur konkreten Dichtung und zu balkanischen Beispielen sprachlicher Duplikation. Überhaupt ist es verdienstlich, dass sie ihre Beispiele immer dem interessantesten Bereich entnimmt: die geraubte Ehefrau, der Regenzauber oder Vuk Karadžićs deutsche Ausgaben. Nicht nur ihre südslawische, sondern auch griechische, rumänische und albanische Bewandtheit ist wirklich gründ-

lich. Sie kennt die sowjetische Folkloristik nicht nur oberflächlich, sondern wendet ihre Ergebnisse auch an. An der modernen westlichen Folkloristik schätzt sie besonders die kommunikationstheoretischen und semiotischen Methoden, und selbstverständlich sind ihr die Ergebnisse der deutschen Balkanistik in Einzelheiten bekannt. Um schulpädantische Vollständigkeit bemüht sie sich nicht, aber es ist typisch, dass der Band etwa 800 Anmerkungen und über 1000 Hinweise enthält. Diese erschwerten natürlich die (wenn auch wünschenswerte) Erstellung eines Sachregisters oder die Vereinheitlichung der Bibliographien; dies hätte zwar eine imposante balkanistische Literaturübersicht ergeben, aber noch kein vollständiges Bild, auch nicht von der vielseitigen Orientiertheit der Autorin.

Was wiederum ihre Methode betrifft, so gibt sie meistens zu einer Erscheinung oder Thematik Beispiele aus den unterschiedlichsten balkanischen Kulturen. Solche Beobachtungen lassen sich als Charakteristik des "balkanischen Kulturraums" betrachten. Einzeln verweist sie auf gesellschaftliche und historische Bedingungen, die Übereinstimmungen untersucht sie immer mit der komparativen Methode. Aber selbst die umfangreiche Einführungsstudie gibt keine generelle Darstellung der gesamt-balkanischen Kulturen, vermutlich ergibt sich später noch Gelegenheit der Verfasserin dazu. Zudem wissen wir, dass inzwischen von ihr viele neue Studien entstanden sind, die einen folgenden Band füllen könnten.

Zwei Randbemerkungen zur Bilanz des Bandes sollen noch erlaubt sein. In den Einzelstudien scheinen die Differenzen weniger Betonung bekommen zu haben als die Übereinstimmungen. Natürlich lässt sich Datenmangel auf dem ganzen Balkan fast nie als vollendete Tatsache nehmen, häufig begegnet er (oder unzugängliche Archivquellen, Publikationen) gerade dem bestvorbereiteten Forscher. Auch infolge des gedrängten Überblickes liessen sich vielerlei kleinere Ergänzungen anbringen, die selbstverständlich an den Verdiensten der Autorin nichts ändern, sondern am gezeigten Bild nur Schattierungen vornehmen würden.

Andererseits ist auffällig, wie selten ungarische Angaben und Arbeiten erwähnt werden; nicht aufgrund von Desinteresse der Autorin, denn sie kennt unsere Publikationen, sondern eher aus sprachlichen Gründen bzw. weil die Zahl der Ergebnisse der ungarischen Folkloristik von echtem balkanischen Horizont (oder auf mehrere Völker gerichtet, komparatistischer Art) nicht allzu gross ist. Die diesbezüglichen Ergebnisse ungarischer Forscher müssten etwas (oder eigentlich viel) mehr auf internationalen Foren vorgestellt werden. Gerade die jugoslawisch-ungarischen Beziehungen wurden in einer ganzen Reihe von Themen von mehreren Symposien glücklicherweise bereits berührt. Wie gut wäre es, würden wir etwa anlässlich eines jugoslawisch-ungarischen Folklore-Symposiums die Autorin um eine Zusammenfassung bitten, worin sie die wichtigsten Charakterzüge der ungarisch-balkanischen Folklore-Beziehungen sieht. Das würde gewiss hochinteressante Fakten und Angaben ergeben, und uns böte sich die Gelegenheit abzuwägen, was für die Zugehörigkeit zu den balkanischen Kulturen und für die Unterschiedlichkeit von ihnen spricht.

Die vorzügliche und gefällige Arbeit bildet keine Endstation in der Tätigkeit der Autorin und ist doch von grundsätzlicher Wichtigkeit. Sie wird von allen oftmals benutzt werden, die die Volkskultur dieses abwechslungsreichen Teiles unseres Kontinentes wirklich kennenlernen wollen. Auch deshalb möchten wir jeden auf den Datenreichtum, die Klarheit und Modernität der Gesichtspunkte aufmerksam machen. Ein Glückwunsch der Autorin!

Diplomaten und Wesire. Krieg und Frieden im Spiegel türkischen Kunsthandwerks. Herausgegeben von Peter W. SCHIENERL. Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde, München 1988. 188 S.

Ein Gespenst geht um in Europa... Genauer: ein Dschinn geistert in den letzten Jahren durch die Museen Europas: der Geist kunsthistorischer Ausstellungen über die Türkenzeit. Anlässlich des Jahrestages der vergeblichen Belagerung Wiens durch die Türken 1683 pilgerten nicht nur der Papst und hunderttausend Polen zum Kahlenberg kurz hinter Grinzing, sondern seither erscheinen in Deutschland, Österreich und Ungarn nacheinander Bücher, Sitzungsberichte, Museums- und anderweitige Ausgaben über die dreihundert Jahre alten Ereignisse. Da damals in einem relativ kurzen Abschnitt der "Weltgeschichte" (wie man hierzulande die Ungarn interessierende europäische Geschichte zu nennen pflegt) grosse Wandlungen vollzogen wurden (noch 1683 drohte der Türke, nach dem Fall Wiens etwa bis zum Rhein nicht mehr Halt zu machen, schon 1686 erobert Karl von Lothringen Ofen zurück, und 1697 schlägt Prinz Eugen von Savoyen den Türken bei Zenta derart, dass dieser im Frieden von Karlowitz (Karlovac, Karlóca) zwei Jahre später mit Ausnahme des Temescher Banats aus dem früheren ungarischen (und kroatischen) Königreich (und aus Siebenbürgen) verdrängt wird; ja — darüber spricht man in Ungarn keineswegs ebenso viel — gleichzeitig gewinnt Polen grosse Gebiete Podoliens und der "Ukraine", gibt dies eine einmalige Gelegenheit, an einer einzigen kurzen Periode das Bild von Aufstieg und Verfall (oder umgekehrt) sichtbar zu machen. Natürlich beschränken sich die "kulturellen" (oder kunstgewerblichen u.a.) Beziehungen Europas zur ottomanischen Welt nicht auf diesen einen Abschnitt einer Generation. Während aber die für uns wichtigsten Stücke aus den türkischen Schatzkammern und Sammlungen aus der Zeit der ersten grossen Raubzuggeneration (1526-1541) stammten, strömten nun die plötzlich gewonnenen "türkischen" kunstgewerblichen Stücke aus einem landesgrossen Gebiet nach Westen. Selbst bei diesem momentanen Demonstrationsdumping überrascht, wie reich einerseits das Museums- (und Privatsammlungs-) Material ist und andererseits wie wenig wirklich gründliche, auf Lokalbeobachtungen beruhende Berichte aus dieser Periode auf uns überkommen sind. Gerade deshalb verdient jede einzelne, mit diesem Themenkreis befasste Darstellung auch weiterhin unsere Aufmerksamkeit.

In gewisser Weise kann auch die Ausstellungs-Vorgeschichte dieser Ausgabe als symbolisch bezeichnet werden. Das erste Zweigmuseum des Münchener Museums für Völkerkunde wurde in der bayerischen Kleinstadt Oettingen eröffnet, deren einstiger Herr, Graf Wolfgang zu Oettingen-Wallerstein nicht nur Gesandter der Karlowitzer Friedensverhandlung 1699 war, sondern von Kaiser Leopold aus Wien auch als erster Grossbotschafter zum Sultan gesandt wurde. Hier handelt es sich also nicht um eine an den Haaren herbeigezogene historische Aktualisierung, sondern die Kunstgeschichte jener Epoche könnte kaum an einem würdigeren Ort des bayerischen Landes gezeigt werden. Diesem Ziel werden sowohl die Ausstellung als auch der sie begleitende Studienband in seiner Vielseitigkeit voll gerecht. In dem 14 Studien, 24 farbige und 168 schwarz-weiße Fotos enthaltenden Band finden sich historische und biographische Angaben, kunstgewerbliche und numismatische Arbeiten, redigiert von Peter W. Schienerl unter Mitarbeit von Christine Stelzig — beide zugleich Autoren. (Der Herausgeber war zugleich der wissenschaftliche Betreuer der Ausstellung.) Da es sich um eine auch Objektgruppen darstellende Ausstellungsveröffentlichung handelt, bilden jene Abhandlungen den Rahmen für die wichtigsten Studien, welche das Apropro der Ausstellung, die Quellen der Sammlungen — Volker V. Volckamer: "Graf Wolfgang IV. zu Oettingen-Wallerstein (1629-1708)", (S. 9-34);

Peter W. Schienerl: "Ferdinand Orban (1655-1732)", S. 175-181) -- und ihren Organisationsrahmen -- Carolina Zelz: "Das Staatliche Museum für Völkerkunde in München" (S. 182-183) -- angeben.

Mit einem weiteren Rahmenthema beschäftigt sich M. Lindner: mit der spezifischen Lage Ungarns zwischen den beiden grossen Reichen von der verlorenen Schlacht von Mohács (1526) an bis zum Frieden von Karlowitz (1699). Diese Periode umfasst besonders aus europäischer Sicht die Blütezeit der osmanischen Kultur und zugleich den intensivsten Abschnitt ihres Einflusses im direkten und übertragenen Sinne. Das hier skizzierte historische Bild -- Ungarn zwischen Habsburg und den Osmanen (S. 35-49) -- wird durch den kurzen chronologischen Überblick über den letzten Abschnitt des antitürkischen Befreiungskrieges auf dem Boden Ungarns aus Peter W. Schienerls Feder ergänzt: Der Krieg in Ungarn zwischen 1683 und 1699 (S. 57-58).

Diese ereignisgeschichtliche Darstellung verlebendigt nicht nur die konkrete historische Wirklichkeit und Atmosphäre der Epoche, sondern die Kenntnis der Ereignisse ist auch für die Interpretation einiger Objektgruppen unerlässlich. Ingrid S. Weber beschreibt die im Rahmen der Münzkunst entwickelte Propaganda im Krieg gegen den Türken. Ihre Abhandlung "Die Medaille, ein wichtiges Medium der Propaganda während der Türkenkriege" (S. 51-56), ist ein schönes Beispiel wissenschaftlich anspruchsvoller Kenntnisvermittlung. In meisterlicher Raffung zeigt sie die Entwicklung der Münzkunst als Gattung samt ihren Funktionsänderungen, jeweils mit ikonographischen bzw. stilistischen Analysen verbunden. Zugleich enthält ihre kleiner Münzkatalog "Medaillen auf die Türkenkriege (1683-1699) aus der Staatlichen Münzsammlung in München" (S. 59-70) eine Lektion in guter Münzenbeschreibung.

Hans Georg Majers Studie "Drei feierliche osmanische Sultansurkunden aus bayerischen Sammlungen (1601-1700)" (S. 71-79) stellt jene Urkunde in ihren Details dar, die der türkische Sultan am 24. September 1599 für den Székesfehérvárer Beglerbeg (Stadtkommandanten) Hassan über dessen Pflichten und Einkünfte ausstellte. Ein sehr feierliches Skript enthält die 13 Paragraphen des Friedens von Karlowitz das also nicht zufällig in die Dettingen-Sammlung aufgenommen wurde, ebensowenig wie jenes Sultansschreiben aus der Zeit vom 5.-12. Oktober 1700, das den Frieden unter den Kaufleuten im Ost-West-Handel gewährleisten sollte. Leider gibt der Verfasser ausser kurzen inhaltlichen Beschreibungen weniger Auskunft über weitere Einzelheiten der Urkundenherstellung, Ausseres, Verzierung und Schreibweise der Schriftstücke, als dies wünschenswert wäre.

Almut von Gladiss geht bei ihrer Darstellung "Osmanische Metallwaren" (S. 81-98) über eine blosser Objektanalyse hinaus, indem sie auch auf die persischen Vorläufer der niveaувollen Metallkunst der osmanischen Zeit, auf die Entstehung, die Erzeugnisse und die internationalen Stileinflüsse der Metallkunst am Hofe des Sultans eingeht. Das ist keine leichte Aufgabe, da die Metallkunst, gemessen an den Gattungen Keramik, Textilie und Teppich, auf türkischem Boden eine historisch nicht so alte Kunst ist und wenig aufgearbeitet wurde. In den Zusammenfassungen und Ausstellungen über türkische Kunst und Kunstgewerbe fehlt die Metallkunst im allgemeinen oder ist nur wenig vertreten. Vorzüglich beschreibt die Verfasserin den Prozess, wie das künstlerische Gewerbe der Metallbearbeitung zur Zeit der Osmanenherrschaft zum Bestandteil des türkischen Kunsthandwerks wird und durch die Einschmelzung von Techniken und Formen des Metallhandwerks aus dem Eroberungsgebiet selbst zum Vorbild wird (S. 96).

Ein weniger neues Thema bildet die osmanenzeitliche Keramik, hier korrekt behandelt von Margit Kretschmar: "Auen aus Fliesen-Keramik im Osmanischen Reich" (S. 99-114). Ihre Deutung der Blumenornamentik der izniker Keramik als Symbol möchten wir in Frage stellen; sie behandelt dies Problem auch nicht detailliert, sondern zitiert allein Esin Atil:

"The Age of Süleyman the Magnificent" (New York, 1987) und wagt dann in wenigen Sätzen die Feststellung, das einander zugewandte Vogelpaar symbolisiere die erwiderte Liebe, die immergrünen Pflanzen immerwährendes Glück usw. Diese Frage erfordert aber eine viel gründlichere Analyse, und die Forschungen bestätigen diese Bewertungsmethode nicht.

Wiederum einen wenig bekannten Gegenstand, die Gebetssteine der schiitischen Gläubigen, behandelt Jürgen W. Frembgen in seinem Artikel "Schiitische Gebetssteine" (S. 115-128). Über Afganistan, Syrien und den Libanon hinaus leben Schiiten auch in der Türkei (ca. 15% der Bevölkerung), doch benutzen unter ihnen nur die Anhänger der iranischen Orthodoxie die meist vier- oder achteckigen, evtl. runden oder ovalen aus Stein, notfalls aus Holz oder Ton verfertigten, mit Inschriften und Linien- bzw. Randverzierung versehenen Gebetssteine etwa in der Grösse einer halben Handfläche (ca. 4x5 cm). Aufgrund seiner Feldforschung in Nordpakistan und der Gebetssteine im Münchener und Wiener Völkerkunde-Museum gibt der Autor einen Einblick in die Entstehung dieser Tradition, die Gebetssteinvarianten, ihre sakrale Bedeutsamkeit und Bedeutungen.

Christine Stelzigs Studie "Karagöz — Türkisches Schattentheater" (S. 129-138) behandelt die in Südostasien wurzelnde und auf eigentümliche Weise über Ägypten zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts zu den Türken gelangte und dort im wörtlichen Sinne populär und volkstümlich gewordene, mittels Schattenbildern vorgetragene Theater-Spielweise. Dieser Einblick in die türkische Geschichte und die Typen dieser Gattung des Volkstheaters wird ergänzt durch den — selbstverständlich illustrierten — Katalog der betreffenden Sammlung des Völkerkunde-Museums München (S. 139-148). Der Band enthält weiter zwei stimmungsvolle Berichte nicht ohne wissenschaftlichen Anspruch. Wolfgang Steins "Coffea arabica — Kaffee aus dem Jemen" (S. 149-160) verfolgt die Verbreitung des Kaffeetrinkens vom heutigen Äthiopien über die Türkei bis nach Wien. Sabine und Thomas O. Höllmann geben einen Überblick über die Anfänge des Rauchens in der Türkei des 17. Jahrhunderts und vergessen auch nicht das Zubehör, beispielweise die Pfeifenformen — "Teuflische Gelüste — Einige Bemerkungen zum Takabgenuss im Osmanischen Reich" (S. 161-174).

Für die Herausgeber des Bandes was es nicht leicht, die in ihrer Zielsetzung, im Ton und Umfang voneinander abweichenden Studien so einander zuzuordnen, dass der Band schliesslich nicht bunt zusammengewürfelt, sondern organisch vielseitig wirkt. Gewiss war der Mangel an Objekten die Ursache dafür, dass dem an die traditionelle Gattungseinteilung im Kunstgewerbe Gewöhnten das Fehlen der Darstellung der Textilarten auffällt, wenn auch die Farbtafeln Stickereien (T. 4, 5), Teppiche und Damaste (T. 18-24) zeigen. Ähnlich berechtigt wäre auch die Behandlung der künstlerischen Büchsenmacherei, der Lederarbeiten oder des Sattlerhandwerks gewesen, da der Band doch in seinem Illustrationsmaterial pro Gattung je ein bis zwei schöne Beispiele enthält (Abb. 11 ein Sattel, Abb. 12-14 Lederarbeiten und Abb. 16-19 sowie T. 16a, b und 17a Waffen). Diese Themen zu behandeln, wäre noch begründeter gewesen als die schiitischen Gebetssteine (wenn letztere auch im Rahmen einer sehr interessanten Studie vorgestellt wurden).

Die Mehrheit der Studien geht im Zusammenhang mit irgendeinem gegenständlichen Dokument auf seine Benutzung, seine Funktion und über diese auch auf die Bräuche und indirekt auf die Lebensweise der einen oder anderen Schicht oder Gruppe des gegebenen Volkes ein, ja betont diese Bezüge. Der vorgestellte Gegenstand vertritt eine bestimmte Lebensweise: Dieser Gedanke strahlt auch auf die objekt-zentrischen Beschreibungen aus, und dadurch wird der ganze Band inhaltlich vielseitig.

KREUZER, Gottfried — Christine KREUZER: Die Felsbilder Südandalusiens. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH. Stuttgart 1987. 103 S.

Die Bekanntschaft mit der prähistorischen Höhlenkunst nahm zwar in der Altamira-Höhle ihren Anfang, die Höhlen, Felsen und Megalithgräber der iberischen Halbinsel beschenken jedoch unerschöpflich mit neuen Funden die Interessenten. Die Verfasser machen, in die Fussstapfen berühmter Vorgänger getreten, ihre zwischen 1984-1987 an der südlichen Spitze der Halbinsel entdeckten Felsbilder publik. Das Material wurde nach Fundorten registriert und mit Zeichnungen illustriert, versucht dadurch eine stilhistorische (und relativchronologische) Eingliederung. Eine vollständige Aufnahme konnte zwar selbst in untersuchtem Raum nicht beabsichtigt werden, die umfangreiche Dokumentation resultierte jedoch ein unentbehrliches Quellenwerk. An zunehmender Bedeutung des Bandes spielt die traurige Tatsache jedenfalls mit, dass sich die südandalusischen Höhlen- und Felsbilder gerade laut Untersuchungen der Kreuzer's im Verfall befinden. Wie sich aus dem Vorwort von Dr. Miroslav Ksica (Brno) erhellt, sollte die La Pileta Höhle im Interesse der Bewahrung der Felsbilder vor den Besuchern völlig gesperrt werden.

MIHÁLY SÁRKÁNY

Van BRUINESSEN, Maarten Martinus: Agha, Scheich und Staat. Politik und Gesellschaft Kurdistans. Edition Parabolis, Berlin 1989. 541 pp., maps, photos. Ed. Jochen Blaschke.

In 1978, at the University of Utrecht, the Dutch social anthropologist Maarten Martinus van Bruinessen published his doctoral dissertation in English, entitled Agha, Shaikh and State. On the Social and Political Organization of Kurdistan. This book, issued on poor-quality paper and primitively printed, shortly achieved recognition in Kurdologist circles. Its quite limited edition was quickly sold to academic libraries. Thus, it is very fortunate that, 11 years later, van Bruinessen decided to publish his study again, this time in German, through the Berliner Institut für Vergleichende Sozialforschung. The author introduced only minimal changes and additions to the German version which are of little significance for the whole.

It is interesting to note that van Bruinessen's earlier tendencies were towards the sciences, theoretical physics and mathematics. His first youthful interest in the Kurds was awakened by a vacation trip to the Middle East in 1967. Fascinated by the romantic vision of the Kurdish peasant partisans fighting against the Iraqi government, van Bruinessen decided to investigate this phenomenon as so-called "primordial loyalties", constantly alive among the Kurds. At the same time, he hoped to conduct systematic field research in Iranian Kurdistan, since, in the 1970's neither Iraq nor Turkey granted entrance to a European researcher — at least not to one who stated a desire to study the Kurdish problem. Unsuccessfully attempting to obtain permission from Teheran for systematic research in the province inhabited by the Kurds in the Zagros Mountains, van Bruinessen travelled to Khorasan. There he came into contact with long-ago transplanted people of Kurdish descent, forced by former Shahs to resettle on the Turkmenian borderlands. In 1975, after his return to the Zagros Mountains, he came across masses of Kurdish refugees, escaping from the neighbouring Iraqi province which was overtaken by Barzani's rebellion. The Dutchman was able to gain the trust of Barzani's rebels and, together with them, after crossing the Iran-Iraq border, he spent 20 weeks

in the territory then found under partisan rule. With the fall of the rebellion, van Bruinessen left Iraq, together with his rebel friends retreating to Iran. Next, during 1975-76, he journeyed through Turkish, Syrian and Iranian Kurdistan. Knowing the Kurdish language, he could conduct interviews without an interpreter. His field work was supplemented by studies of resource materials.

Van Bruinessen, with a feeling of academic humility and honesty, hesitates to call his study the result of field research. He claims that his investigations are incomplete, that they are at times only indicative, and only serve to encourage further research. Unable to conduct classic, stationary field studies in one area, van Bruinessen attempts to depict those social, religious and political phenomena of interest to him, evident in the territory inhabited by the Kurds of four Middle Eastern countries: Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. Most of the examples are drawn from East Turkey. The subject, "primordial loyalties", he presents in a historical perspective, writing about the functioning of tribes and Dervish brotherhoods. This Dutch anthropologist attempts to explain the way in which those traditional forms of loyalty were transformed under the influence of external factors. On the base of these phenomena, he sketches the process of the formation of Kurdish nationalism. He demonstrates more than once that the well-known Kurdish tribal structure did not result from the autonomic development of social forms, but rather was the result of the politics conducted by the nations within which the Kurds had lives for ages.

After the general information given in Chapter One, van Bruinessen devotes Chapter Two to tribes, tribal leaders and groups found outside the tribal communities. In Chapter Three, he speaks of the mutual relations between Kurdish tribes and the Turkish or Persian nations. Chapter Four discusses the threefold role of the Shaikhs: as mystics, holy men and politicians. He supplements this with a detailed discussion of the major Kurdish Shaikh clans belonging to the two most important Kurdish brotherhoods: the Quaderi and Naqshbandi. Chapter Five presents the history of the revolts led by Shaikh Said of Piran in Turkey during the interbellum period, against the background of the first half of the 20th century. The whole work is concluded an summarized in Chapter Six.

Van Bruinessen's book is astonishing in its great wealth of not only facts, but also reflections on the subject of various details in the history and culture of the Kurds. At times, certain subchapters are, in actuality, short essays in and of themselves, nevertheless incorporated in the whole of his deliberations regarding primordial loyalties. The fragment comparing the rituals of the Quaderi and Naqshbandi brotherhoods, along with an explanation of the Kurdish forms of popular religious expression, is excellent. The richness of historical and cultural topics taken up by van Bruinessen alongside the main theme of his considerations is vast. The author takes advantage of little-known accounts by travellers and archive materials; simultaneously, he skillfully draws from his own not so limited experiences. At the same time, he is not afraid to generalize and state his own opinion on the subject of the events presented herein. It is true, however, that the copious facts and topics do, at times, dim the main current of his academic discussions, especially considering that the text should be read with attention to the sometimes extensive footnotes. Actually, it is in these footnotes that one sometimes finds truly interesting information about the Kurds and Kurdistan.

Van Bruinessen could not foresee the particular evolution of the political situation of the Kurds after the end of the Iraq-Iran War. He did not attempt to play the role of a prophet. Regardless of the fate of future Kurds, van Bruinessen's study has lasting cognitive value for researchers of the Middle East. Fifteen maps clearly enlighten the author's

discussions. One can only regret that they were not graphically perfected in the German version, only duplicating the earlier sketched version. It is also surprising to find that the index included in the original text has been omitted here. However, the addition of an increased number of photographs and reproduced prints does deserve praise, though technically, the earlier book presented the photographs more correctly.

LESZEK DZIĘGIEL
Cracow

SINGH, Bageshwar and Ajit K. DANDA: *The Kodaku of Surguja*. Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta 1986. 121 pp. 1 map, 8 illustrations.

Due to the influences of Hindu culture and the pressures of modernization the Indian tribal cultures are changing very fast. The authors, Bageshwar Singh (M. A. in Anthropology at Lucknow University; has worked among tribes of Central India e.g. Korku, Mina, Kolam, Kodaku) and Ajit K. Danda (Ph. D. at Cornell University, USA; has carried out a great variety of field investigations in 9 states of India; now is Vice-President of the Indian Anthropological Society, Calcutta) have made an attempt to record useful facts of the life of Kodaku tribe whose culture is subjected to rapid changes.

The Kodaku is a little known Scheduled Tribe of Central India in the north-east of Surguja District of Madhya Pradesh — total population is approximately twenty thousand.

Before this book was written there had been only a few anthropological references available on the Kodaku. The authors, giving a great help to later researchers of this area, quote and analyse these earlier records by Dalton, Crooke, de Brett, Majumdar. Then a convincing demonstration has been given that the Kodaku are a distinct tribe. The objectives of this study are to provide a fairly exhaustive analytical description of the material culture, social organization and especially the social economy of the Kodaku. The authors have adopted the theory of some former anthropologists (e.g. Polányi) that the western economic theories cannot be applied to the non-western economic organizations, so the non-western economic organizations cannot be explained by the market-oriented economic theories. In order to explain the non-western economic organizations the authors have adopted Polányi's theory of reciprocity and redistribution.

This study shows very clearly the tendency of changes taking place in the Kodaku social economy due to their participation in the market oriented national economic system.

The Kodaku are primarily food gatherers today but it is difficult to decide whether the Kodaku had been hunters and gatherers or shifting cultivators in the past. The records are not clear in this respect. They were food producers and gathering occupied the second place in order of priority. But later with the people's increasing contact with the civilized world, the necessities of life increased on the one hand and the shifting cultivation was declared unlawful and illegal (1950) on the other hand. As a result of these influences now the Kodaku depend on weekly markets and local businessmen.

The tribe is subjected to a rehabilitation programme of the State of Madhya Pradesh and by this time some rehabilitation colonies have been founded. One of them is Bankheta village (set up in 1960-61) where the biggest part of field investigation has been carried out by the authors

from December 1969 to March 1971. After examining this rehabilitation colony the authors have pointed out the possible causes of the failure of the resettlement programme concerning the Kodaku.

In the second part of the study the authors have shown the social organization, the socio-spatial divisions of the tribe. Proving with individual cases collected in the field they have demonstrated that men and women enjoy equal status among the Kodaku. Individualism, self-selection of mate and equal rights of divorce and separation support this fact.

The Kodaku do not claim themselves to be Hindus nor could they be converted to Christianity.

It is pointed out that the changes of the economic structure involve changes in the social aspect of Kodaku life as well.

The authors came to the conclusion that the Kodaku constitute an independent tribal identity, but no doubt they also form part of the Indian national society. They emphasize that it is important to maintain their independent tribal identity.

The whole study is very clearly structured. The facts of the life of Kodaku people given provide with a great help those who are interested in carrying on researches in this area.

These kinds of descriptions are essential for comparative anthropological research work, and would be needed on other Indian tribes as well.

ANNA SOMI

PRASAD, Onkar: Folk Music and Folk Dances of Banaras. Anthropological Survey of India, Calcutta 1987. 160 pp. + 6 charts + 8 graphics.

The Indian sub-continent provides an almost unlimited field for ethno-musicological studies with its unusually rich living heritage of tribal and folk traditions. Though a lot has been published on the classical styles of Indian music and dance, the scholars have hardly taken effort to deal with the unimaginably rich tradition of Indian folk/tribal music and dance. The ethno-musicological aspects of Indian culture are not yet systematically searched in any part of India, so Dr Onkar Prasad made a very effective entry into this field by carrying out an intensive study on the musical traditions of Banaras. In this study the author emphasizes that the musical and dance traditions of India, whether they are folk or classical, should not be studied separately but only in their civilizational context in general and in their cultural context of their ethnic groups.

The folk and the classical music of Europe are two discrete systems, but in India the situation is totally different — they could be said to be just two inter-related aspects of the whole Indian musical tradition.

Considering this fact India needs its own research-system to be developed. Having realized this necessity Dr Onkar Prasad has built up his pioneering example for researching Indian folk music, dance and drama.

The subject of his enquiry is excellent for fulfilling his aim of showing a new aspect of ethno-musicological research.

The ancient, sacred city of Banaras provides unique scope for a proper study of folk-musical tradition in the larger context of Indian civilization since its folk and classical traditions have been in interaction for over thousand years.

The author has given a classification of the various musical traditions observed in the field.

The following four classes are identified:

1. Laukic (folk) which is devoid of any codified law.

2. Sāstric (classical) which is governed by the codified law (śāstra).

3. Up-śāstric (semi-classical) which is an intermediate category emerging out of the assimilation of characters of the above two types.

4. Modern film music which is a symbiotic phenomenon based on the above mentioned three fundamental categories of Indian music influenced by European music.

His aim is to cover the whole range of ethnographic context of music, not merely the purely musical aspect.

In the third and fourth chapter he classifies the modes of persistence of the musical tradition by describing gharanā (school of traditional Indian music) and guru-śiṣya paramparā (master-disciple relationship) system and their ethnic base. In the laukic music of Banaras he identifies two categories of gharanās: the Uni-ethnocentric gharāna, which is composed of the members of a single ethnic or caste group (e.g. Camar, dhobī, kahār etc.), and the multi-ethnocentric gharānā which is composed of the members of different castes and religious groups, showing that the dominant model of birth ascribed status can often be transgressed through individual achievements.

In the fifth chapter he describes the vādyas (musical instruments) of Banaras (huduk, mṛdaṅga, nakkara etc.) with their historical and ethnic background. He shows the socio-cultural significance of certain vādya and the characteristic features of their rhythms.

The main chapters of the book (sixth, seventh) cover the detailed description and classification of kajri, a particular group of songs sung during the rainy season esp. the kajri festival, and birha, a specific group of songs performed by different caste groups (āhir, dhobī etc.). In the following chapter Varanasi nāc (dance) and nakal (drama) traditions are discussed in their socio-cultural background by classifying the time and frequency of performances, performers according to sex and jāti, texts and music.

The musical, dance and drama dimension of the culture of Banaras detailed in a significant way in this book should be applied in a wider range to the totality of Indian tradition. Hopefully this outstanding book will stimulate other musicologists and anthropologists as well to carry on ethno-musicological studies in other regions of India, using the same theoretical and methodological system that Dr Onkar Prasad has introduced.

ANNA SOMI

Afrika. Entdeckung und Erforschung eines Kontinents. Herausgegeben von Heinz DUCHHARDT — Jörg A. SCHLUMBERGER — Peter SEGL. Böhlau Verlag, Köln-Wien 1989. 195 S. (Bayreuther Historische Kolloquien 3)

Dieser Band nennt in seinem Titel zwar Afrika, und zweifellos stehen die in ihm veröffentlichten Studien — Ergebnisse einer Konferenz aus dem Jahr 1988, gehalten von der Facheinheit Geschichte der Universität Bayreuth — in irgendeiner Form mit diesem Kontinent in Verbindung. Dennoch ist ihr Gegenstand viel eher ein Teil der europäischen Geschichte und ihr Ausgangspunkt der europäische Blickwinkel.

Werner Huss gibt einen gründlichen Überblick über die phönizischen und die griechischsprachigen Quellen, die von den Stationen der Entdeckung Afrikas berichteten. Seine Stoffkenntnis ist sehr achtenswert, einige seiner Behauptungen scheinen jedoch etwas übereilt zu sein; so ist jene, dass der äthiopische Herrscher Memnon von den griechischen Vasenmalern

deshalb als Weisser dargestellt worden sei, weil ein bedeutender König nicht schwarz sein könne (18), kaum durch eine Quellenbasis entsprechenden Gewichtes gesichert, und der Autor liefert keinerlei anderen in Frage kommenden Erklärungen.

Sich gewagter Hypothesen enthaltend, skizziert Johan Desanges sehr klar die Hauptrichtungen und -streckenführungen des Vordringens der Römer in Afrika. Des weiteren beweist er mit einer Reihe überzeugender Argumente, dass der Gold- und Sklavenhandel der Römer durch die Sahara hindurch ins Innere Afrikas nur unbedeutend gewesen sein kann.

Klaus Herbers stellt die Kolonialisierung der Kanarischen Inseln durch die Spanier dar, wobei er betont, dass hier wie in einem Versuchslaboratorium das Drehbuch der späteren amerikanischen Kolonialisierung und ihr wirtschaftlich-gesellschaftliches Institutionensystem entstanden. Er zieht dabei aber die Analogien nicht über die Grenze des Erlaubten hinaus. Ausserdem verweist er darauf, warum dieses Modell — vor allem wegen des hier vorhandenen Islam — nicht so leicht auf Afrika anwendbar war.

Peter Herde behandelt die afrikanischen Entdeckungsreisen vor dem weiten Horizont des auf die sonstigen Kontinente gerichteten mittelalterlichen europäischen Interesses. Er hält für wichtig zu betonen, dass sie sich mit einzelnen Faktoren nicht ausreichend erklären lassen, dass die einzelnen Reisenden eine Fülle von Motiven bewogen haben mag, unter denen auch der Zufall und individuelle Sehnsüchte eine Rolle spielten (101).

Emeri van Danzel beschreibt eine der erfolglosen Versuche der holländischen Ostindischen Kompanie, in Äthiopien einzudringen, den ein armenischer Kaufmann in den letzten Jahrzehnten des 17. Jahrhunderts überliefert hat. Seine Konklusion, dass "sich hier zwei Kulturen begegneten, von denen die eine, technisch höher entwickelt, sich nicht vorstellen konnte, dass die andere zwar anders, aber darum nicht schlechter war" (142), lässt sich zwar kaum bestreiten, doch steckt der Teufel eben immer im Detail, und von solchen bietet der Autor eine reiche Auswahl. Zu bemerken ist, dass die afrikanischen Geschichtsforschung die armenischen Quellen im Matanadaran von Jerewan bisher kaum verwendet hat.

Jörg Fisch führt den überzeugenden Beweis, dass die Meinung, die Afrikaaner hätten ein leeres Land vorgefunden, ein blosser Mythos ist. Er belegt mit ökologischen Argumenten, warum die im Ostteil Südafrikas bereits im 3. Jahrhundert auftretenden Bantu-Gruppen das klimatisch vorzügliche Gebiet am Kap der Guten Hoffnung nicht erreicht hatten.

Helmut Ruppert überblickt die deutschen Entdeckungsreisen und geographischen Forschungen in der Sahel-Zone, geordnet nach Perioden, in denen unterschiedliche Ziele dominierten. Die auf soziale und kulturelle Fakten gerichteten Untersuchungen registriert er überaus selektiv.

Die niveauvolle Diskussion wurde von Amalie Fössel summiert.

MIHÁLY SÁRKÁNY

BECK, Kurt: Die Kawahla von Kordofan. Ökologische und ökonomische Strategien arabischer Nomaden im Sudan. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, Stuttgart 1988, 421 pp.

This is the result of Kurt Beck's stay in Sudan between October 1980 and October 1983. The author did his field studies in Northern Kordofan during 12 months. He was able to spend also some months in Khartoum, studying there local archives. His book on the Kawahla nomads was published in the series of "Studien zur Kulturkunde" of Leo Frobenius Institute.

The Afro-Arab tribe of Kawahla lives among several tribes rather well known in the anthropological literature, such as the Nuba, Hawawir, Kababish and Kaga. That area, located west of the main urban complex of Khartoum and Omdurman has been visited in the past by eminent European scholars like Parkyns, Seligman, Herzog, Cunnison or Asad. The Kawahla belong to that group of peoples of Sudan, who in spite of strong and old impact of Islam still stick to their local, African tradition. Writing his monographic study Kurt Beck focuses his attention on the ecological factors in the traditional economy of nomadic tribesmen. That methodological approach became very popular in the anthropological milieu of scholars studying nomadic African cultures after the World War Two. It was evidently a kind of intellectual reaction to the previously popular naive visions of "primitive" and "backward" nomadic cultures, propagated by some ethnologists of the interwar period and rather willingly accepted by the ruling elites of the new-born African independent states.

The book is divided into six parts. Part I deals with the genealogy and history of the Kawahla and how they were reported by the first European travellers. Then Kurt Beck presents their history under the colonial rule. The author discusses the process of forming the Kawahla as the tribe, their territorial expansion and the decline of their old political structure. The last chapters of Part I are devoted to the relations between the Kawahla and the Kababish in the '30s of our century. Beck tries to present us the tribal policy carried out inside the state-structures and the final triumph in the tribalistic particularism.

Part II concerns the general information about Northern Kordofan, its peoples, natural environment, traditional patterns of the land use: pastures and the watering wells.

Traditional animal husbandry of the Kawahla is discussed in Part III. Reader is acquainted there with the cycles of migrations, the basic animals kept by the nomads and the details of keeping systems. Kurt Beck presents there the everyday life and work seen from the perspective of a common herdsman, whose existence is full of risks and tensions but in the same way of the spirit of freedom and independence prevailing in the pastoral communities. The author compares then the traditional animal husbandry of the Kawahla with that of the tribe of Hawawir. There is also a detailed analysis of the role of camels, cattle, sheep and goats in the local economies.

Even more economic details can be found in Part IV, where the strategy of protecting the herd is discussed. We are informed how the herdsmen fight the animal pests and diseases. Then we become acquainted with their milk economy and marketing systems.

Part V deals with the everyday life of typical family household, how it looks like and how it functions. We are informed there about the demographic structure of such units and the cooperation between members of a nuclear family living in the nomadic camp. The author presents us the traditional scheme of everyday chores and duties of a male and female.

The last Part VI describes the phenomena of social mobility among the Kawahla vs. their class-structure.

The book is provided with a rather comprehensive bibliography consisting of 192 references. It is a pity that such a valuable and interesting study as that of Kurt Beck was not provided with an English summary.

Personally I am sorry that Kurt Beck failed to enrich his book with some photos.

LESZEK DZIĘGIEL
Cracow

RICHARD, Madelaine: Tradition et coutumes matrimoniales chez les Mada et les Mouyeng, Nord-Cameroun, Anthropos-Institut, Haus Völker und Kulturen, St. Augustin 1977. 380+4 pp.

Deux ethnies montagnardes peu connues du Nord du Caméroun, la société des Mada et des Mouyeng vivant dans la montagne Mandara sont présentées dans le dixième volume de l'Anthropos-Institut. L'auteur de cette monographie, Madelaine Richard présente les Mada et les Mouyeng dans le même ouvrage non seulement parce qu'ils habitent la même région, mais aussi en raison de leur histoire commune et de la similitude de leur organisation sociale.

Leur différence est tellement effacée pour leurs compatriotes aussi que les Peuls par exemple ont donné à tous les deux groupes le même nom, ils les appellent Kirchi, c'est-à-dire "païens", parce qu'ils ne sont pas des musulmans.

L'origine des deux groupes est assez ambiguë: il est vraisemblable que les mada, apparentés aux Matakam, sont arrivés de l'Ouest. De l'origine des Mouyeng aucune hypothèse n'a pas encore été vérifiée jusqu'ici, en tout cas il s'agit d'un groupe très hétérogène dans lequel on distingue les descendants directs des ancêtres et les étrangers. Ils ont occupé leur habitat actuel à la fin du XVIII. siècle et ils appartenaient au royaume Mandara. Ce sont seulement les documents sur la chasse aux esclaves qui nous fournissent des sources de l'histoire de ce royaume, d'après lesquelles ces deux ethnies défendaient d'une manière particulièrement violente leurs femmes et leurs enfants. Une autre période abondamment documentée de l'histoire de cette région est celle de l'occupation allemande en 1884, ce qui est déjà surtout l'histoire des Européens en Afrique.

La base économique des sociétés mada et mouyeng est l'agriculture même jusqu'à nos jours et dans la production agricole c'est l'orge, facteur dominant de tout le calendrier rural, qui joue le rôle principal. En dehors du nombre des femmes et des enfants, c'est l'orge qui est l'un des indices importants de la richesse, par rapport à laquelle tous les autres produits agricoles, le haricot, la noisette, le coton, ou le tabac n'ont qu'une importance secondaire.

Dans la saison sèche qui dure du mois d'octobre au juin les habitants de la montagne Mandara vivent de la chasse, de la pêche du commerce et de la fabrication des produits manufacturés. Il est surprenant de voir que cette société particulièrement individualisée et toujours changeante est capable, même sans unités politiques, d'organiser son économie et de tenir en main la direction de la production.

Le réseau de parenté chez les Mada tout comme chez les Mouyeng mérite une attention particulière, étant donné que ces sociétés sont basées sur le réseau de parenté.

Ce sont quatre grandes familles qui dominent depuis longtemps le groupe chez les Mada, parce qu'ils croient que celles-là constituent la branche ancestrale du groupe et les autres ne sont que des étrangers. Les descendants des ancêtres jouissent des privilèges chez les Mouyeng aussi: par exemple du droit de propriété et de jouissance des terres appelées "les terres de nos pères". Chez les Mouyeng les descendants des ancêtres sont beaucoup plus nombreux que les étrangers; c'est pour cela que la question de l'origine a beaucoup moins d'importance que chez les Mada.

Evans-Pritchard a qualifié la société de ce type d'"anarchie bien ordonnée", comme les structures hiérarchiques habituelles qui caractérisent d'autres sociétés manquent totalement.

Le pouvoir du chef de famille se manifeste dans la distribution du travail et des produits; au niveau de la société cette fonction est remplie

lors d'un travail plus important comme les semailles d'orge, ou la chasse par un chef lignage. En dehors de cela il y a encore deux fonctions essentielles dans les deux groupes: celle du chef religieux qui connaît le mieux les rites et les mythes et celle du chef militaire dont le rôle est le plus important depuis à peu près deux siècles au niveau de la communauté.

Dans les sociétés patrilinéaires et virilocales des Mada et des Mouyeng c'était la nécessité politique et sociale qui avait engendré la polygamie: le nombre des femmes et des enfants entraîne logiquement la croissance du prestige. Au-delà des types de base habituels des rapports familiaux (mari-femme, parents-enfants, demi-frères), il faut encore mentionner les rapports basés sur l'autorité, le respect de certains qualités, comme par exemple le rapport avec le frère ou la soeur aînés, appelés "mon petit père" ou "ma petite mère" qui remplissent une fonction d'instructeur ou le rapport plus intime de l'enfant, ressemblant davantage aux parents et jouissant de certaines privilèges, avec ses parents.

Toutes les deux sociétés sont caractérisées par le prestige plus grand de la mère par rapport au père devant ses enfants.

Ce sont les familles élémentaires qui sont à la fois les unités de chaque agglomération et qui sont en même temps les unités de base de la production et de la distribution. Le phénomène peut être observé aussi dans la structure d'agglomération: l'agglomération traditionnelle n'est pas un village, les gens vivent en unités dispersées, dans des groupes moins nombreux.

Le titre à la terre dépend de l'existence ou le manquée des liens de parenté avec les ancêtres, les membres de la société ont part donc aux terres cultivables d'après une première occupation supposée du territoire.

Dans l'organisation familiale du travail la production des légumes, à laquelle participent aussi les enfants, incombent aux femmes. C'est un trait particulier des sociétés mada et mouyeng que les enfants les plus jeunes peuvent également choisir librement un lopin de terre où ils peuvent produire du coton, des noisettes ou du haricot à leur aise.

La production de l'orge se fait au niveau de la communauté par les hommes dans la plupart des cas.

Le père a droit d'offrir un lopin de terre à ses enfants avant leur mariage pour assurer leur subsistance. C'est lui également qui décide de l'étendue et de la qualité du terrain. La succession n'a pas de principes généraux: elle est ordonnée par des règles matérielles, familiales et psychologiques très complexes qui ne sont guère intelligibles aux yeux d'un observateur non initié.

Si le nombre des enfants dans une famille est trop grand par rapport à la terre disponible, le chef de famille échange quelques troupeaux de chèvres contre de la terre pour qu'il puisse assurer à tous ses enfants la quantité suffisante de la terre, indispensable à leur subsistance. C'est l'échange des biens les plus précieux dans l'échange de produits. Par rapport à cela l'échange des cadeaux représente une valeur beaucoup moins importante, mais en ce qui concerne sa quantité, il est tout de même considérable. Ni les parents ni les enfants mariés ne se rendent visite sans s'offrir mutuellement des cadeaux. Le père offre en général du haricot, des noisettes ou quelque vêtement à ses filles, tandis que la fille donne du tabac à son père et du sel à sa mère en compensation. Si les frères demandent conseil l'un de l'autre, ils payent de retour de ces services également par de tels cadeaux, comme de la viande sèche ou de l'orge. Le chef de famille a le droit quelquefois de choisir le cadeau et il peut demander un bien tellement précieux comme une chèvre par exemple. Les biens offerts aux chefs religieux et militaires peuvent être de même

classés dans la catégorie des "cadeaux", parce qu'on ne les offrent pas obligatoirement, sous forme d'impôt.

En raison de la saison sèche très longue le "maître de la pluie" a un rôle primordial dans ces sociétés et il peut demander parfois des cadeaux extraordinaires comme des chèvres ou des vaches noires ou même des femmes. Pourtant on ne lui offre pas ces "biens" sous l'effet d'une contrainte extérieure, mais sous l'influence d'une pression intérieure et psychique.

Les différences les plus marquantes entre les Mada et les Mouyeng peuvent être relevées dans le domaine de la religion et des concepts cosmogoniques.

Les Mouyeng appellent leur Dieu celui "qui est par-dessus tout" et ils croient qu'il n'y a qu'un seul Dieu, le créateur du monde de qui découle tout ce qui est bien ou mal. Il est trait essentiel de leur concept de divinité qu'ils ne le revêtent des qualités ni masculines ni féminines. Les Mada imaginent la création comme une action partagée: elle a été faite en partie par Dieu et en partie par l'homme. Ils tiennent Dieu pour un être saint qui accompagne l'homme à partir du moment de sa naissance jusqu'à sa mort, qui avait créé le ciel, les étoiles, la Lune, le Soleil et la Terre. D'après la conception des Mada la première naissance de l'homme s'est déroulée dans la tête de Dieu quand il pensait à la création de l'homme. La deuxième naissance était la réelle, la véritable et la troisième est celle quand l'homme renaît dans la famille qu'il a créée lui-même.

Ils accomplissent des rites réguliers au début du cycle agricole et à la fin de la saison sèche afin de solliciter de la pluie. En dehors de cela ce sont les cultes pour les ancêtres qui ont une grande importance: le plus important parmi ces cultes c'est la fête du boeuf, quand on distribue du boeuf aux morts et aux vivants, un autre événement essentiel de la communauté est la fête de la chèvre castrée qui termine la saison sèche.

Tant dans la société mada que parmi les Mouyeng peut-on trouver des sorcières, des voyeurs et des divinateurs. L'espèce la plus dangereuse des sorcières ne peut être discernée que dans la nuit et alors aussi seulement une tête, un pied et le tronc peuvent être perçus. Elle circule entre les morts et les vivants, visite des tombeaux et exécute les souhaits des morts. Un autre type — qu'on peut voir dans la journée — est lié à des personnes concrètes. Moins dangereux que le précédent bien qu'il puisse effectivement causer un plus grand dommage par un traitement mal réussi ou justement par ses maléfices.

Les voyeurs et les divinateurs sont très appréciés dans ces sociétés et surtout ceux qui sont capables de prédire une guerre. L'auteur du livre, en raison de l'importance primordiale de la famille, consacre tout un chapitre particulier aux rapports conjugaux.

Les filles mouyeng se marient à l'âge de 10-12 ans, ce qui paraît prématuré par rapport à l'âge de mariage habituel chez les Mada (12-14 ans). La même différence peut être observée chez les garçons: les Mouyeng se marient à l'âge de 16-18 ans, tandis que les Mada à l'âge de 18-20 ans.

Mais le choix des futurs époux et épouses se fait déjà avant l'âge de puberté — quelquefois on choisit déjà à l'âge de 5-6 ans la future femme d'un garçon — elle est même parfois confiée aux parents du garçon pour que les jeunes soient élevés ensemble.

La perte de la virginité avant le mariage est considérée en général comme un péché, mais les Mouyeng avouent qu'il est très difficile de la garder jusqu'aux noces.

Le mariage est un contrat social qui est valable jusqu'à un temps illimité non entre deux individus, mais entre deux groupes. La relation des partenaires se borne chez toutes les deux ethnies à l'acte sexuel.

La virilité et la féminité ont une seule preuve acceptée par la société et c'est de devenir parent.

L'étendue des rapports conjugaux est beaucoup plus limitée chez les Mouyeng que chez les Mada: ils peuvent épouser des personnes appartenant au lignage maternel ou au lignage de leur grand-mère paternelle. Le mariage entre Mada et Mouyeng est également interdit.

La polygamie offre aux hommes en principe une possibilité illimitée de prises de contact avec l'autre sexe, mais un mari mada ou mouyeng ne peut entretenir que 8-10 femmes en général.

Le mari peut avoir une favorite parmi ses épouses qui n'est pas forcément sa première femme. Chez les Mada existe aussi la monogamie, mais ce n'est pas très fréquent. Elle concerne 5% de la population totale. La vie d'une femme ne se borne pas forcément non plus à un seul mariage. Par suite du caractère des ethnies montagnardes elles supportent mal si leur mari veut les dominer d'une manière autoritaire, ainsi les femmes n'ayant pas encore d'enfant quittent facilement leur mari. En tel cas la femme ne peut pas emporter les biens — des vaisselles, des bijoux, etc. — qu'elle avait apportés au mariage.

La conscience fière des femmes mada et mouyeng est attestée par beaucoup de proverbes et de biographies présentées parmi les "Documents", annexe du volume.

L'auteur a parfaitement réussi à réaliser la description tantôt simultanée tantôt successive des deux sociétés en mettant en relief leurs caractères particuliers dans le deuxième cas. Elle faisait soigneusement attention à ce qu'il y ait toutes les données nécessaires dans cette monographie pour une future analyse comparative, mais elle nous est encore redevable de cette analyse.

MÁRTA HALASY

ZWERNEMANN, Jürgen: Erzählungen aus der westafrikanischen Sahara. Franz Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden GMBH, Stuttgart 1985. XII+184 S.

Der Direktor des Hamburger Museums veröffentlicht in diesem Band 114 Erzählungen, die er 1955 im heutigen Burkina Fasso bei den Kassena und Nuna, 1969/70 in Nord-Togo bei den Moba und Gurma gesammelt hat. Sie wurden wie nebenbei unter anderweitiger Sammelarbeit auf Magnetophon aufgenommen, vier davon durch seinen Gefährten auf der 1955er Reise, Kunz Dittmer. Die betreffenden Völker sprechen Sprachen, die zu den Gur-Sprachen gehören und befinden sich in der Kulturarea die von Baumann als Ober-Volta-Provinz gekennzeichnet wurde.

Trotz den in den letzten Jahrzehnten erfreulicherweise zahlreicher gewordenen Materialveröffentlichungen ist Afrika folkloristisch noch immer wenig erschlossen, weshalb jede Folklorepublikation grossen Wert besitzt. Diese Feststellung trifft auch auf den vorliegenden Band zu, der nur deutsche Texte enthält (sie sind also das Ergebnis zweifacher Übersetzungen: aus dem Original wurden die Erzählungen ins Französische übertragen, woraus der Herausgeber die deutsche Version erstellte), weshalb sie für folkloristische Analyse nur beschränkt geeignet sind; ihre Gruppierung nach in der Folkloristik wenig üblichen "Gattungen" (Mythenmärchen, Märchen, ätiologische Erzählungen, Novellen) ist stark in Frage zu ziehen. Fraglich sind einmal die Kategorien selbst, mehr aber noch die Einteilung der einzelnen Erzählungen, inwiefern z. B. die Ursprungserklärung der Einäugigkeit (Nr. 17) ein Märchen ist, wogegen die Erzählung darüber, warum die Män-

ner nicht die Gedanken der Frauen erraten können (Nr. 51), zu den äthiologischen Erzählungen gerechnet wird.

Es ist allerdings angemessener, die Aufmerksamkeit auf die Vorzüge des Bandes zu lenken. Der Verfasser gibt eine kurze, aber sehr gründliche Einführung in die Kulturen der erwähnten Völker und fördert mit nützlichen Anmerkungen das Verständnis der unterschiedlichsten Andeutungen in den Erzählungen. Ebenfalls in Anmerkungen weist er auf andere westsudanische Parallelen der hier mitgeteilten Erzählungen hin und schlägt damit einen Pfad frei für sonstige vergleichende Untersuchungen. Eine weitere Benutzung wird durch das Register der in den Erzählungen vorkommenden Gestalten erleichtert.

MIHÁLY SÁRKÁNY

LAFITAU, Joseph-François: Moeurs des sauvages américains comparées aux mœurs des premiers temps. I-II. Introduction, choix des textes et notes par Edna Hindy LEMAY. François Maspero, Paris 1983. 287+185 pp.

Le père Lafitau (1681-1746), qui vivait comme missionnaire parmi les Algonquins, Hurons et Iroquois en Amérique du Nord, est un classique non seulement de l'ethnologie française, mais aussi de la recherche ethnologique européenne. Ce jésuite qui avait une érudition classique excellente, essayait de comparer ses expériences avec l'image qui se dessine des oeuvres d'Homère et des sources de l'antiquité lointaine. Selon lui dans l'espece humaine de remarquables similitudes peuvent être observées: comme si les mœurs, les coutumes des Indiens étaient un reflet, une analogie de l'âge d'or grec disparu il y a longtemps. Cette maison d'édition excellente (F. Maspero) a déjà publié un bon nombre d'oeuvres classiques dans cette série (La Découverte) digne d'envie (comme celles de Colomb, Darwin, Bartolomé de Las Casas, Cortés, Mungo Park, de Bougainville, Stendhal, Cook, Marco Polo, Alexander von Humboldt, Hérodote, de La Pérouse, Jacques Cartier, Bernardino de Sahagun, Mark Twain, Diderot, Ibn Battûta, Teilhard de Chardin, Athanase Nikitine Garcilaso de la Vega l'Inca, même de T. Hersart de La Villemarqué) avec des commentaires, en faisant le choix nécessaire et en donnant quelquefois une nouvelle traduction française du texte. La liste des auteurs nous révèle que tout le monde a eu la parole qui avait fait n'importe quelle "découverte" de l'antiquité jusqu'à nos jours à peu près, des voyageurs aux historiens et folkloristes, des missionnaires aux entomologistes. La Grèce antique et l'Asie Mineure apparaissent aussi bien que la Chine médiévale, l'Amérique de l'époque moderne et les paysages merveilleux des mers exotiques ainsi que la vie sociale des insectes et même le tableau de la vie parisienne sous la Régence de la plume de l'effendi Mohamed, ou les paysans bretons ou hollandais. La question s'impose, pourquoi ont été ignorés (on espère que ce n'est pas pour toujours) quelques auteurs classiques, pourquoi les paysans, et parmi ceux les paysans de Hongrie tout de même présents dans les sources françaises, n'ont-ils pas encore été "découverts" dans cette série — on peut espérer une réponse positive à cette question.

Ces deux volumes sont l'oeuvre d'un pionnier que tout le monde connaît et à qui on se réfère souvent, mais on ne consulte pas en général cet ouvrage. Le livre de Lafitau est dans la plupart des cas considéré comme une oeuvre d'un précurseur de l'ethnologie comparée, sa place dans l'histoire des sciences a été maintes fois désignée. Il n'est pas tout de même sans intérêt de noter que l'auteur a travaillé pendant cinq années, à partir de 1714, au Canada. Il a composé son ouvrage après son retour en France et l'oeuvre a été achevée en 1722. Elle a été publiée deux fois

en 1724: en deux volumes de grand format et en quatre volumes de petit format. On connaît une édition de 1725 à La Haye, mais il est vraisemblable qu'il ne s'agit que de la réapparition des éditions françaises précédentes au marché de livres. L'oeuvre a été publiée en 1731 et en 1751 en hollandais et en 1752 aussi en allemand. En anglais par contre, l'ouvrage n'a paru qu'en 1974 à Toronto (mais cette fois-ci avec la préface solide faisant presque un livre et avec des commentaires précieux de William N. Fenton et Elisabeth L. Moore). L'auteur, lui, il a pu passer encore deux ans à partir de 1727 au Canada, après quoi il est retourné en France et en 1733 il publie un recueil de documents important sur les découvertes de Portugais en Amérique. Vers la fin de sa vie il voudrait publier une monographie sur la religion des Indiens d'Amérique, dont il n'a pas réussi à obtenir la permission. L'oeuvre de Lafitau était déjà un manuel de référence fondamental de la recherche américaniste au XVIII. siècle. Elle était consultée et citée non seulement par les philosophes et les chercheurs des religions, mais aussi par le danois Jens Kraft ou l'anglais William Robertson. Elle est toujours citée presque jusqu'à nos jours, quand il s'agit des débuts des recherches de folklore comparé, de science des religions et d'ethnologie.

Ce recueil est de toute façon d'actualité. L'introduction soignée nous fait connaître l'histoire de deux siècles et demi de l'influence de l'oeuvre, le texte a été transcrit en français moderne, mais les notes originales ont été maintenues et le livre contient aussi quelques images. Tous les neuf grands thèmes de l'ouvrage original sont présentés dans les chapitres de ce recueil, ainsi le problème de l'origine des peuples américains, la caractérisation générale de ces "sauvages", l'organisation politique, le mariage et l'éducation des enfants, le mode de vie et la répartition du travail entre hommes et femmes, l'art militaire, les maladies et leurs traitements, la mort et la sépulture. Nous avons toutes ces informations dans des chapitres concis, un peu spéculatifs, mais qui, de toute manière, excitent l'attention du lecteur. Aujourd'hui les remarques de Lafitau relatives à la philologie classique et aux traits ressemblants de l'Europe de son époque ont presque la même valeur de source que celles concernant l'américanisme.

L'ouvrage que l'on peut enfin consulter, nous révèle que la comparaison, à l'époque, n'était pas encore méthodique même si elle était évidente et ce n'est pas par hasard qu'elle reflète la conception d'un humanisme universel. Il est facile de comprendre pourquoi elle était citée par tant de coryphées français de la philosophie de la nature des Lumières. Du point de vue ethnologique il s'agit des observations clairvoyantes, des parallèles pertinents, mais la question de la méthode comparative ne s'y pose même pas. On pourrait dire qu'en ce qui concerne son sujet, c'est déjà un ouvrage scientifique de l'ethnologie comparée, mais sa méthode est encore inférieure aux exigences scientifiques. La question pourrait être bien sûr posée si l'on trouve une méthode dans les oeuvres de Tylor, de Bastian ou même de Wundt? Il est évident de toute façon que l'ethnologie s'est développée d'une manière empirique au XVIII. siècle. Qui a formulé les premières connaissances théoriques que l'on pourrait qualifier indépendantes, on hésite encore à répondre. Ce qui est certain, c'est qu'il y avait des personnes qui posaient les fondements de la théorie de l'ethnologie, aujourd'hui tellement florissante.

LAVONDÈS, Anne: *Vitrine des objets océaniques. Inventaire des collections du Muséum de Grenoble. Cultures matérielles et histoire dans le Pacifique au XIX. siècle.* ORSTOM, 1990. 205 pp.

In the past ten-fifteen years there has been an increasingly growing need for the worldwide assesment of the ethnological collections and for making them available for scientific research. The first attempts, carried out partly under the auspices of UNESCO, resulted in some inventory-like, pilot surveys of certain countries or continents. (E.g. P. Gathercole and Alison, C.: *Survey of Oceanic Collections in Museums in the United Kingdom and the Irish Republic*, 1979; or L. Bolton: *Oceanic Cultural Property in Australia. A Pilot Survey of Major Public Collections.* Australian National Committee for UNESCO, 1980.) Parallel with these, serious efforts have been made to study some of the world's earliest ethnological collections. Their aim was to bring together, if only for a publication or an exhibition, unique and early materials that have been widely dispersed in the course of history and have lost their documentation. Amongst the most outstanding works resulting from these are that of A. Akaepler's on the material of Captain Cook's voyages.

Similar anthropological/museological research has been going on in the past few years in France as well. Quite recently, the first thesis on the history of oceanic collections in Parisian museums and institutions, was defended. (S. Jacquemin: *Objets des mers du sud. Histoire des collections océaniques dans les musées et établissements parisiens. XVIII-XX. siècles.* École du Louvre, mémoire de recherche.) A coordinated undertaking has also been launched in order to assess the (oceanic) material of French provincial museums.

Though the book under review was carried out independently from these works, it fits well into this trend. One of its principal merits is that it makes one realize how much such studies are needed and what kind of hidden treasures lie unexploited in dusty storerooms of little known museums. Since the present reviewer is a former museum anthropologist and familiar with museological conditions elsewhere, he is not as shocked as he may otherwise be for instance about the simple fact that the Museum of Grenoble's ethnological collections go back to the mid-XIXth century, but their first written documents (known until the author's investigations) come from only 1955, and the first inventory was completed in 1979! (This was followed then by Lavondès' investigations between 1984-1987 - the result of which is this book.) In such circumstances one should not be surprised that the author had to conduct a serious detective work to throw some light on the objects and make them speak. Also, it is no wonder that following a theft in the museum in 1981 French authorities had to turn to a New Zealand anthropologist for some documentation about the stolen artifacts. This anthropologist in question had earlier visited the museum and made detailed notes and photos on the Maori objects...

And yet, this material is of inestimable value and probably one of France's earliest oceanic collections. A smaller part of it originates from lieutenant-commander Tardy de Montravel on Dumont d'Urville's second trip in 1837-40. Tardy de Montravel was charged with the astronomical observations on the "Zélée", and after the end of the voyage, cooperated also in the publication of its scientific results.

The greatest bulk of the material, however, comes from Louis Arnoux, a sea-surgeon who spent four years between 1842-46 on board of the corvette "Rhin" (Rhine) in the Pacific region - mostly in New Zealand, but also in the Marquesas, Tonga and Fiji Islands, in New Caledonia and Micronesia. As no special discoveries or great scientific investigations are connected with the voyage of the "Rhin", its trip is relatively little known. Its

main aim was the maintenance of French military presence in the then new colonies of the South Seas and the assertion of French interests. During its very irregular itinerary, it was for more than two years in station in New Zealand (in Akaroa, near Christchurch) from where the best pieces of the collection were taken. The whole material was given then in 1846, shortly after the end of the trip, by Arnoux to Grenoble, his home town.

The current book consists of two parts. In the first the author delineates all that she found out about the history of the museum of Grenoble, its collections, the trip of the Rhin, its participants, in the first place Arnoux himself, and the history of the objects. The second part is a descriptive catalogue with photographs that contains the material arranged according to island groups. The book ends with some documents, interesting from a historical/museological point of view, brought to light by the author during her three years' investigation. This annexe contains the description of three hand-written registers dating back probably to the end of the XIXth century, concerning the earliest parts of the material; a pilot survey by M. C. Laroche, an oceanist, made in 1945, shortly after World War II; the description of stolen artifacts based on D. S. Simmons' notes and photos of 1978; and a list of objects coming from the captain of the "Rhin", Mr. Bérard and now in the museum of Montpellier.

Taken as a whole, this book is a significant step in the series of historical/museological efforts of re-discovering and re-documenting old museum material. Thanks to the generous and painstaking work of the author, a part of France's Pacific cultural heritage is saved from oblivion. Having regained their one time glory, the objects may now be put in their proper place amongst the precious items of national property.

GÁBOR VARGYAS

Edited by E. RAABE — E. SCHLESIER — M. URBAN: Verzeichnis der völkerkundlichen Sammlung des Instituts für Völkerkunde der Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen. Teil I.: Abteilung Ozeanien. Göttingen, 1988. 196 pp.

This book is another one along the lines of museum-anthropological effort mentioned in the previous review, to make museum material available for scientific research. It is the first in a planned series containing the catalogues of the different collections (altogether 16 000 objects in 1987) of the University Museum of Göttingen. As amongst them the Pacific ones are especially important (though unfortunately we are not informed on their exact number), it was natural to start the series with their publication. These collections are one of the oldest in Europe, and go back to the end of the XVIIIth century. Since a significant part of them come from Captain Cook's voyages, they are well known to all those interested in the cultures of Polynesia. It is less known, however, that apart from the Cook artifacts the museum contains some very good other collections, too, coming mostly from German anthropologists. Moreover, as this material has been used in a systematic way in university teaching since as early as 1803 (!), serious efforts have been made for having well documented, coherent collections based on ethnographic fieldwork — a fact that very much enhances their value. Four of them have to be mentioned especially: G. Koch's material from 1953 from Tonga; that of E. Schlesier from 1962 from Normanby Island in the Massim area; the one of H. Petri from North-West Australia in 1967; and H. Peter's from 1974 from the Gargar tribe of the West Sepik Province, Papua New Guinea.

As the authors put it, their aim was to make this precious material more known to the scientific world so that it could be used extensively in comparative and other studies. As a first step toward this aim, the register containing basic information about the objects (inventar number, denomination of the object, short comment about its use and material, provenience, collector and date of collecting, date of acquisition) is published here. The material is arranged according to geographical units (Australia, New Guinea, Melanesia, Polynesia and Micronesia and their subdivisions) and within them, to function groups such as household, musical instruments, clothing, weapons etc. At the end, there is also an index of the function groups, and of the places and ethnic groups from where the objects come.

Given all this, the volume makes possible a very useful first orientation about the material. One wishes that a second step – detailed description and analysis of the different collections (especially of the most precious Cook material that was not available for A. Kaeppeler's pioneer study) – should follow now. The good example for this is set forth from the same museum by E. Schlesier's publication of his own Normanby material. (See our review on it in *Acta Ethnographica* 34 /1986-88/ 469-470.)

GÁBOR VARGYAS

STÖHR, Waldemar: Kunst und Kultur aus der Südsee. Sammlung Clausmeyer Melanesien. *Ethnologica N. F.* Band 6. Köln, 1987. 388 pp.

The scientific study of Melanesian art is almost contemporaneous with the discovery and colonization of Melanesian cultures. The continuous flow of ethnographic and artistic objects to museums resulted very early, at the end of the XIXth century, in descriptive-analytic and comparative studies. However, nearly half a century of ethnographic research had to pass until it became possible to outline broadly New Guinea's and Melanesia's art in general, with its main style provinces and various art forms. Apart from some notable exceptions, the first summaries of Melanesian (and Oceanic) art were published in the late forties. Their number started to grow in the 1950ies, and the boom was in the 1960ies. In the past two decades they seem to have got rarer – having given their place to intensive field studies, historical researches or publications of specific museum collections. One of the last summaries of Melanesian art in general is to be found in the two volumes of "Tribal Art" edited by T. Bodrogi in 1981.

The magnificent volume under review is a new one along the lines of this trend. It is the conclusion of a twenty-year long activity in one of Germany's richest Oceanic collections – that of the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum of Cologne where dr. Stöhr had been curator until his recent retirement. At the same time, it is also the continuation of the author's earlier work, his remarkable "Schwarze Inseln der Südsee. Melanesien" published more than fifteen years ago.

As the title indicates it, the aim of the present book is twofold: to give an overview of the cultures and art forms of the different Melanesian island groups based on the Museum's material, and to present one of its most outstanding, newly acquired collections in the form of a descriptive catalogue. Accordingly, the book consists of two parts that are practically independent from each other.

The first is devoted to the treatise of Melanesian art in general. As it is usual in such summaries, the author presents his material according to different style provinces, starting with New Guinea, and within it with the Sepik as perhaps the most varied and outstanding art area.

The great problem of every such synthesis is to find a proper balance between the extraordinary richness of existing material, our uneven knowledge about it, and the limited space for its discussion. All this necessitates a very good command of both the scientific literature and the museological material, and a concise but nevertheless minute style. In this respect, the book sets a good example. The author succeeded in giving a clear and coherent picture of the different style provinces, where description and analytic treatment go side by side. And although one would imagine, it is hard to offer anything too much new – especially in this bird's-eye perspective – in the relatively slowly growing art-anthropological literature, the author's wide knowledge and fresh look keep the reader interested throughout the book.

The rich written information is completed with similarly rich visual material. In his choice of the illustrations, the author – very rightly – refrained from using other museums' material – a fact that enhances very much the museological value of the book. It would have been disappointing, indeed, to see again the same few pieces portrayed, as was the case in some earlier works. Avoiding this trap the author was able to give a cross-section of the outstanding material of his museum as well. (To mention but one example, the whole collection of the Australian photographer, J. W. Lindt, author of "Picturesque New Guinea" in 1887 is to be found here!) This way, every item depicted in the book comes from Cologne and, in fact, it could be called "Melanesian Art in the Rautenstrauch-Joest Museum". When nevertheless it was inevitable to use "foreign" material, a drawing stands instead of a photo. Special mention has to be made of the great number and excellent quality of these illustrations. The beauty of the 300 photos (without taking into account the other 200 ones of the Klausmeyer collection) goes in pair with the artistic value of the objects themselves.

Another special asset of the volume is the extensive use of magnificent old field photographs. Their aim is obviously to "place" the objects into their original settings and help thus their better understanding. In this case, too, the author deliberately limited his choice for two archives – that of the Museum and of the Rheinisches Bildarchiv (Rhenish Photo Archive), probably also in Cologne. These photographs are just as precious museological items as the objects themselves. This is why I feel pity that in most of the cases the name of the photographer, and quite often the date of the making of the picture is not provided, but only the localization of the photograph in one of the two above mentioned archives (without registration number, however). A notable exception is footnote 14 on page 50 which gives the background to Father Kirschbaum's excellent shots.

The second part of the book is a descriptive catalogue of the Klausmeyer collection, one of the greatest German private collections of "primitive art" of the first half of this century, now in the possession of the Museum. This collection of approximately 1000 African and Oceanic artifacts was acquired by the Museum in 1966 from the artist-collector himself, shortly before his death. In taking over the material, the museum engaged itself to publish the whole collection in the form of a descriptive catalogue. The first, its African part, has been published in 1972 by K. Volprecht as the fifth volume of *Ethnologica*. This addendum to the author's "Melanesian Art" in the sixth volume of the same series, is the continuation and conclusion of this undertaking.

The collection consists of 352 objects. The greater bulk (125 pieces) comes from the Sepik region, and this, together with the 41 New Ireland items (mostly malanggans) makes up approximately half of the total collection. The other half comes from different parts of New Guinea (Huon Gulf, Massim area, Papuan Gulf, Asmat region) and other Melanesian

island groups (New Britain, Admiralty Islands, the Solomons and Vanuatu).

The catalogue contains a very detailed description of the objects, with eventual information on their origin (if Klausmeyer was able to provide it) and analytic and comparative notes, including stylistic parallels to the objects from the literature, by the author. There is a tremendous amount of museological and scientific work in this part, too, hidden modestly in the background information about the objects. It is also evident that the author often had to conduct a serious detective work in order to throw some light on the objects.

Most of them are accompanied by excellent photographs as well. Only the artistically less interesting pieces, or series of objects (e.g. spears, clubs etc.) that are very similar to each other, are without illustrations. All this constitutes a very valuable contribution both to museology and Melanesian art in general.

In sum, the wide scope, the great amount of information and the richness of the material presented in it, the abundance of first-class illustrations and the beautiful make-up together make this work an extremely valuable reference book.

GÁBOR VARGYAS

HIATT, L.R.: *Aboriginal Political Life. The Wentworth Lecture 1984.* Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Canberra, 1986. 18 pp.

In 1978 the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies inaugurated the "Wentworth Lectures" in order to pay tribute to W. C. Wentworth – an outstanding personality who promoted White Australians' appreciation of Aboriginal culture and whose initiatives led to the establishment of the Institute in 1964. Simultaneously, the Lectures' aim is also "to bring to a wider public the findings and viewpoints of scholars eminent in particular fields of Aboriginal studies".

This booklet contains the 1984 Wentworth Lecture by L. R. Hiatt, one of the leading figures on Aboriginal mythology and political life, and president of the A.I.A.S. between 1974-82. It is devoted to the question of egalitarianism versus authoritarianism in Aboriginal society, debated anew in the past few years.

Until recently, Meggitt's 1964 paper on "Indigenous Forms of Government amongst the Australian Aborigines" was considered as the definite statement on this topic and scholars seemed to agree on the fact that "Aboriginal political life is characterised by a uniform distribution of rights, privileges, and duties throughout a social order based on kinship and suffused by an egalitarian ideology". However, as a result of some current research, this position was queried and a very interesting debate developed around it.

In his paper Hiatt outlines the history of the question, then sums up new evidences according to which a) senior males (collectively) exercise a degree of domination over junior males and females especially in the sphere of religion, b) there is also strong competition between senior males on the individual level, in order to gain or enhance reputation as ceremonial bigmen. Hiatt cogently argues that there is no contradiction between these statements and the fact that Australian Aboriginal communities lack institutionalized hierarchies of authority. From this point of view, these propositions are true, but irrelevant. The misunderstanding is in what he calls "cultural values directed against natural tendencies", or structure that can be described independently of the individuals.

The main problem is then how egalitarianism as a central value can flourish side by side with religious authoritarianism in Aboriginal society. Hiatt sets out to examine this question in detail and states that "indigenous Australian polity was neither wholly authoritarian nor wholly egalitarian. Rather, both elements coexisted in strong measure". As for individual bigmanship, his conclusion is that "whatever integrative function Aboriginal religion may have, it also constitutes a major domain in which men compete for prestige. It is a reasonable speculation that, within this arena, the pre-eminence of particular rituals and supernatural conceptions may represent the success of particular mortal aspirations and energies".

Centering upon a controversial issue in the focus of current interest, this thought-provoking essay will, undoubtedly, influence future research orientation. The last word has however not been said yet. As Hiatt himself puts it at the end of his paper, the question is far from being settled. It is in a state of ferment.

GÁBOR VARGYAS

Rom. An Aboriginal Ritual of Diplomacy. Edited by Stephen A. WILD. Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Canberra 1986. 102 pp.

This richly illustrated, most interesting booklet records an unique event of historical importance: the first Rom-ceremony ever held for a non-Aboriginal audience. Rom is a genre of Arnhem-Land Aboriginal ritual of diplomacy, whose purpose is to establish or reaffirm friendly relations between people of different communities, or of different languages and cultures. In essence, it is the presentation of an (or several) elaborately decorated totemic pole(s) by a visiting troupe of singers and dancers to a prominent member of the host community.

This particular event took place at four consecutive days, from 31 October to 3 November, 1982, at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra, and was presented by Anbarra Aborigines from North-Central Arnhem Land as a recognition of the Institute's role in documenting and preserving records of Anbarra culture. But as the performance was a public one and its explicit aim was also to present it to a wide non-Aboriginal audience as a gesture of goodwill, it became a major event of political significance attended by several thousands of white Australians. As the editor of the booklet and the organiser of the Rom-ceremony in Canberra puts it, "after two hundred years of colonisation Australia as a nation has not yet reached a satisfactory accord with its indigenous people. It has been a history in which diplomacy has been rare. Rom in Canberra was a diplomatic initiative by one Aboriginal group to the people of Australia... We hope that this Anbarra gesture will form part of a better relationship between Aboriginal and other Australians than has been characteristic of the first two centuries of contact".

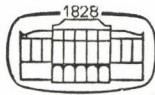
The book which is intended for the great public, consists of three parts. The first documents in detail this unique performance and gives some ethnographic and historical background to it. The second is a description and presentation of the objects of the ritual: the totemic poles and related ritual icons. The third contains a catalogue of Aboriginal art (two sets of beautiful bark-paintings, altogether 18 pieces) exhibited in association with the performance. This collection was purchased later and forms part now of the permanent ethnographic holdings of the Museum of Australia. For all those who are interested in the ritual from a scientific point of view, there is a bibliography with ample references.

GÁBOR VARGYAS

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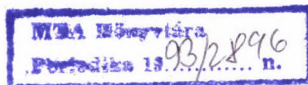
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